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THE
LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1856.

- ART. I.—1. *The Epistles of St. Paul to the Thessalonians, Galatians, Romans: with Critical Notes and Dissertations.* By BENJAMIN JOWETT, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Balliol College, Oxford. In Two Vols. London: Murray. 1855.
2. *The Epistles of St. Paul to the Corinthians: with Critical Notes and Dissertations.* By ARTHUR PENRHYN STANLEY, M.A., Canon of Canterbury, &c. In Two Vols. Murray. 1855.
3. *Christian Faith and the Atonement: Sermons preached before the University of Oxford, in reference to the Views published by Mr. Jowett and others.* By E. B. PUSEY, D.D., REV. T. D. BERNARD, M.A., &c. *With a Preface by the Rev. the Vice-Chancellor, and an Appendix of Authorities.* 8vo. Oxford and London: Parkers. 1856.
4. *On Sacrifice; the Atonement, Vicarious Oblation, and Example of Christ; and the Punishment of Sin. Five Sermons preached before the University of Cambridge, March, 1856.* By B. MORGAN COWIE, B.D., late Hulsean Lecturer, and late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. 8vo. Cambridge: Deightons. 1856.
5. *St. Paul and Modern Thought: Remarks on some of the Views advanced in Professor Jowett's Commentary on St. Paul.* By J. LLEWELLYN DAVIES, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Incumbent of St. Mark's, White-chapel. Cambridge: Macmillans. 1856.
6. *The Doctrine of Inspiration, &c.* By the REV. JOHN MACNAUGHT, M.A. Oxon., Incumbent of St. Chrysostom's Church, Everton, Liverpool. London. 1856.
7. *On the Old Testament.* By F. D. MAURICE, &c. Macmillans.

8. *Prophets and Kings of the Old Testament.* By F. D. MAURICE, &c.
9. *Theological Essays.* Second Edition. By F. D. MAURICE, &c. Macmillans. 1855.
10. *Unity of the New Testament, &c.* By F. D. MAURICE, &c.
11. *Alexandria, and her Schools. Four Lectures delivered at the Philosophical Institution, Edinburgh.* By the REV. CHARLES KINGSLEY, Canon of Middleham, and Rector of Eversley. Macmillans. 1854.
12. *The Nature of the Atonement, and its Relation to Remission of Sins and Eternal Life.* By JOHN M'LEOD CAMPBELL. 8vo. Macmillans. 1856.
13. *Sacrifice: or, Pardon and Purity through the Cross.* By NEWMAN HALL, B.A. 12mo. London: Nisbet. 1856.

THE greatest operations of nature, even when most complicated and obscured, may all be more or less nicely appreciated by human observation and science; and this is not less true of the social and moral world than of the material frame. Nor does the uniform silence and slowness of these operations quite disguise their force. Not only in the case of a widely extended earthquake, but of those gradual, though mighty, movements of the earth's crust, which are discovered to be simultaneously going forward, and, like an earthquake, to be originated from one centre of force, we estimate the depth of that centre below the surface, by the distance to which the movements diverge in opposite directions, and the extent of surface affected by them; and from the same criteria, taken in connexion with the rate of displacement,—whether this be more sudden or more gradual,—we gain an idea of the power with which the disturbing forces operate. This rule of inference may be applied, by analogy, to the moral and theological movements of the age; and, so applied, it will show us that forces of unprecedented power, and operating at a great depth below the surface, have, for years past, been at work upon the minds of the most earnest modern thinkers. From a common centre of force, how widely divergent, and how mighty, have been the disturbing influences in matters of religion! Of the leading spirits who were to be found forty years ago at our two great Universities, and most of whom were linked to each other in friendship and intellectual fellowship, we find that on one side and in one company might be ranged the Hares, Thirlwall, Arnold, Whately, and Hampden; and on the other side Newman, Pusey, Manning, and the Wilberforces. Some dozen years later were to be found at Cambridge Maurice, Trench, and Sterling; the second of whom, as we would fain hope, has passed the point at which it might have been feared that he would be vanquished either by the Pantheism which ruined his unhappy friend Sterling, or the Neo-Platonism which

has bewitched his friend and late colleague Maurice. In Oxford, a few years later still,—at the very time when that University was full of Tractarian influences,—when her most distinguished Professors were, with one or two exceptions, semi-Popish, and all her *alumni* were supposed to be training into Jesuit Priests,—when the *Tracts for the Times* were being published, and Mr. Ward was thinking out his ‘Ideal of a Christian Church,’—it now turns out that Germanized students of a very liberal school of ‘free criticism’ were rising there, whose influence, within a few years past, is said to have transformed the seminary of Tractarianism into a school of Neology. And yet, if what the papers announce be true in regard to several recent perversions, it would seem that even the turn of the tide has not sufficed to prevent a few who had been drifted Rome-wards from being stranded on that dangerous shore. Between Scylla and Charybdis, as it would appear, have the most earnest and thoughtful minds of the present day to steer their difficult and perilous course; and, alas! how many are there who have been either sucked into the vortex of transcendental infidelity, or driven on to the rock of Popish infallibility, there to cling with precarious and desperate hold, and ever in danger of being washed off into the raging tide! Julius Hare was, after a struggle, happily saved from what he calls the ‘fascination of Pantheism;’ his friends Manning and the two Wilberforces have gone to Rome. The elder Newman has fled for refuge from Rationalism to a monastery; his brother has become the leader of ‘rational spiritualists’ in this country. Dr. Arnold was a ‘liberal’ Protestant; his friend and correspondent, Judge Coleridge, has long been numbered among very high Churchmen; so also other members of the Coleridge family have diverged, some towards Rationalism, and some in the opposite direction. It was stated, not long ago, in the public prints, that the Rev. F. Temple, late Principal of Kneller Hall, had gone over to Popery. A decisive contradiction, however, has been given to this report; but still it is well known how very high are the Church views of that accomplished Clergyman. On the other hand, Mr. Jowett, who inscribes the work that we have placed at the top of our list to Mr. Temple, ‘in grateful acknowledgment of numberless thoughts and suggestions, and of the blessing of a long and never-failing friendship,’ is now declared as one of the leaders of that school of modern theological criticism which, abandoning the first sure principles of truth, will find no logical resting-place short of a blank and utter scepticism.

It is easy to say that this Rationalism is a reaction from Tractarianism. So, no doubt, it is in part. But this is not all the case. If it were, there would be no difficulty in accounting for the present state of things. There is nothing wonderful at any time in the appearance of something tantamount to

Puseyism within the Church of England. It is always latent in the formularies and discipline of that Church, and its germs lie ready to be quickened into life in any season of new warmth and deepening earnestness: witness the age of Puritanism, the form which the original Methodism took at Oxford, and the late Oxford development. But, in fact, the roots of Rationalism were struck deep into the soil of both Universities long before the rise of Puseyism. Thirlwall was at Cambridge, and Hampden at Oxford, years before the issue of the *Tracts for the Times* commenced. It might even be argued, with more than plausibility, that Tractarianism has been itself, in part, a reaction from a rising Rationalism. There can be no doubt that a bold and growing Rationalism will ever tend ultimately to beget its opposite,—a slavish faith and bigoted superstition; nay, that those who are themselves Rationalists, so far as their intellectual character is concerned, and yet crave religious rest and faith, when they have undermined, by critical scepticism, the paramount authority of the word of God, as such, will fall back on tradition and Church authority to sustain a faith which can no longer stand upon the sure foundation of Holy Writ. The whole question, therefore, as to the causes of the present state of things resolves itself into an inquiry respecting the origin of the modern Rationalism of the Church of England.

The general critical tendencies of the past and passing age have had much to do with this matter. The ancient history of the classical nations has been disenchanted of its legends. At one time it seemed likely that the very existence of such a poet as Homer would come to be finally exploded as a mere myth,—his identity boldly denied, and his great poem dislocated into a number of popular ballads. The spirit of criticism must be, to a great extent, sceptical; and the sceptical and critical appetite ‘grows by what it feeds on.’ In itself, too, this critical scepticism cannot but strongly tend to self-sufficiency; just in the same proportion, indeed, in which it indisposes to faith and reverence. Moreover, this tendency, in the present case, has been incalculably strengthened by the growth and prevalence of an arrogant *à priori* philosophy, which made man, each individual man, not only the ‘measure,’ but really the sum, ‘of all things.’ Even now, spite of the endeavours of Carlyle and Emerson, this egoistic and idealistic philosophy is utterly inconceivable to the general mind of practical Britain. Yet its evil effects may be traced in every department of life and morals, very far, indeed, beyond the sphere in which it is known or thought of; and nowhere have these effects been more destructive than in matters of faith and religion. By attributing to reason in man the power of infallible intuition, by merging, if we must use such language, the ‘objective’ in

the 'subjective,' the universe in the '*ego*,' or the universe and the *ego*—the out-seeming world and the conscious personal spirit—in what they call the 'absolute,' the philosophers of this school have, in effect, annihilated God, and set up each several man upon the Creator's throne. Instead of a personal God, they have given us a mere personified Order of Nature,—an *Ordo Ordinans*,—which works blindly, yet infallibly; which 'tends to personality,' as they say,—that is, so operates that we might be ready to attribute to it design, intelligence, and moral qualities,—but nevertheless cannot be conceived of as a spirit or a person. Hence all Divine interpositions must, on this hypothesis, be done away. There can be no creation, no revelation, no miracle. In all departments there can but be gradual evolution and development. What each event shall be, and what each man shall know or be, is determined absolutely by his or its position in the procession of the ages. No man can rise above the level of his age. The laws, degrees, and circumstances of progress in physics, in morals, in intelligence, in all science and all history, are absolutely fixed, and could not be other than they have been or shall be. Such a philosopher as Schelling or Hegel, seated on the throne of the intuitive Reason, can determine, *à priori*, what has been, what must have been, the course of past history, and can also predict the future. Nay, he can determine the law of evolution in the physical world, register, without research, the order and history of past discoveries, and forecast the future of science. Hence Schelling has taken upon himself to refute Newton's supposed discoveries, and to correct the physics of our day. Fallible induction must retire in the presence of infallible intuition.

How far such philosophy as the above is susceptible of being mischievously modified and popularized for the million, may be judged from the *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation*. How far it has concurred with the general critical tendencies of modern times in diffusing the deadliest Rationalism throughout not only Germany, but, we must now add, America and Britain, may in part be understood by reference to the *à priori* ground of pantheistic Naturalism assumed by such writers as Strauss and Emerson. The same general tendencies appear strongly in the speculations of Theodore Parker; they underlie much of Francis Newman's writing; they are boldly adopted by Miss Martineau; they may be recognised as colouring the whole phraseology, and giving form to the philosophy, of modern 'spiritualist' Unitarians; and now, it cannot be denied, that they form a far too appreciable element in the volumes of Mr. Jowett, whom yet we dare neither call a Pantheist, nor deny to be a believer in the mission of Christ.

Nevertheless, the proper English school of Idealism, though originally impregnated from Germany, and continually influenced from that country, has a character and a pedigree of its own. The late Samuel Taylor Coleridge was, in the outset of his course, a Unitarian, with a tendency towards Hartleian Materialism. After this, he seems to have been attracted towards Neo-Platonism, and to have become a believer in a Neo-Platonic philosophical Trinity. About the same time, in Germany, he became acquainted with Schelling, with whom, indeed, he was a fellow-student. From this period he followed the track of Schelling's philosophy; and plagiarized very largely from him what, for many years, passed as his own speculations. At the same time, he adapted the doctrines of Schelling to his favourite neo-Platonic philosophy; with which, indeed, in several main points, Schelling's philosophy remarkably coincided. He identified the Absolute of Schelling with the Neo-Platonic *TO 'ON*, or *TO 'ΑΓΑΘΟΝ*, 'the Being, or the Good;' the intuitive reason in man he referred to the Logos or Nous of the Alexandrian Neo-Platonism, as its archetype and ever-present living source; while the plastic pantheistic power of nature,—the *Ordo Ordinans* in operation,—Schelling's only conception of an active Deity, he did, in effect, identify with the Neo-Platonic Soul of the World: and this Neo-Platonic triad he baptized by the name of the 'Christian Trinity.' We do not mean to say that Coleridge ever explicitly set forth this identification in his writings; he confessedly reserved some of the most startling points of his philosophy, and never published a complete exposition of his system,—his harmony, as he was accustomed to represent it, of philosophy and theology. But the view we have just given will furnish the key to his philosophy, and is implied in every part of it. Even in his Notes on English Divines, where he wishes to be as orthodox as possible, and keeps back much that he feared might offend, his views on the Trinity will be found, on close examination, to be not at all Christian, but Neo-Platonist, and substantially identical with what we have stated above.* The three principles we have named he considered not as distinct persons,—how could he?—but as exhibiting different aspects of the one God. It would seem that he never really left the ground of fundamental Unitarianism, however superior his reverence for Christ may have been to that which was characteristic of the hard Unitarianism of his day. This, then, is the basis of Coleridge's theosophy. He first neo-Platonized Schelling, and then applied

* See, for example, 'Literary Remains,' vol. iii., 8vo. edition, pp. 127, 150-152. The readers of Cudworth will be at no loss to understand Coleridge's esoteric meaning, when he speaks of the Holy Ghost as 'active Love;' i.e., the operative Desire or Love of the old philosophy, acting and life-breathing alike 'in man, beast, and matter,' as Mr. Macnaught says.

the curious resulting amalgam to the interpretation of scriptural theology. Moses and Plato, Philo and St. John, Paul and Plotinus, and lastly Schelling, were all illuminati of his school, and were all recognised, with almost equal authority, as his teachers. The prophetic inspiration of Scripture, the ecstasy of Plotinus, the intellectual intuition of Schelling, were but different names for the same thing,—the light of the Logos in man. The Logos was also the Archetype of all things, in whom subsisted, as real entities, the primary and super-sensible ideas, of which all existent things are but shadowy copies or transitory gleams.

This Coleridgism proper has been most faithfully and consistently carried out by Messrs. Maurice and Kingsley. Of the former of these Clergymen we have already spoken in this Review, and will only now say that subsequent investigation has but confirmed the truth of the view given in the article to which we refer; and, at the same time, brought out fully the fact, that there is not a single feature of Maurice's philosophy or theology,—call it which you please,—which may not be found in germ in the writings of Coleridge. Kingsley's writings teach a philosophy accurately identical with that of his friend Maurice; and any one who wishes for full light upon their common views, cannot do better than read his lectures on *Alexandria and her Schools*, in which he speaks out much more plainly and intelligibly than his mysterious fellow-labourer has generally thought proper to do. The able and well-written pamphlet of the Rev. J. L. Davies, *St. Paul and Modern Thought*,—the full title of which is given among the works named at the head of this article,—is the latest manifesto we have seen on behalf of this school. It exhibits the view taken of Mr. Jowett's pantheizing semi-Rationalism by an honest and earnest Neo-Platonist, of a reverent spirit. Altogether, it is the most perspicuous, devout, and intelligible publication, expressly in elucidation of the views of the proper Coleridgean party, which we have yet seen. The following brief extracts, in which the *italics* are our own, may illustrate the foregoing remarks as to the peculiar views and special genesis of this modern school:—

'The name of Jehovah, the *Absolute Being*, was revealed through Moses, as the *ground of law*.'—Page 55.

'The *primordial creation of mankind in Christ* underlies and explains our redemption by Him.'—Page 74.

'The earlier chapters' (of the Epistle to the Hebrews) 'speak of Christ very much as Philo and the Alexandrian school in their best moments had spoken, as having been the King, and *Priest, and Pattern Man, before He was manifested in the flesh*.'—Page 76.

'The loving Father of the spirits of men, *because they are, in a spiritual and ineffable manner*, His children, *created so* in the Eternal Son of His love,' &c.—Page 56.

'To one who holds that all visible objects, all actions and events,

are inseparable from the unseen world, and are but the vestures through which spiritual realities manifest themselves, the phenomena which so confounded Mr. Jowett are quite consistent. And one might have hoped that a view in which Goethe coincides with St. Paul, and which to the ears of this generation is so earnestly preached by such thinkers as Maurice, Carlyle, and Ruskin, would not have been treated by Mr. Jowett as non-existent.'—Page 22.

Mr. Jowett, it seems, is not prepared to view St. Paul as a Neo-Platonic realist, or—for, strange to say, the two phrases, apparently so contrary, have come to mean the same thing—as a transcendental idealist. And Mr. Davies wonders at Mr. Jowett's want of insight, not to have distinctly discerned what is to himself so apparent. It is evident that Mr. Davies would go the whole length of Kingsley, who speaks of Paul as 'a practised Platonic dialectician.' Indeed, he uses the words, 'Pauline, or Platonic idealist.' (Page 18.) It is rather startling, however, to find the Pantheist Goethe and the great Apostle of the Gentiles thus classed together. It serves to show us how tolerant this baptized modern Neo-Platonism is of German Pantheism, and how kindly it remembers 'the hole of the pit from which it was dug.' So we find Kingsley speaking of 'that most illustrious Scotchman, Mr. Thomas Carlyle,'* as having 'vindicated from vulgar misconceptions the great German realists,—such thinkers as Emmanuel Kant and Gottlieb Fichte;' and, a little before, he tell us that the 'strange dream' which lay at the bottom of the Alexandrian philosophy,—the Neo-Platonic Realism,—has 'become the parent of the great Germanic philosophy itself, as developed by Kant, and Fichte, and Schelling, and Hegel.' If this is indeed so, it will follow that while modern or revived Neo-Platonism is derived from German Pantheism,—which, however, its admirers would probably not allow to be called Pantheism,—the German philosophy itself is derived from the original Neo-Platonism. So close is the kinship between the two.

Mr. Davies is a positive and confident Neo-Platonic idealist, determined, after the manner of Maurice, to make the writings of St. Paul speak in his own dialect and teach his own philosophy: Mr. Jowett is, on the contrary, a sceptical, pantheizing idealist, quite incapable of supposing that St. Paul could so anticipate the present age, and rise so far above the level of his own, as to talk precisely like a modern disciple of Coleridge; neither will he allow him to have possessed enough even of Alexandrian lore to have enabled him to frame a new system of theosophy out of hints supplied by Philo. Hence he comes with no other bias to his work of interpretation, than that he is disposed to take the most superficially obvious—what he would call the 'most natural'—meaning of the Apostle's words, and that he is disiu-

* 'Alexandria,' &c., p. 59, and also p. 63.

clined to adopt the true evangelical sense. It is one of his greatest defects, that he is unwilling to go much below the surface in quest of the Apostle's meaning at any time; his philosophy leading him, in all cases, to expect to find St. Paul neither very profound in thought, nor very far-reaching in foresight. No wonder that two such authorities as these Clergymen continually differ in their interpretation. As might be expected, also, Mr. Jowett, though often defective, and sometimes very erroneous, as an interpreter, for the reasons just assigned, yet, from his high critical qualifications, as well as from his having no strong or positive bias, is much less frequently in positive error, than Mr. Maurice and his followers. Where the Apostle is really profound, Mr. Jowett is often superficial and defective, often incorrect; where he is expressly evangelical, Mr. Jowett becomes misty; but the Neo-Platonist, just in these cases, is almost always *profoundly wrong*. We must do Mr. Davies, however, the justice to say, that many of his criticisms upon Mr. Jowett's expositions and comments are very acute and able; sometimes, also, where his philosophy does not come in the way, they are altogether just. And his conception of the Apostle's character, as well as his reverence for the text of Scripture, is far higher and more Christian-like than Mr. Jowett's. He has drunk less directly and less deeply of the arrogant egoistic philosophy.

Mr. Jowett, as we have implied, does not belong to the pure and proper Coleridgean school of Anglican Neology. Coleridge led the way to the study of German philosophy; but all even of his own friends do not seem to have accepted his modification of it. Hare appears to have been more attracted towards Pantheism than Neo-Platonism, of which latter no traces are found in his writings. His works bear everywhere evidence of the diligence with which he had studied Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel, his admiration for whom he does not disguise. Hence it is no wonder that in reading Jowett we are often reminded of Hare. This remark, however, applies only to the common ground of philosophy; not by any means to Hare's theology. Carlyle was mixed up with the school of Coleridge, and sometimes heard 'the master.' But he could not be brought to admire his amalgam, and became an independent expounder of Germanism, and a special admirer of Goethe's pantheistic philosophy. Sterling, Hare's friend, and at one time his Curate, was an idolizing hearer of Coleridge, and took notes of his wondrous talk; but Carlyle mastered his mind, and led him captive to Pantheism. Francis Newman has evidently been influenced both by Coleridge and by Carlyle. Whether he is to be considered a Pantheist or not, we can hardly say; but evidently his philosophy has very strong tendencies in that direction, and he is disposed to speak of the Deity rather 'as Personality' than as

a Person. Now, in naming Mr. Jowett along with these, we do not mean to class him with such confessed unbelievers as Carlyle and Newman; but we wish to show how far the pantheizing philosophy which enters into his theology, no less than the Neo-Platonic idealism of the Maurice school, probably owes its origin, directly or indirectly, to the influence of Coleridge, or, at the least, has been largely affected by that influence. Practically, Mr. Jowett's theology—apart from what may be called his theosophy—coincides very closely with Coleridge's; traces of Coleridge in maxim, phrase, and catch-word, appear in every part of his volumes; and the dissertation on the Atonement is, through a great part of it, only a reminiscence of Coleridge's remarks on the same subject in his *Aids to Reflection*.

We have been thus particular in tracing the origin and growth of the modern Anglican Neology, in its two varieties, because we are convinced that, in order to the fundamental and effectual refutation of any heresy, it is of the first importance to understand the root and central principle from which it derives its life and form; and because, moreover, we have observed that even well-informed journals have seemed to be totally in the dark both as to the common ground on which these two varieties of heresy rest, and as to the specific and characteristic differences which distinguish the one from the other. It will not do merely to meet the superficial aspects which these theories have in common with each other, and with elder Unitarianism, by arguments of the same precise fashion as those which were effectual to refute Unitarianism thirty years ago. The ground of philosophy being still untouched, and the wordy evasions and ambiguous subterfuges of the modern speculations not being analysed and disentangled, the opponents of our evangelism will still dogmatize *à priori*, still enchain their dupes, and still consider themselves to be not only unrefuted, but, in the depth of their philosophy, to be undisturbed and unapproached. Neither will it do to class together Messrs. Maurice and Jowett as adepts of the same philosophy, and upholders of the same theology. They know, and their respective followers know, that this is not the case. Already a controversy has commenced between the two schools. Mr. Jowett, it is evident enough from his very able dissertation on Paul and Philo, precisely understands the character, and knows how to touch the weak points, of the modern Neo-Platonism. Many of his remarks upon Philo's system of theology philosophized—or philosophy theologized—apply, and were plainly intended to apply, most pointedly, to Maurice's Coleridgism, which, indeed, in its spirit and main principles, is most curiously identical with the system of Philo. Put *Christianity* instead of *Judaism*, and the following sentences

might have been written of the modern amalgam of Christianity and Alexandrian Neo-Platonism :—

‘The Jew and the Greek met together in Alexandria; and the strangest eclectic philosophy that the world has ever seen was the result of their union. It was Judaism and Platonism at once; the belief in a personal God assimilated to the doctrine of ideas.....Alexandrianism gave the form and thought; Judaism the life and power.*Like modern theologians* who have fallen under the influence of systems of philosophy in the interpretation of Scripture, Philo applied the Neo-Platonism of his day to the interpretation of the Mosaic writings.’*—*Jowett*, vol. i., pp. 367, 369.

Mr. Jowett is no believer in this philosophy. Yet we fear the philosophy he does believe in, if not so complexly absurd, is every way as pernicious. Nay, in so far as it is more directly and intensely German, and more strongly naturalistic, it is more unfriendly to the grand truth of a loving, personal God, and more promotive of an irreverent spirit.

The main points of agreement and difference between Maurice’s neo-Platonized Christianity and Jowett’s pantheizing Christianity may be summed up as follows. In regard to the most important practical points, as we have already stated, they work out the same results. Mr. Maurice says that the Logos, —the Word,—the Son of God, is ever present with every man, even with the most wicked of men, as his living Light and Righteousness; and thus, that all men *are* one with God in Christ, already righteous in Him, if they did but know, and would but believe it. Mr. Jowett teaches that in all the actions of men God is present, that good and evil are one in God, that ‘these pairs of opposites, God and man, mind and matter, soul and body, pass into one another, and are lost in the idea of a communion of the Creator with His creatures.’†

* In later pages, he gives from Philo interpretations of the creation as described in the first chapters of Genesis, of the creation of the ideal world, the ideal man, and then the individual man, exactly the same as those given by Maurice in his *Sermons on the Old Testament*; and, again, as Maurice makes, in his *Unity of the New Testament* and his *Essays*, the ‘Lord from heaven,’ the ‘heavenly Man,’ and the ‘first Adam,’ to signify the Logos, conceived as the ideal or ‘archetypal man,’ so it may be seen from Mr. Jowett’s Essay, that Philo had used very similar phraseology in the same sense. Here, too, we find the original of Mr. Maurice’s strange explanation, in the *Unity of the New Testament*, of the ‘angels’—that is, the archetypal ideas—of little children ‘always beholding the face of the Father in heaven.’ Philo’s ‘powers’ are but ‘a new name for the Platonic ideas.’ ‘They might be described in the language of the Old Testament as the angels of the Divine Presence. They abide in the Word.’ (Page 387.) The Word, or Logos, we need hardly say, holds the same place in Philo’s system as in that of Coleridge and Maurice. The Logos is the ‘idea of ideas,’ the ‘archetype of archetypes,’ in whom subsists the super-sensible world of *ideas*, which, in this system, are the only *realities*.

We sicken at these subtleties, and strange, uncouth inventions, which transform into unintelligible jargon the blessed Gospel of the grace of God, intended for the healing and comfort of sinful man.

† Vol. ii., pp. 504, 505.

It requires better eyesight than ours to discern the practical difference between these two doctrines. Mr. Jowett does not allow that there is any essential distinction between natural and revealed religion, and so depresses Judaism, as to make it—adopting the words of Goethe—only ‘the first of the ethnic religions.’ Mr. Maurice comes practically to the same result by elevating Socrates and Plato—if not Mahomet also (see his *Religions of the World*)—to the rank of Prophets,—teachers inspired as truly as Moses and Isaiah, though perhaps not so greatly and uniformly inspired. Mr. Maurice, no less than Mr. Jowett, does away with prediction, in any proper sense of the word; (see, in particular, the latter half of his *Prophets and Kings*;) both claim, by the light of intuitive reason in man, or, in Mr. Jowett’s words, of ‘modern criticism and morality,’ to sit in judgment on the teaching and morality of revelation; both explain away expiatory sacrifice and the grand doctrine of a vicarious atonement; and, though by different routes, yet both arrive at substantially the same conclusions as to the non-necessity of a conscious and personal justification or regeneration; both alike ignore the distinct office and personality of the Holy Ghost; both make the coming of the Lord and the day of judgment to be but figures of speech.

Mr. Jowett makes Satan to be but a personification of moral evil. In this he agrees with Coleridge. Mr. Maurice uses language, the plain and honest sense of which implies his belief in a personal devil,—the spirit of evil. Such a belief, however, is utterly inconsistent with every part of his system, and especially so with certain peculiar phrases and passages; and, after a careful perusal both of his writings and Mr. Kingsley’s, we are compelled to say, that we strongly doubt whether either of these Clergymen really believes any more in a personal Satan than their friend, Mr. Carlyle, though both of them can use his various names almost as fast and as freely as that gentleman himself.

So much as to the agreement of the Neo-Platonic and pantheizing leaders. There are, however, several strongly marked, though not practically very important, differences between them. Mr. Jowett, as we have seen, denies *in toto* the fundamental principle of Mr. Maurice’s peculiar philosophy,—the aboriginal and natural relationship of all men to the Logos, as the Archetypal Man, in whom they all have always been, are, and ever shall be. He consequently disallows, also, Mr. Maurice’s doctrine of the collective justification and regeneration of mankind in Christ. Messrs. Maurice and Kingsley believe that primeval man was created pure, and commenced his race as an enlightened worshipper of a personal and loving God and Father: Mr. Jowett’s principles, on the contrary, lead directly and obviously to the conclusion, that man happened upon the earth, a

tribe here and a tribe there,—how, we cannot guess,—without any knowledge whatever of his Creator, with only blind instincts feeling after worship. Mr. Maurice has a much higher positive estimate of the Mosaic law and the Old-Testament dispensation generally than Mr. Jowett; and believes, however inconsistently with his denial of vicarious atonement, the Jewish sacrifices to have been ordained of God, and typical of the sacrifice of Christ: this is denied by Mr. Jowett. The former has a higher estimate of Paul's philosophical knowledge and accuracy of expression; the latter, on the other hand, spite of his deadly philosophy, has a far truer understanding of what spiritual religion means. He conceives more justly and sympathetically the nature of conversion and the spiritual life; and though he thinks such things are now obsolete in cultivated England, and not agreeable to modern conditions of feeling and society, yet he does clearly believe that it might be even yet possible—or at least that it might have been until lately—to find upon earth such experiences as those of the primitive Christians. If this last sentence reads like satire, that is not our fault. It conveys just the impression Mr. Jowett's writing makes. We must add, that he often talks like one who has been trained in a truly earnest and spiritual school, and has himself 'tasted and seen' the goodness of Christ's sanctifying grace and power; and that in this, as in several other respects, he strongly reminds us of the case of Francis Newman, with whose philosophy his own has close affinities.

It is now high time that we should concentrate our attention upon Mr. Jowett's able and remarkable work. Its nucleus consists of a critical commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul to the Thessalonians, Galatians, and Romans. Around this, however, are grouped a number of dissertations, some of them introductory to the interpretation of the Epistles, others suggested by their contents, and all intended either to throw light upon the Apostle's character and position, to explain his language and modes of thought, or to examine and illustrate the bearing of his views and doctrines upon modern conditions of life and society. These dissertations are disposed in the order most convenient for the purposes of the critical commentary, and for mutual illustration. Of the clear, calm, elegant, and scholarly style in which they are written, so different from the elaborate, pompous, and periodic style in which ostentatious half-scholars delight, there is no need for us to speak, any more than of the acute and subtle power of thought which may everywhere be recognised, and of the extensive and well-mastered learning which they do not display, but imply. Mr. Maurice, though he possesses undoubted genius and ability, is yet very much of a cloudy mystic, and passes for much more than he is worth.

But Mr. Jowett's volumes show a ripe and wide scholarship, and critical taste and acuteness, not unworthy of the reputation which he has long enjoyed as one of the ablest tutors at Oxford. Yet, as a Scripture critic, like nearly all the general scholars and critics of the English Universities with whom we have become acquainted, he is deficient in painstaking, in research, and in profundity. If our University men would take pains to become deeper theologians, they would be better biblical critics. If they would but believe in the harmony and unity of the evangelical doctrine, and think it worth their while to meditate upon the profounder meaning of the sacred text, that they may discover this harmony and unity, their exegesis would greatly gain in richness, depth, and truth. If some of St. Paul's critics would only bestow as much labour to discover his meaning, as they would in meditating upon some dark passage in Shakspeare; if they did but give to the inspired Apostle as much credit as to the intuitive poet, for having a true, deep, and beautiful sense in those passages which seem to be obscure and difficult; orthodoxy and evangelical truth would be largely benefited. And the true progress both of theology and of biblical criticism in Britain and in the world would be greatly promoted, if, besides studying the stores of German erudition and criticism, they would not neglect the treasures of theology and exegesis contained in many of the old writers of our own language. But it is an ill sign for any age when the letter of Shakspeare is more revered by (so-called) Christian scholars and critics than the text of Scripture, and his profound truth more believed in than the inspired authority of St. Paul.

We do not think that we can give a more correct general idea of the tendency of Mr. Jowett's volumes, than by saying, that he seems to have attempted, as far as is compatible with any sort of faith in a personal God and the Christian revelation, to adapt the principles of the *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation*, and to apply a theory analogous to the one contained in that work, to the course of man's progress as a moral and religious being. The author of the *Vestiges* endeavoured so to trace the continuity of development in the physical and organic world, as to leave no place for creative epochs or acts. The whole course of nature was resolved into a law of progress and development,—an order of nature,—gradually unfolding itself from grade to grade, from unorganized to organized matter, from plant to animal, from vegetable life and movement to instinct and volition, from these to reason, from monkey to man. So Mr. Jowett also would, as far as his faith in Christ will at all allow him, break down the limits which define the Divine dispensations to man. He would exhibit the natural continuity of moral and religious development. Looking backward along the perspective which he gives of man's advancement, we see civil-

ized humanity dwindling and degraded into a universal condition of dark and groping savageism,—how far removed from the instincts of the ape, it is not possible to say: looking forward into the future, we see the theology and morality of the New Testament left far behind. No primeval light shines upon the dark lair of incipient humanity; what is called 'revealed religion' was, in its earlier stage, but a certain form of natural religion; the Jewish sacrifices were but blind heathenish rites; the principles of the Gospel gradually grew up as a sort of under-wood beneath the shadow of Mosaic superstition; the Prophets did but dimly read the future by the light of the past and present; when Christ came, even He was limited and bound down in His prophecies and revelations by the circle of Jewish ideas of His age; St. Paul and the other Apostles were, of course, in like manner necessarily restricted and darkened in their views; modern Christians are much superior to the Apostles—if we must not add, to our Lord Himself—in illumination, even as to moral and religious subjects. These are, substantially, the views which Mr. Jowett gives of man's religious course and history.

It is impossible not to recognise in all this a close approximation to the views of Theodore Parker and Francis Newman; and equally impossible not to perceive that nothing but a strong infusion of pantheizing philosophy can account for such views being put forth by one who professes to believe in Christianity, and who is a Clergyman of the Anglican Church. A few pages back we gave the pith of the last sentence in Mr. Jowett's final dissertation, on *Predestination and Free Will*, in which he does away practically with all distinction between soul and body, mind and matter, God and man; with which passage the curious reader may compare the note on 1 Thess. i. 1,* in order to see how these views shape themselves in commenting upon the Apostle's words. Such language cannot but remind us of Schelling's identification of the subject and the object in the Absolute, or Hegel's principle of the 'identity of contraries.'

But Mr. Jowett's pantheizing does not rest here. It leads him, after the example of his German masters, to deny the argument from design and final causes in proof of the being of God. A mere order of nature,—a mere plastic pantheistic power,—however happily it may work, however its products may seem to imply intelligence, can, of course, be animated by no conscious purpose, can have in view no 'final cause,' cannot be conceived as working in conformity with any pattern or design. Hence Pantheists—whom we know not how to distinguish from Atheists—must deny the argument from design, which, as wrought out by such writers as Paley, whatever Mr. Jowett may think, not only has been, but always will be, to

* Vol. i., p. 40.

mankind at large, as cogent and conclusive as our instinctive judgments can make it. But what are we to think of such passages as those which follow, in the writings of a Christian Minister of the Church of England as by law established? We quote from the *Essay on Natural Religion* :—

'The arguments from first or final causes will not bear the tests of modern metaphysical inquirers. The most highly educated minds are above them, the uneducated cannot be made to comprehend them..... The highest mark, not of design, but of intelligence, we trace everywhere in the world..... We are all agreed that none but a Divine power framed the infinite contrivances of creation. We differ only as to whether that Divine power is to be regarded as the hand that fashioned, or the intelligence that designed, them, or an operation inconceivable to us which we dimly trace and feebly express in words.'—*Jowett*, vol. ii., pp. 410, 411.

So, it seems, plain men cannot understand Paley, and Whewell and Sedgwick are *not* to be reckoned among the most highly educated minds of the day. We presume that they do not belong to the philosophical elect, who, as Schelling and Coleridge taught, are *born* intuitive and idealists, but rank with the *profanum vulgus* of born Aristotelians. If all minds must be consigned to the same category which are unable to draw the fine distinction between design and intelligence in conscious and voluntary operations, we fancy few indeed will be numbered among the higher class. If, on the other hand, Mr. Jowett means—as consistency would require—to follow Fichte, Hegel, Schelling, Oken, and the other 'most highly educated minds' of these modern days, in denying a conscious and will-ing Deity, he should plainly and honestly say so. The last sentence we have quoted is certainly calculated to excite the most grave suspicions as to what is his real meaning. We suppose that all believers in creation regard the Divine act or operation as 'inconceivable to us,' and such as 'we dimly trace and feebly express in words;' but if, in so speaking of it, Mr. Jowett intends to deny such a direct and conscious operation of Deity as is figuratively implied when we speak of 'His hand fashioning' all things, or such a wise and intelligent purpose in creation as is implied when we speak of 'His intelligence designing' them, we can only say, that we are unable to distinguish such a vague belief in 'Divine power' from Pantheism.

But, in truth, Mr. Jowett finds it impossible to abide by his own distinction. He disallows 'design' in creation, and yet he speaks of its 'infinite contrivances.' Nay, he tells us, within a few lines of his denial of 'design,' that 'the absence of design, if we like so to term the phrase, is a part of the design. Even the less comely parts, like the plain spaces in a building, have elements of use and beauty.' Of some very weak, and, to borrow the word he is so fond of applying to St. Paul's ideas, very

'wavering,' sentences which follow, there is no need that we should take notice.

Transcendentalists may shout to us from their fog, if they please, and tell us that they are above our logic and common sense. But we have no intention, on that account, to allow them the least superiority over ourselves. We have thought over this question of design in creation again and again, and we have arrived at the firm conclusion,—whether by the steps of logic or the glance of intuition it matters not now to tell,—that they who speak of a law and order of nature, imply, by such expressions, that there is to be recognised in creation a grand unity in the midst of infinite complexity and variety,—a method, plan, and harmony in the great whole, which must, therefore, be traceable through all the parts; and that such a conception is self-contradictory and unmeaning, except upon the assumption of a conscious and intelligent Creator. But if this is so, the argument from design and final causes must stand.

He who teaches, as Mr. Jowett does in his last Essay, that the distinction between free will and necessity, and between man and God, is 'lost in the idea of a communion of the Creator with His creatures,' and that 'these pairs of opposites' thus 'pass into one another,' does, in fact, strike at the root of all moral distinctions. Every system of Fatalism does this in effect; but a pantheistic Fatalism more immediately and manifestly than any other, because it utterly blots out the conception of a Personal Source and Judge of Righteousness, of a *God who is Light, and in whom is no darkness at all*, and, being such, whose eyes behold and eyelids try the children of men. Hence we cannot be surprised to find, with so strong a bias as Mr. Jowett everywhere shows towards this fatal pantheistic philosophy, that he represents good and evil as inextricably combined, and does not even shrink from making God the author of evil. In several passages this is represented as the scriptural doctrine:—

'According to the view of the Apostle, God not only, in our phraseology, permits sin, but even causes it as a punishment for previous sin.'—Vol. i., p. 158.

'In modern times we say God is not the cause of evil: He only allows it; it is a part of His moral government, incidental to His general laws. Without considering the intimate union of good and evil in the heart of man, or the manner in which moral evil connects itself with physical, we seek only to remove it as far as possible, in our language and modes of conception, from the Author of good. The Gospel knows nothing of these modern philosophical distinctions, though revolting as impious from the notion that God can tempt man. The mode of thought of the Apostle is still the same as that implied in the aphorism: *Quem Deus vult perdere, prius dementat.*'—Vol. ii., p. 58.

The second of these passages occurs in a comment on Rom. i. 24.

This, then, is the spirit of 'the Gospel:' 'Whom God would destroy, He first makes mad!'—We must, however, do Mr. Jowett the justice to say, that elsewhere he modifies this view, if he does not directly contradict it. He tells us, in a comment on chap. ix. 18 of the same Epistle, that 'in the Old Testament God leaves or gives a man to evil who already works evil, while the prevailing tone of the New Testament is that evil, in all its stages, is the work of man himself.'*

It is not our business to reconcile this last quotation with those which precede. The general tenor of both Mr. Jowett's philosophy and his morality agrees with those rather than with this. Thus, for instance, when—in language which perhaps applies more aptly to the Kingsley school of 'Christian Socialists' than to any other class—he has been speaking of visionary moralists, as he considers them, who strive to regenerate society in conformity with their own abstract notions, he adds,—

'They are kicking against the pricks; what they want is a society which has not the very elements of the social state; they feel the evil without comprehending the necessity of it; they do not recognise that the world is a mixed mass of good and evil,—evil held together by good, good inseparable from evil.'—*Essay on the Law as the Strength of Sin*, vol. ii., p. 441.

So again:—

'If the rule is to be, not, *My kingdom is not of this world*, but, *We ought to obey God rather than man*, there is nothing left but to supersede civil society, and found a religious one in its stead.'—*Ibid.*, p. 439.

These are not the principles on which heroes and reformers have acted. The saying of our Lord is by no means opposed to the noble maxim of His Apostles. *We ought to obey God rather than man*, is a rule which is neither to be abrogated nor limited, though care must be taken to apply it aright. It was not by the adoption of such counsels as Mr. Jowett's that Christianity conquered the world at first. Our Lord did not act upon them; nor did Peter and John; nor Paul and Silas; nor the martyrs of the early Church; nor Luther, and Calvin, and Knox; nor Wesley and Whitefield.

In a similar strain we are told in the *Essay on 'Casuistry'*,—

'So, again, in daily life cases often occur in which we must do as other men do, and act upon a general understanding, even though unable to reconcile a particular practice to the letter of truthfulness, or even to our individual conscience. It is hard in such cases to lay down a definite rule. But, in general, we should be suspicious of any conscientious scruples in which other good men do not share. We

* Vol. ii., p. 250.

shall do right to make a large allowance for the perplexities and entanglements of human things; we shall observe that men of strong minds brush away our scruples; we shall consider that not he who has most, but he who has fewest, scruples, approaches most nearly the true Christian. For, as the Apostle says, *Whatsoever is not of faith is sin*; and, *Blessed is he who condemneth not himself in that which he alloweth*.—*Essay on Casuistry*, vol. ii., p. 350.

What, now, are we to think of the 'moral' of this passage, and what of the texts which are so curiously quoted to 'point' it? It would seem as if Mr. Jowett were disposed to be facetious. We could imagine with what unction and satisfaction at his own wit a jolly freebooting Friar Tuck might have quoted these passages in Mr. Jowett's sense, by way of encouraging himself and his comrades in their free use of their victims' treasures and stores. But for a Christian Clergyman to deduce from the Apostle's words a maxim so destructive of all morality, and at the same time so glaringly contrary to their true sense, is what no one could have anticipated. Not even an Alexandrian Platonical Jew—not even Philo himself—could have more curiously and perversely misapplied a Scripture text than the Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford has done here. What the Apostle really teaches is, that he is the best Christian who never acts in any way about which he has a scruple. Whereas Mr. Jowett's doctrine, which he attributes to St. Paul, is that the most unscrupulous man is the best Christian. This surely is to reverse a picture, and then swear that the painter drew the likeness of one who walked upon his head.

Even if we take the gentler expression of the writer's meaning given in the first sentence of the paragraph, we can come to no other conclusion than that Mr. Jowett's standard of morality is very lax and time-serving. It *really seems* as if he recognised no essential distinction between good and evil, right and wrong. If all had acted upon similar maxims, the slave-trade would have still existed; bribery at elections would still be counted no harm or scandal; tricks and lies in trade might claim the tolerance, if not the sanction, of Christianity; adulteration of goods might be defended as no wrong; and 'to do evil' would cease to be criminal, provided we took care to 'follow a multitude.' Shall we confess to a suspicion that clings to us, that the above paragraph was penned by Mr. Jowett with an uneasy consciousness that it would be difficult to reconcile his own position in the Church of England 'with the letter of truthfulness, or even with his individual conscience?' The subject of the previous paragraph, which we have not space to quote, confirms this suspicion. Assuredly it is not to be wondered at, that a Clergyman in Mr. Jowett's position should be led to meditate upon the subject of 'casuistry.' The following sen-

tences, from a former part of the same Essay, agree with what we have just hinted, and harmonize perfectly with the previous quotations:—

'Numberless questions relating to the profession of an advocate, a soldier, or a Clergyman, have been pursued into endless consequences. In all these cases there is a point at which necessity comes in, and compels us to adopt the rule of the Apostle, which may be paraphrased, "Do as other men do in a Christian country."—*Essay on Casuistry*, vol. ii., p. 342.

Such a paraphrase applied to the Apostle's counsel to the Corinthian Church (it is in reference to this that Mr. Jowett is writing) is manifestly absurd. The very question was, How were Christians to behave in a heathen community? and an obvious principle of morality underlies the Apostle's counsels. To give countenance to idolatry was wrong; to share in its spirit was wrong; merely material contact with it, involving neither of these things, was not wrong.

From such principles as Mr. Jowett has here laid down, nothing great or good can be expected. Under their influence, everything virtuous, noble, and truly great must wither and die. Mr. Llewellyn Davies not inaptly compares them to the philosophy of Mandeville, who taught that private vices were for the public good. Such assuredly was *not* the doctrine of those Hebrew Prophets whose morality Mr. Jowett supposes himself to have so far outgrown. They knew nothing of an inglorious compromise with evil. Nor is such the spirit of Christianity. Self-denial is its demand. *Be not conformed to this world*, is its motto: Righteousness is its law: Truth is its standard; and, therefore, Freedom and Love have been its fruits. Nay, such maxims as we have quoted fall far below the standard of the old Stoic morality. How would Seneca or Antoninus have frowned upon them! But they agree with the doctrines of Hobbes; they would have found favour with Hume. They are truly representative of the spirit of a pantheistic philosophy which resolves all realities into shadowy abstractions, and which loses all distinctions of good and evil, God and man, in its impalpable and imponderable *TO IIAN*.

Nevertheless, in this, as in most other cases, it is not difficult to make Mr. Jowett answer himself. Having, in the Essay from which we have last quoted, first given his own principles and counsels of casuistry, a few samples of which have been submitted to our readers, he next proceeds to furnish an estimate of the principles and method of the Jesuitical science of casuistry. Towards the close of this, he tells us that 'those who act most truthfully, honestly, firmly, manfully, consistently, take least time to deliberate;' and that 'such should be the attitude of our minds in all questions of right and wrong, truth

and falsehood. We may not inquire, but act.' (Page 356.) He afterwards closes the Essay with the following just and eloquent paragraph:—

'To conclude, the errors and evils of casuistry may be summed up as follows: It makes that abstract which is concrete, scientific which is contingent, artificial which is natural, positive which is moral, theoretical which is intuitive and immediate. It puts the parts in the place of the whole, exceptions in the place of rules, system in the place of experience, dependence in the place of responsibility, reflection in the place of conscience. *It lowers the heavenly to the earthly, the principles of men to their practice, the tone of the preacher to the standard of ordinary life.* It sends us to another for that which can only be found in ourselves. It leaves the highway of public opinion to wander in the labyrinths of an imaginary science, the light of the world for the darkness of the closet. It is to human nature what anatomy is to our bodily frame; instead of a moral and spiritual being, preserving only "a body of death."—*Essay on Casuistry*, vol. ii., p. 357.

Whatever may be thought of Mr. Jowett's views on the subject of moral distinctions, they are at least in perfect harmony with the theory which he holds in reference to man's history and course as a moral and religious being,—or, we should rather say, as a religious and moral being; for, according to his view, man had been a religious animal for long ages before he had any conception or sense of morality. The following passages will give a fair outline of his hypothesis, which, it will be seen, precisely harmonizes with the views of Messrs. Newman and Parker, *et hoc genus omne*. With the exception of the first short extract, which occurs in the Essay on the 'Connexion of Immorality and Idolatry,' they are all taken from the same dissertation on 'Natural Religion,' in which, as we have already seen, Mr. Jowett denies the evidence from design and final causes, in favour of the being of a God:—

'The heathen religions sprang up in an age prior to morality. We see men in the dawn of the world's history, just raised above the worship of stocks and stones, *making themselves gods to go before them.*'—Vol. ii., p. 64.

'There is a refreshment to the fancy in thinking of the morning of the world's day, when the sun arose pure and bright, ere the clouds of error darkened the earth..... We pierce through one layer of superstition to another, in the hope of catching the light beyond, like children digging to find the sun in the bosom of the earth.'—*Ibid.*, p. 393.

'The theory of a primitive religion, common to all mankind, has only to be placed distinctly before the mind, to make us aware that it is "the baseless fabric of a vision"..... The earliest history tells nothing of a general, but of particular beliefs about stocks and stones, about places and persons, about animal life, about the sun, moon, and stars, about the Divine Essence permeating the world, about gods in the likeness of men appearing in battles, and directing the cause of States,

about the world below, about sacrifices, purifications, initiations, magic, mysteries. These were the true religions of nature, varying with different degrees of mental culture or civilization. The further we trace them back, by such indications as language or poetry supply, the more difficult do we find them to conceive. Human beings in that age seem to have had only a kind of limited reason; they were the slaves, as we should say, of mere associations. They were rooted in particular spots, or wandered up and down upon the earth, confusing themselves, and God, and nature, gazing timidly on the world around, starting at their own shadows, and seeing in all things a super-human power at the mercy of which they were.'—Vol. ii., p. 395.

'Religion, rather than reason, is the faculty of man in the earliest stage of his existence. Instincts of fear and love bind him to his God; he has the feeling of a slave towards his master, of a child towards its parents, of the lower animals towards himself.'—Page p. 396.

'The religions of the world.....are like so many steps in the education of mankind.'—Page 386.

'The worship of nature in its many forms is now acknowledged to be deeply rooted in the age, country, people, which gave them birth.'—Page 385.

The question which forces itself upon one in reading such passages as these is, *Was* man, then, created? If so, what occurred at that epoch? What instruction was afforded him, what provision was made for him, by his Creator? It is manifest, that the conclusion to which Mr. Jowett's representations point, is very near akin to that of Lord Monboddo, or of the *Vestiges*. Mr. Jowett, to be consistent, must hold that man was *not* created, but developed; and that the transition stage through which he passed was that of some superior ape, whose instincts were illumined and elevated by the fitful gleams of a wavering and embryo reason.

In curious juxtaposition with one of the extracts given above, Mr. Jowett tells us that 'there is one stream of revelation only,—the Jewish.' (Page 365.) But the same authority which guarantees what Mr. Jowett would call 'the Jewish stream of revelation,'—let him date this from where he will,—tells also of an earlier and primitive revelation. How then are we to discriminate between the authority which belongs to the Jewish history, and that which must be conceded to the patriarchal; and who is to say, looking at the Book of Genesis, where the one begins and the other ends?

'The earliest history,' Mr. Jowett informs us, 'tells nothing of a general religion, but of particular beliefs,' &c. But how early, let us ask, is this earliest history? Does it mount as high as the time of Josiah? If not, then how are we to dispose of the testimony of that incomparably earlier history, the truth of which has received so many illustrations and endured so many tests, which tells us of a pure and primeval revelation made to the father of the human race, and to following patriarchs?

If, in speaking of 'the earliest history,' Mr. Jowett refers to the discoveries made by means of Egyptian hieroglyphics and Assyrian arrow-heads, it is obvious to reply that the fragmentary and superficial information furnished from these sources,—interesting and important as it undoubtedly is,—constitutes rather material for historical conjecture than anything to be properly called history; that its merely negative evidence is really of no weight as against the fact—as we assume it to be—of a primeval revelation, until it is shown that the hieroglyphic and arrow-head inscriptions are of considerably higher antiquity than has hitherto been made very probable; and, finally, that the one thing which these venerable remains have undoubtedly established, so far as their evidence goes, is the truly historical character and perfect accuracy of that sacred record whose earliest portions Mr. Jowett would reject;—those portions of it which have been directly illustrated and confirmed being of a far more ancient date than any other history, and having in former times been the subject of the same sort of scepticism which would now reject what it chooses of the Book of Genesis.*

The evidence of history, as such, except the Bible history, scarcely bears directly upon the question of a primitive revelation and primeval religion. But the evidence of *mythology* is in favour of the scriptural representations of man's earliest condition. The 'particular beliefs,' notwithstanding all their wide and wild diversity, show, when compared with each other, strong traces of a common substratum and original of religious truth. It suits Mr. Jowett's purpose to write as if all his positions were indubitable, as if no man of 'modern' intelligence and 'modes of thought' could be found to differ from him. But, though we should allow him to treat as unworthy of notice the vast learning and practised acuteness of the late G. S. Faber, surely Dr.

* In reference to this point, we cannot refrain from quoting the words of that most distinguished philologist and antiquarian, Sir Henry Rawlinson, the report of which has been published since the preceding paragraph was written, and which might have been prepared in order to illustrate and enforce the position we have taken. The occasion on which they were uttered, was a Meeting convened at Willis's Rooms, on Thursday, July 17th, for the purpose of promoting the establishment of a Scriptural Museum. We quote from an abstract of the proceedings:—

'Sir Henry Rawlinson then spoke. He had always looked on biblical illustration as the most important branch of his investigations,—as, in fact, the motive which had induced him to go on from stage to stage for many years. He had been enabled to trace Oriental records, by means of the monumental inscriptions now in the British Museum, from the time of Abraham's departure from Ur of the Chaldees, down to that of Alexander the Great,—a period of two thousand years. Wherever the course of the history came into contact with that of the Jewish people, there was an absolute coincidence between these monumental records and the details of Scripture,—the same names, the same succession of Kings, and the same facts. He gave interesting proofs of this in relation to Chedorlaomer at the earliest period, and Sennacherib and Nebuchadnezzar at a later date. He felt that these discoveries were sufficient to meet the doubts thrown by some Continental—he was glad to say not English—students on the historical statements of Scripture.'

Prichard's authority upon this point is worth something ; and the recent ponderous work of De Rougemont may show how powerfully inductive evidence, gathered from every part of the world, and from every period of its history, confirms the scriptural view of this subject.* No doubt 'indigenous' influences have had a great share in shaping and developing those superstitions which have grown out of or about primeval truth. This is understood by all intelligent inquirers. But, in affirming this, we do not admit that man's religious course began in Fetishism. We are not bound to construct any hypothesis upon this subject. But if we did construct one, it would be something after this sort. Sun-worship appears, and may naturally be supposed, to have been the earliest idolatrous deflection from the worship of the Invisible Supreme. This being established, fire would soon be adored, as the emblem of the sun, and as participating in his nature. With sun and fire worship would easily be associated, among nomad tribes, who lived by pasture or the chase, and roamed the wide and level wilderness, the adoration of that starry host whose gentle beaming eyes seemed to watch them so ceaselessly in their nightly vigils and wanderings. This would especially be likely to take place in the brilliant intertropical latitudes, where night is so lovely, glorious, and welcome. In other regions, where lusty Nature, giant in strength and prodigal in fruitfulness, made earth grand with lofty mountain and rejoicing river, dark with forests, bright with verdure, full of voice and music, with the shout of the wild tempest or the whispering of the wooing winds ; where he assumed all moods and wanted in the wildest forms, sleeping sweetly in the deep valley shade, lifting himself on high into the joy of sunshine, threading the maze of ever-winding streams, hiding in still sequestered spots of weird and dream-like beauty, known only to his dearest followers ; in such regions, where heaven seemed no longer to be the starry and all-ruling mistress of the earth she spanned and rested on, but only the bright crown set upon Nature's head ; it would be likely that the sun-worship would merge in nature and element worship, and this again pass into a more distinct and developed Pantheism. Fetishism we take to be a degraded nature-worship, appropriate to a degraded race. Hero-worship would come in, at a later stage, perverted traditionary truth concurring with Pantheism to prepare the way for it. Hero-worship grafted upon and combined with astral worship (or Sabaism) and Pantheism, would speedily develop into a manifold Polytheism. The religions of Chaldea and of Arabia,—of Medo-Persia in the earliest times, so far as we can trace it,—and of the Aryans at the time of the Vedas, of

* See the Article on De Rougemont's 'Primitive People,' in the last Number of this Review.

Africa and of Greece, would furnish illustration and confirmation of the view we have thus ventured to outline.

Mr. Jowett expects us to believe, on the strength of his quiet dogmatism, that there is no evidence afforded by scientific and archaeological investigation in favour of the common origin of the human race. But, in fact, physiology and philology concur with mythology in sustaining the scriptural view. Is the Oxford Professor in such a position that he can presume to ignore the authority not only of that distinguished Englishman and devout Christian whom we have already named, Dr. Prichard, but of such men as the late Baron de Larrey, and as the author of *Kosmos*? And as to philology, in particular, we may say, that it seems to point to one of two conclusions,—either to different origins with a profoundly remote antiquity, or to some confusion of languages happening among the tribes of men when they were united in one community, but still leaving traces of that community, in a certain general agreement of lingual and grammatical principles. The latter is the scriptural solution of the case. By those who refuse to admit a miraculous character, as belonging to man's early stage of history, this solution will not be accepted. But those who believe in *creation*, and in the congeries of miracles which this implies, especially when the creation of *man* is contemplated,—those who recognise in the geological history of the past creative epochs,—those who hold that Sedgwick, Brewster, and Hugh Miller have utterly demolished the theory of the *Vestiges*, &c.; and that the last, in particular, has shown that degradation, instead of development, has often been the law of the Divine plan, in regard to different species of both the animal and the vegetable kingdom,—will not reject any account of the early ages of man, or of the commencement of any new dispensation, merely because it is miraculous.

It is necessary to ask, moreover, how it happens, if Mr. Jowett's representation of the early history of the race is the true one, that, at so remote a period of antiquity, when other nations were still, to adopt his phraseology, either sunk in Fetishism, and timid, cowering nature-worship, or, at best, only emerging into the older and more uncouth and monstrous forms of Polytheism, such a pure and lofty Monotheism and such sublimity of conception as we find in the former part of the Book of Genesis should have been possible? Mr. Jowett believes this to be merely a collection of myths; but whence *such* myths? Do they not, even on his own principles, seem to imply the previous continuity of a noble and worthy revelation?

If the former part of the Book of Genesis is not true, Mr. Jowett is bound to offer some solution of the great difficulty which it opposes to his scheme. This book was written in that 'dawn of the world's history,' when, Mr. Jowett tells us, 'men were just raised above the worship of stocks and stones, *making*

themselves gods to go before them.' Yet it furnishes its own explanation of questions connected with the being of man upon the earth, his relation to his Maker, the cause of the wickedness already so wide-spread among the nations, the origin and purpose of sacrifices, the division of time into weeks, and the confusion of tongues,—the first conception of which would seem to have been impossible except in an age of profound reflection, and utterly beyond the powers of a people so rude and so ill-circumstanced as the Israelites either before, or indeed for long after, the time of Moses. Yet these myths—if myths they are—must have been traditions of a time long anterior to that of Moses; for we cannot suppose that Mr. Jowett would attribute them to the invention of any one man, least of all of Moses. Add to these considerations, that the Book of Genesis affords a minutely circumstantial history of that Deluge of which the traditions of all races concur in speaking; and that it gives a table of the genealogy and migrations of the early tribes of men which bears every mark of authenticity, and which all the succeeding history both of the sacred volume and of other records, as well as the results of modern research, has strongly confirmed; and we have a problem to solve in the existence of such a book, on which we think every theory of development must be broken to pieces.

Indeed, it will not be difficult in this as in other cases to refute Mr. Jowett from his own testimony. His theory obviously requires him to maintain—and he does maintain accordingly—that 'instead of the earliest religions being the purest, the reverse is the fact;' that 'the stream is the clearest, not at its source, but lower down.' (Page 402.) Now, does Mr. Jowett really intend us to receive this as a universal, or even as a general, truth? Was the religion of Egypt in the days of the Ptolemies and of Vespasian, or even in the days of the middle and later Pharaohs, *purser* and more elevated than at the era of the building of the Pyramids? Is the Polytheism of India, such as it has grown up since the Christian era, "clearer and purer" than in the times of the sun and element worship which forms the substratum on which the *Veda* liturgies were founded? There has been development, no doubt, in these idolatries; but it has been the development of absurd and demoralizing invention. Or again, we may ask, if the religion of Greece in later days was really so much purer than that of the early ages, on traditions of which were grounded the plots and principles of the severe and moral tragic muse. As to Rome, we shall hear Mr. Jowett speak himself. Or has there indeed been advancement and purification in the Fetish-worship of Africa, or the abominations of Feejee?

But let Mr. Jowett answer himself. Having spoken of the general immorality of the heathen world, he proceeds as follows:—

'The picture suggested by these features is not equally true of the heathen world in all ages, nor of Greece and the East, nor of Rome itself in the earlier years of the Republic and under the Emperors. It could hardly have been the mere fond recollection of the past that made the Roman tell of the Sabine morals of his ancestors, or of the lessons of truth and virtue to be gathered from the examples of Consuls and Dictators. It is probable that Rome was long preserved from the impurities of Greece and the East; yet, as it seems, only reserved for a deeper contamination and pollution. To see the old world in its worst estate we turn to the age of the Satirists and of Tacitus, when all the different streams of evil coming from east, west, north, south, the vices of barbarism and the vices of civilization, remnants of ancient cults and the latest refinements of luxury and impurity, met and mingled on the banks of the Tiber.'—Vol. ii., p. 69.

So much for the assertion that the earliest religions are the most impure, and that the stream becomes clearer as it flows down. Mr. Jowett tells us, that only 'with the help of such a parallel as childhood offers to the infancy of the world, shall we be willing to admit' his views 'to the full extent.' (Page 364.) But he might have remembered the simplicity and comparative innocence of childhood, as well as its ignorance and fears; he might have remembered, too, that even children can exercise a true and beautiful faith in their living God and Father.

'Heaven lies about us in our infancy,'

says the poet; and we believe this to have been true of the childhood of our race. The opposite opinion may agree better with the notion of a pantheistic God; but ours agrees better with the scriptural representation of our God as the 'Father of the spirits of all flesh,' as well as with the plain letter of the Divine word, and the uniform tradition of all races,—a tradition which, as Mr. Jowett states in the same sentence in which he speaks of it as an 'error' and a 'fallacy,' 'has exerted so great an influence on mankind, and re-produced itself in so many different forms among heathen as well as Christian writers.' Nevertheless, we too are believers in progress and in development, for good and for evil,—evil which shall be overruled for good. Though we should count it as little less than impious to speak of the abominations of Egypt, Hindostan, and Feejee, as 'steps in the education of man,' in which we may trace 'a sort of order and design;' yet we too can say, with Tennyson,—

'For I doubt not through the ages one increasing purpose runs,
And the thoughts of men are widen'd by the process of the suns.'

Humanity has grown to man's estate; it has lost indeed the bloom and purity of its childhood, it has taken its way to wisdom through the knowledge both of good and evil; but even when descending deepest in sin and idolatry, ideas of truth and holiness have still been growing and ripening within it here and

there; and, in the end, we trust that God's grace and goodness will completely master its evil, and Christ's Spirit take entire possession of its powers.

If such are Mr. Jowett's views regarding 'natural religion,' or, as he calls it, 'the plant in its uncultivated state,' what is his belief in reference to revealed religion, — 'the same plant when sown by the husbandman?*' It is difficult to answer this question. He admits, as we have seen, that 'there is one stream of revelation only,—the Jewish;' he says, moreover, that 'the interval which separates the morality of the Old Testament from the *Vedas* or the *Zend-avesta*, or early Greek mythology, is wider than that which separates Socrates from the Gospel of Christ.' (Page 385.) This is a strong, a striking, a most important testimony, which seems to us to imply that God had given to Israel a direct and full supernatural revelation of moral and religious truth. But then, on the other hand, he does not allow that we can 'draw the line sharply,' or that there is any real and essential distinction between natural and revealed religion. (Pp. 391, 392.) He more than half adopts Goethe's saying, that the Jewish religion 'is the first of the ethnic religions, but still ethnic.' He denies the Divine institution of sacrifice; he will not even allow that the Jewish sacrifices received a particular Divine sanction, but interprets them by those of the Heathen; though he admits that by so doing he 'seems to reduce the Jewish dispensation to the level of the Heathen.'† Of course this involves the denial of all typical meaning to the Mosaic ceremonial,—a denial explicitly made in a note on Rom. xii. 1. In consistency with this, he shows a systematic purpose to disparage the law of Moses. He most unwarrantably represents the spirit of prophecy as from the first opposed to that of the law, as 'another religion;' in which 'the voice of God cried aloud against sacrifice and offering;'‡ as if Samuel and Isaiah were contrary to Moses, as if the Law and the Prophets might not always be harmonized in the spirit of the latter verses of the Fifty-first Psalm.

If Mr. Jowett's naturalistic tendencies lead him to disparage the Law, they equally involve the depression of Prophecy. According to his view, a Prophet is a compound of piety and enthusiasm. He is the subject of no supernatural illumination, he receives no direct revelation from God. He is inspired, no doubt, in a sense; mastered and carried away by his faith and piety. He bears 'witness of the invisible God, and of the law of justice and mercy in the dealings of Providence.' His predictions are but his own moral intuitions of what may be

* Vol. ii., p. 387.

† Vol. ii., p. 478.

‡ Cf. vol. ii., pp. 398, 436.

expected from the Providence of a just and merciful God; his pictures of the future only reflect the principles and reproduce the scenes which his faith and piety have dwelt upon in the past. Proper foresight or foreknowledge he has not. Such is the rationalistic view of prophecy, borrowed from German sources, which Mr. Jowett holds in common with Mr. Maurice.* Such a theory as this utterly breaks down when it is tested. It makes the Prophets to have been not only their own dupes, but false witnesses to their God; it is plainly inconsistent with the language of Christ and His Apostles; it can never explain the minute fulfilment of the Messianic prophecies, and of many predictions of the fate of nations. If admitted, it involves a denial not only of the inspiration, but of the sober sense, if not, also, of the honesty, of the Apostles. Nay, to us it seems to make our Lord Himself to have been a deceiver, and to involve the denial of His prophetic power. We know no principle on which it can be admitted that our Lord's prophecies were real predictions, and yet the true prophetic inspiration of the Hebrew Seers be denied. In one word, this view involves the rejection of the truth and Divinity both of Christ and the Christian dispensation.

Such views as we have indicated are in strict harmony with the principle which Mr. Jowett has adopted from his German masters, that no man, however 'inspired,' can rise above 'the natural modes of thought and association of his day.'† He even ventures, in a most painful passage, too long to quote,‡ as full of 'confusion of thought,' as, according to him, the writings of St. Paul everywhere are,—and as irreverent as confused,—to more than intimate the same thing as to our Lord Himself. As to the Apostle, he tells us that, being brought up in an Alexandrianized and Rabbinical school, he was not aware of any 'distinction between argument and illustration,' and that such a distinction 'could hardly have been made intelligible to him;' that he was 'not capable of weighing evidence, or distinguishing between the working of the Spirit,'—whatever Mr. Jowett means by that,—'and of his own mind;' that 'want of point,' and the 'unmeaning use of emphatic expressions,' were characteristic of him; that he 'often employs an antithesis of words where there is none of meaning;' that he is in the habit of 'inverting the modes of thought,' and putting cause for effect, and effect for cause; that he was 'unconscious of logical consistency;' and could not even appreciate the distinction between the moral and ceremonial law; *i. e.*, between what he has himself distinguished as *the law of commandments*

* See the Essays on the 'Character of St. Paul,' vol. i., p. 295; the 'Man of Sin;' and the 'Contrasts of Prophecy.'

† Vol. i., p. 285.

‡ Vol. i., pp. 97, 98.

contained in ordinances, and that law of which he has told us that the fulfilment is love.*

In two of his dissertations, 'On the Abstract Ideas of the New Testament,' and 'Of Modes of Time and Place in Scripture,' Mr. Jowett expounds more fully the principles which have guided his conclusions on these points. But are we to believe that because the language of children has few abstract terms, and makes one word answer many senses, concrete, abstract, and derived, therefore no real distinctions subsist in their ideas? Which are we to believe? that language has been shaped and moulded by thought, or that thought has been, from the beginning, absolutely dependent for its shades and distinctions upon language? It would be necessary to maintain the latter alternative, with all the absurdities which it must imply, if we were to suppose, with Mr. Jowett, that the defects of the Alexandrian philosophical language made it impossible for St. Paul to understand distinctions which are implied in the nature of things and in the operations of the mind.† But the second of these Essays is yet more extravagant in what it asserts and implies than the former. It brings in what are called 'mixed modes of time and place' as characteristic of the conceptions of the Apostle. It reduces him to infantile ideas of time and place; makes him lose and confound both past and future in the present, and allows him no larger or truer idea of the world than a country child. Something like this might apply to the case of Bushman or Australian savage, but not to a noble spirit of that nation *whose were the fathers, and of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came*; not to one who could count a long line of ancestry, and belonged to a people whose history gave the annals of a past, stretching backward through many generations of men, and actually numbered the ages, and whose traditions and prophecies looked forward to the end of the world and to the life to come; whose Psalmists had pointed the contrast between the time and flux of human affairs, and the eternity of that God, with whom *a thousand years are as one day, and one day as a thousand years*; not to one of that nation whose Prophets had shown themselves to possess as grand con-

* Jowett, vol. i., pp. 284, 285; vol. ii., p. 190; vol. i., pp. 300, 25, 238; vol. ii., pp. 138, 260, 40; vol. i., p. 160; vol. ii., p. 437.

† It will be remembered that Mr. Jowett represents St. Paul as so trammelled by the modes of thought and speech of his age, that he was unable to conceive the question as to God's causation or permission of evil. Yet, in his introductory remarks to the third chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, referring to the great questions of 'the origin of evil, and the eternal decrees, and the everlasting penalty,' as suggested by the train of thought in that chapter, he speaks of them as 'questions which, in every age, from that of Job and Ecclesiastes, have been more or less clearly seen in various forms, Jewish as well as Christian, as problems of natural or of revealed religion, common alike to the Greeks and to ourselves, and which have revived again and again in the course of human thought.' (Vol. ii., p. 107.) We need not point out how utterly this sentence contradicts very much of Mr. Jowett's writing.

ceptions of the majesty of creation as of the sweep of the ages, had spoken of the earth below as answering in its vastness to the o'er-mantling heavens above, of their God as *weighing the mountains in scales, and the hills in a balance, and taking up the isles as a very little thing*, had beheld in the Spirit the *multitude of the nations gathered together to battle in the day of Jehovah's anger*; not to one of that race whose ancient oracle taught them that in their promised Seed *all nations of the earth were to be blessed*, who had been conversant with the great empires of Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, and Persia, and the later civilization of Greece and Rome, who had long been sown far and wide among the nations of earth; least of all to that Saul of Tarsus, whose mind had been enlarged by foreign travel and intercourse, who was the *Apostle of the nations*, who had preached the word himself from Jerusalem to Illyricum, and from Illyricum to Rome.

Yet Mr. Jowett cannot always be consistent with himself as to these points. Truth ever and anon breaks down his theory. However imperfectly he may do it, he is compelled to concede that Jesus and Paul *were* far in advance of their age. Speaking of the quotations from the Old Testament in the New, he says, 'Such tessellated work was after the manner of the age..... There are few, if any, traces of it in the discourses of our Lord Himself, though it frequently recurs in the comments of the Evangelists.'* This latter fact he offers in proof that such Scripture quotations 'belong to the externals rather than to the true life of the New Testament.' To us it is rather an evidence that our Lord spoke of Himself, out of His own treasure and fulness. But, at any rate, it is a fact inconsistent with his theory, that not only the Apostles, but even our Lord, were limited and conditioned by the modes of thought of their age; or, as he puts it in the very next page, that they necessarily 'adopt the modes of thought and citation of their age.'

But his self-contradiction in the case of St. Paul is very worthy to be noted. He is speaking of Christian writers from the latter half of the second century, as having lost the spirit of St. Paul, and says,—

'His influence for a season seems to vanish from the world.....An echo of a part of his teaching is heard in Augustine; with this exception, the voice of him who withstood Peter to the face at Antioch, was silent in the Church until the Reformation.'—*On St. Paul and the Twelve*, vol. i., pp. 346, 347.

It appears, then, that St. Paul was fifteen hundred years before his age. The age spoke in his opponents; the Holy Ghost—who is of eternity—spoke in him.

* Vol. i., p. 354.

Again, in the following passage our author still more directly stultifies himself, and prostrates his own favourite theory:—

'It is one God who shall justify. (Rom. iii. 30.) Let us turn aside for a moment to consider how great this thought was in that age and country,—a thought which the wisest of men had never before uttered, which even at the present hour we imperfectly realize..... Even to us it is hard to imagine that the islander of the South Seas, the Pariah of India, the African in his worst estate, is equally with ourselves God's creature.' [*This bathos is not the Apostle's, but Mr. Jowett's.*] *'But in the age of St. Paul, how great must have been the difficulty of conceiving Barbarian and Scythian, bond and free, all colours, forms, races, and languages, alike and equal in the presence of God who made them!'*—Vol. ii., p. 126.

And yet, in spite of this amazing superiority, St. Paul was bound down by the modes of thought of his age! Surely, if men were not too ready to be misled into unbelief, the sceptic might be safely left to answer and confute himself.

There are many fine and true things in Mr. Jowett's Dissertations on the 'Conversion of St. Paul' and the 'Character of St. Paul.' But there is also much exaggeration and distortion; and the noble, loving, catholic, human Apostle—who had, no doubt, an eye for the *things which are seen*, and which declare the *eternal power and Godhead* of their Maker—is pictured sadly too like a Middle-Age fanatical saint; as a trembling, palsied, and utterly illiterate enthusiast, with a strange, wild light in his eye, who *never* knew whether he *was in the body or out of it*; who led an ecstatic, half-lost sort of life,—though marvellous sagacity mingled with and regulated all his enthusiasm,—and who was dead to all distinctions of time and to all sense of earth's realities in an overpowering impression of things eternal and invisible, and in anticipation of the coming of the Lord.

Mr. Jowett's views on the subject of 'miracles' are not distinctly brought out. Only, after the example of Coleridge and the Germaus, he depreciates their value as furnishing evidence of the Divine mission of Christ and the Apostles. He throws doubt upon the reality of the appearance of Jesus to Saul, and says that it matters not whether it was a vision or only a subjective impression. He casts in, also, a significant slur upon the testimony by which miracles generally may be supported.*

If we pass over these important matters slightly, it is because they have been well and fully handled by several of our contemporaries. We must now refer to the subject of the Atonement. The part of Mr. Jowett's volumes which directly relates to this grand article of faith is only very small. The Dissertation occupies no more than fourteen pages, out of more than nine

* See vol. i., pp. 231, 232, 292.

hundred in the two volumes. Of course, however, there are a number of indirect or incidental references to the subject in the commentary, as well as several in other dissertations. Yet, on the whole, it is not so much as an attack upon the doctrine of the Atonement that Mr. Jowett's work should be regarded, but rather as a systematic attempt to undermine the foundations of the Christian faith both in God and in the word of God. Without presuming to impute motives, without attempting to speculate upon the pleas which the author might use in self-justification, or the disguise under which his work may appear to his own eyes, we have a right to affirm, upon the evidence adduced, that this is the real character of these volumes. The radical tendency is altogether sceptical: the writer believes in an historical Christ, and in an historical Christianity; he recognises the good faith and general historical accuracy of the books of the New Testament; but he no more believes in doctrinal Christianity than in Judaism. To a certain extent,—to a large extent, no doubt,—he accepts the history of the Old Testament; but he rejects what his critical faculty disapproves, and disallows the supernatural character of the dispensation, whether in law or prophecy. Such being the case, our controversy with Mr. Jowett is far broader, as well as more fundamental, than if his views merely affected the evangelical doctrine of a vicarious atonement for the sins of men, vital as this doctrine is.

We feel bound, moreover, to say that, as an opponent of the doctrine of the Atonement, Mr. Jowett is by no means so virulent or unfair as many of the writers with whom he may be classed. After becoming familiar with the violent caricature and invective of Maurice and Kingsley, who, on this subject, can scarcely be exceeded by Theodore Parker himself, Mr. Jowett's remarks seem almost mild and candid. At the same time, however, he shows a more complete disregard for the authority of Scripture upon this subject, whether of the Old or New Testament, than any of the Neo-Platonist school. The truth is, he is too able an interpreter of the letter of the New Testament not to see that this is in favour of the evangelical sense, and too far gone a rationalist to be much affected by his knowledge of this fact. He therefore admits the plain meaning of the scriptural testimony, and, at the same time, explains away its authority. In this respect he is only an instance of what will be found commonly true,—that rationalistic interpreters of Scripture, such as Gesenius and Winer, are far more to be trusted as merely exegetical critics than those whose philosophy refuses to accept Christian doctrines, and yet whose respect for the authority of Scripture, or whose position as Christian teachers, constrains them to force Scripture into conformity with their philosophy. Mr. Jowett has far more absolutely than Mr. Kingsley, or his critic Mr. Davies, cast off the authority of

Scripture; but he is often far more correct, and far nearer the evangelical sense, in his interpretation of Scripture.

We presume it is because of Mr. Jowett's reputation as a student and a critic, and of the position which he occupies at Oxford as Professor and Tutor, that his attack upon the orthodox doctrine of Atonement, though comparatively incidental, and occupying so little space among the various and profound discussions contained in his volumes, has excited so much attention, and been met by an array of replies which the reiterated misrepresentation and invective of other eminent Clergymen, though persevered in for a series of years, had not called forth.*

Mr. Jowett's objections against the orthodox doctrine of the Atonement are, briefly, that this doctrine 'interposes a painful fiction between God and man,' and that it is opposed to the 'moral sense' of mankind. The doctrine is 'painful,' as implying God's inability to pardon without atonement; and in this it is opposed to our 'moral sense.' It is a 'fiction,' as 'involving a moral illusion;' and in this respect, also, it is opposed to the 'moral sense.'

Mr. Jowett objects to the doctrine, because it assumes that God cannot, merely on condition of repentance, forgive all sin and every sinner; because it implies that justice has its demands, no less than mercy,—that breach of law requires to be marked by Divine displeasure, and that mere penitence is no atonement. All which Mr. Jowett supposes to be contrary to our 'moral sense.' But, if by 'moral sense' he means *conscience*, we cannot take his word for this. We know not what the cultured 'moral sense' of semi-Pantheist philosophers may teach them; but we know what our own conscience, and what the conscience of mankind at large, teaches, and always has taught. Conscience, by its sting and its foreboding, teaches us that sin deserves punishment, and that our Maker and Ruler is a Judge, who will call us to account for our transgressions. Our instant indignation when we hear of wrong and outrage, and the universal sentiment which rises up within us, that such wrong and outrage call for condign punishment, that violated law and righteousness require to be vindicated, impress the same lesson. Do we not all feel that there are sins committed against society for which no repentance can atone, but which must be visited by severe and signal punishment? Witness the comments of almost the entire press of this country, on occasion of the frauds and forgeries of the late eminent city bankers, and of the Rugeley murders.

No; the principle which makes atonement necessary is *not* opposed to the conscience and the moral sense. These have ever been in its favour, as the language of mankind, the laws of

* Sermons preached before the University of Oxford.

all nations, and the rites of sacrifice testify. But it is opposed to a certain philosophical theory. It is not the instinctive judgment of the heart, but the inferences of a speculative reason, which oppose the principle of punishment for sin. We are told that men can freely pardon, and why not God? that mercy in men is counted more blessed, the more freely and largely it forgives, and that God must be more merciful than man; that 'God is the Father of the spirits of all flesh,' and must be infinitely willing to forgive every penitent sinner, without any other atonement than his repentance. But is not God a Ruler, as well as a Father? the Ruler not only of earth, but of heaven,—not only of this world, but of other worlds? We are often told, by our transcendental illuminati, that we argue from shallow earthly analogies to incommensurable spiritual realities; that from mere 'conceptions' of the practical and logical 'understanding,' we draw unwarranted conclusions in regard to 'ideas' which lie within the province of the intuitive reason. Our reply is, that if we are compelled to argue, we can only argue thus. If we try to conceive Divine things, it must be by the help of earthly analogies. They are to be blamed for this, who themselves deny the truths of what they call 'the higher reason,' i. e., of man's conscience and universal instincts, and perplex the present question with cavils of the understanding; who reject the distinct testimony of God's word, and lose themselves in the mazes of their own philosophy. But, besides this, we return them the objection with interest. We confess that all earthly analogies applied to Divine things must be superficial and defective, and must be used cautiously and subordinately, to illustrate rather than to demonstrate, or by way of defence against objections rather than to establish positive principles. But the analogies on which the opponents of the evangelical doctrine depend are not merely superficial; they most manifestly fail, in reference to the very point they are alleged to prove. They fail, just where they ought to be exact, and so they become positively false. It is so in the present instance. We are told that God is a Father. This is not denied by us; but we ask, Is He not also, and perhaps even more characteristically, a Moral Governor,—the Moral Governor of all creatures, and all worlds? As such, is it not necessary that He should uphold and enforce law? The question is not whether He could 'freely forgive a debt' owing merely to Himself. The transcendentalist philosophers are the only ones whose appeals to analogy imply so low and contracted a conception of the Divine Governor. Our God has to rule for the interests of all His creatures; the object of His government must be to enforce righteousness upon all His creatures in their dealings with each other. It is necessary in order to this, as well as right in itself, that His law should be implicitly obeyed.

Nor is it true that, in all cases, a man may freely forgive a debt owing to himself. Public interests may demand that the offender be punished. It is not even true that a father can always freely forgive a penitent child. Penitence comes easily and far too often to some children. Repeated or glaring offences may require that a father, even though fully convinced of the sincere repentance of his child, and yearning strongly in heart towards him, yet, for the sake of example and warning to others, should mark the offence by some decisive token of his displeasure.

Men, so far as experience in this world teaches, are only to be governed on the large scale by means of rewards and punishments. These may take different forms, may be administered wisely or foolishly, may tend to engender a slavish spirit, or a spirit of free and cordial obedience, to beget selfishness, or to promote generosity and enlargement of spirit. But let them be disguised ever so subtly, or let them be employed ever so wisely, it will be found that the motives of reward and punishment have to be employed, cannot but be employed, in influencing and training human beings from the cradle to the grave. The very men who declaim so strongly and so continually against the selfishness of such motives when applied to religious concerns, find themselves constrained to use them in training their own children. Nay, they admit the principle when they proclaim that virtue is its own reward, and vice its own punishment. They honour the principle when they declare that God is the Author and Vindicator of law, and will not suffer His own ordinances to be violated without entailing upon such violation its appropriate punishment. In society, in civil and political life, the same motives, though seldom distinctly recognised, are always operating; and without them all things would either languish and stagnate into a dreary immobility and death, or reel and fall asunder into a universal chaos. And in the governments of this world, we need not say, rewards and punishments are the avowed and only weights and impulses brought to bear upon the community.

What then? Has our Divine Ruler nothing to do with us, nothing to make of us? Has He no ends to be accomplished beyond those of time and this world? Is there no future in which we are to be nearer Him, and for which He would train us here? Does He, our Creator, He, the Eternal Father, waive all claims upon our immortality? Will He never enter into relations with us, His children, closer and more personal than connect us with Him here? Has He abdicated to the governments of earth, and the influences of time, all authority and power over us? And, as to the future,—that which passes beyond the horizon of our present sphere,—is it to be as it may chance, a matter of so little concern to us, and so utterly beneath His care, that He will utter no law looking forward to

it, make known no sanctions, bring to bear upon us no influences specifically related to it, arrange no system of motives and inducements adapted to prepare and train for it?

But, if God is indeed to influence and govern us for Himself and for the future,—if He does not merely leave time and this world to mould and rule us as they may,—it is manifest that He can only deal with us as we are. It matters not whether the future for which we are to act and live lie in this world or another, we are still the same. The mere mention of the unseen develops no new faculties which make us independent of ordinary motives, and cause us to act rightly from pure love and right principle. No: rewards and punishments must be used by the Divine Father, no less than by earthly parents, if it is His purpose, as we believe it to be, to train us for Himself and for the eternal future from our very infancy; they must be used by the Divine Governor, no less than by earthly governments, if He would have His law to be consciously obeyed, and His will to be done, *on earth as it is in heaven*. Children have to be taught and trained to obey and hope in God above; careless men have to be raised from their carelessness, and brought to feel their relationship to Him and to eternity; bad men have to be deterred from perseverance in evil, and to be 'awakened' to their need of repentance and a changed heart; good men have to be cheered in trouble and suffering, and to be sustained and inspired in the hour of peril or persecution:—and how can all this be accomplished except by means of rewards and punishments determinable by spiritual acts and conditions?

Let the principles implied by the objections of such writers as Jowett, Maurice, and Kingsley, be pushed to their conclusions, and what will be the result? Let all men be told, in Mr. Jowett's words, that 'God cannot be angry with any,' and that whatever may have been a man's sins, if he will but repent, there is no hindrance to God's freely forgiving him all, without the infliction of any punishment whatever, and without the need of any atonement or intercession. What would be the effect of such a proclamation? Would it make sin appear *exceeding sinful*? Would it enhance our idea of the holiness of God? Would it not make sin appear a light and trivial thing, tolerated too easily by a 'good-natured' God, to be held as of much account by man? Well may Mr. Arthur say, 'Right in our governments is the imperfect reflection of a perfect right. Had the favour of the Almighty crossed the line which divides innocence from guilt, and smiled upon the latter, that smile would have been a scathing flash, wherein all morals would have blackened.'*

The theology which now objects to evangelical orthodoxy points to the conclusion that sin is to be marked with no brand,

* 'The Tongue of Fire,' p. 18.

—that there is to be nothing to show its curse and evil. We may, indeed, be referred to the punishment of a man's own conscience. But, on this theory, the testimony of conscience in its remorse and foreboding is false, and has no reality in God or the future answering to it. We may be told that sin does, in fact, bring its penal consequences after it. But to say this is to give up the principle of our opponents, and to concede that for which we contend. Moreover, what is the punishment which, in this world, follows sin, and who are they that suffer it? 'The sins of the fathers are visited upon the children.' We believe in this, and believe this to be a part of the punishment of sin. But it will not do for our opponents to adduce it. This is the very principle which Mr. Jowett dares to say was disowned by the later Prophets of the Jewish people, which he evidently supposes to have been a part of the heathenish immorality of the Mosaic law. If this principle is admitted, the doctrine of imputation, of mediatorial curse and blessing, is, in fact, allowed, and the way is made ready for believing both man's fall in Adam and his atonement by Christ. There is nothing which Messrs. Maurice and Kingsley are more eloquent in asserting than that the sins of a nation are visited upon it, that it has a national responsibility, and will have a national reward or punishment. This is, no doubt, true. But, as we have just implied, it concedes too much for our opponents; and yet it falls far short of what the case requires. It concedes too much, for it admits that sin deserves the mark and brand of punishment, which a tardy repentance may not be able to avert; it moreover concedes the principle of imputed guilt. But it falls far short of the requirements of the case. The evil-doers are not so often the sufferers in these cases as those who come after them. They who personally suffer are not those who were personally guilty; and for this great and glaring inequality no compensation is provided in a life to come.*

From such considerations as have now been adduced, we conclude that the principles of government in general, and in parti-

* 'Conceive—what may really take place—the opulent proprietor of the slave-ship enjoying, in some delicious clime, all the luxuries which the world can afford. These luxuries are purchased by the cruellest agonies, bodily and mental, of thousands of his fellow-creatures, and the utmost moral debasement of the agents whom he must needs employ in the perpetration of this foul villany. Where is the punishment, in this world, of such atrocity? The reproaches of his conscience? His conscience indeed! Such are the reproaches of the epicure's conscience for the lamb on which he has dined. But, then, there is the hatred of his fellow-men. Whose hatred? that of the persons around him? He is courted, applauded, perhaps sincerely loved by them. If a man behaves well to his *class*, he may, for them, behave as he pleases to others. Whose hatred then? An assemblage of philanthropists at Exeter Hall, for whom he cares nothing, of whom, perhaps, he never heard. Yet this man, by observing the physical and organic laws, may preserve himself in ease, and health, and comfort: by the exercise of a judicious personal moderation, he may extract the last sip of enjoyment from every source which the world can supply.'—*Edinburgh Review*, January, 1842. Art. *Phrenological Ethics*.

cular that the purposes of the Divine government of mankind, as responsible and immortal spirits, make it necessary that punishment should be annexed to sin, that such punishment should have respect to *the life to come* as well as to that *which now is*, and that mere repentance should not be considered as an atonement for guilt, or the sufficient condition of pardon.

We have hitherto argued upon the implication, that all which the opponents of the Scripture doctrine of guilt and punishment contend for is that the *penitent* sinner must be forgiven. But, in fact, they must be prepared to press their point farther than this. They assume, in all their reasonings, that the only end of punishment is reformation. The mere vindication of the law of holiness they will not allow to be a proper end of punishment, but revile it as 'revenge.' What, then, we ask, is to be done with the finally impenitent sinner? That such there may be, who will be so hardy as to deny? Who that knows the human heart, that has observed how some men ever turn grace into wantonness,—who that has meditated upon what is implied in the mysterious feeling (or 'idea') of personality and responsibility,—will deny that men may be, and probably will be,—on whatever theory of probation, after whatever length of trial,—still wilful, rebellious, impenitent? The common judgment of mankind affirms that this may and will be so. What, then, is to be done, we ask again, with the finally impenitent? On the assumption that the object of punishment is only the amendment of the offender, it must follow that those who are past amendment are also past punishment. This is the logical result of the view we oppose; it is also its obvious result. It is a result which all will at once perceive and understand. And what must be the effect of such a view upon the hardened sinner? Must it not embolden him in his iniquity, and stimulate him to more daring impiety? It amounts to this, that a sinner perfectly hardened and impenetrable, whose will is lifted up against the all-holy Governor in invincible defiance, has, in fact, purchased his impunity by his impiety, and may roam freely all realms of the universe, 'a gentleman at large,' enfranchised from law, from fear, and from obedience to God. Such is, in effect, the new moral law which is set up by such writers as Messrs. Jowett and Maurice.

But the object of threatened punishment is not merely, of even in the first place, to amend. It is rather to deter. He who makes a law, and enforces it by the sanction of a threatened punishment, does this with the purpose that the fear of punishment may prevent the transgression of law. Is it not so in a family, in a school, and in the commonwealth? We cannot, therefore, but assume that it is so in the case of the Divine law. How utterly the code of law, which would be sanctioned by our modern anti-evangelical philosophers, would fail in *detering* men

from evil, the remarks made above will show. We now add, that the view of Divine law and of punishment which they teach is equally ill adapted to bring about the *reformation* of any offender. *Both* the ends of punishment must fail, on their scheme.

He can know but little of human nature who supposes that a hardened offender is likely to be brought to consideration and repentance by being told that God will only punish in order to amend, and that, as soon as ever he repents, he may be sure of being received into the Divine favour. The feeling of the rebellious heart, on hearing such an announcement, will be likely to be, 'If God is so easy about my rebellion, why should I be much concerned? If at any stage of the affair He is ready to forgive, what matters it how late I postpone my repentance?' A person already penitent might be deeply melted by the consideration of God's wonderful long-suffering and readiness to forgive; but moral considerations of this kind are likely to be ineffectual upon the hardened sinner just in proportion to his hardness, and therefore in proportion to his need of repentance. The truth is, that only the doctrine which is fitted to *deter*, is likely to *reform*. The *first* step towards a hardened sinner's reformation must be to 'awaken' him to a sense of the guilt, by showing him the danger of his state. The measure of God's anger will be to him also the measure of his sin's demerit; the degree of his own threatened punishment and present peril will be the measure of them both. A sinner and rebel must not be appealed to, in the first instance, by considerations of righteousness and gratitude, but by selfish considerations of personal advantage or risk. The same kind of motives must operate upon such a man in reference to spiritual as in reference to worldly things. And this must be the case precisely in proportion to his need of reformation and repentance.

So much for 'the law' of our modern Rationalists; the case is not improved if we look at their 'gospel.' All, yes, literally all, that Mr. Jowett's gospel has to tell the sinner is, 'that Christ performed the greatest moral act that was ever done in this world.'* But *what* is this to tell the sinner? Will it convince him of his sin, and bring him to repentance, and assure him of God's favour? Will not his reply to any such announcement be, 'But what is this to me? What has that act to do with my case? How does it make me worse or better? There have been many great acts performed,—if not so great as this,—but what has this any more than those to do with me? How is it to make me fear or hope? Why should I repent? How am I to be changed and made holy, by being told of this?'

To all these questions Mr. Jowett's gospel is dumb. Christ's

death and life, according to him, are but the example and reflection of God's love to man. They have no force to change man's position towards God, or to awaken man's sense of guilt and transgression.

But what Mr. Jowett's gospel has no voice to utter, the old-fashioned Evangel speaks; what his doctrine has no power to accomplish, that the doctrine of a vicarious atonement for sin can effect. This doctrine is founded upon the principle that sin, as such, deserves the brand and punishment of God. At the same time, however, it provides that the timely penitent shall not be ultimately punished. But it does this without abrogating or obscuring the great principle before stated. It provides an adequate atonement in Christ. The law is no less 'magnified and made honourable' by this atonement, than if it had been vindicated by the marked and public punishment of the sinner. Nay, the law is more signally and impressively honoured by the Atonement. This doctrine, full of mercy as it is, deprives the law of no part of its power to deter and to awaken. Against the finally impenitent the terrors of the law are aggravated. The very doctrine of Christ's atonement tends to enhance those terrors. If we read, *It pleased the Lord to bruise Him; He hath put Him to grief*, how immediate and how awful is the inference! 'He that spared not His own Son, how shall He spare the finally impenitent? If His anger against sin were so real and earnest, that He did not withhold His hand from bruising Him, how will His just indignation bruise me!' These are the terrors of the Gospel. And this power of the Gospel to deter is the measure of its power to awaken and to bring sinners to take the first step to repentance. *Knowing the terrors of the Lord*, says the Apostle, *we persuade men*. 'The Law,' in this sense,—the Law living and magnified in the Gospel,—is still 'the schoolmaster to bring men to Christ.'

If the Gospel doctrine is thus fitted to deter and to awaken, need we add that it is indeed most eminently fitted to subdue and to melt into genuine repentance? How does *our* view enhance the love of the Father in sending His Son, and that of the Son in coming to redeem us! What an infinite emphasis of meaning does the evangelical doctrine put into the fifty-first chapter of Isaiah, which Mr. Jowett's interpretation would make to be mere inflated and delusive rhetoric! And what tenderness into such expressions as, *I have a baptism to be baptized with, and how am I straitened until it be accomplished*,—*The Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give His life a ransom for many!* How much fuller and more impressive a text according to our doctrine, than according to Mr. Jowett's, is that of St. Paul! *God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them.*

But, Mr. Jowett tells us, this doctrine involves a 'fiction,' 'a

moral illusion.' Let us inquire what this means. Where is the 'fiction' in the case? where the 'illusion?' We take up and echo Mr. Jowett's own question, 'Was the spectacle real which was presented before God and the angels on Mount Calvary?' We answer, *Yes*; every article in *our* doctrine of atonement cries aloud, *Yes*. It is such a doctrine as Mr. Jowett's which says, *No*; which gives the lie to the utterances of Psalmists and Prophets, to the plain statements of our Lord Himself in reference to His death; which deprives the 'greatest act that was ever done in this world' of all its emphasis, and makes it to be no longer an act, but a mere sufferance; which empties the dying words of our Lord of their meaning, and denies the virtue of the sacrificial blood. We maintain that the act was real, and that its efficacy is real. Where, then, is the 'illusion'—'physical' or 'moral'—in this case?

Mr. Jowett probably means to say that the doctrine represents God as acting upon a legal fiction. But our reply to this is, that the principle on which we represent—on which the scriptural doctrine of Atonement represents—God as acting in this great cause, is one which runs through every department of His providential government. It is no fiction that God acts upon the principle of mediatorial blessing and curse. It is not for us to question this principle of the Divine procedure, not for us to cavil at it and call it by an evil name, but to accept it and to act upon it. All creatures are to each other mutually sources of good or of evil. We are blessed in and for one, and cursed in and for another; and yet the personal responsibility of each remains, and strict justice is rendered to all. *The sins of the fathers are visited upon the children*; and yet *God's ways are equal*; the son does not perish *for the iniquity of his father*, but if he does *that which is lawful and right, and keeps God's statutes, he shall surely live*.

To deny this principle of mediation is to abate man's responsibility to a mere thing of nought, to cut off every man from his fellows, and, by extinguishing nearly every motive to prayer, to cut him off also from his God. It is upon this principle we ourselves act in all our dealings; and mediation and intercession are facts and realities of our every-day life in our families. They are the warp to the web of life. How can we wonder, then, if God, our Great Father, acts upon them? if Christ, our Elder Brother, should appear as Intercessor on behalf of the family?

As to this principle of mediation,—the very principle on which the doctrine of Christ's vicarious atonement rests,—the arguments of Butler are, in our judgment, unanswerable. Dr. Harris has not only shown himself to be a worthy disciple of Butler, but to be entitled to speak, on his own account, as a philosopher of well-won authority, and with powers both of synthetic and analytic reasoning equal to his gift of eloquence. We are

happy to illustrate our present position by the following quotation from his pages :—

‘ By a single act of transgression the child may incur the forfeiture of the parental roof, and entail worse than disgrace on those who descend from him. The poverty of the prodigal is the poverty of his children. The intemperate and licentious, sometimes by a single act, entails disease on his offspring, and renders his descendants loathsome for some generations to come. An evil once incurred, on travel its effects in unbroken series to a distant futurity. The family constitution is so compacted, and society so organized, that actions never terminate in themselves, and their influence propagates itself for evil or for good for ever. That the influence and effects of the good should be thus perpetuated, is seldom, perhaps never, objected to ; and yet, as it takes place in virtue of the same general laws which account for the similar diffusion of evil, the one cannot be consistently objected to, without objecting to the other also.

‘ And this brings us to another most important point of analogy between one of the aspects of the moral government of God in its opening stage, and the family government,—we refer to the principle of mediation. In the first promise, and in the institution of sacrifice, the Divine Being was saying, in effect, that the consequences of man’s transgression should, in some way, be remedied by means of the conflict and sufferings of another. Now all pre-existing nature was already in analogy with such an arrangement. All its processes and operations in the family, as far as they came under man’s observation, were to be conducted by *means*. The child comes to the enjoyment of life through the pain and travail of another. From early perils and death he is saved by the self-sacrificing watchfulness of the mother. The patient toil of the father is the price paid to save him from ignorance and want. But the evil from which man was to be saved was the consequence of transgression. From similar evil the child is saved in the family, *by means of others*. He may, indeed, do much himself towards remedying certain kinds of evil. But the evil may be of a nature to incapacitate him from helping himself ; and to be parallel with the evil in question, it is of such an evil only that we are supposed to speak. Now the occurrence of such an event brings to light an antecedent remedial provision. The tears of the mother, or the efforts of the father, save him from the effects of his voluntary misconduct. Or, it may be, that the tender and earnest intercessions of the mother save him from the just infliction of the paternal displeasure ; and, still further, it may be that the maternal intercession is both the means of bringing the son to repentance, and is the ground on which the father sees reason to extend that forgiveness which he would not otherwise have conceded even to that repentance itself. Be that as it may, the child is pardoned and improved, and that by means of the self-denial and suffering of others ; for even the compassion which prompted the remedial effort includes in itself an element of suffering. We do not say that this is all that mediation includes.’—*Patriarchy*, pp. 409–411.

To complain, therefore, of the evangelical doctrine as implying a ‘fiction,’ a ‘moral illusion,’ is altogether unwarranted.

Such an objection is aimed not so properly against this doctrine of Christ crucified, as against the principles of the Divine Government; and as aimed against these, it recoils upon him who hurled it. There is no contending against facts. Curious quibbles as to principles and methods of government will not meet the case of him who asks, *What must I do to be saved?* The question is, What does the Most High require? It is not, How should He act according to our philosophy? but, How *does* He act? The answer is, He acts on the principle of mediation, whether men like it or not; and in most precise agreement with this principle, as the grandest exemplification of it, He saves sinners by the sacrificial death of Christ.

Nor is it in the least degree true that the 'moral sense' of men revolts against this procedure. On the contrary, as we have seen, men continually act upon the same principle in their families. And classic story tells us of one most remarkable instance in which precisely the same principle was acted upon by an earthly King of the highest and purest equity in the case of his own son's transgression. When Mr. Jowett, in the days of his youth, first read the affecting story of Zaleucus, the King of the Locrians, and his son, we venture to affirm, that his then unsophisticated 'moral sense' found no 'fiction' or 'moral illusion' in it,—that, instead of revolting, it admired. The ends of justice in that case were accomplished, and yet the offender spared; but how? By the mediatorial suffering of the righteous King for the offending son. And all who beheld admired and approved the deed of atoning love.

Indeed, no assertion can well be more at variance with fact, than to say that our moral sense revolts against the doctrine of Christ's vicarious atonement. The sacrifices of all nations—the principles implied in the universal institute of sacrifice—are trumpet-tongued to proclaim the contrary. Mr. Jowett says, that these 'are the dim, vague, rude, almost barbarous expression of that want in human nature, which has received satisfaction in Him only.*' That want was atonement,—reconciliation to God. The symbolical language in which it was uttered, expressed the sense of man's own guilt and liability to punishment; it expressed also his dim apprehension that deliverance from his guilt was to be obtained through the offering of a substituted victim. 'Nothing,' says Madame de Staël, 'can obliterate from the soul the idea, that there is a mysterious efficacy in the blood of the innocent, and that heaven and earth are moved by it. There are some primitive ideas which re-appear, with more or less disfigurement, in all times and among all nations. These are the ideas upon which we cannot grow weary of reflecting; for they assuredly preserve some traces of the lost dignities of our nature.'

It appears, then, that it is not 'our moral sense,' the moral sense of mankind in general, but *their* 'moral sense'—that of a few philosophical illuminati—which revolts against the doctrine of a vicarious atonement. It is not even the 'moral sense' of the cultivated classes which here decides against the instincts of the uneducated multitude. For it cannot be denied that most of the noblest and the profoundest minds of every age,—such as Howe and Milton, Barrow and Taylor, Newton and Pascal, Berkeley and Butler, Robert Hall and Thomas Chalmers, Isaac Taylor and Henry Rogers,—have received, in lowliness of spirit, this humbling and awful, but hopeful and glorious, doctrine. Far less is it the 'moral sense' of the 'excellent of the earth,' which here rejects the bias and prejudice of an all but universal selfishness of spirit. The good and pious, the great benefactors of the race, the originators and sustainers of all benevolent enterprise and activity, have, almost to a man, been devout and grateful believers in that doctrine of 'Christ crucified,' which has ever been *to the Jew a stumbling-block, and to the Greek foolishness; but to them which are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God and the wisdom of God.*

If the 'moral sense' of nearly all men is to be considered a decisive authority in reference to the doctrines of Scripture, then is the doctrine of vicarious atonement established by this authority. If not, (as we rather hold,) then whither must we go for instruction but to the word of God? 'Moral sense,' on this point, is either against our philosophers, or, at best, its testimony is uncertain and contradictory. We must be content, therefore, either to submit our doubts and differences to the arbitration of Scripture, or to remain without light or hope on this most important of questions. For our own part, we have made up our minds to follow Scripture guidance wherever we can distinctly trace it, assured that this must be our only pilotage across the dark waters of human perplexity. And there is a wisdom, a depth, a piercing power, a humble, yet unfaltering, firmness and assurance, a profound, though inartificial and (in a sense) unconscious, harmony, about the Scripture revelations as to sin and guilt, pardon and holiness, heaven and hell;—so wonderful, when we consider what manner of men, in outward seeming and circumstances, the writers were;—so strangely contrasting with the utterances of all besides themselves who lived when they did; and, we may also add, contrasting not less remarkably with the wavering and inconsistency of their modern Spiritualist and semi-Pantheist critics;—that we cannot doubt whether God spake in and by them, giving them clear, profound, far-reaching revelations of 'hidden wisdom,' opening for them illumined clefts into the gulfs of the unseen and the eternal, and thus lifting the spirit far above the level of ordinary and uninspired humanity.

We need not to argue the point with Mr. Jowett as to whether Scripture teaches the doctrine which he denies. He says, very frankly and explicitly, in reference to the Old-Testament teaching,—

‘To state this view of the doctrine at length, is but to translate the New Testament into the language of the Old.’—Page 470.

Our readers are of course aware, that with him the Old Testament is no authority upon this point. But we trust it is with them. Not less distinctly does he imply that the language of the New Testament strictly interpreted teaches the same doctrine as the Old.

‘Ideas must be given through something; those of a new religion ever clothe themselves in the old.....All history combines to strengthen the illusion; the institution of sacrifice is regarded as a part of a Divine design in the education of the world.’—Page 475.

‘The Apostles were Jews;.....they could not lay aside their first nature, or divest themselves at once of Jewish modes of expression. Sacrifice and atonement were leading ideas of the Jewish dispensation; without shedding of blood there was no remission.....It was natural for them to think of Christ as a “sacrifice” and “atonement” for sin,’ &c.—*Ibid.*

In short, it was a mere affair of the association of ideas. The Apostles hung the new to the old; there was more than they could understand in either; ‘and they interpreted the one by the other.’ (Page 476.) Such is Mr. Jowett’s explanation of the case; and this grossly naturalistic and very irreverent explanation may throw light upon his views of apostolic inspiration. St. Paul had really no doctrine upon the subject, no principles, no clear ideas. He turned his experience into rhetoric, and our evangelical theology is just this ‘rhetoric turned logic.’ His experience, however, *was* real; and this experience being associated with faith and love toward Jesus, he somehow came to regard Christ as his Sacrifice, and himself as identified with Jesus Christ.

But it is just at these last stages that this naturalistic explanation most glaringly breaks down. *How* came St. Paul to consider himself and every ‘Christian as one with Christ, living with Him, suffering with Him, dying with Him, crucified with Him, buried with Him, rising again with Him, renewed in His image, glorified together with Him?’ (Page 480.) Mere association of ideas is utterly inadequate to account for such an association and identification of persons as this.

There is one of the sacred Epistles which deals expressly and at large with this point, and explains too formally and distinctly to leave much room for cavil on what principle the Christian comes to be identified with Christ; we refer to the Epistle to the Hebrews. But Mr. Jowett will not allow this Epistle to be St. Paul’s, and repeatedly throws out slurs upon its character

and authority. He evidently regards it as a piece of Alexandrian speculative philosophy, resulting out of a determination to reconcile Christianity with Judaism. He cannot consistently admit its truth or authority, because it proceeds upon the assumption, which his principles negative, that the Jewish sacrifices were ordained of God. And he tells us that 'from this source, and not from the Epistles of St. Paul, the language' of evangelical theology 'has passed into the theology of modern times.' (Page 476.)

We need not vindicate against a writer of Mr. Jowett's principles the canonical authority of the beautiful Epistle to the Hebrews. But we should be willing, for the sake of argument, to confine ourselves to what Mr. Jowett acknowledges as St. Paul's own Epistles, and we would undertake easily to show that the language of these Epistles is as full and express upon this point as that of the Epistle to the Hebrews. The doctrine which lies at the foundation of all St. Paul's theology, and is implied in every phrase, is that sinners are reconciled unto God in the person, and through the life and death, of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, as their Mediator, Sacrifice, and Substitute. Let this be recognised, and all becomes clear and consistent. Let it be denied, and the Apostle's writings must be full of 'confusions.' This doctrine is taught in plain and express terms, it is implied in continual turns and allusions, it is made the motive of every duty, it is represented as the door opening into every privilege. It is not the garnish of high-flown rhetoric, but the principle which gives impulse to every act and form to every thought. It is St. Paul who says, *God hath made Him to be sin for us, who knew no sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God through Him; Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the Law, being made a curse for us; Christ, our Passover, is sacrificed for us; As many as were baptized into Jesus Christ, were baptized into [a participation of] His death. . . . Now he that has died, has been justified from his sin. If then we have died with Christ, we believe that we shall also live with Him, &c.* ; (Rom. vi. 1, 7, 8;) *If one died for all, then (ἀπα, in effect) did the all die,* (2 Cor. v. 14,) 'that is,' as Dr. Pye Smith well says, 'upon the constitution of mediatorial grace, and relatively to the great ends of law.' It is just in the same strain that St. Peter says, in his First Epistle, *Christ hath once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust, that He might bring us to God.*

In his note upon Rom. iv. 25, Mr. Jowett tells us that we might transpose the Apostle's words, and say that our Lord was delivered for our justification and raised again for our offences, without any injury to his sense. Similar remarks he would apply to Rom. v. 10, 11, and other such passages. In regard to all such he is pleased to inform us that 'there is an antithesis of

words, where there is no antithesis of meaning.' If, however, he would but give the Apostle credit for knowing his own meaning,—if he would be less confident of his own intuition, and more reverent in the presence of the inspired Apostle,—he would not utter such rash and presumptuous sentences. In all the cases to which he refers, the order of the Apostle's words indicates his meaning, and strictly agrees with the principles which we have stated. The death of Christ *was* for our sins, in a peculiar sense, as His resurrection was not; and the resurrection of Christ for our justification, in a peculiar sense, as His death was not. So, again, we were, in a special and pre-eminent sense, *reconciled to God by the death of His Son*; and now, being thus reconciled, we look for blessing and salvation *through His life*; (Rom v. 10, 11;) for *He ever liveth to make intercession for us*.*

But here we must stop, though many points yet press upon us for observation. We cannot examine Mr. Jowett's views as to conversion, justification, and regeneration, which, notwithstanding the freshness and spiritual savour of many passages, his theory seems to make merely natural and, to a great extent, illusive phenomena, though, at the same time, peculiar and delightful. We cannot investigate his views in their relation to the question of 'inspiration,' on which he directly says not one word. Our readers may, however, form their own judgment from what they have already learned. Perhaps a hint of his opinions on this subject may be gathered from his description of 'revelation,' which he compares, as a spiritual state, to the abnormal condition of the body in 'catalepsy.' Here the cloven foot of Naturalism comes out again. We suppose we are doing no injustice to him in believing that his views upon this point very nearly coincide with those of the 'Rev. John Macnaught, Incumbent of St. Chrysostom's Church, Everton, Liverpool,' who seems (pp. 2, 8) to be a disciple of the Maurice school; and

* We have not thought it necessary to refer to Mr. J. M. Campbell's work on Atonement, in connexion with the discussion in the text. He is not to be classed with Mr. Jowett or Mr. Maurice. He by no means denies the vicarious character of Christ, as Mediator between God and man. On the contrary, he teaches that Jesus Christ, as the second Head and Representative of the human family, so took upon Himself the burden of our sins, as to confess them, on behalf of the race, to His Father with sorrow and agony of spirit,—such sorrow and agony as only the God-Man, who could see the true evil, extent, and reach of the world's sin, was capable of feeling,—such sorrow and agony as wrung the bloody sweat from Him in Gethsemane, and broke His heart on Calvary. But he denies the *penal* character of these sufferings. Many good and true things are said in his book; some truths are insisted upon which have been generally overlooked. But his explanation fails to satisfy the force of our Lord's words in anticipation of and during His sufferings, or of many strong and striking passages in the Epistles. Moreover, by making the great High Priest's intercessory feelings and confession to be His sacrifice, he, in effect, leaves Him without an offering to present. We may say here that the most comprehensive and least exceptionable *résumé* of this whole question of sacrifice that has recently been published, may be found in the little volume on the subject by Mr. Newman Hall.

who certainly is, in that case, the most arrogant, irreverent, and advanced disciple of the school whom it has been our fortune to encounter. He tells us plainly, 'Milton, and Shakspeare, and Bacon, and Canticles, and the Apocalypse, and the Sermon on the Mount, and the eighth chapter to the Romans, are, in our estimation, all inspired.' (Page 192.) And again, that 'inspiration signifies that action of the Divine Spirit by which, apart from any idea of infallibility, all that is good in man, beast, or matter is originated and sustained.' (Page 196.)

A shallow piece of smartness like Mr. Macnaught's book excites only indignation tempered by deep scorn. In reading Mr. Jowett we tremble to see of how fine and powerful a spirit the dark, unhappy demon of pantheistic scepticism has taken possession. We tremble, and we pray that we and all we love may be kept from that bottomless pit of unrest into which he has fallen. We are moved more by pity than by indignation, fearful and impious as is the meaning of much which he writes. He regards Christianity as a force which has spent itself; he pictures its better life, and its ancient power, with much eloquence and beauty, though his picture is often one-sided and exaggerated; and then, with a 'melancholy undertone,' as Mr. Davies says, 'of conscious despondency,' which makes itself felt beneath all 'the strange calmness of the book,' he describes the contrast presented to all this in modern Christian society, (so called,) in the Christianized world of modern England, and seems to think that the primitive and apostolic power and spirit are 'clean gone for evermore.' But surely the days of Wesley and Whitefield are not so far gone by. The conquests of the Gospel among heathen tribes still attest that its power is *not* spent. Nay, so long as such men as the late Hedley Vicars are to be found in Britain, and such books as the 'Tongue of Fire' are written, we cannot accept Mr. Jowett's picture as just, far less consent to the inglorious compromise which he suggests. We may add, too, here, that the case of Hedley Vicars shows how false is the representation which Mr. Jowett often gives of a fervent Christianity as necessarily unfitting for the duties and ties of every-day life. Surely he ought to know that the reverse is the fact.

Does any heedlessly congratulate himself that his lot has fallen on the days of 'liberal inquiry,' and point with special gratitude to works like this of Mr. Jowett's? Let him read the following passages; he cannot do so without some emotion of another kind. The picture is that of a mind diseased by scepticism. The very exaggeration shows under what influences they were written. Verily the heart of the recluse sceptic, only living to doubt and criticize, preys upon itself.

'Inquiry is not an easy task; hard to all, impossible to most; seeming in its very nature to have no resting-place until all is

disclosed. Behind every reason another reason seems to be concealed; each cause points to a further cause; the solution of every difficulty brings into view new difficulties yet unsolved.....As we pursue the never-ending track of investigation, our days are told. Life has passed away ere we have learned how to live. We hang between the opposing tendencies of reason and faith, our theory at variance with our practice, the head contradicting the heart. And then if, pursuing our doubts, we wage war with established opinions, we ourselves become isolated, and deny our social nature.....Alone we move in a world of shadows; there arises in us a feeling of suspicion respecting the human faculties themselves; a vain consciousness of superiority, though it be in knowing that we know nothing; an utter apathy about all aims of human good, or schemes of earthly ambition. Our sense of differences of opinion will probably lead to an habitual concealment of opinion. To that class of men who are the most devoted to the good of their fellows we shall become peculiarly the objects of enmity and aversion. Better not to have been than to live in doubt and alienation from mankind..... Such are a few of the trials which meet us in the course of our pilgrimage. We must overcome them, not by earthly warfare nor by human wisdom, but by humility, by patience, by resignation to the will of God, by taking up the cross and following Christ. There is a circle within which we can still live; a spirit of truth, which in the deepest night and lowest abyss of scepticism may yet save us, *so as by fire*.'—Vol. ii., pp. 443-445.

We forbear comment on these sad passages, though it is obvious that the progress of the humble, healthy, loving mind of the thinker, who prays and works as well as thinks, is not so truly from doubt to doubt, as from truth to truth, from faith to faith, from victory to victory. We cannot but hope that even from the abyss of pantheistic scepticism this gifted and interesting writer will indeed be saved, though we feel assured that it must now be *so as by fire*, and that he will bear the scars of his fiery sufferings through life. But is it not strange that, as intimated very plainly in the context of the passages we have quoted, Mr. Jowett should despair that revelation will ever be reconciled to science or reason to faith, when—not to refer to such a remarkable case as that of Ampère in France—it is so well known that not a few of the most illustrious names in British science, philological, physical, and metaphysical, are those of devout believers in the sacred book? Surely when Whewell and Sedgwick, Brewster and Miller, the late Professor Archer Butler, and the present Professor Farrier, have devoutly maintained their faith in the Bible, the present age need not despair of Christianity.

And now let us ask, Has the Church of England no champions 'valiant for the truth,' who can meet and match this able man? Is the age of her Berkeleys, Butlers, and Horsleys,

gone by for ever? The Oxford volume of sermons contains some good argument in reference to one or two points of vital importance, but it is, of course, fragmentary and unsystematic; it is also very partial and in every way insufficient. Mr. Cowie's book, though acute and able, is cumbrous and unpopular in style and method, and refers only to the one subject of the vicarious atonement of Christ. To whom are we to look? Mr. Stanley, alas! is himself unorthodox in relation to the Atonement; he also intimates the same view as Mr. Jowett as to St. Paul's original defectiveness of doctrine, and would seem to be in some sort of understanding with him, though we would not suspect him of agreeing with his philosophical views. Messrs. Conybeare and Howson, though touched with anti-evangelical taint, might render us—we trust, will render us—good service here. But a *novel* will hardly do the work, nor a review article be sufficient. Mr. Alford's volume appears as these pages are passing through the press. We apprehend, however, that it will by no means supply the *desideratum*. We look for a work based upon broader principles, and rising into a higher region of spiritual truth.

ART. II.—*A History of Greece.* By GEORGE GROTE, Esq.
Twelve Vols. 8vo. London. 1846–1856.

DURING the half century which has elapsed since Mr. Mitford wrote his truly monarchical history of Greece, there has been a most industrious prosecution of Hellenic studies, especially in Germany. The ancient poets, historians, orators, and philosophers have all been interrogated afresh, and their testimony compared, and combined, and interpreted in such wise as to throw a flood of new light on the picture of ancient Hellas. Within the last few years, two English scholars have elaborated the materials thus prepared, and have made a complete recast of the history of this interesting people. First, Dr. Thirlwall appeared as a laborious student, clearing away the rubbish, and setting right the previously misconceived facts, in the calm and dispassionate manner of one who simply desires to see the truth told for its own sake. Then Mr. Grote, whose more extensive work has been but lately brought to a conclusion, presented himself as a practical man,—a keen politician of the class styled 'Radicals,'—not merely to tell the story, but to philosophize on it; to educe and illustrate principles applicable to other ages and communities of mankind from the facts which it supplies. He found a people who, during a very brief period of national existence, had made such advances as are unparalleled in the history of human development; who, so far as

we know, originated almost every thing in art, science, and philosophy of which the modern world makes its boast,—not only made the first steps, but arrived at such perfection as to leave models which are models still, and, for aught that appears, are likely to continue unsurpassed while the world endures.

To account for this singularly rapid and auspicious development, and to trace all the agencies by which it was stimulated and assisted, would doubtless require materials which are hopelessly out of reach. It may be added, that it would need a more comprehensive mind and a more impartial hand than that of Mr. Grote to combine them all in due weight and measure. The chief, if not the only, reason that he sees for the rapid progress of Greek intellect is found in free political institutions; at least, he applies himself only to this for the explanation of the marvel. He proposes it as his task to 'develop the action of that social system which, while insuring to the mass of free-men a degree of protection elsewhere unknown, acted as a stimulus to the creative impulses of genius, and left the superior minds sufficiently unshackled to soar above religious and political routine, to overshoot their own age, and to become the teachers of posterity.' There are some advantages arising from the distinctive object which the author keeps in view. The vindication of his darling democracy imparts to his narrative a tone of animation and energy which we miss in the dispassionate work of Dr. Thirlwall. If we do not coincide either in whole or in part with his political views, we are at liberty to differ. He gives us the facts impartially, and draws his deductions in their immediate presence. We are equally free to draw ours, and at least it must be confessed that our interest has been sustained by his earnestness.

As a collection of well-sifted facts, and of criticisms supported by extensive erudition, the work before us must be pronounced a most valuable addition to English literature. But the general reader may be apprised that it abounds with what will appear to him discouraging, if not appalling, difficulties. First, there is a set of unfamiliar vocables, of which *akist*, *autonomy*, and *hegemony* are examples. These are supposed to embody a more precise meaning than any purely English terms, which, of course, are liable to convey English notions. No English city recognises a single founder, or enjoys an absolute independence, or is ever vested with a leadership in the nation, corresponding to what was familiar in ancient Hellas; and, therefore, the nearest corresponding English words, as 'founder or colonizer,' 'independence or self-government,' 'leadership or presidency,' must convey somewhat less precise ideas than the terms *akist*, *autonomy*, and *hegemony*, when rightly understood. Repulsive as is the frequent occurrence of about a score of such terms, we do

not see any better reason for quarrelling with their use than there would be for objecting to what has been generally approved by recent critics,—the introduction of the names Zeus, Poseidôn, Arês, instead of Jupiter, Neptune, Mars, and so throughout the whole Pantheon. This novelty proceeds exactly on the same principle. The Greek gods are now admitted to have been essentially different beings from those supposed to have exercised similar functions among the Latin people, and are therefore entitled to be known by their distinctive names. The work before us is chiefly a study for the learned; and is not obliged to use popular language when this would convey an indefinite or inadequate, if not an erroneous, meaning. The introduction of a new orthography with respect to words which have long been naturalized among us does not admit of the same vindication.

The general reader will likewise, perhaps, be impatient of the fact, that every inch of the ground he has to tread must be fought for and won from the hands of previous historians. The facts of Grecian history have not hitherto been established on any such firm basis, as to warrant the historian in simply relating them without stating the evidence on which he proceeds. Still less have its personages been so undeniably well understood, as to leave no room for a wide difference of opinion regarding them. Another circumstance may sometimes appear trying to his patience, and tantalizing to his curiosity. The story again and again breaks off at a most interesting stage, because some synchronical events, in another locality, require to be narrated. The history of Greece is not one, but many; and involves great complication. In a work like the present, no part can be omitted or slighted; every thing that is certainly or probably known concerning any part of Hellas, has a right to its place. The gratification of the reader is not the object; it is the elicitation of all the truth that can now be saved from oblivion, or cleared from misunderstanding.

But here is a store of materials for a more readable and classic work. There only wants a skilful hand, to group the facts, which may now be considered as established, and to embody them in a clear artistic narrative, clothed in pure and elegant English, and we might have a work of matchless interest and beauty. The theme itself is one of the most fascinating in the range of human studies. The history of Greece embodies some of the loveliest dreams of the imagination, and enriches the memory with the details of a picture which will never more delight the actual vision of mankind. It furnishes the highest, and, indeed, the only, type of a purely intellectual civilization. A single glance at the topographical position of this great people, and at their peculiar character, must awaken the interest which every reader has at one time felt.

The country which its own children called *Hellas*, and for which we have adopted the Roman appellation *Greece*, is one of the many peninsulas which are found stretching southwards in different parts of the earth, indicating that violent floods have at some period swept in a northern direction, washing away the loose soil between the mountain ranges, and forming bays and landlocked seas, instead of fertile valleys. This peninsula is characterized by great irregularity of configuration; its extremely broken outline, and the remarkable extent of its coasts, as compared with the whole surface, distinguishing it from the countries of Europe, as Europe itself is distinguished from the other continents of the world. In the interior, we find it traversed lengthwise by the great range of *Pindus*, from which three lateral branches extend towards the eastern coast, south of which it divides into two chains, proceeding south-east and south-west. On the western side of *Pindus* appears a series of less considerable heights, not branching laterally, but disposed in lines nearly parallel to the central ridge, and separated from each other by deep valleys. Near the eastern coast a mountain range runs parallel to *Pindus*, including the celebrated heights of *Pelion* with *Ossa*, the rival of *Olympus*.

Peloponnesus is a miniature *Greece*, as *Greece* is a miniature Europe,—all these peculiarities of outline and surface being repeated on a smaller scale. Here, however, the highest summits with their connecting ridges are observed to form an irregular ring enclosing a central plateau, while several spurs or subordinate lines radiate towards the coasts, embaying the deep gulfs, and forming the long and lofty promontories, which give this peninsula the shape of a vine or mulberry leaf.

Besides the principal ridges, there are innumerable scattered peaks, and minor ramifications of mountain chains; consequently few extensive plains, and even few continuous valleys. The leading features are irregular heights alternating with lowlands, some of which open on the sea, while others are mere basins, enclosed on all sides by mountains, or communicating with each other by deep, narrow gorges, and irrigated by mountain torrents, the configuration of the country affording no scope for the formation of navigable rivers.

Hellas was thus broken up by nature into districts, calculated to foster a large number of distinct communities, separated from each other by mountain ridges, but open to intercourse by the sea, which, in consequence of its numerous ramifications, was accessible to almost every one of them. In the north, there was the extensive and fertile plain of *Thessaly* enclosed by four mountain chains. South of the *Maliac Gulf*, the eastern ramifications of *Pindus* formed the large hollow basin of *Bœotia*, and the important foreland of *Attica*, besides some smaller districts. The mountains west of *Pindus* enclosed no such tracts as those

which characterize the east, but a series of narrow valleys, known to us as the territories of the ruder tribes. So the mountains of Peloponnesus formed the central plateau of Arcadia, while the diverging branches enclosed the districts of Achaia, Argolis, Sicyon, Corinth, Elis, Triphylia, and Laconia.

While the arts of navigation were in their infancy, there could be little intercourse between the cantons divided by such formidable barriers. Accordingly, we find that each of the principal cities of ancient Greece was founded in one or other of the small valleys or basins we have described, and grew up in solitary independence of all the world besides. The rich alluvial soil which covered the bottom of the valley furnished subsistence for the inhabitants; the surrounding mountains were the bulwarks against invasion; one of the steep insulated rocks which rose through the alluvial strata became the acropolis or citadel, near which were erected the dwellings of the citizens, with their temples and other public buildings, enclosed by fortified walls. A numerous population was dispersed over the area of this natural amphitheatre as out-citizens, or dependent cultivators of the soil. The members of a community thus located, lived continually in each other's presence. This secluded valley was their country, a word of undefined import in large empires; but to them conveying the distinct idea of a place whose whole extent of landscape was constantly under their eyes, and whose whole population was more or less personally known to them. The Greek owned no authority outside his city walls, and enjoyed no privileges beyond its territorial jurisdiction. A few miles from this loved spot he found himself a stranger and an alien, where he could acquire no landed property, could contract no marriage, could claim no protection against wrong, nor sue for vengeance against injury. His patriotism, concentrated within this narrow sphere, attached to visible objects by early and constant associations, kindled by the proud sense of individual importance, and kept alive by occasional struggles with neighbouring communities, became a passion at once ardent and steady,—a feeling of which nothing in the modern world can give us an adequate idea. Accustomed as we are to large political aggregations, it requires a certain mental effort to realize a social condition in which even the smallest town clung so tenaciously to the right of independent self-government; much more must it have appeared in singular contrast with the extensive monarchies of Asia, where the conquering sword of the despot forced whole nations of various habits, characters, and languages into subjection to a single sceptre.

But though the Greek shrunk from the idea of living under an extensive empire, and regarded such a position as mere

slavery, yet, on the other hand, he viewed with contempt the wild independence of dwelling apart from the restraints of regular government. The denizens of Athens, Corinth, or Thebes, looked with scorn upon the inhabitants of the smaller valleys west of Pindus, who long maintained their separate village residence, and preserved with it their disorderly pugnacity. There was nothing to satisfy in his mind the requirements of social order, security, and dignity, without a city and its usual appurtenances, including a consecrated acropolis or *agora*, temples and porticoes, theatres for music and recitation, gymnasia for athletic exercises, and fixed arrangements for transacting business with regularity and decorum. The Greek who owned such a city lived as a citizen almost constantly in public and for the public, devoting little attention to the comforts of domestic life, or the embellishments of his private habitation.

Such was the cradle of the Hellenic race,—the spot which we call Greece. But to the ancients, the name *Hellas* did not convey the notion of any certain geographical surface circumscribed by fixed limits, whether natural or conventional. It denoted the abode of the Hellenes, wherever established; and when they spread themselves over the islands of the *Ægean*, the coasts of Asia Minor and of Italy, and even formed establishments in Spain and Gaul, till the Mediterranean Sea became as it were a Grecian lake, still every spot on which they settled was deemed as truly a part of *Hellas* as was Athens or Sparta. And it is to be noted, that their colonization proceeded in a very different manner from that of modern Europe. Instead of dispersing themselves as rural settlers over a large extent of country, the first thing a set of Greek emigrants did was to build a city with temples, gymnasia, and other structures, as nearly as possible like those at home. The relation of such a colony to its parent city appears to have been simply one of filial affection and religious veneration, without any sense of dependence on the one side, or claim of authority on the other. Nor did the various colonies called the Ionian, the *Æolian*, and the Dorian, form respectively confederations among themselves. Like their parent cities, each was independent of all others; there was no provision for common defence against foreign enemies; no common tribunal, magistrate, or law, for the maintenance of internal tranquillity.

Though politically disunited, and often at variance with each other, the people of *Hellas* confessed some intimate bonds of union. They were, according to their own belief, all of the same blood, boasting their descent from one common ancestor, after whom they called themselves Hellenes, while they stigmatized every other people as barbarian,—a term which seems at

first to have meant simply non-Hellenic. They all spoke the same language, though broken into various dialects: so that generally every Greek understood the tongue of every other Greek. Though there was great diversity of character and manners among them, yet there were some important points in which they were at one with each other, while they differed from the most celebrated of the surrounding nations. Such practices, for instance, as polygamy, the selling of their children into slavery, the mutilation of the person, and the immolation of human victims to the gods, prevailed among the contemporaneous Egyptians, Carthaginians, Persians, and Thracians; but they were utterly abhorrent to the Hellenic mind. On the other hand, the cultivation of gymnastic exercises by public contests was common to all the Hellenes, but not known, so far as appears, to any of their neighbours.

This people were united, likewise, by a community of religion and literature. They worshipped the same deities, and held sacred the same localities. They possessed a common stock of legends, maxims, and metaphors embodied in the works of Homer and other early poets, which were familiar to all, and acknowledged by all as the standards both of religious creed and literary language. They all agreed in acknowledging Zeus, with the other eleven deities who formed the divine *agora* on the heights of Olympus, though every city had its own tutelar deity, every fountain and river its nymphs, every woodland its satyrs. They all believed in the special manifestations of Zeus among the oaks of Dodona, and those of Apollo at the cavern of Delphi; and to these favoured spots inquirers resorted from all parts of Greece to ascertain the mind of the gods. So also the Councils called 'Amphictyonies,' and the festivals known to us as the Olympic, the Pythian, the Nemean, and the Isthmian games,—which are understood to have arisen out of religious fraternization,—presented opportunities of occasional intercourse to brethren habitually isolated from each other. It would seem that the practice of neighbouring communities joining in sacrifice at each other's festivals, was one of the earliest usages of Greece; that to partake of the recreations which followed the religious observances, was matter of course; and that these four games, from some circumstances that cannot now be traced, acquired such celebrity as to gather attendants from every city of Hellas, and to become the occasions of bringing together in the spirit of comparison and rivalry whatever each had to boast in literature and art, as well as in personal prowess. Thus each petty community, nestling apart amidst its own rocks, was sufficiently isolated from the rest to possess an individual life and attributes of its own; yet not so far as to exclude it from the sympathies of the rest. And an intelligent Greek, maintaining at least occasional intercourse with numerous communities of half countrymen,

whose language he understood, and whose idiosyncrasies he could appreciate, had access to a larger mass of experience than the inhabitant of any other country was likely to obtain at that early age of the world.

Out of what elements, or by what process of combination, this Hellenic family was formed, we know not. It may be said, with the concurrence of the Greeks themselves, that, in common with many other nations distinguished for energy and valour, they were of the race of Iapetus, or the Japheth of the Scriptures, — *audax Iapeti genus*. The legends mention the Pelasgi, the Leleges, the Curetes, &c., as inhabitants of Greece previous to the Hellenes; and the earlier historians endeavoured to compile from their conflicting statements a supposed narrative of the struggles and displacements of these tribes: but it is now generally admitted that they were all branches of the same family, the Pelasgians being either the most powerful people, or the generic name of the whole; and that the Hellenes, who superseded them, were probably another tribe, pre-eminent in martial genius, if not in the arts of civilized life. But there exist no *data* to explain how this race acquired those great national characteristics of which we find them possessed at the earliest period known to us.

As little can we ascertain concerning the foreign influences that were brought to bear upon them. The legends tell of a colony led from Egypt into Attica by Cecrops; of Argos being founded by Danaus, an Egyptian; of Pelops, from Asia, giving his name to the southern peninsula; and of Cadmus, a Phœnician, laying the foundation of Thebes, and communicating to the Greeks the art of writing. Doubtless the use of letters was derived from the Phœnicians; but, with this exception, there is little trace of the impress of any of these nations in the earliest Greeks; and it seems that whatever either of language or manners was adopted from foreign nations must have been so modified and assimilated by the powerful genius of the Greeks, as to be no longer traceable to its original source.

To exhibit the development—social, political, and mental—of this singular people, is the task to which Mr. Grote has so successfully applied himself; and it shall be ours to point out a few of its leading features as now elucidated by him, before making some remarks on one or two points of special interest.

We are first introduced to those ages which are discernible only through the atmosphere of legend and epic poetry. The historian does not presume to measure how much or how little of historical matter these legends may contain, or to say that they contain any at all. He tells us that what we now read as poetry and legend was once accredited history,—the only history which the earliest Greeks could conceive or relish; and that he undertakes

neither to efface nor repaint the picture it affords. To pass by this legendary history was impossible, so intimately was it interwoven with all the subsequent life of the Greeks in their best days. In their retrospective faith, the idea of worship was closely connected with that of ancestry; every association of men traced its union to some common progenitor, and that progenitor was either the god they worshipped in common, or some semi-divine being closely allied to him. Every Greek loved to look up to his gods through an unbroken line of ancestry, and to boast a genealogy filled not only with the names, but with the splendid adventures of those whose origin was little removed from the divine. It is not without good reason, therefore, that our author opens his history with an account of the gods, and gradually descends first to heroes and next to the ordinary human race,—treating the stories of the gigantic forces, which were ultimately reduced under the more orderly government of Zeus, simply as myths, which sprang from the same fertile imagination as the legends of Thebes and Troy, and depended on the same authority,—the inspiration of the Muse.

To account for the propagation and distribution of the Hellenes in Greece, we are informed that the wickedness of the earth provoked Zeus to send an unrelenting and terrible rain, which laid the whole of Greece under water, except the loftiest mountain tops, on which a few stragglers found refuge. Deucalion, the son of Prometheus, who was a son of the Titan Iapetus, was saved, with his wife Pyrrha, in a chest or ark which Zeus had forewarned him to construct, and, after floating on the water for nine days, he settled on the summit of Mount Parnassus. He now prayed that companions might be sent to him and his wife; and, accordingly, Jupiter directed them to throw stones over their heads, which when they had done, those cast by Pyrrha became women, and those by Deucalion men, over whom he reigned in Thessaly. One of the sons of this pair was Hellen, the great progenitor of the race which bore his name. Hellen had three sons by a nymph,—Doris, Xuthus, and Æolus. Æolus inherited the dominions of his father in Thessaly; but his descendants occupied a great part of central Greece, and became widely diffused, especially on the coast; while Doris and his descendants occupied the country on the northern side of the Corinthian Gulf. Xuthus, who obtained possession of Peloponnesus, had two sons, Achæus and Ion, the progenitors of the Achæans and Ionians. Thus the four great branches of the Hellenic family became masters of Greece, the previous Pelasgic inhabitants either disappearing before them, or becoming incorporated with them.

The first few generations of the race thus established supplied the heroes of ancient song. Their naval expeditions, protracted wars, and other splendid adventures, constituted the

great magazine from which the materials of Greek poetry in succeeding ages were almost entirely drawn, and supplied themes to illustrate which elicited the most splendid efforts of Grecian art. At first, doubtless, they were sung in simple ballads, each, perhaps, containing little more than a single picture of a single situation; but when a new effort of poetic genius combined and arranged these unconnected lays, so as to form continuous narrative or epic poems, the world received those works which, as poetry, have been the wonder and admiration of every age and nation; while to the Greeks themselves they were history, theology, and philosophy, all in harmonious combination.

The earliest Greece, then, that is pretty clearly revealed to us is the Greece of Homer. The deeds he relates were those of an earlier day; but the pictures of life and manners which he supplies could scarcely be the result of antiquarian research, and are therefore taken to be descriptive of his own times. The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* represent a state of society in which law, properly speaking, is unknown. The King or Chief rules according to immemorial usage, and is responsible to none but Zeus for the exercise of his authority. Yet he is no august tyrant; Ulysses builds his own bedchamber, constructs his own raft, and boasts of being an excellent ploughman. He governs more by persuasion than by authority; and the importance of securing the public concurrence is evinced by the prevalence of public speaking, and the influence attributed to eloquence. The nobles or elders are distinguished from the vulgar herd of merely mortal birth by a towering stature, piercing eye, and sonorous voice; as well as by skill in war, patience under hardship, contempt of danger, and emulation of distinguished enterprise. War is the grand profession; commerce is little cultivated except by strangers; and the mechanical arts are known to but a few, who are objects of superstitious veneration. Simplicity of feeling, reverence for age, and delicacy toward the female sex appear in these warriors, combined with considerable elevation of sentiment, derived from the belief that the gods take a deep interest in all their proceedings. These gods are propitiated by animal sacrifices; they are gratified by offerings of fruits, oils, and fragrant odours, as well as by the dedication of lands and treasures. As yet, idolatry, priestcraft, and hero-worship appear to be unknown. Every King is the Priest of his subjects, and every father sacrifices for his family. The virtues and vices of these Greeks are those of a people above the savage state, but possessing only the rudiments of the civilization afterwards attained. Their condition and character bear no inconsiderable resemblance to those of chivalrous Europe in the Middle Ages, making allowance for differences resulting from climate and religion. There is the same reliance on the higher qualities of

the aristocratic few, rewarded by the protection to the many; the same force of family ties; the same hospitality to the stranger, and protection to the suppliant,—composing the brighter features of the picture; the same lawlessness in peace, ferocity in war, and despondency in misfortune, combining to form the darker shades.

According to the received chronology, the events of the heroic age are succeeded by a period of nearly three centuries concerning which we have little information,—a gloomy night closing in the first bright day of Hellenic glory.

At the dawn of authentic history, we find the Dorian and Ionian to be the leading races, represented by the Spartans and the Athenians respectively. The Achæan descendants of the Homeric heroes have become serfs on the soil of Hellas, or exiles on the shores of Asia. The patriarchal monarchies of the heroic ages have been abolished everywhere except at Sparta, and the rudiments of republicanism established. The government of each state has been vested in some kind of oligarchy,—a council deliberating collectively, deciding by the majority of votes, and electing some individuals of their own body as a temporary and accountable executive.

From the scanty records of this age, we gather that the various states are each pursuing the course suggested by its peculiar genius, and the circumstances of its lot. Sparta, guided by the institutions of Lycurgus, becomes a great military power; its eight or nine thousand citizens being trained to habits of obedience, hardihood, and military aptitude unparalleled in the history of nations; and their career of conquest proceeding among the valleys of Peloponnesus, till two-fifths of the peninsula acknowledge their sway. Athens, meanwhile, is studying the arts of legislation and government under the guidance of Draco and Solon. Corinth and Megara devote themselves to the cultivation of commerce and colonization. In the valley of Bœotia, ten considerable cities form a sort of confederacy under the presidency of Thebes; and in the hilly country between Bœotia and Thessaly the Locrians, Phocians, and Dorians constitute a number of orderly town communities, small and poor indeed, but as well administered as most of the Greek townships at this period. In the large valley north of the Pass of Thermopylæ, the Thessalians, a proud and disorderly sort of noblesse, hold the Magnetes, Malians, Dolopes, and other Hellenic tribes in a state of irregular dependence, and retain in part the manners of the heroic ages; while, in the mountainous districts west of Pindus, the Ozolian-Locrians, the Ætolians, and the Acarnanians reside chiefly in scattered villages, displaying the predatory habits usual among uncivilized mountaineers living on the borders of more orderly societies. As a general rule, the dominant race in each of the states are the freemen of

the city, and form a kind of aristocracy, while the soil is cultivated by serfs for their benefit.

Meanwhile the colonial Greeks have proved much more active and enterprising than those who remained at home, and have quite outstripped them in wealth and civilisation. The Ionian cities took the lead; and among them Miletus was the most powerful at the earliest period of our knowledge; its celebrity being derived not merely from its own wealth and population, but from the great number of its colonies on the Propontis and Euxine. The cities of Chalcis and Eretria, in the island of Eubœa, were the rivals of Miletus in wealth and power; while Ephesus, though not enterprising as a maritime state, distinguished itself by acquiring a large extent of territory at the expense of the neighbouring Lydians. The progress of commerce and maritime enterprise among the Ionians was coupled with the cultivation of the higher arts, and with the opening of new fields of intellectual activity. They early began to vie with each other in the splendour of their sacred edifices, and the sculptures that adorned them. The art of casting metal statues is ascribed to a native of Samos; and the temple of Juno, in the same island, celebrated by Herodotus as the largest he had ever seen, seems to have been commenced in the eighth century before the Christian era.

The western colonies, in Italy and Sicily, though founded much later than the eastern, rose rapidly to a position of rivalry with them. During the sixth century before Christ, they reached the *maximum* of their power, and were reckoned among the most flourishing cities of the Hellenes. While the Greeks of Hellas proper remained for the most part poor and proud, despising the arts of wealth, and cultivating the accomplishments of idle or warlike aristocracy, the luxury, organization, and political power of the colonists rendered them the great ornaments of the Hellenic name. They carried on more commerce with each other than any of them did with the mother country; the citizens of Sybaris wore garments of the finest wool from Miletus, and displayed five thousand richly caparisoned horses in their festive processions; whereas, the cavalry of Athens, even in her best days, did not exceed twelve hundred. The intercourse of these colonial Greeks with Egypt, which was first opened to them about the year B.C. 650, proved a powerful stimulus to their further improvement. Not only was a new and wide field of observation thus presented, but papyrus, the only writing material then known, came into general use to aid the progress of literature; and with reference to the fine arts the Greeks obtained the knowledge of various technical processes, for want of which their genius had previously been cramped.

We have said that before the era of authentic history, marked

as the first Olympiad, or B.C. 776, the governments of Greece had generally assumed the shape of oligarchies. The first check which these received, and by which many of them were overturned, arose from those usurpers, called 'tyrants,' who have been the subjects of so much controversy among historians. It is now admitted on all hands that an autocrat, so designated, was not always or necessarily either oppressive or cruel in his administration; but the fact, that the word *τύραννος*, which originally meant simply an absolute ruler, came to bear the sense we now attach to the word 'tyrant,' must be deemed the strongest proof that such rulers very generally abused their power. The period between B.C. 650 and 500, witnessed the rise and fall of many such despots and despotic dynasties, both in Greece proper and the colonies. There was in the Greek mind a deeply rooted antipathy, not only to usurped authority, but to anything like permanent or hereditary power vested in an individual; and the man who assassinated a despot was deemed a patriot. Hence few of the despots lived to old age, and very rarely did the dynasty reach the third generation. When it was overthrown, it was discovered that its temporary subsistence had materially lessened the distance between the few and the many, having been much more formidable to the rich than to the poor. Hence it was found difficult, if not impossible, to reinstate the oligarchs; and thus arose a new struggle,—the democracy demanded to be something. The history of the Athenian state affords the most striking illustration of these successive revolutions; and its democracy, the most perfectly organized as well as the earliest, supplied the model for similar institutions throughout Hellas. It is admitted on all hands that the author now under review is great chiefly as the historian of the Athenian democracy, which he has painted in colours as attractive as Mr. Mitford's are repulsive.

Meanwhile Sparta alone, of all the states of Hellas, retained the kingly government handed down to it from antiquity. It happened that during five centuries neither of the two co-ordinate lines of Kings, boasting descent from Hercules, was ever without some male representative; so that, whatever the modification of the royal powers, the primitive notion of a divine right, and of a lineage connecting the whole community with a divine paternity, never received any serious check. It was thus that Athens—restless, progressive, democratic—and Sparta—conservative, stationary, monarchical—became the opposite poles of Grecian politics.

We now turn over a new page in the history of this people. Hitherto the various states have pursued their separate career with little either of alliance or collision with each other; now the appearance of a common danger draws them together for common defence. In the sixth century B.C., the colonial cities had taken the lead, boasting a much higher state of commerce,

literature, and art than the mother country, as well as superior political influence. But in the fifth century *B.C.*, we find the independence of the Asiatic Greeks annihilated, the power of the Italian broken ; while Sparta and Athens have become the leading powers and centres of action for the lesser states of Hellas.

The sympathy which the Athenians had shown in the unsuccessful struggle of the Ionian Greeks against the Persian power, furnished the Monarch with a sufficient excuse for an expedition against European Hellas ; and thus arose those conflicts which have been the theme of poets and orators in all succeeding ages, and which have consecrated and immortalized the names of Marathon, Thermopylæ, Salamis, and Plateæ. Henceforth the nation took a loftier position. A warmer patriotism, a more devoted attachment to that freedom which had been secured by such sacrifices, and a well-grounded confidence in himself and in his fellows, swelled in every bosom. All the higher faculties had been stimulated ; and the Persian wars, like a dangerous but happily surmounted fever, brought the nation rapidly to its maturity. The people reaped the fruits of their exertions in the noblest enjoyment of literature and the arts, and everything assumed a higher character.

Now began the brilliant period of the career of Athens. At the time of the Persian invasion, Sparta had been recognised as the leading power in Greece ; but when the enemy was expelled, and it came into contemplation to liberate the Ionian Greeks, and keep him at a distance by a maritime force, Sparta was at fault. She had no fleet, no taste for naval enterprise, and Athens therefore entered the list as a kind of leader of opposition. While the inland cities generally adhered to Sparta, the maritime states gravitated towards Athens ; and henceforth these rivals divided the Hellenic world between them, each bringing together a much larger number of its members than had ever appeared in league before. Athens organized a confederacy, including a considerable number of the cities of Asia Minor and the islands of the *Ægean*, each of which was to contribute a definite quota in ships, men, and money, for purposes of mutual defence. When a number of the confederates, weary of personal service, desired to commute it for an adequate money payment, Athens gladly acceded ; but when, as the fear of Persia declined, they attempted altogether to secede, they were one after another conquered, fined, and disarmed, till they were almost all transformed into tribute-paying subjects, whom Athens was bound to protect against foreign enemies, and, at the same time, entitled to hold under her dominion. She was now in the zenith of her power, (*B.C.* 457,) possessing a great empire, a great fleet, a great accumulation of treasure, and great men to manage the whole. Everything in literature and art that had been promisingly begun in the other states, now came to perfection here.

All the finer qualities of the Hellenic mind,—Doric solidity and Ionic vivacity, depth and power, with grace and elegance, jest and earnest, enthusiasm and moderation,—all met, and modified and purified each other. The Hellenic nation, which had passed the stages of childhood and youth on the coasts of Asia and the islands of the *Ægean*, first attained its manly maturity in the city of Athens.

The yoke of this august city, however, gradually became more and more felt by its dependencies, as even Mr. Grote admits, notwithstanding his excessive partiality for everything Athenian. The dissatisfied parties naturally cast their eyes on Sparta. At length, almost all the Grecian cities took sides, and thus began those wars which it would require an able historian indeed to describe in due proportion, without wearying the patience of any ordinary reader. The result was the overthrow of the commercial despotism of Athens, only to be succeeded by the military despotism of Sparta. The former had, indeed, been somewhat capricious, subject as it was to the alternations of temper in the democracy; but it had been on the whole liberal: whereas the dominion of Sparta proved to be close, sullen, and suspicious. In every city of Hellas, Lacedæmonian garrisons, with decarchies, or committees of ten selected from the oligarchic clubs, were invested with supreme authority; and, finally, the Asiatic colonies were surrendered to Persia, with the view of gaining the alliance of the Great King to support Spartan dominion. A new coalition against this hated supremacy placed the star of Thebes in the ascendant. It sank again too soon to have effected any important change in Grecian affairs; but not till it had become the means of bringing Greece into contact with still more northern powers. And thus opened a new era in the history.

Thebes, Sparta, and Athens had all been weakening each other, while neither had done much to strengthen herself. Their conflicts had rendered Greece more destitute of any leading power than she had ever been since the Persian invasion had led her children to make common cause. At this juncture Macedonia suddenly rises from her insignificance, with the mission of once more collecting the scattered forces for a great undertaking.

Our historian sees in the Macedonian conquerors only the rude and ruthless destroyers of Hellenic freedom for the ends of their own ambition; overlooking the fact that they identified themselves with the name and the cause of the Hellenes, and organized them with their own consent for the enterprise which had long been the object of their fond ambition,—the conquest of Persia. In the prosecution of this enterprise they aroused millions from the sleep of barbarism, and opened the way for diffusing the arts, the language, and the literature of Greece throughout every part of the known world. We may but conjecture what would have been the results had Alexander lived to

carry out his own gigantic projects, with these people as his willing instruments.

But Grecco had done her work. The centre of power and civilization has never continued in any one spot through any long series of centuries. It shifts from one kingdom to another people; and having entered Europe by Greece, it was to pass through various countries from east to west, assuming new aspects and combining new elements in each new position which it occupied. Another long dark night gradually drew its shadows over the mountains and valleys of Hellas.

Here Mr. Grote leaves the Greeks; but here we cannot leave him without a remark or two on one feature of his work, because we perceive in it that which in many minds may prove a germ of the infidelity which attaches, we will not say to Mr. Grote himself, but to that school of philosophers and historians who have in these days been the chief elucidators of Grecian history.

In this great work Mr. Grote traces not merely the political history, but the mental development of the Greeks, from the time that their whole stock of knowledge consisted of the legends of gods and heroes, till the age of philosophy, and science, and historical investigation. In the former period there were no records, no criticisms, no canon of belief, and scarcely any knowledge of astronomy or geography; but abundance of religious faith and exuberant fancy, with the simple credulity of infancy. The people believed not only whatever their poets sang of gods and heroes in bygone ages, but in present deities pervading all nature, and producing, by an immediate personal agency, all those phenomena that science demonstrates to be under the dominion of fixed and invariable laws.

'That which to us is interesting as the mere creation of an exuberant fancy,' says our author, 'was to the Greek genuine and venerated reality. The earth and the solid heaven (Gæa and Uranus) were both conceived and spoken of by him as endowed with appetite, feeling, sex, and most of the various attributes of humanity. Instead of a sun such as we now see, subject to astronomical laws, and forming the centre of a system the changes of which we can ascertain and foreknow, he saw the great god Helios, mounting his chariot in the morning in the east, reaching at mid-day the height of the solid heaven, and arriving in the evening at the western horizon with horses fatigued and desirous of repose. Helios had favourite spots wherein his beautiful cattle grazed; he took pleasure in contemplating them during the course of his journey, and was sorely displeased if any man slew or injured them. He had, moreover, sons and daughters on earth; and as his all-seeing eye penetrated everywhere, he was sometimes in a situation to reveal secrets even to the gods themselves; while, on other occasions, he was constrained to turn aside in order to avoid contemplating scenes of abomination. To us these now appear puerile, though pleasing fancies; but to a Homeric Greek they seemed

perfectly natural and plausible. In his view, the description of the sun, as given in a modern astronomical treatise, would have appeared not merely absurd, but repulsive and impious.'

The historian then points out to us the various stages of the mental progress,—the lyric poet supplanting the epic as the organ of present time and human feeling; the historian narrating events comparatively recent, and deriving his authority from human testimony, not from Divine inspiration; the geographer preparing a map of the various regions which commerce and colonization had rendered familiar; the philosopher venturing to dismiss or limit the idea of person in connexion with nature, and to discover determinate properties and invariable sequences in the surrounding elements; till a serious conflict arose between historic truth and poetic fiction, between enlightened reason and fond imagination, between a recent philosophy and a creed handed down from time immemorial.

Mr. Grote then tells us of the various modes in which poets, logographers, historians, and philosophers endeavoured to transform or explain the ancient myths, when it was found impossible to dislodge them even from the most enlightened minds; but he demonstrates satisfactorily enough that none of these processes are trustworthy, and decides that the myths form a class of narratives apart and peculiar, incapable of being transplanted into the domain either of history or philosophy on the strength of simple conjecture without collateral evidence. With ruthless severity he consigns to the realms of unreality all the gods, and heroes, and events, which were the cherished objects of Hellenic faith to the latest age; which were interwoven with their history, embodied in their sculptures, and commemorated in their festivals; with the mementos of which, in short, they were surrounded on every hand; and this for reasons which equally apply to every other record professing to be a Divine revelation of supernatural occurrences.

The inference which easily suggests itself to every reflecting mind has been boldly drawn by a more daring hand than Mr. Grote's,—that we, too, have followed cunningly devised fables,—an inheritance from antiquity which we dare not subject to the ordinary rules of historical criticism, or judge by any recognised standard of credibility; that the records we receive as sacred oracles, stand upon just such a basis as the legends of ancient Greece; that the light of philosophy has more than dawned upon Europe, has attained a strength before which the old creed with its miracles and prophecies must melt away and disappear; and that new principles must be fabricated or elicited by the power of human wisdom, to replace those which have been hitherto received as resting on Divine authority.

Mr. Grote does not venture to compare the records of the Old and New Testament with those of pagan Greece, but he runs

the parallel between the latter and the legends of the Middle Ages ; and the reasons on which he consigns both to the realms of fiction apply with equal propriety to the narratives of Scripture :—

‘The lives of the saints,’ he says, ‘bring us even back to the simple and ever-operative theology of the Homeric age ; so constantly is the hand of God exhibited even in the minutest details for the assistance and succour of a favoured individual, so completely is the scientific point of view respecting the phenomena of nature absorbed into the religious.’

He might have said exactly the same of the books of Moses. He seems to assume it as an indisputable principle, that the belief of a Divine agency, whether producing ordinary or extraordinary phenomena in the course of nature and human life, is irreconcilable with ‘that postulate of constant sequences, with determinate conditions of occurrence, which scientific study implies.’

This is not the place to combat the general theory, or to show how possible it is to combine the idea of a Divine agency as immediate and all-pervading as ever the Greeks conceived it, with the only true ‘sense of the invariable course of nature, and of the scientific explanation of phenomena.’ But it ought to be pointed out, that this can be done only where the mind has received the true idea of Deity as one Intelligence infinite in resource ; and that it was plainly impossible with reference to Deity as conceived in the legends of Greece.

Seen from the right point of view, we think the Greek, in common with every other known mythology of ancient birth, furnishes strong collateral evidence in favour of the very doctrines which modern Neologists would overthrow. It has been admitted, that Mr. Grote is right in saying it is useless digging about these myths for a substratum of truth ; but it does not thence follow that there is no such substratum. We agree with him that no human ingenuity can ‘undraw the curtain and disclose the picture,’ but we cannot agree with him that ‘the curtain is the picture,’ and that ‘it conceals nothing behind.’ With regard to heroic legends, for instance : such have been found in almost every age and nation,—the inventions of poets and story-tellers. During the childhood of every people, when there is no nicety in distinguishing between fact and fiction, these narratives are received as plausible facts ; at a maturer period they are relished as pleasing fictions. In the lawless and warlike ages which precede civilization, each tribe has its warriors, whose deeds are handed down as the proud inheritance of the clan. Then the poet, having caught the outline, invests it with what glowing colours he pleases, and embellishes it with endless marvels. The hearers, unaccustomed to reason or reflect, have no objection to any improvement of this sort ;

exploits which extend over many years may be condensed into a single adventure, or new ones of similar character may be invented or borrowed from another hero; and, through time, the cherished object of memory comes to be not the dim, bare, original truth, but the full, bright, poetic version of it. Still the poet would not be listened to, were he not true to the names, localities, and manners embalmed in the memories of the people through traditionary story. He dare not sing of a hero known to have had no existence but in his own imagination. This is in accordance with all that is known of the growth of national tradition. The great persons and events which are fondly cherished in the popular memory are not the baseless fabrications of the poet's brain; but matters of traditional history, which he has painted and embellished.

So of the more purely religious myths. Whatever imagination may have done to transform, it must be doubted if it ever *created* the original conception of a Divine agency, directing and controlling human affairs, protecting here and punishing there, and being propitiated by prayer and sacrifice. The poet might add new attributes to one god, or divide his functions among many; he might invent endless fables as illustrations of these attributes; still he must remain true to the general conception found in the minds of the people. Probably every god in the Greek Pantheon originally shadowed forth some one special notion of Deity.

It has been remarked that common worship even in a single tribe, still more in a whole nation, necessarily implies some common notion. Now, if we find indications of certain identical religious notions, such as those we have mentioned, in various nations which must have been far severed from each other from remote antiquity, we justly infer that they are the common inheritance of the human family, and that they correspond with principles deeply rooted in our nature. If, wherever we find an ancient literature at all, we find it to consist chiefly of records concerning times when feats altogether superhuman were achieved by mortals, when Divine interference in the concerns of men was frequent and familiar, when the power of Deity was displayed in miraculously arresting the usual course of nature, and His command over human affairs was made evident by sure predictions of future events; are we not forced to the conclusion that there must have been a period when the Almighty did manifest Himself to man in the way of miracle and prophecy, as thus attested by universal tradition?

In the Grecian mythology we have by far the most abundant as well as the most distinct embodiment of these sentiments. In the original dispersion of the human family, these children of Japhet had departed comparatively but a little way from the seat of Divine revelation. They had retained, as we have

seen, a tradition of the Deluge, disfigured indeed by fable, yet embodying the leading truths, that this catastrophe was a judgment of heaven for human wickedness, and that a single family was saved in a vessel constructed by Divine direction. They had retained the idea of Deity not only as a power superior to man, but as standing in paternal relation to him; as pervading all nature, and deeply interested in the weal and woe of the human race; as propitiated by prayer and sacrifice, and often turning aside the usual course of nature for purposes of protection or punishment; as inspiring the poet to sing the past, and the prophet to reveal the future, for the benefit of man. Such in a purer form was the creed of the patriarchs. The creation of many gods seems to have been an effort to bring Deity nearer to man, to satisfy the craving of the human spirit for 'God with us:' so was the consultation of oracles, omens, and auguries. To our minds it is most affecting to mark in the Greek this earnest desire for the companionship, the sympathy, the guidance, and protection of Deity. When any important enterprise is in contemplation, the oracles must be consulted; when the hosts are marshalled for battle, they do not stir to meet the foe till the sacrifices indicate the favourable moment. And here again we must object to the proceeding of Mr. Grote. We consented to follow him on his own terms through the regions of fable, forewarned that we were not to believe a word of what we heard; but when he comes into the domain of history, and sifts the evidence at every step, till we are half impatient of his rigour, he still continues to tell regularly, constantly, and gravely, what the oracle said, and how exactly it was fulfilled on each occasion; not a single failure does he record; not an attempt does he make to resolve the coincidence into chance or fraud, or anything else besides, or to give any account of it, but that so it occurred. He does not even relax his demand on the faith of the reader, by telling the matter as the saying of the historians, or the belief of the people. These relations do, indeed, so enliven and beautify the narrative, and impart such an insight into the character of the people, that it is no wonder he could not resist the temptation of introducing them; but then this is, in a critical point of view, a departure from his own principles, and, in a moral one, it is felt to be a kind of mockery. A reaction against it as such arises in our minds. We almost hope and believe that the oracles were fulfilled as frequently and strikingly as the author represents them to have been. We are half tempted to suppose it possible that the Most High pitied these erring sons of Japhet, 'feeling after Him, if haply they might find Him;' and oftentimes did give the answer of their prayers, rather than extinguish their faith in His willing-

ness to counsel those who lean not to their own understanding. It is impossible to resist the charm which our historian, whether designedly or not, throws around the Greek character in the days of its believing simplicity, as compared with its subsequent aspect; and scarce can we, as we read the book, repress the feeling, that if we were obliged to choose, we would rather be the Homeric Greek, with a god in every brook, and cave, and rock, and mountain, than a modern sceptic, without a god at all.

ART. III.—*The Geological Observer.* By SIR HENRY T. DE LA BECHE, C.B., F.R.S. Second Edition, revised. London. 1853.

GEOLOGY, although it carries us back to the remotest periods of time, is itself almost a science of yesterday. Not on the wings of an airy imagination, but on the most solid foundation beneath our feet, it bears us back through uncounted ages; and yet it is eminently a science of the present century; a science, the very skirts of whose glory could only be dimly described by the most far-seeing master-minds of earlier times. It finds a place in the number of future sciences to which Lord Bacon alludes in one of his fragments,* where, speaking of the limits of knowledge, he observes, 'But, notwithstanding these precincts and bounds, let it be believed, and appeal thereof made to time, with renunciation nevertheless to all the vain and abusing promises of alchemists and magicians, and such like light, idle, ignorant, credulous, and fantastical wits and sects, that *the new found world of land* was not greater addition to the ancient continent, than there remaineth at this day a world of inventions and sciences unknown, having respect to those that are known, with this difference,—that the ancient regions of knowledge will seem as barbarous compared with the new, as the new regions of people seem barbarous compared to many of old.' And what more apt description of modern Geology could we pen, than that of 'the new found world of land?' It is a world of land which, indeed, lay before our forefathers as before ourselves, but they discovered it not. A few imaginative conjectures did some of them make as to its existence, but they lived and died with the obscurest notions of its true character; and only in the present half-century has it been really entered, mapped out, and described by resolute and accomplished venturers. In this sense Cuvier was fully as great a discoverer as Columbus; and Mantell and Owen have opened up more marvellous kingdoms

* First chapter of the *Valerius Terminus*,—'Of the Limits and End of Knowledge.'

than those which the swords of Cortes and Pizarro conquered and laid bare.

It is remarkable that Palissy, whose fame has recently been revived in connexion with his religious character, undertook, so far back as 1580, to combat the notions of many of his contemporaries in Italy, that petrified shells had all been deposited by the universal deluge. 'He was,' said Fontenelle, in pronouncing his eulogy a century and a half later, 'the first who dared to assert in Paris that fossil remains of testacea and fish had once belonged to marine animals.' But even when observing men had begun to form nearly correct notions of the strata and rocks around them, they erred most egregiously in their too hasty inferences. Thus Woodward, in 1695, who had acquired extensive information respecting the geological structure of the crust of the earth, had examined many parts of the British strata with minute attention, and had collected and arranged a valuable series of specimens, which are still preserved in the Woodwardian Museum at Cambridge, nevertheless conceived 'the whole terrestrial globe to have been taken to pieces and dissolved at the flood, and the strata to have settled down from this promiscuous mass as any earthy sediment from a fluid.' In corroboration of this theory, he asserted that 'marine bodies are lodged in the strata according to the order of their gravity, the heavier shells in stone, the lighter in chalk, and so of the rest.' His contemporary, Ray, exposed this assertion, observing very truly that 'fossil bodies are often mingled, heavy with light, in the same stratum;' and he even declared that Woodward 'must have invented the phenomena for the sake of confirming his bold and strange hypothesis.'

That Burnet's *Theory of the Earth*—first published in Latin between the years 1680 and 1690—should ever have been received as a work of science, is to us a cause of wonder. Its very title in full manifests its daring romanticism: *The Sacred Theory of the Earth: containing an Account of the Original of the Earth, and of all the General Changes which it hath already undergone, or is to undergo, till the Consummation of all Things*. Yet, as a work of science, it was commended by Addison in a Latin ode, and Steele praised it in the *Spectator*: melancholy proofs of the total ignorance of our classical English writers as to the commonest principles of Geology. *The Sacred Theory* was, in truth, nothing better than a beautiful historical romance, as Buffon pronounced it to be, eloquent enough in this direction, and displaying (in its proper form in the Latin edition) considerable powers of invention. As such Southey admired and praised it; and as such we still read it.

Whiston and Hutchinson are unworthy of any particular notice. The latter had been employed by Woodward in making his collection of fossils. He and his once numerous followers

were wont to declaim loudly against human learning, and maintained that the Hebrew Scriptures, when properly translated, comprised a perfect system of natural philosophy; for which reason they objected to the Newtonian system of gravitation, as well as to all tendencies towards truer systems of science in general. Certainly the human learning against which they declaimed did not greatly injure either their leader or themselves; their misfortune was quite of an opposite description.

As we are confining our attention to English Geologists, we shall omit detailed reference to Werner, the great Saxon philosopher, whose attainments and character were of a high stamp. The geological controversy between the Vulcanists and Neptunists, the patrons respectively of fire or water as the great agents in effecting the changes in the earth's surface, originated in connexion with Werner's labours and teaching. This controversy always suggests to us two lines in a hymn of Dr. Watts:—

‘Water and Fire maintain the strife
Until the weaker dies.’

One of Werner's English contemporaries was Hutton, in 1788, who, as an early mineralogical observer, merits high commendation. Hutton's *Theory of the Earth* (fully developed in 1795) was the first treatise in which Geology was declared to be in no way concerned about ‘questions as to the origin of things,’ and the first in which an attempt was made to dispense altogether with hypothetical causes, and to explain the former changes of the earth's crust by exclusive reference to natural agents. As Newton had laboured to give fixed principles to Astronomy, so did Hutton labour to impart fixed principles to Geology; but with the disadvantage of too great a lack of the necessary data. He, however, enunciated a great principle in the following terms: ‘The ruins of an older world are visible in the present structure of our planet; and the strata which now compose our continents have been once beneath the sea, and were formed out of the waste of pre-existing continents. The same forces are still destroying, by chemical decomposition or mechanical violence, even the hardest rocks, and transporting the materials to the sea, where they are spread out, and form strata analogous to those of more ancient date. Although loosely deposited along the bottom of the ocean, they become afterwards altered and consolidated by volcanic heat, and then heaved up, fractured, and contorted.’

Although Hutton had never explored any region of active volcanoes, he had convinced himself that basalt and many other trap rocks were of igneous origin, and that many of them had been injected in a melted state through fissures in the older strata. The absence of stratification in granite, and its analogy in mineral character to rocks which he deemed of igneous

origin, led Hutton to conclude that granite also must have been formed from matter in fusion; and this inference he felt could not be fully confirmed, unless he discovered, at the contact of granite and other strata, a repetition of the phenomena so constantly exhibited by the trap rocks. Upon visiting the Grampians to test his theory, and upon surveying the line of junction of the granite and superincumbent stratified masses, he found in Glen Tilt, in 1785, the most clear and unequivocal proofs in support of his theory; for veins of red granite are there seen branching out from the principal mass, and traversing the black micaceous schist and primary limestone. So distinct in colour are the intersected stratified rocks, that the example is most striking; and the alteration of limestone in contact was very similar to that produced by trap veins or calcareous strata. This verification of his system filled him with delight, and this modern philosopher rivalled the ancient in shouting *Eureka*. Such were his displays of joy and exultation, that the guides who accompanied him were convinced that he had discovered a vein of gold or silver. He evidently had the true geological enthusiasm, without which no man will effect anything in the stony science; and this we find curiously confirmed in a letter to Sir John Hall, of Dunglass, in which he says, that he was become 'very fond of studying the surface of the earth, and was looking with anxious curiosity into every pit, or ditch, or bed of a river, that fell in his way.'

The Vulcanists and Neptunists contended with a zeal and acrimony very curious to a cool observer of the present day. The one threw coals of fire, and the other cold water, upon his rival, until these names became terms of reproach; and the two parties were less occupied in aiming to discover truth than in searching for such arguments as might serve to strengthen their own cause, or carry confusion to their antagonists. It is obvious to the impartial observer, that there are many peculiarities visible in the superficies of the earth which are best explained by the agency of heat; while an almost equal number of phenomena seem with more propriety due to the agency of water. The great majority of scientific men are now disposed to attribute full weight to the action of both causes. The few true Wernerians, however, who now remain, consider the power of heat as only a kind of accidental auxiliary, while the true Huttonians regard the action of water in the same light.

In looking over such books as Hutton's *Theory of the Earth*, we cannot but be struck with the great advance made by more modern inquirers even in the mere extent and accuracy of observation of analogous facts, and also with the lack of observation amongst the earlier geologists with relation to the commonest facts and agencies around us. Take, for instance, the action of the sea upon our coasts,—an agency which every sum-

mer tourist, every toil-worn townsman, may now interest himself in marking. The sound of grating and grinding pebbles on sea-beaches is doubtless familiar to the ears of our readers, and gratefully contrasts with the rolling clatter and thunder of wheels over city granite-blocks. A most important lesson in Geology may be derived from this source. We may conclude that this friction, if continued for ages, must not only wear down the pebbles to sand, but also grind away and smooth down even the hard rocks exposed to such powerful action. But when the observer sees huge masses of rock tumbled about by breakers arising from a heavy gale of wind blowing on shore from over a wide-spread open sea, or from long lines of waves, known to nautical men as a *ground-swell*, then he not only learns to value the force of the water itself when projected against a coast or cliff, but also the additional power it possesses of abrading the cliffs opposed to the breakers, by the size and abundance of the shingles held in suspension by the waves. Each of these becomes, in fact, a battering ram propelled against the natural wall. To appreciate the power of breakers, let the reader repair to an exposed coast, such as that around the Land's End in Cornwall, or the Western Islands of Scotland, or the west and north of Ireland. Let him be there during a heavy and long gale of wind from the westward, and mark the effect of the great Atlantic billows as they dash upon the shores. The rocks in such situations will be found to be scooped and hollowed into the most fantastic forms: and yet they were hard rocks, and are still hard; for no other could resist the immense and violent breakers which, with little intermission, drive upon them. Blocks of rock resting upon the shore are propelled some distance forward by the repeated blows of such breakers; and others, though firmly bolted down upon piers, are often loosened and thrown off, and cast aside into more sheltered positions.

Engineers find it extremely difficult to erect pier harbours in such positions, which shall long and successfully resist the destructive power of breakers. Stephenson, the builder of the Eddystone lighthouse, found, by experiment at the Bell Rock and Skerryvore lighthouses, that while the force of the breakers on the side of the German Ocean may be taken at about a ton and a half upon every square foot of surface exposed to them, the Atlantic breakers fall with about double that weight, or three tons to the square foot; and thus we reckon that a surface of only two square yards would sustain a blow from a heavy Atlantic breaker equal to about fifty-four tons! When, in November, 1824, a heavy gale blew, and another at the beginning of 1829, blocks of limestone and granite from two to five tons in weight were washed about like pebbles at the Plymouth breakwater. About three hundred tons of such blocks

were borne a distance of two hundred feet, and up the inclined plane of the breakwater; and they were carried over it and scattered in various directions. A block of limestone, *seven tons* in weight, was in one place washed a distance of 150 feet. Blocks of two or three tons' weight were torn away by a single blow of a breaker, and hurled over into a harbour; and one of nearly two tons, strongly trenailed down upon a jetty, was torn away and tossed upwards by an overpowering breaker.

A diligent and accurate traveller along our sea-coasts would find numerous instances and illustrations of the abrading power of the waves and their small and large shot,—their pebbles and boulders. In some places frequented by fashionable visitors much of the scenic interest is derived from the results of this powerful natural agency. At Freshwater, in the Isle of Wight, thousands of tourists have been struck with the natural arch hollowed out in an outstanding rock in the sea. The celebrated 'Needles,' standing up so picturesquely on the coast of the same island, are detached portions of rock separated from the main mass on the shore by the same unceasing power. Less known, but not less interesting, instances are to be found on other portions of our coasts. The cliffs near Bedruthan, in Cornwall, show the way in which rocks are cut back by the breakers. There several larger and smaller islets have been formed by an abrasion of the rocks, and there we see how the portions that stand out as islands have resisted (as in other cases of the same kind) the breakers, because they are somewhat harder than those abraded and washed away. Arches and caves are formed by the rushing of the breakers round some projecting point or headland. A hollow is thus worked out, and this, from the continuance of the same destructive action, is enlarged, until the roof, from want of support, falls in, and the projecting point finally becomes an island, around which the breakers still continue to work their watery way, gradually increase its distance from the mainland, and in the course of centuries lessen and lastly overflow the island itself.

By their action,—never pausing day or night, in summer or winter,—continued upon rocks of unequal hardness and resisting power, long channels and creeks and coves of every variety of form are scooped out in some situations, while hard rocks protrude in others. The coves afford shelter to fishermen, the hard ledges of rock act as natural piers in other places; and the fantastic shapes of islet rocks and caves and hollows add to the picturesqueness of particular localities, and to the coffers of hotel keepers, lodging-house proprietors, and the whole crew of harpies who infest and despoil every needy or economical geologist who happens to take up his abode among them. We have sometimes thought that the abrading and wearing powers of the

breakers find their human counterpart in the avaricious inn-keeper or the hackneyed letter of 'genteel apartments.'

While upon the sea-shore, we may observe that almost every one of our favourite and much frequented watering-places would afford to the visitor interesting proofs of the encroaching and reducing force of the ocean. If we go to the coast of Sussex, we find that it has been encroached upon by the sea from time immemorial. During a period of no longer than eighty years there are notices of about twenty inroads, in which tracts of land of from twenty to four hundred acres in extent were at once overwhelmed; the value of the tithes being mentioned in the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*. That most fashionable watering-place, Brighton, is situated partly on the verge of an old town or village now swept away; for, in the reign of Elizabeth, the town of Brighton was situated on that tract where the chain-pier now extends into the sea. Twenty-two tenements had been destroyed under the cliff in the year 1665; and at that period there still remained under the cliff 113 tenements, the whole of which were overwhelmed in the years 1703 and 1705. No traces of the ancient town are now perceptible, and yet there is sufficient evidence that the sea has merely resumed its ancient position at the base of the cliffs, the site of the whole old town having been nothing but a sea-beach abandoned by the ocean for ages, and now claimed and resumed by the same resistless waters.*

The sea has made similar encroachments at Bognor, another watering-place on the Sussex coast; and we were much struck at a proof of its encroachments coming within the range of our own personal experience. Upon a recent visit to this place we sought in vain for a little cottage, one of a row which formerly stood close upon the sea, and where we in our childhood had been taken to lodge. We remembered the little scanty garden that stretched down close to the sea, and from the little gate of which we were wont to issue in childish delight with wooden spade to dig the sand, and, even then, to find shells and fossils,

* The waste still continues. The road called the Marine Parade has been repeatedly narrowed; a battery formerly stood at the bottom of the New Steyne, the site of which is now swept away; and in the recollection of some late inhabitants, another battery stood on the beach at the back of Mahomed's baths, which was destroyed by a tempest in 1784. Groins and sloping walls have been erected at a vast expense, at the public cost, to form a protection to the town itself; but as the cliffs to the eastward waste at a rapidly increasing rate, in consequence of the force of the ocean breakers being thrown back upon them, the probability is that, in the slow but sure progress of ages, the town will be rendered a peninsula, and this Queen of watering-places sink down from her throne into the depths of the ocean. Macaulay's imagined New Zealander moralizing on the ruins of St. Paul's is an extravagant freak of fancy; but a future Londoner standing upon the wave-washed ruins of the present town of Brighton, and picking up fragments of mansions and churches, and hotels and boats and piers, is not a romance, but a prophecy of Geology. St. Paul's church, with all its Puseyite adornments, (or, probably, Papal glories,) will even itself find a watery grave in the course of centuries! Dr. Cumming alone can say how many!

some of which we now retain. In vain, we say, we searched for it; and, upon inquiry of a storm-beaten fisherman, discovered that our own old cottage, and the whole row, had been washed entirely away, and not a wreck was left behind. Thus, on sea-coasts, have whole villages and churches, and farms and farm-houses, disappeared within recognised periods. And others, like the Reculver Church on the Kentish coast, are on the very margin of destruction, hanging, as it were, over the ocean which evermore yawns to engulf its prey. Singular as it may seem, facts so obvious and so highly interesting are due to the notice only of modern geologists, and are sought for in vain in the earlier books; the authors of which delighted in hasty theory and rapid generalization, but neglected that patient toil and accumulative spirit of observation which alone can qualify a scholar in this science, and which might have preserved their own fame long after their foolish fancies and baseless theories had crumbled into dust. Sir Charles Lyell was among the first to accumulate this class of observations, and Sir Henry De La Beche and others have followed or accompanied him in the same course. We wish it to be remembered that every one who resorts to, or dwells upon, a sea-coast, may add to these facts, or interest himself in verifying them.

Returning to our glance at the developments of the science, we notice that, up to the time of Hutton and Playfair, men had been unacquainted with the true character and value of organic remains; and it was only very slowly that their true character and value dawned upon the votaries of the study of the ancient earth. Organic remains had been regarded rather in the light of detached curiosities to be stored and inspected in the cabinet, than as indices to the strata that contain them. Even in the comparatively recent volumes of Parkinson we find the beauty and the rarity of the specimens descanted upon, to the exclusion of any valuable notices of their order of succession in their natural beds.

While, however, the controversy between the disciples of Werner and Hutton was still rife, a then obscure and totally unaided inquirer was pursuing his own independent researches in England. WILLIAM SMITH was a surveyor and civil engineer, who had become rather famous amongst farming gentry for his success in draining; and, on one occasion, he even surpassed Elkington in draining a property which that celebrated drainer had pronounced hopeless. His attention had been early in life attracted to the strata he surveyed, and, by the cultivation of uncommon powers of observation and local investigation, he arrived at a fair knowledge of the stratification of many counties. Of books and chemistry and scientific mineralogy he knew very little; for he was a self-taught man, and his eye was his chief instructor. In the course of professional pursuits he

travelled over large spaces of our land, and would sometimes walk from one county to another, peeping into every quarry, roadside excavation, gravel pit, or well which he passed, and storing up in his memory numerous facts relating to the order and character of the strata. He did not understand much about the structure of organic remains, or about their order in systems of natural history; but he did know and record much that was valuable about their localities and exact situations. He collected specimens of shells from all the beds and localities he visited; and when he found one too weighty for his wallet, he hid it behind a tree or a hedge; and such was his bump of locality, (as a phrenologist would say,) that he would months afterwards, on his return, pitch upon the tree and his fossil, and this, too, in repeated instances. Some things he observed for himself which others, unknown to him, had observed before his time. Other truths he noticed for the first time, and these he meditated upon and shaped out in his own manner, in his own mind.

Thus he arrived at a correct notion of the superposition of the secondary strata in a fixed and definite order; that is, if a certain number of the beds of the secondary rocks be assumed, and if these be represented by as many letters of the alphabet,—say, that seven distinct formations are represented by the seven letters, *a, b, c, d, e, f, g*,—then we find that these seven beds always occur in successive order of superposition. Though one should be wanting in one place, it is found in its true position in another; and *b* is never found in the place of *d*, or *e*, or *f*, or *g*. However dislocations, or deluges, or other disturbing agencies may have upheaved or displaced the beds, they have never disordered them. If we take twenty volumes of an Encyclopædia from our library shelves, and suppose these to represent twenty successive formations, then, however inclined or upheaved may be the position of these formations, that represented, say, by vol. 7 will never be found in place of that represented by 4, or that by 9, or that by 16. Though vols. 5 and 6 may be wanting, yet vol. 7 will rest on vol. 4; and, in some other part of the country, where no disturbing forces have extruded the beds, the whole series will again be found in order, as the undisturbed books on a table. The succession of beds, though occasionally imperfect, is never inverted.

In 1790 Smith published his *Tabular View of the British Strata*, in which he proposed a classification of the secondary formations in the west of England, and he continued his labours under all kinds of difficulty and discouragement. He was now labouring to construct a geological map of the whole of England, and, with perfect disinterestedness, he communicated the results of his own investigations to all who desired information, thus giving so much publicity to his original views, that his contemporaries were almost enabled to keep pace with his knowledge

before its publication to the world. His map was completed and executed in 1815. He experienced the utmost difficulty in securing its publication. Governments were too busy in party contentions to listen to the representations of a poor surveyor who wished them to publish his map. Rich men and nobles were not rich or noble enough to aid him; and it was only because Cary, the map-publisher, possessed more enterprise than prudence, and more generosity than love of gain, that the result of Smith's labours appeared in a map of sixteen sheets,—the first geological map of this country,—wherein the whole complicated series of British rocks (especially the secondary) were delineated in a natural and true order; and this without the guidance of previous observers, or the aid of fellow-labourers. A distinguished pupil of Werner, D'Aubuisson, commended this performance in just terms, when he said, in reference to it, 'What many celebrated mineralogists have only accomplished for a small part of Germany in the course of half a century, has been effected by a single individual for the whole of England.'

Another achievement of William Smith was the discovery and establishment of a law concerning organic remains, viz., that *certain organic remains are characteristic of certain strata*, and that, consequently, the same stratum can be identified in different parts of England by the contained fossils. This law has been confirmed and developed by the whole history and discoveries of modern Geology, and it at once indicates to us the value and use of all organic remains. Although now admitted as one of the fundamental laws of Geology, its discoverer and its importance should never be lost sight of. Any inquirer may verify it for himself. Commonly the same rock is so similar in its external appearance and its composition in various parts of our country, that it can be easily recognised; but sometimes the rock is so altered in appearance, that an appeal to its fossils must decide its identity. For example, the great oolite of Gloucester is a beautiful white even-grained stone, displayed in its purity and whiteness in the buildings of the city of Bath. In Yorkshire, in some places, as around Scarborough, the same rock becomes a dark coarse stone, inferior to the Bath stone, and it can only be identified by its fossils. We have worked for many long hours in extricating the fossils in both localities, and our own cabinet shows the contrast of the stone, and the similarity of the petrifications.

The identification of strata by fossil contents has been accomplished in other, and now almost in all, lands. It is doubtful how far the law may be said to apply out of one country in relation to another. Still it does appear to apply in some considerable degree in nearly all cases. By the employment of this rule, the foreign equivalents for our British strata are deter-

mined, and by it the Devonian and Silurian* strata of our own country have been identified in many distant parts of Europe, and even in large districts in Russia. Even this law, however, may be too rigidly laid down; and looking at the conditions which at the present time appear to govern the existence of marine life, both as regards the relative position of different portions of it, and the distribution of similar animals, great care seems to be required in assuming particular species as characteristic of particular geological periods, without reference to their modes of occurrence at the time. Without due caution on this point, it may happen that littoral species, very characteristic of the shores of a particular region, will be sought for in vain amid contemporaneous accumulations in the deep seas of other regions, while not a trace can be found of deep sea species, abundant elsewhere at the same geological time, amid shallow water and littoral deposits.

It is to be observed that William Smith, although no literary man, and although he had probably never read a page of Bacon, carried on his reasonings on the true inductive principles. His map, and his separate publications and personal communications, all savoured of a thorough inductive philosophy. Succeeding geologists, having the advantage of more varied acquirements, and of predecessors in the paths they take, as well as numerous fellow-labourers, have eclipsed Smith, and cast his name somewhat into oblivion; but we think our own tribute the least we can pay to his memory. We knew him personally and intimately, as we resided for some months with him in his later life for the purpose of acquiring a practical knowledge of Geology. Much amused were we with his thorough devotion to his favourite pursuits. He was a man of one science, and perhaps one branch of it. All things in his view converged to

* One of the most striking recent proofs of the value of identifying fossils is to be found in a notice by Sir R. I. Murchison at the Meeting of the Geological Society of London, on November 21st, 1855. The principal object was to direct attention to the recent discovery of the Upper Silurian rocks of Scotland, in which country their presence was unknown. Mr. R. Slimon, of Lesmahago, an extensive parish in Lanarkshire, detected very remarkable and large crustaceans in the strata of that locality. The uppermost Silurian rock of Lanarkshire contains a species of pterygotus (a singular crustacean) not to be distinguished from the species of that crustacean so abundantly found in the Upper Ludlow rock of Shropshire and Herefordshire. Other crustaceans are found there, [of the group eurypteridæ (Burmeister) and other groups.] Sir R. I. Murchison pointed out the remarkable persistency of this zone of large crustaceans in various parts of the world. One of the Lanarkshire individuals has a length of three feet. At Kendal, in Westmoreland, the eurypterus is found in the tilestones with many Upper Ludlow fossils. In Podolia, the stratum containing a particular species of eurypterus underlies Devonian rocks; and in the Russian Baltic island of Oesel it has recently been detected in a limestone which had been referred to the Ludlow rock. In North America the eurypterus occupies the same geological position as in Russia and the British Isles; and it must be remembered that large crustaceans of this group of eurypteridæ have nowhere been found in rocks of older date than the Upper Silurian. Thus one species of extinct animals has been the identifying key to rocks extending over Europe.

its illustration. At breakfast in the morning he would point to the plate of ready cut bread and butter, and say, 'Now, that is the way the strata lie in the earth, shelving and lapping one over another.' In travelling with him by coach from the Cambridge Meeting of the British Association to York, he placed himself close to the window, and, looking out over field, and hedge, and hill, he continually pointed out to us the variations and indications of the strata, the outburst of springs, and the character of the agriculture as affected by the soil and the subjacent rocks. If he trod a town pavement, he spoke of the wear of the stone of which it was composed; if he visited a cathedral, his eye was instantly directed, not to the style of architecture, or to noble doors or beautiful windows, but to the nature of the stone and the weathering of its angles and carvings. On one occasion a clerical friend of ours who had often endeavoured to draw Smith into religious conversation, but had invariably failed, found our geologist in a churchyard, with ourselves, after service on the Sunday morning. 'Ah, Mr. Smith,' said the Clergyman, 'I am glad to find you here, and to see you moralizing over the grave. This, Sir, is what we must all come to: how needful to be prepared for it!' 'Yes,' said Smith, 'I often enter the churchyard, and I find much instruction here.' 'I am delighted to find you so often meditate among the tombs,' rejoined the Clergyman. 'No place so fit,' added Smith; 'for where can you so well see how the stones of which the tombstones are composed last, and stand the weather? There, that tombstone is a piece of lias, blue lias, Sir, and you see it stands well. That is a slab of oolite, and bad is the bed that it comes from; for it is now crumbling away, although so lately erected: and that one there, foolishly chosen from the Cloughton gritstone,—why, Sir, it will not stand five or ten years. Yes, this is the place to see the true qualities of different stone.' It is needless to add, that our clerical friend from that hour gave up the attempt to benefit Smith.

We ourselves one Sabbath evening, walking on the sunlit shores of Scarborough, when sea, and cliff, and houses were flooded with the glories of the setting sun, conversed with our geologist respecting the glories of the heavenly state; but, alas! we found that he carried his Geology to his imagined heaven, and hinted that he conceived the chief felicity of that state would consist in ranging undisturbed over new geological scenes, and discovering without difficulty the key to all the problems in his favourite science which had perplexed him here. We really believe he dreamt geologically. He was in his glory when, in the Geological Section of some one of the Meetings of the British Association, he was seated in an arm-chair next the President or Lecturer, and was perhaps complimentarily alluded to during the lecture or speech. After the business was termi-

nated, he would go round to those who were introduced to him, and say to each, 'Have you seen my medal?' at the same time exhibiting the medal which had been awarded to him by the Geological Society of London. At another time it would be, 'Have you seen my diploma?' and then he would show his diploma of D.C.L., which had been conferred upon him at Oxford, by the intercessory influence of Dr. Buckland. Though thus complimented with an Oxonian Doctorship, he was better known by the *sobriquet* of 'Stratum Smith;' affixed upon him from his frequent allusions at all seasons and at all places to strata. He had acquired a habit of committing his thoughts on geological matters to stray slips of paper of note size, which were constantly and almost daily increasing, and with which every cupboard in the house where we dwelt with him was crammed. Unhappily these notes were crude and backward in true knowledge, being the fruits of his musing old age, but he attached an inordinate value to them. On being referred to, and also complimented, after a certain dinner of the Geological Society in London, Stratum Smith in reply referred to these said invaluable manuscripts, lamenting their loss to the world. Upon this an eminent London publisher rose and made a most liberal offer in relation to their publication: Smith returned to his cupboards with exceeding joy, collected and arranged his sybilline leaves, and went with them to London, musing all the way on the increase of fame and fortune that awaited him. Alas! the event showed that the after-dinner speeches of publishers are not to be taken as utterances of truth and soberness; for the leaves were not published, and probably even now lie in the dust-hole of some cottage in Scarborough, if not in a state of tinder. Peace be to the ashes of Stratum Smith, 'the Father of English Geology,' as one has styled him. He was the instructor of one who has far surpassed him in acquirements, if not in originality, in his own science: that one is his nephew, Professor John Phillips, now Deputy Reader in Geology at Oxford.

Several highly accomplished geologists have succeeded Smith, and have brought the science to its present eminence amongst sister sciences. By their labours it has advanced with accelerated speed, so that in its present progress the most diligent student can scarcely keep pace with it. We have now a very flourishing Society for its express encouragement, the Geological Society of London, numbering eminent men amongst its officers, and zealous cultivators amongst its Fellows and Members; and several valuable volumes of Transactions, together with a Quarterly Journal recording minor matters and the annals and proceedings of the Society. In addition, we now have another and a kindred Society for a special purpose,—the publication of monographs and treatises on the fossils of the various British

strata. This is named the Paleontographical Society, and is one of the very few English Societies carried on without any needless parade or expense. A subscription annually of one guinea entitles the member to a copy of the Society's publications for the year; and as the authorship is generally gratuitous, the expenses of publication alone fall on the funds. This Association is a remarkable proof of what zeal and economy in combination can effect. At least one quarto part is given to the member every year, and not one of those already issued is inferior, while several of them are of first-rate excellence, both in letter-press and in illustrations. Time will render the division of volumes and the plan of publication more perfect; and we may ultimately expect from this Association a complete work on the whole series of British fossils.

We might with pride recount the names of our modern masters in Geology, but that pride would be greatly sobered by the recollection that death has of late years deprived us of many of the foremost men whose names have been most often on the lips of all students of the science. We shall perhaps best show the advance of the science by glancing at the lives and achievements of those who have recently vanished from our midst, and are found no more at our Museums. We will not take them chronologically, but in an order which will illustrate the progress of the science in its different branches.

SIR HENRY T. DE LA BECHE appears to have been amongst us almost but yesterday. His name is, perhaps, better known than that of most modern geologists among practical men; for his studies were made to conduce to a practical result. Favourably circumstanced in early life, he followed the bias of his mind, which was decidedly towards the study of nature in the old world and the old rocks. He travelled far and wide, and from the first made diligent inquisition into the action of existing natural forces. The title of his best and principal book might with propriety be transferred to himself: he was, *par excellence*, 'The Geological Observer.'^{*} An observer he was, of the first

^{*} The volume thus entitled was first published some years since, and a second and greatly enlarged edition appeared in 1853. We know no book so full of important facts relating to Physical Geology, while it contains but little respecting Organic Remains, which, indeed, the author did not appear to have studied minutely. It is certainly a remarkable work for one man, consisting, as it does, of more than seven hundred pages of accumulated observations in the physical department of the science; and it is characterized by a thoroughly philosophical spirit, proceeding inductively, and without theoretic special pleading, and noting every class of phenomena illustrative of the action of natural forces upon the existing strata, and of the mode in which the igneous rocks occur, and were disturbed, and probably formed. Respecting mineral rocks, especially in relation to Cornwall, it is replete with minute and correct information, not to be found elsewhere in one volume. The only drawback is its heavy, cumbersome, unadorned style. The sentences are very long, often involved, and not seldom require to be read over twice or thrice before the full meaning can be eliminated. Hence it will never be a popular

order, acute, patient, persevering, and a treasurer of all facts. Sea-coasts and barren districts of primitive rocks, deep mines and flowing rivers, were his haunts, and almost his houses, in earlier life. Having means as well as mind, (how seldom are geologists equally fortunate!) he directed his attention to some practical departments of Geology which he was determined to carry out into public usefulness. He made a careful and valuable Report on the Geology and Mineralogy of Devon and Cornwall, in a thick illustrated volume, and upon this Report he based other proceedings of a practical character. He rested not until, by his influence and ability, he had moved the 'powers that be' to make a grant of the public money towards a Museum of Practical Geology. For organic remains, as mere curiosities and objects of cabinet collection and cabinet covetousness, he did not seem to care very much. The wonders, the things that make the substance of romantic and imaginative colouring in Geology, did not seem to appeal to his mind, which was eminently practical, and, perhaps, deficient in descriptive power. For some years the little Museum in the corner of Craig's Court, Charing Cross, (next to the Branch of the Sun Fire Office,) was the scene of his labours and his triumphs. There he accumulated the nucleus of the more splendid and extensive collection afterwards transferred to Jermyn Street. The specimens of building stone, of constructive materials, of metallic veins, of useful products of the earth, and of the processes of metallic reduction and construction, were all arranged under his eye in the cases and corners of those long, low, rather dingy and dusky rooms. Well do we remember Sir Henry in his little closet den at that place, always accessible for scientific inquiry, but always short in his answers, and to the point: we can bring him before our mind's eye bustling along the rooms, with keys in his hand, and, to use his own expression to us, 'busy as a bee' amongst his specimens. By continued effort, and the employment of all the aristocratic influence he could avail himself of, he brought about the commencement and continuance of the Geological Survey of the United Kingdom, and his own appointment as Director-General of the same. In this work he was indefatigable, and almost outran the ability and activity of his co-operators. We call to mind that when we wondered at the sudden resignation of an eminent modern geologist, as immediately following his appointment to succeed the late Professor Forbes at the Museum of Practical Geology in Jermyn Street, we discovered, upon inquiry, that it was due to the over zeal of Sir Henry, who, having secured the gentle-

book; and hence, probably, the author will never be so generally known as one who could invest his facts, however technical and dry, in a lighter and airier dress. To all who have patience and perseverance, we commend the book above others as a storehouse of observations.

man's appointment, the *very next morning* wrote his orders to him to follow him (Sir Henry) to a distant part of the kingdom, in the Geological Survey. Whereupon the newly appointed Professor wrote a letter of resignation, and posted the letter instead of himself.

By Sir Henry's untiring perseverance, the Government was instigated to erect the magnificent Museum of Economic Geology, now open in Jermyn Street, near St. James's Church, London. When he removed with all his treasures and his fellow-Professors into the building, the soul of the Director seemed to expand, and his highest ambition appeared to be gratified. Now rocks were arranged in better order, fossils were exhibited in side cases, and the smaller ones in glazed tablets. Pictorial illustrations adorned the walls. A room for mining machinery and models was set apart. Another spacious apartment was dedicated to the preservation of mining records and maps. Professors had their own apartments; lecturers on Practical Geology, Mineralogy, and Chemistry, had their lecture-rooms; and a Chemical Laboratory was well furnished for students. A good reference Library fronted Piccadilly, and Sir Henry himself had his own superior apartments, and, in fact, was 'monarch of all he surveyed.' He was acquiring, and aiming to acquire, great influence on all questions connected with his own pursuits, and on all public movements in connexion with them, when, at no very advanced age, Sir Henry T. De La Beche, C.B., F.R.S., was removed by death. The deceased 'Observer' is succeeded by Sir R. I. Murchison, of equal geological celebrity.

There was associated with Sir Henry in the same Museum, in Jermyn Street, a Professor of the same science, but of a different branch of the same, who was, in his own walk, no way inferior to his official superior: that man was the late PROFESSOR FORBES. No two men could be more dissimilar in personal appearance. De La Beche was rather under middle height, and inclined to be stout, of keen and penetrating look, short in speech, and quick, bustling in his movements. Edward Forbes was above the middle height, with a slight stoop, was languid and pale in his aspect, had lanky hair, (the opposite to Sir Henry's,) and was slow of speech and of step, and mild and calmly affable in his address. From early life, he, too, had a strong bias to Natural History. Eluding the medical profession, to which he was destined, he set forth at all times and in all places in search of natural curiosities. He made voyages and dredged scientifically in the depths of the Mediterranean and the Ægean Seas. He procured, observed, and classified objects, and studied not only their forms, but their modes of existence. He studied star-fishes as astronomers study stars. In molluscs (shell-animals) he was well informed; and by his personal acquaintance with

innumerable circumstances in the life and habits of oceanic existences, he became, perhaps, the first naturalist who has hitherto been in a position to avail himself of the great store of facts accumulated by geologists respecting the distribution of organic life in the former world. On some future occasion we may be able to bring before our readers a notice of the light thrown on Geology by submarine researches; at present we must content ourselves by saying, in relation to Forbes, that he attained the summit of his wishes,—the realization of boyhood's dream,—in his appointment to the chair of Natural History in the University of Edinburgh; and shortly afterwards his valuable life was terminated by the domination of a long resisted enemy, and he succumbed to a mortal and severe disease. In his appointment, too, he somewhat resembled De La Beche, although the latter enjoyed his pre-eminence for several years. Both, however, died after the attainment of their highest aims.

These two eminent men were representatives of the great division which has taken place in the study of Geology in recent years. As facts and observations, and also observers, continually and largely increased and came to light, it was found practically impossible to pursue the study of Geology in all directions at the same time and by the same man. To attempt this would have equalled an attempt to drive six or eight mettlesome and differently bred horses in hand. No one mind could be comprehensive enough for the task; and the rapid rate at which some branches proceeded, compared with others, rendered the attempt utterly hopeless. Hence, of late years, some have confined themselves principally to Physical Geology, as did Sir H. De La Beche; and others, like Forbes, have chiefly studied the structure of organic remains, gathering and throwing light on these from all the existing and open and growing fields of natural history around them. The Physical Geologist studies the component parts of rocks, their mineralogical character and contents, their probable geological history, and their actual stratification. He records the active forces of volcanoes, earthquakes, and tempests. He is busied in examining the prevailing structure of the igneous rocks, the evidences of their metamorphism, their disturbances, and their mineral treasures; the deposition of sedimentary rocks, their stratification, their dislocations, faults, upheaves and downthrows, contortions and exceptional phenomena. As far as he is concerned in his branch, the organic remains included in the secondary rocks may never have been alive; their position and order are the chief sources of his interest in them. They are to him the medals of creation; they bear the stamp and impress of antiquity incalculable. Like medals, they indicate to him the reigning forces and natural dynasties of their period of currency,—and this is all *he* requires. But to the geologist who is mainly interested in the organic

structures and natural types of the fossil remains, they are infinitely more than to his physical and stony brother; for he takes any remnant of a plant, or shell, or bone, in hand, and minutely inspects it, and compares it with other specimens, and places it, if need be, under the magnifying glass or the microscope. He has types at hand with which to contrast or identify it; he can classify it, and name it, and point out its likeness or dissimilarity to existing species.

Now, this branch of the science has lately received a new denomination, viz., *Palæontology*,—a term which expresses the study and science of all living things in the ancient world. This is the department of our science in which the most rapid and the most generally appreciable advances have been made. Cuvier may be almost considered its founder: his extensive knowledge of comparative anatomy enabled him to reconstruct an ancient animal from one of its fossil bones, or teeth, or even some fragments of the same. Clift, now deceased, but formerly of the College of Surgeons, was a pupil of Hunter's, and became highly accomplished in the same department. An amiable little man was Clift, full of vivacity and intelligence, and a lingerer to the last in the Museum which he had mainly helped to arrange, at the College of Surgeons in Lincoln's-Inn Fields. His successor was Richard Owen, a relative, and in fame more than a rival, of Clift. Much he did at the Lincoln's-Inn College: let us hope he will do more in the British Museum, now that he is at the head of its Natural History department. No collection in the world is so valuable and complete as that of the fossils in the British Museum, and yet none is worse arranged, or more difficult of proper and full access for purposes of scientific study. It shows no attempt at stratigraphical arrangement.

Two men of extended fame have recently passed from this scene, who largely contributed to the present eminence and development of Palæontology. These were Dr. Buckland and Dr. Mantell.

DR. BUCKLAND has but just departed from us. An Oxford man and Professor, he was for many years known chiefly in that ancient seat of learning. His *Reliquiæ Diluvianæ* brought him much fame and many opponents. He was one of the first who bore the attacks of the now almost extinct generation of half-informed men who deemed Geology the underminer of Genesis and the mortal foe of Moses. For a long time he was thought by these to be little less than a masked infidel; and even the heads of Colleges at Oxford regarded him with a kind of reverential dread. They always feared he would one day disentomb some relic that would invalidate the Divine record, weaken the authority of the Thirty-nine Articles, deprive them of their fellowships and livings, and overthrow the Church! The late Dr. Pye Smith told us a humorous anecdote illustrative of this feeling in the popular mind. When he and some geologists visited

the Isle of Arran in Scotland, an old dame stood at her cottage door, exclaiming, in broad and untranscribable Scotch, 'O, Maggie, come awa' noo, and see the men who are o'er here to prove the Bible a pock o' lees!'

Buckland will now be chiefly known by his *Bridgewater Treatise*; a work on which he bestowed great pains and much money, and which, even now, is, to our thinking, the best *general* guide to fossil remains in the language, within the compass of two volumes. Sir Robert Peel promoted Buckland to the Deanery of Westminster. Alas! soon after he sat down well beneficed, under the shadow of Westminster Abbey, a deeper shadow fell and obscured the greatness of his mind, and he wandered about, or moped at home, the *travestie* of his former self, muttering incoherent geological fragments, and sinking into helpless imbecility. Once we saw him at a sale of fossils when he was in this state; but he could no longer converse, and all respected his calamity in silence and reserve.

DR. MANTELL has been an inmate of the tomb for a longer period. His name is better known than that of most other geologists, from some circumstances which we shall briefly advert to. As a provincial medical man, at Lewes in Sussex, he was led to study the Geology of his own district. In this he was alone. He had the productive chalk pits of the vicinity constantly under his eye and examination. In the course of years he accumulated from these pits a valuable collection of very interesting fossils, the existence of which none before him had even suspected in this locality. In a museum in his house he arranged his fine and almost unique collection of fishes from the chalk, and his accomplished lady showed them in his absence, and drew them for his books. While for many years he took care of the bones of his patients, he was equally intent on preserving the bones of the enormous reptiles which he disinterred from the quarries of the Wealden strata, in the district of Tilgate Forest, in Sussex, now nearly touched upon by the Brighton railway. Ultimately he became famous as a restorer of extinct and huge reptiles, and seemed almost to live and flourish in the 'place of dragons.' He discovered and named the notorious *iguanodon*, whose lively portraiture, or rather lively image, has been achieved by Mr. Hawkins, and placed in the gardens of the Crystal Palace, where he may be seen nearly as he lived, bulky and extraordinary, capacious enough to hold in his magnificent interior a whole dinner-party of Mr. Hawkins's friends. Had he but been alive and hearty, he would have digested, rather than sheltered, his intruding guests.

Mantell's collection was in the end sold (for £4,000), and transferred to the British Museum, where, unhappily, it is dislocated and divided, and to us appears inferior to its former self in the house at Lewes. The books which Mantell published,

and especially his popular works,* and the lectures which he delivered, approved him as the most popular expounder of the *mirabilia* of palæontology. As a lecturer he was eloquent, as a man showy. He had the art of attracting people to him, and of winning his way, whether in accumulating his first collection, or selling it (at, we think, a very high price) to the British Museum, or lecturing in high-flown language, and on high pecuniary terms, or in gathering a second collection of fossils by the liberality of admiring friends. His name, however, will always find a place amongst the earlier palæontologists of England.

Having completed our notice of deceased geologists, let us undertake a local and practical illustration of geological labours in a peculiar, but generally unknown, spot.

If we take the railway from London to Oxford, after having spent a day in visiting the colleges and halls of that famous and beautiful city, we can pay a visit to the village of Stonesfield, about a dozen miles north-west of Oxford, and a mile or two from Blenheim. If the city of Oxford be classic ground to the scholar or Clergyman, no less is Stonesfield classic ground to the geologist, both for its remarkable aggregate of organic remains, and its association with the labours and fame of Dr. Buckland. No place can be more forbidding than the village itself. As we approach it, we observe numerous heaps of loose slaty stones in various directions, in parcels of rough land, which are enclosed by low rubbly walls, formed of the same slaty stones. We discover, in due time, that the heaps of slates are the refuse of pits, dug from twenty to forty feet deep into the rock. These pits have been so multiplied from time to time that much of the village is undermined, and it would probably all fall in together upon a slight shock of an earthquake. The village itself is chiefly inhabited by the 'slate-makers.' The best and, indeed, only season for these poor men is the winter, during its sharpest frosts; and this arises from the peculiar fissile character of the rock, which is of an oolitic character, and has been determined as occupying, in geological position, the base of the Bath or great oolite. It is nowhere developed on so large a scale as at Stonesfield; but it is to be found in the same geological position in other parts of the country; and we ourselves have found it not far from Stroud, in Gloucestershire, and in several localities in the same county, principally at Sevenhampton and Naunton, not far from Cheltenham, and near Moreton.

All over Oxfordshire you may see more or less of Stonesfield

* As the *Wonders of Geology*, *Medals of Creation*, *Geological Guide to the British Museum*, and *Thoughts on a Pebble*. He was author of about twenty-five greater and lesser publications, including papers in journals. He wrote with rapidity, from a full and ready mind.

slates on roofs of churches and houses. A large trade is done in the article; and the adjacent town of Witney is not more famous for blankets to cover beds, than is Stonesfield for slates to cover the houses. In the depth of winter masses of the rock are exhumed from the pits, and exposed on the surface. During a sharp frost these masses become loosened in all their laminæ. Then the loose covering is removed from them, and, with a few blows of the hammer, the whole mass falls into the most convenient and ready slates, of a tolerably uniform thickness. To open a slate pit, a man must pay about £10 to the Duke of Marlborough, or about 3*s.* 6*d.* *per* 1,000 slates raised, choosing which tax he pleases. Finding a ready market for his slates all around him, he can do well at the work, and employ men who can make about 10*s.* *per* week. All, however, depends on the frost. Some labourers are frozen *out* of work; the Stonesfield men are, on the contrary, frozen *into* it. Give them but a sharp, biting winter, and, as its fruit, you will find them busy all the spring and summer in trimming the slates which the frost has loosened. It is only a good sharp frost which bakes their bread.

Two questions only are asked of strangers who enter Stonesfield, and turn their eyes upon the pits: one is, 'Do you want a few thousand slates?' and the other, 'Do you want any fossils?' If you look at all like a gentleman, you will know it by having the latter question addressed to you at first. So celebrated is this out-of-the-way locality for its fossils, that collectors and Oxonians are continually resorting to it. The architect and the artist repair to Blenheim; the geologist cares little for Blenheim, and repairs to Stonesfield.

There does not exist a complete collection of the Stonesfield fossils in any one building, and therefore no complete list of the fossils has been made. The Oxford Geological Museum contains, perhaps, the finest series, chiefly collected by Dr. Buckland, who visited the most productive pits at the village almost daily for a long period. He reaped, too, the first harvest, and frequently had fine fossils brought to him by the villagers for a mere trifle, before their marketable value was known. He has been seen to pore over 'Davis's pit' for hours together; and, alas! he has left nothing to his successors, as we can testify of Davis's pit. By dint, however, of judicious and pardonable bribery, and by the aid of a friendly slate-maker, we have furnished some drawers of our cabinet with characteristic fossils, and have paid for some hundreds of slates which we shattered in the search for others. Let us now glance at these products of the slate pits, and it will be seen that a marvellous variety of organic remains is derived from this little undermined village.

We begin with *plants*, and notice one marine plant, a branching fucoid. Ferns are more abundant, and exhibit delicate

fronds; and in some specimens, broad-leaved tribes. We see some very fine leaves and fronds referrible to the group of cycadaceæ, and a long-leaved plant of the same group, together with a singular leaf, more than twelve inches long and one inch broad, having no mid-rib. Of coniferous plants only the extreme branches, and those of small size, are common. One kind is allied to the yew tribe; but most of them resemble the cypresses. A beautiful specimen of a zamiod fruit, with the scales attached to the axis, has been named after Dr. Buckland *Bucklandia squamosa*. Other fruits resemble those of coniferous trees like pines.

When we ascend to the *animal kingdom*, and commence with the lowest type, we find in these Stonesfield slaty beds a few zoophytes; and if we take into our reckoning the oolitic beds above the slate, we have a considerable number of them, and some reef-making corals. We have a long-spined species of the sea urchins (echinodermata); a small serpula represents the annelida; and crustacea appear as small lobsters and crabs.

Faint but unmistakable relics appear of a department of animal life we should never have expected in this or any other rocky formation. At the period of the deposition of these fossil rocks, thousands of ephemeral creatures winged their airy way over the district. Who would have imagined that the wing-cases of primeval insects are imbedded in the Stonesfield slates? The stony laminæ are like the thin drawers of an entomological cabinet; in fixed order the horny wing-cases are embedded as firmly as if they were pinned in cork by a disciple of Kirby and Spence. Doubtless the roofs of some of the buildings in Oxfordshire are entomological cabinets! The most frequent wing-cases are those of beetles, and are generally found separate. No other part is known as yet, excepting in a species of curculio, the hind-leg of which, seemingly adapted for jumping, is preserved in a specimen in the Oxford Museum. The wing-cases (*elytra*) which occur most abundantly are allied to the buprestidæ or prinoidæ,* — races which abound in warm, but are not excluded from temperate, climates. There is also a neuropterous† wing described elaborately by Dr. Buckland,‡ and now in the Oxford Museum.

It is remarkable that very recently insect remains have been noticed in the strata of the Hastings sands, and thus the range of insect beds has been increased. It is only of late years that these highly interesting fossils have been noticed. To discover them requires sharp eye-sight, and exceeding patience. We have geologized over several beds, in other districts, where they

* See figures in Buckland's 'Bridgewater Treatise,' vol. ii., p. 46.

† Neuropterous insects are so named from having wings finely nerved, like the dragon-fly.

‡ 'Geological Proceedings,' vol. ii., p. 688.

have been found after our inspection; and only on second visits and close scrutiny have we been fortunate enough to secure some faint and very fragmentary portions of wings. Some are so minute as to be almost microscopical, and, in many of our specimens from the lias insect beds, (of Strentsham, and Cotham near Bristol,) we have been compelled to encircle our insects in a black-ink ring, so as to be able to discover them again. This department of research is chiefly indebted to the patient and persevering labours of one individual, a Clergyman, (Mr. Brodie,) who has gathered a remarkable series of fossil insect specimens, many from Gloucestershire, and has identified his name with the long since entombed little winged creatures of an early world.* After many a long day's search amongst shells and slaty stones, he has thought himself fortunate if he could produce as the fruits of his toil the wings of a brace of beetles, the hind leg of a grasshopper, and half a feeler of a dragon-fly! With all the impediments in the way of these minute researches, no less than fifty-eight genera of fossil insects have been obtained (of course in portions and fragments) from the British strata. Several species of beetle (*curculio*) have been found impressed in the ironstone nodules of Coalbrook-Dale, Shropshire; and not only are the remains of insects imbedded in coal strata, but the remains also of the animals are found, to which the insects served as food. A celebrated specimen is that of the fossil scorpion discovered by Count Sternberg in Bohemia. It is about two and a half inches long, is embedded in coal shale with leaves and fruits, and the legs, claws, jaws and teeth, skin, hairs, and even portions of the trachea, or breathing apparatus, are preserved. It has twelve eyes, and all the sockets remain; one of the small eyes and the left large eye retain their form, and have the cornea, or outer skin, preserved in a shrivelled state. The bony covering is also preserved. It is neither carbonized nor decomposed, as the peculiar substance of which it is composed (*clytrine*) has resisted decomposition and mineralization.†

If we ascend to the latest geological deposits, we find some remarkable remains of insects in the group of tertiary strata at Aix in Provence,—the town being situated upon a thick deposit of tertiary conglomerate. There the fossil insects appear as fresh as if but yesterday enveloped. All of them belong to existing genera, and only one species is aquatic. In some specimens the claws are visible, and the sculptured forms, and even a measure of colouring. The nerves of the wings in the diptera, (having two wings,) and even the pubescence (soft hairy down) on the head, are distinctly seen. Several of the beetles have

* See 'History of Fossil Insects of the Secondary Rocks of England.' By the Rev. P. B. Brodie. 4to. Ten plates. 1845.

† See Buckland's 'Bridgewater Treatise,' plate 46, p. 406, *et seq.*

their wings extended beyond the wing-cases, as if they had fallen into the water while on the wing, and had made an effort to escape. Nearly seventy genera of insects, and a few spiders, have been enumerated; and it is very singular that some of the insects are identical with species which now inhabit Provence. It would appear probable that these insects were originally brought together from different localities by floods and mountain streams, or they might have inhabited moist and shady forests. We have thus far diverged from Stonesfield while upon the interesting subject of fossil insects, but we now return to the slates and their curiosities.

Leaving these lower divisions of animal life, and passing to the *mollusca*,—or soft animals, destitute of bony structure, and inhabiting shells,—we find in the Stonesfield slates a comparatively limited number,—as two or three species of brachiopoda, several genera among the monomyaria, and eight genera of the dimyaria. The gasteropoda include three species of nerinea; and among the cephalopoda we find good ammonites, nautili, and belemnites.

But the *fishes* form a large and beautiful group at Stonesfield, and, though but rarely more than fragmentary, and represented chiefly by the scales, and teeth, and 'spears,'—as the workmen call the ichthyodorulites, with a true rendering of the Greek name,—these parts are so characteristic as to admit of correct reference to the family and genera. All the species are extinct, and belong to genera not identical with living types. Of the four great orders of fishes in the system of Agassiz, we have specimens of the placoid and ganoid; and these two orders are those of which comparatively few examples occur living at this period. One of the living ganoids (*lepidosteus*) is found in Lake Ontario, and another (*polypterus*) in the sea on the south coast of Africa. In the existing ocean, sharks and rays are the principal placoid fishes. One of these, (*cestracion Philippi*), a shark now living on the coast of Australia, presents the nearest analogies to the acrodi and strophodi of Stonesfield.

Reptiles of formidable dimensions dragged their slow length along this ground in primeval ages. Portions of the jaws with long, thin, serrated teeth, leg-bones, and vertebræ, evince a very large and heavy land lizard. The thigh-bones measure about three feet, and so do the leg-bones; and the foot was very long. On such data, combined with the appearance of long jaws, and the great size of the vertebræ, we may with Dr. Buckland—after whom the fossil is named *megalosaurus Bucklandi*—conjecture the animal to have been twice the length of a crocodile, say from thirty to forty or even fifty feet. The leg-bones were hollow in the centre, and the enormous creature partook of the structure of crocodile and monitor. One of its teeth now lies before us, beautifully preserved, the enamel being of a rich dark brown

colour, as is common with the Stonesfield animal remains, and flat, pointed and curved back like a pruning-knife; the inner edge being deeply serrated down to the base; and the whole character of the tooth shows that the animal was highly carnivorous, and would, if now at Oxford, make but one mouthful of Dr. Pusey or Bishop Wilberforce.

The *teleosaurus* was a much smaller animal than the *megalosaurus*, and more nearly resembled the Gavialian crocodiles. It was an aquatic animal, had biconcave vertebræ, nostrils at the end of a very long narrow snout, sharp and long teeth, and very strong dermal scales. One of the finest specimens was found in 1824 in the shale of the lias near Whitby. Its entire length was eighteen feet, the teeth in the long snout one hundred and forty in number, and all small and slender. It is more common in the lias formation.

The remains of a prodigious lizard, *cetiosaurus medius*, are found at Ensham Bridge, near Oxford, and at Chipping Norton. They consist of bones of the extremities, of vast proportions; and this lizard must have been of the size of a whale, and had, probably, analogies to the crocodile.

Of that extraordinary creature, the *pterodactyle*, the wing-bones are recognised in the Stonesfield slate, and are conspicuous for their length and hollowness in the middle, characteristics which suggest affinities with birds. The organs of flight are present, but all attempts to identify it with birds are stopped by the existence of teeth in the beak resembling those of reptiles. The form of a single bone enabled Cuvier to pronounce that the creature was a lizard; but a winged lizard does not exist in the present creation. Yet in many points it had the character of a reptile. After careful study of this peculiar creature, it was found to be an animal of all others in a fossil state the most remarkable. It was conjectured to have had the head and neck of a bird, the mouth of a reptile, the wings of a bat, and the body and tail of a mammifer. The outer toe of its feet was enormously elongated to furnish support (as is conceived) for a membranous wing. By this means these animals were able to fly like the bat; while the fingers with claws projecting from the wings enabled them to creep or climb. When their wings were folded, they could probably walk on two feet, and it is most likely that they could also swim. Their eyes were enormously large, so that they could seek their prey in the night. Possibly they fed on insects, though they may have had the power of diving for fish. Eight species of these wing-fingered (so the word *pterodactyle* signifies) creatures, from the size of a snipe to that of a cormorant, have been found in the various beds containing them; and these are, the Stonesfield slates and the lias of England, (perhaps also the chalk,) and the slates of Solenhofen, in Germany. In looking over

their delineations, we cannot but remember the lines of Milton, in his *Paradise Lost* :—

‘The fiend
O’er bog or steep, through strait, rough, dense, or rare,
With head, hands, wings, or feet, pursues his way ;
And swims, or sinks, or wades, or creeps, or flies.’

Paradise Lost, book ii., v. 497.

Amongst turtles we trace one small species of *chelonina*. But the most interesting animal specimens from Stonesfield are those of *mammalia*. It was, up to the year 1823, beyond any expectation to discover remains of a mammal in any strata older than the chalk. Perhaps no fossil of its size ever attracted so much attention as the little jaw of the mammal of the Stonesfield slate now in the British Museum, and *not exceeding one inch in length*. So many disputes were held, and by men so learned, concerning it, that it was humorously nick-named *botheratiotherium*. The first known specimen, examined by Cuvier in 1818, was brought to the notice of the Geological Society by Buckland in 1823 ; and was then declared in the opinion of Cuvier previously expressed to be a jaw of the genus *didelphys*. De Blainville contended for a long time against the mammalian character of these remains. Prevost denied their geological antiquity. Even Agassiz and Grant maintained the same side of the controversy ; and for a while the scientific world seemed disposed to accept the conclusions which reduced this little fossil to a place amongst the fishes or reptiles, or, as a stretch of considerate favour, to admit it to a place amongst the mammals as a microscopic cetacean or a seal. There were, however, two pupils of Cuvier (Valenciennes and Laurillard) who adopted the same side of the controversy as their great master, and finally Owen appeared on behalf of the tiny mammal, and removed nearly all the scientific difficulties ; and now, after thirty years, Dr. Buckland’s early convictions are adopted, and the little jaw is admitted amongst the minute mammals as surely and as solemnly as if it formed one of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England. To judge by the tiny cuspidated teeth, the animal must have been insectivorous, and probably lived luxuriously upon those insects whose remains are found in the slate of the same locality. Other specimens have been since discovered, and now the Stonesfield *mammalia* are made to constitute three genera,—*amphitherium*, *phascolotherium*, and *stereognathus*. The first-named genus has thirty-two teeth in the lower jaw, and is placed in the order of insectivora ; the second twenty-four, and is compared with marsupial genera of the Australian world. Of the third genus the affinities are not yet determined. It is very singular that hitherto no other parts of these animals have been found than the lower jaw with the teeth. These parts, however, are

amongst the most instructive of the bony fabric, and are the most decisive of geological affinity. Had we only possessed, for each, one and the same bone of the limbs, our inference might have been somewhat uncertain.

If we study the aggregate of the fossil treasures of the Stonesfield slates, and place before ourselves specimens of the various zoophyta, shells, crustacea, and fishes, plants, insects, reptiles, and mammalia, and add to these the spoils of some contemporary land, then we can retrace our steps, or, rather, send back our imaginations to the period of the world in which the whole of what is now Stonesfield was a lagoon, with bordering marshes, and dryer land, and a neighbouring sea. Our inferences may proceed after the following manner. The water was not greatly agitated; for there are no pebble beds, and there is scarcely a trace of oblique lamination. The bivalve shells were often buried with the ligaments attached. That shell which is so characteristic of the slates, (the little *trigonia impressa*,) and by which we ourselves have identified the beds in parts of Gloucestershire, (near Bisley,) where no other fossils were discoverable, is commonly found with both valves attached. The belemnites are perfect to the point, and nautili appear in little shoals, having the attitude of flotation. Such circumstances might prevail in a shallow sea-lake, penetrated at intervals by moderate swells, or gentle tides from the sea, but not exposed to storms of the ocean or fluctuations from violent littoral action. Its constant inhabitants compose a large population, combined with periodical visitants. We may picture to ourselves how starry zoantharia spread abroad their coloured arms to the light; sea-urchins threatened their neighbours with their long spear-like spines, and drank in the water with their trumpet-like suckers. Terebratulæ dragged their anchors and lost their places in the society of corals, and became mixed with scallops and oysters, and other rough monomyarian races. They might be sometimes courteously but proudly received by the trigoniæ and pholadomyæ, the aristocratic shells of the oolites; or they might be admitted to the closer coterics of the beautiful nerinæ, the turritellæ and neritæ, whose coloured ornaments remain to our day. To match this variety of food we have the military orders, the covered or circular ammonite, the carnivorous belemnite, (allied to modern cuttles,) the nautilus, and many predaceous shark-like fishes. Then crawled, and crept, and waded, and waddled the giant reptiles, teleosaurs, cetiosaur, steneosaurs, and megalosaurs, with a few turtles humbly and slowly creeping between their giant legs. Some of these monsters lived in the water; others were allured from the land, and waded through the mud, as the megalosaur; or

snatched their prey from the small waves, as the pterodactyle. 'From time to time fragments of bordering plants floated down in these waves, whether swept down by inundations or driven by the wind: leaves of ferns, of samoid plants, and evergreen coniferous bushes like cypress. The fruits of pines and cypresses and solitary nuts of other trees are mixed with colcopterous beetles of the dry land and neuropterous insects with wings expanded, as if in flight from their native reedy streams and pools, with drowsy hum, or shortened flight. And to complete this long and remarkable series of associated life, *land mammalia* of microscopic dimensions, and probably for the most part insectivorous, of three genera, have left as a legacy for contending philosophers their lower jaws.'*

It is indeed a strange and almost unrealizable change that has come over the spirit of our dream, as we sit down on a heap of slates at Stonesfield. Not far from us—the place where we slept last night—is the city of churches and colleges, and doctors and gowmsmen: and there the only prodigies now-a-days are prodigies of learning and ecclesiasticism; no stranger animals are there than the harmless and sleek Professor of Hebrew; no nearer resemblance to the marvellous pterodactyle than the Bishop of the diocese: but here, in this lonely unattractive village, we tread upon a spot once instinct with life in its most marvellous animal forms. It is a subterranean museum, closely and securely packed, a treasury for palæontologists, a storehouse of instances of the wonderful resources of creative Omnipotence, which could people a world with strangest organizations, and yet permit them long to remain hidden and entombed, being well able to dispense with their testimony to its powers. Nor fails it to excite our deepest reverence, when, year after year, one and another wonderful fossil has been exhumed, and impelled us in the review and examination of them to exclaim, *The works of the Lord are great, sought out of all them that have pleasure therein; and again, He hath made His wonderful works to be remembered.*

- ART. IV.—1. *Essai politique sur L'Ile de Cuba.* Par A. DE HUMBOLDT. Two Vols. 8vo. Paris. 1826.
 2. *The Island of Cuba.* By R. B. MADDEN, M.R.I.A. London: C. Gilpin. 1849.
 3. *Cuba and the Cubans.* New York. 1850.
 4. *Pictures from Cuba.* By WILLIAM HURLBUT. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans. 1855.
 5. *Lands of the Slave and the Free: or, Cuba, the United States,*

* Professor John Phillips of Oxford.

and Canada. By the HONOURABLE HENRY A. MURRAY.
London : John W. Parker and Son. 1855.

THE magnificent Island of Cuba—the queen of the Antilles, and the richest jewel in the colonial diadem of Spain—stretches for eight hundred miles, long, narrow, and crescent-shaped, between the Caribbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico. Its climate is delicious; a perpetual spring reigns, snow never falls, hurricanes are less frequent and less violent than in the other West Indian Islands, the sky is of the deepest azure, the sea singularly pure and transparent, and the moon and stars shine with a lustre unknown in colder climes. Its shores are indented by many safe and spacious harbours; fertile lowlands occupy four-fifths of its surface; while in the interior are several ranges of mountains, one of which, the Sierra del Cobré, attains the height of 7,674 feet. The forests, which still cover more than half of the Island, are brightened by the vivid colouring of tropical flowers, and full of the most valuable and beautiful timber. At every step the eye is charmed by the exuberance and variety of vegetable life. There is the gigantic mahogany, the red cedar, the ebony and lignum vitæ; the stately palm, with its white stem glittering in the sunbeams like a column of burnished silver; the graceful bamboo, growing in clumps and waving to every breeze; groves of the dark mango, forming, with its dense leafage, an impenetrable shelter from the heat of the sun; the wild orange-tree, the myrtle-leaved vine, the guava, the tamarind, and the aloe, intermingled with flowers of every hue; whilst even the jungles are netted over by the creeping convolvulus. All around there is a brightness of colouring, and a teeming profusion of vegetation every where bursting forth, and bearing the strongest testimony to the richness of the soil and the mildness of the climate. Add to this that the population is scanty, and only a fifth of the surface under cultivation, and it must be admitted that Cuba not only holds out the strongest inducements to the enterprising emigrant, but also offers a most tempting prize to her strong, unscrupulous neighbour,—the United States of America. Nor need we wonder that, in answer to the inquiry, ‘Who shall determine the future of this noble Island?’ a voice comes wafted on the western breeze, ‘I guess we shall.’

Cuba considerably exceeds Ireland in size, but is not so compact, being very narrow in proportion to its length. One of the most fertile districts is that called the ‘Vuelta Abajo,’ in which are some of the finest sugar and coffee estates. It is the promised land of the small planters of Kentucky and Virginia. The richest department, however, is that termed the ‘Vuelta Arriba,’ or region of red earth, a perfect garden of plenty and prosperity. Here are the largest sugar plantations, which yield immense revenues to their proprietors, in spite of the great

outlay on slaves, overseers, and machinery. The owners are seldom absentees, generally residing upon their estates for some portion of the year. These wealthy planters give the tone to Cuban society, and to them belong the thirty or forty Counts and Marquises,—‘sugar nobles,’ as the old Spaniards call them. Closely allied with these proprietors are the great Creole merchants, to whose energy and enterprise the Island owes much of its present prosperity. The Spanish Government and officials, in whom is centred all political power, have done almost nothing; it is these planters and merchants who have effected every thing that has hitherto been done to improve the capabilities and develop the resources of Cuba; and among them is to be found a body of well informed, intelligent, and courteous gentlemen of which any country might well be proud. In spite, however, of all their exertions, road-making and agriculture in Cuba are very imperfect and partial. Only a fifth of the land is under crop, more than four and a half millions of acres are totally uncultivated, whilst half of the surface is still virgin forest, unexplored and pathless. Much of the inhabited interior, too, is but little visited, and almost unknown. The magnificent vale of Mariel, fair as those outer realms of Paradise over which the eyes of Adam ranged from his ‘heaven-kissing verdurous walls;’ the romantic cliffs that mirror their wealth of flowers in the green glistening waters of the winding Canimar; the mighty steepes of the Loma de Indra, from whose heights the view sweeps to either ocean, and away to the dim blue hills of Jamaica; the endless, fragrant, palm-studded solitudes of the south-west; the picturesque ravines of the north-east, where young girls may be seen riding on the backs of oxen; the subterranean streams gushing suddenly into the moonlight from the blackness of the *sumideros*, or ‘caverns,’ which honeycomb the surface of the Island; the hundred sequestered nooks, where still the *guagiro* chants his rude improvisations, (melodious and full of meaning as the songs of a gondolier,) and charms, in the skilful gymnastics of the *zapateado*, groups of soft-eyed girls, graceful as the palm-trees arching overhead;—all these you reach over roads that transport you into the Middle Ages. Riding along those wretched roads, you meet only the most primeval vehicles, long files of pack-horses and mules, and armed horsemen glittering with spur and sword.

This state of things is, however, improving; and there are at present 850 miles of railway in full operation; and a complete system of electric telegraph has lately been directed to be established over the entire surface of the Island. A line of steamers between Havannah, Havre, and Liverpool has also been recently started, with every prospect of success.

The delightful climate of Cuba has an enervating effect upon the character and habits of the people. Life is indolent, elegant,

voluptuous, as every traveller to Havannah soon discovers. That beautiful capital stands on the shores of a sheltered inlet, charming as the Bay of Naples or the roadstead of Genoa. In 1791, it contained forty-four thousand inhabitants; now it possesses upwards of three times that population. Living is excessively expensive. Luxuries, such as guava jelly and cigars, alone are cheap; but necessities—bread, meat, lodging, and also coach hire—are extravagantly dear. Mr. Murray mentions that he paid 35s. for a short evening drive.

The Paseos—the Champs Elysées of Havannah—form the most charming promenades in the world. Beyond the walls, stretch for miles broad, well made roads, bordered, near the city, with stately buildings, and lined throughout with rows of poplars and palms. Some of these Paseos have fountains, gardens, and statues, and are the afternoon resort of the gay world. The environs of Havannah are very beautiful; and delightful excursions may be made to the different fortresses which guard the entrance to the harbour, and defend the city. These are exceedingly strong. The Morro Castle and the Cabañas might defy a hostile fleet to force the narrow entrance; whilst, on the land side, the forts of Principe and Atares are the bulwarks of the town. Fifteen thousand soldiers, however, are required fully to garrison these positions; and, as Spain has only twenty-five thousand on the whole Island, she could scarcely afford to shut up so many in case of a hostile invasion.

The ladies in Havannah never walk, and the favourite mode of conveyance, the carriage universally in vogue, is termed a *volante*, which is an odd-looking gig, with shafts some sixteen feet long, and wheels six yards in circumference, driven by a Negro postilion, three parts jack-boots and one part laced jacket. Inside, however, it is most easy, luxurious, and provocative of ease and comfort. Seated within her cushioned *volante*, the fair Cuban spends half her existence, goes shopping, pays visits, and, in the evening, drives to the Paseos, or by the winding shores of the beautiful bay of Havannah, to inhale the coolness of the evening breeze.

The aboriginal population of Cuba was entirely extirpated by the Spaniards. The trooper's sword and the miner's spade evangelized the Island; the natives sank under the cruelties of their conquerors, and the labours to which they were subjected; and Matañzas, (the 'Massacres,') an important town on the north side of the Island, still commemorates the last great slaughter of the Indians, who objected to the proffered gifts of slavery and salvation. The present Creole, or native white, population is of pure Spanish blood, and amounts to about 500,000; and there is about the same number of slaves and free blacks. Mr. Murray, the most recent authority, gives a somewhat higher estimate, which we are inclined to think rather above the truth. He

states the population at 600,000 slaves, 200,000 free blacks, and 500,000 whites. This would place the blacks in a majority of eight to five over the whites; whereas, in the United States, they form a minority of one to seven. During the last century, the increase of the population of Cuba has been both rapid and steady, nearly equalling that of the United States. In 1775 there were only 171,620 inhabitants, divided into 96,000 whites, 41,000 slaves, and 30,000 free blacks. And, according to a recent calculation, the average increase of the population, for each period of ten years, from 1790 till 1850, has been 29 *per cent.*; while, in the United States, for the same period, it has reached 35 *per cent.*; but this difference in favour of the States may be, not unfairly, imputed to the naturally slower increase of the Spanish race.

The government of Cuba is a despotism. All power is centred in the Captain-General, who is changed every five years, and who is always a native of Spain. For more than a century his authority has been absolute, and in 1853 his powers were considerably increased, and extended over the whole Island. His is now a dictatorship, from whose authority nothing is exempted. All political influence and office, under the Governor, is possessed by the Spaniards; and this unjust partiality is deeply felt and resented by the Creole population, and has most materially contributed to alienate their affections from the mother-country. An incessant and inquisitorial tyranny is exercised by the Spanish Government, and the doctrine of constructive treason is well understood. None of the revolutions in Spain have had the effect of extending political freedom to Cuba; and all her aspirations after increased liberties, and extended reforms, have been sternly repressed. In 1812, when a Free Constitution was proclaimed in Spain, Cuba was permitted to send a representative to the Spanish Cortes, and Don F. Arango, a most able and active man, was the first Cuban Member returned. By the Constitution of 1833, however, the privilege thus accorded was withdrawn; and, by decree of February, 1837, the right of representation was finally done away with, and it was proposed, for the future, to regulate the government of Cuba by 'special laws.' Don Jose Antonio Sacco, the excluded Cuban Deputy, published a most able pamphlet, exposing the flagrant injustice of this measure, which was not only a violation of the twenty-eighth Article of the New Spanish Constitution,—which declared 'the basis for national representation to be the same in both hemispheres,'—but was also, at the same time, most ill-judged and impolitic, and has done more to irritate the Creoles, to alienate their attachment, and to spread abroad a desire for independence, than any other act of Spanish folly and tyranny of which they have had to complain.

Politically speaking, Cuba is divided into two provinces,

Havannah and Santiago da Cuba, and, for military purposes, into three departments. The judicial power is shared between the *Real Audiencia Chancelleria* of Havannah and that of Puerto Principe. Of these courts the Governor-General is President. The country Judges (*Jueces pedaneos*) are named by the Government; and at Havannah and Santiago da Cuba there are tribunals of commerce. The financial administration is divided into three intendencies; the maritime into five provinces, of which the chief places are Havannah, Trinidad, Santiago da Cuba, San Juan de los Remedios, and Nuevitas. There is an Archbishop at Santiago da Cuba, and a Suffragan Bishop at Havannah; but the Church in Cuba, as a body, is now poor, although some of the higher dignitaries still enjoy large incomes. Practically, religion is little regarded, except by the women; but the tyrannical ostentation of religious uniformity is still kept up; and every Protestant settler is obliged to go through the form of abjuring his religion, before his oath of allegiance can be received; and difficulties are still thrown in the way of the burial of those who die out of the pale of the 'holy Roman Catholic communion.'

The revenue of Cuba is derived from the customs' duties, and from various small taxes, such as that upon cock-fighting,—a favourite amusement of the inhabitants; and Government lotteries are also another source of revenue. Upon the whole, the Cubans are very heavily taxed. Mr. Madden gives it as his opinion that, in the year 1839, every white person in the Island paid duties to Government to the amount of 40 dollars; and a recent American author calculates the taxes at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum on 800,000,000 of dollars, the total value of property in the island. Sagra states in his *Historia Economica*, that the revenue of Cuba in 1759 was only 163,605 dollars; and that, previously to the declaration of independence by the South American colonies of Spain, a sum of 700,000 dollars was annually drawn from Mexico, to defray the expenses of the Colonial Government in Cuba. In 1820, however, the revenue of the Island had reached 3,491,540 dollars; and in 1880 it had still further increased to 8,972,548; while in 1837 the customs' duties of Havannah alone amounted to £832,257. And the prosperity of the Island seems to be still steadily on the increase: for, while the customs' revenue collected at Havannah during the first three months of 1853 amounted to 5,815,150 francs; for the three corresponding months of 1854, it had attained the sum of 7,792,020 francs, thus showing an increase in that short period of nearly two millions of francs. Cuba, instead of being, as formerly, a drain upon the imperial exchequer, is now viewed as a sort of reserve treasury which may be applied to in any emergency. She now not only pays every expense connected with her colonial establishment, but,

in addition, remits annually to Spain a sum varying from £1,500,000 to £1,250,000; thus presenting a striking and favourable contrast to the small and scattered colonies of France, which cost the Home Government about 30 millions of francs a year, whilst a majority even of our own colonies do not pay the expense of their maintenance; so that, perhaps, Spain is, to a certain extent, entitled to meet the allegations of tyranny and injustice which are constantly and ostentatiously paraded against her, by pointing to the steadily increasing prosperity of the Island which she is thus charged with misgoverning.

In 1847, the total exports and imports of Cuba exceeded those of the mother-country, of three times her extent, and ten times her population, by five millions of dollars. This, at first sight, seems a somewhat startling result; but it is easily accounted for. The commercial prosperity of Cuba has been the result of her commercial freedom,—a boon which she extorted from Spain long before the other European states had conceded the same privilege to their colonial dependencies. That freedom was for some time complete, and its results were (as we shall afterwards see) almost miraculous; trade, agriculture, population, mercantile enterprise, and wealth advanced with rapid strides; and though, for many years past, Spain has striven to curtail the privileges formerly so wisely accorded, and has imposed heavy customs' and tonnage dues, in order to restrict, as much as possible, the commercial freedom once enjoyed, still the energy of the colonists, then first developed, has enabled them to surmount these obstacles, and to make rapid progress in wealth and civilization. The history of Cuban commerce is very interesting and instructive. Columbus first discovered the Island in 1492, and its colonization by Spain commenced in 1511. At that time the prohibitive system was regarded as the grand panacea for promoting colonial prosperity, and the Spanish ports of Cadiz, Barcelona, and Santander for 263 years enjoyed a monopoly of the commerce of Cuba, which increased but slowly in wealth and population under this unnatural restriction. But, strangely enough, the zealous and despotic Government of Spain was the first to set the example of conferring the boon of free trade upon her colonies, and the principles of liberty of commerce were recognised and carried into effect in the Island of Cuba, long before they were introduced into any of the states of Europe. In 1778, in consequence of the distress of the Cubans, the system of monopoly was considerably relaxed, and the most important benefits resulted. The white population, which had taken more than two centuries and a half to attain the number of 96,000, during the fourteen years succeeding this relaxation, received an addition of 37,000. This first extension of commercial liberty, however, only gave to the colonists the right of trading with thirteen Spanish ports

instead of with three ; but from this epoch may be dated the dawning of the prosperity of Cuba. Shortly after the breaking out of the French Revolution, a French settler introduced the cultivation of coffee into the Island, and, about the same period, many wise regulations were made, favourable to trade and agriculture, and the rich district of the Vuelta Arriba on the northern coast was gradually redeemed from the primeval forest.

In 1793 the coasts of the Island were subjected to a rigorous blockade by a French squadron, and the inhabitants were reduced to great want and misery. There was no bread ; they were starving ; and their destitution, and threats of revolt, compelled the Spanish Government to pass a decree throwing open the ports to neutral bottoms, which were allowed to enter and exchange their bread stuffs for the productions of the Island. Intimation of this decree was soon carried to the United States, who sent 100 vessels laden with flour and provisions, relieved the distress of the Cubans, and gave a powerful impetus to their commerce. In 1812 the freedom thus accorded to articles of food was extended to other species of goods, and in that year also the right of representation in the Spanish Cortes was conferred upon the Cubans. An attempt subsequently made by Charles IV. to reimpose the old system of monopoly, was disregarded ; and, in spite of the efforts of the mother-country, the commercial liberties of the Island gradually acquired strength and stability.

By the strenuous and unwearied exertions of Don Francisco Arango, the first Cuban representative, a decree was obtained from Ferdinand VII., abolishing all restraints upon commerce and repealing the old restrictive laws. This royal ordinance may be regarded as the Charter of Cuban commerce ; and even when in 1822 a free Government had ceased to exist in Spain, the commercial privileges of the colonists survived the wreck of the Government which had bestowed them. Unfortunately, the decree of 1818 has not been acted up to by Spain, either in the letter or the spirit. The prejudices of three centuries were not so easily overcome. She could not, indeed, shut her eyes to the immense increase of wealth, population, and trade, resulting from it ; but she applied the principles of the old system to the new, and reasoned thus : ‘ If Cuba produces so much when trade is free, how much more will she yield when restrictions are imposed ! ’ Since 1818, the mother-country has never ceased her endeavours to neutralize the freedom then conferred. The only period during which Cuba enjoyed complete commercial freedom was from 1818 to 1829 ; and since the latter epoch that liberty has been most materially curtailed, by the imposition of vexatious and burdensome imposts.

American flour was soon found to be much cheaper and better than that of Spain ; and, in consequence, the trade of the

Spanish farmers with Cuba rapidly decreased ; they could not compete with their rivals in the United States, and they applied to the Spanish Cortes for redress. They, in their wisdom, imposed heavy duties upon American flour, in favour of the agriculturists of La Mancha and Castile,—duties which at present amount to nearly 10 dollars *per* barrel ; and in 1830 excessive tonnage dues were also laid upon foreign vessels entering Cuban ports. In 1833, as before noticed, the right of representation was withdrawn from the colonists, and, in consequence, they were left with no one to explain their grievances, or advocate their claims in the Spanish Cortes, where the whole agricultural interest of Spain was bent upon opposing them. The consequences were soon apparent. In 1834, a law was passed imposing a duty of £2 *per* barrel upon American flour, which had the effect of almost annihilating the flourishing mercantile marine of Cuba, which had been created and encouraged by the growing trade with the United States. The duties imposed by the Spanish Cortes had been levelled at that country, which, naturally enough, retaliated by passing a law imposing upon Cuban vessels a duty twice as great as that levied upon those belonging to the States in Cuban harbours. Since that time ship-building has almost ceased in the Island, although her forests abound with the finest and most suitable timber, and up to 1798 had furnished materials for the construction of 125 vessels in the arsenal of Havannah, 53 of which were frigates, and 6 three-deckers ; while timber sufficient for the construction of 30 frigates was imported into this country from a single Cuban port between the years 1825 and 1840. Thus was the merchant marine of Cuba unjustly sacrificed to the clamours of an interested and narrow-minded faction in the mother-country, whose selfishness, after all, has been exercised in vain ; for, in spite of the duty of 9½ dollars *per* barrel on American flour, Cuba still continues to derive nine-tenths of what she requires from the United States, although that imported from Spain in Spanish bottoms only pays a duty of 2 dollars *per* barrel. This is owing to the very greatly superior quality of the American flour, which requires to be mixed with that sent from Spain, before the latter is fit for use ; and this circumstance, therefore, renders the heavy duty peculiarly impolitic and oppressive.

The result of this short recapitulation of the history of Cuban commerce is anything but favourable to the wisdom and justice of the mother-country ; and the experience of the past seems to show, that the colony has much to fear from the ignorance, jealousy, and prejudice of the Spanish proprietors, who form the majority of the Cortes, where she is wholly unrepresented, and has nothing to hope from their forbearance or sense of justice.

Let us now examine for a moment some of the results of the

limited commercial freedom enjoyed by Cuba, as contrasted with those of the monopoly from which she suffered so long. And first with regard to population: in 263 years of monopoly, she had gained 96,000 inhabitants; in 24 of commercial freedom, 150,000. During the continuance of the former system, she had been a burden and an expense to Spain; under the latter, she became a support and a treasure-house. It took more than two centuries and a half of monopoly to raise her annual revenue to 885,358 dollars. But, at the end of the half-century that followed the first removal of that monopoly, it had risen to nearly 9,000,000, and it is at present upwards of 13,000,000. In 1840 the exports of the Island were four times as great as in 1818, the era when complete commercial freedom was proclaimed; and the period that has since elapsed has been sufficient, in spite of unwise restrictions and political despotism, to convert an Island comparatively uncultivated and unproductive, into the most flourishing colony in the world, and the firmest support of the power and wealth of the Spanish crown. But, if anything could supply a stronger proof of the folly of monopoly, and the benefits of commercial liberty, it would be the present condition of the Philippine Islands, another Spanish colony, which furnishes a marked contrast to the prosperous position of Cuba. There, all the ports, with the exception of Manilla, are closed against foreign vessels, and the Government have a monopoly of tobacco. The population is about 4,000,000, and the annual exports amount to 17,000,000 francs; whereas the exports from Cuba, with only 1,000,000 inhabitants, amounted, in 1851, to 150,000,000 francs; though, as long as Havannah was the only port in the Island open to foreign bottoms, they never exceeded 10,000,000. The whole value of the commerce of Cuba in 1851 was 320,000,000 francs, the exports and imports being pretty equally divided. Of the imports 40,000,000 came from Spain, 40,000,000 from the United States, and 35,000,000 from England. The principal export markets were Spain, 10,000,000; England, 35,000,000; and the United States, 65,000,000. It will thus be seen that England and the United States have by far the most important trade with Cuba: the exports to the latter have been trebled within the last ten years, and are still increasing.

Agriculture as well as commerce is making steady progress in Cuba. In 1827 there were 13,000 farms, 5,000 tobacco and 510 sugar plantations; while in 1850 there were 25,292 farms, 9,102 tobacco and coffee plantations, and 1,442 sugar estates and mills. The annual value of the whole agricultural produce of the Island has been estimated at 323,000,000 francs. Cattle are now very numerous, amounting to 1,300,000 head. Indigo and cotton were at one time grown, but their culture is now on the decline, as is also that of coffee, the present prices

not offering a sufficient remuneration to the planters. In 1837 the exports of coffee reached 53,000,000 pounds, but in 1848 they had fallen to less than 17,500,000; and, within the last few years, no less than 40,000 slaves have been transferred from coffee to sugar plantations, which are rapidly increasing. The annual export of sugar varies from 250,000 to 300,000 tons. The growth and export of tobacco is also steadily progressing. Its consumption on the Island is enormous, the Cubans being probably the greatest smokers in the world. To a stranger, indeed, smoking seems to be the great business of life. The priest, the lawyer, the physician, the merchant, the planter and his dependants, the women as well as the men,—the ladies of high rank alone excepted,—children of ten years of age, slaves, free people of colour, mechanics, all smoke, steadily and systematically; and ten or a dozen cigars a-day is no uncommon number, even for a slave, in Havannah. In 1849 111,000,000 cigars were shipped from that port alone; and Mr. Madden calculates the daily consumption on the Island itself at 23,335 pounds' weight.

Education is very much neglected throughout the Island of Cuba, and hence the general dissoluteness of manners, and the degradation of religion. But of late years some efforts have been made to remedy this prevalent evil, and to diffuse the advantages of systematic education. In the country districts, however, the most profound ignorance still reigns; masters and servants are, in too many instances, alike ignorant of the first elements of knowledge. According to a statement drawn up by Senhor Domingo Delmonte, a Cuban lawyer of distinguished abilities, the number of children of both sexes in Cuba in 1827 was 119,519, and of that number there were 104,440 who suffered from a want of primary instruction as complete as that of the savages of Uruguay. The cost of primary instruction, according to the same authority, for the 8,442 children who attended schools in the Island, was 507,694 dollars annually,—apparently a most extravagant expenditure, when contrasted with the limited number of scholars. But the narrow extent of the means of education is by no means the only evil; the system of teaching is essentially a bad one, addressing itself to the memory instead of the intellect, the children being taught like parrots instead of like rational beings. Even in 1840 matters were not much improved; for, out of 90,000 free children, only 9,000 attended any school, and of these but one third was educated at the public expense. The remedy proposed for these evils by the Senhor De La Luz, a patriotic Cuban lawyer, is the establishment of normal schools by the Government, under the supervision of a board of directors; the first step to be the institution of a normal school for teachers in each of the three districts of the Island. 'If,' he says, 'in more cultivated nations it is found

indispensable for the advancement of education, to found not only classes, but special schools for the instruction of masters in the art and practice of teaching, how much more so in our growing country, in order to reform from infancy the morals of a people peculiarly contaminated by the atmosphere of slavery, in which they are born, live, and die !'

The means of education in Havannah are comparatively ample. It possesses numerous academies, a museum, a *Conservatoire de Musique*, several literary societies, and, above all, the two Colleges of San Fernando and Carraguan, containing thirty professorships of languages, philosophy, and the various arts and sciences. The latter of these institutions has formed and educated the majority of those Cubans who have distinguished themselves in literature or science. Unfortunately, the Spanish Government has all along been the chief and most persevering opponent of the prosperity of these two Universities, which she viewed with a jealous eye, as detrimental to the interests of the Colleges in the mother-country, and inimical to the continuance of her political despotism. Accordingly, they are heavily taxed, and the price of a diploma is fixed by law at £100. But, in spite of this severe imposition, both of them still continue to exist and to prosper. When we behold this obstinate opposition on the part of Spain, in the middle of the nineteenth century, to the intellectual advancement of her finest colony, we cannot help recalling the memorable declaration of Charles IV., when he suppressed the University of Maracaybo, 'that it was not the interest of the mother-country that information should become general in America.'

The literature of Cuba, or rather of Havannah, far surpasses, in variety, extent, and ability, that of any of the West Indian colonies of France or England. There is a treasure of popular songs and ballad romances among the Guagiros, or countrymen of the Vuclta Abajo of Guanajay, an indolent and ignorant race, proud of cheap virtues and fond of cheap vices, and devoted to finery, love-making, cock-fighting, and amusements of all kinds. These ballads, many of which evince considerable poetic feeling, are generally in praise of their mistress's beauty, or in deprecation of her cruelty. They are termed *Decimas Cabanas*. It is, indeed, within the domain of poetry that the noblest efforts of the Cuban mind must be sought for; and there are three names which stand out conspicuous and apart, as the greatest poets of Cuba. These are Heredia, Milanés, and Plácido. The first was born at Santiago da Cuba, and was the son of an accomplished gentleman whose patriotism compelled him to quit Cuba, and repair to Mexico, along with his family. On his father's death, Heredia returned to Cuba, and in 1823 was admitted to the Havannah bar; but the freedom of his opinions soon aroused the suspicions of the Spanish Govern-

ment, and he was, in consequence, forced to become an exile. He was invited to Mexico, where he was appointed Assistant Secretary of State, and afterwards became a Judge and Member of the Senate. He died there in 1836. His first volume of poems appeared in New York, in 1825. Two of the happiest efforts of his muse are, 'The Exile's Hymn,' and 'Niagara,' the latter of which has been translated by Mr. Bryant. Milanés was born in a humbler rank of life, and belonged to the mercantile class. His disposition was sensitive and melancholy,—characteristics which are strongly developed in the plaintive cast of his poetry. His gloomy temperament, aggravated by private distress, and a bitter consciousness of his inability to redress the deeply felt wrongs of his country, preyed upon his mind, and finally overpowered his reason. His works have been printed at Havannah with great care and beauty. They are strongly tinged with the romanticism of the French school; their very titles, such as 'The Bastard,' 'The Beggar,' 'The Prison,' 'La Ramera,' indicating the influence which it had over his mind. Milanés possessed considerable dramatic, as well as lyrical, skill; and his play of the 'Count Alarcos,' drawn from the ancient poetry of Castile, has been very successful. But by far the most revolutionary of the above triad of Cuban poets was Placido, the *nom de plume* of Gabriel de la Concepcion Valdes, a Mulatto of Matanzas. He was a comb-maker by trade, and his education was of the rudest and most imperfect description; but his genius triumphed over all obstacles, and he soon became, what he still continues to be, the most popular of all the Cuban poets. In 1844 the Spanish Government received information of an intended rising of the coloured population, and took immediate steps to prevent and punish it. This they effected by the help of military commissions and most atrocious cruelties; and among the victims was Placido, who was arrested, tried, and condemned to be shot. He composed some of his finest verses in prison, in particular his 'Prayer to God,' which he chanted aloud as he marched to the place of execution. His poetry is characterized by manly energy of thought and diction. The Cuban muse has been very prolific in the department of the drama, and several writers have displayed considerable skill in painting manners, and in satirizing national peculiarities. Cardenas y Rodriguez and Cirillo Villaverde have described the characteristics of Cuban society with great vivacity and humour, and the former has founded an amusing comedy, called *Un Título*, upon the Spanish fondness for titles, which is carried to exaggeration in the colony.

The lawyers of Cuba have been the most distinguished ornaments of her prose literature, and many of them have been exiled on account of the freedom of their opinions. In the department of philosophy, De La Luz occupies an eminent position, as does

Sagra in history; and in miscellaneous literature, Armas, Delmonte, and Saco. The last has published several pamphlets, advocating the abolition of the slave-trade, and the substitution of free labour; and, more lately, a most able essay upon the political situation of Cuba. This enlightened patriot was banished from Cuba by General Tacon, who, during two years of his administration, deported 190 persons to Spain, and condemned 720 to perpetual exile from Cuba.

A recent French writer states that in 1847 there were six daily papers published in Havannah, one of which, the *Faro Industrial*, was the largest printed in the dominions of Her Most Catholic Majesty; that there was also an able monthly review, political, industrial, and literary; that there was scarcely a small town in the interior that did not possess its own newspaper, and that the editors of these newspapers were rarely interfered with by the Spanish Government, unless when they made a direct attack upon it. On the other hand, Mr. Murray says that the Cuban press is the slavish tool of the Government; and the most recent American authority states that the press in Havannah is gagged, that the periodicals are trashy in the extreme, that the newspapers are entirely in the hands of the Government, and that the mind of Cuba is at present totally unrepresented. No allowance is made for prose writers; poets alone may occasionally venture to tamper with their rulers. We fear that there is but too much truth in the less flattering of these statements: partial commercial freedom does, indeed, exist in Cuba, but civil and political liberty is almost entirely unknown.

There are two subjects connected with Cuba which possess vast importance, and are surrounded by peculiar difficulties. These are slavery and the American question. All native Cuban authors, as well as travellers and residents in the Island, with one prominent exception to be afterwards noticed, unite in asserting that slavery in Cuba assumes its mildest form, and has been divested of most of the horrors which surround it in the other slaveholding countries. Still, its very existence casts a dark shadow over the face of that beautiful Island. Out of a population but little exceeding a million, there are five hundred thousand slaves, and a large number of free blacks, between whom and the white population the distinction of caste is as rigidly kept up as in the United States. According to the terms of the treaties entered into between this country and Spain, the slave-trade ought to have been totally abolished after May, 1820; but the provisions of these treaties have never been complied with. During a single year, subsequently to 1815, as many as thirty thousand slaves are said to have been imported into Cuba. Mr. Madden estimates the value of those landed in

1835 at £1,500,000, and the average annual importation is probably from two to three thousand. There is one particular in which Spain violates her engagements to us with the most infamous treachery. She is bound by treaty, when slaves are brought in by our cruisers, to apprentice them out for three years, in order to teach them how to earn a livelihood, and afterwards to free them ; instead of which they are to be seen in thousands throughout the Island, pining away their lives in hopeless slavery, a living reproach both to Spain and England. The indolence of the Creoles, the lucrative nature of the trade, and the connivance of the Spanish Governors-General, appear to be the chief reasons which support this disgraceful traffic, in defiance of the provisions of treaties and the rights of humanity. General Tacon, during his administration as Governor-General of Cuba, although he publicly denounced the slave-trade, privately encouraged it, receiving a fixed sum from the merchants as the price of his connivance ; and in this way he contrived to amass a fortune of 500,000 dollars in the short space of five years.

Mr. Murray gives the following favourable account of the condition of the slaves on an extensive plantation which he visited during his travels in Cuba ; but it must be remembered, that mere visitors will always be shown the fairest side ; the horrors of slavery will be carefully concealed from them. ‘The proprietor is an elderly man, and the son, who has travelled a good deal in Europe, manages the properties, which consist of several plantations, and employ twelve hundred slaves. The sound of the lash is rarely heard, and the Negroes are all healthy and happy looking. Several of them have means to purchase their liberty, but prefer their present lot. A doctor is kept on the estate for them. Their houses are clean and decent. There is an airy hospital for them if sick, and there is a large nursery, with three old women, who are appointed to take charge during the day of all children too young to work ; at night they go to their respective families.’

The Cuban slave is protected by law in the enjoyment of a certain amount of property, and may apply his earnings to the purchase of his own liberty. An authoritative arbitration may settle his value on his own appeal, and, so soon as he shall have accumulated fifty dollars, his master is obliged to accept that sum in part payment of his liberty ; and if he is sold, it is carried to his credit. In this way slaves are often to be met with who are free for five or six days out of the week, and who will soon succeed in emancipating themselves entirely. The Cuban law forbids the infliction of more than twenty-five lashes, and a master who maltreats his slave may be compelled to sell him. Repeated regulations have, indeed, been made by the Spanish Government with the view of ameliorating the condition of their slaves ; and if these were, or could be, strictly enforced

in all cases, certainly they would have but little to complain of; but, unfortunately, the venality of the Spanish officials renders most of them accessible to bribery, and in this way many gross instances of cruelty and oppression escape unpunished.

In 1854 a very important enactment with regard to the condition of slaves, and the introduction of free labourers into the Island, came into operation. By its provisions a species of civil position is erected for the slave. A register is henceforward to be kept, in which the names of all the slaves in the Island must be entered; and this is to be annually revised and rectified. Masters who shall make false declarations are to be liable in damages; and every slave whose master shall have neglected to enrol his name in the register, by that very omission at once becomes free. Several other provisions favourable to the blacks also occur, and the present Governor-General is said to be well disposed towards them. The following are the regulations which have been made with regard to the introduction of free labourers. Spanish settlers, Chinese, or natives of Yucatan, may be introduced into the Island with the permission of Government. The contracts entered into with these settlers must be written in their language, and *visés* by a Spanish Consul, or by the Governor of the province from which they have come. They are to specify the age, sex, birth-place, duration of the contract, salary, food, and clothing which the settlers are to receive. They may, with their own consent, and with the knowledge of Government, be transferred from hand to hand. The Governor-General is appointed their protector. They may acquire and dispose of property; their civil rights are only limited by the terms of their contract; and when it expires, they become, in all respects, like other free citizens of Cuba. It is, in short, a mixed system between slavery and liberty, adapted to attract settlers, and gradually to convert them into efficient instruments of free labour. These regulations have been attended with a very gratifying measure of success; and such is now the demand for free labour, that a great mercantile house in Cuba has very recently entered into a contract to import six thousand Chinese. The speculators have already disposed of them at £24 a head; they are to serve for a term of five years, are to receive four francs a day, and, if they do not settle, are to find their own way back. The cost of bringing them is calculated at £10 *per* head, thus leaving a profit of £14 on each, or, on the whole six thousand, of £84,000, barring the casualties which may occur during the voyage.

In opposition to all other writers on the subject of slavery in Cuba, Mr. Madden, who resided there for several years as Superintendent of liberated Africans, asserts that, so far from slavery in that Island possessing a mild and paternal aspect, it is

the most 'atrocious and murderous' system that any where exists, the most destructive to human life, most degrading to the slave, and debasing to the master; and, in proof of the accuracy of these statements, he refers to several instances of the most revolting cruelty and oppression which had come under his own observation. The systematic tyranny formerly practised by the Spaniards upon the Indians, which at length resulted in the utter extermination of that unhappy race, is, according to his authority,—changing the term Indian for Negro,—still exercised by the descendants of the first conquerors of the West Indies. This does not arise from any want of humane laws, or wise regulations for the protection of the slave, but from the iniquity of Spanish tribunals, the corruption of the Magistrates and Judges, and the chicanery and venality of the lawyers. Justice in Cuba is bought and sold with as much scandalous publicity as slaves in New Orleans. The domestic slave in the towns and cities may, indeed, succeed in freeing himself from the yoke of a harsh master; but with the prædial slave the case is very different. The estate on which he labours is probably far distant from any large town, and in the country towns the officers of justice are almost all slaveholders, and the Magistrates planters: what chance, then, has an injured slave in carrying his complaint before such Judges, in most instances the personal friends of the party of whom he complains, and interested in upholding the very abuses for which he seeks redress? Mr. Madden's description of the venality of the Spanish officials in Cuba is corroborated by the testimony of a more recent traveller, who states that he found it impossible to obtain the most trifling paper from the Government House at Havannah without employing and paying a broker, licensed by Government, who divided the spoil with the subaltern officials. He spent a week attempting personally to procure a necessary document, but in vain. He was then compelled to employ a broker, who, in a day, brought him the required parchment, one corner of which was conspicuously stamped with the word 'Gratis.' Yet for this he had to pay seven dollars. When honesty is so rare, and when venality and corruption have eaten like a canker into the very heart of the body politic, the best laws, the wisest regulations, are utterly vain. Who is to administer them? *Quis custodiet ipsos custodes?*

The cruelties perpetrated by the agents of the Spanish Government upon the unhappy blacks accused of conspiracy in 1844 almost exceed belief. O'Donnell was at that time Governor General, and authorized the disgraceful excesses which were then committed. Unfledged Ensigns, with their guards, were let loose upon the various plantations, in order to collect information, and to torture the Negroes till they confessed. On one plantation, a Negro lad had been brought up along with the son

of the proprietor, and was quite a pet in the family. One of these military commissions visited the plantation, and insisted, in spite of the entreaties of the family, upon flogging this favourite slave until he confessed what he never knew. In vain his master sought to convince the officer in command of his innocence; he was deaf to all representations, and the poor lad was tied up, and received 700 lashes; and some things which escaped him during the writhings of his agony were noted down, and he was shortly after shot at Matanzas. His playmate and friend, the son of the owner of the plantation, who was forced to witness the cruelties inflicted upon the companion of his youth, never recovered the shock, and died the following year insane. The streets of Matanzas were, in some places, running with Negro blood; and Mr. Murray states, that he was told by an eye-witness that he had seen, near the village of Guines, a Negro flogged with an aloe leaf till both hip-bones were perfectly bare. There is little doubt that 1,500 slaves died under the lash, and Mr. Kennedy, the British Commissioner, estimates the number as high as 3,000.

The subject of slavery in Cuba does, indeed, present difficulties of no ordinary character. Attached as many of them are to Spain, and firmly as they have adhered to her in spite of misgovernment, oppression, and neglect, there can be little doubt that the conduct of the Creoles, in this respect, has been dictated by the consciousness that, in the event of a revolution, the black population, strong in numbers and physically powerful, would probably take advantage of such a rupture to assert their independence; and also by the knowledge that, if they attempted to emancipate themselves from the Spanish yoke, the Governor-General and the old Spaniards would have it in their power to organize a general rising of the blacks against their Creole masters. Thus a strange reaction has taken place in consequence of the existence of so large a proportion of slaves on the Island. Enthralled by the white man, they have, in their turn, contributed to prevent him from asserting his freedom.

It now only remains for us to consider the 'American question' in connexion with Cuba. Many citizens of the United States have been attracted to the Island by the varied advantages which it offers to those in pursuit of health, fortune, or pleasure; and several of them have become settlers and planters, or merchants; so that, especially on the northern coast of the Island, in the neighbourhood of Cardenas and Matanzas, there are some districts which present the appearance of American, rather than of Spanish, settlements. The material prosperity of Cuba has certainly been increased by the energy and enterprise of these strangers, who have gradually obtained a very considerable influence over the Creole population; so much so, that, according to a recent authority, the whole country is

becoming slowly but steadily Americanized, and the native whites look to the States for aid and support in any future struggle for independence. These tendencies are studiously encouraged and taken advantage of by the American residents, and also by a very large and influential section of the press of the United States, which openly advocates the necessity and propriety of annexing Cuba, which, 'by geographical position, necessity, and right, belongs to the United States.'* On the other hand, many most able and patriotic Americans view with repugnance and regret these schemes of annexation and conquest, and it is to be hoped that their sentiments may have weight enough to check the aggressive propensities of 'young America,' and prevent her from violating the law of nations and the eternal principles of justice in a headstrong pursuit of what she has chosen to fancy her 'destiny.'

No direct or official steps have as yet been taken to hasten a rising against the Spanish yoke; but, nevertheless, the Americans in Cuba industriously propagate the opinion that the interests of the planters in the United States and Cuba are identical, and that by American influence alone can slavery be much longer preserved and maintained throughout the Island. The annexation of Texas added to the power of the slaveholding states of the Union; that of Cuba would do so to a still greater extent; and is not England, representing, as she does in this matter, the civilized world, entitled, nay, bound to interfere in the name of justice, humanity, and religion, whenever such an annexation may be attempted by the United States, as such a step would inevitably counteract and postpone the great work of the abolition of slavery, for which she has given so much and toiled so long? 'An English Minister,' says Dr. Channing, 'would be unworthy of his office, who should see another state greedily swallowing up territories in the neighbourhood of British colonies, and not strive, by all just means, to avert the danger.'†

It is, indeed, true that the Spanish Government is tyrannical, that it exercises a most vexatious and inquisitorial supervision over almost every department; that political freedom is unknown, and that judicial corruption and injustice abound; that Spain is weak, Cuba rich, and the United States strong, ravenous, and republican. But it by no means follows from this, that the indolent and voluptuous Creoles would fare better under the yoke of the energetic and unscrupulous Americans than under that of their present masters; or that we should stand tamely by, whilst a great naval power appropriated the largest and richest Island of the Antilles, and thus obtained possession of the

* 'New York Sun,' July, 1847.

† Dr. Channing's 'Letter on the Annexation of Texas.' 1839.

impregnable and commodious harbour of Havannah, the most important maritime position in these seas, which would enable her to command not only both inlets to the Gulf of Mexico, but also our own West Indian colonies.

It would be impossible to imagine two races more opposed and contrasted, or less fitted to amalgamate, than the Cuban Creoles and the Anglo-Americans; the latter, full of exuberant and boisterous energy, absorbed in business, not remarkable for refinement, and decidedly democratic; the former, refined, indolent, fastidious, aristocratic, fond of pleasure,—a strange mixture of vivacity and languor, of idleness and ardour. Were these two races ever to come into collision, it is easy to foresee that the result would be disastrous to the Cubans, who would find themselves compelled to yield before the stronger and sterner natures to which they were opposed. For their own sakes, therefore, they should deprecate and avoid annexation, or rather absorption by the Union, as a calamity even more to be dreaded than a continuance of the Spanish yoke.

A conference was held at Ostend, in 1854, by Messrs. Soulé, Buchanan, and Mason, the representatives of the United States at the Courts of Madrid, London, and Paris, in order to determine what policy should be adopted and followed out with regard to Spain. And the result of their meeting was most remarkable, namely, a recommendation to Congress, to offer Spain, in the first instance, 120,000,000 dollars as the purchase-money of Cuba, and afterward, in the event of that offer being refused, to take such further steps as should be most in accordance with their own interests. Fortunately for its character and dignity, the Home Government was too wise to follow the advice of its Ambassadors, who seem entirely to have forgotten that every independent and sovereign state necessarily possesses the power of refusing, without offence, a demand unauthorized by treaties, and humiliating and hurtful to the party declining it.

But it seems to us very doubtful that the United States would gain by the acquisition of Cuba. In 1847, the exports from the States to that Island amounted to 8,000,000 dollars, and the imports to 13,000,000; and since that period both have considerably increased. The present relations, therefore, between the two countries are undoubtedly productive of great and annually increasing mutual benefit; so much so, that even if America were to succeed in appropriating Cuba, it seems highly probable that she might find herself a loser by its annexation. Spain certainly would not relinquish her finest colony without a struggle; she has, at present, 28,000 troops upon the Island, and possession of the tremendous fortifications of Havannah; and she could besides, in the event of a combination between the Creoles and the Americans, easily raise the coloured population. She is, therefore, well prepared for resistance, and, since

the buccaneering enterprise of Lopez, suspicious and watchful of the designs of the United States. So that, in the struggle that would necessarily ensue, before these designs could be carried into execution, the present valuable trade with Cuba would be entirely lost, the commerce and prosperity of the Island ruined, and in return nothing would be gained but a barren and blood-stained conquest. The only parties who would profit by such an event would be the planters of Texas and Louisiana, who would thus obtain for themselves a monopoly of the American sugar market. As to the project for the purchase of the Island, it is simply absurd ; no Minister would venture to lay such a proposal before the Spanish Cortes.

The more thoughtful and intelligent Cubans are decidedly opposed to any disruption of the ties which unite their country to Spain. They know that a rebellion against her authority would most probably result in their Island becoming American or African, in either of which contingencies they would certainly be the losers. They, therefore, dread a revolution ; but at the same time endeavour to impress upon Spain, by every legal and constitutional means, the justice and necessity of granting to a colony, which is not only self-supporting, but also most lucrative to the mother-country, some degree of political freedom, and some power of self-government. The views advocated by Senhor Saco, in his recent work upon the political position of Cuba, may be fairly taken as representing the opinions of the more enlightened among the Creoles. He successfully combats the project of annexation, but, at the same time, points out the expediency and political propriety of granting a greater amount of freedom to the press and to the municipalities, and proposes to have a deliberative council, holding its sittings in Havannah. A compliance with these moderate demands would, he thinks, in a great measure remedy the majority of the abuses of which the Cubans at present complain ; and it does, indeed, seem strange folly and infatuation, that Spain should obstinately refuse to make these reasonable concessions,—should still remain blind to the signs of the times, to the hostile elements at work within the bosom of her fairest colony, and to the necessity of promptly combating them by extensive reforms in the administrative and judicial departments, in order to preserve her influence over that beautiful and fertile Island, which has so long remained faithful to her, and whose most natural and desirable destiny is, to be a flourishing branch of the Spanish trunk.

ART. V.—*Jerusalem and Tiberias; Sora and Cordova: A Survey of the Religious and Scholastic Learning of the Jews; designed as an Introduction to the Study of Hebrew Literature.* By J. W. ETHERIDGE, M.A., Doctor in Philosophy. London: Longmans. 1856.

IN glancing through the history of the ancient world, and marking the rapid rise and sudden fall of many a mighty nation, one people especially arrests the eye, as being concerned, more or less, in all these revolutions. Egypt, Assyria, and Babylon, Macedon and Rome, in their best days, were constrained to acknowledge that the land of Judea, though small in compass, had for its inhabitants a peculiar race, not so easily crushed as the other minor nations of the East, but springing up into fresh and defiant life, as soon as the heel of the conqueror was raised from off the sod. So also in more modern times, from Sassanide Kings and Mohammedan Caliphs downwards to the present dynasties of Europe, all have had to recognise the versatile powers of the Jew, and the universality of his influence on public affairs. But there is another and higher ground of interest with respect to the Hebrew people, and all that appertains to them. They were the nation chosen by God as peculiarly His own; and there can be little doubt that the choice would have been justified to human eyes by the physical and mental superiority of the Jews to the surrounding families of nations, in the early days of their history. Their beauty of person was proverbial, and the fame of their intellectual powers was spread far and wide over the East. Their rich and sonorous language was that which was chosen as the vehicle for the direct communication of God with man; and to their sacred books the ancient world owed all its best religious and philosophic lore. When the fulness of the time was come, and God was manifest in the flesh, it was not amongst the sages and warriors of Greece and Rome that He deigned to appear. He came into this our world as a Hebrew of the Hebrews, born of their royal lineage at the old birth-place of their favourite King. Theirs was the sacred tongue in which He conversed, and with their Doctors it was that He disputed in the temple. They had been looking through the vista of ages for the coming of this promised Messiah: but now that He had appeared, because He came not as a warlike Prince, breasting the tide of Roman power, they received Him not; and they wander, now these eighteen hundred years, over the face of the earth, an affecting instance of the goodness and the severity of God.

Had the Gospel which was first preached at Jerusalem never reached us, and had the Lord Jesus never extended His hand to us, and drawn us to the fold of His peculiar people, we Gentiles

should still have wandered in thick darkness, either deifying some ungainly or revolting image, or hardening our hearts to the total negation of any God. But the day-spring from on high having visited us, and its light and warmth having penetrated to our inmost souls, it would be unbecoming in us not to take some interest in the present state and past history of those who were at one time the only worshippers of the true God, and from among whom were chosen those inspired historians, psalmists, and prophets, whose writings are our household treasure. The rites and ceremonies of the Hebrews, their habits of daily life, their style of thought and writing,—in fact, all that concerns them, may well possess an especial attraction for our eyes. We hail, then, with pleasure a volume which professes to lay before us an account of their uninspired literature, and of their ancient seats of learning and eminent Rabbis; and we shall avail ourselves to some extent of its classification in presenting to our readers a general view of the mass of treatises included in the learning of the Jews.

The first age of Jewish literature is that of the *Soferim*, or 'Scribes;' and it extends from the time of Ezra to about seventy years after the birth of Christ. Ezra the Scribe, with the most eminent men of his time, constituted a sort of college, known as 'the Great Synagogue.' It was their work to provide for the religious enlightenment of the people, whose exile in Babylon, while it rooted out their tendency to idolatry, and led them to rely more fully on Him who alone could deliver them, had left them very ignorant of the forms of their temple worship, and of the other matters contained in their sacred books, or handed down among a learned few by tradition. The *Soferim* busied themselves in collecting the canonical books of Scripture, and in multiplying copies of them by transcription; and they established congregational assemblies, or 'synagogues,' in which the pure text of the original was rendered into the Aramaized Hebrew of the vulgar by an interpreter, and explained and practically applied by an authorized Preacher.

The principal part of the *Soferim* contented themselves with their labours in collating and multiplying authentic MSS. of the inspired writings, and in gathering up and promulgating the traditions of the fathers. Others, however, having become acquainted with the master-pieces of Grecian philosophy, sought to harmonize its principles with those of the Jewish religion; and we have the result in some of the books of the Apocrypha. The studies of the Traditionists tended to the formation of a system which has given its peculiar character to later Judaism. The early masters of the science of tradition were styled *Tanaim*, 'those who teach with authority.' In order to understand their position, we must turn to the Sanhedrin, which was

the assembly in which their intellectual powers found their chief scope.

The Sanhedrin was a court which not only had under its supervision and control all the scholastic institutions of the land, but also for a time exercised full jurisdiction, as the supreme legislative power, in both civil and ecclesiastical affairs. It consisted of seventy-one members, and two secretaries; comprising the High Priest, the Chief Priests, and a number of the *Soferim* elected from the priesthood. It was superintended by a President, called the *Rosh* or *Nasi*, and two Vice-Presidents, styled respectively the *Ab Beth Din* and the *Hakem*. The exact date of the regular formation of this body cannot be positively fixed; some attributing its organization to Ezra, but no distinct notice of its existence occurring before the time of Hyrcanus II. This, then, was the seat and centre of rabbinical power; and to it the people looked with awe and reverence, receiving from it willingly precepts to govern them in all the *minutiae* of daily life, and cherishing in their hearts each pithy maxim which the great Doctors enunciated as their own distinctive mottoes.

Among the most eminent occupants of the presidential chair was Hillel the Babylonian, who was elected to that dignity on account of his readiness in settling a disputed point. At the time of the presidential election, the Passover happened to fall on a Sabbath; and the question arose, which of the two festivals should cede its position to the other. Such a difficult matter gave scope for much disagreement among the Rabbis, and was found to be too hard for the solution of the other aspirants to the seat of honour: but Hillel, when called upon for his opinion, at once pronounced that the Sabbath must yield to the Passover, giving it as his most decisive reason, that such was the tradition he had received from his masters. The presidential chair was his reward; and thousands flocked to the feet of one who was held to be the most complete representative of the wisdom of the past. It was he who reduced the tangled web of tradition to something like geometrical order by classing its topics under six various heads, and laid the foundation for the future structure of the Mishna. He lived to see the birth of Christ, but not to witness His public ministry. That he was not without right conceptions of the Messiah's character is shown by the fact, that when he heard the extravagant hopes expressed by his countrymen with regard to the advent of a Divine warrior, who should quell the Romans, and banish Herod, he would assure them that no such personage as they expected would ever appear. His descendants for thirteen generations upheld the fame of the family for wisdom, and they retained the dignity of *Nissim*, or 'Patriarchs,' for about four hundred years.

Among the most illustrious of the successors of Hillel was that Gamaliel who was the instructor of St. Paul in all the lore of tradition, and who, by his calm counsel, secured for the rising Christian Church a temporary tranquillity from the hands of its persecutors. By some it has been supposed that he was at heart a Christian; but it is probable that his moderation towards the primitive Church was rather the result of an even temperament and the exercise of clear common-sense, than the effect of any deep-seated conviction of the truth of the new religion, since the Jews have ever held his memory in the greatest respect, as one of their most eminent and orthodox Rabbis. It was under his presidency that the schools were transplanted from Jerusalem to Japhna.

Of the contemporaries of Gamaliel we can here commemorate only the Abba Jochanan ben Zachai, who lived so wondrously long, and uttered so many good things, that, with truly Eastern hyperbole, it was affirmed, 'If the heavens were a scroll, and every son of man a scribe, and all the trees were reeds to write with, they could not record the multitude of his precepts.' We are afraid, then, it must have been hard work to *obey* them all. His great attainments in scriptural and mishnaic lore, in dialectics, astronomy, and demonology, caused him to be regarded almost as another Moses, and the place where he taught as a second Sinai. We quote his dying words as an illustration of what poor comfort the greatest of the Rabbis could derive from their tenets in the hour of death, having refused to accept as their own the Messiah who had arisen among them. 'I am now,' said he, 'about to appear before the awful majesty of the King of kings,—before the Holy and Blessed One, who is, and who liveth for ever, whose just anger may be eternal, who may doom me to everlasting punishment. Should He condemn me, it will be to death without further hope. Nor can I pacify Him with words, nor bribe Him with money. There are two roads before me,—one leading to Paradise, the other to hell,—and I know not by which of these I go.' These expressions will probably recall to the reader's thoughts some of the sayings of the Patriarch Job, but only to remind him that Job had a better knowledge and a firm hope to brighten the dim vista of the future,—the knowledge of a living Redeemer, and the hope of seeing God for himself.

Soon after the decease of the great Gamaliel, from whose lips Onkelos the Targumist, Paul the Apostle, and probably Stephen the Protomartyr, drank in the traditions of fourteen centuries, Jerusalem itself, the beautiful and beloved mother-city, fell before its Roman assailants, and the temple which had been its pride was levelled with the dust.

'The days of retribution had come, and civil war, with its deadly strife, the delirious agonies of famine, the shattering catapults and

slaughtering swords of the Roman legions, had done their work; and fifteen hundred thousand of the children of them who had imprecated the blood of the Just One upon them, had perished in despair. But, notwithstanding these wasting desolations, we find the indestructible vitality of Judaism re-asserting itself at once. The lowest step of their political ruin had, indeed, been passed. The Levitical institutions had sunk in the flames of the temple; and, disfranchised from the registry of nations, oppressed, despised, and hated of all men, the residue of this doom-struck people took with them, in their long and Cain-like wanderings, through the whole breadth of the earth, a generic character which was literally indelible, and an attachment to the religion of their fathers which no vicissitudes could destroy.

'Not a small number lingered on the ancestral soil. Though the cities were wasted, and the land made desolate, a remnant remained, like the seed of a future harvest, and the pledge and attestation of Israel's eternal hold of the inheritance given by the Unchangeable to Abraham and to his seed for ever. They were cast down, but not destroyed. Fire and sword, the pangs of want, and the wastes of incessant conflict, wholesale massacres, or daily martyrdoms by the gibbet, the cross, the rack, or the flaming pile, the hungry teeth of wild beasts in the amphitheatres, or the man-traffic of the slave-market, all failed to undo them. *Rubus ardebat, et non consumebatur*. Within a few years, the Jewish communities throughout the world were re-organized, and unfolding in every country of their exile a uniform religious life.

'What was it that could make this outcast, but unbroken, race indomitable and immutable amid all the vicissitudes of time? It was their unswerving love and allegiance to a law which they believed to be Divine. "We live," wrote Josephus, "we live under our laws, as under the care of a father." And venerable as had been the law in their eyes in the past, it had never been so endeared to them as now, when the study of it became the rallying-ground where their dissipated strength was re-combined, and a new era of national life inaugurated.'—*Etheridge*, pp. 50, 51.

Their manifold sufferings seem but to have quickened the intellectual progress of this remarkable people; and under the patriarchate of Gamaliel II. their schools and colleges reached a higher state of efficiency than ever before. In order to give greater completeness to the system of public instruction, rabbinical chairs were, at various times, founded at Japhna, Lydda, Bethira, Chammatha, Cæsarea, Magdala, Sepphoris, and Tiberias, which last became the never-to-be-forgotten laboratory of the much prized Mishna and of the Masoretic apparatus. Our readers will ascertain, by turning to Dr. Etheridge's pages, to what extent these colleges resembled those of our own time and country. The Principal or Rector of each was designated

* "Judaism found its last asylum in its academies. A conquered nation changed their military leaders into Rabbins, and their hosts into armies of pale-checked students, covered with the dust of the schools."—D'ISRAËLI, SEN.'

Rosh Yeshibah,—the *Chaberim* being the 'Fellows,' and the *Talmudim* the common herd of scholars, who, when the Principal had read a text or theme aloud, and the *Chaberim* had commented upon it, were allowed to exhaust these living founts of wisdom by a variety of questions on the topic in hand.

Now were the golden days of Rabbinism. The expounders of tradition and the *Kabala* exercised in their corporate capacity a sway, in temporal and spiritual affairs, rivalled only by that of those Roman 'Congregations' whose tyranny is so unhappily known throughout Europe. When we trace these fierce old Rabbis prescribing not only the *minutiae* of all public religious solemnities, and the time and manner of family and individual worship, but also the exact items of food and dress, and all the details of domestic life,—when we find them prohibiting Gentile learning, shutting up the mind within the narrow circle of Judaism, and requiring the people to accept the words of the Rabbi as the utterances of God Himself,—we almost wonder that the Romish Church has not claimed to be descended from these same Jewish teachers, whom it professes so to hate, but whose example it has so studiously followed, instead of that of Him who was meek and lowly in spirit, and who cared more for one deed of mercy than for all the triflings of ceremonial exactness.

After the fall of Jerusalem this mighty system was kept in full operation for more than three hundred years, being directed in Palestine by the Nasi or Patriarch of the West, and in Babylonia by the *Resh Glutha*, or 'Prince of the Exile.' Among the later Tanaim were some whose lives, if written in detail, would surpass in genuine interest many a favourite romance. We can only advert to one of these,—Joshua ben Hananja, who, though honoured as a 'master in Israel,' passed most of his days in poverty, supporting himself by working as a wheelwright and blacksmith. In after life he went with two other eminent Rabbis to Rome, to plead with Trajan on behalf of his oppressed countrymen, and was received by the Emperor with unusual courtesy and respect. It is even reported (though not on any certain authority) that the Princess Imra, the daughter of Trajan, honoured the Jewish Rabbi with her friendship; and that, on one occasion, looking at the homely garb in which so much wisdom was encased, she said to him, 'Thou art the Beauty of Wisdom in an abject dress.' 'Good wine,' Joshua complacently replied, 'is not kept in gold or silver vases, but in vessels of earthenware.' While reserving our decision as to the exact truth of this interesting anecdote, we must yet bear in mind that about this time Judaism numbered many proselytes among the patrician ladies of Rome, to whose aching hearts the herd of old and disreputable deities presented no ground of comfort or hope at all comparable with that afforded by the

Hebrew's purer, though imperfect, worship,—the worship of the one true God. It is also related that Trajan, in a bantering way, begged the old Rabbi to show him his God, whom he had affirmed to be every where present. After some conversation, Trajan still adhering to his demand to see the God of the Hebrews, 'Well,' said Joshua, 'let us first look at one of His Ambassadors;' and, taking the Emperor into the open air, he desired him to gaze at the sun in his full meridian power. 'I cannot,' replied Trajan, 'the light dazzles me.' 'Canst thou, then,' said the Rabbi, 'expect to behold the glory of the Creator, when thou art unable to endure the light of one of His creatures?' Such is one of the talmudic anecdotes of this great man, who was renowned for the pungency of his wit, and the ready exercise of his reasoning powers.

Under Hadrian the pent up rage of the Jews against their imperial oppressors was no longer to be restrained by the counsels of prudence, and burst forth with tremendous fury. Two hundred thousand Hebrew warriors were marshalled under the banners of a Messiah of their own making,—the renowned Bar Cochab or Kokeba, who for a time carried every thing before him, sparing neither Christian nor Heathen that refused to second him in his resistance to Rome. The imperial General, Rufus, a cruel and relentless man, was again and again defeated by the impetuous heroism of the Jewish forces; and it was found necessary to supersede him by Julius Severus, who was recalled for that purpose from his command in Britain. This appointment turned the fortune of the war. The fortified town of Bethar, in which Bar Kokeba had centralized his forces, was taken by storm by the able Roman on the fatal ninth of Ab,—the same day on which the temple had each time been destroyed; and the mock Messiah, whose name was henceforth changed from Bar Kokeba, 'Son of a Star,' to Bar Kosiba, 'Son of a Lie,' was slaughtered with thousands of his followers.

'Never perhaps had the blasts of war rendered a country more desolate than Judea now became. We read of fifty fortified places, and hundreds of villages, utterly laid waste. The numbers of persons who perished by the sword, flame, and hunger, have been stated as high as 700,000; by others, 580,000. As to Judaism and the Jewish people, the land might be said for some time to be a solitude. The native inhabitants who had escaped the butchery of the war were expatriated either by banishment or flight, or sold into bondage. No Jew was now permitted to come within sight of Jerusalem, and Gentile colonists were sent to take possession of the soil. Jerusalem in fact became a Gentile city. Rebuilt upon a new model, its very site was, in some respects, no longer the same, as the whole of Mount Sion was left out of the boundary, the new town stretching further to the north and east. Mount Moriah was planted with trees, and desecrated by statues of the Emperor; while the gate of the wall towards Bethlehem was surmounted by the image of a hog. These expedients

may have been adopted, not so much in the way of insult to the religion of the Hebrews, as to render the spot itself abhorrent to their feelings, and to strengthen the idea of the moral impossibility of the restoration of their former state. To do away with every vestige of what the city had been, its very name was obliterated, and the new metropolis of the Roman Palestine became *Elia Capitolina*.—*Etheridge*, p. 72.

Yet, amidst all this desolation, the religious life of Judaism was not extinguished. The law, written and traditional, was imprinted deep in the hearts of the people; and, as soon as the war terminated, the Sanhedrin and other religious organizations sprang up into renewed action. Their scholastic system, before many years had elapsed, was again in vigorous operation, under the presidency of Simon ben Gamaliel, who was the only school-boy that escaped from the fearful massacre of Bethar. He succeeded in founding a famous rabbinical college at the pleasant town of Tiberias, which soon became the metropolis of Judaism. He was followed in the patriarchate by his son Jehuda,—the renowned constructor of the Mishna, who rejoices in the surnames of *Hannasi*, the Nasi or 'Prince,' *Hakkodesh*, or 'the Holy,' and, from his scholastic authority, *Rabbenu*, 'our Master;' but who is also known to every Jew by the simple designation of *Rabbi*, (*par excellence*), without his proper patronymic. Fearful that his scattered countrymen might speedily, under the imperial frown, be deprived of the schools which were at once their refuge in all calamities and their pride in the days of prosperity, and that the lips of the wise might be sealed by the mandates of tyranny, Jehuda made it the labour of his life to collect and classify that vast mass of tradition which he judged to be absolutely necessary to the existence of pure Judaism. The Romans had taken great pains to codify their manifold laws: why should not the sacred traditions of the fathers enjoy the same advantages of being systematized and preserved in a permanent form? This task was accomplished by the formation of the Mishna, which by the Jew is regarded as co-ordinate in authority with the Old-Testament Scriptures.

The title *Mishna* signifies 'the Repeated' or 'Second Code;' and the work is composed of the following elements:—

'1. *Pure Mishna*; the elucidation of the fundamental texts of the Mosaic laws, and their application to an endless variety of particular cases and circumstances not mentioned in them. 2. *Halakoth*; the usages and customs of Judaism, as sanctioned and confirmed by time and general acquiescence. 3. *Debrey Hachamim*; law principles of the wise men or sages, *i. e.*, the ancient and, at that time, the more recent teachers, to whose decisions the people's respect for them gave a greater or less amount of conclusiveness. 4. *Debrey Jechidim*; opinions of individuals, of greater or less weight. 5. *Maassijoth*; practical facts; conclusions arrived at by the operation of events.

6. *Geseroth*; extemporaneous decisions demanded by emergencies.
7. *Tekanoth*; modifications of usages to meet existing circumstances:
and, 8. *Elalim*; universal principles under which a multitude of particular cases may be provided for.

'In constructing his work, the author arranged these manifold materials under six general classes, called *Sedarim*, or "Orders;" the first of which relates to the productions of the earth, as forming the staple sustenance of human life. The second refers to times and seasons, involving the religious observance of years and days, fasts and festivals. The third deals with the institution of marriage, which lies at the basis of the system of human society. The fourth relates to civil controversies, and treats of the rights of persons and things. The fifth comprises laws and regulations regarding the service and worship of God, upon the provisions of the Levitic ritual, or things consecrated; and the sixth exhibits the prescriptions requisite to the maintenance or recovery of personal purity, according to the Levitical ideas. The first *Seder*, or Order, is entitled *Zeraim*, "Seeds;" the second, *Moed*, "Festival," or "Solemnity;" the third, *Nashim*, "Women;" the fourth, *Nezikin*, "Injuries;" the fifth, *Kodashim*, "Consecrations;" and the sixth, *Taharoth*, "Purifications." The initial letters of these titles compose, for the sake of memory, the technical word ZeMaN NeKeTh, "a time accepted."—*Etheridge*, pp. 119, 120.

Among the contemporaries of Rabbi Jehuda the most remarkable was Chaia bar Abba, who co-operated with him in his great work, and was called by him 'the man of his counsel.' To his honour it must be recorded, that, though himself a high authority in the complications of oral tradition, he delighted to send his pupils to the pure fountains of truth,—the Holy Scriptures. It was said of him, that if the law had been lost, he would have been able to restore it from memory; and this is within the range of possibility: but we perceive a slight Oriental colouring in the tradition which asserts that he 'with his own hand took the deer in the chase, and skinned them for parchments, which he would inscribe with the records of the law, and distribute, without money or price, for the instruction of the young.' To make the story complete, the Talmudists should have informed us what he did with the venison.

We must glance, for a minute, at the earlier productions of the age which we have so rapidly traversed. They include several of the forms of prayer and benediction set forth in the Service Book now in use in the Synagogue. Besides the Septuagint version of the Old Testament, and the Chaldee Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan ben Uzziel, they comprise some hermeneutical, and several ethical, works. The latter class generally took the semi-poetical form of the *Mashal*, which comprehends, in its varieties, the proverb or apophthegm, as a basis, and the illustrative parable, apologue, or fable, as the superstructure. The most famous collection of the *Mashalim* is the book known

to us as 'The Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach;' and with it may be joined Ecclesiasticus and the Book of Baruch, as belonging to the same class of writings, though the latter is not so certainly of pure Jewish origin as the others. In history, the Books of Esdras and of the Maccabees belong to the Soferite age, as also the *Seder Olam*, which our learned author recommends as an excellent book for the *tiro* in rabbinical Hebrew. To this period, as well, appertain several *Hagadoth*, or histories coloured with fable, such as the apocryphal books of Judith, Tobit, Bel and the Dragon, &c. Of those eminent Jewish writers, Philo of Alexandria and Josephus, there is no need for us to make any detailed mention, as our readers may be supposed to be sufficiently familiar with the style and scope of their works, holding as they do a high place amongst the later Grecian classics.

We pass on to the days of Constantine the Great and his successors, who, though the occupation of the imperial throne by professed Christians had been looked upon by the Jews with the intensest dread and aversion, yet treated them generally with great moderation. With Julian, indeed, they were, as a matter of course, great favourites, their bitter hostility to Christianity harmonizing well with his own pagan hatred of it. But history tells how he and they were foiled in their attempt to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem; and the death of their patron soon quenched the too ardent hopes of the excitable Hebrews, who thus were driven back upon the quieter pursuits of life, and took refuge in the renewed study of the law, now no longer oral, but written. The Mishna formed a text for the comments of the *Amoraim*, who expounded the law in the schools. Among these expositors in Palestine were several eminent men, the result of whose labours was the Palestinian *Gemara*, known also as the *Talmud Jerushalmi*, which, if ever completed, is now only partially extant.

From the *Amoraim* of the mother-country, turn we now to the more famous ones whose lustre shed a glory on the land of Babylon. Here the greater and nobler portion of the Jews had remained after the Captivity; and for successive generations, amid all the turmoil of dynastic changes, they retained the peculiar rites and customs of their still fondly remembered homeland. As long as the temple stood erect, they acknowledged the presidency of the High Priest at Jerusalem, and from time to time journeyed thither to attend the great festivals. But when the holy city fell, the *Gola* ('exile' or 'captivity') Jews cast off the yoke of the Palestinian Rabbins, and acknowledged the authority of their own Resh Glutha as alone supreme. For the development of their school system, however, they were still indebted to the old land, deriving thence some of their best teachers and most eminent exponents of the great system of

Jewish law. The fertile banks of the Euphrates and the Tigris were adorned with the celebrated academies of Nehardea, Machusa, Sora, and Pumbaditha. That of Sora was founded by the renowned Abba Arekka, known in Jewish literature by his simple academic title of *Rab* or *Rav*. Born on the borders of Babylonia, he had, as we may say, 'taken his degree' in Palestine, having been one of the favourite disciples of the great Rabbi Jehuda. From the mother-country he brought with him a copy of the Mishna, as revised and amended by Rabbi himself; and this formed the text of the Babylonian Talmud. So illustrious did the university of Sora become under his auspices, that at one time it numbered twelve hundred students, with twenty Amoraim to act as Professors and expounders of the law. It was under the presidency of Arekka that proper provision was first made amongst the Gola Jews for the instruction of young children in common or primary schools: and one of his recorded precepts is the very genial one,—which deserves consideration in the present age of precocious children,—that no child should attend school before it is six years old. He seems to have been of opinion, also, that there is 'nothing like leather:' for he expressly enjoins that if punishment be necessary, it shall be administered with the sole of a shoe, or a thin strip of leather.

Pumbaditha was favoured with a succession of clever men as its Rectors, amongst whom were Jehuda bar Jechekel, the renowned Rabba bar Nachman, Joseph bar Chijja, and the learned Raba bar Joseph bar Chama. By their united labours the Babylonian Talmud gradually took shape, till it arrived at something like its present substantial form under the hands of Ashi bar Simai, of Sora.

'At the outset of his administration, Ashi found the immense mass of Gemara learning in a chaotic confusion. The labours of the Amoraim had hitherto created, rather than reduced their accumulations into system and order. The text of the Mishna itself had become deteriorated by various readings, and the current explanations of many points in it were uncertain and contradictory. One master had laid down this, and another that; and the details of practice in Jewish life were thereby growing more and more irregular. The Jerusalem Talmud was imperfect as a commentary on the Mishna, both as to the extent and the quality of its explications. Many parts of the text were left without *gemara*; and the commentary on those parts professedly explained, was weakened and often worthless by a large admixture of mere fable and legend. Under these circumstances Ashi was moved to undertake a connected and comprehensive commentary on the treatises of the Mishna, so as to collect, condense, and set in order the entire array of traditional law, as eliminated by the Rabbins since the time of Jehuda the Saint. This was the enterprise of his life, and one which, after the lapse of many laborious years, resulted in the consolidation of THE BABYLONIAN TALMUD.'—*Etheridge*, pp. 173, 174.

The structure of the Talmud did not, however, receive its topstone till the days of Jose, about the close of the fifth century, to whom is assigned the honour of 'completing to write, and of sealing the Gemara of Babel, three hundred and eleven years from the sealing of the Mishna.' The Babylonian *Gemara*, or 'Completion' of the Talmud, consists of,—

'1. Quotations from the *TOBAH*, or written law. 2. *PERUSHIM*, explications of it. 3. *HALAKA*, whether fixed and immutable, because an oral tradition perpetuated from the lips of Moses, (*halaka le-Mosheh mi-Sinai*), or determinable by argumentation upon acknowledged rules and principles of exegesis, exhibited in the thirteen *meddoh* of R. Ishmael. 4. *MINHAGOTH*, prescribed customs and settled usages (*ritus*). 5. *TEQUANOTH*, constitutions or appointments of later Rabbins, made in accordance with the necessity of circumstances. 6. *GEZEROTH*, (*debroy kachamim vajechedim*), ordinations of the Rabbins, which have the effect of insuring a greater attention to the law itself, *gedarim useyagim*, ramparts and hedges to the law. All these materials are intermixed with, 7. An endless variety of *HAGADOTH*, anecdotes and illustrations, historical and legendary, which tend to keep up the attention, and give the book a charm for the mere reader, and an ever recurring refreshment to the severer student.

'The language of the Talmud is partly Hebrew and partly Aramaic. The best Hebrew of the work is in the text of the Mishna, that in the Gemara being largely debased with exotic words of various tongues, barbarous spelling, and uncouth grammatical, or rather ungrammatical, forms. The same remark will apply to the Aramaic portions, which in general are those containing popular narrative or legendary illustration; while the law principles, and the discussions relating to them, are embodied in Hebrew. Many forms of the Talmudic dialect are so peculiar as to render a grammar adapted to the work itself greatly to be desired. Ordinary Hebrew grammar will not take a man through a page of it. Let any one, with the mere knowledge of biblical Hebrew grammar, try to construe the first sentence in the Gemara, and he will begin to understand what we mean.'—*Etheridge*, pp. 178, 179.

Any scholar who possesses abundance of time, and sufficiency of judgment, may do worse than devote his leisure to the investigation of this immense farrago of precious metal and vile rubbish, and to the extraction of the former for the benefit of his weaker, or better occupied, brethren. He will there find interesting disquisitions on all the circumstantialia of Jewish life, abundance of evidence as to the intellectual attainments and moral character of the Hebrews of former ages, and plenty of tales out of which amusing nursery-books might be made up. But he will wonder what marvellous charm was supposed by the Romish Church to be inherent in its pages, that she should regard it with such dread, and that Gregory IX. should burn it by cartloads, and Paul IV. destroy twelve thousand copies of it. Turning from the Talmud to the New-Testament Scriptures,

what cause has the Christian student for joy and gratitude, that before him are open, from day to day, those pure and lively oracles, instead of the mass of trifles and fables which the Jew regards as claiming equal reverence with the inspired historians and Prophets of old!

We must now direct our attention to the labours of the Targumists and Masorites. The Chaldee Paraphrase of Onkelos on the Pentateuch is the earliest now extant, and is a work of great value to the student of the Hebrew Scriptures, as it throws out many important hints for the elucidation of dark passages. Of its author little is known, except that he was a proselyte from Heathenism, and was the scholar and friend of the great Gamaliel. Next in value is the Targum of Jonathan on the Prophets, though he allows himself greater liberty of exposition, and sometimes verges on extravagance. It contains ample evidence that the views of the prophecies respecting the Messiah which were current among the Jews of the ante-apostolic age, approached much more nearly to those held by the Christian Church than the modified interpretations of modern Jews. There is another Chaldee Paraphrase bearing the name of Jonathan, but with little claim to that honour. It is on the Pentateuch, and seems to be simply a more complete recension of the work which has come down to us in fragments under the title of the 'Jerusalem Targum.'

The labours of the Masorites had reference to the preservation of the exact letter of the sacred writings. Whilst the talmudic schools were in the height of their glory, small attention had been paid to any thing but the *dicta* of the Rabbins: but when, early in the sixth century, the more Eastern academics were brought low by war and persecution, Tiberias regained its pre-eminence, and, with its sister establishments in Palestine, devoted its energies to a renewed study of the word of the Lord. Making use of various apparatus to fix a standard text of the Holy Scriptures,—dividing the several books into sections, chapters, and verses,—ascertaining the middle verse, the middle letter, and the number of letters, in each book, (the total number of letters has been stated at 815,280,)—the Masorites endeavoured to prevent the possibility of any change being made in the Divine oracles. They collated many MSS. to ascertain the best readings; but where an emendation was thought necessary, they would not disturb the dubious word in the text, but marked it with the sign *Ketib*, 'It is written,' and inserted the correction in the margin with a note of *Keri*, 'To be so read.' Thus the Palestinian Jews produced a valuable recension of the Hebrew Bible; and those of Persia and Babylonia accomplished a similar task, in a version whose variations from the western one, though upwards of two hundred in number, involve no material difference of meaning.

Next in order come the *Seboraim*, or 'Casuists,' who devoted themselves to the exposition of the Talmud in the troublous times when the Persian Kings, influenced by Magian bigotry, endeavoured to annihilate the Synagogue and its schools. But, with the old vitality of Judaism, the scholastic system weathered the storms of persecution; and even amid their violence the talmudic lecturers on casuistry delivered their expositions to select companies of students assembled in private dwellings. When at length a brighter day dawned, and, under Chosroes II., their schools were re-opened, the title of *Gaon* was taken by the head of the Sora college; while *Rabban* was the inferior designation of the Principal of each of the other academies. The plural form *Geonim*, therefore, properly refers to the Presidents of Sora; but it was also applied to the eminent Professors of the Jewish universities at large.

When the Caliph Omar triumphed over the ultimate Sassanide King, it was to the great joy of the Hebrews, who had been fearfully harassed by the last Yesdigird. Under the Mohammedans their schools were again frequented by thousands of students, and their men of science and skill were retained about the court in various confidential offices. When at length the Islamites began to display a vigour in the fields of literature equal to their impetuosity on the field of battle, and when the master-pieces of the Grecian philosophy were translated into Arabic, and studied by the Moslem with all the eagerness of children just beginning to exercise a new faculty, the sudden intellectual advancement of their neighbours gave a fresh impulse to the literary pursuits of the Hebrews, and a number of treatises on divers subjects appeared as the first-fruits of the coming harvest. The great mass of the literature of the Geonastic age is anonymous: but amongst the known writers there are three of great celebrity. These are, Saadja Gaon, Sherira Gaon, and Hai Gaon; the first of whom rendered most of the Scriptures into Arabic; the second wrote the oft-quoted *Iggereth*, which contains anecdotic notices of many of the famous Rabbins of the day; and the third produced a variety of treatises, designed in great part to uphold the fast decaying system of rabbinical learning.

When the Babylonian schools were broken up, many of the Jewish learned took refuge in the fair land of Spain, where, under the rule of the 'White Caliphs' of the West, they and their brethren enjoyed a repose to which they had long been strangers. The lovely climate and pleasant scenery, and the Eastern habits of their Moorish neighbours,—who even in religion so far resembled Jews as to acknowledge but one God,—caused the Hebrew wanderers soon to feel at home in a land so similar to the country of their forefathers. The great city of Cordova, resplendent with the gorgeous ornamentation of Sara-

cenic architecture, had amongst its million of inhabitants a fair sprinkling of Jews, many of whom rose to opulence and power. It was some time, however, before the intellectual life of the Hebrew settlers was developed into full activity: yet in the eleventh and twelfth centuries we meet with a host of famous Rabbanim; among whom are the erudite Aben Ezra, the poetic and romantic Jehuda Ha-Levi, the kabalistic R. Moses bar Nachman, (or concisely, from his initials, RAMBAN,) the acute Salomo ibn Adrath, (RASHBA,) and the great Maimonides, or RAMBAM. The last, though but a dull boy, developed in manhood faculties that mastered the whole learning of the age in every department. His works are numerous, embracing a varied range of topics, and displaying great liberality of sentiment. Perhaps the best known to general students is the *Moreh Nevochim*, or 'Guide of the Perplexed,' which contains a mass of scriptural disquisition, and was partly translated into English by the late Dr. Townley. Maimonides was far too advanced in freedom of thought for the Jews of his time, and came under the ban of the French Synagogue. But his works have outlived this opprobrium; and his memory is enshrined in the Hebrew proverb: 'From Moses' (the Lawgiver) 'to Moses' (Maimonides) 'none hath arisen like Moses.' That his name, however, is not so well known to the bibliopoles of our day as it should be, is shown by the fact that, not long since, a London bookseller wrote for a copy of Maimonides under the highly imaginative phonograph of *My Monodies*.

It would be difficult for us here to enumerate the many learned men whose names adorn the Hebrew literature of the Middle Ages. Biblical criticism, theology, talmudic lore, grammar, logic, and astronomy, formed the staple of their manifold treatises. Astronomy in particular was a favourite study with several of these sages; and they seem, indeed, to have had an inkling of the true principles of that science, before Copernicus and Galileo had demolished the Ptolemaic system. Throughout Europe learned Jews were making the best of the period of ease and favour which they now enjoyed; and the rapid advance of the whole of the Hebrew emigrants in intellectual and material wealth, their exemplary behaviour as private citizens, and their able discharge of the higher offices of the state, demonstrated that under fair auspices this scattered people would speedily take rank with the noblest of the nations. But such a pleasing prospect was quickly overshadowed by the black cloud of Romanist bigotry, which, sooner or later, hung its dark drapery over all the lands of the West that had afforded a resting-place to the Jewish wanderers. In Spain, where under the Moors some of their happiest days had been spent, they now incurred the dire vengeance of the so-called Catholic Church. The illustrious Abravanel sought, by earnest pleadings, to avert the blow which

the Inquisition was urging the Spanish Monarchs to inflict upon the fated people: but, spite of the momentary relentings of Ferdinand and Isabella, the chief Inquisitor triumphed, and one hundred and sixty thousand Jewish families were swept out of Spain. How bitter the retribution which this fertile peninsula brought upon itself by this suicidal act! We cannot further pursue this interesting subject; but we heartily wish that Dr. Etheridge, or Dr. Rule, or some equally able historian, would give to the world a full account of the Jews in Spain down to the present time. We are sure that a mine of romantic adventure and pathetic incident remains here to be explored.

During all the ages of Jewish literature at which we have glanced, there existed a peculiar branch of study, which engaged the attention of many an aspiring mind. Not content with the simple, straightforward meaning of the sacred writings, but seeking to penetrate into all the mysteries of the Godhead and of creation, the early Jewish philosophers addressed themselves to the task of educing recoudite spiritual meanings from the plain text of Scripture, and of building up cosmogonic theories which too often ended in a bare materialism. The system which they gradually constructed, and the original of which they were not ashamed to carry back to Moses, or even to Adam in Paradise, went under the name of *Kabala*, or 'that which has been received,' and which is to be handed down to fit recipients in each succeeding age. The chief text-books of the theoretic part of this science are the *Jetsira* and its sequel the *Zohar*. For a clue to guide the reader through the mass of physical and metaphysical absurdities conglomerated in these two treatises, we must refer him to the pages of Dr. Etheridge, who has presented an able analysis of the whole kabalistic system. He traces its origin, not to the doctrines of Plato, nor to the schools of Alexandria, but to the teachings of Zoroaster, who, at the very time of the Babylonish captivity, was promulgating that reform of the Persian theology which has been handed down to us in the *Zend-Avesta*; and he holds that Zoroaster went still further east for his cosmogony, deriving it from the sacred books of the Hindoos. A great diversity of opinion must always prevail as to the primary source of such wide-spread tenets as the pantheistic dogmas of the Kabalistic books: but, without impugning the ingenuity of our author's conjectures, we prefer to trace their first circulation amongst the Jews to their own *evil heart of unbelief*. Anxious to be wiser than the written word, and to fathom the deepest mysteries of creation, they opened their minds to receive whispered traditions, which, forsooth, Adam *may* have transmitted through a long line of illuminati, or which, as is vastly more probable, uprose direct to the early Kabalistic sages from the ingenious father of lies.

The *practical* part of the Kabalistic system comprised two varieties of operation,—the exegetical, and the thaumaturgic. The latter was a species of conjuring with the words and letters of Scripture, and with amulets constructed according to certain rules; and is denounced by the most eminent Kabalists, as not to be believed in. In the former the adepts made use of an apparatus which was supposed to elicit the mysteries hidden in each letter, point, and accent of Scripture, and which was arranged under the heads of *Gematria*, *Notarikon*, and *Temura*. The first process assigned a particular numerical value to each letter of the alphabet, and allowed any word to stand as the interpretation of another, if their constituent letters produced the same total. It was also employed in measuring the various sizes of letters in the sacred MSS., and in extracting marvels from the dimensions of the edifices therein described. *Notarikon* took each separate letter of a phrase as an abbreviation for an entire word, or constructed a word from the initial or final letters of several others. *Temura* is a ridiculous system for the permutation of letters, and makes use of the *ath-bash* and *al-bam* alphabets. In order to form the *ath-bash*, the student must split the Hebrew alphabet in half, and write the last half from left to right, *under* the first half written in the usual way,—from right to left; so that Thau may range beneath Aleph, Shin under Beth, &c. *Al-bam* is of similar construction; only the second half of the alphabet is written, like the first, from right to left, so as to make Lamed fall under Aleph, Mem under Beth, &c. In kabalizing a word, its letters might be interchanged with those placed over or under it in these substitutory alphabets, or they might be transposed in any way the Kabalist thought proper; so that he certainly had a fair chance of finding or making an agreeable interpretation for himself by one process or another. It was probably from some acquaintance with these fanciful processes that Jacob Behmen took the first idea of his ingenious extravagances.

The expositors of the Kabala have been numerous. In fact most Jewish writers of any note have dabbled more or less in its tempting mysteries. This study has now, however, we believe, sunk into comparative neglect, though both Jewish and Gentile authors occasionally try to give their readers a glimpse into the cloud-land of Hebrew philosophy,—with but indifferent success.

We come now to a much more agreeable subject. The ear of the Jew has in all ages been a musical one, and his taste has ever been inclined to poetry. In the time of David and Solomon the public worship of God was enlivened and sublimed by the grandest music, while the noble poetry of the Psalms was chanted in the sweetest strains. In every place and at every period of their exile the Jews have retained their

love of music and song ; and we need scarcely remind our readers that some of the finest singers of our own day, in England and on the Continent, have been of Hebrew parentage. It is no matter for wonder, then, that the *Peitanim*, or religious poets, form a numerous class in Jewish literature. In the Synagogue Rituals are some excellent specimens of devotional poetry ; and we wish that Dr. Etheridge, himself no mean poet, could have found room in his book for an English version of a few of the best of these. In later times Hebrew poetry has taken its colour from the sky under which its masters may have happened to be cast. In Spain, when in close contact with the Moslem, its tone was freer and more naturalistic than in ecclesiastical Italy, where it was confined to strictly devotional topics. The Troubadour poetry derived an impulse, if not its origin, from 'Jewry,' two of the most eminent of its professors being Hebrew converts. The first Chronicle of the Cid was also the work of a Moorish Jew, at the end of the eleventh century. Among the more celebrated poets of the last eight hundred years may be enumerated, the unfortunate Gabirol, (assassinated when not thirty,) Jehuda Ha-Levi, Moses Ibn Ezra, (the author of the popular *Selichoth*, or penitential hymns,) Al Charisi, Kalonymus, Immanuel ben Salomo, the kabalistic Isaac Luria, Luzzatto, Wessely, Franco, and Satanow,—the four last-mentioned being the founders of the new classical schools of poetry and the *belles lettres* in Italy, Germany, Holland, and Poland respectively. Of the *Machazor*, or Synagogue Ritual, Dr. Etheridge observes :—

'These Hebrew prayers and hymns are well worthy the study of the Christian Minister. He will know how to pass over the occasional errors of the intellect or the heart which he may meet with there ; but he will find so much of what is good that the book will become one of his choicest companions. In these forms of worship the scriptural element reigns with a force more lofty than in any other liturgical compositions I am acquainted with : they seem to turn the whole Hebrew Bible into prayer and praise. In their argument of prayer before God the style of thought is so chastened and refined, and the pathos often so fervent, that a mind with any religious susceptibility cannot but be solemnized and elevated by conversing with them. Happy would it be for many a Christian congregation, if the exercise of their extempore devotions were distinguished by the same characteristics.'—*Etheridge*, p. 399.

As was to be expected, Hebrew literature abounds with commentaries on the Holy Scriptures : and that some of these would well repay a careful examination, is beyond a doubt. Of idiomatic forms of expression in the Old Testament, and of peculiar rites and manners, the Hebrew commentator is more likely to be a correct expositor than the Gentile, fresh from the study of Greek and Latin classics, which furnish but slight and misleading data for comparison. At the same time we should not like to

take the responsibility of sending to these *Hipreshim* (or 'commentators') all the young theologues of the day, when we reflect how apt many now are to take the hue of their thoughts from the latest German importations, and how entirely they discard that sober habit of judgment which was once so honourably distinctive of the English divine. Imbibing with their spongy intellects the bitter prejudices of some stern old Rabbi, they might possibly inaugurate a neo-synagogal institute, which should rival the Agapemone in mischievous absurdity.

So numerous are the Jewish commentators of mark and standing, that we must content ourselves with mentioning the names of a few of the most eminent. These are, the rationalistic Saadja Gaon, the too concise (and consequently obscure) Rashi, the scientific Abraham Ibn Ezra, the epitomizing Simeon Haddarshan, the grammatical David Kimchi, the excursive and (as was natural enough) strongly prejudiced Isaac Abravanel, and the philosophic Moses Mendelssohn. A commentary on the Scriptures is now, we learn, in progress, combining the Hebrew text with critical and explanatory notes by those able and learned men, J. L. Lindelthal and Dr. M. B. Raphall.

The Hebrew people, from the earliest times, have scarcely ever wanted for public speakers and teachers. We need not recall the long line of Prophets, whose inspired eloquence was poured forth to promote the welfare of the wayward nation. After the captivity the institution of public preaching was revived by Ezra; but the discourses of the *Darshanim* (or 'Preachers') soon degenerated into the absurdities of *Halaka* and *Hagada*.

'In the ordinary assemblies of the Synagogue, the hearers generally sat on mats on the ground; the women in a separate part, or, in some synagogues, in a gallery by themselves. The place of the sermon in the service varied. In the Soferite time it was after the reading of the *haftara*. (Compare Acts xiii. 15.) As the liturgical service gradually enlarged, the sermon was given in another part of the day; sometimes after *Secharith*, or early in the morning, or before dinner. In the Synagogue, in general, the office of the *Amora* or *Meturgeman* was not retained, but popular instruction was delivered immediately in the vernacular tongue.....The Preacher was designated the *Hakem*, *Zaken*, or *Darshan*; most commonly by the latter name, from *darash*, "to inquire into, or investigate, a subject." The sermon, in early time as late, was generally grounded on a quotation from Scripture, or from the *Mashalim* of Ben Sira, which was a favourite text-book. In later times the Preacher would not infrequently select his theme from some passage of the Talmud, *Bereshith Rabba*, or some other rabbinical book.....The text was freely translated, and made to bear on present events, circumstances, or interests. The style of the discourse was, in general, terse, parallelistic, and antithetical, it being an understood duty of the Preacher to make the sermon as pleasant and attractive as possible. It was, therefore, often adorned with metaphors, proverbs, similitudes, parables, and narra-

tives, and largely interspersed with choice texts of holy writ, sometimes extensively concatenated in what they called *charuz*, a connected series, like links in a chain.'—*Etheridge*, pp. 426-428.

Little improvement is to be discerned in the matter of these performances, till the latter end of the eighteenth century, when a revival took place in all departments of Hebrew literature, and a brighter day dawned upon the Synagogue and its teachers. At the present time, many of the synagogal Preachers, both in Germany and in England, are men of eminent ability, and well fraught with sound biblical learning. Dr. Etheridge presents a copious list of *Darshanim*, to which we refer the reader.

To the great Reformation of the sixteenth century the Jews, like ourselves, owe much, both in literary and political respects. Luther, in noble and never-to-be-forgotten words, instructed his followers to use all courtesy towards the down-trodden sons of Abraham. 'We Gentiles,' said he, 'are but brothers-in-law and foreigners: *they* are the blood-kinsmen and brethren of our Lord. Therefore my request and advice is, that they should be dealt with gently, and instructed out of the Scriptures.....If we will be of any real service to them, it must be by showing them, not Papistical, but Christian love, by inviting them to have fellowship with us, and receiving them in a friendly spirit.' The general revival of learning which the Reformation brought in its train, seemed to infuse a better taste and spirit into the Jewish literati, and to incline them to return from the musty records of Rabbinism, with their dreary obscurities, to the ever fresh and fragrant pages of the Bible. Many treatises were now sent forth from the printing-offices which had already been established in their various places of refuge. At Venice the great printer Bomberg issued from his press that famous rabbinical Bible which will carry his name down to all posterity. In Germany, Poland, the Netherlands, and Italy, and in the Ottoman dominions, a host of writers arose, of different degrees of merit, but whose number and earnestness of purpose gave testimony to the *impetus* derived from the Reformation. From Luther's time downwards the Hebrew community has produced many illustrious men: such as Naftali Kohen, whose life was like one long romance, the Lüpschütz family, Elias Levita, Leo of Modena, the famous printers Soncini, Balthasar Orobio, and the great Moses Mendelssohn of Berlin, whose labours were devoted mainly to the elevation, moral and intellectual, of his own people, though the beauty of his style and his fine philosophic spirit will cause him always to hold a place amongst the best classics of Germany.

In our own day, Hebrew literature has had worthy representatives in those learned men, Zuns and Fürst, Jost, Hersfeld, and Raphall, with their eminent fellow-labourers in history, philology, and the sciences. It also claims as its own one of the best female writers of the age, the lamented Grace

Aguilar, whose pen has, we trust, afforded many of our fair readers delight and instruction by its pure and lofty morality. Amongst the Jewish community several of the old rabbinical prejudices have been lately uprooted; a new spirit has been breathed into its public services, which now are made to resemble very closely those of the Christian Church; the style of education has been greatly improved; special attention has been directed to the spiritual improvement of Hebrew women; and many excellent periodicals have been ably conducted for the benefit of the people at large. While its present race of literati are possessed of profounder scholarship, and blessed with more candid dispositions, than any of their predecessors, its men of commercial eminence are known by their liberal contributions to every scheme of benevolence, and their names are held in high regard among their fellow-citizens. No doubt these are favourable signs of advancement in this 'peculiar people;' but they are chiefly of an external and temporal nature. The judicial blindness is still unremoved; the enmity to God's only Son still remains; and we fear that a mitigation of the most awful blasphemy in their language and worship is due only to a growing torpor of indifference and infidelity. Yet we trust that the day is not far distant when the veil of unbelief shall be taken away from every Jewish eye, and when *all Israel shall be saved*. (Rom. xi. 26.)

Dr. Etheridge has performed well the arduous task which he undertook. To wade through such a mass of books on various subjects, to reduce them to some sort of order, and to select the more important for prominent notice, required an amount of laborious research and accurate discrimination rarely to be met with. But this has been accomplished by our author, who bears the reputation of rivalling, in Syriac and Hebrew learning, the most eminent scholars of the day. Many years of diligent study must have been consumed by him in poring over old and crabbed rabbinical treatises; and to the voluminous works of modern Germany on Jewish subjects he has paid due attention, and, with the modesty of a true scholar, has acknowledged his obligations. We regret that it was impossible for him, in this volume, to present the reader with specimens of the more interesting books passed under review. These, translated with Dr. Etheridge's usual felicity, would have redeemed this manual from wearing too much the appearance of a mere catalogue, and would have clad it with an additional charm, besides that derived from the introductions to the various 'Orders,' which evince such a talent for historical composition, and are written in such a pleasing and unpretending style, that we are sorry that Dr. Etheridge did not write a continuous history of the Jewish literati, placing the lists and analyses of books in a different compartment of

the work. He would thus have avoided a seeming confusion in historic references which is inseparable from the present plan of his book; and his flowing eloquence would have had a free and fitting channel. As it is, however, the work possesses a certain readableness uncommon in any manual of the kind, and the more surprising from the immense number of authors discussed, each of whom had to be ranged under his appropriate 'Order;' and the student is carried on with a gentle enthusiasm to the end, refreshed with the genial disquisitions in which the dry catalogues of books are imbedded.

Literary men all have their little hobbies, on which they ride with greater vigour than advantage. Our author, in his translations from the Peschito, marred their beauty by adhering to that peculiar mode of spelling proper names which he judged to come nearest to their original forms. So Satan rejoiced in the more imposing designation of *Satana*; Moses was transformed to *Musha*; and Zion and Jerusalem appeared as *Ziun* and *Urishelem*. In his preface to the present work our author again inculcates the desirability of this plan in translating the Holy Scriptures, and laments that in our authorized version proper names should be so defectively represented. 'The patriarchs, prophets, saints, and kings, who once bore them, would,' he thinks, 'scarcely recognise their own names in our version of them.' For ourselves we have enough barbarian blood in us vastly to prefer the old spelling of *Ezekiel*, to the rather startling forms—*Yechezekel* or *Yechezzeel*—which the learned Doctor recommends; and, whatever may fairly be urged on behalf of rendering foreign names by their nearest equivalents in any language, we are certain no good could now accrue to the Churches of our land, by altering the names familiar to us from childhood, to others which would puzzle most people to pronounce at all.

This, however, is a whim which may well be forgiven to one by whom several Oriental languages are so familiarly known, and on whose ear any deviation from an Eastern style of pronunciation, no doubt, jars painfully. The earnest student will have to thank Dr. Etheridge for here laying open to him a storehouse of old and curious wealth, whose just value he will be able to estimate in the prosecution of his biblical studies. Such a manual of Jewish literature had long been wanted; and the want is now well supplied. But, when recommending a knowledge of Hebrew as a fitting embellishment of female education, and as giving access to some of the finest and purest poetry and *belles lettres* in the world, our author should have drawn up an attractive list of books suitable for the perusal of the fair Judaists; without which he can scarcely hope to allure them from tatting, crochet, potichomanie, and such-like pretty trifling. In the character and person of his 'daughter

and pupil' he sets forth, however, a beautiful example of nobler studies; and few memorials of the kind are more affecting than the prefatory Memorandum of this volume, where feeling reference is made to the bereavement still pressing on the writer's heart. Dr. Etheridge may rest assured that the name he loves will long be affectionately associated with his own by the readers of his valuable work.

ART. VI.—*Life of Thomas Gainsborough, R.A.* By the late GEORGE WILLIAMS FULCHER. Edited by his Son. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans. 1856.

IF we exclude from our view the works of one great master, whose fame may hereafter mark the glorious sunrise of a long bright day of art, but whose pictures at present constitute of themselves a grand and independent school,—if we ignore the labours of J. M. W. Turner, shut out the new world which his pencil opened up, and confine our attention to the homely, classical, and orthodox productions of his predecessors,—we may say that the art of landscape painting attained its maturity in a sudden and surprising manner. This fact contrasts strongly with the gradual improvement in the branches of history and portraiture. Nearly three hundred years passed away between the revival of painting by the Florentine Cimabue and its perfection under Michel Angelo and Raphael; while, only twenty years after the death of Adam Elzheimer, the founder of landscape painting in Italy, Poussin, Claude, and Salvator Rosa exhibited an excellence which none of their legitimate successors have been able to surpass. In our own country, in like manner, the progress of landscape painting from birth to maturity was singularly rapid; its founders, Richard Wilson and Thomas Gainsborough, displaying a fine appreciation of nature, and a power of depicting her in her common aspects, which have not been excelled by the most distinguished of their followers. The talents of these two great men were similar; their fortunes most unlike. The first passed through life poor and neglected, though his declining years were brightened by a gleam of sunshine; admired by the painters of France and Italy, he had no honour in his own country, and saw himself slighted, while artists of far inferior merit succeeded in obtaining the approbation and patronage of the public. The pictures destined to win the admiration of posterity, in his own day could scarcely find a purchaser; his 'Ceyx and Alcyone' was painted for a pot of porter and the remains of a Stilton cheese; and he was often compelled to consign his noblest landscapes to the hands of pawnbrokers, in order to procure the means of a scanty subsist-

ence. Gainsborough's career, on the other hand, was, in every respect, far more fortunate, though he perhaps owed his prosperity more to the circumstance of his wife's fortune, and his own skill as a portrait painter, than to the public appreciation of those beautiful and truly English landscapes, which have since made his name illustrious. Gay, talented, kind-hearted, and eccentric, his life furnishes an admirable subject to the biographer; and we are bound to say that Mr. Fulcher has succeeded in producing, out of the materials at his command, a most interesting and instructive narrative. We may add that the value of this little work is greatly enhanced by the appended list of Gainsborough's works, including the names of their possessors, — a list that appears to us very carefully and well compiled.

Although nearly seventy years have passed away since Gainsborough was borne to his last resting-place in the churchyard of Kew, no authentic account of his life was published until the appearance of Allan Cunningham's *Lives of the Painters* in 1829, in which, owing to the extent of the general design, it was impossible to devote much space to the history of any one individual; and the graphic sketch there given of the career of the great landscape painter has now been filled up and finished in the work before us. Thomas Gainsborough was born in the town of Sudbury, Suffolk, in the year 1727. His father was a manufacturer, and is described by his descendants as 'a fine old man who wore his hair carefully parted, and was remarkable for the whiteness and regularity of his teeth.' When in full dress, he always wore a sword, according to the custom of last century, and was an adroit fencer, possessing the fatal facility of using his weapon in either hand. Besides the subject of our notice, there were eight other children, some of whom were equally distinguished for ability and eccentricity. One of them (John, better known in the district as 'scheming Jack') began almost everything, but finished nothing, frittering away his ingenuity and mechanical skill in elaborate trifling. On one occasion he attempted to fly with a pair of metallic wings of his own construction, and repaired to the top of a summer-house near which a crowd of spectators had assembled to witness his ascent. Waving his pinions awhile to gather air, he leaped from its summit, and, in an instant, dropped into a ditch close by, and was drawn out amidst shouts of laughter, half dead with fright and vexation. Humphrey Gainsborough, another brother, was an exemplary Dissenting Minister settled at Henley-upon-Thames. He, too, possessed great mechanical skill; and Mr. Edgeworth, the father of the distinguished authoress, says of him in his memoirs, that he had 'never known a man of more inventive mind.' His experiments upon the steam-engine were far in advance of his time; and it is stated by his family and friends

that Watt owed to him one of his great and fundamental improvements,—that of condensing the steam in a separate vessel.

Gainsborough probably derived his love of art from his mother, a woman of highly cultivated mind, who excelled in flower-painting, and zealously encouraged his juvenile attempts at drawing. From his earliest years he was a devoted student in the great school of nature, and afterwards told Thicknesse, his first patron, that 'there was not a picturesque clump of trees, nor even a single tree of any beauty, no, nor hedge-row, stem, or post,' in or around his native town, which was not from his earliest years treasured in his memory. 'At ten years old,' says Allan Cunningham, 'Gainsborough had made some progress in sketching, and at twelve was a confirmed painter.' While at school, (like Velasquez and Salvator,) he was more occupied in drawing faces or landscapes, than in attending to his lessons; and was never so well pleased as when he could obtain a holiday, and set off with his pencil and sketch-book on a long summer-day's ramble through the rich hanging woods which skirted his native town. On one occasion, having been refused a holiday, he presented to his master the usual slip of paper on which were the words, *Give Tom a holiday*, so cleverly imitated from his father's hand-writing, that no suspicion of the forgery was felt, and the desired holiday was at once obtained. The trick was, however, afterwards discovered; and his father, having a most mercantile dread of the fatal facility of imitating a signature, involuntarily exclaimed, 'Tom will one day be hanged.' When, however, he was informed how the truant school-boy had employed his stolen hours, and his multifarious sketches were laid before him, he changed his mind, and with a father's pride declared, 'Tom will be a genius.'

In his fifteenth year Gainsborough left Sudbury for London, where he received instructions from Gravelot the engraver, and from Hayman, then esteemed the best historical painter in England. The latter was a man of coarse manners and convivial habits, who preferred pugilism to painting, and is said sometimes to have had an encounter with a sitter previous to taking his portrait. From such a man as Hayman Gainsborough could learn but little; and, after three years of desultory study, he hired rooms in Hatton-Garden, and commenced painting landscapes, and portraits of a small size; he also practised, and attained to great excellence in, modelling from clay figures of cows, dogs, and horses. His early portraits had little to recommend them; and he met with but slight encouragement from the public, which determined him to leave London and return to his native town after an absence of four years. He now began again to study landscape in the woods and fields, and soon afterwards fell in love with and married Miss Margaret Burr, whose brother was a commercial traveller in the establishment of

Gainsborough's father. The romantic circumstances relating to this marriage, which proved so happy for both parties, are thus narrated by Mr. Fulcher:—

'The memory of Miss Burr's extraordinary beauty is still preserved in Sudbury; and that a beautiful girl should wish to have her portrait painted by her brother's young friend, naturally followed as cause and effect. The sittings were numerous and protracted, but the likeness was at last finished, and pronounced by competent judges perfect. The young lady expressed her warm admiration of the painter's skill, and, in doing so, gave him the gentlest possible hint, that perhaps in time he might become the possessor of the original. On that hint he spake, and, after a short courtship, was rewarded by her hand, and with it an annuity of £200. Considerable obscurity hung over the source of this income. Gainsborough's daughters told the author's informant, that "they did not know any thing about it; the money was regularly transmitted through a London bank, and placed to Mrs. Gainsborough's private account." Allan Cunningham, in remarking upon this subject, observes: "Mrs. Gainsborough was said to be the natural daughter of one of our exiled Princes;" nor was she, when a wife and a mother, desirous of having this circumstance forgotten. On an occasion of household festivity, when her husband was high in fame, she vindicated some little ostentation in her dress, by whispering to her niece, "I have some right to this; for you know, my love, I am a Prince's daughter."—Pp. 33, 34.

At the time of his marriage Gainsborough was only in his nineteenth year, and his wife a year younger. Six months afterwards the young couple hired a house in Brook Street, Ipswich, at a yearly rent of £6, where Gainsborough's first commission was from a neighbouring squire, who sent for him to repair a hot-house, having mistaken him for a *painter and glazier*. At Ipswich he remained for several years, making his sketch-book the companion of his walks; carrying his palette into the open air, painting with the object before him, and noting down with patient assiduity every striking combination of foliage, and every picturesque group of figures, that met his eye. There he also made the acquaintance of Joshua Kirby, the well known writer on perspective, and of Philip Thicknesse, Lieutenant-Governor of Landguard Fort, who first assisted, and then oppressed, him with his patronage. The inhabitants of Ipswich were more occupied by the concerns of business than by regard for the fine arts; but Gainsborough's facile pencil gradually began to find employment in sketching the parks and mansions of the country gentlemen, and in painting the portraits of their wives and daughters.

Like Salvator Rosa, Gainsborough was passionately fond of music, and performed upon several instruments; but he never suffered these musical recreations to divert him from the steady and assiduous practice of painting; though he would often give

extravagant prices for a lute, a violin, or a harp; and, on one occasion, presented Colonel Hamilton, the best amateur violinist of his time, with his beautiful picture of the 'Boy at the Stile,' in return for his excellent performance. Thirteen years' practice had now done much to improve Gainsborough's style; his portraits were distinguished by breadth and fidelity, and his landscapes showed freedom of execution, skill in colouring, and taste in selection. A larger theatre for the display of his abilities was therefore desirable, and accordingly, in 1760, he removed to Bath, then in the height of its fashionable reputation.

At Bath he hired handsome apartments, and soon became so popular as a portrait painter, that a wit of the day said of him, 'Fortune seemed to take up her abode with him; his house became *Gain's-borough*.' Business came in so fast, that he was obliged to raise his price for a head from five to eight guineas, and ultimately fixed his scale of charges at forty guineas for a half, and one hundred for a whole, length. He sometimes entirely lost temper at the absurdity and conceit of his sitters. On one occasion, a person of high rank arrived, richly dressed in a laced coat and well powdered wig. Placing himself in an advantageous situation as to light, he began to arrange his dress and dictate his attitude in a manner so ludicrously elaborate, that Gainsborough muttered, 'This will never do.' His Lordship, having at length satisfactorily adjusted his person, exclaimed, 'Now, Sir, I desire you not to overlook the dimple in my chin.' 'Confound the dimple in your chin,' returned the artist; 'I shall neither paint the one nor the other.' And he absolutely refused to proceed with the picture. While at Bath, he painted the portraits of Garrick, Quin, General Honywood, the Duke of Argyll, Lord Ligonier, Sterne, Richardson, and many other celebrities. Besides these he also painted a good many landscapes, (not, however, among his best performances in that department,) several of which are still to be found in and around Bath. His pictures were annually transmitted to the London exhibitions by Wiltshire, the public carrier, who loved Gainsborough, and admired his works. For this he could never be prevailed upon to accept payment. 'No—no,' he would say, 'I admire painting too much.' Gainsborough, however, was not to be outdone in generosity, and presented the carrier with several fine paintings, which are now in the possession of his grandson, John Wiltshire, Esq. The Royal Academy was founded in 1768. Gainsborough was chosen one of the thirty-six original Academicians, and, in compliance with the law that every member should, on his election, present to the institution a specimen of his art, he contributed a painting described as 'A romantic Landscape, with Sheep at a Fountain.' To the early exhibitions of the Academy he was an extensive contributor, and many of his pictures attracted a large share of the

public admiration. About this time Gainsborough and Thicknesse (whose needless and ostentatious patronage was becoming intolerable to the painter) quarrelled, and, soon after, the former finally left Bath, and established himself in London.

There he prosecuted his career in portrait and landscape with fresh vigour and increasing success, his grace and fidelity in the former rendering him a dangerous rival even to Sir Joshua Reynolds. Thirty years before, he had quitted his modest apartments in Hatton Garden poor and unknown; now, he returned in the zenith of his fame and fortune, and established himself in a noble mansion in Pall Mall, built by Duke Schomberg, for which he paid £300 a year. He obtained the patronage of George III., who had frequently seen and admired the works which he had sent to the Academy's Exhibitions; and, in 1781, he exhibited whole-length portraits of the King and Queen Charlotte; in the subsequent year, the Prince of Wales; and, in 1783, portraits of the royal family, fifteen in number, but heads only. Peers and commons rapidly followed the example set them by royalty, and commissions for portraits soon flowed in so rapidly, that, with all his industry and rapidity of execution, Gainsborough occasionally found himself unable to satisfy the impatience of his sitters. Among other titled sitters the beautiful Duchess of Devonshire honoured Gainsborough by employing his pencil; but, in her case, the painter had not his usual success; nature was too much for art.

'The dazzling beauty of the Duchess,' (says Allan Cunningham,) 'and the sense she entertained of the charms of her looks, and her conversation, took away that readiness of hand, and hasty happiness of touch, which belonged to him in his ordinary moments. The portrait was so little to his satisfaction, that he refused to send it to Chatsworth. Drawing his wet pencil across the mouth, which all who saw it thought exquisitely lovely, he said, "Her Grace is too hard for me."' In 1779, he painted his celebrated picture of a son of Mr. Buttall, commonly known as 'The Blue Boy,' and now in the possession of the Marquis of Westminster. This was done in order to refute the observation made by Sir Joshua Reynolds in one of his discourses, that blue should only be used to support and set off the warmer colours, and was not admissible in the mass into a picture. Of this portrait Hazlitt observes, 'There is a spirited glow of youth about the face, and the attitude is striking and elegant,—the drapery of blue satin is admirably painted.' And another eminent critic remarks, that 'The Blue Boy' is remarkable for animation and spirit, and careful, solid painting. In spite, however, of these deserved eulogiums, the difficulty appears rather to have been ably combated than vanquished by Gainsborough, and Sir Joshua was certainly right when he

cautioned the artist against the use of pure unbroken blue in large masses.

During fifteen years Gainsborough had contributed to the Exhibitions of the Artists' Society, and the Academy, fifty portraits, and only eleven landscapes. These last stood ranged in long lines from his hall to his painting room, and his sitters, as they passed, scarcely deigned to honour them with a look. He might have starved but for his portraits. Those noble landscapes, by which he was to live to posterity, were coldly admired or contemptuously passed by. Yet 'Nature sat to him in all her attractive attitudes of beauty; his pencil traced, with peculiar and matchless facility, her finest and most delicate lineaments; whether it was the sturdy oak, the twisted eglantine, the mower whetting his scythe, the whistling ploughboy, or the shepherd under the hawthorn in the dale,—all came forth equally chaste from his inimitable and fanciful pencil.*' Some there were, however, who perceived the genius and the nature so conspicuous in Gainsborough's landscapes; and among the number, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Lord Oxford, and the facetious Peter Pindar. The last of this distinguished trio, in his satirical 'Ode on the Exhibition of 1783,' thus counsels the artist not to forsake landscape:—

'O Gainsborough! nature 'plaineth sore,
That thou hast kicked her out of door,
Who in her bounteous gifts hath been so free
To cull such genius out for thee—
Lo! all thy efforts without her are vain!
Go, find her, kiss her, and be friends again.'

Among the many celebrated and beautiful women who sat to Gainsborough, were Mrs. Sheridan, (once the lovely Miss Linley of Bath,) and Mrs. Siddons, the tragic muse. In 1784 he painted the latter, then 'in the prime of her glorious beauty, and in the full blaze of her popularity.' 'Mrs. Siddons is seated; her face appears rather more than in profile; she wears a black hat and feathers, and a blue and buff striped silk dress,—the mixture of the two colours, where the folds throw them in a mass, resembling dark sea water with sunshine on it.' (Page 180.) Gainsborough experienced considerable difficulty in delineating her features, the nose especially; and, after repeatedly altering its shape, he exclaimed, 'Confound the nose! there's no end to it.'

In 1784 Gainsborough quarrelled with the Royal Academy, in consequence of the refusal of the Hanging Committee of those days to break through one of their rules, and hang one of his pictures in a situation capable of adequately showing its effect. This canvass contained the portraits of the Princess Royal, Princess Augusta, and Princess Elizabeth at full length, and was

* Thickness.

painted for the Prince of Wales's state-room in Carleton Palace. After this unfortunate dispute Gainsborough never sent any paintings to the Academy; but his conduct in the matter can scarcely be justified, as he must have known the difficulties inseparable from the arrangement of a large number of pictures, and was bound to conform to the laws and regulations of the Institution to which he belonged. To divert his mind from the chagrin occasioned by this occurrence, the painter paid a visit to his native town of Sudbury, where his appearance in a rich suit of drab, with laced ruffles and a cocked hat, created quite a sensation; and a lady, who remembered his visiting at her father's house, described him to Mr. Fulcher as 'gay, very gay, and good looking.' To about this period may be assigned one of his most charming fancy pictures, 'The Mushroom Girl,' now in the possession of Mr. Gainsborough Dupont, of Sudbury. A rustic beauty has been gathering mushrooms, and, wearied with her labours, has fallen asleep beneath the shade of a rugged elm. Her head rests upon her arm; a gleam of sunshine, piercing through the leaves of the tree, gives a still more lovely bloom to her cheek. A young peasant stands near, amazed at so much loveliness; and a little terrier looks up as if inclined to bark at the intruder, yet afraid to wake his mistress.

During the summer months Gainsborough had lodgings at Richmond, and spent his days in sketching the picturesque scenery of the neighbourhood, and the peasant children he met with in his rambles. An adventure of this time, and its results, are worth transcribing.

'On one occasion he met with a boy named John Hill, on whom nature had bestowed a more than ordinary share of good looks, with an intelligence rarely found in a woodman's cottage. Gainsborough looked at the boy with a painter's eye, and, acting as usual from the impulse of the moment, offered to take him home, and provide for his future welfare. Jack Hill, as Gainsborough always called him, was at once arrayed in his Sunday's best, and sent with the gentleman, laden with as many virtuous precepts as would have filled a copy-book. Mrs. Gainsborough was delighted with the boy, and the young ladies equally rejoiced in such a good looking addition to their establishment. But whether, like the wild Indian of the prairie, Jack pined for the unrestrained freedom of his native woods, the blackberries and roasted sloes,—or, what is more likely, feared chastisement for his many ungrateful doings,—after a brief trial he ran away, and, though brought back and forgiven by his kind-hearted master, he wilfully threw away a much better chance than Dick Whittington started with on his romantic journey to the thrice repeated city sovereignty. At Gainsborough's death, his widow kindly procured for Jack an admission into Christ's Hospital. Here we lose sight of the boy; he is, however, immortalized by the painter's pencil; and amongst all Gainsborough's studies of peasant children Jack is distinguished by his personal beauty.'—Pp. 132, 133.

The famous picture of 'The Woodman in the Storm,' which won so much public admiration, and on which George III. bestowed especial commendation, was painted in 1787. It has unfortunately perished, but the composition is preserved by Peter Simon's print, and Mr. Lane's copy of the original sketch. Another fine landscape, of a somewhat earlier period, 'The Shepherd's Boy in the Shower,' is thus described by Hazlitt: 'I remember being once driven by a shower of rain for shelter into a picture-dealer's shop in Oxford Street, when there stood on the floor a copy of Gainsborough's "Shepherd Boy with the Thunderstorm coming on." What a truth and beauty was there! He stands with his hands clasped, looking up with a mixture of timidity and resignation, eyeing a magpie chattering over his head, while the wind is rustling in the branches. It was like a vision breathed on canvass.' Gainsborough, however, in this picture committed the somewhat singular mistake of placing his shepherd boy on the wrong side of the hedge, so that the rain is blowing full upon him; and the mistake has been perpetuated by Earlom in his fine engraving from the picture. Two others of Gainsborough's favourite and later landscapes have been happily characterized by accomplished critics. Of one of them, 'The Cottage Door,' now in the Grosvenor Gallery, Mr Britton observes,* 'The picture may be said to be as strictly poetical as Thomson's *Seasons*; and, like that exquisite poem, is calculated to delight every person who studies it attentively and feelingly. Its late proprietor (Mr. Coppin) justly says, that it possesses all the rich colouring of Rubens; the thinness, yet force and brilliancy, of Vandyke; the silvery tone of Teniers; the depth and simplicity of Ruysdael; and the apparent finishing of Wynants.' Of 'The Cottage Girl with her Dog and Pitcher,' Mr. Leslie remarks, that 'it is unequalled by anything of the kind in the world. I recollect it at the British Gallery, forming part of a very noble collection of pictures, and I could scarcely look or think of anything else in the rooms. This inimitable work is a portrait, and not of a peasant child, but of a young lady, who appears also in his picture of "The Girl and Pigs," which Sir Joshua purchased.'

The circumstances connected with Gainsborough's death were of a singular and melancholy character; and a year before the event took place, he entertained a firm presentiment of its approach. Sir George Beaumont and Sheridan were among the painter's most valued friends: one day, in the early part of 1787, the three had dined together; Gainsborough had been unusually brilliant and animated, and the meeting had been productive of so much enjoyment, that the three friends agreed

* 'Fine Arts of the English School.'

that they should again dine together at an early day. They met, but Gainsborough, on the previous occasion so gay and happy, now sat silent and absorbed, with a look of fixed melancholy which no effort of his companions was able to dissipate. At last he rose, took Sheridan by the hand, led him out of the room, and addressed him in the following terms: 'Now, don't laugh, but listen. I shall die soon—I know it—I feel it—I have less time to live than my looks infer—but for this I care not. What oppresses my mind is this,—I have many acquaintances, and few friends; and as I wish to have one worthy man to accompany me to the grave, I am desirous of bespeaking you. Will you come—ay or no?' Sheridan gave the required promise; on which Gainsborough at once emerged from his cloud, and for the rest of the evening was the soul of the party.

The celebrated trial of Warren Hastings commenced in 1788, and the importance of the event allured Gainsborough from his easel. He was placed with his back to an open window, and suddenly felt something intensely cold touch his neck, accompanied by a sensation of great pain and stiffness. On returning home he mentioned the matter to his wife and niece; and, on looking at his neck, they saw a mark about the size of a shilling, harder to the touch than the surrounding parts, and which, he said, still felt cold. Medical aid was speedily procured, and the uneasiness felt was declared to arise from a swelling in the glands. Change of air and scene was tried, but in vain; and the symptoms becoming more serious, Gainsborough returned to London, and Mr. Hunter, on a re-examination, pronounced the disease to be cancer. All human skill was then useless; but the painter beheld the approach of death with composure, and proceeded to arrange his affairs, appointing his wife executrix of his will. Shortly before his death he wrote to Sir Joshua Reynolds, whom he felt he had not always treated with sufficient courtesy, requesting to see him; and their last meeting is thus described by Mr. Fulcher:—

'It is a solemn scene, that death-chamber,—the two great painters side by side, forgetful of the past, but not unmindful of the future. Gainsborough says that he fears not death; that his regret at losing life is principally the regret of leaving his art, more especially as he now began to see what his deficiencies were, which, he thought, in his last works, were in some measure supplied. The wave of life heaves to and fro. Reynolds bends his dull ear to catch Gainsborough's failing words: "We are all going to heaven; and Vandyke is of the company." A few days after, at about two o'clock in the morning of the 2nd of August, 1788, in the sixty-second year of his age, Gainsborough died.'—Page 147.

On the 9th of the same month, his remains were borne from his house in Pall Mall to their last resting-place in Kew churchyard. His nephew, Mr. Dupont, attended as chief mourner, and

the pall was sustained by Sir Joshua Reynolds, Sir William Chambers, West, Bartolozzi, Paul Sandby, and Mr. Cotes,—whilst, saddest of all the mourners, walked Richard Brinsley Sheridan, so singularly invited a year before to be present.

In person, Gainsborough was eminently handsome, of a 'fair complexion, regular features, tall and well proportioned;' and, when he wished to please, no one possessed a readier grace, or more attractive manner. He executed several portraits of himself, two of which stood in his gallery at the time of his death, with their faces modestly turned to the wall. Of these, Miss Gainsborough gave one to the Royal Academy, whose members presented her with a vase, designed by West, 'as a token of respect to the abilities of her father.' This vase is now in the possession of the painter's great-nephew, the Rev. Gainsborough Gardiner, of Worcester. Like Reynolds, Gainsborough painted standing, in preference to sitting; and his pencils had shafts sometimes six feet in length. He stood as far from his sitter as he did from the picture, in order that the hues might be the same. He was an early riser, commencing painting between nine and ten o'clock, working for four or five hours, and then devoting the rest of the day to visits, music, and domestic enjoyment. He loved to sit by his wife during the evenings, making sketches of whatever occurred to his fancy, most of which were thrown below the table, while those that were more than commonly happy were preserved to be afterwards finished, or expanded into pictures.

In disposition Gainsborough was generous, impulsive, and somewhat irritable. The great defect in his character, says Mr. Fulcher, was a want of that evenness of temper which Reynolds so abundantly possessed.

'A conceited sitter, an ill-dressed dinner, a relative visiting him in a hackney-coach, disturbed his equanimity; yet, when his daughter formed a matrimonial engagement without consulting him, he was calm and collected, unwilling, he says, to "have the cause of unhappiness lay upon his conscience." He has been accused of malevolence; but to such a feeling his heart was a stranger. Soon angry, he was soon appeased; and if he was the first to offend, he was the first to atone. Whenever he spoke crossly to his wife, (a remarkably sweet-tempered woman,) he would write a note of repentance, sign it with the name of his favourite dog, "Fox," and address it to his Margaret's pet spaniel, "Tristram." Fox would take the note in his mouth, and duly deliver it to Tristram. Margaret would then answer, "My own dear Fox, you are always loving and good, and I am a naughty little female ever to worry you, as I too often do: so we will kiss and say no more about it. Your own affectionate Tris."—Page 152.

Gainsborough's facility and rapidity of handling were very remarkable. In his early days he finished highly, but afterwards directed his attention chiefly to the general effect; and many of

his works, when viewed closely, present a rough and unfinished appearance. This facility is seen to most advantage in his drawings and sketches, which are spirited and masterly. His friend Jackson says, 'I must have seen at least a thousand, not one of which but what possesses merit, and some in a transcendent degree.' They were executed in oil and water-colours, chalks, black-lead pencil, sepia, bistre, and Indian ink; indeed, there was scarcely any contrivance for picturesque delineation of which he did not at some period make use. On one of the finest of Gainsborough's drawings,—a portrait of Pitt in crayons, purchased by the Earl of Normanton at the sale of Sir Thomas Lawrence's collection,—Sir Thomas had written the words, 'Unique and inestimable.' As a portrait painter, Gainsborough was undoubtedly the most formidable rival of Reynolds; and it is a somewhat curious fact, that the best picture finished by the greatest landscape painter of the age was a portrait,—that of the Duke of Norfolk, now in Arundel Castle. His range in portrait was more limited, and his system of *chiaroscuro* not so striking as that adopted by his great rival; but in purity of expression, and natural, unaffected grace, he has seldom been surpassed; his men are thoroughly gentlemen, and his women entirely ladies; while, in his feeling for the simplicity and charms of infancy, he has not been excelled by Reynolds himself.

In conclusion, it is worthy of remark, that the lives of the two great founders of our present school of landscape painting do not present a greater contrast than their works. These, indeed, bear the divine impress of genius, and evince that fondness for nature, and love of the beautiful, which animated their authors, and so far they resemble; but, in almost all other respects, they are widely different. Wilson sometimes, indeed, forsook scenes of classic or poetic fame, and delineated subjects from ordinary nature, many of which possess an exquisite charm and freshness; but, in general, his landscapes are productions of the imagination rather than representations of existing reality; 'his thoughts were ever dwelling among hills and streams renowned in story and song; and he loved to expatiate on ruined temples, and walk over fields where great deeds had been achieved, and where gods had appeared among men.'* The landscapes of Gainsborough, on the other hand, though not, like those of Wilson, steeped in the glowing sunshine of Italy, were true and exquisite representations of the sylvan scenery of England. He delighted in forest glades and verdant swards, brooks murmuring along their stony channels, and picturesque cottages sheltered by umbrageous trees; and in all a deep pervading human sympathy unites us with the subject: for these delightful scenes are no solitudes, but are

* A. Cunningham's 'Lives of the Painters,' vol. i.

all animated by labourers and wayfarers, or by blooming peasant children, full of rustic grace and untamed wildness. It is just this essentially national character which constitutes the deep pervading charm of Gainsborough's landscapes; and though the whole book of nature was not open to this artist, and some of its most illuminated pages neither engaged his sympathy nor inspired his emulation, we trust we shall never cease to prize the pure taste and genuine British feeling which distinguish his delightful works.

ART. VII.—*The Foreign Theological Library.* New Series.
Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.

TEN years' uninterrupted popularity may be regarded as giving this series of translations a secure place in English theological literature. The undertaking has evidently passed its probation-ship, and is accepted. Four goodly volumes of German divinity will be imported yearly into our language, and exert their influence, for good or evil, upon our theology; forming no small element in the theological education of the land. The circulation of which this fact is the index, is a proof that these foreign divines are received with high and increasing favour by a large portion of the community. It is, however, a source of great trouble to numbers of excellent people, who contemplate with deep distrust such a continuous and systematic infusion of German ideas into the minds of the young divines of Great Britain.

We purpose to devote a few pages to the general character and claims of the series. Two of the works which have lately given it importance will receive, as they deserve, a separate and extended notice. One of them, Baumgarten on the Acts of the Apostles, is a work of great value; but its disquisitions are so elaborately subtle, and involve questions of such profound importance, that we may be excused for keeping it long in reserve. The other, Stier on the Words of the Lord Jesus, is still unfinished, and we must defer our estimate of this voluminous contribution to the exposition of the Gospels, till we have it entire. Meanwhile, a few general observations, for which the whole ten years' catalogue may be a text, will serve as a preface to those more specific notices. In making these observations we shall closely adhere to the subject we have in hand; not entering, for the present, upon the wide and troubled domain of modern German Protestantism, but limiting ourselves to that aspect of it which is reflected in these translations. This will give ample room for some useful practical remarks upon the good and the evil of the current German theology with which the public mind is becoming so familiar.

The naturalization of a Foreign Theological Library in our language is looked at by two classes of people with very different eyes. Many, on the one hand, regard it with complacency as a tribute to a certain ideal of catholicity which rules all their views of Christian truth. Their exaggerated liberality is impatient of anything being 'foreign' within the circle of Christendom. Their ideal of the Church is a body everywhere uncircumscribed, diffused over the earth, pervading, but entirely independent of, all visible associations; and, in harmony with this, their ideal of a Christian literature admits no distinctions of creed, formulary, or confession. Nothing will satisfy them but the utmost freedom of commerce among all who bear the Christian name, in thought, speculation, and experience. But there are not wanting many who go to the opposite extreme, and to whom that which is 'foreign' should be foreign still. Christianity to this kind of persons is a very indefinite thing anywhere beyond their own pale. Their love is reserved for their own people; for all others they have nothing more than the bare ceremonial of respect. They are perfectly content with their own home-growth in everything; a strange sound is always suspected. They would diligently keep out from their circle all writings in their own language which differ from their own views; and, of course, the gratuitous breaking down of the natural safeguard which Providence has established in the diversity of tongues is to them unmingled evil. Both parties are undoubtedly wrong; but both are wrong only through the perversion of a principle good in itself.

It is vain to deny that there is, and always has been, a catholic Christian literature revolving round the central Word, to which every nation, every age, and every Church has more or less contributed. No section of Christians ever formed its own literature out of its own resources. Each has entered into a common heritage, which it has appropriated, moulded, and impressed with its own peculiar stamp. And not only so, there is, and always has been, a certain catholic intercommunion of thought and feeling throughout the Christian world,—whether through the common Latin medium, or by translation,—which has been of untold value to the development and spread of Christian truth. No one community, no one language, of Christendom is independent of the rest. The Divine Spirit, who presides over all Christian literature, distributes His special gifts and talents, to communities as well as to individuals, severally as He will; and there is as little wisdom as there is charity in refusing to profit by the help which might come from abroad to our learning, our knowledge, or our devotion. A thoroughly good Christian library must be more or less catholic, even when most select. It would be bigotry to think that the very best results of pious research, thought, and meditation are to be found in our own tongue; and who would

not be catholic enough to receive all such gladly, come they from what quarter they may?

But nothing can be imagined more hurtful than a catholic habit and taste perverted into Latitudinarianism. That condition of mind is a very melancholy one, which is free to range over the whole field of Christian literature, everywhere at home, pliant to every persuasion, candid to every argument, susceptible to all impressions, and seeking good in everything. All this may have a very liberal sound, but it has a very licentious sense. Every man who has a *name* in Christianity, must also have a *place* in it. And every one who would walk safely among the creeds, must have his own creed settled in his mind and dear to his heart. He must carry with him his Rule of Faith, his standard of truth, and habitually apply them; or both faith and truth will infallibly become to him a miserable unreality. That Christian doctrine which should be a seamless robe will otherwise be turned into a coat of many colours; the note of a believer neither to God nor man. And in proportion as he rejoices in and prizes the faith of his own communion, will he make its literature the main element of his instruction, and estimate all other in proportion to its agreement or deviation from that. He will thankfully receive, and indeed diligently seek, all real helps from abroad; but he will never forget his allegiance to his own confession of faith, or cease to prefer the religious mother-tongue *in which he was born*, and in which he first *heard the wonderful works of God*.

Taking it for granted that works are constantly appearing in other languages, the study of which would enrich our own theology, the question arises, How is the student to become acquainted with them? Should he be counselled by all means to acquire the modern tongues,—German and French, to wit, for they contain all the modern theology which is of any moment to the Protestant public,—that so he may have the key to all the treasures they contain? Ought all that is really valuable in those tongues to be open solely to those whose early education included the acquirement of these tongues? Should the earnest theological student, who has a laudable desire to know something of the results of centuries of erudite research across the Channel, but has entered on his studies without that advantage, be recommended to add to his other labours the study of such a language as the German? or, should not, rather, all such works as have value enough to deserve general diffusion, be translated into our own tongue, under proper auspices, and according to a prudent selection? Having in view more particularly the rising Ministry of our day, we do not hesitate to express our earnest conviction that translations should, as a rule, be the only medium of communication with foreign divinity. Let the foundation be well laid for a critical knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew Scriptures;

let Latin be made as familiar as a second mother-tongue, for it is the key to the greatest and richest store of critical and exegetical and practical theology extant; and the student may then content himself with the boundless range of his own English divinity; with the addition of such foreign works as may be counted worthy of being introduced into it. If an exception were made, it should be in favour of the French; for there are works of very great value in that tongue, which never have been, and never will be, translated; and its models of pulpit eloquence are of course worthless as such in any other than their original form. But the general tendency to study German for the sake of its criticism, philosophy, and theology, we look upon with almost unmingled distrust. The familiar use of the language is a perilous talent, at best; less than a thorough knowledge of it is all but useless, but that is to be attained only by an expenditure of time and pains, which the fruit that may be gathered will not justify. Let the young man who is yielding to the general fascination go and ask the opinion of some of those gentlemen who have wearied their brains for the public good, in turning the mammoth sentences of German divines into English; and the advice he is likely to get will cool his ardour. We shrewdly suspect that some of them would confess it a great relief to have a translation at hand instead of the original, for purposes of general reading or reference. Be that as it may, the fact that the best productions of German intellect and research are now accessible in as readable English as the nature of the case will allow, renders the study of that language quite superfluous, save to those whose attractions are Goethe, Fichte, or Schiller.

Such a Foreign Theological Library as would be worthy of incorporation into the English language has been really accumulating for generations. We have confidence enough in the European Christian literature of the last three centuries, notwithstanding all its confusion of conflicting creeds, to think that something might have been imported annually from the time of the Reformation, to the permanent advantage of our divinity and of our devotion. With the exception, however, of occasional efforts, nothing has been done in this way until our own time. But translations from all departments of foreign literature have swiftly multiplied of late. Abundance of foreign theology, too, of various kinds has appeared at intervals during the last twenty years; but the projectors of the series now before us have made this department almost their sole care, and they have succeeded by persevering energy in making their systematized translations one of the institutions of our theological literature.

The first point that claims remark in connexion with this series is, that it has hitherto been, and bids fair still to be, confined to the writings of German divines. Its title might have been, not a 'Foreign,' but a 'German Theological Library.'

But, in point of fact, as far as Protestantism is concerned, the two words are almost synonymous. The amount of theological literature produced from year to year in the various states of Germany is so much greater than that of all other Protestant countries put together, England and America scarcely excepted, that we may regard the German as fairly entitled to represent all the divinity that is not our own. The English and the German tongues absorb so large a proportion of the Protestant writings of the age, that the title under which these volumes annually appear may pass unchallenged.

But it cannot be disguised that the naked expression, 'German theology,' is a word of fear to most Christians in Great Britain. And there is abundant reason why it should be so. The history of German religious speculation and criticism from the middle of the last century down to a very recent period, is the darkest and most fearful page in the annals of error since the Gnostic heresies of the early Church. We have not yet survived a century of Satan's most furious assault upon the faith of Christ. England, France, and Germany were severally the scene of different methods of attack. In England a standard was lifted up against him; deism, or infidelity, or Socinianism, were never permitted to triumph; nor, despite many unhappy signs in our day, will they be permitted. French infidelity gave the enemy transient and horrible victory in the Revolution; but Christianity received no permanent hurt from a rebellion against reason, from which human nature recoiled with horror. It was in Germany, and among the German Protestant Churches, that Satan fixed his chosen seat; its philosophy, its speculation, its criticism, were his trusted instruments; and how well he succeeded, at least for a season, is attested by the all but universal Rationalism which pervaded the theology of Germany at the commencement of the present generation.

There can be no doubt that the rebellion of reason against the inspired word of God in Germany has exerted a pernicious, though indirect, influence upon English theology; and one too which continues to the present day. Coleridge's *Confessions of an inquiring Spirit* may be regarded as reducing to expression views of the relations of God's word to the mind of man, which largely pervaded the religious philosophy of England in the last generation, and which came more or less directly from Germany. Morell's *Philosophy of Religion* serves the same purpose in the present time, not to mention the writings of Maurice and others, besides an increasing host on the other side of the Atlantic. The entire school of Francis Newman furnishes a sad token of the influence of German Rationalistic criticism of the sacred canon upon the present generation of Englishmen; for, disguise it how they may, they are simply the shrill echoes of far more exciting voices across the Channel. Professor Jowett, too, and

others who are ready to follow in his track, are but startling the minds of Englishmen by the application of principles which Gfrörer and Bauer have made repulsive even to the Germans themselves. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that German philosophy and German Neology are terms from which the minds of pious Scripture-loving Englishmen recoil with abhorrence.

But it must not be forgotten, that this influence is mainly indirect, and not the result of a wholesale introduction of German books into the English language; and, further, that it is far less general than was to be feared. With very few exceptions, the entire series of the works of the illumined philosophers from Wolff to Fichte is foreign still to our tongue; and scarcely one of the works of Rationalist criticism upon the Scriptures, from Paulus to De Wette, has appeared or been popularized in English. The whole mass of fermenting thought, speculation, and vanity lies still in its original German, a monument, which will have in future times far more significance than even now, of the fertility of Satan's inventions,—the history of one specific and ever-memorable development of the methods of his cunning. The English language has escaped the defilement, not so much through want of zeal in the children who would propagate their father's lies, as through the good providence of God, who has given Great Britain during this century two signal proofs of His care,—one, in defending our constitution from the revolutionary principles of infidel France; and another, in keeping out from our literature the fifty years' heresies of infidel Germany.

The divines whose works are translated in *this series* are men of a new generation. They represent collectively, though from different points of view, and only as specimens of a much greater number, a blessed reaction and return to faith which we firmly believe to be taking place in the Lutheran and Reformed Churches of Germany, both as distinct and united. The commencement of this reaction dates far back in the present century, when a school of mediating theology arose, the aim of which was to reconcile the subjective tendencies of Rationalist philosophy with the objective rule of faith and life in the Scriptures and the Confessions of the Church. But how far short of true Christianity this mediation movement fell, may be seen in every page of Schleiermacher's bewildered though beautiful writings. Neander and Tholuck are among the first names which begin to announce the dawn of Germany's future orthodoxy, although their leaning to the subjective principle, their exaggerated deference to the Christian consciousness in all their views of religion, and their concessions to modern science, throw a suspicious tinge over all their works. Hengstenberg, who leads the van in this long theological series, was among the first

who boldly and firmly stood up as a champion of Christianity against all its Rationalist assailants. Taking his stand upon the two Confessions, as expressing the sum and substance of the Inspired Word, he devoted vast learning, sanctified by piety and guided by acute critical skill, to the vindication of the Old Testament and its pervading Christology. He was followed by many others,—coadjutors worthy of himself,—who devoted their lives, whether in university chairs or in the working pastorate, to the retrieval of the Protestantism of Germany. A noble catalogue of works has been the result, dedicated to the warfare against Rationalism in all its forms,—works ranging over the whole field of theological science, including ecclesiastical history, dogmatic theology, biblical expositon, Christian morals and homiletics,—which may be regarded as the first-fruits of the regeneration of German Protestantism. They are disfigured by many errors, exhibit more or less evident traces of the influence of the very evils which they protest against, and labour under the great disadvantage of being produced in a polemical and unsettled time; but they contain a vast amount of sound research, very much good theology which is quite independent of all polemical questions, and a large mass of precious contribution to the understanding of the Holy Scriptures. As a collective defence of the faith, we believe the writings of the present age of German divines will rank very high among the apologetics of Christianity. And, on the whole, when their position is fairly taken into the account,—when we remember the schools of doubt and scepticism from which they emerged, and the stern war which they have been waging against enemies with numbers, patronage, and general sympathy on their side, it will not be asking too much that the faults and shortcomings of the authors in this series should be looked at charitably and hopefully in consideration of their great services.

Certainly, it seems to us a most unreasonable thing to brand them all indiscriminately as Rationalists and Neologians;—an injustice which is frequently committed by many who might know better if they would. In the first place, they are not—we speak now solely and strictly of our present series—Rationalists, in any sense of the term. And, secondly, their claim to our sympathy and gratitude is mainly founded on the fact, that they have shown us what Rationalism is, and taught us—a lesson which God grant we may not soon greatly need in this land—how to meet and vanquish it.

Rationalism makes human reason the measure, the rule, the test of all truth. It utterly repudiates the authority of an Inspired Revelation given by God to man; and of course renounces all allegiance to creeds, confessions, and formularies. It glories in an internal sense of right and truth, which is the

prerogative of human nature, and brings every proposition, professing to come whether from God or man, to the test of that innate instinct. The Rationalist carries the whole of the doctrines and facts of the Bible into the chambers of his own mind; looks at each with the infallible eye of his own internal contemplation, or, as he says, applies to each the test of his own consciousness. Whatever endures that test he accepts; no semblance of sanction will enforce his assent to anything which fails. He receives all the declarations of Scripture which meet his own approval, as simply having been the expression of the consciousness of good men in former times; and has ten thousand expedients for resolving away into myth, fable, or fraud, the superhuman facts which are the foundation of Scripture teaching. Thus, the only revelation which he will admit, is the sacred revelation of the Divine Spirit to every human spirit: of course, therefore, truth is altogether subjective, just what the distinctive bias of his own *Ego* makes it; or, if he admits any objective truth at all, it is the aggregate consciousness, whenever it can be established, of all past ages. There are endless modifications of Rationalism; and, doubtless, some theory of it may be framed which might seem to warrant the charge against some of these writers. But every one of them holds the full and entire inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, as a record of facts, a rule of faith, and a directory of life; every one of them is a subscriber to one or other of the Confessions which distinguished the two great divisions of the Churches of the Reformation; and every one of them professes at least to humble human reason to its proper place, as the interpreter, under the guidance of the Spirit, and in harmony with the voice of the Church, of the authoritative Word of God. Before these remarks close, we shall take occasion to show where their inconsistencies and weaknesses lie, and in what respects they are untrustworthy guides; but, for the present, we must content ourselves with defying any one to substantiate the charge of Rationalism, as a principle, against the divines of this Theological Library.

Nothing would surprise either themselves or their antagonists more than the charge of Rationalism against such men as Hengstenberg, Hävernick, Olshausen, or Stier. We have been, ourselves, accustomed to regard them with deep sympathy, and no small gratitude, for the unwearied anxiety to hunt out, expose, and demolish the sophistries of Neology, which their pages exhibit. It may be thought by some an evil, that the assaults upon revelation of such men as Van Bohlen, Paulus, Strauss, Wegscheider, Bauer, and others, should be rendered familiar to the English mind in any form; but most sensible people are of a different opinion. It is well that we should know the resources of the enemy, and mark the variety of his

devices; for they may re-appear, sooner than we think, among ourselves. But it is far better that we should form our acquaintance with them in the pages of their enemies, their triumphant enemies especially, than in their own pages. The dissertations of Hengstenberg, and the 'Introduction to the Pentateuch' of Hävernicks, exhibit the concentrated strength and subtilty of a multitude of attacks upon the Old Testament, but interwoven with a persevering and exhaustive defence. There is no reason why we should condemn ourselves to read all the blasphemy of the works upon the Gospels and the life of Jesus which are represented by the work of Strauss; but who does not feel thankful for even the imperfect analysis of their arguments which Neander and others present, accompanied by their confutation, however unsatisfactory, in some respects, that may be? Baumgarten's work on the Acts is a still more striking example. The unscrupulous hypotheses of Bauer, Zeller, and Schneckenburger, as to the authorship and scope of the Acts of the Apostles, with all their ingenious attempts to trace in it the handiwork of designing compilers of a later age, are likely never to be reproduced in our language; but the pith and essence of all the fruit of their ingenuity is extracted in Baumgarten's able work, and exposed in such a masterly manner as will go far to explode their whole theory, even in Germany itself; and the innumerable references to Rationalist opinions and expositions which crowd the pages of Olshausen and Stier, and which would otherwise be offensive and wearisome, have their great value as giving us glimpses into the wretched chaos of a literature with which we desire no better acquaintance, but which, so far as such glimpses reveal it, it is our interest to know. There are many who think that so large a mass of critical reply to Rationalism introduced into our language is likely to increase the evil it would cure; and that it would be better if both bane and antidote were alike kept at a distance. But it is too late to think of keeping out the bane; and the question is, whether the healing herb must not be looked for where the poison grows. Our young men will be all the better prepared for the English version of Neology which has already begun to appear, for having made themselves somewhat familiar with the authors whom we, upon this question at least, earnestly defend. Many who read them would, perhaps, do well to abstain altogether from these writings; their unbalanced, unfortified minds cannot be trusted beyond the limits of their own strictest theology. But, as a general principle, there can be no doubt that such a knowledge of Rationalism, and its antidote, as these books contain, is not only an unobjectionable element in a comprehensive theological education, but will be found, ere long, absolutely indispensable.

Let us now turn our attention to the intrinsic merits of the

works themselves; and a brief glance at the entire catalogue shows that considerable care has been taken in the selection. We know not what committee adjudicates upon the claims of these foreign divines to translation; but it is evident to all who have any acquaintance with German theological literature, that only the most unexceptionable writers have been admitted. A heavy responsibility rests upon the publishers with reference to the future; inasmuch as any heterodox work which might find its way into the series would secure a wide circulation and influence, simply from its connexion with it. The best friends of this Foreign Library must feel anxious upon this point. The works which are already announced give no cause for immediate alarm; but the popularity of the enterprise, and the place which these annual volumes have insured for themselves in the libraries of the young students of Great Britain, make it imperative upon those concerned to exercise the most careful vigilance.

It seems to us, further, a great pity that the translations should issue, as they do, in so informal and unsystematic a manner. It would scarcely be too much to ask that they should be elaborately classified, and prefaced with dissertations, defining the authors' ecclesiastical positions and relations, indicating their several characteristics; and accompanied with brief notes of caution or correction, such as every translator ought to make himself competent to furnish. Something has been done in regard to this last point, in some of the volumes, to their very great advantage; but it has been wholly omitted in many cases which absolutely demanded it. A quiet and pithy marginal note would often tend to check the unwary reader's too ready concurrence with his author's views, without materially adding to the bulk of the book; and, as it respects prefaces, we are quite sure that the writers would be much better understood, their peculiarities would be much more readily sympathized with, and their errors be rendered much less hurtful, if their history, university or pastoral relations, and general theological *standpunkt*—as their clumsy word has it—were briefly indicated at the outset. As it is, the effect is very much the same as if High Church and Low Church and Broad Church, Methodist, Congregational, and Presbyterian English divinity were promiscuously poured in annually upon the astonished Germans. If a foreign divine is decently introduced to us, in his own proper character, and as the representative of his own creed and party, a generous English public will receive him with respect, and listen to him with attention, as a learned brother of another denomination. But an unauthenticated stranger, with a suspicious tone of voice, has always had a proverbially cold greeting on this side the British Channel.

Many, however, of the works which make up this catalogue,—about one half, indeed,—are such as scarcely need introduction;

being monuments of research and learning which belong to catholic Christian literature. Among these we may class the two ecclesiastical histories of Neander and Gieseler. Whatever may be the value of Neander's other writings, and whatever may be the estimate formed of his general influence as a Christian teacher, there can be no doubt that his contributions to the history of the Christian religion and Church are among the most important in that department which this age has produced. They have their peculiar German faults: the subjective element everywhere preponderates; a certain obscurity mars his exhibition of many Christian doctrines; and the institutions of the external visible Church of Christ are dealt with throughout in a very latitudinarian manner. But the immense learning of the whole, the profound and subtile analysis of the Gnostic heresies in particular, the child-like simplicity of devotion to the Saviour which pervades it, the indefatigable love with which he traces the line of living light through all the darker ages of Christendom, conspire to render his great work imperishable. In another style Gieseler's is equally remarkable. The luminous succinctness of his text, and the inexhaustible profuseness of his quoted references in the notes, give his Compendium a very high value. Of course, these works derive much of their importance from their representative character. Church history is studied to most advantage under opposite lights. These writers, and others who either have been or probably soon will be translated from the German, would be most unsatisfactory as sole guides in ecclesiastical history; but in connexion with others written on principles more akin to his own, the theological student of any branch of the Christian Church may study them to his very great profit. In addition to these, and of kindred character, we must mention with great respect Hagenbach's *History of Christian Doctrines*. This is a work which derives an additional value from the fact of its standing almost alone in our literature. The author keeps himself and his own views almost entirely out of sight, which perhaps in a treatise of this class is no great disadvantage. As might be expected, his scientific theological phraseology wears its English dress rather awkwardly; and on many points to which we attach great importance, his information is exceedingly meagre. But, to the discredit of our theological literature, this book comes in to supply a perfect gap; or, rather, we should hope, to provoke the emulation of our own countrymen, and give place in due time to a better than itself.

These are works, as we have said, which stand on their own character, pleading their right to a free place in our language by their own intrinsic excellence, and as representatives of great religious systems. Similar works, and of almost equal excellence, abound in German literature: works, that is, which are the simple produce of great learning and indefatigable research,

possessing a value quite independent of any creed upon which they may be based. No literature in the world can be compared with it in the profusion of what may be called its *monograph* wealth. It contains an inexhaustible store of brief disquisitions on every subject of archaeology and criticism, on isolated texts, on particular words and families of words. These, scattered up and down the *Studien und Kritiken*, and other similar repositories, or dispersed in thousands of independent tractates, might be gleaned from by the translator to the unqualified advantage of English literature. We observe with satisfaction that this forms part of the object of the publishers of this Library. Essays of this kind will tend to show the benefit which may be derived from concentrating the attention in all its strength upon these *minutiæ* of investigation which derive dignity from their connexion with the word of God; and we are quite sure, from good testimony, that many a volume might be filled with these monuments of the fidelity of learning in *that which is least*, without containing a sentence to provoke suspicion or endanger orthodoxy.

The other half of these works is made up of German exposition. It is this element which has given the series its distinctive character, and obtained for it most of the popularity it enjoys. There lies its strength for good or evil; for no writings exert so wide and so direct an influence as those which profess to interpret the word of God. Error in other books may be concealed or disguised; but in a commentary on the Scriptures, or on any one of the sacred books, a thousand testing points touch it with the detecting spear. This is especially the case in German theology. Many a bulky volume of German divinity, translated in the usual style of translation, might be sent through the land almost with impunity, though laden with heresies, being harmless in virtue of its hopeless, impenetrable obscurity. How many such works have we ourselves entered upon with the ordinary amount of application and perseverance, but know nothing of them now beyond the first few pages! It is otherwise with German exposition, or any kind of exposition. That is generally, from the nature of the case, written in more readable language; and, besides, is used only in the way of reference and appeal. We may be sure that every exegetical work will accomplish its mission: it may never be read through by any one person, but it will teach all it has to teach gradually, surely, in a thousand minute though effectual lessons. For this reason, we look with especial interest upon the array of commentaries, upon the New Testament especially, which this Library is bringing into our language.

The German Protestant Churches have been very fruitful in exegetical writings from the time of the Reformation; the direct contributions, however, of the sixteenth and seventeenth

centuries in this department were pervaded with mysticism, and undisciplined by science. The early part of the eighteenth century witnessed an entire revolution in the character of biblical exposition. The *textus receptus* began to be subjected to the rigid scrutiny which has since produced so large and so valuable a fund of critical literature. But with that was connected the commencement of a new and searching controversy concerning the doctrine of inspiration. Wetstein and Bengel, both profound critics, entered upon the exposition of the Greek Testament with very different views; and the result of their labours severally may be regarded as the distant source of all subsequent German exegesis. Wetstein's Greek Testament is an invaluable philological storehouse, which has enriched every subsequent commentary; but his loose and accommodating views of inspiration gave a mighty impulse to the prevailing tendencies of the time. Bengel's exposition is, and always will be, precious to every student of the New Testament. His depth of insight, the terseness of his language, the spirituality and fervour which never fail him, and his fidelity to the fundamental doctrines of the Gospel, have secured him a very high place among the interpreters of Scripture. His chronology led him astray, and his reliance on private judgment was not prevented by his profound humility and conscientiousness from leading him into many other errors; but his *Gnomon* will never lose its place among the most useful commentaries upon the New Testament ever published. It has directly and indirectly enriched, to an extent far greater than is known, our English expositions; and, after having been buried under the rubbish of Illuminist and Neologian biblical commentaries for half a century, it has returned to its former pre-eminence, and is influencing for good a large number of living expositors of God's word in its own land.

It is foreign to our purpose to attempt anything like a sketch of the turbulent history of Rationalist exegesis. Rationalism from the beginning of this century has produced a constant succession of learned and ingenious interpreters of the Bible, who have agreed in the general principle announced by one of them, Wegscheider, in his dedication of his book to the manes of Luther, that 'any system of religion, which is founded upon a revelation from God to man, should be rejected as irrational;' that Christolatry and Bibliolatry are alike hindrances to the full development of truth, which must be rooted out from the minds of men; and that the business of exegesis is to explain the doctrines, and account for the alleged facts, of the Bible, in the best manner that human reason can. Agreeing on these principles, they have shown the most inexhaustible fertility of invention in their diverse methods of applying them. The result has been a body of exegetical writings which will for ever stand unrivalled for the combination of philological learning in the

explanation of the letter, and unbridled licentiousness in explaining away the spirit, of the word of God. Its facts are resolved into myths, its doctrines into developments of human thought; and all this, generally speaking, with a professed devotion to true Christianity which is strikingly in contrast with the irreverent infidelity of our English growth.

The expositions which now lie before us are written by men who glory in a vocation to restore soundness to the biblical exegesis of their own land. They hold fast the plenary inspiration of the entire canon of Scripture, though under a variety of modifications, which make their doctrine on that point vague and unsatisfactory. It must be confessed, however, that the vagueness of their theories does not affect their practical interpretation as much as might have been feared; for, with the exception of some unhappy indications in Olshausen's earlier volumes, we have not marked any false dealing with the critical and testing passages of Scripture. Their spirit is very reverent; their fidelity to the leading doctrines of the Cross generally unimpeachable; and, on the whole, we regard them as furnishing good ground for hope, that the Holy Spirit is raising up a body of expositors of His revelation in Germany, who will, before another generation is gone, have triumphed over and silenced the enemies of the faith. We think, too, we can discern evidence that He is gradually purging these defenders of the faith themselves from the taint of the old evil which too many of them exhibited. Neander, Olshausen, Stier, display a progression in simplicity of devotion to the pure words of the Spirit which is very manifest and very cheering. Between the first and the last there is a considerable interval in this respect, and the last leaves not much to be desired.

There are three tests which we shall now apply, though with too much brevity, to these expositions. The qualifications of an expositor of God's word—who assumes the highest function which man can discharge—are, learning in the rendering of the letter, skill and insight in the unfolding of the thought, and soundness in expounding the mind of the Spirit in harmony with His entire revelation. It is our judgment that, in regard to the first two requisites, these men stand in the highest rank, their present works being witness: whatever defects, inconsistencies, and errors may be charged upon them, are to be detected solely in relation to the third.

It will scarcely be disputed that, in all that constitutes philological and critical scholarship, the living commentators of Germany occupy a foremost place. The *apparatus* of philology and biblical criticism which is in common use among us, is almost entirely the creation of their hands. None can deny that the whole Christian world is under deep obligation to the amazing industry of German research in every department of those

studies which relate to the original tongues of the Bible; and, as they have had so much to do with forming the instruments of scriptural criticism, so they have also shown themselves dextrous in their use. The letter of the holy records has had an amount of learned German industry expended upon it during the last century which is perfectly incredible: the results are a mass of critical material unrivalled in literature. Whatever may be the faults of the many Universities in Germany, they are not to be charged with that sacrifice of sacred to profane classical study which has been the disgrace of our own. Their candidates for the Ministry are sent forth rooted and grounded in critical learning at least, and are practised philologists from their youth. Hence the universal exact learning which characterizes all their writings, and the perfect confidence with which, in this respect, the authors before us may be followed as guides.

It is a matter well deserving notice, that their exposition is rigidly based upon the original text; they take their own received versions, in common with others, simply as subsidiary. They have, indeed, their annotations upon the translation for the school and the family; but even in them the original is never lost sight of; and it may be regarded as an absolute law of their exegesis, that it is the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures which they interpret. This secures their exposition against a multitude of errors which must inevitably creep into a commentary upon even the most faultless existing version; besides being a just tribute to the sacred letters which are the abiding depository of God's holy word. The student of their pages must have the very words in which it has pleased the Holy Ghost to reveal His truth constantly before him, or he cannot pursue the exposition with any satisfaction through a single paragraph. But if he does so, he will be amply repaid for his pains, and learn to value that incessant tessellation of Hebrew and Greek in the sentences of his author which at first seemed strange and repulsive.

The principle itself is one of great importance. Far be it from us to decry the good old commentaries for the unlearned reader which exist and are doing their own service among us; but some of them are no other than sound systems of divinity interwoven with the words of the English Bible, while others of them are more or less faithful interpretations of the original founded upon the authorized version. The class of readers for whom we now write should be perpetually reminded that the ultimate word of God exists in the sacred languages, and that the very best version is itself, upon many passages, simply the rudiment of a comment. The question will be asked, 'Are, then, all our students of Scripture to habituate themselves to study the originals?' We answer that, as far as the readers of these foreign expositors are concerned, assuredly they should. The

holy tongues have paramount claims upon the time and painstaking of every student of divinity. He who in these days does not lay an early foundation for a life-long study of the original Scriptures, of the Greek Testament especially, is living beneath his privileges. Let every young candidate for the Ministry impress this upon his heart; let him make every sacrifice to secure this object: it will most abundantly repay him in due time all the sacrifice of his youth. Let him cut off, if need be, one half of his favourite studies; renounce, if it must be so, the fascination of poetry, light literature, science; but, by all means and at all costs, let him go forth to his ministry with the key at least of the *ἱερὰ γράμματα* safe in his keeping.

But, it will be argued, would not this be a fatal encouragement to presumption and sciolism? Is it not opening the door to all manner of extravagance and folly, to send half-furnished young men to the critical study of their Bibles in the original? So it is generally thought, but our opinion is very different. To follow a trustworthy guide in the interpretation of a Hebrew or Greek sentence, and receive all the benefit of his learning, does not require that the student should have the learning of his guide. He may catch the full force of a Greek phrase, and discern the subtle distinctions in a family of words springing from the same root, and weigh the emphasis of a particle, and mark the fine variations of apparent synonyms, and feel the irony of many a play upon words, when all these are pointed out, without possessing the ability to detect them for himself. It does not require more than an elementary knowledge of Hebrew, and familiarity with a good lexicon, to enter into the flow of the rhythm in the Psalms, and understand their artistical arrangement, the rise and fall of the singer's feeling, and all those exquisite graces of composition without some perception of which the Psalms of David disclose not the final secret of their power. Who that has studied some of them with Hengstenberg, though possessing learning enough only to verify his author's translation by his lexicon, has not felt deeply thankful for that little learning, and determined to make it more? Who can read St. John's Gospel or the Epistle to the Romans with just learning enough to appreciate, when pointed out to him, the doctrinal importance of the shades of meaning in words almost synonymous, or derived from the same root, and which are not always marked in our version, and not always recognised in our most valued commentaries, without thanking God that his eye is practised enough to discern those distinctions in words with which are bound up some of the finest points of faith? A little learning here is *not* a dangerous thing. If any young man is foolish enough to think that because he can run along intelligently with the interwoven Greek and English of these expositions, and watch with advantage the weighing

of words in a balance held by other hands, *therefore* he may trust himself to pronounce critical verdicts of his own, he is unworthy to be counselled or reasoned with, and had better abide by his Bible and its marginal references. But we are quite sure that there are very many who will be benefited by a stimulant to value and use their little Greek. How many God-instructed expositors of Scripture there are, whose laborious employments forbid a profound critical study of the original, but who make rich use of a little learning which they keep a secret to themselves! And how many there are who are suffering great loss from the foolish notion that, because they could not early in life obtain a fundamental grounding in the original tongues, it was useless to repair the defect by a knowledge more superficial!

It is no more than justice to these foreign expositors to say, that they have done much to introduce *into common use* among students the original text of the New Testament. They have directly or indirectly tended greatly to make its language familiar to the mind. Beyond any other expositors in current use, they have made the advancing student feel the value of the little knowledge he possessed, and stimulated him to increase it. This is no small praise, and infers no slight obligation. Our English commentaries upon the Greek Testament have either been oppressively learned or worthlessly superficial. Those which we now refer to are neither the one nor the other. They pour all the results of learning into the flowing current of their exposition. The *tiro* in Greek is constantly required and encouraged to keep pace with his guide by putting his little learning to account.

The application of a second test will also serve to bring out, though with many deductions, the peculiar excellence of these commentators,—their laborious and keen investigation of the thread of the writer's meaning. And here we refer to the analysis of Scripture as a collection of compositions which have passed through the mind of man, and bear the stamp upon them of the exercise of the human faculties; keeping out of view, as far as that is possible, the Divine guidance of those faculties, and the impress which these writings bear of a Higher Mind. These interpreters of God's word aim at being not commentators or annotators *upon it*, but expositors or exegetes of its own meaning and sense.

This, of course, is the aim, or should be the aim, of all who seek to explain the meaning of any composition, human or Divine; but it is adhered to with more fidelity and prosecuted with more success, on the whole, by these men, than by any others with whom we are acquainted. A German sits down to his author, whether human or divinely inspired, with a determination to reproduce in his own mind the plan, and scope, and

exact train of thought which gave birth to the production before him. Every writing is a work of art which is best understood by those who can transpose themselves into the mind of the artist, and view his work as it developed itself in his own thoughts. Nothing is more characteristic of the class of writings which we now refer to, than their vindication of these two principles: first, that a profound plan pervades the entire Scriptures, combining all its separate parts into one organic whole, ordering every section, regulating every discourse, and giving every paragraph the form which it has; and, secondly, that it is the first business of an expositor to discover and exhibit that universal plan in all its details. 'It will be urged,' says Baumgarten, in his Preface to his work on the Acts, 'that it seeks to discover in this book far more of plan and purpose than the book really could, and than it actually does, contain. To this I have, in the outset, no other answer to give than an analogy which I now adduce. He who contemplates nature in her exterior aspects, discerns nothing but the life and motion of a mass of objects apparently without plan or method; he, however, whose glance penetrates into her internal economy, cannot fail to discover in them her final cause of order and law. And is not our experience the same in the case of those original works in which the mind of man displays its creative genius? The first impression which the works of Homer or Shakspeare make upon us, is that of a wild luxuriance of nature; and yet commentators have not yet found a limit to the discovery of leading thoughts pervading and running through the whole. And are we to think less than this of the Holy Ghost, who prepares and sanctifies for Himself His human instruments for the production of the Scriptures, which in all ages of the Church are to lend to every holy thought, and to every spiritual impulse, the support of a Divine certainty?'

Hence, the analysis of the book, the discourse, the argument, the oration, is always their first care; and, having established that to their satisfaction, their way is plain before them. The principle is a sound one, and is more or less recognised in all comments upon God's word; but it is applied with a minute and persevering subtilty by these writers which has no parallel in modern times. Undoubtedly, they often carry it too far; find connexion where there is none, detect harmonies of which the writers were unconscious, and aims which they never had in view. It may be that sometimes an incorrect leading idea may pervade whole pages with error. The minuteness of analysis may degenerate, as it does sometimes in Stier, especially in his untranslated exegetical writings, into wearisome and insufferable prolixity. But, on the whole, we regard this as one of the greatest excellencies of their writings, and one which has already, and yet will, exert a beneficial influence on our own commentaries. Their example will do much to discountenance a fragmentary handling

of the word of God, which has been too much in vogue; such as wrests its sayings from their connexion, and either robs them of half their true meaning, or imposes upon them a meaning which is not true. It will tend to remind students and preachers of God's truth, that the text is scarcely ever to be exhausted by the bare interpretation of its own words, but by its interpretation in the connexion in which the Holy Spirit has placed it. As to themselves, these expositors are often wrong; but the study of their comprehensive summaries does good, even when we cannot concur with them. Following out an unsuccessful clue sometimes leads to the discovery of a successful one; and the attempt to force an adjustment of individual passages to an incorrect harmony, often tends to extract from them their true meaning. But they are not seldom profoundly and wonderfully right, as the readers of Olshausen, Stier, and Baumgarten on the Acts know full well. The analysis of St. Stephen's and St. Paul's speeches in the last of these, and that of the Sermon on the Mount in the second, and that of the Epistle to the Romans in the first, are only specimens of the flood of light which they have thus poured upon many parts of Scripture.

So far as we have yet gone, our observations upon the expositors of this series have been almost entirely laudatory. As commentators upon the letter, and as investigators of the connexion, of the sacred writings, we can scarcely concede to them too high a rank. And these are but a few out of many whose exegetical labours have been spent upon the Old and New Testaments during the last twenty years. Nor are they, in the respects we have been considering, absolutely the best. There are many others,—we need mention only Meyer and De Wette,—whose names constantly occur in the notes of our recent English commentators, who hold a place still higher than these in all the subordinate accomplishments of interpreters. Were it not for the taint which more or less pervades them, they would be well worth the habitual consultation of the student. As it is, they have in mass done much to elevate and give exactitude to English exegesis. Alford, Stanley, Eadie, Ellicott, Jowett, and not a few others, exhibit that influence on every page. Would that some of them owned no other obligation to their German preceptors!

The third standard by which every exposition of God's word must be tested, is its harmony with the mind of the Spirit, and the catholic faith of the Church of Christ. The interpreter of the words of the Holy Ghost must have his mind and heart in communion with the Holy Ghost. The Bible itself declares that a specific spiritual discernment is necessary for the apprehension of the doctrines of faith; and the reason of every man who believes that God has made a revelation to man, must approve the proposition. The Divine Spirit accredits none but holy men as interpreters of the words which He moved none but holy men to

utter. There is an inspiration for the expositor corresponding with the inspiration of the original writer. And, further, the interpreter of the Scriptures which have been committed to the keeping of the universal Church, must not contradict the voice of the universal Church, as expressed in the original creeds, or in the genuine catholic tradition which the Holy Ghost has preserved in His living Church. Learning and keensightedness are not sufficient without these higher requisites. It has been the bane of a great mass of the expositions of Germany, that these higher qualifications have been thought no more needful for the interpretation of the writers of the Bible, than for the interpretation of Plato or Seneca. For, as one of their own poets has said,

'Wissen ist des Glauben's Stern, Andacht alles Wissen's Kern.'

Nor is the enlightened private judgment of any man, however saintly, to be trusted with the explanation of all the mysteries of sacred truth. It was not the intention of the Head of the Church that any one mortal man should ever be the final arbiter, either for himself or others, of the mind of the Spirit. He has not imposed upon any one the fearful necessity of finding the truth for himself; nor has He made a knowledge of the fundamental articles of the faith dependent *solely* upon the fellowship of the Spirit. *Cætus quærentium, non habentium, veritatem, schola est, non ecclesia.* In other words, the expositor, whether for himself or others, is perfectly safe only when he has a subjective illumination of the Spirit guiding him according to an objective rule of faith.

As far as regards critical learning and insight, the entire body of German expositors will bear the most rigorous testing. Even the most heterodox of them may be appealed to with confidence, and consulted with advantage, on all points which do not touch the vitals of faith. There is a vast mass in them of minute erudition, of which they must be spoiled before they are overwhelmed in the Red Sea which awaits them. But when we apply the third and higher test, the number is very small which is found to sustain it, and even they not without many and severe deductions.

Not that they can be charged generally with the absence of a devotional and reverent spirit. Want of sympathy with spiritual truth has never been a characteristic of the German mind; not even in its worst pantheistic, transcendental, or rationalist wanderings. Indeed, the religious instinct of devotion betrays itself most mournfully throughout all the generations of their speculative writers. There are cold-hearted scientific dealers with the word of God among them; but their works will very well bear comparison, as a whole, with the hard and ungenial labours of our own learned men in sacred criticism. The most

orthodox expositors of modern Germany are evidently men of devotion, and mingle the devotional element very largely with their expositions. Olshausen's reverent approach to the last scenes and discourses of our Lord occurs to our mind: 'We come, finally, to that portion of the evangelical history which we may with propriety call its *Holy of Holies*. Our Evangelist, like a consecrated Priest, alone opens to us the view into this sanctuary. This is composed of the last moments spent by the Lord in the midst of His disciples before His passion, when words full of heavenly thought flowed from His sacred lips. All that His heart—which glowed with love—had yet to say to His friends, was compressed into this short season,' &c. This is a style not common among our own learned commentaries; but it is the habitual style of this writer. And Stier's glowing expressions in his preface are fully sustained by the fervent and childlike devotion to the Saviour which breathes in every page. We shall quote some of them for their own value, taking the liberty to compress the author's, or the translator's, wordiness. 'Nothing seems to me more unnatural than a certain *dead, dry* handling of the word of life, and which—never speaking from the heart to the heart—is called, "the purely scientific."—The Bible has never failed to speak *for itself*, without the assistance of mere learning; and it produces in its believers a believing apprehension of itself, without which it would long ago have gone the way of all waste paper.—I have not neglected commentaries, faithful or heterodox; but I have, with still greater diligence, for now about thirty years, sought out and put to the most living use, in my own heart and ministry, the immediate emanations of the living Word. I avow publicly, before God and the world, that all the theology and criticism of the age, whether infidel, or one fourth, one half, three parts orthodox, has during that time served only to confirm me in my joyful boast,—I know in whom I believe. I *know* that what I hold in this word will remain when the world passes away; and that its least sentence will prove a better dying pillow than all else which man could devise. I know that to interpret to the world the words of the Lord Jesus is the loftiest task of human teaching or writing. The Lord is my witness that I approached it with solemn diffidence. But these volumes have met with a response in the hearts of a large circle of the faithful, whose acknowledgments of the grace and truth which they contain I thankfully lay at the Lord's feet.—I read the canonical text of the Bible as written by the Holy Ghost. I so read it, however, not because I have framed for myself any inspiration-dogma to which I am a slave, but because this word approves itself as inspired to my reason with ever-increasing force; to my reason, which, though not wholly sound, is, through the virtue of that word, daily recovering soundness. It is because

this living Word in a thousand ways has directed, and is ever directing, my inmost being, with all its intelligence, thought, and will, that I have subjected to it the freedom of my whole existence.' This is not an expositor whose pen would be likely to lack guidance from above, or who would teach error through want of reverent communion with the Spirit of revelation. Indeed, while upon this point, we cannot refrain from remarking upon the singular contrast between the pages of these and other writers of their class, and the works of most of our own commentators, in respect to unction and feeling, and that tenderness of devotion which makes Leighton's *Exposition*, for instance, so inestimably precious to every devout reader of God's word. Surely those pages should glow with something warmer than the dignity of reverence which unfold the treasures of human hope. The greatest of all expositors made His hearers' hearts burn within them while He opened to them the Scriptures; and so, in some degree, should all whom He calls to execute the same office. Neander's favourite *Pectus facit theologum* has in it a deep eternal truth.

But not the whole truth: it must not stand alone or be stretched too far. If that were all, the writings of many of the Germans would be as generally sound as they are generally unsound. Boehme, Oetinger, Crusius, in old time, would have been most trustworthy expositors of scriptural truth. Schleiermacher would have arrested the whole Rationalist movement. Neander himself would have left no half-orthodox comments on the New Testament. Lange and many others, now writing upon the life and sayings of Jesus, would be saved from a thousand errors which detract from the value of their labours of love. But it is not all. There is an external rule of faith as well as an internal perception of truth. There is a common fund of truth concerning the doctrines of Scripture to which the purest ages of the Church set their seal; and which, by whatever name known, regulates the faith of every orthodox Christian community. There is a judgment of the Church which is the proper correlative of the sanctified private judgment of every one of its members; and it appears to us that the practical, if not always theoretical, forgetfulness of this is the elemental principle of most of the errors on account of which German expositors must be followed with so much caution.

And, here, we are not foolish enough to involve the whole mass of the modern expositors of Germany in one common condemnation; or to forget that the fault we condemn is found also among ourselves. Wherever the uncontrolled exercise of private judgment betrays itself as the ruling spirit of an exegetical work, it is a sure note of warning to the reader that he is not safe. There has been in England, till lately, a controlling orthodoxy which has exerted a most salutary influence upon our great

expositors, in all the several Churches of our land. No one can question the gigantic force of restraint which the Confessions and formularies of the Anglican Church have exerted upon the exegesis of her communion. The same may be said, though it might have been said with more confidence a few years ago, of the Dissenting Churches of Britain. And the same may be said with absolute assurance of the Methodist body. Moreover, there exists among us a general evangelical tradition, pervasive and inviolable, which exerts a silent repression upon the unbridled pruricency of private judgment, by spurning or neglecting its produce. Long may we have to thank God for this! But no one who has any acquaintance with the theology and exposition of the Protestant Churches of Germany can fail to feel that there is no such repression there as yet. There are signs, indeed, grateful as the dawn after weary night, that the objective and the subjective are about to be reconciled after their long conflict; but the strife has not wholly ceased, even in the best of her divines. The *ego* has been too long absolute to merge itself in the *we* suddenly and in one generation. The idea of responsibility or control from without seems almost entirely discarded. Long licence has made all fetters irksome. The voice of law has been drowned for a century in the din of conflict,—*inter arma silent leges*,—and is now heard faintly and but by few. We are sure that this charge may be fairly sustained against the bulk of modern German theology, however much it might be modified when a few individuals, such as those whose names are familiar in this paper, are before us. But it is not solely with them that we have to do. There are many authors, whose names are now entirely unknown, who will soon speak in our mother tongue to many of our readers: a few cautionary remarks, founded upon the charge already sustained, and as far as practicable illustrated by example, may therefore very fitly close these pages.

And, first, there is a certain spirit of independence which these writers tend to nourish, and against which every reader, especially every young reader, should be sedulously on his guard. There is an undefinable *tone* in their entire theology which tends to exalt the pride of the human intellect, and the mere mention of which is better than any attempt at definition. It is not that they are puffed up with the conceit of learning: they have the reality of learning, comprehensive and profound; but the very ease with which they wield it, and the constant use which is made of it, may tend to foster an undue estimate of its importance. But that is not the point of our warning. It is impossible for a young man to read works in which the writer constantly appeals to the reader against all the world, without insensibly acquiring a too independent temper of mind. Now, in the great bulk of modern German expositors, the reader is perpetually

called upon to act as umpire between the writer and a swarm of contradicting authorities with whose names his lines bristle. Results are not given with the calm dignity of a teacher; but the scholar is taken into counsel throughout the process. It is a good thing, to a certain extent, to be habituated to think for ourselves and prove all things; but it is also a good thing sometimes to be spoken to and taught with authority. The student of their pages is either oppressed with a sense of his own responsibility in holding the balances in which such tremendous matters are weighed; or he surrenders his own judgment altogether, and lets his guide decide every thing; or, and this is too often the case, he acquires a seductive but most dangerous habit of self-reliance. *How can I, except some one should guide me?* is a demand which it is God's will man's instruction should meet; but not in such a way as to suppress the spirit which makes the appeal.

Again: we would earnestly deprecate another evil which an unguarded familiarity with these writers is very apt to produce,—a general feeling of insecurity and uncertainty in Christian doctrine. There is hardly a page in their writings which does not introduce us into an atmosphere of polemics. Every divine is contending with every other divine about every doctrine and precept of the faith. It is a literature of war, in which there is no repose for the mind or heart. Axioms, first principles, postulates, are scarcely heard of: for those who hold them in their hearts are obliged to change their names, and make them the objects of reasoning and deduction. And this characteristic is not confined to works professedly polemical. Controversial writings, as such, are the glory of every age of Christian literature, and have their example and high sanction in the New Testament itself. German literature has many such works of immortal value. But its divinity is stamped with that character throughout. What a striking and painful effect does it produce, for instance, upon their exegetical writings! Every section, every paragraph, every sentence is expounded at the point of the sword; and the result is received not without an uneasy feeling that we have, after all, no more than the writer's personal opinion against all the world. Let any one turn to the pages of Stier or of Luthardt upon the Gospel of St. John,—where the heart could wish controversy to be for ever hushed,—and note the dreary combination of calm exposition and fierce polemics. The Philistines are everywhere in the way: they have no rest from their enemies. Who does not feel as he reads, that the voice of controversy is a profanation; that the strife of tongues is invading the most secret place of God's pavilion? It may be said, this is a stern necessity to modern German Protestants. And so to their sorrow it is. The work of destruction has been so complete, and has been so ruthlessly carried into every region of theology and theological

science, that the reactionary defenders of the faith have to defend it by all means and on every domain. They are essentially men of war; their work for God's house is the work of David; or, rather, they are rebuilding the dishonoured temple of God, like Nehemiah and his fellow-countrymen, with swords in their hands. Their Master will not forget the peculiar pressure of their probation, even if their brethren sometimes do. But we must beware lest we make what is to them a hard necessity our pastime; and turn what may be wholesome medicine in Germany into the means of injurious stimulus, or even into active poison.

One unhappy result of this polemical discipline of their private judgment may be seen in modes of defence which we cannot help regarding as concessions to their enemies. The inspiration of the Holy Scriptures was almost universally abandoned at the commencement of the present century. To retrieve that fundamental truth, and to reinstate the word of God in its just place of supremacy, was of course one of the first cares of reviving orthodoxy. But instead of taking their stand upon the ancient definitions of their own Churches, they have too often attempted to reason the doctrine into the acceptance of their enemies, and by endless incomprehensible modifications to divest it of its unconciliating repulsiveness, and *tone it down*. In the dealings of some of them with the plenary inspiration of holy writ, their practice is better than their theory; but in others their theory is better than their practice. The theories which are dispersed through their writings,—and of which that in Olshausen's note to his Introduction, and Stier's vague hints in his prefaces, may be taken as samples,—would make a strange catena. In these individual writers there occurs hardly one instance in which any part of Scripture is absolutely sacrificed to concession, unless some points of Olshausen's Harmony may be regarded as such; but in some others of them—Neander, to wit—the spirit of compromise makes sad havoc. The supernatural element is regarded everywhere with suspicion, and the *dignus vindice nodus* is far too arbitrarily brought to the test of the individual judgment. In fact, many tokens of the great slough are observable, which God may pardon in them who have passed through it, but which we who have not should take infinite care to keep clear of.

Moreover, the English reader of German theology must be on his guard against the danger of indefinite views upon the individual doctrines of faith. In the first place, there is some peril in habitual familiarity with the terminology of their divinity, uncouth and bewildering as it is in some of their writings. But their definitions are the most dangerous ground to the unpractised and unheeded reader. Every student should be wise enough to keep his definitions sacred, and watch over them with

anxious care. That care he will greatly need when he encounters the subtilties of German dogmatic theology, even in its soundest form. But this danger is of comparatively little moment to a cautious student, who remembers that he is in another school of divinity. It may sometimes be useful to compare his own with another view of the same doctrine; it may be profitable to look at familiar doctrines from different points, and mark the varieties of *form* in which the common truth may be presented. But there is another danger more formidable than this. The doctrine itself, and not the definition alone, is very often obscurely and unsatisfactorily exhibited in the pages of German divinity. This is not so much the result of unsoundness in the faith, in most cases, as of personal independent ratiocination exercised upon every question of religious truth. It is too much as if every divine charged himself with the reconstruction of the entire fabric of faith. Every man has his doctrine, his view, his system. The Lutheran doctrine of the sacraments is placed under a wide variety of aspects by Lutheran divines, as any one may see in the pages of Stier, Kahnis, Olshausen, and others. The doctrine of the Trinity is sometimes exhibited in strange and startling lights by men who are doubtless sound in the faith, though not sober in their soundness. The doctrines which are based upon the terms, 'redemption,' 'atonement,' and 'satisfaction,' are subjected to a most oppressive ordeal under their subtilty of independent thought. And who does not know how difficult it is to light upon an intelligible statement of the nature of faith in the writings of their expositors? The practised theologian can enter into their distinctions, and sometimes appreciate their force; but it is only because he has in his own mind a far better doctrine, by which he can interpret what is right in them, and neutralize what is wrong.

And this leads directly to the plain issue of these cautionary remarks. The reader of German theology ought to carry with him, besides the reverent prayerful temper of mind with which all theology should be read, a sound and definite theology of his own. If he does not, and is, moreover, of a facile disposition, he will infallibly become that anomalous thing, a theological eclectic. There are many young men—they form a considerable and growing class—whose flexibility of creed finds room for almost every view. They look so deeply into the grounds of things, that they find the central unity of almost all religious systems. They think they have a faith of their own, carry about with them a dim consciousness of responsibility to some confession which they have subscribed; but they catch the spirit of every new system, fall in more or less with the views of every new writer, and are, for the time at least, converts to a greater or less extent of every new argument. Such minds will run riot in German divinity. Neander's attenuated catholicity will

bewitch them out of ecclesiastical principles for a season, till Olshausen or Stier revive the outlines of a visible Catholic Church, with orders, sacraments, and discipline. One writer will make the Arminian 'view' preponderate, another the Predestinarian: the sacraments will rise or fall with the barometer of the Lutheran or Reformed author: justification, faith, regeneration, and all the peculiar doctrines of 'Soteriology,' will assume a thousand different guises to one who reads the mass of these writers without the touchstone of his own definitions at hand. The same danger awaits him in English theology, of course; but every English divine is wont to write in consistency with his own well-known denominational faith, and we know what he is. Among German divines, however, with few exceptions, there exists a very catholic intercommunion of doctrine; systems which we generally think incompatible being often harmonized according to their several views and modifications in the writings of the same men.

There is a third tendency, which may be traced to the fundamental evil first alluded to, and against which the English student needs to be on his guard,—the boldness with which the letter of Scripture is pressed into the service of speculation. This tendency is not confined to German writers; but it is in them more general, and its results, perhaps, more fascinating, than in any others. Having its source in the unchecked licence of private judgment, it has various modifications which it is right carefully to distinguish. In some, it assumes the form of a presumptuous attempt to bring the mysteries of the faith under the dominion of human thought, and to make them coincide with the intuitions of reason. Whenever the reader finds himself upon the threshold of such speculation, let him at once bid his guide farewell and retire. In others, however, it is simply the development of the meditative spirit, revelling in the creations of its own internal world, weaving hints of truth into fantastic systems,—the very poetry of theology. Of these, also, let the reader beware. Not because they exercise an unlicensed faculty,—for there is no more noble employment of man's mind than the internal contemplation of truth, nothing more elevating than sanctified speculation upon those hints which the Holy Spirit has scattered through the Bible for that very purpose,—but because their speculations are sometimes let loose in forbidden regions, and invested with the dignity of substantial truth. Yet more frequently, however, it appears in the guise of a fervent desire to extract all its meaning from the sacred word, to lose no one note of its more hidden harmonies, to give to every the slightest hint which has fallen from the lips of Truth its full significance. 'The fundamental deficiency of *nearly* all learned exegesis is its forgetfulness of the depth and fulness of meaning, which, in accordance with its higher nature, necessarily

belongs to every word of the Spirit. In the endeavour to understand it, that depth is not explored where, from the one root of the *sensus simplex*, the richest fulness of references ramify in such a manner, that what in its own historical connexion presents one definite truth as the kernel of its meaning, does nevertheless expand into an inexhaustible variety of senses for the teaching of the world in all ages, and especially in the Christian Church, where the Holy Spirit Himself continues to unfold His germinal word even to the end of the days. While this applies to every saying of the Spirit in its several measure, to the *words of the Word* it applies in a degree which eternity alone will disclose.' Thus does Stier dilate upon a precious truth; but it is only for us to suppose the expositor, holding this principle, to be endowed also with a speculative, mystic, introverted turn of mind, and how would the barren parts of revelation blossom, its scanty portions expand, and its starless patches of ether glow, under his sanctified imagination!

As illustrations of the propriety of these cautionary remarks, we intended to bring forward several instances of speculation, divergent from the common faith of Christians, which occur in the pages of these popular commentators. Our space allows us only to point them out. We have referred to the doctrine of the Sacraments. While one section of the general Protestant Church leaves nothing in them for speculation to fasten upon, another refines upon their elements and significance in a most fertile manner. It may suffice to refer to Stier's exposition of the Lord's words in the third and sixth chapters of St. John, where we have the germ of speculations upon both the sacraments which would expand into very singular theories. And they are but specimens of a very strange theology which has grown up around the sacramental question, in that portion of the Lutheran Church which corresponds with the highest school in the Anglican. One of its most characteristic excrescences is that daring search for the sacrificial blood of Christ within the veil, which is elaborately set forth in Bengel's note on Heb. xii. 23, and is reproduced with variations by Stier and others. We need only refer, once more, to the unfaltering confidence with which the mystery of our Lord's humiliation, and the gradual development of His incarnate being, is treated throughout their exposition of the Gospels. It is not simply a revival of ancient controversy around the *κρίσις* and the *ἀνάστασις*; but a theory is adopted,—where the Holy Ghost has permitted no theory to man,—and rigorously applied wherever the darkness of revelation is found intolerable. Again, the creative spirit of German speculation has found a rich chaos to brood upon in the few mysterious expressions which open to us glimpses into the invisible world. And wonderful is the world with which they have replaced the exploded purgatory. The reader may have

observed what service the parable of Dives and Lazarus has been constrained to render to their theory, and what a vast theological meaning is added by Stier, for instance, to the *sensus simplex* of that one word, *Remember!* The work of Christ's day in the world is followed by another work of His night; but it is useless to dilate. It is true that hints only are dropped, and such guards are thrown around their statements, as save them from any sanction of Romanist error. It is true, also, that they plead the rigid necessity which the letter of Scripture imposes; but if any one would see to what these hints of Scripture expand under their plastic theory, let him glance at a little work of Maywahlen's on the Intermediate State, which has, we believe, been translated into English. It might be expected, finally, that the New-Testament doctrine concerning the last things would be a fruitful field for these system-building expositors; and so, verily, it is. Millenarianism, in its great principles, is unfolded with a consistency and generalizing skill, which pour contempt upon most of our own fantastic works in that department. The first, the *middle*, the *third* coming of Christ, with the final evolution of the destiny of the Jews, are expounded and harmonized in the works of Stier, Auberlen, and Baumgarten, with a precision and force of reasoning new to the theology of the question. How German divines treat its bewildering details, as they luxuriate in the pages of our own sentimental writers, we have no means of knowing. But these writers have thrown out a challenge which cannot be despised. The whole subject is one of great moment. It is too intimately bound up with the deepest interests and feelings of the Christian heart, ever to lose its interest. We confess that we are not sorry to see, in our own language, a new method of treating it, and hope these writers will be fully and fairly answered.

To return, however, for a moment. Let the student of God's holy word be vigilantly on his guard against the spirit of speculation which reigns in the German interpretation of its more mysterious sayings. Speculation is good in its own sphere. Alas for the Christian who can read his Bible without it; whose iron-bound theology and frozen experience are never brightened by internal imaginings and presentiments of what he is to know hereafter; who has no touch of the mystic in him! But to impose or receive as doctrines of the Bible, and as *exposition* of its sayings, speculations which at best are permitted to man only as the internal refreshment of his own yearning spirit, and as the incommunicable meditation of his own secret heart, is a very different matter; and it is against this that we lift our most vehement and solemn protest.

We have left ourselves no room for such a final summary as we had in view; but enough has been said to show that we heartily welcome the good, while we reject the evil, of modern

German theological literature. The scribe already well instructed, will find in this particular series of works much addition to his treasure of things both new and old. We have just seen an advertisement,—issued from the Strand,—of a translation of one of the destructive critics of the Old Testament; and not knowing, though much fearing, to what this may grow, we turn with satisfaction and hope to the present issue of a purer foreign divinity. The publishers of this series may do yet greater service than they have done to the cause of Christian truth. There is an increasing number of German divines whose writings, rigorously selected and judiciously annotated, would do more, by God's blessing, than any other means to keep out German Neology from our English Churches.

- ART. VIII.—1. *A Statement of the Proceedings of the Committee appointed to promote the Establishment of Baths and Washhouses for the Labouring Classes, &c., &c.* By P. P. Baly, C.E., Engineer to the Committee. London. 1852.
2. *Appendix to the Statement of the Proceedings, &c.* By P. P. Baly, C.E. London. 1853.
3. *Baths and Washhouses for the Industrious Classes. A Lecture delivered in the School-room at Stratford.* By W. Hawes, Esq. London. 1853.
4. *Report of the Commissioners for Public Baths and Washhouses in the Parish of St. James, Westminster.* London. 1854.

'WATER,' says the poet Pindar, 'is the best of things,' and an English proverb has almost endorsed this Oriental decision. Indeed, it would be difficult to over-estimate the blessings of which it is the source, whether we regard it from a moral or a physical point of view. With a very large class of society, cleanliness of person and apparel is the distinctive feature which separates upright honest poverty from the recklessness of the dissolute and idle. 'Cleanliness is next to godliness.' To many persons this will doubtless appear a truism; but facts, with which most of us have lately become familiar, have invested the old adage with additional force. We have heard of alleys and courts in the metropolis and our manufacturing towns, swarming with tenants, (indeed, in most neighbourhoods the population seems to bear an inverse ratio to the cleanliness,) where there was either no water supply at all, or one woefully insufficient; where the turning on of the weekly dole of water was the sign for a general scrimmage and conflict; and where, consequently, dirt and disease were supreme, where cleanliness was an impossibility, and decency unknown.

Now it is a fact, by no means creditable to modern civilization,

that this disgrace is peculiarly its own. With a far slighter acquaintance with the arts, and with much inferior resources, the inhabitants of the ancient world were almost universally possessed of appliances for bathing. In Egypt, and Greece, and Rome alike, the practice was familiar to all ranks, and to both sexes: and even so long ago as the time of Homer we find mention of warm baths in one of the streams of the Scamander; whilst from the age of Cicero, down to the close of Roman history, public baths of great size and magnificence were erected, the charge for admittance to which was the smallest Roman coin, a quadrant, (about half a farthing of our money,) for adults, and children were admitted free. Contrast these advantages with the condition of a London artisan before the opening of the Public Baths and Washhouses. The gradual extension of the city had enclosed all the streams which were once available, whilst his work precluded him from seeking more distant sources. Of course, the more confined his dwelling became, the greater would be the need of cleanliness both in person and dress,—and both were almost unattainable by thousands. If by some fortunate contrivance, or some self-denial, the housewife managed to get the clothes half-washed, their living-room was commonly the only place for drying them, and the reeking steam would drive many a workman to take refuge in the nearest tavern; whilst, in many more instances, the difficulty of maintaining cleanliness broke down the last barriers of self-respect, and brought vice and crime in its train.

This state of things had for some time been painfully notorious, and as long since as 1833 attention had been called to the subject, by the evidence given before a Committee of the House of Commons on Public Walks. On that occasion Mr. Stock, a gentleman well qualified to speak from long acquaintance with the most populous part of London, gave his testimony that, 'in proportion as it became more desirable to have places of exercise, the possibility of any such exercise diminished;' that the police regulations prohibited bathing in the Lea; but that, in spite of this prohibition, the poorer classes did bathe at their peril, in the canal from Limehouse to Bromley, and were occasionally taken into custody for so doing; and gave his opinion that the establishment of places appropriated for bathing would both promote public decency, and be highly beneficial in other ways. One remark which fell from this witness, is indicative of the effect which London improvements have had in curtailing the facilities once enjoyed by the poor for bathing; namely, that 'formerly the bathing-place most frequented on the east part of London was Poplar Gut, to which hundreds resorted every summer's morning; and they have been deprived of that place by the formation of the West India Docks.' Surely so wealthy a corporation might have provided some substitute for the valuable privilege which they took away, and have prevented the scandal of a public record, that 'in proportion as the numbers of the hum-

bler classes of the population increased, their facilities for having exercise and bathing diminished.'

It is worth while to consider for a moment the importance of this subject, because, whilst almost everybody is ready to give a careless assent to it, very few of us are fully alive to the reality. For this purpose we give an extract from Abernethy, as quoted by Mr. Hawes in his Lecture:—

'Next to eating and sleeping, the swimming-bath ranks among the very foremost of the *necessaries and supports of life*. It is of far higher consequence, and of more general utility, than any kind of manual exercise, gymnastic, or sport. It affects the system more powerfully than these, even in the very points wherein their excellence consists; and it is applicable in a thousand circumstances in which they are not. It does not supersede, but it ought to come before, these other practices. Time should therefore be found for the bath among the regular occupations of life; it ought to be a permanent institution, ranking immediately after the prime necessities of our being. Either daily, or several times a week, should every one repair to it, in some shape or other, either at morn, mid-day, or evening, according to strength and leisure. There certainly does not exist a greater device in the art of living, or a greater instrument for securing a vigorous and buoyant existence. It is one of the most powerful diversions to the current of business occupation; it can suspend for a time the pressure of our pursuits and anxieties, and return us fresh for the enjoyment of our other delights. To the three varieties of states which our bodies daily pass through,—eating, working, sleeping,—it would add a fourth, luxurious in itself, and increasing the relish for all the rest. It would contribute to realize the perfect definition of a good animal existence, which is, to have the appetite always fresh for whatever may be before it. The health of the mind must be based, in the first place, on the health of the body; mental occupation and refined enjoyments turn into gall and bitterness, if not supported by the freshness and vigour of the physical frame.'—Pp. 6, 7.

This certainly is very strong language from one who was not addicted to exaggeration, and goes far to prove that the majority of Englishmen are habitually neglecting one of the greatest supports of life.

The first establishment of a public Washhouse is due to the untiring benevolence and activity of a person in humble circumstances, at Liverpool. Mrs. Catharine Wilkinson, or Catharine of Liverpool, as she is called in *Chambers's Miscellany of Useful and Entertaining Tracts*, may claim the honour of their foundation, a claim duly acknowledged by the Loudon Committee in their public statement. The circumstances were as follows:—

'At the first appearance of cholera in England, great anxiety was manifested to guard against it, and cleanliness was especially enjoined. The habits of the very poor, and their few conveniences, made the washing and drying of clothing and bedding very difficult. Catharine's house, at this time, consisted of a small kitchen, a little parlour, two or three chambers, and a small yard at the back of the house. In

the kitchen she had a copper. She fastened ropes across the yard, and offered her poor neighbours the free use of them, and her kitchen for washing and drying their clothes. She also took charge of clothes and bedding, which were lent for the use of the poor. So apparent was the benefit derived by the families who availed themselves of Catharine's kindness, that a benevolent society was led to provide a common cellar where families might wash every week. The establishment thus begun has been found so useful that it is still maintained.During the second year of the cholera, 140 dozen clothes for men and women, sixty quilts, 100 blankets, and 158 sheets were washed in this establishment in one week.'—*Chambers's Tracts,—Annals of the Poor.*

The attention of the Corporation of Liverpool was called to this establishment, and they determined to make the experiment of opening a small public Bath. The first building contained only eighteen private baths and one vapour bath. This succeeded so well that a second building was erected, and funds for a third and fourth were voted in quick succession. One great failure, however, that of drying the linen rapidly and separately, prevented the immediate success of the Liverpool Washhouses. We shall proceed to sketch the labours of the London Committee, and show in our course how this difficulty was surmounted.

It was fortunate for the permanent success of the scheme, that it had attracted the attention of men of great scientific ability, and of indomitable perseverance. The first point secured the recognition both of the importance of the movement and of its difficulties, by those who were best fitted to carry it into action; and anything less than the second would certainly have broken down under the disappointments which met them in their progress. Mr. William Cotton and Mr. Bullar were the main promoters of a public meeting held at the Mansion-House, in October, 1844, at which the Bishop of London, Lord Overstone, and Baron Rothschild assisted; and public attention was further challenged by a paper on the subject, read by Mr. Cotton before the British Association in 1847. Meanwhile, however, the Committee had not been idle. Even before the Mansion-House meeting, an establishment had been opened in Glasshouse Yard, East Smithfield, with such success, that in the first year there were 27,662 bathers, 35,480 washers, 4,522 ironers, and the number of articles washed exceeded 250,000, at a cost (the establishment being free to the poor) of less than £600.

The London Committee, in the language of their Report, put before themselves two main objects:—First, to promote the health and cleanliness of the working classes; Secondly, to make the institutions for this purpose self-supporting. They therefore determined to erect a Model Establishment, with 100 baths and 100 wash-tubs, and to discover by actual experience the best way of drying the linen when washed. But they had not calcu-

lated either on the expense which they would have to incur, or on the apathy of the public in the matter. Despite the large subscriptions promised at first, they soon found themselves involved in debt, and incurred an expenditure of £26,000, (£11,000 of this, we may remark, was obtained from the liberality of a few individuals and public companies,) before the full completion of their plan; whilst the whole apparatus and fittings had entirely to be invented. Their first step was to advertise for models and drawings, and from thirty designs sent in they selected that by Mr. Baly. The arrangement of the parts of the building, and the ingenuity displayed by him, were admirable: still the difficulty of drying the linen was not yet overcome; nor was it until after many failures and considerable expense, that the present system was adopted, at the suggestion of Mr. William Hawes, the Deputy-Chairman of the Committee.

It must be recollected that the following advantages had to be combined before any system could be deemed satisfactory:—First, economy in the consumption of fuel for the drying apparatus, inasmuch as the charges were to be only a penny for the first two hours, and twopence *per* hour afterwards. Secondly, rapidity, because the detention of the washer would cause her additional expense and loss of time. Thirdly, separation of the clothes, to prevent jealousy or dishonesty among the washers. And lastly, such a degree of temperature as should insure the destruction of insect life, and the dispersion of all animal effluvia from the linen. Now the plan commonly adopted at hospitals, and other large drying establishments, was the employment of a current of heated air, either forced in by steam, or drawn into the drying-chambers by the difference between the specific gravity of the air in the chamber, and the external atmosphere.

‘The objections to the first plan were the cost of the machinery, and of the mechanical power required to drive the air through the pipes when it is heated, and then through the vast number of small channels necessary for separate drying-chambers; the loss of heat consequent upon its traversing those channels, and the difficulty of heating air (a bad conductor of heat) without great waste of fuel, as well as the impossibility of preventing waste of heat in cooling that air (expensively heated) during the short time occupied in its passage through the drying-chamber. It is obvious that whatever quantity of heated air escapes, without absorbing the quantity of moisture due to its temperature, or without being reduced to the temperature of the water held in the clothes to be dried, is wasted.

‘The second plan failed from the all but impossibility of heating the air which was admitted, to one uniform temperature; and though, by a very minute subdivision of the current, and its careful distribution over a very large extent of heating surface, this was accomplished; still the cost of fuel, and the impossibility of using all the caloric so given to the air, rendered this mode almost as objectionable as the first.’—*Statement of the Committee*, pp. 10, 20.

There was another serious objection, besides that of expense, to the drying of linen on this system. The temperature was not sufficiently high to insure the dispersion of animal effluvium, and, in consequence, the towels used at the Baths were frequently refused by bathers. Indeed, so great did the difficulty appear, that the engineers sent over by the French Government to report upon the benefits to be derived from the establishment in Paris of public Washhouses with very low charges, 'expressed serious doubts as to the possibility of reducing the price low enough to meet the necessities of the case.' They admitted that there might be a saving by a concession of the water, or in the cost of coal or of a site, but added, 'The establishment will not be complete, unless the linen can be dried quickly and well, so as never to delay the washer one hour after her work is finished. What will be the cost of this, or whether it be possible to do it at a cheap rate, no one can tell.*

But, *labor omnia vincit*: the untiring energy of Mr. Hawes at last solved the problem; by what means we will relate in his own words:—

'Drying linen is nothing more than the evaporation of water from the substance which mechanically retains it. Water cannot exist at a temperature of above 212 degrees, and it is converted very rapidly into vapour between 180 and 212 degrees. Instead of forcing heated air into the drying-chamber at a great expense,—air very costly to heat, and when heated very difficult fully to charge with moisture,—we closed the chamber, and allowed no air to circulate within it. We heated the chamber by radiation from flues to a temperature above 212 degrees, and then put the linen into it. The water in the linen being a good conductor of heat, rapidly absorbed it from the radiating surfaces, and was soon raised to the evaporating point, and from that gradually to 212 degrees, when all the water in the linen was converted into vapour, and the things were dry. The vapour, as formed, escaped out of nicely-adjusted valves at the top; and in this way a sheet may be dried easily in fifteen minutes, a blanket in twenty-five; the rapidity of drying depending on the supply of heat by radiation from the flues being equal to that required to raise the temperature of the water in the linen rapidly up to 212 degrees.'—*Lecture*, p. 14.

This system had, besides, this great advantage, that directly the thermometer indicated a high temperature, the fireman, without going personally to examine the linen, would damp the fire, and thus avoid waste of fuel; whilst the principle was equally applicable to the use of hot water-pipes or a jet of gas for the purposes of heating the drying-chamber; and the latter, when once heated, retained the high temperature for some length of time. How effectually, too, the drying is performed, will be seen from the following table, which shows the results after washing, wringing, and drying, at the Model Establishment:—

* *Lecture*, p. 14.

Description of the Articles.	Weight when dry, and when being washed.		Weight when being washed.		Weight when the washing process.		Weight when taken from the drying chamber dry.		Water taken up in washing.		Water estimated by the weighing machine.		Water absorbed by the drying process.		Time employed in washing.		Time employed in drying.		Temperature of the drying chamber.	
	lb.	oz.	lb.	oz.	lb.	oz.	lb.	oz.	lb.	oz.	lb.	oz.	lb.	oz.	min.	min.	deg.	deg.		
19 bathers' towels	7	11½	16	13	11	13	8	13	9	1	5	0½	0	0	3	30	200			
Ditto	7	18½	16	15	11	13	8	14½	9	1½	5	2½	14½	2	25	210				
Ditto	7	15	17	1½	11	14½	6	15	9	2½	5	3½	15	2	35	190				
3 fine sheets	4	15½	13	9	8	4	4	3½	8	2½	4	14	0½	2	15	180				
3 middling ditto.	5	4	14	1	8	8	4	13	8	13	5	14½	7	2	35	190				
3 coarse ditto	7	8	16	9	9	0	6	15½	8	10	7	2½	0½	2½	30	190				
3 small blankets.	6	15	22	15½	9	10½	6	8	16	0½	13	5½	7½	2	15	200				
Ditto	6	10	21	4	9	1	6	0	14	10	12	3½	1	2½	15	200				
3 large ditto	9	1	24	14	13	3	9	13	15	13	13	11½	7	3	35	210				

These figures are sufficient to show that the work of drying is done both rapidly and effectually. Indeed, as the excess of weight, before washing, over that when taken from the drying-chamber cannot be wholly attributed to dirt, it is evident that the things contain less moisture than before they had been washed at all. We subjoin another table, being the return of the articles dried in one week at the Model Establishment, and to show that the result is equally satisfactory on the score of economy:—

Day of the week.	No. of washes, dimes, and towels.	No. of hours occupied in washing, drying, and hanging.	Household linen dried.		Bath Room dried.		Working men's clothes.	Total No. of Articles dried.	Temperature of the drying chamber.				Batches of linen consumed.	Towels belonging to the establishment.
			Washes made: Men, bath, and sundries.	Linen made: sheets and tablecloths.	Washes made: post, white, shirts, drawers, stockings, &c.	Linen made: shirts, gowns, &c.			9	12	3	6		
Monday ...	126	280	100	56	1116	828	8	2633	140	170	210	320	42	525
Tuesday ...	197	503½	190	266	2820	2424	20	6401	200	210	217	220	48	673
Wednesday ...	238	545½	204	240	3096	2928	27	7320	170	210	220	220	48	825
Thursday ...	278	630½	168	216	3192	2964	20	6869	170	190	200	210	46	300
Friday	274	545½	144	228	3586	2712	14	7409	180	120	210	220	48	725
Saturday ...	860	494½	108	204	3300	2232	18	6312	200	210	220	240	50	350
Totals	1373	2999½	914	1210	17110	14088	122	36844					282	3400

The expense of fuel for drying these 36,844 articles was under £4.

We think it will be obvious to every one who is practically acquainted with these subjects, that to have contrived such a system, by which nearly 37,000 articles were dried at a cost of less than four pounds, fully justifies the expense which was undergone by the Committee for its attainment. It should be added, that the time occupied by each washer averaged about two hours and a half, and the cost (exclusive of soap) averaged only threepence. Nor was the drying question the only point in

which the labours of the Committee were directed to the study of economizing fuel. At first it was found difficult to heat the warm baths at a remunerating rate, as the average expense of fuel for 1,000 baths was about 75*s.*; a very unsatisfactory state of things, if we bear in mind that the cheapest, and therefore most frequented, class of warm baths was not to cost more than twopence. But here again ingenuity prevailed, and, under a different arrangement of the heating apparatus, the expense was reduced to 24*s.* for 1,000 baths, less than one-third of the former cost.

When the labours of the Committee had been so far crowned with success, it was deemed advisable to apply to Parliament for an Act, which should enable parishes and boroughs to erect such establishments with money charged on the rates. Sir Henry Dukinfield, who had succeeded Mr. Cotton as Chairman of the Committee, was at that time anxious to procure a private Act, to apply to the parish of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, of which he was Rector; but for this a public Act was substituted, which passed both Houses, and received the royal assent in August, 1846; and this was amended by a second Act passed in the following year. Under these enactments, power is given to boroughs and parishes to raise money on the security of the poor-rates, at four *per cent.* interest, to be repaid by thirty yearly instalments,—provided the proposal be supported by two-thirds of those who vote on the question,—the necessary amount to be raised by the overseers, and the profits to be placed in their hands in aid of the poor's-rate.

It will, doubtless, be deemed by those who are unacquainted with the subject a wild and visionary theory, that it should be possible at once to supply the poor with the means of bathing and washing at extremely moderate charges, and, at the same time, to derive a large income towards the maintenance of that class for whose benefit they are especially intended. Such, however, is only a fair deduction from the results with which we are acquainted. Whilst the Act of Parliament secures the main benefits of these establishments for the poor by enacting, 1. That the number of baths of the cheapest class shall be not less than twice that of any higher class, if but one; or of all the higher classes, if more than one: and, 2. That the charges for cold baths of the lowest class shall be one penny, and twopence for a warm bath; yet the establishment in St. Martin's-in-the-Fields—the oldest parochial one existing—estimated its net profits for 1851 at £1,000.

It would, however, be very unsafe to ground an argument merely upon a single instance, and we will, therefore, proceed to show what the statistics are of some of the principal establishments: indeed, upon them almost the whole question of the benefit of these institutions must turn. The entire subject is especially to be regarded as a means of raising the moral and

physical condition of the working classes; and unless experience proves that they appreciate the advantages offered them, and embrace them eagerly, it would be useless any further to advocate a general adoption of public Baths and Washhouses. Of course, when the idea was first promulgated, there were not wanting abundance of criticising spirits, who found it far easier to ridicule a theory, however valuable it might prove, than to take any trouble to carry it into operation. Mr. Hawes accordingly tells us in his lecture, that Mr. Bullar's first efforts were generally rewarded with contempt, that the papers he printed were laughed at, and that the love of cleanliness by the poor was denied. Those who knew them better could have confidently predicted that it would be otherwise, and could have added, that there are few evils of that condition to which the poor were more keenly alive, than the almost hopeless state of dirt which enveloped them in crowded districts; and the facts are even stronger than could have been anticipated. In the Statement of the Committee are published two returns, (which we insert,) showing most satisfactorily that the resort to every establishment named in it is increasing, although there is at the same time an increase of the total supply.

I.—An Account of Establishments in London which are conducted in Accordance with the Acts 9 and 10 Vic., cap. 74, and 10 and 11 Vic., cap. 61, and a few out of many similar Establishments in the Country.—Return for Year ended Christmas, 1851.

NAME AND TITLE.	BATHS.	WASHHOUSES.	Total Receipts.
	Receipts.	Receipts.	
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
The Model, White-chapel	2143 7 8	531 1 2	2674 8 10
St. Martin's-in-Fields.	3487 17 9	499 14 1	3987 11 10
St. Mary-le-Bone.....	2242 8 7	300 18 10	2543 2 5
St. Margaret and St. John's, Westminster, opened May 12th ...	972 2 1	147 1 1	1119 3 2
Greenwich, opened September 2nd	345 17 5	20 4 0	366 1 5
Total	9141 8 6	1408 19 2	10640 7 8
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Liverpool, Paul-street.	576 4 10	190 12 10	766 17 8
Cornwallis-st., opened May 12th	1283 12 1	Not opened.	1283 12 1
Hull	640 18 1	91 6 8	732 4 9
Bristol	547 19 11	62 11 1	610 11 0
Preston, opd. May 26	244 12 10	27 19 4	272 12 2
Birmingham, opened May 12th	1015 11 0	26 14 8	1042 6 5

II.—An Account of the Receipts of nine Months, commencing Lady-Day, 1852, and ending Christmas, 1852.

NAME AND TITLE OF ESTABLISHMENT.	TOTAL RECEIPTS IN 9 MONTHS.		
	£	s.	d.
The Model, Whitechapel	2368	2	6
St. Martin's-in-the-Fields.....	3034	7	2
St. Mary-le-Bone	2162	8	2
St. Margaret and St. John's, Westminster.....	1553	1	4
Greenwich	872	1	0
St. James, Westminster, opened July 12th.....	700	6	8
Poplar, opened July 19th.....	280	8	0
Totals	10965	14	9

We omit the returns from establishments in the country, but they are equally satisfactory.

'During the month ended July, 1852, the receipts at the metropolitan establishments named in the return No. II. amounted to £2,768. 5s. 5d. against £1,506. 3s. 4d. in the same period last year. The number of bathers was 199,934, against 104,856 in the corresponding month of 1851; showing an increase of £1,262. 2s. 1d. in money, and 95,078 in bathers. In the same month of 1848, the first year of the model establishment being opened, the number was only 7,934 bathers, and the receipts only £91. 5s. 10d. This verifies one of the points maintained by the Committee,—that the practice of bathing was restricted in England to a comparative few, because only a few could command the use of a bath; and that, were baths greatly increased in numbers, and afforded at a greatly diminished charge, a habit of bathing would become at least as universal in this country as it is in any foreign parts. The English are by choice a clean people.'—*Statement*, pp. 36, 37.

It would be most erroneous to suppose that these figures merely indicate the success of Baths and Washhouses, whilst they possessed an extraneous advantage in the charm of novelty, and were brought into a forced activity by the efforts of their promoters. On the contrary, although an average diminution of profit might fairly have been expected, (especially in the metropolis,) as the number of establishments was increased, it has been found by experience that the demand has advanced with the supply. Through the kindness of George Woolcott, Esq., late Assistant Secretary to the Metropolitan Committee, we are enabled to give the following return, showing the number of bathers and washers, and the receipts, at the establishments in London, and also at a few out of the many similar institutions in the country, for the year ending December 31st, 1855.

METROPOLIS.

Name of the Establishment.	Bathers.	Washers.	Total Receipts.		
			£.	s.	d.
The Model, Whitechapel ...	183,843	44,126	2,689	19	8
St. Martin's in the Fields...	101,901	42,908	2,239	14	0
St. Margaret and St. John, } Westminster	70,517	59,516	1,728	1	9
St. Marylebone	139,926	23,790	2,422	14	10
Greenwich	55,210	5,201	897	2	1
St. James, Westminster ...	97,581	40,483	1,958	12	5
All Saints, Poplar.....	45,586	10,909	930	0	1
St. Giles and Bloomsbury ..	157,928	48,118	8,500	16	7
Bermondsey	79,986	21,267	1,541	15	5
Lambeth	124,912	.....	2,020	7	8
St. George, Hanover } Square, Davies Street...	63,307	16,074	1,255	2	2
Ditto, Lower Belgrave Place	70,101	12,119	1,151	8	11
George street, Euston Square	76,002	98,133	2,190	12	0
Totals	1,216,750	417,634*	£24,526	7	2

COUNTRY.

Name of the Establishment.	Bathers.	Washers.	Receipts.		
			£.	s.	d.
Liverpool, Cornwallis Street	114,527	.....	1,902	14	6
" Paul Street	55,491	12,381	906	0	0
" George Pier Head	54,460	.....	1,911	5	0
" Frederick Street	.....	16,463	402	4	10
Hull	50,118	8,543	573	1	2
Bristol	37,907	18,056	629	5	9
Preston	27,416	9,704	387	14	11
Birmingham	91,214	6,081	1,680	4	11
Maidstone	82,818	8,875	361	4	4

Mr. Woolcott adds, 'I am of opinion, that the remarkably cold spring of 1855, the high prices of provisions, the diminution of employment, and the withdrawal of a very large number of men from the country, materially lessened the bathing and washing during the past year.' The steady increase of such business in London is, however, exemplified by the following statement; namely:—

* Or the linen of upwards of 1,670,000 persons.

	£.	s.	d.
The aggregate receipts at 13 establishments in the Metropolis, from January to December, 1855, inclusive, as shown above, amount to ...	24,526	7	2
Corresponding period of 1854, 11 establishments	23,257	17	9
Corresponding period of 1853, 9 establishments	18,213	5	8
Corresponding period of 1852, 8 establishments	15,627	5	8
Corresponding period of 1851, 6 establishments	12,906	12	5
Corresponding period of 1850, 4 establishments	9,823	10	6
Corresponding period of 1849, 3 establishments	6,379	17	2
Corresponding period of 1848, 2 establishments	2,806	5	1
<hr/>			
Showing an increase in 1855, over the corresponding period of 1848, of	21,630	2	1
<hr/>			

And, including the receipts to the close of the years 1846 and 1847, an aggregate of 116,755 2 10

These figures (so kindly furnished us by Mr. Woolcott, after his connexion with the Committee had long ceased, from a benevolent interest in these establishments) require little explanation to convey to the mind a sense of the importance which this subject has already assumed in parishes where it has been fairly started. Whilst, however, it has made such rapid strides in Liverpool and London, we believe that very many of our readers, if they are aware of the existence of such establishments, have yet never set foot in one of them; and for their information we will describe the 'Model,' as it is called, in Whitechapel, which we visited in the month of July last.

It should be premised, that this was the establishment on which all the energies of the Committee had been concentrated, in order to render it a model for such parishes as wished to adopt similar institutions. With the view of placing it where its advantages were most obviously required, a site has been selected in Goulston Square, Whitechapel, amidst a crowded and uncleanly population. Hither we accordingly turned our steps; and though used to poor town districts, we never passed through a more unfavourable region than the crooked and filthy streets which led us from the north to the building. Numbers of children were playing about, rolling in the dirt, and bespattering one another with it; whilst slatternly women hung about the doors in knots, although it was early afternoon. It has, indeed, long been a question among philanthropists, whether it be not wiser to found any institution intended to ameliorate the condition of the poor, at a distance from such crowded thoroughfares; and we could not help suspecting that the success of the Goulston Square establishment, which was at first less striking than that of others in the metropolis, must have been sadly hindered by its situation. Certainly most of those we saw in the neighbourhood,—and the streets swarmed with inhabitants,—seemed to be innocent

of any application of soap either to their clothes or their persons. This view was confirmed upon inquiry at the Baths, where we were told, that most of their frequenters came from some distance ; whilst hundreds who lived close by had never crossed the threshold.

We found ourselves opposite to a portico of brick, under which we passed on the men's side. A double entrance, with a glazed office between the two doors, led to the first and second class baths. In this office sat a clerk, with long check-books before him, containing tickets of different colours for the various baths, first and second class, warm and cold. Here the bather pays his money and receives a check and a supply of clean towels, piles of which latter articles were ranged around. Armed with these, he enters a large square building containing rows of baths, to one of which he is assigned by the attendant, and, after shutting himself in, finds the supply of water enter his bath, and leave it at his request, when he has finished bathing, as if by magic. If he be a first class bather, for the sum of sixpence, he will be furnished with a warm bath, flesh-brush, hair-brushes, boot-jack and hooks, button-hook ; in fact, every little article that is necessary to comfort ; whilst all necessaries are supplied with a second class cold bath for the sum of one penny.

It was one of the hottest days in the unusually hot weather with which we have been visited this season, and no period could have been selected that would give a severer trial of the management and conduct of such an establishment. The attendant who conducted us round assured us that they had received lately, on several occasions, as many as two thousand bathers in a day ; and at the time of our visit a row of customers were waiting in the second class room, because all the baths were occupied. But, after subjecting the place to a searching scrutiny, we are bound to say, that the admirable order and scrupulous cleanliness of the whole were beyond all praise. The zinc and earthenware baths, the slate compartments in which they were placed, the brushes, all were beautifully clean. This was due, first, to the excellence of the design with which the whole had been arranged, and, secondly, to the order, discipline, and fidelity of the staff of servants to whose care it had been consigned. As the rules of the establishment enjoin quiet and orderly behaviour on those who resort to it, we thought it not impossible that, in such a district, the attendants might have experienced great difficulty in enforcing their observance. But, on inquiry, we found that promptly insisting upon compliance at first had saved them from all further trouble. ' We had some noisy ones to deal with at first,' said one of the officers ; ' but I soon brought them to order. When they refused to be quiet at my request, I turned off the water from their baths,' (pointing to the turn-cocks which were *outside* each bath,) ' and they

found themselves dry at the bottom.' This novel argument, and a gentle remonstrance, showing the necessity for quiet, in case of accident or illness to a bather, had proved sufficient to restrain the few unruly spirits.

When the bather emerges from his cell,—which he is required to do in half an hour, or else to pay a double fee,—the wet towels are carried back to the clerk's office, and tossed into an open shaft, leading to a lower region, in which they are collected, and carried to the Washing House, on the other side of the building, whither we will now accompany them. A separate entrance leads to this department, furnished with an office, in which a matron serves out the tickets, marked with the time at which they were issued; and, when requested, supplies soap at a fixed price to the washers. Here, again, each customer has a separate compartment, with slate divisions, about seven feet in height; whilst, the building itself being both large and lofty, a free current of air is maintained, and good ventilation secured. We passed down one of the rows of these compartments, and stopped at one in which a woman was hard at work, with her arms covered with soapsuds to the elbow. She was standing on a wooden rack-work stand, to drain off any water that splashed over; and before her were two tubs, one open, and one covered. In the former two taps of hot and cold water afforded an unlimited supply of either; in the latter a pipe with a tap, which could be turned at pleasure, introduced a current of steam, so that the washer had only to place the things to be washed and the soap in it, and they would boil to her heart's content. We remarked on the great heat, and said that she must feel it very much in such an occupation. 'I don't mind it, as long as I can come here and get my things really clean,' she replied; and her face betokened that she meant what she expressed.

The most striking contrivance of the Washhouse, however, to our mind, was the wringing machine. It consists of an open chamber, with perforated sides; a spindle runs through the bottom, and by its agency the clothes placed in the open chamber are, by very simple machinery, subjected to a very rapid rotation, the whole being worked by a wheel, which is easily turned by hand. The centrifugal action carries off a great portion of the water, which escapes through a pipe below, and a section of which being cut out shows when the water has ceased running. The clothes, after this wringing, are hung on iron horses, which are pushed into the drying chamber, and are carried from thence to the ironing board, in another part of the building. It may easily be imagined how superior this system of wringing is to that commonly practised by hand, and how much better the clothes of the poor, often too much worn to admit of such stern stretching and wrenching, are preserved. The things are only laid gently in the machine, and suffer no further

violence. The Goulston Square Washhouse has a large common drying chamber ; but, in some of the buildings erected by Mr. Baly, 'the application of hot water has been so successful, that a small drying chamber is placed close to each wash-tub, whereby the greatest possible economy of time is secured to the washers.'

The encomium we have already passed upon the Baths is equally due to this part of 'the Model.' And all this comfort and cleanliness, which would scarcely be attainable in the most expensively furnished laundry, was supplied at the charge of one penny for a single hour, and at an average cost of threepence to each washer.

The arrangements of the other establishments of the metropolis do not greatly vary from those of the model institution. But it may interest our readers, to learn how these sanitary measures are carried out by our provincial friends. If we select the town of Liverpool, where also we have had the privilege of personal inspection, we shall find that that noble borough is second only, in this, as in so many other respects, to the great metropolis. If the Corporation of Liverpool is one of the most wealthy, it is also one of the most liberal and active of public bodies ; and during the last twelve or fifteen years, neither money nor exertion has been spared to secure the health and convenience of its inhabitants and visitors. This is apparent even to the stranger who makes his appearance there for the first time, or after a lengthened absence ; it is manifest in the spacious streets, in the improved roads, in the noble buildings, of that handsome town, especially in the famous St. George's Hall, and not least in the popular musical entertainments provided in that magnificent structure. But perhaps the most valuable means of social advancement which it possesses, may be found in its public Baths and Washhouses. These are four in number, and have been distinguished, from the first, by their excellence and success. The establishment in St. Paul's Ward, situated in the midst of a dense population, is highly serviceable, both in the bathing and washing departments. In Frederick Street, the Washhouse alone is at present in operation. The Baths on George's Pier are supplied with salt water, and frequented chiefly by the better classes ; while those of Cornwallis Street occupy a medium position, between a superior and a lower grade of residents, and so command the patronage of both. We can speak with unqualified praise of the completeness and efficiency of the establishment last named. So great was its early success, that it soon became necessary to make extensive alterations and additions ; and, in effecting these, it appeared desirable to exclude the Washhouse department from this site, and refer it back to Frederick Street, whence the whole establishment had originally removed. The arrangements of the Cornwallis Street Baths are now of the most complete kind :

for convenience, order, and extent, they will bear comparison with any institution of the sort throughout the country. The scale of charges is as follows:—first class private cold bath, sixpence; second ditto, threepence; third ditto, one penny. First class private warm bath, one shilling; second ditto, sixpence; third ditto, twopence. Of these, the second class are so comfortable, that the first are comparatively little used. The additional attractions of the latter are, the supply of soap, the use of certain articles of the toilet, and the privilege of a fire in the winter months. A similar gradation is made in the baths provided for the fair sex; and the first class ladies' bath offers a very respectable accommodation to those whose own dwellings do not afford the same. There are three large tepid plunge baths in this establishment, at which the charge respectively is sixpence, fourpence, and twopence. The temperature of these plunge baths is nearly the same throughout the year, as it varies only between the degrees 75 and 85 Fahrenheit. The first class plunge bath is one of the finest we have anywhere seen. There are also sitting, warm, and vapour baths, with every requisite for invalids; and these are provided at the very moderate charge of one shilling and sixpence. We may add that, notwithstanding the extent of these Baths, and those of George's Pier, there is a demand for increased accommodation by the people of Liverpool: so largely are the borders of that port increasing, and so well do its inhabitants appreciate the privilege of this wholesome luxury.

Other towns, both in this country and on the continent, are following in the steps of Liverpool and London, and these establishments are rapidly becoming a prominent feature in the social economy of towns and cities.

'At Birmingham, Bath, Bristol, Wolverhampton, Coventry, Plymouth, Chester, Preston, Hull, Sunderland, Bolton, Macclesfield, Oxford, Maidstone, Exeter, Rotherham, Colchester, South Shields, Dublin, Belfast, and many other places, there are one or more each. These have all been erected since the Committee for promoting the Establishment of Baths and Washhouses for the Labouring Classes first drew public attention to the subject.....In consequence of the favourable Report made to the French Government by the Commission appointed to inquire and report on the public Baths and Washhouses in England, 600,000 francs were voted by the late National Assembly, to assist the promotion of such institutions in France, after the plan of the Model Establishment; and a scheme was set on foot for erecting fourteen establishments in Paris, for which 2,000,000 francs would be required. The Municipality of Venice contemplate an expenditure there of £33,000, in the erection of Baths on the same plan. The Norwegian Government have applied to the Committee for the plans, &c., of their Washhouse at Goulston Square, as a guide for the erection of one at Christiania; and a subscription has been commenced for the erection of Baths and Washhouses at Copenhagen.

'The Belgian Government, and the authorities at Hamburg, Turin, Munich, Amsterdam, Lisbon, and New York, have also been furnished

with information on the subject; and there are grounds for hoping that the example of England will be followed in many foreign countries.

'When it is remembered that in 1844 public Baths and Washhouses had scarcely ever been heard of out of Liverpool, and that the views of their promoters were considered by many persons rather as resulting from injudicious zeal, than as capable of being practically realized, the foregoing facts will be deemed satisfactory and gratifying proof, that the cause which the Committee undertook has met with the approval of sound public opinion.'—*Statement*, p. 12.

We have entered somewhat into detail, because we are strongly impressed with a conviction of the importance of the subject, and because it is in minute particulars that the practical difficulty is experienced, and the success of the plan hinges. To those who consider (and what thoughtful man does not?) the condition of the working classes, and the great moral and physical benefits which are likely to result from making cleanliness possible to them, there will appear nothing trifling in discussing the smaller points of the question. It is the motive and the aim which ennoble; and if these are of a high order, it matters not, though the means may seem to be small and insignificant. This is the spirit in which this subject was undertaken by the London Committee; and so fully have they carried it out in all its minute ramifications, that we are unable even to enumerate summarily the items on which they give their advice and assistance. Wherever it is proposed to set on foot a public Bath or Washhouse, it will only be necessary for the promoters to procure copies of their publications, which are to be had for a very small sum. They will find in them designs for establishments suited to towns of various sizes, with estimates of working expenses of each; abstracts of the Acts of Parliament which have been passed to aid such plans; copious regulations for management, extending both to servants and customers; and even the most convenient forms of account books and tickets for checking the business done: in short, all that practical sagacity and experience has taught them to be conducive to success. They have studied the subject in all its bearings, and offer the fruit of their labours for the public benefit. As is well observed in their Engineer's Report, 'the plans which experience has shown to be the best, should be carefully followed.' For instance, in the contrivances for supplying to, and withdrawing the water from, the baths. 'In the summer, when it is difficult to accommodate all who apply for baths, one minute saved in filling or in emptying a bath is important. Upon 1,000 baths such a saving would be equal to the addition of four baths for eight hours each to the establishment, producing, when fully employed, sixteen shillings a day.'

Notwithstanding all that has been already done, there still remains a large field in which these establishments have not

been tried. London has not yet reached more than one bath to every three of the population *per annum*. And in many other places baths are quite unknown, or a prejudice exists against them. At the outset of their labours, the Metropolitan Committee found it not merely necessary to arouse the attention of the working classes to the evils consequent upon uncleanness, but even to combat a very generally received theory, that warm baths were injurious, as they rendered a workman liable to take cold, and had besides a weakening effect. They accordingly procured a medical certificate, signed by the Presidents and Vice Presidents of the Royal Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons, and by almost every practitioner connected with the London Hospitals, testifying that such fears were groundless, and adding their opinion, 'that if London were fully supplied with public Baths, warm and cold, and Washhouses, and they were properly made use of, the amount and severity of disease, and the number of deaths, would be materially diminished.'

It might be instructive to mark the progress of this movement in England, and on the continent of Europe. In the latter we see the Government almost invariably taking the initiative, voting vast sums for the erection of suitable buildings, careful to obtain the fullest information on the subject, and adopting at once gladly, and with an honourable recognition of the architect's merits, the designs planned by Mr. Baly. Here, on the contrary, although the importance of the question can hardly be over-rated, it is left in the hands of a few private persons, and to the promptings of individual liberality, and regard for the condition of the poor. It would not be compatible with the space assigned us to describe fully the difficulties which the Committee had to encounter. The papers written by Mr. Bullar were regarded as legitimate subjects of ridicule; the arguments used by scientific and practical men, such as Mr. Cotton and Mr. Hawes, were looked upon as instances of the strange theories broached by well meaning but visionary philanthropists. And when all this prejudice had been surmounted, and an effectual start had been given to the proposal for establishing these institutions, whilst the real difficulties were found greater than had been anticipated, the subscriptions fell short of what might have been hoped and was actually required. It was no slight demand upon the philanthropy of those who advocated even so good a cause, to expect them at once to give their valuable time and scientific ability, and to furnish the funds out of their own pockets. When the munificent sums given by the Chairman, Trustees, and other Members of the Committee failed, the whole Committee undertook to become securities for the expenditure, and thus made themselves personally liable for an amount of nearly £26,000.

But although they passed through such embarrassments, and met with such apparent neglect from the public; although those who would not lend a helping hand, criticized their lavish expenditure

of money, and declared their object was unattainable; although, as we have quoted, even French engineers of eminence questioned the possibility of their succeeding in their attempts to dry things at once cheaply and quickly; their perseverance triumphed at last. Whether any Government would have achieved such a triumph, is more than doubtful: certainly one which ruled over a people with so 'healthy an impatience of taxation' as ourselves, would have been afraid to risk so much on an uncertain result. And it is perhaps true, that we find a counterbalancing advantage to the continental practice, by which all such measures emanate from the ruling powers. If on the one system we have greater freedom from pecuniary difficulty, and a quicker performance of the undertaking, on the other we have more of individual energy and ingenuity, and greater heartiness in the promoters.

In the case before us, great praise is due to the energy and ability of the Metropolitan Committee. They had, in their endeavours to improve the physical and moral condition of the working classes, to deal with masses of such vast size, and with evils which, through long neglect, had grown so great, that it was manifestly hopeless to expect a permanent reformation by the agency of any eleemosynary institutions. Mere voluntary relief, though freely accorded in many instances, would not have sufficed to maintain, constantly and efficiently, establishments which were almost unheard of, and whose benefits the public had not learned to appreciate. One of the essentials of success, therefore, was, that the Baths and Washhouses should be *self-supporting*, and the difficulty lay in combining this essential with such charges as should place them fairly within the reach of the poor. That difficulty the Committee fairly met and grappled with. They have solved a great social problem. They have proved, that the remedy required by humanity and morality is not incompatible with the stern demands of political economy. They have demonstrated, most satisfactorily, that dirt need not necessarily be the companion of poverty, and that the working classes of the community need not be subjected to an evil at once degrading and injurious. And all this has been so arranged, that, to use the words of their published Statement, 'no honest blush need cross the mechanic's face at receiving here a dole of charity: he is enabled to pay for the benefit he receives, and he is only bound by that reasonable tie of gratitude to those whose position, influence, and skill have practically devised those means for his comfort, the acknowledgment of which is alike honourable to the recipient and the donor.' They have made a great advancement towards investing labour with its proper dignity, by relieving it from what was before an almost inseparable union with dirt. Had their efforts failed, we must have admired their good intentions: as it is, we heartily honour and congratulate the success with which their perseverance has been rewarded.

ART. IX.—*Bothwell; a Poem, in Six Parts.* By W. E. AYTOUN, D.C.L. Blackwood and Sons. 1856.

THE title of this poem does not express its principal attraction; but it certainly suggests it. In the sphere where Darnley, or Rizzio, or Bothwell, is the hero, the same unfortunate Mary is heroine and star.

The interest which has gathered round the person and memory of the Queen of Scots has no historic parallel. In drama, ballad, and romance, she makes a thousand fresh appearances, and lives through all in perpetual youth and sorrow. Yet it is not difficult to account for this phenomenon. Of rank so high, and a beauty so incomparable, it needed only the pensive shadow of those misfortunes which so early overclouded both, to render the person of Mary Stuart the most attractive object in the illuminated page of history. But these great elements of interest, which cast their spell upon the contemporaries of the Scottish Queen, were susceptible at least of one addition; and this has been added in that veil of mystery which time has woven around the features of her character. There is even another spell which has not been wanting to perfect the enchantment. Such is the strange bias of human nature, that the charm is rather heightened than diminished by imputations of the most serious kind; and, perhaps, the suspicion of frailty has gained the Queen of Scots as many advocates as the certainty of her misfortunes,—so much more amiable does her weakness show than the rude strength of her imperious rival. From all these causes the chivalry of manhood has ever been enlisted on her side. It even now encompasses her memory like a guard of honour. It has added the zeal of a partizan to the fervour of the poet, and quickened the historian's sober pace into the poet's livelier measure.

We have no present controversy with Mr. Aytoun on this disputed subject. Our task, indeed, is comparatively light and unimportant. We propose to give a brief description of the poem now before us, to present the reader with one or two passages illustrative of its general style, and to offer a very few remarks upon its character and merits. Perhaps the verses we shall quote, if not the observations which precede and follow them, may serve the purpose of a pleasant interlude to lighten the effect of graver themes.

If disputation were our object, the work of Mr. Aytoun would certainly afford an ample opportunity. In measured text, and in notes beyond due measure, he extols the virtues of the hapless Queen of Scotland. His version of the story is substantially that of Miss Strickland; his theory equally extreme, his tone similarly enthusiastic. It is notable, indeed, that the

partizans of Mary Stuart are incapable of moderation. They are her champions against all comers, and challenge the authors of every imputation. Thus Mr. Aytoun not only justifies the conduct of his lovely heroine, but makes her connexion with Bothwell, instead of a ground of reproach, the cause of additional sympathy and love. This is at least the side of charity; and what is more to the present purpose, it is essentially that which best answers the demands of poetry and art.

The scene of the poem—which assumes the form of a lyrical monologue, and is divided into six strophes or parts—is laid in the fortress of Malmoe, on the coast of Norway, where Bothwell was confined for many years, and where it is said he perished in a state of misery and madness. The wretched prisoner is supposed to break into a mingled strain of rage, invective, and remorse, which gradually takes the shape of reminiscence and confession. The incidents of Bothwell's career, as repeated by himself, are made to throw a powerful light on the features of his character. He is represented as brave and unscrupulous, the slave of fierce passions, and the tool of craftier men. Early smitten with admiration of the grace and beauty of his Sovereign, he is inspired with a chivalrous devotion in her cause. From the moment when he first beholds her stepping upon her native shores, 'the widow child of France,' a sentiment of ardent gallantry quickens the pulses of his loyal zeal; and this sentiment is deepened by a visit of courtesy from the Queen in person, made to the Earl when he lay wounded after a desperate encounter with a border ruffian, 'John Elliot of the Park.' For some time his fidelity remains untainted. But the successful suit of Darnley is quickly followed by neglect, and infidelity, and petty tyranny on his part, and by visible wretchedness on that of Mary. The sight of this unhappiness in the object of his devoted loyalty wakens the wrath of Bothwell. Darnley had met with his contempt from the first, and now inspires him with the most ferocious hatred. The murder of Riccio by the royal dastard brings this feeling to a crisis; and when a second conspiracy is formed against Darnley himself, the tempter in the shape of Lethington finds Bothwell a ready instrument. At this part of the narrative a rather trite comparison is very skilfully re-produced.

' They say that in those northern seas,
 Far out from human view,
 There lies a huge and whirling pit,
 As deep as though the globe were split
 To let the waters through;
 All round and round for many a mile
 Spreads the strong tide's resistless coil;
 And if a ship should chance to pass
 Within the Maelstrom's sweep,

Nor helm nor sail will then avail
To drive her through the deep.
Headlong she rolls on racing waves,
Still narrowing in her round,
Still drawn towards the awful brim
Of that abyss profound.
Then one sharp whirl, one giant surge,
A lurch, a plunge, a yell,—
And down for ever goes the ship
Into the raging hell!
God wot, I am not fanciful;
But from that fatal day
When first I leagued with other men
And left my open way,
No power had I to check my course,
No will to pause or stay.
They knew that I was proud and bold,
And foremost still would go,
Where danger waited in the path,
Nor ever count the foe.
And they had read my secret heart,
And set their cunning snare;
O, had my only thought been love,
They 'd not have bound me there!

We cannot better indicate the course and quality of Mr. Aytoun's poem, than by presenting a further extract in continuation of these lines. We omit the conference with Lethington, and take up the narrative at the point of his success, —when Bothwell, blinded by his twofold passion of love and hatred, consents to become the tool of the conspirators, to accomplish their design and bear their odium of guilt. The passage is long; but the quotation is not superfluous.

'I yielded; for the deed proposed
Was nothing new or strange.
Though ne'er a Lord in Scotland stirr'd,
My purpose, oath, and secret word,
Had known nor check nor change.
Men feel by instinct, swift as light,
The presence of the foe,
Whom God has marked in after years
To strike the mortal blow;
The other, though his brand be sheathed
In banquet or in hall,
Hath a forebodement of the time
When one or both must fall.
That bodement darkened on my soul,
When first I set my eye
On Darnley in his trim attire,
All youth, and mirth, and hope, and fire,
A blazon'd butterfly.

Bothwell: a Poem.

Methought I saw, like northern seers
When shadowed by the cloud,
Around his pomp and bravery
The phantom of a shroud :
It chill'd me then, it haunts me now—
Let this at least be said,
No thought of murder crossed my mind
Till David Riccio bled.
Then I was free to do and dare ;
And often in a dream,
When through the corridors of sleep
Rang Mary's piercing scream,
The scene would change from Holyrood
To some sequestered glen,
Where I and Darnley met alone,
Apart from other men.
How often have we twain been thrown
In death-lock on the sand,
Eye fixed to eye, breath meeting breath,
And steel in either hand !
And I have wakened, panting sore,
My forehead wet with dew,
More shaken by the fancied strife
Than any that was true.

They prate of murder—'t is a word
Most odious to the ear,
Condemn'd alike by God and man :
But peer may meet with peer.
If laggard laws delay redress
For insult or for wrong,
There is no arbiter like steel,
So steady and so strong.
Then they contend on equal ground,
And equal arms they wield ;
What does the Knight or Captain more
Who strikes in tented field ?
And—by the sun that shines above !—
Had fate ordained it so,
That I and Darnley might have met,
In combat, foe to foe,
One half my life when life was prized
Were ransom all too poor,
For one bare hour, 'twixt dawn and mirk,
Of combat on the moor !

But kings—forsooth, they called him King !—
Are now content to claim
Exemption from the knightly rule,
And skulk behind their name.
They are not, as in Arthur's days,
When chivalry began,

Prompt to repel the' accuser's voice
And meet him, man to man.
They are not valiant like the Bruce,
That fearless Prince and Knight,
Aye ready with his stalwart hand
To justify his right—
Not valiant, as was royal James,
Who died on Flodden Field,
The best and bravest of his race,
Unknowing how to yield.
They sit behind their silken screens,
And fence them with the guard,
Their archers and their bandoleers,
Like women kept in ward.
No reckoning give they for their deeds,
Whatever those may be ;
Too high was Darnley in his place
To measure swords with me.
I hold the creed that earthly wrong
On earth must be repaid ;
And if the battle be denied,
And law is drugg'd, and stupified,
Why—vengeance comes in aid !

What else ? I care not for the tales
I heard in earlier years,
Which my old teacher strove to thrust
In most unwilling ears ;
Of Greeks—I think he call'd them that—
Whose weapon was the knife,
Who for some wretched servile cause
Let out a tyrant's life ;
Of Romans, nearer to our times,
Who butcher'd Cæsar so,—
Base villain churls, who wreak'd their hate
On one so high and grand and great,
Because they stood so low !
When perfect nobleness remains
To fence a royal crown ;
When honour, faith, and chivalry,
Are prized beyond renown ;
When God's vicegerents on the earth
Know how to rule and shine
With splendour as becomes their place,—
Then is their right divine.
But Darnley—fie ! why speak of him
As royal, brave, or leal ?
He was an adder in my path,—
I crush'd him with my heel !

Few readers will be disposed to deny that these are vigorous and clever verses : of their claim to the higher name of poetry

we will speak by and bye. In the meantime, let us own that the character of Earl Bothwell is well conceived; it is sustained, moreover, with spirit and consistency throughout. If not such as Darnley's murderer was, we promptly recognise it as what he might have been. The picture is true to Bothwell's order, and to Bothwell's age; and, looking deeper into the motives and purposes of this rude lowland chief, we fear that it is eminently true to human nature also. The danger of such portraiture as this arises from the tendency, common to author and reader, of losing sight of what is base and unprincipled in the hero, because of what is frank and noble in the outward bearing. Mr. Aytoun may not have intended to do more than redeem the character of Bothwell from contempt and detestation; but a hero must have heroic qualities. Besides, the poet will indulge sometimes in lofty sentiment; and as all that is uttered in this monologue must come from the lips of a flagitious personage, every shade of tenderness, and every hallowed allusion, has only the effect of exalting our esteem for one who yet rejects with scorn the penitence and pardon of which he stands so much in need. We do not say that this mixture of good and evil might not be justified by reference to fact; but such a defence would be only an evasion of the charge; for the true appeal of art is to the uncorrupted moral sense,—a sense that is infinitely delicate as well as pure; that is affronted first, but eventually seduced, by every form of exaggeration and confusion; by every sentiment which seems to praise or palliate an unworthy impulse; by every character, or scene, or word which dares to enlist our sympathies on behalf of what is less than truth or lower than virtue.

But there is little ground for apprehension, though there is some room for censure, in the case before us. *Bothwell* is no great poem, destined to influence our own and future times. It is simply a clever metrical romance; not original either in plot, or form, or style; not manifesting a single element of greatness; not importing into the reader's mind one novel thought, nor leaving it under any sense of peculiar or commanding power. Mr. Aytoun has just that measure of the poetic faculty which can appreciate the use and simulate the possession of all these rare endowments, and which consists chiefly in moderate feeling and dexterous imitation. He has the poetic temperament, but lacks the creative power of poetry. His genius is no living well, no bubbling and perpetual spring; but he has a talent which employs itself in erecting pleasant fountains, in diverting at vast pains some neighbouring or historic water-bed, in adapting every resource of natural law and applied science to hurl his pretty jet into the air. We applaud his ingenuity, but cannot reverence his genius. We admire the construction of his fountain of lions; but the issuing stream itself reminds us too frequently of the hydraulic pump.

We had marked some other passages of this poem for quotation; and many of them would have favourably impressed the reader's mind, though all, we think, would have sustained the general truth of our remarks. But we must limit ourselves to one short extract more: and as it is in the description of incident rather than of character that a poet of Mr. Aytoun's stamp has naturally most success, we select the account of Darnley's murder, commencing at a point when the conspiracy is already ripe, and the catastrophe imminent. Bothwell is waiting anxiously outside the Kirk of Field, where he is joined by the men who have placed the powder and lighted the match in a room below the chamber of the King.

'Down came the rain with steady power,
It splashed the pools among our feet;
Each minute seemed in length an hour,
As each went by, yet incomplete.
"Hell! should it fail, our plot is vain!
Bolton, you have mislaid the light!
Give me the key—I'll fire the train,
Though I be partner of his flight!"
"Stay, stay, my Lord! you shall not go,
T'were madness now to near the place;
The soldier's fuses burn but slow;
Abide, abide a little space!
There's time enough"—

He said no more,
For at the instant flashed the glare,
And with a hoarse infernal roar
A blaze went up and filled the air!
Rafters, and stones, and bodies rose
In one quick gush of blinding flame,
And down and down amidst the dark
Hurling on every side they came.
Surely the devil tarried near,
To make the blast more fierce and fell,
For never pealed on human ear
So dreadful and so dire a knell.
The heavens took up the earth's dismay;
The thunder bellowed overhead;
Steep called to steep. Away, away!—
Then fear fell on me, and I fled.
For I was dazzled and amazed—
A fire was flashing in my brain—
I hasted like a creature crazed,
Who strives to overrun his pain.
I took the least frequented road,
But even there arose a hum;
Lights showed in every vile abode,
And far away I heard the drum.

Roused was the city late so still ;
 Burghers half-clad ran hurrying by ;
 Old crones came forth and scolded shrill,
 Men shouted challenge and reply.
 Yet no one dared to cross my path,
 My hand was on my dagger's hilt ;
 Fear is as terrible as wrath,
 And vengeance not more fierce than guilt.
 I would have stricken to the heart
 Whoever should have stopp'd me then ;
 None saw me from the palace part,
 None saw me enter it again.
 Ah ! but I heard a whisper pass,
 It thrill'd me as I reach'd the door :
Welcome to thee, the knight that was,
The felon now for evermore !

Every one will recognise some kind of power in this description ; but it is certainly not poetic power. It is the product, not of a plastic imagination, but of sheer intellect and literary craft, with no small aid (or hindrance) from the memory of books and models. It is in originality—the all-in-all of every real poet—that Mr. Aytoun fails. His 'Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers' were Highland echoes of the 'Lays of Ancient Rome ;' and what is 'Bothwell' but a strenuous effort to revive the muse, and perhaps to rival the 'Marmion,' of Walter Scott? It is true that 'Bothwell' is divided into 'parts,' and 'Marmion' into 'cantos ;' but in number, measure, and complexion, the series is on both sides equal ; and six peas in one pod could not more nearly resemble six peas in another. Perhaps the author felt instinctively that to write 'canto' instead of 'part' would have made the imitation too obvious and complete.

There are many proofs scattered throughout this poem of its artificial origin. The whole is marked rather by energy and force than by genuine fire or profound feeling. The versification is harsh and mechanical, without either variety of cadence or felicity of phrase. We meet with little passages inlaid from other poems : thus the Tempter is called once more a 'juggling fiend ;' and some one here, like one elsewhere, is bowed 'before St. Mary's shrine.' There is also a great paucity of poetic epithets ; and though Mr. Aytoun—in his capacity of satirist or critic—may ridicule the redundant imagery and excessive word-painting of our younger minstrels, yet when he assumes the lyre himself, it would be well if he could add something of their 'idealism' and 'language' to his own 'constructiveness.'

- ART. X.—1. *Reports of the various Missionary Societies for 1856.*
 2. *Westminster Review. New Series. No. XIX. July, 1856.*
 3. *North British Review. No. L. August, 1856.*

THE *Westminster Review* has lately rendered a great and peculiar service to Christian Missions. Every good cause stands in need of some opposition; the value of which may be nicely estimated by the amount of ignorance and unfairness which the opponent betrays. Missions have appeared in danger of losing this valuable auxiliary; for, of late years, encouragement and approval have been freely bestowed upon them from the quarters whence, in former times, the opposite treatment was received. Colonial Governors and officials have so modified their tone, that scarcely a year now passes without producing a Blue Book, in which evidence is given to the value of missionary labours by men writing with local knowledge, and under the check of public responsibility: the Captains of men-of-war report, every now and then, from the most distant parts of the world, scenes which they beheld with surprise: travellers, for the most part, have ceased to sneer at Missions, and often earnestly commend them: naturalists have been known to speak in their favour with unusual warmth: the colonial press has become universally respectful to them, and many of its most intelligent representatives cordially espouse their cause; and even the servants of the East India Government,—of old time, the private and public foes of Missions, pledged by policy to thwart them, embittered by habits of life against their representatives,—have as a rule ceased to discourage, much more to oppose them, while many, not the least distinguished in that service, have become their zealous advocates and supporters.

Our home press still chooses to remain so little acquainted with the greatest moral movement of the age, that when a daily journal does make an allusion to any point bearing on Missions, it is generally in a strain so unintelligent, as to provoke the smiles of readers who are acquainted with the subject; yet even here a manifest improvement of tone is perceptible, and when an innuendo is uttered, it is often plainly due, rather to the ignorance of religious matters of which men of the world are not ashamed, than to settled hostile feeling. One of the highest members of the periodical press, the *Quarterly Review*, has done itself honour by papers on Missions, written not only with cordiality toward the efforts of the Church, as a whole, but with truly unsectarian appreciation of the work wrought by its different branches. Indeed, the opposition from reputable quarters has almost dwindled to an occasional letter in the *Times*, from some returned Indian officer, of tastes and habits rendering him as fit to report on religious movements, as the most pious Mis-

sionary, in Hindustan, would be to report on the condition of the British turf. Even the *Times* has lately published a leading article of great ability, ridiculing the old arguments by which Christian labours were discountenanced, and our public support of Heathenism and barbarism vindicated.

Under these circumstances it is a real curiosity to find a journal with the rank of a Quarterly Review, approaching the question of Christian Missions in a spirit of downright animosity, disguised only far enough to serve artistic purposes, not to provoke the least charge of dissimulation; and deliberately sacrificing even the pretence of fair play or good information, in the eyes of all men who are acquainted with the subject, for the sake of making a strong impression on those who have not studied it. The day for paper vindications of Missions is past: they must now maintain their argument on the open field of action; and accredit themselves to the public, not by the tact of advocates, but by the value of results. Although, however, we should no more think of vindicating Christian Missions against the aspersions of the *Westminster Review*, than of vindicating British rule against those of the King of Naples, we gladly avail ourselves of the occasion it has offered, to show the friends of Missions how low their opponents have descended, and to review some of the leading principles and facts involved in a movement as to which we make no pretence of indifference, but frankly avow that our heart is in it, and that we believe it worthy of all the heart of the best men that breathe.

Since the appearance of the article in the *Westminster*, one on the same subject has been published in the *North British Review*, which has the peculiarity of being neither by an enemy nor an advocate. The reviewer in this case, though free from enthusiasm for Missions, is friendly so far as he understands them; but the whole effect of the article is to make one regret the days when our northern contemporary, under the editorship of Dr. Welch and Dr. Hanna, took its moral tone from the Free Church; and to confirm the fear that its alliance with a certain stirring party in the Church of England would lead to anything but an improvement in its religious tendencies.

Both the Reviews referred to have adopted a plan, in treating the subject, which we shall avoid,—that of placing Romish and Protestant Missions side by side, as somewhat contrasting, yet kindred, parts of one whole. This we consider to be both confusing as to the impression it makes on the reader, and unfair to each of the parties. The Church of Rome claims to be considered not only as apart from all other forms of Christianity, but as essentially and on eternal principle opposed to them; while most Protestants who engage in missionary enterprise, look upon Romish Missions, and the propagation of Christianity, as two things so materially differing from each other, that they can

never be justly treated in common. To the Romish Missionaries we shall ever render the one great praise to which their deeds well entitle them,—that of extraordinary and, in many cases, heroic self-devotion; a stern superiority to comfort, gain, and even the love of life; a soldierly front for danger, and a traveller's heart for toil; which—attribute it to what motive you may, of sect, or self-seeking, or aught else—still remains in their accredited records, a glorious spectacle of sacrifice. But the same justice which would lead us to extol many of the men, in this respect, would require us to review their modes of proceeding, and the fruit of their labours, by the standard of primitive Christianity; and interesting as this would be, we must keep it totally apart from that propagation of the Gospel which we are prepared to defend and exult in.

Before giving our own views as to the present results and aspects of Missions, it will, perhaps, be well to consider some of the objections brought against the principles on which they proceed, and the practice they evolve. In doing so, for the sake of having something specific, we shall refer to those advanced by the two Reviews already named, again cautioning our readers against supposing that we place both in the same category. The objections of the *North British* are those of a critic, not of a foe; and one, we doubt not, whose appreciation of Missions will rise, if he improve his practical acquaintance with them. The *Westminster*, on the other hand, rejects the principles, condemns the motives, brings heavy accusations against the practice, denies the usefulness, insinuates malversation against the managers, and discourages the support of Missions; leaving nothing unsaid that can tend to persuade its readers that they are a curse, instead of a blessing, to the Heathen, and their support a morbid and foolish extravagance, instead of a virtue, on the part of the religious public. We feel the more free in handling these objections, because it happens, singularly, that not one of the cases selected to support its charges is connected with the particular Missionary Society in which we have the nearest interest, which, though far larger than any other in the Protestant world, and offering, consequently, more points of attack, has, in this case, by some singular change of its usual fortunes, escaped; a circumstance on which we by no means congratulate it, but which offers us the one advantage of speaking without the appearance of being put upon our own especial defence. The American Missions in the Sandwich Isles and Liberia, those of the Church Missionary Society in New Zealand, and especially those of the London Missionary Society in Tahiti, are the fields on which the common cause is assailed. The Moravians have the misfortune to be complimented, and that, too, *mirabile dictu*, on the ground that they aim

first at civilization, and subsequently at faith; a piece of information which they will receive with more surprise than credence. On this point the *North British* is better informed; it says:—

‘Their mode of introducing Christianity is by preaching, without a prelude of natural religion, the good news of the mission and death of Christ. They consider that they have now learned, from more than a century’s experience, that this is the most effectual way of approaching uneducated savages, the class of Heathens towards whom their efforts have been almost exclusively directed.’—*North British Review*, p. 335.

The charge which the *Westminster* recurs to most frequently, is one affecting the very fountain of missionary motive; it cannot bear the idea of men being animated by the desire of saving souls from perishing, and leading them to eternal bliss. To it no thought seems so intolerable as this, *Without holiness no man can see the Lord*; no superstition so despicable as the belief that *the wicked shall be turned into hell*. It does not deny that the moral kingdom, over which reigns the eternal King, abounds with criminals; but that they are, as criminals, exposed to prison and punishment, if they repent not, is to it a cruel dogma. Yet we presume that, in any other government, it would admit that when crime had arisen, a measured punishment, awarded by a slow and forbearing justice, was both free from cruelty, and the only safeguard whereby benevolence could uphold the public security and repose, without which all happiness must die.

The object of Missions, it contends, ought to be only to raise savages to civilization, or to bring monotheists of low types farther forward; and it seems to admit only of two classes of Missions,—one with these objects, and one with that of saving as many souls as possible *by baptism*. This last is an ingenious confusion, throwing the odium of Romish ritualism upon evangelical Churches: but the Missions with which they have to do belong to neither of these classes; their object is to convert sinners from the error of their ways, and, by so doing, to save souls from death, and hide a multitude of sins. They do not regard baptism as insuring salvation, yet they reverently and hopefully baptize; they do not regard civilization as their object, yet they know that by converting the soul they take the shortest and soundest method of civilizing. Experience has confirmed, what Christianity had before taught, that to establish good institutions in any community, you must first have good men; and they know, by the double evidence of these two guides, that he is the best friend of all progress and amelioration, either in savage or civilized lands, who brings most men to lead a holy life, by faith in the Son of God. Where this result, holy living, is not attained, whether there has been baptism or not, professed conversion to Christianity or not, they proclaim to the world that

their object has not been gained. The attempt to confound their theory of salvation with that of Rome is not worthy even of the *Westminster*, and, therefore, we deeply regret to find the *North British* adopting the same course. Alluding to the well-known practice of Romish Missionaries to baptize children of heathen parents by stealth, it says:—

‘These children are *saved*, by this surreptitious sprinkling, from that bitter wrath of their Heavenly Father, to which their innocent souls would otherwise have fallen victims. The same idea appears in the following extract from an American Missionary Report, which has been quoted and deservedly chastised by Bishop Colenso in his pleasant and genial *Ten Weeks in Natal*.—*North British Review*, p. 317.

The same idea appears: this assertion is without a shadow of foundation. The extract is too long for us to give; but no allusion whatever to salvation by virtue of mere baptism, or nominal Christianity of any kind, is to be found in it. Bishop Colenso has not displayed an extreme of diffidence or judgment in some of his well-meant efforts to set men right on certain African matters who knew ten times more of them than himself; but we must say, that his admirer here, in finding the Romish doctrine of salvation by surreptitious sprinkling in the American Reports, bids fair to surpass him. The writer goes on to accuse those who believe the souls of the Heathen to be in a state of imminent peril of enthroning ‘the Evil Principle in heaven,’ of believing that God has decreed the perdition ‘of the vast majority of His creatures for no fault or sin of theirs,’ and of regarding Him as ‘a destroyer of the guiltless;’ and then adds:—

‘It needs not exaggerations such as these to supply a sufficient motive for missionary enterprises. Our object is to introduce Christianity with all the blessings that accompany it,—its true views of God, its ennobling motives, its pure morality; the elevation of life and manners, the civilization, the knowledge, even the material progress, which are sure to follow in its train. And we may leave it to God Himself, to decide how the benefits of Christ will be extended to those whom it has pleased Him to permit to live and die in ignorance of His Gospel; confident, that the same rule of perfect justice, tempered with boundless mercy, has one uniform application everywhere and to all.’—*North British Review*, pp. 317, 183.

With every word of the *last* sentence we cordially concur. But if the ‘same rule of perfect justice, tempered with boundless mercy,’ be uniformly applied to all, then on what score are we to look hopefully to the future of the Heathen, whose moral practice, as a whole, with exceptions, real, we know, but strangely and distressingly rare, is precisely that depicted in such fearful colours by the hand of St. Paul in the first chapter of Romans? We take it for granted that the writer in the *North British* is incapable of intentional misrepresentation; but this throws us

upon the necessity of supposing that he actually takes the belief of evangelical Christians to be, that the Heathen are to perish because they are Heathen, and Christians to be saved because they are Christians, on the principle of, No salvation out of the Church, no perdition within it. Such caricatures are freely dashed off by the school, to one of whose shades we do not doubt that the reviewer belongs; but they are as unworthy of professed haters of sectarianism, as they are odious to those who are burlesqued. If it be unquestionable that in heathen lands almost every man habitually lives in sins, respecting which the 'law written on his heart,' speaking by the voice of 'conscience, accuses him,' on what ground are we to expect them to enter the kingdom of God, unless it be that, because they had not the Gospel, they are to be saved, whether righteous or wicked, judged by the light they had? If the *North British* mean this, it is consistent; if it do not, it must either deny the general wickedness prevalent in heathen countries, or be convicted of uttering horrible accusations, on the most imperfect apprehension of what it meant.

According to the views of the evangelical Churches, Christians, so called, are not to be saved because they have learned and professed the Gospel, nor the Heathen to be lost because they have been left to 'live and die in ignorance of the Gospel;' but under one rule of 'justice, tempered with boundless mercy,' all shall stand before the same judgment-seat, and then *tribulation and anguish, upon every soul of man that doeth evil, of the Jew first, and also of the Gentile; but glory, honour, and peace, to every man that worketh good, to the Jew first, and also to the Gentile: for there is no respect of persons with God. For as many as have sinned without law shall also perish without law: and as many as have sinned in the law shall be judged by the law.* (Rom. ii. 9-12.) 'How the benefit of Christ shall be extended' to any who, without knowledge of the Gospel, may have served God according to their light, we have no information, and need none; but of the fact, that all who do not so serve Him are guilty, and will be dealt with, in justice meted out, and balanced with all the sanctity of Infinite Right, we have full and solemn testimony; and the practical question is, How many are to be found in heathen lands who are exceptions to that class? Are cases like that of Cornelius so numerous as to warrant us in looking without pungent solicitude on the souls of the Heathen?

To be furnished by the *Westminster Review* with a statement of the objects of Christian Missions, which did not include the salvation of souls from death, would surprise no one; but when it is offered to us by the *North British*, we feel both surprise and regret, the regret arising from the remembrance of better days.

If our reader will again look to the sentence quoted above, (the last but one in the extract,) he will find that this object is studiously excluded. The joy of *saving a soul from death* is kept out of sight, and meant to be: St. James is forgotten; St. Paul's word, *If by any means I might save some*, is forgotten; the object of the primitive Christians, that heavenly object which bore them through blood and fire, bore them over seas and tempests, bore them hither to our once heathen shores, the object of bringing men from the broad road which leadeth to destruction into the narrow one which leadeth to life everlasting, is to be slighted, and more moderate ones cherished. We do not wait to show that finite ends do not waken up the whole soul of a man, which has depths that echo only to a voice from the infinite; that he who has the hope of witnessing infinite happiness, of which his own labour was the instrument, will spend and be spent, as he would not do to impart some comparatively slight benefit; that therefore, as a means for enlisting men to peril their all in evangelizing the world, any scheme which excludes from view the cardinal object of saving souls is hopelessly feeble; but we at once say that, in common honesty, no such scheme ought to set up a claim of kindred with apostolic Christianity. We do not believe the man lives who can conceive of Paul's great heart submitting to be 'moderated' by some Broad Christian into desires for enlightenment and amelioration, restraining its throbs in the sense of fellowship with the infinite object of Christ, its zeal of wrestling with principalities and powers, its glorying in the prospect of presenting men, found *hateful, and hating one another*, before God, redeemed through the Gospel of His Son from all their sins.

What any man may tell us as to what affords 'a sufficient motive for missionary enterprises,' will impress us just in proportion as it approaches the object which the Father of souls set before the chief of Missionaries, when He commissioned him to go to those who had revelation and those who had it not: *To whom [both Jews and Gentiles] now I send thee, to open their eyes, and to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they may receive forgiveness of sins, and inheritance among them that are sanctified, by faith that is in Me.* He who tells us that to set before us the object of turning men from Satan to God, implies that we regard them as now under the dominion of Satan, and in danger of his final condemnation, tells what is an old truth, announced from heaven, which was *as fire in the bones* of the greatest merely human benefactor of mankind, who ever shocked the feelings of those who cannot bear to pronounce against evils which have many followers, or to proclaim a woe, in order to escape which multitudes must be disturbed. The glorious hope of bringing men whom he found in darkness, and in the power of Satan, to God

and to forgiveness on earth, then to inheritance among the sanctified hereafter, made Paul's life of perils a life of 'more than conquest;' and may every hand falter that would hinder modern Missionaries from catching the very same inspiration, and being inflamed with the same hope! Of all the facts in human experience, none is more evident than this, that had the early Christians not been fired with the zeal of saving souls, Britain would be a heathen land this day, perhaps as miserable as Madagascar.

As the evangelistic work of the Church is but the instrumental co-operation of human agents in the Divine scheme for regenerating fallen men, we naturally look for the model, at once of our motives and procedure, to the Fountain of redemption. We read, *God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on Him should not perish, but have everlasting life.* Here we have the model of our motive,—love; of the manifestation of that motive,—the sacrifice of that which is most dear to us; and of the object we are to hold in view,—saving men from perishing, raising them to everlasting life. The love whence our efforts and sacrifices ought to spring is not love only for the sinner, but primarily love for God the Redeemer, inflaming us at the same moment with zeal for His glory, and compassion for our fellow-men. A motive is a subjective impulse, not an external object; and depends on our nature: for the object appeals in vain to a nature that is not sympathetic; and, in fact, the same object awakes in one heart aversion, and in another a lively response. No man whose own soul has never glowed under a Divine experience of God's love to himself, love that made him, preserved him, bore with his offences, bought his redemption, wooed and led him to repentance, and accepted him forgivingly when he penitently sought mercy; love that fills him with a life new and marvellous to himself, and makes him wonder and weep that he could so long have been a stranger to a God so blessed, so long have neglected a salvation so unspeakable,—can tell how the whole missionary impulse springs up with a new nature, the immediate result of the restoration of God's image.

From this follows a fact of which critics of Missions ought never to lose sight,—that the distinction between the home and the foreign labours of the Church is much more geographical than moral: for her effort is not to convert Pagans from Paganism, but to convert sinners from their sins, whether they be nominally of one creed or of another. The normal condition of the Christian Church is one of incessant activity in search of wandering men, endeavouring by every instruction and entreaty to win them from the error of their ways. Since the modern Church first undertook foreign Missions, she has redoubled her labours in kindred spheres at home. City Missions, Ragged

Schools, and many other branches of effort for classes of the population which lay beyond the ordinary and established ministrations of Christianity, are but an expression of the same feeling which has given birth to our Missions in New Zealand and Bengal. Missionary zeal is not anxiety for men who are removed by a certain distance, or distinguished by some savage or romantic peculiarities; but a concern for every man, whether far or near, who is a stranger to the fear and love of God. He may believe all the articles of religion, receive its sacraments, shine in talent, immortalize his name in legislative debate, or even dispense public justice; and yet, if he be the slave of sin, Christian zeal regards him as treading the downward road, and needing conversion as much as the Hindu or the Feejeean,—the difference between them being that, with light which these have not, his sins, if less barbarous, involve more guilt. Hence, instead of those who promote Missions to Pagans being indifferent to Heathenism at home, as men of the world, in their ignorance of the subject, frequently allege, the fact is, that whether the labourers or the contributors who do most to improve the moral condition of the lowest of our home population be examined, it will be found, as a matter of course, that they are chiefly the very same parties who sustain foreign Missions.

No true Missionary would give a man credit for Christian zeal, whatever he might think of his romance, who felt deeply concerned for the conversion of sinners in Canton, but was indifferent to that of those in his own vicinity; or would think of commending the liberality of one who would contribute freely to Christian objects far away, and be stingy towards those in his own neighbourhood, any more than that of a gentleman who would subscribe handsomely to a public hospital, but never pay his family doctor. The Church, in her primitive and normal state, was one animated missionary organization, acting upon all around her in a perpetually enlarging circle, none being too distant to excite sympathy when brought under her attention, none so familiar as to be overlooked. Whether at home or abroad, whether savage or civilized, whether trained in a pure creed, a corrupted Christianity, or a savage superstition, if men are found forgetting God, the Christian views them with the double longing of a loyal zeal to establish over revolted subjects the rightful authority of the supreme King, and of a benign yearning to turn them from folly and danger to everlasting life. A lower object than this must never be admitted; for while the higher one secures every lower, such as civilization, education, morality, everything which is 'lovely and of good report,' any of these aimed at alone is certainly missed. The Missionary must ever have in view, as his 'joy and crown of rejoicing,' redeemed souls in the day of the Lord; but he who

looks for this, will ever refuse to admit anything short of the manifestation of God's image upon earth, as a proof of heirship of heaven.

The *Westminster* objects as strongly to the mode of procedure adopted in Missions, as to the object which they propose; and if they mortally offend it by aiming to save souls, they almost equally offend by aiming to uproot existing beliefs:—

'It was a pretty strong confidence which led men forth to impose on a vast majority of mankind the dogmas and tastes of a very small minority; not to communicate proveable knowledge, it must be observed, but to impose dogmas, at the cost of eradicating beliefs, warring against all natural influences, local and moral, and thereby breaking the spring of the native character, and preparing a whole race for premature extinction.'—*Westminster Review*, p. 35.

It goes so far as to insist that the new faith induced can never be so 'congenial' as the old. When we read such things from those who affect philosophy, we are led to wonder that they never seem to think of applying the philosophic test of experience to questions affecting human society. For our own part, we have an impression that the Christian faith is, at this moment, as congenial to us of the British Islands as if it had been indigenous; and even those of whom we are speaking admit that we are wonderfully indebted to the men who drove before them the old abominations which our forefathers held for a faith, supplanting them by that which is now infinitely congenial to all the happiest men we know; and were it necessary that a time as long as from the days of the Druids to our own, should elapse before Polynesians and Asiatics differed as far from their present selves, as we from our remote ancestors, the prospect of effecting so great a change, even in so long a course of ages, would be sufficient to animate every noble heart.

The *Westminster* amusingly imagines that it brings a discovery before the religious world, in telling them that the enormities of Heathenism are frequently dignified by a foundation of faith:—

'By considerations of faith is the practice of the suttee sanctioned to the Hindus, as our readers may remember the English public learned through an admirable article on Major Ludlow and his Indian reforms, in the *Quarterly Review* of September, 1851. Unlike Major Ludlow, the sectarian Missionaries whom Exeter Hall sends forth pay no attention—much less respect—to observances which are no more the product of nothing than their own rites of Baptism and the Lord's Supper.'—Pp. 27, 28.

If it was exactly in September, 1851, that the *Westminster* first learned that suttee and the other cruelties of Hinduism were 'sanctioned by considerations of faith,' we must say, that our own acquaintances were aware of that fact somewhat earlier; and so far from the advocates of Missions forgetting the con-

nexion between faith and works, it will be found that they uniformly represent the barbarous practices which abound among the Heathen as the fruit of a corrupt religion; and that on this very ground they do the thing which is so severely reprehended,—attack beliefs; for while beliefs that lead men to commit crimes under the hope of religious merit exist, they will certainly be committed. But such is the exaggerated respect here shown to beliefs, that every one that exists is to have its way, however many it may murder or maim,—except only the belief of the Christian, which impels him to put a stop to all existing cruelty and misery, wherever he may find them, by the gentle expedient of casting out demoralizing illusions by the faith which is in Christ Jesus. Never has mankind beheld an enterprise which chased away so many horrors, or opened on nations so much of liberty, light, and improvement, as when first ‘a very small minority’ went forth to combat dogmas which bred enormities everywhere; and when, once more, after these dogmas had been permitted in great part to return with their attendant evils, a ‘small minority’ went forth to fight them again; not to ‘impose,’ but to offer in their stead, a faith which gives to the individual rest, and to society heavenly elements of amelioration.

Cordial as is the hatred shown by our competitor to Christianity and every thing connected therewith, perhaps few of our readers will be prepared to find that, even though it could, as we have seen, cast a ‘longing, lingering look’ back upon suttee, it would go so far as to reproach us for attacking cannibalism, because that institution too had a religious belief for its foundation. Lest we should be supposed to misrepresent, we will give a very long extract:—

‘If this test were applied, we fear it would be discovered that the well-meaning, but bigoted and conceited, Missionaries have destroyed the old graces without introducing any virtues which can be relied upon; just as all Missionaries go to work to root out the faiths by which men have lived, and thrust upon them another which can never be as congenial to them. It does not seem to have occurred to any of these special friends of the Heathen that there is a genuine religious faith at the root of the practice of cannibalism, and again of the suttee, and other pagan observances. It might do them good to learn that, man being a supposed compound of body and spirit, and the gods having decreed that all things should return into their origin, it may be a pious observance, however rude, to eat captives, or other resplendent offerings to the gods. The gods imbibe and assimilate the spirit as a man dies; and it is supposed to be pleasing to them that body should, in an analogous way, be assimilated by body. In Ellis’s *Polynesian Researches* this view is exhibited repeatedly and clearly. Our readers will probably remember the account, in the eighteenth chapter of the first volume, of the native notion of death:—That the spirit is drawn out of the body as the sword out of the

scabbard; and that it is conveyed to the region of Night, and there devoured by the gods, after being scraped with a shell by its deceased relations for the divine feast: and how, if it was not finished at once, but divided into three meals, it came forth immortal. The corresponding body, if eaten in a single meal, was altogether assimilated, like the spirit so devoured by the god; and the paramount qualities of the deceased were appropriated when his body was assimilated. In the eighth chapter of the second volume, the subject is resumed, so as to leave no doubt of the Missionaries' view of cannibalism, though they have so little regarded in their own teachings the existence of any traditional principle at all. Mr. Ellis says,—

“From the many favourable traits in their character, we have been unwilling to believe they had ever been cannibal: the conviction of our mistake has, however, been impressed by evidence so various and multiplied as to preclude uncertainty. Their mythology leads them to suppose that the spirits of the dead are eaten by the gods or demons, and that the spiritual part of their sacrifices is eaten by the spirit of the idol before whom it is presented.....In some of the islands ‘Man-eater’ was an epithet of the principal deities; and it was probably in connexion with this that the King, who often personated the god, appeared to eat the human eye (handed to him on a leaf, at the time of sacrifice). Part of some human victims were eaten by the priests.”*

‘Thus might there be an idea and a belief at the bottom even of cannibalism.’—*Westminster Review*, pp. 26, 27.

Thus, in this very nineteenth century, we are blamed for assailing beliefs, of which the inevitable fruits are the most horrible miseries and crimes; and whatever else the writer has proved, he has brought to our knowledge what we could not before have believed,—that men of ability and education allow themselves to be so possessed by an antipathy to Christianity, that they can seem to apologize for cannibalism and suttee, not meaning to support these horrors, but feeling jealous for anything which the Gospel is likely to supplant. We know there is a religious belief to support the system of murders in Kumasi, by which one street in that city has the name of ‘Blood-never-dry;’ and when we supplant that belief, we shall dry up the blood. We know there is a religious belief to cause the strangling of Fecjeean widows; and in proportion as we are expelling that belief, we are saving the widows from the tomb. A religious belief leads to the miseries of the swinging feast, the murders of Thuggee, the child sacrifices of Goomsoor, and the other innumerable horrors inflicted on the human frame by the penance system of India; and it is only by extirpating the belief that we can free millions from evils which harass them. Whether to an individual or to a nation, no benefit is comparable with that of an elevating faith; nor does any duty more

* ‘Ellis’s “Polynesian Researches,” vol. ii., p. 221.’

clearly lie at our door than that of expelling error by all lawful means.

Instead of carrying to men the pure doctrines of the Gospel, aiming first at the regeneration of their hearts and then at the amelioration of their manners; the *Westminster* would have us first aim at civilization, and leave it to produce its effects upon faith. Our method is,—First good men, and then good institutions: theirs is,—First good institutions, and then good men. To us, the matter was settled long ago by our Divine Master: *Make the tree good, and the fruit will be good also.* To them, that settlement of the question is not conclusive; and they have neglected the teaching of experience. They have their own theory upon the subject, which they dignify with the name of philosophy:—

‘Every traveller racks his brain for a scheme by which to connect the peoples of the most distant countries; while the philosopher finds the explanation of the likeness, not in dreams of migration and a common stock, but in the clear view of the stages passed through by the universal human mind,—from Fetishism to Polytheism, and from Polytheism to Monotheism. When the monotheists propose to convert men passing through an earlier stage, they find, as every true philosopher would expect, a strong resemblance in the fetish religion, wherever found, and also in the polytheistic; the beliefs being everywhere the inevitable result of conditions common to all.’—*Westminster Review*, p. 7.

Whence is the ‘clear view’ of the stages passed through by the ‘universal human mind’ obtained? From history, or any other form of experience? How can our philosopher, who is of course guided by experiment, trace the Hebrew mind through the two stages of Monotheism and Polytheism, back to Fetishism? If he traces that other living stock of which we have the most ancient clear record, he will find that the farther back he proceeds in Hinduism, the less of the idolatrous element appears; and the law of religious progress, so far from being such as his fancy—not originally his—points out, has been simply this,—that the farther men have departed from the original centre of light, and the more they have been cut off from its traditions, the lower they have descended through Polytheism into Fetishism; if, indeed, we may, for a moment, apply a local word to the lowest form of Paganism found throughout the world. ‘The beliefs being everywhere the inevitable result of conditions common to all.’ So far from this being philosophy, it is pure fancy, not meriting even the name of theory. This is not the place to enter into the question; but no condition has ever been common to all, since the human race became generally dispersed; and no conditions whatever inevitably produce beliefs. We may refer our readers to the article on De Rougemont’s *Primitive People* in our last number.

We may now call the modern missionary era a century old; and, with a singular uniformity, all societies have found that the savage of every grade is capable of being raised; but that he submits to the process of civilization only when his moral nature has been effectually softened by the truths of the Gospel. Those who continue to tell men who have tested the matter experimentally on the most dissimilar fields, and on races as diverse from each other as savages can possibly be, that they ought first to civilize, and then to convert, are not aware that they continually provoke the smiles of those whom they thus undertake to enlighten; for the simple reason, that they persist in a theory, for which they can produce no one voucher in the whole course of experience.

The contact of civilized men with savages, when not accompanied by strenuous missionary exertions, for the benefit of both classes, has led to results *only evil, and that continually*. The whites have acquired much of the ferocity of the savage, the savage many of the vices of the whites. The latter have been broken by new diseases, and the former have degenerated into monsters of lust and cruelty. Not to take the cases of the Spaniards and Portuguese, and the unhappy races with whom they came into contact; take only our Anglo-Saxon kindred. In India, Englishmen descended far towards native duplicity, rapacity, and recklessness of life; they rivalled the natives in their scraglios, exceeded them in debauch, and outdid all known rulers in making a traffic of religion; cases of their becoming votaries of both Mohammedan and heathen superstition, under the influence of native women, can be cited; and, until checked by the odious intrusion of Christianity into the midst of them, they were steadily entangling us in national responsibility for fearful crimes and systematic patronage of barbarism. In Africa, the West Indies, and our North American Colonies, we know to what lengths of savagery Anglo-Saxons fell; and who will say that one of the miserable races that came under their touch, was the better for the hand of the civilized man; until, by the persistence of gentle force, Christianity relaxed his crushing grasp? In Australia, it is never denied, that fearful scenes of barbarism have been enacted by our settlers; that there civilized men have made shooting parties, when the 'game' was the native; and have not hesitated even to bake poisoned bread, and leave it to destroy these 'vermin.' Beside the case of Buckley, who was found among the aborigines of Port Philip, as complete a savage as any of them, having almost forgotten even his own English history, throughout the South Seas may be found many white men who have sunk to the moral level of the natives. But the instances of savages transformed into civilized men, are hitherto exclusively in the hands of the Missionaries. In the pages of this periodical, some time ago, it was said that, beside every group of wild men in the ethnological department of the Crystal

Palace, the Missionary could place a contrasting group of their Christianized countrymen; and the question was asked, Could those who professed to raise mankind by civilization, without the Gospel, do the same? We need not say, that we are now ready to repeat that question.

It will not be supposed that we argue that the Missionary has nothing to do with civilizing the people among whom he goes. His great object is to prepare men for an eternal world of pure happiness; but this is secured only in proportion as, by the renewal of the earth in righteousness, it is made a fitting abode for the offspring of God, for the heirs of a better country. This latter, he knows, can never be done by aiming only at temporal objects; but, just as in the natural world the beauties of the earth come forth only under the shining light from heaven, so in the moral world, it is only by bringing upon man the light of God's countenance, that the gentler and nobler capabilities of his nature receive their development.

Taking the divine road to civilization, the Missionary is bound to forward the people among whom he labours in all knowledge and arts, with the greatest possible energy; and it is not denied, that New Zealand has already, under the hands of modern Missionaries, made progress from the depth of cannibalism greater than our British Isles did in many generations, and that, in different parts of the missionary field, advances now attained augur the best things for the time to come. We do not say, that in every case Missionaries have been sufficiently awake to the importance of developing the arts of industry among a newly converted people; in fact, we are persuaded that, in some instances, they have been blameably slow. The sentimental notions about the loveliness of human life, when man has scarcely any wants, which captivate us all when boys, have generally an attraction for good men, who see around them the excess of luxury and self-indulgence; and under the influence of these feelings, many are slow to teach rude nations anything that will increase the number of their wants. But they who have had practically to do with men when their wants are few, know what miserable savages they are, and how the absence of industry, which indifference to comfort encourages, wars against all strength of character and social solidity. Everything that teaches the use of good and roomy houses, affording decent accommodation, and comfortable sleeping-rooms for the different branches and sexes of a family; as well as of comfortable garments, solid and wholesome food, and the pleasing arts of adorning the abodes of men; with the love of gardens, agricultural science, and manufactures; must tend to create employment, and thereby to foster habits of industry, and consolidate the social fabric. Merely teaching people, who have no comforts, the use of books, and such knowledge as books will convey, never

supplies the place of the spinning-wheel, the plough, the flower-bed, and the innumerable employments and adornments of industrial life. But, though we do not assert that Missionaries have done all that they might have done in this respect, and shall cheerfully accept the aid of any in stimulating them, we can, with confidence, point to their labours throughout the world, as the one power which, in our present age, has really advanced civilization within the field hitherto abandoned to barbarism. We will quote two observers upon races, both found at the extreme of barbarism. Wilson, in his *Western Africa*, has the following on Sierra Leone:—

‘The foreign control and supervision which was so necessary in the earlier periods of their history is now being superseded. Most of the civil offices are filled by persons from among themselves, or by educated coloured men from the British West Indies. The commerce of the country, which at first was almost wholly engrossed by white men, is rapidly passing into the hands of educated re-captives, who manage it with remarkable efficiency. The soil is cultivated, and the market of Freetown is well supplied both with meat and vegetables. Many of these re-captives have amassed handsome little fortunes, and live in circumstances of great respectability and comfort.....Now, when we take into account the circumstances under which this colony was founded, the materials of which it was composed, the reverses which it has experienced from time to time, and compare all these with the actual improvement which has been made, it may be seriously questioned whether any other community in the world have ever made more rapid strides in the march of improvement.....But, perhaps, the most interesting point of view in which the liberated Africans are to be seen, and that which will render their moral condition most intelligible to those at a distance, is when they sit at the Quarter Sessions as petty, grand, and special jurors. They constitute a considerable part of the jury at every session, and I have repeatedly heard the highest legal authority in the colony express his satisfaction with their decisions.’

Mr. Swainson, the Attorney-General for New Zealand, in Lectures delivered in this country, thus speaks:—*

‘Go back but sixteen years, not to witness a picture drawn from imagination, but to view a stern reality. The conflict ended, traverse a native field of battle, and call to mind the description of a cannibal native feast; for such frightful scenes were to be witnessed in these islands but sixteen years ago. Standing in the midst of them, the appalled spectator might hardly have been persuaded, though one rose from the dead to assure him of the fact, that he himself should live to witness, within less than sixteen years, native children of New Zealand, neatly clad in English dresses, assembled for Christian worship on the Sabbath-day, and singing, in English, the “Evening Hymn” in a manner to put to shame many an English congregation.’

* ‘New Zealand: the Substance of Lectures delivered at Lancaster, Plymouth, &c. By William Swainson, H.M. Attorney-General for New Zealand, and Speaker of the Legislative Council of the General Assembly.’ Smith, Elder, and Co. 1856.

'With a native battle-field fresh painted on its pages, what author of romance would venture to represent the actors in these scenes, after so brief an interval, assembled together at a meeting to promote the spread of Christianity among the heathen people of the neighbouring islands, gratefully acknowledging the benefits they had themselves received from their own Christian teachers, quoting from Scripture the command to *go into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature*; animating each other to speed the Christian work, and contributing, according to their means, in aid of the newly founded "Melanesian Mission?" If made the subject of romance, a contrast so striking would be deemed to outrage probability. But fact is stranger than fiction; and there are those now living who can bear witness to its truth.'—Pp. 60, 61.

'But not only have the New Zealanders become converts to Christianity, but instead of being occupied, as formerly, in a state of constant and destructive warfare, they are now, for the most part, a peaceable and industrious people, occupied in various departments of productive industry, acquiring property to a considerable amount, and the principal producers of the bread-stuffs grown within the colony, and large and increasing consumers of British manufactures.

'Large numbers of their children are now receiving religious education, industrial training, and instruction in the English language, and are boarded, lodged, and clothed in schools, which receive aid from the public funds.

'For Scripture history, writing, geography, and mental arithmetic, they are found to possess considerable aptitude. Of one hundred and four adult labourers, employed some time ago by the Royal Engineer Department, it was found that all were able to read the New Testament (in their own language), and that all but two could write: a statement which could probably not be made of an equal number of labourers so employed in the most civilized country in the world.

'By the English settlers large numbers of the New Zealanders are employed as farm labourers; and experience has proved them to be capable of acquiring considerable skill in various descriptions of useful labour. From a distance of many miles they supply the various settlements with the produce of their industry. They are the owners of numerous small coasting-craft, and flour-mills worked by water power: and that they are deemed trustworthy by settlers, is evidenced by the fact, that they have accounts in the books of the tradesmen of a single settlement alone to the amount of several thousand pounds.

'Probably no better proof can be given, of their progress in industrial pursuits, than the fact, that the produce brought by them, in the course of a single year, in canoes alone, to one single settlement in the colony, amounted in value to upwards of £10,000. Such is now the condition of a people whose very name, not twenty years ago, was a byword throughout the civilized world.'—Pp. 41-43.

The gravest charges brought forward by the *Westminster* against the practical working of Missions have reference to the Society and Sandwich Islands. We cannot enumerate all the allegations affecting Tahiti: from the rather odd accusation of

'neat villas, trim gardens, shaven lawns, spires and cupolas,' (which we should think an advocate of civilization might account among the palliatives of missionary evils, and the using of which as a reproach is perfectly consistent with chiding them for having no consideration for the venerable faith which supports cannibalism and suttees,) to that of producing dearth, demoralization, and depopulation, nothing is too bad to be said. The *Westminster* is strong in this, that its authority is uniform; all its accusations are founded on the statements of one author,—and that author is Herman Melville. Many voyagers have been to the South Seas of late years whose words have more or less value, but the only ones cited by the *Westminster* are those cited by Herman Melville. The little books of that gentleman are tolerably well known; and whether he means them for facts or fiction we will not undertake to decide; but all who have read them are perfectly aware that, considering the part the author is made to play, the latter supposition would be infinitely more to his credit. The account he gives of the class to which he belongs is simply this:—

'Nowhere, perhaps, are the proverbial characteristics of sailors shown under wilder aspects than in the South Seas. For the most part, the vessels navigating those remote waters are engaged in the sperm whale fishery; a business which is not only peculiarly fitted to attract the most reckless seamen of all nations, but in various ways is calculated to foster in them a spirit of the utmost licence. These voyages, also, are unusually long and perilous; the only harbours accessible are among the barbarous or semi-civilized islands of Polynesia, or along the lawless western coast of South America. Hence, scenes the most novel, and not directly connected with the business of whaling, frequently occur among the crews of ships in the Pacific.'

As one of these sailors 'before the mast,' he visits the islands, takes part in what he himself calls 'graceless scenes' among natives of the most abandoned class, and favours the world with his views of Missions and Missionaries, which we presume the world in general have treated much as we might treat the opinions of any wild young Lascar who had rollicked a while in Wapping, and reported at Calcutta upon English manners, morals, and religion. But, for lack of other abettor, the *Westminster Review* exalts Herman into an authority, and endeavours to turn his rattle into evidence against the character of men who might have been treated with at least ordinary respect. Commander Wilkes, of the United States Exploring Expedition, is more than once alluded to, with a strong but vain desire to gain from him corroboration to the evidence of his wild fellow-citizen. He gives this account of the class of men of whom Mr. Melville makes no secret that he was a cordial member:—

'All this good has been done in the face of many and great diffi-

culties. The most serious of these is the evil influence of a large portion of the other foreign residents. Although among these are some who are truly respectable, the majority is made up of runaways from the English convict settlements, and deserters from vessels. These men, the outcasts and refuse of every maritime nation, are addicted to every description of vice, and would be a pest even in a civilized community. It may easily be conceived what an injurious influence such a band of vagabonds, without trade or occupation by which they can support themselves, guilty of every species of profanity and crime, must exert upon the morals of the natives, and what a barrier they must oppose to their improvement in morals and religion.

'Tahiti, when first visited, was proverbial for its licentiousness, and it would be asking too much to require, that after so short an enjoyment of the means of instruction, and in the face of such obstacles, its inhabitants should, as a body, have become patterns of good morals. Licentiousness does still exist among them, but the foreign residents and visitors are, in a great degree, the cause of its continuance; and an unbridled intercourse with them serves to perpetuate it. Severe laws have been enacted, but they cannot be put in force in cases where one of the parties is a foreigner. I see no reason, however, why this island should be pointed out as conspicuous for licentiousness. When compared with many parts of the world that arrogate a superior civilization, it appears almost in an advantageous light. Vice, at any rate, does not stalk abroad in the open day, as it did in some places we had lately visited upon the American continent. It would be unfair to judge of these natives, before they had received instruction, by our rules of propriety; and now many of those who bear testimony to the laxity of their morals, visit their shores for the very purpose of enticing them into guilt, and of rioting, without fear or hinderance, in debauchery. Coming with such intentions, and finding themselves checked by the influence of the Missionaries, they rail at them because they have put an end to the obscene dances and games of the natives, and procured the enactment of laws forbidding illicit intercourse.'—Vol. i., p. 135.

Now we declare without hesitation that any impartial person, reading this statement first, and then the narratives—if narratives they be—from which the *Westminster* quotes, will feel that, on Melville's own showing, his relation to Missions and Missionaries in Tahiti is exactly stated by Commander Wilkes, when describing, not him individually, but the class to which he belongs. Mr. Melville, though a 'sailor before the mast,' is undoubtedly of an education above that station,—a circumstance, however, which does not improve his moral credentials. A countrywoman of his own, Mrs. Wallis, has published a little book under the title of *Life in Feejee: or, Five Years among the Cannibals*, in which, evidently referring to her countryman's work, she says, after having described scenes like those in which his heart delighted,—

'Such are some of the scenes enacted by the white Heathen of the

South Seas. Every means is used by this class of persons to destroy the influence of Missionaries. Some person comes along, perhaps, who is capable of preparing a book. He avoids all intercourse with the Missionaries, collects all his information from "prison birds" and deserters, then goes home and publishes to the world how little good is accomplished by the Missionary among the Heathen, giving long accounts of what he witnessed among those who had become degraded by their intercourse with Christians. There is such an artful mingling, in these narratives, of the two classes,—the Missionary and the white residents,—that the general and unreflecting reader sees no difference; and feels almost insulted when he is asked to contribute something for the support of a Mission.'—Page 106.

We are not sure, however, that even Mr. Melville is accountable for all the charges for which the *Westminster* would make him responsible. For instance, when it says, 'The disciples who are taxed in fig, bread-fruit, and banana, for the use of the Missionaries, have to go without themselves,' it does not profess to quote him, and we do not remember such an expression in his works. But, whether or not it has in this creditable accusation the creditable support of Mr. Herman Melville, is a point which we shall not spend a moment in endeavouring to ascertain. The charge is as worthy of the two accusers as of either; and certainly the friends of Missions will begin to have some cause for alarm when it comes to this, that they have sent Missionaries enough from England to eat the natives out of bread-fruit, and banana, and other necessities of life. Lightly as our contemporary deals with himself in uttering a charge like this, he shows more complete self-disregard in another matter. The heaviest and most terrible of all his accusations against Missions is, that they have led to a fearful waste of human life, reducing the population of both the Society and Sandwich Islands at a rate previously unheard of:—

'In 1777, Captain Cook found 200,000 people inhabiting Tahiti. He declared his estimate to be rather under than over the mark. A census taken just before the American Exploring Expedition was there, showed the indigenous population to be 9,000. The Missionaries called it 8,000.'—*Westminster Review*, p. 80.

Having made these statements, and alluded to the great depopulation going on in the Sandwich Islands, it proceeds thus:—

'The natives themselves charge the Missionaries with no small portion of it; and a good many visitors are of the same opinion. The people say that the Missionaries promised them life, but have brought them only death; and that it is not a future life that they want, but to live long where they are, and as happily as they used to do before all their customs were changed, and their pleasures taken away. There can be no question of the injurious effects upon health and life of the forcible change of habits imposed by the Missionaries, nor of the fatal results of some of their over-legislation. Even the

least important change of all—that of dress—has rendered the people liable in a much increased degree to consumption and related maladies. Far worse is the effect of the suppression of the old sports and festivals. The people cannot receive hymn-singing and prayer-meetings as a substitute; and they relapse into indolence and sensuality which leave nothing to be wondered at in the shortening of their lives.'—*Westminster Review*, p. 31.

Here, then, the evil is deliberately laid at the door of the Missionaries, the natives are said to charge it upon them, and the whole is assumed to be given on the authority of Herman Melville. But, scapegrace as he is, depths of malignity lie in this paragraph which do not appear to belong to him. Horrible as his statement upon the subject is, we must give it:—

'These evils, of course, are solely of foreign origin. To say nothing of the effects of drunkenness, the occasional inroads of the small-pox, and other things which might be mentioned, it is sufficient to allude to a virulent disease, which now taints the blood of at least two-thirds of the common people of the island; and, in some form or other, is transmitted from father to son.

'Their first horror and consternation at the earlier ravages of this scourge were pitiable in the extreme. The very name bestowed upon it is a combination of all that is horrid and unmentionable to a civilized being.

'Distracted with their sufferings, they brought forth their sick before the Missionaries, when they were preaching, and cried out, "Lies! lies! You tell us of salvation; and behold, we are dying! We want no other salvation than to live in this world. Where are there any saved through your speech? Pomaree is dead; and we are all dying with your cursed diseases. When will you give over?"

'At present the virulence of the disease, in individual cases, has somewhat abated; but the poison is only the more widely diffused.

"How dreadful and appalling," breaks forth old Wheeler, "the consideration, that the intercourse of distant nations should have entailed upon these poor, untutored islanders a curse unprecedented, and unheard of in the annals of history!"

'In view of these things, who can remain blind to the fact that, so far as mere temporal felicity is concerned, the Tahitians are far worse off now than formerly? and although their circumstances, upon the whole, are bettered by the presence of the Missionaries, the benefits conferred by the latter become utterly insignificant, when confronted with the vast preponderance of evil *brought about by other means*.'—*Omoo*.

Hence, it appears that even the rover who is gravely brought forward as an authority on moral questions, ascribes the chief part of the depopulation to the fact of men like himself importing the diseases of our civilized countries; that the accusation of the natives as to death being brought among them, lies not against Missionaries, but against those who malign and detest them; and that he himself acknow-

ledges that the Missionaries have conferred benefits, but have been counterworked by evils brought about 'by other means.' Had the accusation against the Missionaries, which is contained in the pages of the *Westminster Review*, been found in the writing of any single individual, we might have expected that any periodical whatever would have waited for corroborative evidence before reproducing a charge, at once so improbable and so shameful, against any men who had not forfeited the ordinary claim of humanity; but simply because these good men in Tahiti are Christians, and for no other crime, the *Westminster Review* not only charges them with depopulating the country, but cites, as proof, the language which even their sole authority ascribes to the maddened natives when suffering under the diseases brought by runaway sailors into the midst of them. It remained for this publication to bring our periodical literature so low as first to make books like Melville's the foundation for public accusations against men of character, and then even to distort the evidence of its own reckless witness. Could we feel grateful to any one for a bad action, we should cordially thank the *Westminster* for making such an exhibition to the public of the depths to which one must sink, to find material wherewith to blacken Missionaries.

As to the question of the depopulation itself, the observations of Commander Wilkes appear to be very sensible, and all that need be said on the subject; and they attest the one fact material in the case, that when the influence of the Missionaries became powerful among the people, the waste which European and native vices combined had originated, was at least arrested:—

'A census recently taken gives for the population of Tahiti nine thousand, and for that of Eimeo one thousand. When this is compared with the estimates of the navigators who first visited these islands, an enormous decrease would appear to have taken place. The first estimates were, however, based on erroneous data, and were unquestionably far too high; yet there is no doubt that the population has fallen off considerably in the interval. The decrease may be ascribed, in part, to the remains of the old custom of infanticide; in part, to new diseases introduced from abroad, and the evils entailed upon them by foreigners; and, in part, to the transition now going on from a savage to a civilized life.

'Whatever may have been the case during the first years after it was visited by Europeans, the population during the last thirty years has been nearly stationary; the births and deaths are now almost exactly in equal numbers.

'Tahiti does not appear to be afflicted by many diseases. Some have been introduced by foreign ships, and, among others, the venereal, from which the natives suffer much, being in possession of no method of arresting its ravages, and ignorant of the proper mode of treating it.

'The effects of intoxication from ardent spirits and *ava* are said to have swept off many of the inhabitants. Secondary syphilis is in some cases severe; but their usual vegetable diet and simple mode of living, together with frequent ablutions, tend to mitigate this disease. Its continued prevalence, as well as the severity of some of the cases, are ascribable to the inordinate use of mercury.'—Vol. i., p. 148.

With regard to the Sandwich Islands, of which the *Westminster* would lead us to believe Missions had made a desolation, we will content ourselves with saying, that we have much more faith in the following passage, which is accredited by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, than in the rattle of the New England whaler:—

"The waving fields of grass and shrubs, which covered most of our hills and plains fifteen or twenty years ago, with but here and there a flock of goats to revel in their midst, are no longer to be met with. Horses and bees are now to be found by thousands on every island of the group; and fields of cane, potatoes, wheat, coffee, or corn, here and there, attract the eye where formerly nothing but the *kalo* patch, or the sweet-potato field among the lava rocks, indicated cultivation. Twenty years since there was here and there a wood or stone house in some large village, and at our mission stations; now they are often met with in the country; and in our city (Honolulu) grass or mud houses are becoming rare. Probably more permanent buildings have been erected during the past two years than existed at the Islands previous to that time; and we rejoice to know that natives are, to some extent, participating in these improvements."

'Various societies for benevolent purposes "are all working good;" and it is particularly gratifying to meet the following testimony respecting the favourable influences from abroad:—"The two foreign Churches at Honolulu are sources of strength to our Zion; and the Seamen's Home is the natural result of progress in the right direction. The increase of foreign families, and the noble stand taken by many foreign ladies in every good and virtuous cause, are working mightily to build up a public sentiment in favour of virtue, and to put to shame many would-be gentlemen, who have heretofore prowled around in the night to perpetrate deeds of darkness."—Page 125.

We fear we have already disgusted, if not wearied, our readers; but it was necessary to show them that men who make a profession of liberality are really capable of any absurdity in advocating whatever Christianity opposes, and of stooping to any artifice to damage the characters of those employed in its propagation.

We may, however, before finally taking leave of the reviewer, allude to some of the remarkable lights thrown by him upon the question of the support of Missions. Finding the missionary enterprise totally unprofitable, and worse, he raises the question how it comes to be supported. There is nothing in which narrow-mindedness more readily shows itself, than in dis-

covering small motives for great actions; and persons of even the least generosity will take care not to allow themselves to fall into that very low error. We remember few richer examples of it than the one afforded in the present case. The fact that the religious world raises, as the *Westminster* says, a million and a half sterling annually for the purpose of Missions, is accounted for in the following manner:—

‘The expenditure of an annual million and a half in objects as various as the sects of the religious world, and reaching to the ends of the earth, must require a large and diverse agency; and the agency, with the money in its hands, constitutes a power,—a power abundantly able to sustain Missions under any adverse influences whatever. The mere collecting of the funds employs no small number of poor Clergymen, and laymen who make themselves as like Clergymen as they can. Vain men, and men who think it a duty to let their name and station be used in a good cause, are on Committees; and the real business of Committees is done by Secretaries; and the secretaryships, which confer enormous unrecognised power and prodigious patronage, are objects of ambition to the active and aspiring men of all sects that can get a footing in Exeter Hall. Whatever their sectarian differences may be, these men have a strong interest in such concert as may keep up the organization in vigour and authority. They are the paid staff of a rich social department; and the zeal of a paid staff on behalf of the department by which it lives and enjoys life may always be depended on.’—*Westminster Review*, pp. 46, 47.

Here we find one or two reasons why all this money is raised. First, it affords a living to ‘no small number’ of Clergymen and laymen employed as collectors; secondly, the Secretaries constitute a paid staff, with great power and patronage. As to the number of poor Clergymen and laymen who may get their living as missionary collectors, we confess we are quite incompetent to speak, as we know nothing of it. We find that the Propagation Society spends £1,185 a-year upon thirty-one ‘Organizing Secretaries;’ the Church Missionary Society, £2,851 on twelve ‘Association Secretaries;’ the London Society, £731 on four ‘District Secretaries;’ all of whom, we presume, are employed in attending meetings. The Baptist Society appears to have no charge of the kind. And as to the £119,000 raised in the present year for the Methodist Missionary Society, in all parts of the world, it was produced without one penny being paid to any man, woman, or child, as a collector; and the only thing of which the notion of the *Westminster* reminded us was an anecdote of the late Dr. Newton, who was once amused by some gentleman saying, he supposed he ‘made a good thing of it,’ in the shape of a *per-centage* on the abundant collections which he was instrumental in raising. The *Westminster* little knows the amount of real heart and nobleness, of patient, silent, unseen, and constant toil, of consulting and devising liberal things, of

family offerings and little self-denials, which are represented by these sums; or, if it did, instead of looking upon them as the work of a few hungry collectors looking after their own living, it would hail them as a proof that there is in the earth, thank God, a vast amount of generosity and holy feeling.

As to the secretaryships constituting a paid staff, and therefore making those who pay it part with their money without rhyme or reason, we could tell of a Secretary of one leading Missionary Society who labours hard, and, having private property, receives not a penny; and of another who was offered a flattering professorship with little labour, and three times the amount of salary which he now receives; and of a third to whom an extensive publisher proposed to pay seven times as much as his salary, if he devoted himself to writing, and gave him all the products of his pen; and with regard to others, if similar facts are not known, this is clear, that their salaries, as Missionary Secretaries, are not greater, in some cases not so great, as Ministers of their standing in their respective communities would receive from ordinary congregations. As to the patronage which these gentlemen sway, did their critics undertake to distribute patronage on the principle of sending one man to Sierra Leone, another to Kaffirland, a third to Feejee, and so on, perhaps they would find that this 'prodigious patronage' placed them rather in the position of patrons seeking for *protégés*, than importuned for places. It is open to any association of gentlemen in the world to get up a system of patronage rivalling that of the Missionary Societies, and to extend it to any dimensions which they may find convenient.

Did anything astonish us in men who undertake to fight against the Gospel, we should allow ourselves to express some surprise that any man could think he had accounted for the support of Missions by these notions, or that in the contributions of modern Christians he should see nothing noble, nothing pure. Even were it possible to account for the hundreds of thousands raised in England by the mysterious powers of paid Secretaries and self-interested collectors, we wonder that the sums raised on Mission Stations themselves, for missionary purposes, did not occur as hardly to be explained on that theory. In the Report of the present year, we find that the Methodist Missionary Society alone has received from its Mission Stations £25,000, as a subscription for *general missionary* purposes; this being apart from all the sums raised for local objects: and in all the other Societies sums of a similar character, if not of equal amount, have been forthcoming. What have the poor Clergy and laity, and the paid Secretaries, and the Exeter Hall clique to do with these sums? Or how can the reviewer explain the fact, that in India alone

upwards of £30,000 are annually raised for missionary objects? Surely, the money thus produced must come from some other source than the influence of an interested staff.

Another stock objection against the home administration of Missions is, that all the reports are successes, and nothing is said about cases of failure or of scandal. If by this it is meant that, when offences of a moral kind arise, either in the agents or the converts of the Missions, the details ought to be published at public meetings, we totally differ; they are not so published, and they ought not to be. If the accusation were, that when such cases occur, they are passed over without discipline, it would be a serious one; but if the offenders be duly punished, to parade their offences before the public would be in itself a great crime. If it be meant that, where in missionary operations checks, delays, want of success, or even relapse after success, occur, they are not stated, we simply appeal to the Reports lying before us in proof of the reverse. In many points there will be found frank acknowledgement that things are not in a satisfactory state, sometimes in new Missions, sometimes in old ones. Any other course is as unwise as it is uncandid; for whoever is prepared to carry on Missions at all, is prepared to do so with chequered successes and reverses, encouragements and trials.

It may not be amiss to notice some of the well-meant criticisms of the *North British Review*, as well as the inimical accusations of the other periodical. 'The greatest stain and disgrace,' it says, 'that can befall the cause, is that of gross selfishness on the part of the Missionaries.....One Demas is enough to discredit many Pauls.' On this subject it does justice to the general purity of missionary character, and points out with only due force the temptations which beset men in new countries to acquire landed property, and, in providing comfortable prospects for their children, to forget the unworldly covenant involved in their missionary profession. Against these dangers friendly warning will ever be hailed by every true Missionary; and it is not to be denied that cases have occurred, on different fields, of real apostasy from the spirit of a self-sacrificing profession, and others wherein, although nothing really censurable took place, yet appearances of money-making were not sufficiently avoided, and the liability of secular entanglement to produce an injurious effect was not gravely weighed. A Missionary, as every other man, is bound to provide things honest in the sight of all men for his family; and although, as the *North British* recommends, Societies ought to relieve their Missionaries as to the charges of their children in youth, it is not possible for any Society to make permanent provision for all the children of its Missionaries when they are grown up. Hence, what the reviewer supposes to be the recom-

mentation of a remedy, is merely suggesting what is adopted already, as far as it is practicable; and it must ever rest with individual Missionaries to maintain the balance between neglecting to seek for their children a suitable opening into life, and compromising their own freedom from secular objects and money-seeking undertakings; while on Societies must rest the responsibility of firmly dealing with every man who has plainly departed from his professed renunciation of the gains and chances of the world.

Little allusion is made by either *Review* to cases of moral delinquency on the part of Missionaries. Yet all who know human nature, and found their expectations upon the records of the Bible, would expect that among a number of men so large as the Missionaries, employed in remote portions of the world, and exposed to forms of temptation so various and so continuous, often isolated from every healthy moral influence, and for years subject to the lowering tendency of corrupt manners all around them, cases of lamentable falling into sin would not unfrequently occur. This expectation has, of course, not been wholly deceived. Here and there men have miserably fallen; but it is a fact to which attention might surely be called, especially by those who seek occasion to glory in human nature, that while Missionaries are everywhere surrounded by many who would delight to proclaim their disgrace, cases wherein they have scandalously sinned are heard of with a rarity which amounts not only to a matter of thanksgiving, but to a perfect wonder. It is one of the miracles of the grace of God, one of the strongest encouragements of all who look for the triumphant issue of the struggle of which these men are but the fallible and mortal agents,—a glorious proof of the divine support abiding with them, upholding them in the day of danger, and giving them strength under circumstances wherein any of us might tremble to be placed. On this point, the various Societies may well congratulate one another; and while each has had in turn to mourn over its individual fallen, each has cause gratefully to rejoice over the great company standing untarnished before the world.

Another of the evils alluded to by the *North British* is that of self-interest acting as a motive on the converts; a point on which the writer indulges in exaggerated views. Nothing can be more groundless than to suppose that the New Zealanders and Polynesians were generally led to Christianity by seeing the superior condition of Christians. The only Christians they saw before their conversion were either the Missionaries themselves, or profligate sailors; and although, in individual cases in such countries as India, self-interest may lie on the side of Christianity, it cannot be the rule; except, indeed, that noble form of self-interest which gives the im-

pression that, were the whole community Christians, it would lead to the improvement of all; but this fact does not lessen the risk to the individuals who first move towards the general improvement. It is not to be wondered at, however, that this writer should look upon self-interest as a powerful instrument in modern conversion, when these are his views as to those of the early Church:—

'This was as much the case in the apostolic age as now. Even then, to the bulk of the converts, gathered as they were from among the poor, the material relief afforded by their richer brethren's charity was a certain good; while persecution was a distant and not very probable evil.'—*North British Review*, p. 321.

Alluding to the fact that Professor Harvey, the naturalist traveller, on his visit to the *Friendly Isles*, had become so impressed with the great good effected by the Methodist Missionaries, that though avowing himself a strong Churchman, he made an appeal to his scientific friends to form a society for sending the people medical aid, and among several grounds alleged that the Romish Priest used the distribution of medicines without charge to gain over some of the Heathen; the reviewer represents this as a complaint made by the Wesleyan Missionaries in *Feejee*! Nothing is more certain than that all nations in a low condition are liable to be acted on by considerations of self-interest to a remarkable degree; and it is undoubted that, in India, much of the success of Swartz, and others of the early Missionaries, arose from the belief of the people in their influence with the Government, and their power to serve them. But we believe it will be found that, throughout the Mission field generally, so far from a desire existing to attract converts by any such motives, a wholesome dread of the disgrace which such adherents would be sure to bring upon Christianity operates with great power. Captain Erskine very properly alludes to the sacrifice universally imposed upon the converts by the Missionaries, of abandoning polygamy, and putting away all but one wife;* and other acts of strong self-denial, not less trying, will ever be found to accompany admission to the membership of Churches founded by any of the evangelical Societies. Mrs. Wallis states that when the present King of Feejee advised his father to receive a Mission into the royal town, old Tanoa declined; for he wanted first 'to kill off three villages.' Indeed, all who have practically had to do with conversions from one community to another, are so well aware of the uncounted ties which bind each individual to the common circle around him, and of the pains and crosses he must incur by a change, that considerations

* 'Journal of a Cruise among the Islands of the Western Pacific,' p. 154.

of self-interest must take a very tangible form before they will see in them a sufficient explanation of a conversion.

In the habit of printing the lists of subscribers the *North British* finds ancient Pharisaism under a modern and aggravated form :—

‘ It would be a good deed if some of our Missionary Societies would remind Master John Smith and Miss Matilda Jones, the contents of whose money-boxes are chronicled in the Annual Report, that those Reports are the veritable street-corners of the nineteenth century ; and that the self-display of modern Pharisaism transcends that of its elder sister, in the proportion in which the publicity of a work of ten thousand or twenty thousand copies surpasses that of a village thoroughfare.’—*North British Review*, p. 323.

The necessity of printing contributions in Reports is obvious at the first glance. Without it, there would be no means of checking the accounts published by Societies ; but by this means every local auxiliary, and every individual connected with it, are placed in a position to know whether what they have paid has come correctly to account or not ; and were this public and honest check omitted, the outcry from all enemies as to secrecy would be very loud. With regard to the remark, that this printing of names in a work of twenty thousand copies gives more publicity than the ancient sounding of a trumpet at the street-corner, it is plain enough that the longer the list, and the more the copies of a Report circulated, the profounder is the secrecy in which each individual name lies. In the Report of the Methodist Missionary Society for this year we have a list of somewhere about one hundred and forty pages of Mr. Clowes’s most painfully close print. The length of the list shows the number of copies which must be printed, in order to furnish each subscriber with his own check ; and we think that even the reviewer himself, on taking the book in hand, will feel satisfied that no one will be under any temptation to seek for the names of ‘ Master John Smith and Miss Matilda Jones,’ or that, if any one really did happen to read those names, it would give him an idea of the individuals referred to. In a small Report, circulating in a small circle, the figure which one’s name cuts may be some consideration ; but with large Societies the objection has scarcely any point. Did every one subscribe as ‘ A Friend,’ ‘ Anonymous,’ ‘ A Lady,’ or ‘ A. B.,’ there would be no check. But whatever persons may give with their names, we are sure that all ought to give much of which no one will know till the great day ; and to Missions, as to other good works, this can be done.

As to public meetings, we find the following :—

‘ Nor can we find much to admire in our great public meetings. They are often nothing but a snare to the actors, and a delusion to

the audience. What self-display, what vapid oratory, what exaggerated statements, what distorted facts are considered allowable in these assemblies of men associated together for the propagation of the truth!—*North British Review*, p. 323.

We do not know that honest criticism could be better exercised in any sphere than in that of the public religious meetings of the day. The platform has now become one of the great powers of the nation, taking its place beside the press and the pulpit in forming the public mind, and guiding great enterprises. If there be one scene which beyond most others gathers around it a number of associations at once solemn, beautiful, and holy; one in which we might expect to find the sublimest motives and purest impulses to which humanity is accessible brought to bear upon an assembly; it is when a number of Christians are convened together, with prayer and praise, for the express purpose of concerting how they may aid in carrying to every nation of the earth the light of life in which they themselves rejoice. Then, if ever, ought men to be happy, benign, serious, self-forgetting, and far away from every thing trivial or low. We are very far from saying that we have always found our ideal of a Missionary Meeting realized, or that we have not often experienced deep mortification and pain. The faults alluded to in the extract just given are not always absent; although, as to the 'distortion of facts,' we believe that that is much more rare than men slightly acquainted with the subject imagine; for the ordinary facts of missionary experience are such, that those to whom they are comparatively strange can scarcely regard them but as somewhat distorted.

We knew a Bengal officer who was pressed, by a friend in Lincolnshire, to make a speech at a village Missionary Meeting, and was relieved by being told that 'it would do' if he only related plainly the things he had seen. His rustic auditors soon opened their eyes; but when he told of an ascetic who had stood in a forest and held up his arm till it was so stiff that he could not bring it down again, the expression of many countenances intimated that the Captain's credit was sinking fast; and when he went on to say that the same poor creature had held his hand closed till the finger-nails grew through it, and came out at the back, a sturdy farmer slowly gathered himself up, moved to the door, and in parting said, composedly, 'Well, if he says that, he'll say aught!' And many educated men are so little acquainted with the real state of the human race, that missionary facts seem at first either invented or distorted, which in time they find to be most strictly true. Even Voltaire boldly affirmed that the idea of worshipping the devil had never entered the head of any man; and the *Westminster Review* charges the Missionaries with supposing that demons are sometimes the

objects of worship ! The ignorance of the former was excusable.

We have no hesitation in recording our own experience, that of late years a very decided elevation of tone is observable in Missionary Meetings ; and that in the spirit both of speakers and hearers, they have seemed to us to be steadily drawing nearer to the lofty model which their blessed object should ever hold up to the eyes of all. We are ready to think that the writer who censures them so sharply has not himself been much in them, from the fact that 'the most effective' missionary speakers he has ever heard are the Bishop of New Zealand and Mr. Dallas ; and that his commendation of Dr. Duff, as the one exception to his general censure, is obviously founded on printed addresses, not on personal contact in public meetings with the big and burning heart of that servant of God. It has been our lot to hear many, and that with increasing frequency, on whose spirit, carefulness in stating facts, forgetfulness of self, and depth of holy feeling, neither we nor any other human being could claim a title to cast blame. Yet we cordially welcome and invite from all quarters aid in craning up that modern, but mighty, public engine, the Missionary Meeting, to an elevation from which it may impel the Church forward and yet forward, with gathering impetus, to all self-sacrificing undertakings, and Christ-like superiority to the ways and spirit of an evil world. As an instrument of educating the people into a sense of fellowship with 'all sorts and conditions of men ;' of acquainting them with the homes, habits, and lot of remote nations ; of enlarging their minds, and infusing lofty sentiments ; of engaging them to train their children for good and great deeds ; of chiding self-aggrandizement, fostering generosity, catholic feeling, and practical concern for the souls of men ; the Missionary Meeting is an incomparable instrument ; and we often feel as if a man coming on the platform with his soul raised to the true level of his position, would flash upon us like 'an angel standing in the sun ;' while he who turns such an occasion to purposes of acting, or of trifling, shows his disregard of all decent appearances. The influence already exerted by this new element of social life has been great ; for in some villages the Missionary Meeting is now the great annual festival ; and many a small tradesman or rustic knows more of African or Polynesian life than London journalists.

The love of sect, and the centring of all effort in it, occupy a large space in the eye of the reviewer in the *North British* ; and he speaks of the 'sectarian jealous of his fellow-Christians' as one of the sources whence come false accusations against the character and motives of the Missionaries. We suppose that among the sects here Romish Missionaries are included, and the

statement will then be correct ; but to many it will suggest the idea of mutual rancour and accusations among Missionaries belonging to the different evangelical Societies. We do not say that cases of jealousy and collision have not arisen ; that sometimes ultra-‘anti-State-Church’ men have not broken the bonds of charity against those who did not agree with them ; or that, at other times, High Churchmen have not shown an exclusive and intolerant spirit : but we are bold to assert, that the mutual bearing of Christian Missionaries of different denominations, when taken all over the world, so far from dishonouring the charity of the Christian name, has been a lovely exhibition of it, has adorned the Gospel in the eyes of Europeans and of Heathens, and has read to many of our Churches at home impressive lessons on Christian kindness which have not been thrown away. It is true that, as the *North British* reminds us, Bishop Grey might speak of the different Missionary Societies employed in South Africa as so many ‘different religions ;’ but no power upon earth could so narrow the views of the Missionaries themselves, as to make Moravians and Methodists, Baptists and Independents, believe themselves to be of different religions, any more than make them regard the well-meaning Bishop as of a different religion from their own. They feel, the Heathen feels, the Mohammedan feels, the man of the world feels, that their religion is one, and only their names, forms, and minor tenets various ; and we believe the Missionaries are few whose object is less than the spread of Christianity,—whole, glorious, sin-destroying Christianity, and not the shibboleth of his own sect.

Real sectarianism shows itself in one of its worst forms, when all sects are decried in the attempt to found upon their ruins a new and homogeneous combination ; and we have seldom much confidence in the large-mindedness of men who have no particular preference, to whom all minor points are of no consideration, but who are ready to anathematize all who have special opinions of their own. To us superiority to sect is manifested when men, who firmly hold by, and delight in, some one branch of the Christian Church, who know why they esteem its peculiar tendencies and forms, and are prepared to show great advantages supposed to result from them, yet treat the preferences of their fellow-Christians with profound respect, regard their labours with fraternal interest, hail success obtained by them as their own gain, and, when a dishonour or a scandal occurs among them, take it as their own shame, instead of exulting in it as the reproach of an adversary. And this spirit it is our happy belief that Missionaries of different nations and different sections of the Church have, as a rule, manifested with an edifying and a beautiful uniformity.

Before closing our remarks on the article in the *North British*, we cannot help expressing our regret that such mistakes as

this, 'There is no English Society which does not raise many of its best recruits from German lands,' should abate the value of the well-merited and admirable testimony borne by the reviewer to the spirit and labours of German Missionaries in different parts of the world; and that the statement that even now the efforts of the Church of England 'hardly equal those of the various sects of which she is the mother,' should throw a feeling of uncertainty upon all his information.

We may as well observe, that with the Missions of the Methodist Society it is plain the reviewer has no acquaintance whatever, his allusions to them being inaccurate, and his general summary, which we will give at length, very comical.

'The Methodist Society has extended its labours over a very wide surface, and has developed upon that surface its own characteristic virtues and failings. It has shown its usual aptitude for giving scope to religious activity and multiplying lay labours, and its usual laxity in admitting members. The enthusiastic tone that it encourages, fits it to provide a vent for the religious excitement so natural to many half-savage nations. Its heathen congregations are large, but very fluctuating; and, by all accounts, they contain among their numbers more than the usual proportion of nominal Christians. Its Missionaries have borne, in conjunction with those of the English Church, a large share in the successful labours of Western Africa and New Zealand, and have very successful Missions in Polynesia. They are labouring also, with great effect, in Ceylon and Southern Africa.'—*North British Review*, pp. 341, 342.

The 'half-savage nations' among which they have had the most signal success, are the Anglo-Saxon race colonizing the different parts of the world. What is meant by the heathen congregations being very fluctuating, we cannot tell; for if it mean individual heathen congregations, they fluctuate with all Societies; if the aggregate of those connected with this Society, they steadily increase every year. As to what is meant by heathen congregations containing a large proportion of nominal Christians, we are again at a loss, as much as if we were told of Christian congregations with an unusual number of nominal Heathen. But if, by heathen congregations, the reviewer means Christian ones, then the 'all accounts,' according to which they contain more than the usual proportion of nominal Christians, are unknown to us; the single 'account' on the subject which we have seen, being as inaccurate and unfair a page in Dr. Brown's book upon Missions as ever a writer had the courage to call history. The mode of admitting members is this, that none is received on probation for membership, until he makes a credible profession of an earnest desire to flee from the wrath to come, and to serve God in newness of life; nor admitted a member until, throughout

three months of probation, he has worthily sustained this profession ; nor continued in membership, unless by a quarterly renewal of credentials, withheld when his profession has been falsified by his character. This latter fact leads to the frequent exclusion of men who, under a different system, would continue to be counted in the Church ; and that circumstance, applied in one exceptional case, has led to the remarks of Dr. Brown, on which, and not on any unfair spirit, we have no doubt the hasty generalization of the *North British* is founded. But Dr. Brown's two charges answer one another ; for if exclusions are so frequent as he imagines, how can so many merely nominal Christians be retained ? The great number of members gathered by the Methodist Missionaries leads to these theories as explanations ; but they are not sufficient to account for Methodist progress ; and it should be remembered that Colonial Missions, as well as those to the Heathen, are included in the returns. We are far from saying that every member in the Mission Churches of this Society is a true Christian ; but we are prepared to say that, from considerable knowledge, we believe as large a proportion are, as in any Churches we know at home or abroad. As to the enthusiasm, may the Methodists never cease to earn that reproach !

Missionary operations may be ranged under four classes :—
MISSIONS TO BRITISH COLONIES, TO NOMINAL CHRISTIANS OF THE CONTINENT AND THE LEVANT, TO THE JEWS, and to THE HEATHEN.
 According to the *Westminster*, the Americans have extensive Missions to the Mohammedans ; but this is an error, their Missionaries in Turkey being employed entirely among the Christians. Excepting some feeble and desultory efforts, no Missions directly to the Mohammedans have yet been established ; nevertheless, at different points, they have been more or less acted upon, and several hopeful conversions have occurred. The number of Societies in active operation is so great, that did we adopt the favourite mode of attempting to give an impartial view of the field and fruit of each, we should certainly do injustice to some from want of equal acquaintance with all. We feel strongly the necessity of avoiding this great practical mistake ; for while, on the one hand, we make no profession of being exempt from the influence of preferences, but have them, and imagine that we know the reason ; yet, on the other, it would be very painful to us even unintentionally to disparage, in our pages, any Society engaged in doing good, by placing it in a disadvantageous light beside others, when probably the sole cause was our own want of information : a want not blameable in itself, for no one can be equally acquainted with all the Societies ; but at least we can abstain from dispensing certificates of merit as if we were.

As regards the ultimate triumph of Christianity over mankind, perhaps no class of Missions is of greater importance than the one which we have placed first,—MISSIONS TO BRITISH COLONIES. The New World is manifestly given over to the ascendancy of what are and were our colonies: in Africa they occupy the critical position which gives the key to all the south and centre of that continent; and in Australia they have Polynesia on one side, the immense Eastern Archipelago on another, with India, China, and Japan, in sufficient proximity to assure to them, in the course of ages, an immense influence over those unequalled centres of population. To appreciate the value of missionary operations on our foreign possessions, we should require the power of tracing what would now, and even what would eventually, have been the condition of all those countries, had no such efforts been made. Had things been left to run their course, without any witness for chastity, justice, or mercy; who can bear to picture to himself what the West Indies would have been at this moment, or what untold aggravations would have darkened the infamy of the southern States? That plague of America, and shame of all Christendom, the slave system of those States, is the offspring of the evil time when English colonies were not followed up by missionary labours; and the reproach and hindrance which it brings upon the whole Church of Christ, is but just punishment for her supineness in that period, and sounds a startling warning against ever falling asleep at her post. Had the course of degeneracy in India proceeded unchecked, what a succession of heathenized 'Nabobs' would have yearly returned to pollute our society, and pervert our policy! and what a fearful entail of crime and suffering would England and India have brought one upon the other! Suppose that when New South Wales was at the point when its public currency was in ardent spirits, it had been left to pursue its headlong course towards barbarism; and that after a progress further and further away from the restraints of a Christian land, the gold discovery had come, and a rush of wild avarice, ambition, and dissipation had been suddenly poured in upon it, without any active Christian power at work to leaven the mass; is it not probable that a fearfully demoralized community would have risen up, with the astuteness of civilization and the violence of barbarism? Had the Cape Colony been left, in the presence of Kafir irritation, without the wholesome power which, from the very settlement of the Eastern Province, Christianity has exerted, what would have been the cruelties, retaliations, and slaughters, as compared with what have actually occurred?

In the colonial field, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was the first labourer, and to her the American and

other earlier colonies owed valuable, though imperfect, religious privileges. Those due to Puritanism were not sustained by Missions from home; for in its own field it was at once the colonizing and the missionary power; and the fruit of its influence on the new world is visible in every city of the Union. The Baptists of our own nation have re-produced themselves in America in a Church which takes the second place in numbers among those of the country. It was as Colonial Missionaries that Wesley and Whitefield opened their public career; and the earliest Methodist Mission was to New York and Maryland. Twenty-five dioceses are now counted on the colonial list of the Propagation Society, to which the Episcopal Church of the United States may be added, as the fruit of the colonial labours of the Established Church. The largest religious body in the States, indeed, the largest Protestant Church in the world not endowed by the State, is the fruit of the Methodist Colonial Mission commenced less than one century ago. From this has sprung a singular Mission: one to the German immigrants to America, among whom has been gathered a Church numbering many thousands, which re-acts again by Missionaries upon Germany itself. Canada, and the other British Provinces, have not less felt the influence of missionary effort than the United States, although the power and wealth of the Romish Church in the old French possessions prevent the uniform effect which has been attained elsewhere. Taking the North American continent as a whole, the difference between its present religious condition, and what it would have been, had no expansive and propagating energy of Christianity followed up the course of population, and the hope which this difference sheds forward on the prospects of our race, would more than suffice, did this result stand alone, to accredit and reward all the efforts which the various denominations have made. The evil of slavery remains to remind the Church of her former unfaithfulness; but her Missionaries now, instead of being called to Christianize the new regions, find themselves joined, at the various points of the Mission field, by able and faithful brethren from flourishing American Churches, who come to fight the common battle, and testify that labours bestowed on the extending British race are pre-eminently fruitful of future good to universal man.

In Australia, again, we find all the evangelical Churches moving with an energy which, though not adequate to the wants of the population, is such as to put it beyond doubt that these fine colonies will be placed in a far better religious position than ever any new country was before, and soon brought into a condition to exert an immense moral power in the boundless regions of the south and east. In her foreign labours Christianity meets with no enemies so injurious, as wicked men from nominally

Christian lands, as may be judged from some things in the former part of this paper. Even now, the South Sea Isles are infested by knots of desperate villains, whose one object is to indulge in all riot without check, and whose standing grievance is, that in the person of Missionaries, Christianity confronts them even there. Any one who desires to know some particulars of their life, may refer to the book of Mrs. Wallis, already quoted; or glean enough to satisfy him of their incredible fiendishness from the notices of other visitants to the South Seas. Had Australia been neglected, these poor wretches, instead of being, as they now are, counterworked by local Christian influence, would have roamed unabashed, and the whole of the lands accessible from those colonies would have been bitterly, if not incurably, prejudiced against Christianity; while such unmentionable calamities as we have seen in the case of the Tahitians, would have fallen with a blast of destruction on the hapless aborigines. As things are, men of this class will go out from Australia, in numbers sufficient to reproach us all for the condition of our English population; but, thanks be to God, opposite influences will go out also.

The case of one religious body will illustrate the general bearing of Colonial Missions on the future history of the world. At the period of the discovery of gold, the Methodist Missions in the Australian Colonies cost the home funds of the Society (allowance made for all local contributions) above £3,000 annually; while, on the extensive Missions in the three separate fields of New Zealand, the Friendly Islands, and Feejee, several times that amount were expended. Since then, the Australian Missions have been constituted into a separate Conference, and, instead of wishing to be left with only their own charges, they wished to have the Missions within reach attached to them. This has been done; and now the Australian body not only bears every penny of its own expenses, but is raising upwards of £6,000 a-year toward the support of its Missions. This is a fact which ought to be dealt with by those who represent the support of Missions at home as the result of ignorance on the part of the religious public, and unfair power in the hands of the paid staff of Exeter Hall. Colonists, free enough from the supposed powers of the staff, sufficiently keen in their discernment, and above all things practical, take upon their own shoulders Missions hitherto supported from home, and those not lying far from their observation, but the nearest they can find to themselves. It would take the reports of at least two Herman Melvilles to outweigh this public act of the practical men of Australia, except, indeed, with persons of a certain refined sagacity, who see wisdom where others see only wickedness. The whole result of Colonial Missions amounts at least to this, that countries, the offspring of England, will be, if no more, as much

Christianized as their fatherland, and will, according to their ability, bear an equal part in diffusing religious light among the Heathen. And as those countries cover all North America, and promise to command the South, hold the key of Africa and the Indian Ocean, and the post of primary influence in the Southern world, we think that few will hesitate, after a careful survey, to accede to what we have said, that for ultimate influence on the condition of mankind, no Missions whatever have been more important than these.

MISSIONS TO NOMINAL CHRISTIANS OF THE CONTINENT AND THE LEVANT have embraced both Protestants and Roman Catholics. From these our nearest neighbour France has largely benefited. The first action upon her population from amongst us was in a pleasing form. When the Medway was crowded, during the great war, with French prisoners, miserably kept, and utterly neglected in a moral point of view, the universal zeal of Dr. Coke was excited. He obtained leave to institute a Mission amongst them; established schools, provided some temporal relief, and secured the efficient labours, among others, of the now venerable William Toase. This led to the entrance of the Methodists into France, the moment peace returned. Zealous and influential men of other denominations soon followed, among whom the name of Haldane will ever be memorable; and from the various Churches of England and America a large amount of holy influence and labour, of good teaching and evangelistic appeal, has been given to France and Switzerland, with a plentiful distribution of the word of God by the Bible Society. Protestantism was in a pitiable state of decay; with a creed that would almost satisfy the *Westminster Review*, and a freedom from zeal that would be to its heart's content, it troubled and it blessed no one; and barely held its traditional flocks, an ungodly and semi-infidel people. Now, though the old Rationalism still remains with many, and has latterly acquired new strength under modern forms, yet another age has opened on the Protestant Church of France. Holy and faithful Pastors are in many places to be found; new Churches rising; revivals of true religion taking place; persecution provoked by success, and borne with patience; and yearly considerable numbers forsaking the Church of Rome; while a good amount of religious influence has been exerted upon Belgium.

In Spain little observable effect has yet resulted from such temporary and interrupted efforts of the Bible Society and the Methodist Missionaries, as have been permitted by occasional breaks in the continuity of persecuting vigour; but even there a powerful unseen current of Christian influence is working, and will one day show that neither Dr. Rule nor the Bible Agents have

laboured in vain. In Sweden, the soul of an Englishman who had settled in the country longed for religious life, which he did not find, in the fearfully demoralized capital; his application led to the appointment of George Scott, whose quiet labours after a few years alarmed the whole infidel party of the country; the press volleyed abuse, the stage represented him as *Tartuffe*, the mob rushed from the theatre to his house, and the Governor would no longer protect him: but *Rosenius* and others took up his work, and in many faithful hands it has spread, and is spreading still,—the simple work of reviving true religion in the country.

Of Germany we need not say anything; for though in small portions of the country movements originating in different English Churches have done much good, any influence on the nation generally has rather been by the indirect action of the missionary spirit. The persecution of Baptists and others shows how far Germany is yet behind that view of religious freedom to which Bunsen invites her. Yet we are never to forget that before England stirred, Germany and Denmark sent men into the field, whose names will never perish; and that now in several spheres Germans are conducting invaluable Missions of their own, while not a few of them swell the ranks of our English Societies. Sweden also has borne some little part in the toil and suffering of Missions; and it is eminently creditable to the Protestants of France, that they also have taken an important and active part in the work.

Upon Italy the influence of the missionary spirit and action has been sensible, as has appeared in several cases of persecution, and as some know to an extent which it would be imprudent to reveal. In one Italian State, the blessed boon of freedom of conscience has been gained; and the humble heirs of the old Waldenses, stirred and cheered by English Christians, have entered on their long-lost right of worshipping God, and holding forth the word of life to their countrymen. In Greece, the Americans have not been cheered with success equal to the fidelity of their labour; yet they have wisely held their post, and Dr. King now appears to have some encouragement. It is a matter of congratulation that, within the last year, the Government has sent a circular to the teachers of the public schools, recommending the reading of the Scriptures. The Malta Protestant College is a peculiar, but a sage, form of operation, and promises to exercise no small influence on all the East.

Among Missions to nominal Christians, none surpass in interest those of the American Board to the various decayed Churches found on the classic and sacred grounds now covered by the Turkish Empire. To the Armenian, Syrian, Nestorian, and Assyrian Christians, they have sent able, educated, humble men, who have firmly established themselves; laboured and not fainted; commended their cause to all by simple manners and untarnished

names; and have obtained success among the disciples of a corrupted Christianity, which sheds the first beam of hope over the ancient scenes of Bible history that has brightened them, since the troops of Omar crossed the Syrian frontier. The events of the late war, calculated to test the correctness of the favourable impression generally entertained as to these Missions, have greatly deepened it; their importance and their promise having been brought into relief more prominently than ever. The Protestant communities, now existing in different parts of Turkey, as their result, though fretted by many vexations, and likely to encounter a series of persecutions, are of an importance which cannot be overrated; first, as a beginning of reformation among the Christians themselves, and then as an exhibition to the Mohammedans, which they have never had before, of Christianity, free from image-worship, and other affinities to Heathenism, which have ever given them so decided a sense of religious superiority over the idolatrous Churches known to them as Christianity. The last year has proved that even the Turks themselves do not remain unaffected by the progress of the Gospel; and their free purchasing of the Bibles is a symptom of religious inquiry. Not long ago, the existence of a Bible Society and an Evangelical Alliance in Constantinople would have been looked upon as visionary; but now the one is spreading God's word rapidly, and the other has solemnly appealed even to the Government of the Sultan, in favour of general religious liberty, not only for Christians, but also for born Mohammedans, a boon since conceded upon paper; but though for to-day or to-morrow that paper freedom may amount to little, it is a hopeful and memorable beginning, which will not be without its consequences.

The Church Missionary Society has made efforts on behalf of the Coptic and Abyssinian Christians, deserving as much praise as any within this class of Missions; yet they have hitherto had slight reward, except in this, that the enterprise has developed Mr. Gobat into the worthy Bishop of Jerusalem, and added to the list of remarkable names that of Dr. Krapf.

In the field of Missions now under our attention, the progress has been both real and invaluable; but when we look at what remains to be done, we must never regard the past otherwise than as tentative and preliminary. The great and universal effort of Christ's Church to restore to every people who name His name, the pure faith, the spiritual, simple worship, the filial love, the shining hope, and the holy living of the early Christians, remains yet to be made. Desolation mourns on the holiest scenes of religious history; and the brightest climes which are called Christian, shine on a people who lie low down among the oppressed, the benighted, and the depraved. Even Protestant lands are wofully wicked; and though none of them sink so low in civil and social condition as countries more favoured by nature,

but unhappily ruled by Rome, several of them are in a state to call forth all the zeal of those with whom Christianity is more than any creed or form.

The Continental and Eastern Missions provoke a manifestation of that catholic spirit which exists among different branches of the Church to a degree which men of the world little dream. Members of the Church of England, in their 'Foreign Aid Society,' raise large sums annually, to be expended, not in propagating Episcopacy, but in assisting the Presbyterians and Congregationalists of the Continent in their own missionary work. From America, also, large sums are annually sent, which can have no bearing on the denomination of the donors. Lately a Society has been formed in England, of persons belonging to all the evangelical Churches, to support Missions in Turkey, not one of which is connected with any of their denominations, but all with the American Board; while nearly all the aid to the Moravians raised in England, comes from Christians of other bodies.

As to MISSIONS TO THE JEWS, the *Westminster* cuts the matter short, by the process of what has been called by Lord Campbell, 'an advocate turning witness.' The writer has studied on this point, and even travelled, and he is prepared to say, that while such Missions rest on a religious foundation, success is impossible. From this there is no appeal, unless one be permitted to the reviewer himself.

He in one part brings into view Dr. Bettelheim standing alone on the Isles of Loo-Choo, surrounded by a jealous and adverse people, and seemingly wasting his life in efforts to convert the immoveable; but beguiling his leisure by translating the Bible into Japanese. This is a spectacle at which the *Westminster* can only sneer, and it would fain make fun of the lonely labourer. Had he been intent on doing good in any other form than in that which is fruitful of all other good; had he only been healing, which he does, or teaching, or introducing European literature, or bringing into Loo-Choo any one of the many secondary benefits which invariably accompany the Gospel, doubtless even the *Westminster* would have beld its scornful breath for a moment as the solitary soldier of light came into view, standing at his advanced post alone, unable even to hear the distant hum of his own host, or catch an occasional echo of their music, with the lonely sea and the unfriendly land separating him from all that men's hearts adhere to, and from all that stirs the spirit to enterprise; without the change of travel, the stimulus of war, the invigoration of physical exertion; sustained by lonely, lonely, lonely labour for his brother's good. Surely, though the man be a Christian, even the *Westminster* might forget itself so far as to bow with respect and say, 'God bless him!' It may be that the page of the Japanese

Bible which Dr. Bettelheim was penning the same day that the critic was penning jokes at his expense, will be the guide in life and the solace in death of some future writer in Japan, who never knew the name of the *Westminster Review*, but who will tell the heroic story of the translator Bettelheim.

Who, then, is this pioneer who stands out on that solitary post, preaching the Cross? He is a Jew; and since the commencement of missionary efforts for the sons of Abraham, how many have become true and faithful Christians! To count Ministers of the Gospel, some of whom have reached a worthy eminence as preachers or writers, would surprise many who still speak as if no Jew ever did really embrace the Gospel; nearly sixty are in the Church of England alone. And many as are the difficulties and discouragements both in this country and elsewhere, the success has been sufficient to falsify the predictions of those who have opposed efforts for the Jews, and to warrant a redoubling of such as have been hitherto made.

THE MISSIONS TO THE HEATHEN cover an immense field, and present an endless variety. What the Moravian Society justly calls 'the venerable Mission to Greenland,' with its related Mission to Labrador, does not seem at present, according to the modest Report of the Society, to be in a flourishing condition. Yet memorable good has been done, and is still in progress. Of one thing no doubt remains, that the peculiar type of man, one of the extremes of the race, the Esquimaux, as to the essentials of human nature, conscience, moral susceptibilities, and the capacity for knowing God, is of very truth our brother, and fellow-heir of eternity.

Among the Red Men the various Societies—Moravian, English, American—have had many successes and discouragements. Yet were one to take the predictions of irreligious men when attempts were first made to convert them, and confront them with the number of real Christians, of industrious labourers, rising villages, schools, settled families, and faithful Preachers of Christ, a Christian might well feel that there was something wherein to triumph. Weakness, waywardness, and many remnants of former character will be expected, by all experienced men, in converts from among races so wild and debased; yet several of the individual Christians who once were scalp-hunting Heathens, have borne and are bearing the name with a worthiness on which persons more favoured might be congratulated. The course run by PETER JONES, who has just closed his days amid public honour, not only from his own people, but from the whites, is one which to those who watched it is full of encouragement, not unmixed with wonder. And other Indians are sustaining the same ministry with equal honour.

The Missions to the West Indian and American slaves were

truly Missions to the Heathen; and now it is admitted on all hands that the free blacks of the West Indies are, as to religion and morals, before the peasantry of most European countries, perhaps equal to the best. With faults which are natural in a people fresh from the double evil of a heathen ancestry, and of that disorganized social condition which slavery involves, with weaknesses which ages of elevating discipline will be necessary to eradicate, they now fairly take their place among what are called 'Christian populations,' and by the addition do not lower but raise the average of true religion. This is by no means saying that they are all our hearts could wish; but it is saying that what infidels declared to be totally impossible has been done. In the United States, even those who contend that the Negro is made to be bought and sold, admit that many of them are better Christians than their masters,—better, they say, (and do not blush in saying it,) than any men they ever knew. Yet they enslave them!

In the native land of the Negro, much missionary life has been laid down, but not without full reward. The soil of St. Mary's, Gambia, contains many graves; but, to infuse Christianity into that artery of Africa, is well worth more than it has cost. The world has never yet had a spot of which the history is so strange as that of Sierra Leone. The only harbour on nearly two thousand miles of coast; peopled by men of a hundred different nations, all of whom were torn from their homes, sold into slavery, rescued at sea by British ships of war, carried back they knew not whither, landed on a strange soil, amid a Babel of tongues, in which each at last heard his own bidding him welcome to 'a good land,' and finally settled as free men on African soil, covered by the British flag; it is singularly fitted to be the centre of influence to all West Africa. Of its population, the Church Missionary Society has 3,600 communicants and 4,400 scholars; and the Methodist Society 6,600 of the former, and 3,700 of the latter; while other minor Christian bodies comprise a considerable number. From among these Negro Christians, many have found their way to their own countries, and are carrying Christianity and civilization with them; and hence has arisen a most encouraging Mission in the country lying inward from the Bight of Benin. On the Gold Coast, a powerful impression has already been made; even the superlatively savage King of Dahomy has given the Missionaries leave to establish themselves in his dominions, at the slave port of Whydah; and though the *Westminster* expects that the Missions in Liberia will soon come entirely to an end, no appearance promises anything but the opposite result. The rapidity with which trade is developing itself along the West Coast, wherever Christianity attains influence, is an argument at once against those who deny the civilizing efficacy

of Missions, and those who hold that the Negro race are incapable of improvement. Dr. Baikie having proved the Niger to be accessible to Europeans, without the mortality formerly attending the navigation of it, and the Government seeming disposed to protect the native traders from the robbers who infest its borders, we expect to see much progress made in opening up the interior. But what a host of Missionaries are needed even for West Africa alone!

In Southern Africa, perhaps more Societies meet than in any other field; and none of them has laboured in vain. In spite of wars with the Kafirs, and all the evils resulting from broils among them,—by one of which Mr. J. Stewart Thomas, a valuable Missionary, has just lost a life which was consecrated to the good of the people by whose spears he fell,—in spite of the difficulties of the country, and of the dialects, Christianity is firmly planted: steadily advancing, with her books, presses, and schools; with her farms and virtues, gradually conquering barbarism; while her pioneer explorers, like Livingstone, are bringing to view new scenes that invite her advances. She has given to various tongues, there as elsewhere, an alphabet, a grammar, and a Bible; and O, how loudly would the works that have been done, of studying and forming languages, instituting schools, teaching settled life, introducing clothing, and other such deeds, be praised by men of the world, did they not all spring from love to Him who so loved these poor Heathen that He died for their redemption! William Shaw and Robert Moffat, had they done half the secular good they have, Boyce and Appleyard, had their literary services been a tenth of what they are, would have had much commendation, only that they do all for the sake of exalting the Cross of Christ.

As, in the abundance of its allegations, the *Westminster* is alarmed at the prospect of Missionaries bringing political complications and wars upon us; it may be permitted us to recall the fact, that in the last Kafir war no case occurred of natives under the influence of either the Moravian or Methodist Societies, taking a hostile part; while by some attached to the latter Society, at least, very important public services were rendered. Had they not been under such influence, had the tribe of Pato, for instance, situated as it was, been united to the marauders, England would have had as much additional to pay for the cost of the war, as would maintain all the Missions in South Africa for many a year.

As we pass the Island of Madagascar, we can only offer up a prayer, accompanied with a sigh, that the day may soon come when the London Missionary Society shall reap in joy, where it has patiently sowed in tears; and that to the honours of persecution may be added the reward of repose and increase.

Ceylon and India offered a field on which the ancestors (in faith and works) of our modern unbelievers declared the success of Christianity to be impossible. The Negroes could not be converted, for they were too debased to appreciate the lofty doctrines of the Gospel; and the Hindus could not be converted, because their traditions were so ancient, their sacred books so sublime, their manners so pure and gentle, that they were above the approaches of Christianity. Yet, in the face of these serious assurances from men who were quite prepared to be responsible for all consequences, Christians went to preach Christ to both these extreme examples of the human race. After the lapse of years, the ground of the infidel and the Christian is materially changed. The latter has proved the force of all the difficulties; of caste, apathy, the pride of ancient learning, the power of a traditional religion, the immobility of Hindu customs, and the opposition of an European community and a powerful Government. The force brought to bear against this all but infinite array was, until lately, very feeble, and even now is strikingly inadequate. None pretend that the battle is won, or the day decided; for it is manifest that as yet only the preliminaries for a great attack are prepared. Yet, who denies that Hinduism to-day is no longer in the impregnable position it was believed to hold a hundred years ago, and begins to show signs of being among the strongholds which must surrender?

The first work of the Gospel in India was to re-convert the English community back from its devotion to idolatry (political, it is true, but real) to respect for Christianity; and the change accomplished in this particular is one as great, as it is fruitful of honour to our national character, and of blessings to the people whom our countrymen govern. The abolition of suttee was opposed by all who opposed Missions; but it came, and was an important step. Gradually the Missionaries made good their ground; and year by year their congregations grow; converts slowly but certainly increase; their influence through the press becomes more powerful; their schools fuller and more effective; their preaching tours more interesting; and public opinion more tending towards a great change. Silently the confidence of the Brahman abates, steadily that of the Missionary rises; against the former, the book, the school, the sermon, are new and tremendous weapons; while the railway,—not shunned by the natives, but thronged, till an ordinary train at Calcutta is almost like an excursion one here,—and the telegraph, and the newspaper, and the penny post, are all warring a subtle but terrible warfare against venerable immobility; all bearing on their wings some fore-token of Christian ascendancy. From the Brahmans, the Budhists, the Parsees, the Mussulmans, converts have been gained. Hundreds of Hindus are preaching Christ to their countrymen; tens of thousands are thronging missionary schools; girls are being allowed to learn; and among the various Societies,

upwards of 120,000 Hindus have renounced idols. Of this number, the two largest sections are attached to the Church of England and the London Missionary Society. In the Tinevelly Mission of the former Society, the natives are showing considerable liberality in supporting their own Churches, and also native Missions. The Bible, by the labours of all united, but especially by those of the Baptists in the first case, is now generally translated into the Hindu language; but its distribution is on a very limited scale, because Missionary Stations are few, and no steady effort has been made to push its circulation far beyond the immediate field they occupy. A Hindu Prince and a Princess have embraced the Christian faith. Altogether, no Missionary has any more doubt that the state of things in India promises ultimate triumph, than he has that as yet the seed-time has only begun, and much toil awaits us before harvest. The activity of the press may be judged from this, that the American press at Madras issued nearly fourteen and a half millions of pages last year, and the Methodist Mission press at Bangalore nearly three millions. Yet this is nothing compared with the wants of the country. In education the Scotch Societies, headed by such remarkable men as Duff and Wilson, have taken the lead; and if the sketch of the transition state now taking place in India, lately published by the former, be fervid, it is not less correct.

China has offered a noble field for testing the higher virtues of the Missionary,—patience, with labour in solitude, discouragement, and under great intellectual difficulties; and perhaps higher honour has nowhere been won, than by the men who patiently prepared for the opening; a labour in which the London Society stood almost alone. At this moment the position of the country is so critical, that conjectures are all at fault; but it will not be denied that even upon it no small impression has been made by Christianity. Yet the men who are toiling for the conversion of its people need, if any upon earth, to be upheld by the prayers and sympathy of their fellow-Christians. A society formed of members of various denominations, and labouring for China only, is, we are happy to observe, going forward with encouraging vigour, as may be seen by its valuable periodical, the *Chinese Missionary Gleaner*.

Having already alluded to South Sea Missions, we will not further return to them than by a very few remarks. It must be admitted on all hands, that however much remains to be done for the people of New Zealand, they have, as a whole, been rescued from cannibalism, and added to the number of professedly Christian countries, by the joint labours of the Church and the Methodist Missionary Societies; and that many of them are Christians indeed. Colonization owes it to Missions that such a

field was made accessible; and to them the natives owe it that they were not robbed of their lands by colonization,—a fact which will never be forgiven, by certain interested parties, to either of the two Societies concerned.

The Friendly Islands furnish the most complete specimen, as yet, of an entirely converted race, and, from 'all accounts,' the number of real Christians among the nominal is extraordinarily great. The beautiful work of Miss Farmer* offers a record such as has never been equalled in several respects; and we wish God speed a thousand times to the little realm of King George, whom the late Sir Everard Home called, 'the King Alfred of the South Seas;† and of whose people Professor Harvey avers that, though only fourteen years have passed since the last human sacrifice took place, they are now 'a quiet, peaceable, and well ordered Christian community.'

The Feejee Islands are too rife with interest for us to touch without being tempted to dwell upon them: therefore we shall only say, that among those inconceivable savages a few humble Missionaries have been enabled to plant the cross, to stand their ground, to brave and escape a thousand deaths, to bury in hope such men as John Hunt, and to rejoice already over a Bible translated, multitudes of lives saved, some thousands truly converted, and about thirty thousand who have renounced their idolatry and its horrible attendant of cannibalism. We give the narrative of Captain Erskine of one of the ordinary scenes of this Mission:—

'On Sunday, July 29th, the hollow sound of the awful *lali*, or sacred drum, bore across the water to Viwa the intelligence that a cargo of human victims had arrived in Bau; and a native Christian Chief, (I believe Namosemalua,) who had quitted the capital to bring the information to the Mission, related to the shuddering ladies, whose husbands were absent, the whole of the circumstances of the capture. In the course of the day different reports as to the intentions of the authorities (native) were brought over; but in the evening came a definitive one, that all were to be slaughtered on the morrow.

'And then was enacted a scene which ought to be ever memorable in the history of this Mission.

'On the Monday morning Mrs. Lyth and Mrs. Calvert, accompanied only by the Christian Chief above mentioned, embarked in a canoe for Bau, to make an effort to save the lives of the doomed victims. Each carried a whale's tooth, decorated with ribbons, a necessary offering in preferring a petition to a Chief; for even in this exciting moment these admirable women did not neglect the ordinary means of succeeding in their benevolent object. As they landed at the wharf, not far from the house of old Tanoa, the father of Thakombau, and in this instance the person to whom they were to address

* 'Tonga and the Friendly Isles. By Sarah S. Farmer.' London: Hamiltons. See also 'The Southern World,' by the Rev. Robert Young, and the work of Captain Erskine, R.N.

† George's subsequent conduct, as well as that of the Heathen Chiefs of whom Commander Wilkes thought so favourably, has shown how much he was deceived.

themselves, the shrieks of two women then being slaughtered for the day's entertainment chilled their blood, but did not daunt their resolution. They were yet in time to save a remnant of the sacrifice. Ten had been killed and eaten, one had died of her wounds, the life of one girl had been begged by Thakombau's principal wife, to whom she was delivered as a slave, and three only remained. Regardless of the sanctity of the place, it being *tabued* to women, they forced themselves into old Tanoa's chamber, who demanded, with astonishment at their temerity, what these women did there? The Christian Chief, who well maintained his lately adopted character, answered for them, that they came to solicit the lives of the surviving prisoners, presenting at the same time the two whale's teeth. Tanoa, apparently still full of wonder, took up one of these, and, turning to a messenger, desired him to carry it immediately to Navindi, and ask if it were "good." A few minutes were passed in anxious suspense. The messenger returned, and, "It is good," was Navindi's answer. The women's cause was gained, and old Tanoa thus pronounced his judgment: "Those who are dead are dead; those who are alive shall live." With their three rescued fellow-creatures these heroic women retired, and already had the satisfaction of experiencing that their daring efforts had produced a more than hoped for effect. A year or two ago, no voice but that of derision would have been raised towards them; but now, on returning to their canoe, they were followed by numbers of their own sex, blessing them for their exertions, and urging them to persevere.

'Any further remarks on the conduct of our countrywomen on this occasion would be superfluous. If any thing could have increased our admiration of their heroism, it was the unaffected manner in which, when pressed by us to relate the circumstances of their awful visit, they spoke of it as the simple performance of an ordinary duty.'—*Journal of a Cruise among the Islands of the Western Pacific*, pp. 182-184.

Among every great division of the human family first-fruits have been gathered, and we stand in a position, as regards our knowledge of the number of our world's population, the errors by which they are benighted, the sufferings which these entail, and the practicability of carrying the Gospel to all men, so much in advance of what our predecessors did, that both the appeal to our sympathy, and the encouragement to our efforts, are much stronger than were theirs.

Among points clearly demonstrated by the missionary experience of the last hundred years, we may name a few. The depravity manifested in civilized countries pervades all tribes of mankind: this is now as much a conclusion of experience as of Scripture; and on this contested point, the man of science, who professes still to doubt, must admit that the assertions of his predecessors in scepticism, respecting the innocence of man in simple communities, have been terribly disproved by our increased knowledge of mankind. The paradise of sailors, in the South Seas and elsewhere, has ever proved on investigation to be the home of a sinful and suffering race.

It is now made equally clear that the Christian Scriptures are the only book in the world which can for a moment vindicate a claim to be a Divine revelation. The Sacred *Vend* of Zoroaster used to be heard of as rivalling, if not surpassing, the Bible: who will name it in such a connexion now? The writings of Confucius were surely its superior: who in Europe will now profess that they have any show of being a revelation? Above all, the *Vedas* contained a wonderfully high and holy religion: they are now known to be 'a heap of hymns without coherency or sense,' not even advancing for themselves the claim to be a revelation. The *Koran* never pretended to be more than an addition to the Bible: and none will be found to place them side by side. The OLD BOOK, the Book of our Redeemer's gift and our fathers' faith, has during all this while been gradually ascending; taking to itself new tongues, spreading open its page in every land, printed in Chinese camps, pondered in the Red man's wigwam, sought after in Benares, a school-book in Feejee, eagerly bought in Constantinople, loved in the kloofs of Kafirland; while the voices of the dead from Assyria and Egypt have been lifted up to bear it witness. Men may hate it still; but with the light of the last century upon it, in which its brightness has been daily increasing, they cannot deny that now it stands before the civilized world, not one of many rival revelations, but, honoured or disowned, the sole Book with a colourable claim of divinity. There is no second Gospel abroad in the earth.

Another fact is ascertained by experience,—that all men, however diversified their physical types and moral condition, however low in barbarism or high in civilization, are capable of the religious influence of Christianity. The Negro and the Hindu, the Hottentot and the Mongol, the Maori and the Frenchman, the Esquimaux and the Anglo-Saxon, are now daily adoring the same Father, and rejoicing in hope of eternal fellowship where divisions shall never alienate, nor disasters bring any low.

The moral identity of man in all his varieties is another of the facts ascertained by missionary experience. Leaving it to the useful studies of the ethnologist to trace the physical indications of man's unity, we rejoice to receive evidence through missionary labour that the Negro is truly man, by tokens of *moral identity* far more conclusive than any physical or intellectual indications; as in the case of Joseph Wright, who was torn from his African home in boyhood, stowed naked on board a ship, which was seized at sea by strangers and carried back, till the mountains of Sierra Leone came in view: there he was housed, clothed, instructed; heard the wondrous Gospel, felt its saving power, burned to make it known; came to England to study; spent twelve years faithfully preaching Christ on his native soil; then heard of his mother still living away in the

distant region whence the slave-robbers had borne him; hastened to see her, but first sent his son to England for education, and, after visiting her in the interior, in returning to his home, died at the port of Lagos; and on his death-bed wrote to his boy in England a letter, which was that of a husband, a father, a Christian, a Minister of God,—then surely of a man! And not only the Negro Joseph Wright, but the Red Indian Peter Jones, who ‘changed the tomahawk for the Bible;’ and Neni, the New-Zealand Chief, who, when the rebellion was over, and the Queen rewarded his services by a pension of £100 a year, offered to give up the first four years of it to build a flour-mill on the lands of Heki, to prove to him that in taking part against him he had not felt as his enemy; and George Tubou, the clement King of the Friendly Isles; and Leang Afa, the first Chinese convert of the memorable Morrison, faithful to death; and Kama, the Kafir Chief, sole noble of his nation who bore the name of Christ, honouring it now for many years, and chosen by Sir George Cathcart to occupy with his tribe the border territory, as a faithful friend of peace; and Varani, of Feejee, the fiendish cannibal, the blameless convert, living in grace, dying by violence, but in peace; and Hottentots and Fingoes, Esquimaux and Dyaks; by the close kindred of conscience we hail you as men! Was the result of physical inquiry contrary to what it is; was the unbeliever, instead of being discouraged by it, emboldened to tell us that you are neither bone of our bone, nor flesh of our flesh; by a deeper test and a surer token we have found you to be our brothers, soul of our soul, offspring of the same great Parent, diseased by the same taint, recoverable by the same cure,—that whereof the source is our Redeemer’s cross, and the process the creating of a new heart, the renewing of a right spirit within man by His Spirit.

This process—the converting of wicked men to godly affections and holy living—is now one of the demonstrated facts of human experience, among all the varieties of our species. It is never fairly encountered by sceptics in a philosophical spirit, which they so much affect. They cannot deny the fact: all the men around them who are spending their lives for the good of their neglected neighbours in City Missions, Strangers’ Friend Societies, Ragged Schools, and the ten thousand organized or independent modes of doing good, which day and night are in play in our country,—as well as those who follow a cry of misery from the antipodes, and apply themselves to turn it into a song,—will tell them, that naturally they were no more concerned for the kingdom of God or the good of man than their neighbours; and that the zeal which now colours their life sprang up when a great change was wrought within them, which was to them the beginning of a new being,—a birth from above. And all those—whether out of our own alleys or from among foreign tribes—

who respond to the efforts of these labourers, and promise to take up and perpetuate their benevolent exertions, will bear the same testimony, that the good which encourages their benefactors, and will make them in turn benefactors to others, arose within them in the process of a change so deep and blessed, that surely Heaven must have wrought it. In dealing with the Christian world, this change (conversion) can no more be kept out of sight by a philosopher, than can birth in dealing with the natural one. To say that it is an illusion, is to trace back the spiritual life, the image of God in men, impelling them to combat all delusions, iniquities, oppressions, and to assuage all sorrows; the power which confronted slavery on its own ground and overcame it, quenched the suttee, stayed the feasting on human flesh, stanchd many of the wounds at which the blood of Africa was ebbing away, broke the dull spell of ages over the intellect of the Hindu, and is now wrestling with evil in every form wherein it afflicts mankind, upon every field whereon it holds them down;—to trace, in fact, all the sustained and combined efforts now made for the regeneration of universal man, as well as the brightest individual cases of holy and happy life, back to an illusion. No philosophy but that of a Manichee can be satisfied with this: the good that is done on the earth is not due to accident or illusion, but to a Power,—a Power which moves to salvation, and not to destruction; and that is the power of God, conveyed through the Gospel of His Son, of which the attesting seal is the conversion of sinners out of every kindred, and nation, and people, and tongue, which will advance and yet advance, till our thousands swell to millions, and millions cease to be counted in the universal multitude of men.

The only other fact which we shall name, as attested by missionary experience, is, that Christianity alone is the growing religion among mankind. What a change in the territorial power of Islam, since the opening of the missionary era! In the extreme East, its most gorgeous monarchy, that of the Mogul, has passed to those who hold the Protestant form of Christianity; on the West, Algeria, to those who hold the Romish; and on the North, many spacious provinces, to those who hold the Greek; while at the centre it is paralysed, and shows life only at the African and Malay extremities. Not so fierce, but much more wide-spread and superstitious than the creed of Arabia, were the two of India,—Buddhism and Brahmanism. Ceylon, the sacred land of the former, is no longer a safe asylum for it; while in China it is falling into decomposition, and nowhere making advance. Brahmanism, which seemed immoveably seated as the snows of the Himalaya, begins to feel the very mountains move beneath it; and the question is not whether it will abide for ever, but whether its 'perpetual' deposits will

violently rend and spread havoc as they come down, or will gradually melt in an advancing spring. The various forms of unlettered Paganism (or, as some now wish them all to be called, Fetishism) have had the Missionary on their track, and been more or less driven backward.

Gaining on Mohammedism, gaining on Buddhism, gaining on Brahmanism, gaining on all savage superstitions; gaining in the character of the most powerful nations that profess her own faith, in the tone of their legislation, and the conduct of their relations with subject or neighbouring peoples; gaining by the effects of science, invention, and discovery; gaining in the zeal of her disciples, the diffusion of her Scriptures, the renown of ameliorations wrought upon many portions of the race; gaining internally and externally, Christianity in the last century has made great advances, and won to herself at least one glory whereof we have no record in the first. Then her victories were at the traditional centres of religion, arts, and empire; in cities, with their synagogues and schools; among men presenting the greatest intellectual difficulties, but also the greatest amount of moral sympathy. We have no instance of her power then displayed on tribes fallen into the lowest degradation; without letters, manners, or industrial art. In her first century, when her disciples were the least learned, she displayed her power by conquering Jew and Greek, Egyptian and Roman; the most prejudiced, argumentative, and cultivated of men: in this age, when her disciples are the most enlightened, she has displayed it by conquering the most brutish tribes ever yet known. Now she touches with one hand the first intellects of Europe, and with the other the savage of yesterday; and both meekly walk in her path of peace.

If, however, Christianity is gaining, and all other systems decaying; if we have new-found brothers from all 'far countries,' who were dead and are alive again; if we are entitled to rejoice and be exceeding glad, and to hail the future with exulting hope; one glance at our world, nevertheless, is sufficient to dash down all thought of self-congratulation, all dream of the victory being won. Even were the outposts of the world—the island groups and outside nations, far removed from the old family seat—all carried, (which they are not,) still the centre of humanity, uncounted Asia, with Africa, its eldest colony,—the former now ascertained to have a population which minifies Europe; and the latter shown by every new discovery to be the nurse, if still the arid nurse, of far more human beings than were supposed to dwell in her unexplored interior,—these two, with their few Mission Stations on or near their coasts, are supplied with Christian truth on some such scale, as if the light-houses standing round the shore of Britain were the only means

provided, at night, to light all our streets and dwellings. So far from taking glory to ourselves as having done much, we have only stirred ourselves enough to learn how long has been our slumber, and how imperfect is yet our vigilance. The little effort made has been blessed with results which strengthen our weak faith, and nurse our zeal,—enable us to be bold in presence of infidels, and hopeful in that of the Heathen. But the reproach of those sceptics, who tell us that did we really believe our own doctrines, we should all be Missionaries, at home or abroad, ought to cut us to the quick; the examples of the sacrifice of home, health, and even life, which are given by thousands of soldiers, sailors, traders, travellers, colonists, for avowedly temporal ends; compared with the few who cheerfully undergo similar danger for Christ's sake, give us every reason to feel abashed in the sight of worldly men. To what earnestness of prayer, to what efforts of labour, and to what constancy of self-denial should we all be moved by the moan of innumerable miseries which already might have been lightened or removed,—by the uncertain and comfortless look cast before them by thousands and tens of thousands who are entering the valley of death; no Word saying, *Though he die, yet shall he live*; no faith replying, *Though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, yet will I fear no evil*!

BRIEF LITERARY NOTICES.

Memorials of his Time. By Henry Cockburn. Edinburgh : Adam and Charles Black,. 1856.

WITHIN the beautiful cemetery of Dean, overshadowed by tall old trees, are the graves of some of those great Whig lawyers, who, in the early part of the present century, conferred such lustre upon Edinburgh society, not only by their success in the arena of professional life, but also by their achievements in the wider fields of politics and literature. There rest Thomas Thomson, the learned antiquarian, Francis Jeffrey, the brilliant critic, accomplished advocate, and able judge, and Henry Cockburn, his competitor, friend, and biographer. The last of this distinguished group possessed a geniality of temperament, and a kindness of manner, that made him a universal favourite. His connexion with some of the best families in and around the Scottish metropolis, particularly with the then all-powerful Dundas's, gave him a ready and early introduction to the best society; while his position at the Bar, and his political leanings, made him the intimate associate and friend of those bold and able men, who originated the *Edinburgh Review*, and fought the long, dubious, and finally successful battle against that tyrannical Toryism which controlled and oppressed Scotland, during the end of the last and beginning of the present century,—a battle, whose progress, from its almost hopeless commencement to its triumphant close, is faithfully detailed in the delightful volume before us. It will thus be evident that few men could possibly have been better qualified to write *Memorials of his Time* than the late Lord Cockburn; and the time and the society well deserved such a chronicler. The work, lately presented to the public by his executors, was composed between 1821 and 1830; and the author, writing at a later period, gives the following account of its origin: 'It occurred to me several years ago as a pity that no private account should be preserved of the distinguished men or important events that had marked the progress of Scotland, or at least of Edinburgh, during my day. I had never made a single note with a view to such a record; but, about 1821, I began to recollect and to inquire.'

In the opening chapter, the author gives an interesting account of his own early education, and of the High School of Edinburgh, where he studied; of the savage temper of his first master, and of the abject fear with which he inspired him; and concludes by telling us, 'I never got a single prize, and once sat *boobie* at the annual public examination. The beauty of no Roman word, or thought, or action, ever occurred to me; nor did I ever fancy that Latin was of any use except to torture boys.' A graphic description is given of Edinburgh dancing parties at the close of the last century, when everything fashionable still clung to George's Square. The Assembly Rooms were in that neighbourhood; and there might still be seen 'the last remains of the ball-room discipline of the preceding age. Martinet dowagers and venerable beaux acted as masters and mistresses of ceremonies, and made all the preliminary arrangements. No couple could dance unless each party was provided with a ticket, prescribing the precise place in the precise dance; if there was no ticket, the gentleman or the lady was dealt with as an intruder, and turned out of the dance.' A pathetic lament is made over the old supper parties of Edinburgh, now almost given up from the increased lateness of the dinner hour. 'It is now fading into paltry wine and water in many houses; but in many it still triumphs in a more substantial form. Lord Hermand was one of the great patrons of this Roman banquet; almost all my set, which is perhaps the merriest, the most intellectual, and not the most severely abstemious in Edinburgh, are addicted to it. I doubt if, from the year 1811, when I married, I have closed above one day in the month (of my town life) at home and alone; it is always some scene of domestic conviviality, either in my own house or a friend's. And this is the habit of all my best friends.' A clear picture is afterwards drawn of several well known Scottish ladies of the old school, which was characterized by much kindness and common sense, and by not a little coarseness and eccentricity.

In 1799, Lord Cockburn entered the Speculative Society, 'an institution which' (he says) 'has trained more young men to public speaking, talent, and liberal thought, than all the other private institutions in Scotland.' About that period it was in all its glory. Hope, Hume, Moncrieff, Lord Henry Petty, and Lord Kinnaird, Jeffrey, Horner, and Brougham, either were, or had shortly before been, members; and of the last three it is affirmed that they 'were as good writers and speakers then as they have ever been since; and each in the very same style he afterwards retained.' In 1800, our author became a member of the Scotch Bar; and he presents his readers with an animated sketch of the state of Edinburgh and of Edinburgh society at that epoch. 'Everything rung and was connected with the Revolution in France, which for above twenty years was, or was made, the all in all; everything, not this or that thing, but literally everything, was soaked in this one event.' The Tory party engrossed almost the whole rank, and wealth, and public office of the country; every objector to their political creed and domination was at once stigmatized and persecuted as a 'Jacobin;' there was 'no popular representation, no free political institutions whatever,' and '*as a body to be deferred to no public existed.*' The Whigs were few in number, and in every way discountenanced and discouraged. Their principal leaders then were,

Henry Erskine, Adam Gillies, John Clark, David Cathcart, and James, afterwards Sir James, G. Craig of Riccarton; and to these were subsequently added Jeffrey, Cockburn, Brougham, and Horner. In the Church, Sir Harry Moncrieff supported their principles; and in the University of Edinburgh, Professors Dugald Stewart and Playfair.

In this part of the work there is a clever picture of the old Parliament Close, and several admirable portraits of some of the leading Scotch Judges of that day. Of Brayfield, strong in mind and body, but a tyrant and a bully, with a dash of coarse wit and boisterous jocularity; of Eskgrove, cunning in old Scotch law, but, in other respects, a most ludicrous personage, whose absurdities would fill a volume; and of Hermand, kind, honourable, and warm-hearted, but who believed drinking to be a virtue; compassionating those poor wretches who could not indulge in it, and heartily despising those who could, but did not. He and Hay, afterwards raised to the Bench as Lord Newton, were two of the most distinguished ornaments of the *Ante Manum* Club,* 'a jovial institution, which contained, and helped to kill, most of the eminent toppers of Edinburgh for about sixty years preceding the year 1818, when the degenerate temperance of the age at last destroyed it.' In a subsequent chapter, we have some lively sketches of the most celebrated members of the Scottish Bar of those days; and a contrast is drawn between the Tories, who had several excellent lawyers, but not one man (with the exception of Sir Walter Scott) who rose to distinction in literature or in public affairs; and the Whigs, who could then boast of 'a greater amount of accomplished talent and greater public service in literature, in policy, and in law, than has ever distinguished any era of the Scotch Bar;' so much so, that the keen-eyed, observant Professor Playfair is said to have remarked that 'it seemed to him that the whole cause of independence in Scotland hung upon the characters and the exertions of about half a dozen young men in the Parliament House.'

The rise of the *Edinburgh Review*, the building of the new town, the mania for volunteer soldiering, the General Assembly of the Church, the foundation of the Scottish Academy of Painting and Sculpture, the steady progress of Whig opinions, the gradual change in Edinburgh society, and an immense variety of other interesting topics, are all touched upon by Lord Cockburn with the hand of a master; and, throughout the volume, many admirable remarks are made on the injudicious and tasteless manner in which the glorious sites, so richly furnished by the undulating ground on which Edinburgh is built, have been perverted and misused; and some just and caustic criticism is expended upon 'that abominable encumbrance, the earthen mound,' on the North Bridge Buildings, and on the needless pulling down of Trinity College Church, the finest old Gothic relic in the Scottish metropolis.

We had marked many passages for quotation, but our limits warn us to conclude. We cannot do so, however, without expressing our conviction of the permanent as well as present interest of this volume. It will long commend itself, not merely to the local antiquarian, but to the humourist and the man of taste. We could not promise this, if

* So called, because one of the original rules was, that the bill should be paid *beforehand*.

the value of the author's matter were not enhanced by the skilful manner in which he has presented and preserved it: the style is unusually terse and graphic; no topic is suffered to be tedious; no character is over-drawn, and no incident is over-done. The book is full of vigorous etching. Genuine in substance, and masterly in treatment, we have little doubt that it will become a national classic. We only regret that some of the abler parts of the 'Life of Jeffrey' are not included in this volume of Memorials, for which many of them were first prepared; and even the brilliant and versatile critic himself would probably have shown to more advantage, and would certainly have made a more permanent appearance, in this gallery of Scottish characters, than in our author's friendly but too copious Memoir.

History of the Jewish Nation after the Destruction of Jerusalem under Titus. By the Rev. Alfred Edersheim, Ph.D., Old Aberdeen. Edinburgh: Thomas Constable and Co. 1856.

THIS elegant and erudite book is the achievement of a purpose cherished for many years by its author, and the result of hard, yet pleasant, toil during four of those years. Such a disclosure in the preface could not fail to awaken interest, and create high expectations; and these have been sustained by a careful perusal. Dr. Edersheim's work is a verification of a statement of his own, that 'a simple and impartial account of Judaism on the one hand, and a perusal of the Gospels on the other, constitutes one of the most convincing proofs of the Divine origin of the Christian religion, and of its organic connexion with that of the Old Testament.....It is impossible to read the Gospel narrative in the light of Jewish history, without feeling that the notions and circumstances to which it alludes are exactly those of the time in which Jesus Christ lived and taught on earth. They apply to that period, and to that period ONLY.....If a copy of the Gospels were put into the hands of an impartial Jewish historian, he could not fail to discover that the events there chronicled must have taken place exactly at the time when, according to Christian belief, Jesus walked amongst men. *The Gospels, HISTORICALLY SPEAKING, CANNOT be an after production.*'

In accomplishing his important task the author has availed himself of the works of the best modern German Jewish historians. Dr. Jost's impartial history, extending over ten volumes; Gratz's full and accurate book, the first of a forthcoming series; Selig Cassel's sketch in Ersch's *Encyclopædia*, and others of that class, are brought under contribution; whilst there are abundant references to authors better known to English readers, *ex. gr.*, Prideaux, Lightfoot, Selden, and Buxtorf. Our author deals unsparingly with Josephus, whilst admitting that his writings must always remain a most valuable source of information in the absence of other historical documents. As an historian Josephus is substantially accurate; but who shall define his creed? Who would go to him to learn concerning 'the questions which are among the Jews?' Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes, and Grecians might equally claim him by turns. We wish that Edersheim had spoken more favourably of Basnage's *Continuation of Josephus*. That venerable folio has so long done good service, that it ought not to have been dismissed so summarily.

But as our space is limited, we must hasten to speak of the contents, as well as the authorities, of the book before us. It supplies some curious information to those who would know what 'doctors' were probably sitting in the temple when 'the child Jesus' appeared among them, and what themes He probably heard them discuss; and to those, also, who, finding references in Scripture to 'the traditions,' and quotations in learned commentaries from rabbinical authorities, desire some further knowledge of the Rabbis and their favourite dogmas. Here, too, the reader may grow familiar with the salient points in the history of the most renowned of Jewish sages for theological attainments, kabalistic powers, or reputation for sanctity; and learn to judge of the state of religion among the people, and of the direction which theology, piety, and religious ardour assumed. These portraits include Antigonus, Honias, Jesus ben Sirach, (so proverbial for wisdom,) Symmachus, (the translator of the Bible into Greek,) Hillel the Great, (thought by some to have been the father of Simeon, who took the infant Saviour in his arms,) Jonathan the Targumist, Shammai, Gamahel, (at whose feet Saul of Tarsus was 'brought up,') Akiba, Jarchi, Shemaja, and Abtalion, and other 'men of renown,' some of whom witnessed the advent of the Saviour, taught during His lifetime, and had a more or less direct share in His rejection and death. A few of these worthies have already come before the reader in an earlier part of our present issue.

The *political* history is written with great vigour and dramatic power. If the limits of this notice allowed, it would afford us more than ordinary gratification to quote from the author's description of the fierce struggle between the Asmoncans under Mattathias, and the Syrians, headed by Apollonius, (page 14,) of the condition of Jerusalem after the siege of Titus, and on occasion of its being revisited by that conqueror, (pp. 28, 32,) of the siege of Macherus, (page 39,) and, above all, of the tragedy of Masada, 'when the last glimmer of hope died out, and, with the determination of despair, the last defenders of Judea prepared to perish in the flames which enveloped its last fortress.' (Page 43.) But to the general reader the chapters on the 'Social Condition of Palestine,' 'Progress of Arts and Sciences among the Hebrews,' and 'Theological Science and Religious Belief in Palestine,' will be most inviting; and these, the author confesses, 'cost more labour, and involved more research, than any other part of the book.'

We ought not to omit to notice the appendices to the volume,—on 'The Jewish Calendar,' 'The Wisdom of Ben Sira,' 'Alexandrian Jewish Poetry,' 'Geographical Notions of the Rabbins,' and 'Rabbinical Exegesis.' These are as valuable as they are interesting, and we hope that to them may be added, in a future edition, an index to the whole.

The History is brought down to the time of the last of the pagan Emperors; but we are glad to learn that materials are ready for continuing this comprehensive record to a recent date. In the meantime we strongly recommend the study of the present volume. If the work is only half done in one sense, it is thoroughly well done in every other.

Five Years in Damascus ; including an Account of the History, Topography, and Antiquities of that City. With Travels and Researches in Palmyra, Lebanon, and the Haman. By the Rev. J. L. Porter, A.M., F.R.S.L. 2 vols. 8vo. With Maps and Illustrations. London : Murray. 1855.

DAMASCUS is the pride of all the countries 'toward the rising of the sun ;' its beauty and richness are proverbial among Orientals, who describe it as 'a pearl surrounded by emeralds.' Ancient geographers and authors, as Strabo and Julian, boasted of 'the beauty of its temples and the magnitude of its shrines, as well as the timeliness of its seasons, the limpidness of its fountains, the volume of its waters, and the richness of its soil.' Nor has the testimony of modern writers been less glowing. 'O ! how lovely,' exclaimed Lord Lindsay, 'the city with her picturesque minarets sailing like a fleet through a sea of verdure !' (*Letters*, vol. ii., p. 181.) Mr. Addison writes: 'One of the most magnificent prospects in the world burst upon my sight ; a vast plain, bordered in the distance by blue mountains, and occupied by a rich luxuriant forest of the walnut, the fig, the pomegranate, the plum, the apricot, and the citron, forming a waving grove of more than fifty miles in circuit. Grandly rising in the distance, above this vast superficies of rich luxuriant foliage, are seen the swelling leaden domes, the gilded crescents, and the marble minarets of Damascus.' (*Damascus and Palmyra*, vol. ii., p. 92). Even the learned and discriminating Stanley is aroused into enthusiasm, when he speaks of the course of the Barada (Abana), as it breaks from the wild ravine in which it had been confined, and spreads over an area of upwards of 200 square geographical miles. 'It is like the bursting of a shell, the eruption of a volcano ; but an eruption not of death, but of life, over the wide plain. In the midst of this plain lies at your feet the vast lake or island of deep verdure ; and in the midst of this mass of foliage rises, striking out its white arms of streets, hither and thither, and its white minarets above the trees which embosom them, the City of Damascus.' (*Sinai and Palestine*, p. 402). These testimonies might be multiplied, and would show that all the luxury of the East is there ; shade, fragrance, coolness, the sweet murmur of rushing streams, the welcome gloom of tangled foliage, the breeze that languidly fans the heated brow ; in a word, as the Orientals themselves express it, 'all the odours of Paradise.'

But it has higher charms than all these. It is the patriarch of cities. Whether or not we agree with the Arab historians and Josephus, that Uz, the son of Aram, was its founder, we cannot doubt that it has been a city from the time when Abraham left his home 'between the rivers,' to journey westward to the Land of Promise, and is thus a connecting link between the earliest post-diluvian age and modern days. It has witnessed the stirring events of full four thousand years ; and, having formed an important part in the empires of Nineveh, Babylon, Persia, Greece, and Rome, and prospered under every dynasty, has outlived them all.

Yet the languages of Europe have contained no full and accurate account of its topography, history, and statistics. Burckhardt contemplated this, but did not live to complete his design. Chevalier

d'Arvieux did good service some two hundred years ago, by his description of the city at that period, and of some buildings which are now destroyed; but his work is antiquated and inaccessible. Ibn Asaker's *History of the celebrated Tombs and Mausoleums in and around Damascus*, (an Arabic MS. written about a century ago,) was not at the command of *any* author or reader. And we have been much at the mercy of mere tourists, who, whatever their literary and other qualifications, have enjoyed but limited opportunities of research; and whose descriptions have, therefore, notwithstanding beauty and intensity, lacked minute and accurate details. Hence the high satisfaction of meeting with one who possesses any claim to be considered a safe and reliable guide; who has *lived* in the country, learnt the language of the people, mingled with all classes of the population, and become familiar with their politics and traditions and history; and who can, withal, furnish us with a map, mainly the result of observation and experiment with his own sextant and compass.

Such a guide we have in the author of these volumes, whose superior advantages have led him to be mercilessly severe upon hasty travellers. These are treated as literary adventurers and sentimental rhapsodists; and doubtless their blunders would be to him peculiarly amusing and provoking. But what could they do? The ruins which Porter complains that they did not explore, do not (as he admits) stand out in bold relief from a desert plain, as they do in Palmyra; nor do they lift their proud heads in solitary grandeur far above the crumbling ruins around them, as in Bâ'albek, Busrab, or Jerash. They are here encompassed by modern mansions, into which no stranger might venture; and almost lost in the labyrinth of bustling bazaars, where the inquiries of the unknown antiquary would have been a grand and hotly resented impertinence. However anxious, he would not have been permitted, in search of ancient pillars, to survey the Saracenic cupola that overshadows the richly wrought capital, nor to uplift the piles of costly silks that conceal the shaft, nor to scrape off the white-wash that covers the polished granite of houses in the streets, nor to invade the sanctity of Moslem shrines, in order to view the columns of porphyry and *verd-antique* which are there shut up from infidel gaze. For racy specimens of these savage, though sometimes partially merited, attacks, we must refer our readers to the author's critiques upon De Saulcy, (vol. i., pp. 144, 270,) upon Urquhart and Lane, (vol. i., p. 140,) Dr. Wilson, (vol. ii., p. 307,) Lamartine, (vol. i., p. 59,) Buckingham, (vol. ii., pp. 152, 215,) Keith, misled by Buckingham, (vol. ii., p. 178,) ay, and Wood and Darkins, whose work he so greatly admires. (Vol. i., p. 233.)

We must, however, hasten to speak of the book itself, which is, despite its vaunting, a great treasure to sacred geographers, and invaluable for purposes of scriptural illustration. The space allotted us will not allow of our doing more than *indicating* the best part of its contents.

First, then, we commend the labours of the author to establish the identity of the 'ABANA and PHARPAR, rivers of Damascus,' with the Barada and 'Awaj, a full topographical and statistical account of which he gave in the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, for the months of July and October, 1858; an article which attracted the attention and called

forth the commendation of Stanley. This research must have been a labour of love. For to the Barada the groves and gardens, and the very city, owe their existence. Damascus is truly 'a tree planted by the rivers of waters;' as dependent, whilst as beautiful. Without Abana and Pharpar, the whole plain would be a parched desert; but now, aqueducts intersect every quarter, and fountains sparkle in almost every dwelling, while numberless canals extend their ramifications over a vast area, clothing it with its renowned verdure and beauty.

The reader will find here, also, an unsurpassed analytical description of the GREAT MOSQUE OF THE OMEIYADES, the grand monument of Roman, Christian, and Mohammedan art and history, the most interesting remains of antiquity in the city of Damascus, and one of the finest buildings in Syria. Here stood the Temple of Rimmon, in which Naaman was forced to worship with his royal master; then the Shrine of Jupiter; then the 'Church of the blessed John the Baptist,' whose head was preserved here in a golden casket (?); and now the Mosque of Walid, the sixth Khalif of the Omeiyades. On one of the angles there towers the *Mâdinet Isa*, 'Minaret of Jesus,' the most ancient structure of that kind in the world. When Christ comes to judge mankind, tradition says, that He will first descend upon this minaret; and then, opening the great book of God, will read over the names of believers, when both Christians and Jews will learn to their dismay that Muslems alone have their names inscribed in the 'Book of Life.'

The graphic description of the author's journey to PALMYRA will well repay the time of the reader, voluminous as are books of Eastern travel; and it is pleasant, we confess, to find him owing to 'a hasty survey,' and to the necessity of leaving behind ruins 'whose positions are marked by the swell of the vaulted roof, and most of which have perhaps never been opened;' and contenting himself with exclaiming, 'Rich is the harvest here treasured up for some future antiquary.' Some one may yet possibly vaunt the privilege of a continued residence, and deal as justly with Porter's 'hasty survey,' as he has done with less favoured writers upon Damascus. Nevertheless, one can almost forgive his philippics whilst wandering with him over the remains of 'Tadmor in the Wilderness,' where the name of David's son is not yet forgotten; for the Arab guides tell us that the reservoir in the centre of the city was constructed by a Jân (one of the Genii created of fire) at the command of the mighty Solomon! And whilst history exists, this will be a scene of attraction as the home and capital of the beautiful Zenobia, who, after wielding the sceptre over Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia, and Asia Minor, was led, laden with jewels and fettered with shackles of gold, in front of the triumphant Aurelian, while all Rome crowded to the spot to see the Arabian Queen. None can gaze unmoved upon these colonnades and porticoes, and sculptured stones, clustered on peak and mountain side, like the bleached bones of an army of giants. They are truly the wonder of the desert, and proud memorials of the wealth and power of by-gone ages; and eloquent, moreover, of the vanity of all human greatness, since now a village of huts clings to the ruins of the Temple of the Sun.

The chapter on the 'Tour in LEBANON' contains a description worthier of 'that goodly mountain,' than any that we have yet read.

Even now, its beauteous base, and wooded slopes, and frowning cliffs, and romantic glens, and wild ravines, and picturesque villages, and the matchless panorama which it commands, are shown fully to sustain the ancient and unabated pride of the Arab concerning Samaria, and the choice of this realm in contrast with the desert, as a type of the triumphs of the Gospel in the last days.

We can only refer, further, to the painstaking of the author in exploring and describing the ancient provinces of *BATANÆA*, *AMMONITIS*, and *TRACHONITIS*. Of the character and habits of the people of these realms, but little has been known. It is the more welcome, therefore, to have the testimony of one who was able to visit cities and provinces whose names are among the earliest that are found in Scripture history; to linger amid their ruins, and to investigate monuments that date back to the age of the patriarchs and prophets. These researches have tended to solve some difficulties in Scripture geography, and to define the territory occupied by the tribes of Gad and Reuben, and half the tribe of Manasseh; and also to determine the northern border of the land of Israel, as described in the Books of Numbers and Ezekiel; whilst we are admitted to the explorations of buildings which, in the language of Ritter, 'remain as eternal witnesses of the conquest of Bashan by Jehovah.'

The History of Greece under Othoman and Venetian Domination. By George Finlay, LL.D. Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood and Sons. 1856.

WE may congratulate ourselves on the possession of a literature singularly rich in the history of the Greek people. Mr. Grote, as our readers know, has just added immensely to its contributions to the history of ancient Greece; and when Mr. Finlay has completed his design, we shall have, in the English language, a more perfect and extensive account of the Hellenic race in its glory, its long depression, and its partial restoration to dominion, than is to be found in any other language.

This volume is the fifth of a series which commenced with the subjection of Greece to the Roman power, and reaches down to the beginning of the Revolution in 1821; thus spanning the entire two thousand years of the miserable degradation, open and disguised, of the Greek people. The first volume contained a historical view of their condition from the commencement of the Roman ascendancy, B.C. 146, down to A.D. 716, the date which Mr. Finlay assigns to the extinction of the Roman power in the East. The second and third embrace the history of the Byzantine Empire, properly so called, from A.D. 716 to A.D. 1204, when it was overthrown by the Western Crusaders, to re-appear after seventy years in a much more decrepit form;—with the continuous history, if such it may be called, of the Greek empire of Nicæa and Constantinople, down to the great crisis of 1453. The fourth returns to the history of Greece Proper, from its conquest by the Crusaders to its conquest by the Turks, A.D. 1204–1556; taking up, also, that of the empire of Trebizond down to 1461, when it was subverted and absorbed by Mohammed II. These volumes, as a whole, are a noble monument of severe and exact research. They

reduce to order a multifarious mass of materials, which has never taken a strict historical form before; correct many gross misrepresentations which are current as to the material relations of the several families of the Greek race; and shed a sober light upon the history of the East of Europe during fifteen hundred years of the most important annals of the modern world. If they were written in a more genial and glowing style, and with a little more attention to the reader's interest, as well as his instruction, they would secure a wider popularity and usefulness. As it is, all *students* of history will find them most instructive and luminous and faithful.

The volume before us pursues the fates of the Greek people of the Morea and the islands of the Eastern Mediterranean, from their subjection to the Turk down to the establishment of a Greek kingdom in our own days. The title speaks vaguely of the Ottoman and Venetian domination; whereas, the ascendancy of Venice was but a comparatively brief episode, however important in itself and in its consequences.

The historian could not have a much more difficult task, or one which more severely taxes his skill in the use of materials. He has not to write the history of even the shadow of a nation, but of a people dispersed, down-trodden, and hardly discernible, whose social condition and fates are inextricably blended with the institutions and political economy of their conquerors. Nor is it the history of an isolated territory, with the changes of calamities which pass over it; the annals of the Greek people during two centuries are but the subordinate details of a great contest between the Turk and the Christian, raging over a great portion of the East of Europe, and upon the Mediterranean Sea from Cyprus to Sicily. The work bears evidence of the author's difficulty. The only part of it which gives full satisfaction to the reader, is that which describes the particulars and characteristics of the internal degradation of the enslaved Greeks;—their vassalage under the Timariot system; the fearful destiny which obliged them to give up a fifth of their male children to supply the Sultan's court and army with the sinews of their strength; and all the other details of their utter prostration of intellect, and heart, and will, under the iron sway of their oppressors. Their gradual decline in numbers and in civilization down to the end of the seventeenth century, when the invasion and conquest of their territory by the Venetians became the turning point of their fates as a people, and the slow, but sure, progress during the eighteenth century of those causes which prepared them for the independence which they have now attained,—are unfolded with a minuteness of care and philosophical insight into the workings of secret causes, which give this work a very high value to all who are interested in the question of modern Greece.

A very large portion of it, however, is a contribution to the internal and external history of the Turkish Empire. The reader will find many things placed in a new light, and his idea of the earlier Ottoman policy and valour, both by land and sea, considerably heightened. The century of Ottoman naval conquest, which finally conquered Greece, has more justice done to it by Mr. Finlay than by almost any other historian. The loss of the battle of Lepanto does

not appear in his pages to have been so dishonourable to the Turkish navy, or so important in its relations to the safety of Europe, as is usually supposed. The general impression which the work leaves on the mind is, that the earlier Ottomans were fairly matched by the Western Christians, if not in ferocity, yet in crookedness of policy, bigotry, and cruelty. There is, indeed, a luminous impartiality reigning throughout the whole book. The incessant sea fights between the Turks and the Venetians, with all those exploits of maritime warfare and piracy in the Grecian seas, which give so romantic an interest to some other chroniclers, are described with strict impartial fidelity, and with no other interest studied than their effects upon the Greeks.

We sincerely hope, in common with all the readers of these five volumes, that the author is prosecuting the ulterior purpose for which the whole work was undertaken. Much of the present volume derives its chief value from its prospective reference to the history of the Greek Revolution.

Memoir of the Life of the Rev. James Haldane Stewart, M.A., late Rector of Limpsey, Surrey. By his Son, the Rev. David Dale Stewart, M.A., Incumbent of Maidstone. London: Hatchard. 1856.

THE fruit of the Spirit is in all goodness, and righteousness, and truth. Such might have been the appropriate motto of this interesting volume,—the biography of a Minister distinguished by his aim and effort to do good, and greatly honoured by his Master in the measure of his success.

Mr. Stewart was educated for the Bar, and practised as a lawyer with some reputation. He was not then decided in his religious character, but met the requirements of moral respectability, and was often deeply impressed with the Christian character of various gentlemen whose conduct he scrutinized. When about twenty-six years of age, he had deep convictions of the evil of his own heart, and began to pay serious attention to religion. He soon saw that it is of 'much more importance what *our own hearts are*, than what our exact doctrine is;' and this sentiment had a prevailing influence upon his whole character and life. In a short time, he seriously meditated his entrance into the Ministry, and began his preparation with great diligence; in one respect, especially, setting an example to all young men in such circumstances, by the practice of writing a short commentary almost daily on some portion of the Scriptures. While keeping his terms, he read through Scott's *Commentary*, by taking a portion every morning before breakfast. During the threatened invasion, Mr. Stewart, who still retained his chambers in London, entered the patriotic train-bands, with many eminent men,—Erskine, and other lawyers of renown. At that critical period, London alone furnished 46,000 volunteers for their country's defence.

On his ordination, Mr. Stewart hoped for an appointment as Chaplain to the East India Company; but eventually he became Curate to the Rev. Mr. Marsh, at a village near Reading. He had, during his early years, frequent and severe sicknesses, and was often obliged to desist from labour, and to visit the Continent; but in his

greatest weakness he generally contrived to preach or expound, morning and evening, at the inns, or in other places on his travels.

Mr. Stewart's ministry had two important periods,—his sixteen years at Percy Chapel, Charlotte Street, London, and his ministry at St. Bride's, Liverpool, for an equal period; the former with several serious interruptions from ill health. His success in both instances was great,—the result rather of his extraordinary piety, zeal, diligence, and dependence upon God, than the effect of great talents or attainments. He soon established Sunday-schools, Missionary Associations, district visiting societies, and institutions for the temporal relief of the poor where he ministered. The sums of money raised by his congregations, in answer to his appeals, furnish a beautiful illustration of the power of evangelical motives, wisely and lovingly addressed to those who, having temporal abundance, also *know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ*.

Mr. Stewart was a faithful friend and patron of all efforts for the conversion of the Jews, and the objects of cognate societies. Of course he held the views so generally maintained by the evangelical party in the Episcopal Church on the subjects of unfulfilled prophecy and the second advent of Christ, although his speculations never ran to the same extreme with some of his brethren. Happily he felt that he had a higher calling; and perhaps he perceived what is patent to general observation, that dwelling largely on these obscure and speculative subjects does not tend to establish or advance the Christian life. But he had a greater theme opened to him,—the Gospel of the grace of God revealed in a dispensation of truth and mercy. One of the highest honours bestowed upon any Minister of the present generation was granted to Mr. Stewart,—to call the serious and prayerful attention of all Ministers and Churches to the vital truth of practical Christianity, the person, offices, and work of the Holy Spirit. To have done this work as he did it, was alone worth a lifetime of arduous labour; and that is the measure of true service to Christ, and of gracious reward. For upwards of thirty years, Mr. Stewart called the attention of the Christian public to this all-important subject, and for a long period, by the publication of an annual address, made a call for united prayer for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. His various tracts have been published by thousands upon thousands. He saw that the subject had been greatly overlooked in his own Church, and had not been pressed home, even by the most eminent of her Ministers; and, in response to his appeals, he soon knew that thousands of sermons were preached which, honouring the Spirit in His various offices, were sure to be attended by His converting and saving grace. All Churches needed the appeal, the power of which was rather in its truths than in the manner in which they were enforced; and most Churches well responded to it. We remember how heartily the Methodists rejoiced to help forward the revival of that truth to which they owed their origin, their success, their life; and universal Christianity, religion at home and abroad, received an immense impulse, and an accession of real power, alike in its professors and its ordinances.

No doubt, as the chosen instrument of God, Mr. Stewart was eminently fitted for this special service. His talents were not of such

a character as to draw off attention from the truth to the man. His evident simplicity of purpose,—his Christian simplicity, we mean,—in keeping to this main subject, and in the use of the means he adopted, impressed every one favourably. His spirit of humility and prayer, his self-abnegation, his quiet perseverance in the midst of all discouragements, were greater aids than the most splendid gifts; they were graces which illustrated and recommended his mission. He was eminently a man of prayer, and carried about with him an atmosphere of devotion. He delighted practically to honour the Spirit, even in his most ordinary engagements, especially by seeking His direction in all his affairs, and by dependence upon Him for success.

Mr. Stewart did not, however, extend himself much to other Churches. Whether this was owing to the peculiarities of his speculative creed in the instances to which we have referred, the natural tendency of which is to adopt an *opinionative test* of orthodox Christianity, and thus to chill brotherly love; or whether it was the want of fair opportunities of knowing his non-conforming brethren as well as they knew him, we cannot tell. But an occasion did occur which both tried and proved his catholic love. We refer to the formation of the Evangelical Alliance in Liverpool, where Mr. Stewart then resided. He hailed the movement with heartfelt joy, and yielded to it his counsels and his prayers. But shortly after, on his removal to Limpsfield, he withdrew from that fellowship, under the impression that he could thus better serve the object of Christian union,—a decision which occasioned both surprise and doubts.

Mr. Stewart's end was calm, dignified, and full of peace. He died 'according to faith.' As his son truly says, 'the comprehensive grace for which he was pre-eminently remarkable, was *habitual allegiance to his Divine Master*.'

This filial memorial is so modestly written, and so full of the evangelical 'goodness' of its subject, that criticism is disarmed; and although we had intended to point a few exceptions to the general excellence which marks it, we refrain. As the life of one pious Minister by another, it is defective and unequal; but if the *teaching* of this book is not all that the instructed Christian could approve, its *example* is everything that good men will desire to emulate and love.

Discourses on Truth. By James H. Thornwell, D.D. New York: Robert Carter and Brothers. 1856.

To those acquainted with the *personnel* of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, Dr. Thornwell's is no unfamiliar name. Possessed of great attainments, the fruit of an unwearied industry, endowed with an understanding of rare metaphysical acumen, and uniting to his gifts of intellect the best graces of the heart, as well as an earnest desire to render all he is and has an offering to the Most High, Dr. Thornwell has done more, probably, than any other in the Southern portion of the Union, to advance the cause of learning and piety amongst his fellow-men. As the President of the South Carolina College at Columbia, he has placed his State under lasting obligation to him; whilst the students who have passed under his care, will long reflect and give a wider currency to those fruits of sound thinking, which they received from him in his week-day teachings as Professor of Moral Philosophy, and Sabbath instructions as Chaplain of the

College. And now that he has seen it his duty to sacrifice personal considerations by resigning his Presidency of the College, in order that the Theological Seminary in the same city may receive the benefit of his exclusive attention, Dr. Thornwell has given another proof of his high-minded devotion to duty, whilst he has given also ground for the encouraging hope that the Church to which he belongs will receive yet larger blessing through his invaluable services. It is but rarely, however, that Dr. Thornwell commits himself to print. With the more pleasure, therefore, do we hail a small volume of Discourses preached before his students, as it enables us to pay a just tribute to his name, otherwise little before the public, whilst we call attention to that which is in itself a compendium of most valuable thought.

These Seven Discourses, although they had their origin in the pulpit, embrace a sustained philosophic argument or treatise on one particular in the field of Moral Science, namely, that of Truth. The first Discourse, by way of introduction, contains a general survey of the Ethical System of the Bible, in which the twilight teachings of nature and reason are brought into contrast with the noon-day brightness of God's revelation. In this valuable chapter, a very discriminating analysis is presented of the ethical fruits of ancient Greek philosophy; and justice likewise meted out to Paley and his followers, who, with the Bible in their hands, were in their philosophic beliefs tenfold further removed from the light of its teachings than were Aristotle or Cicero. And, as a result, the author shows how immense are our obligations to the Bible, with reference to our knowledge of duty, the motives to its performance, and our conceptions as to holiness, as to happiness, and as to the means by which to accomplish the great purposes of our being.

With this ground-work, Dr. Thornwell proceeds from the broad compass of Christian Morality, to separate, as a single illustration, the element of Truth. Viewing it first in relation to opinion, our author exhibits with great perspicuity the search after truth and the love of it for its own sake, as a moral obligation inseparable from the exercise of our intellectual faculties; and having shown the love of truth to be a duty, he determines its general characteristics, and indicates the temptations which most endanger its preservation. Passing from truth as resting in our own minds, to the expression of it in lip and life, he reviews the subject of political veracity in its threefold division of sincerity in word or other representation of our ideas, faithfulness to our engagements, and consistency or harmony of character; determining first the ground of our obligation, and then depicting the main features of each several duty.

As a contribution to Christian Ethics, this small volume deserves a high rank. It is the work of a philosopher and a Christian.

Rationale of Justification by Faith. London : Hamilton, Adams, and Co. 1856.

ANOTHER expression of that deep feeling which is bringing minds of all orders, and from every department of speculation, to the study of the great atonement. It is a compact, well-written work, which strives with great subtilty to apply a principle of intuitional philosophy to the fundamental doctrines of the Gospel. But when it is

divested of its scientific mask, and the sanction of the name of 'the distinguished lay patron of popular evangelism,' it will be found to signify nothing for all practical purposes.

The sacrificial death of the Redeemer is here included among those eternal truths of religion which make their appeal to the original instincts of our nature. But this we can never allow. The idea of sacrifice, generally, cannot fairly be traced to anything higher than a traditional origin; but surely that which is most essential and most distinctive in the Christian sacrifice, *never entered into the heart of man*, until the mystery which had been hid in God was revealed. However pleasing the development of this idea, when gratuitously assumed, it is altogether disavowed by Scripture itself. The arguments founded upon our Lord's word are the weakest part of the book. As if to save him from himself, the writer is led to refer to Simon Peter's response to the Lord's appeal; but strangely shuts his eyes to the plain fact, that when the Lord referred to His own sacrifice of Himself as essential to His kingdom, all Simon's intuitions were at fault. The Lord never referred to any original instincts, interwoven with the fabric of man's primitive constitution, which should accept Him as a sacrificed Saviour. Nor did St. Paul, however lofty on other points is his appeal to man's high instincts of truth. There are such instincts which must be preached to, in order that the way may be prepared for the Cross; but there is no primitive element of man's being which rises to meet that mysterious counsel of God for human salvation.

If any one will carefully read this book, with the foregone conclusion that its fundamental principle is wrong, he will read it to his great profit.

An Inquiry into Speculative and Experimental Philosophy, with special Reference to Mr. Calderwood's and Professor Ferrier's recent Publications, and to Hegel's Doctrine. By A. Vera. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans. 1856.

M. VERA is one of those who trace the faults and the failures of the age to the decay of metaphysical speculation, and who even yet retain the hope that the time will come when metaphysical truth shall be demonstrated to be something more than the subjective entities of the mind. In this hope it is impossible to share. We believe most firmly in the nobility of metaphysical speculation, and in its educational power; we owe to it some of the grandest achievements of human intellect; but we can no longer entertain the same expectation of great demonstrable results from it, as once animated the sages of Greece, and even now strengthens the heart of many contemplative and truth-loving men. It seems sad to say so, but we regard it as certain that any system of metaphysics which professes to include ontology, to lead to the knowledge of 'real being,' postulates its own failure.

Human inquiry extends over two regions,—the region of words, and the region of things. The history of human error would be a detail of the various confusings of the boundaries of these two regions. These confusings have taken place in two capital ways. The truths of words, abstract conceptions, general notions, have been regarded as having a real existence independent of the mind which held them;

and, on the other hand, things have been regarded as cognizable by the same methods, and demonstrable by the same sort of arguments, as the truths of words. The former is the error of speculative, the latter of experimental, philosophy. Our present concern is with the former.

Plato was the first to attempt to construct a science of real being. The art of dialectic had been brought before his time to great perfection as an instrument of disputation by the Eleatics. With the Eleatics dialectic was a method of deducing the probabilities on either side a question of such a nature that it could not be decided by experience. With Plato it became an instrument which might lead to the knowledge of real being. The question would occur to Plato in something of the following form: 'I am conscious of possessing within myself certain abstract conceptions or ideas of beauty, of goodness; which are not mere generalizations of experience, for they are more perfect than anything which I have experienced; and which are not dependent upon me, for though I alter, they alter not, but remain unchangeably the same: have not these perfect and immutable ideas a separate, a real existence; and may I not, by a rigorous dialectical process, by comparing, defining, and dividing, prepare my mind to make it capable of the knowledge of real being?' This inquiry was noble and divine in Plato; and, indeed, if we understand him to have assigned the abode of real being as the Divine Mind, he attained to the truth, though his dialectical method could not enable him to enter into full possession of what has required a revelation to make it known. Perhaps he did not attain more than the fact from which he started, that abstract conceptions are independent of the mind that contains them. Plato, however, may be regarded as a legitimate realist. His *noumena* are a correct account of the abstractions of the intellect; nothing can be added to his speculative philosophy; while nothing will ever equal the eloquence with which that philosophy is set forth, the enthusiasm which draws, charms, and perhaps even permanently influences, the mind of the reader.

But German metaphysicians, with whom M. Vera sympathizes, go far beyond Plato. M. Vera applies to the late Sir W. Hamilton the harsh term of 'sceptic,' because Sir W. Hamilton refuses to accept the 'philosophy of the unconditioned,'—to believe, that is, the identity *universally* of thought with being,—an assumption which could only be true if the universe had one consciousness. If the rejection of such an attempt as this, which stretches the finite into the infinite, and in so doing annihilates thought,—that is, annihilates the personal consciousness,—deserve the name of scepticism, then Plato, and all the Greeks, men who believed most fervently in the mightiness of human powers, must be declared sceptics. Is thought identical with being? Not beyond my personal consciousness. It is true that each of my thoughts is a modification of my being; but it is also true that, though, so far as I am concerned, the act of thought may be identical with being, yet the object of thought is declared by consciousness to be something distinct from me, the thinker: and this is attested by the two words 'subject' and 'object.'

We agree with M. Vera in his estimate of the psychology of the Scottish school. The science of ontology was hotly pressed; and this psychology, the most frivolous, unsatisfactory, and uninteresting of

all so-called sciences, is a collateral issue opened first by Locke, whereby 'the enemies of philosophy' were drawn from the main question, the possibility of ontology, which consequently has been in abeyance, while dispute has waxed furious over the origin of our ideas, the share of experience in their formation, &c.,—all questions of infinitesimal importance.

M. Vera laments the decay of the speculative spirit; and certainly, if the possibility of ontology be denied, as it is by many, and might be, without absurdity, by all, we should be making a grave experiment. The world hitherto has never been without speculative thinkers: are we now to reject speculation, and confine philosophy to the realm of positivism? We answer that there is no necessity for so doing, if we are faithful to what we have. Nine centuries ago, Scotus Erigena said, 'Nothing is true in philosophy that is not true in theology, nor true in theology that is not true in philosophy.' Here we may see what it is our duty to do. Speculation can give little certain knowledge, but is invaluable as an educational force. But we have a revealed word which does give certain knowledge, and which divides between the knowable and unknowable, exhibiting the Personal Infinite to the mystic contemplation of the meditative worshipper. And, *vice versa*, as the revealed word of God affords scope for the highest speculative intellect, so this latter is necessary to proper understanding of Divine truth, to the exclusion of the fanatic spirit which would set up a merely textual theology. It is to be wished that the modern successors of Plato had followed his example in one thing. Plato made use of all the light his age afforded him; while modern speculators, *almost without exception*, have neglected the light of Divine revelation.

The Logic of the Christian Faith: being a Dissertation on Scepticism, Pantheism, the à Priori Argument, the à Posteriori Argument, the Intuitional Argument, and Revelation.
By Patrick Edward Dove. Edinburgh: Johnstone and Hunter. 1856.

THIS is *not* a 'book for the million.' Those who take it up must be content with hard reading; but, like all first-rate books, they will find the exercise a profit, and the results invaluable. It carries the warfare into the camp of the sceptics. It is not a discussion of the doctrines of the Christian faith, nor strictly of its evidences; but of its logical defences. It meets the philosophic difficulties of positive theology, by an acute analysis, tending to show that those difficulties arise from fallacies, from some illogical process. It is altogether a book of *method*,—the mode of discovering truth: Mr. Dove takes ultimate facts, and asks how they may be accounted for. Objections against dogmatic theology are of just the same force against all mathematical, physical, and mental science. The book is full of profound and original thoughts,—the germs of truth, which may be much more largely developed. We are particularly struck with the last book, on Revelation, the only solution of the great problem of the universe, and of human life. Here are some topics, handled in our author's best manner, to which we hope again to refer. He is full of vigorous thought and earnest feeling; and without pledging ourselves to take no exception to parts, we

strongly recommend all who love deep thought and close reasoning, and enjoy the compulsion to 'consider well what is spoken,' to read him.

A Handbook to Butler's Analogy. With a few Notes. By C. A. Swainson, M.A. Cambridge: Macmillan. 1856.

NOTWITHSTANDING the number of valuable guides and helps we possess, to open the irrefragable argument of Butler, we think there was room for this valuable handbook. It is brief, clear, and close, keeping the links well up; and the notes are very valuable. With Bishop Wilson's admirable Introductory Essay, supplying the author's defects, and correcting some of his errors in reference to evangelical truth, any young man may in a couple of weeks master one of the profoundest books in the English language. But he will not exhaust it. Butler is one of the most suggestive of human writers. Why have we not the same helps to the study of his sermons?

Portions for the Sick and Solitary Christian. By the Rev. Robert Whytehead, M.A. London: Shaw. 1856.

THIS is a volume of devotional reading, suited to the sick room, when affliction has so diminished the mental vigour, that a remembrance of simple known truths is all that the patient's mind can bear. We are not sure, however, that the truths on which faith feeds, need to be so much diluted, when intended for the 'solitary' as well as the 'sick.'

Alfieri, his Life, Adventures, and Works: a Sketch. By C. Mitchell Charles. Chapman and Hall.

ALFIERI was emphatically a man 'without God in the world.' His own life was as tragical, if not quite as dreary and monotonous as his own plays. A weight of gloom rested on his spirits, which no amount of literary success,—although Alfieri was more alive to this species of success, perhaps, than to any other,—served to dissipate, even for a moment. His biographer, Mr. Mitchell, thus endeavours to account for all this.

'His education was execrable. His country, and all the minds with which he came into contact, were under a dark-bright cloud of Romanism. The press was under a censorship. He had no bright examples in modern literature to tempt competition. There were no readers whose praise was worth the pains of seeking; and his mind was in itself gloomy and surly. What a wonder that he ever stepped from the herd,—that he did not live useless, and die hated or forgotten! Yet, notwithstanding all these things, without stimulus of any kind, either to write, or think, or read, save what came from within him; surrounded by temptations to sink into the mere voluptuary, with the consciousness that he had succumbed to such temptations during the very best part of life; with wasted youth, and wasted early manhood, to deter him from exertion by suggesting, as the lassitude consequent on self-indulgence generally does, that the time of action had gone past; yet he flung all these environments and hindrances aside, and achieved a position in Italian letters which can never be ignored, except by

those who submit themselves to the Roman un-catholic delusion, and the *Index Expurgatorius*.'

This is, no doubt, strictly true so far as it goes ; its only fault is that it does not go far enough. Sismondi, in his wretched and meagre account of Alfieri, says, in reference to the extreme and *agonistic* baldness of Alfieri's style, 'In meditation, in rage, in the pathetic, the melody of the style ought never to be abandoned ; the gratification of the ear ought always to follow that of the mind ; and the figurative portion of language, which adorns it with pictures drawn from universal nature, ought not to be neglected, but employed with proper moderation.' Sismondi evidently did not see what his present biographer sees plainly enough, that the nakedness of Alfieri's style, its curt directness, and, occasionally, its barren, cold sublimity, were attributable to the peculiar circumstances amid which he was placed, and to that passion of agony in which he lived and wrote. The lesson of such a life is too plain to be disguised ; and Mr. Mitchell's narrative is not destitute either of moral interest or of literary merit.

Poems, by the Author of 'Paul Ferroll.' Including a new Edition of IX. Poems by V., with former and recent Additions.

'IX. POEMS by V.,' have been long known and admired by readers of cultivated taste and feeling. While many a more voluminous and pretentious writer has quietly subsided into oblivion, the author of these brief compositions has won and retained the attention of a select audience. We have them here produced 'with former and recent additions ;' and, as we find that one of the poems bears the date of 1828, we must suppose that the author is now of mature years, and that we are in possession of the ripe fruit of his genius,—or rather hers ; for the muse betrays herself by a feminine purity and delicacy of tone, in spite of a style of thought more deep and masculine. The spirit of poetry has certainly been vouchsafed in measure to the author, whose genius seems to be of an equable, calm, and pensive cast,—the flight of the swallow rather than of the lark. Though her themes are for the most part serious and solemn, yet there is no one-sided love of what is gloomy and depressing ; a gentle cheerfulness sustains the poet in the saddest hours, while a truthful gravity is present in the most lively. We give a short extract from the poem entitled, 'Youth took one Summer Day his Lyre.' Youth addresses Age :—

'But Age ! As speaks no truth who says,
That mine are all life's sunny days.
Thou its high mountain's steep upon,
Above the clime of flowers art gone ;
Yet day-beams gild that head of thine,
That reach not these brown locks of mine ;
Beams of another day, that lie
For me beyond full many a sorrow :
While thou above them stand'st on high,
Beholding now the kindling morrow.
Ah ! tell me of that new-born light,
Those purer scenes that round thee rise ;
And how, if grief must cloud delight,
To make it lead me to the skies.

And I will breathe upon thine ear
 'Tones of the wild unburthened glee,
 Which thou wilt love e'en yet to hear;
 For once such tones belonged to thee.
 Yea, Age, the life of each we'll make
 The sweeter in that both partake.'

The merits of poetry like this are not very obvious, nor are its effects very stimulating; but pure spring water is grateful to an uncorrupted palate.

IN spite of the intense anxiety which prevails throughout all the classes of society, and which renders people, in general, careless of anything that does not bear immediately upon political or financial topics, we may say that FRENCH LITERATURE has never been so active as during the last three months. And, in stating this fact, we do not allude to those innumerable tales, novels, *feuilletons*, and *proverbes* which daily fall still-born from a too prolific press. We are thinking of works on history, interesting contributions to the stores of metaphysical learning, biographies, travels, essays on sundry knotty points of divinity, learned treatises, in which some deeply-read *savant* has admirably proved that erudition and good taste are not incompatible with one another.

Whilst examining the series of octavos and duodecimos, both bound and unbound, which lie accumulated on our desk, we cannot help being struck with the number of works professedly written to keep our Gallican neighbours *au courant* of the institutions, manners, hopes, and destinies of this country. We might almost fancy that the days have come back again, when Voltaire wrote his *Lettres sur les Anglais*, and when the Marquis d'Argenson exclaimed, *Qui nous aurait dit, il y a quatre-vingts ans, que les Anglais auraient fait des romans, et qu'ils nous auraient surpassés?* The fact is, that the relative situation of both nations is very nearly what it was towards the close of the eighteenth century. When Montesquieu spoke in such glowing terms of the English constitution, he was only expressing the general longing of his countrymen for a political status which they had not realized. M. Charles de Rémusat's *Etudes sur l'Angleterre au Dix-huitième Siècle*,* is the heart-felt lament of a noble mind over the loss of liberal institutions which, after an experience of thirty years, have been once more swept away by the storm. Well known as a profound thinker and as an elegant writer, M. de Rémusat speaks to us, through his two recently published volumes, with all the authority of a man who has accurately studied both the political and the social life of England, and who is, therefore, perfectly qualified to appreciate them. The *Etudes et Portraits* comprise a series of sketches on Bolingbroke, Horace Walpole, Junius, Burke, and Fox, printed from time to time in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*; but the introductions and preface (forming more than a hundred pages) are quite new, and they will strike the reader as especially interesting, because they contain the author's *résumé* on the present and probable destinies of England.

* *L'Angleterre au XVIIIe. Siècle; Etudes et Portraits.* Par M. Charles de Rémusat, de l'Académie Française. 2 vols. 8vo. Paris: Didier.

His conclusions may be said to lie in the following few words: 'The English form of government, applied to French society: such has been the dream of my life!'

M. de Rémusat deduces his views of our position in the front rank of European civilization, from the careful study of three or four eminent political leaders. M. Charles Gouraud is also a staunch admirer of England;* but he explains his partiality and justifies it by tracing the gradual development of our national greatness from the earliest times down to the Peace of 1763. His work is therefore a philosophical sketch of the history of England: it is written in an easy style, and will be found to abound in very correct remarks. Alluding to the present state of things in France, M. Gouraud says, 'Speak to other nations of liberty, they understand by that expression merely the happy permission of living in the midst of disorder; to begin with, they think that the first step they ought to take is to overturn the State in its very foundation. As for equality, the meaning they attach to that word is the following: "Do away with all the distinctions which nature itself has established amongst men; place on the same footing idleness and industry, stupidity and intellect." They dream of some foolish levelling of conditions and minds. Agitated by such fine passions, the nations we speak of are, at the same time, very little anxious in reality to take the responsibility of their own affairs; on the contrary, it seems that if any one rids them of that burden, he renders them the greatest service, and delivers them from the sorest grievance imaginable. Let the ruler only provide shows, illuminations, *marionnettes*, and fireworks, they are the happiest nation in the world. Nor can we blame such a course of acting; for why should a Sovereign esteem his subjects more than they esteem themselves?'

The two works we have just been noticing are written, our friends will perceive, from the standpoint of what is called in France the *parti parlementaire*, and they are an indirect critique on imperial despotism. M. Rathery, Librarian at the Louvre, has proved, in a very remarkable pamphlet,† full of curious information and of deep learning, but without the slightest allusion to contemporary politics, that from the earliest times to the French Revolution, the intercourse both social and intellectual between France and England has been uninterrupted. The details given by M. Rathery relate chiefly to literature and to private manners. We see Chaucer borrowing from French *fabliaux* the chief incidents contained in the *Canterbury Tales*; three centuries later we find Cyrano de Bergerac, by way of reprisals, imitating Shakspeare.

But it is not the view alone of English liberty and of English prosperity which suggests to the illustrious thinkers of the parliamentary opposition their reflections on the various forms of government which have obtained in Europe at the present day,—M. Alexis de Tocqueville, for instance, whose work on America, published more than twenty years ago, excited so much attention even on this side of the Channel.

* *Histoire des Causes de la Grandeur de l'Angleterre, depuis les Origines jusqu'à la Paix de 1763.* Par Charles Gouraud. 1 vol. 8vo. Paris: Durand.

† *Des Relations sociales et intellectuelles entre la France et l'Angleterre, depuis la Conquête des Normands jusqu'à la Révolution Française.* Par E. J. B. Rathery, Bibliothécaire du Louvre. 8vo. Paris: Dubuisson.

M. Alexis de Tocqueville, by describing the *ancien régime*,* and by showing how the Revolution of 1789 has transformed French society, places before his readers lessons of caution and of encouragement, without stepping beyond the frontiers of his native country. The first part of this work is the only one as yet in print: it is confined to a view of the condition of France prior to the outbreak of 1789; and explains to us, from original documents, what the *ancien régime* really was. The details it contains, on the way in which the administration was carried on, are both new and interesting.

Whilst M. Duvergier de Hauranne is busy finishing his constitutional history of France, and M. Thiers is writing the last volumes of his great work,† another *parlementaire*, M. Dupin, gives us, under the shape of Memoirs,‡ a few curious reminiscences of forensic and political life. On the whole, however, we have been rather disappointed with this production, in which we see too much of the ex-President of the Chamber of Deputies.

The consideration of European affairs may lead most naturally to the discussion of religious, as well as of political, questions. What is to become of the visible Church? Is Popery in a state of dissolution? Shall we have another Gallican structure, with a Bossuet at the top of it? Are we, on the contrary, drifting towards rampant Ultramontaniam? Again, shall we see others, MM. Auguste Comte and Littré, establish amongst us those cold positions and doctrines, than which we would rather put up even with the Neo-Christianism of M. Drouineau? or, lastly, are we justified in saying that Voltaire alone is the true god of France? These various ideas are discussed, maintained, and assailed so violently, that M. Veuillot has lately felt it necessary to bring an action for libel against the opponents of the *Univers Religieux*. One Abbé thinks that the only way in which the Pope can secure his independence, is by abandoning Rome for Jerusalem;§ another endeavours vainly to bring about the reconciliation between rationalism and religion.|| M. Guettée, after having published Ledieu's Journal of Bossuet, writes the history of the Church from the Gallican point of view.¶ Prince Albert de Broglie, the grandson of Madame de Stael, and one of the few seriously disposed writers of the rising French generation, in describing the state of the Christian Church during the reign of Constantine, has found an opportunity of turning his countrymen's attention to the only source from which nations as well as individuals can derive lasting peace. The ecclesiastical history of the fourth century is in many respects, besides, a complete parallel to that of our own times, and thus, without distorting the truth or over-colouring his narrative, the noble author has produced almost an *ouvrage de circonstance*.**

* *L'ancien Régime et la Révolution*. Par Alexis de Tocqueville. 8vo. Paris: Michel Lévy.

† *Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire*. Par A. Thiers. Tome XIV. 8vo. Paris: Furne.

‡ *Mémoires de M. Dupin*. Tome II. 8vo.

§ *La Papauté à Jérusalem*. Par M. l'Abbé Michon. 8vo.

|| *De la Connaissance de Dieu; Logique*. Par M. l'Abbé Gratry, Prêtre de l'Oratoire de l'Immaculée Conception. 2 vols. 8vo.

¶ *Histoire de l'Eglise de France*. Par M. l'Abbé Guettée. Vols. I.-XII. 8vo.

** *L'Eglise et l'Empire Romain au IV^e Siècle*. Par M. Albert de Broglie. 2 vols. 8vo.

Mentioning works bearing upon ecclesiastical questions, reminds us that since the publication of our July number, a great historian, M. Augustin Thierry, has disappeared from this world, after having, as it is said, made in his last moments a fervent profession of Roman Catholicism. 'I am a rationalist weary of being so,' said he to the Abbé Gratry, who was sitting by his bed-side. M. Thierry leaves behind him a brother, M. Amédée Thierry, equally distinguished as an historical writer; and who, after establishing his reputation by a learned history of the Gauls, has just published, on Attila and his successors, a couple of volumes, which, although of course not to be compared with Gibbon's narrative, describe in an agreeable manner the last days of the Roman Empire, and the convulsions of the hordes of barbarians which overran the West at that time.*

We cannot omit naming here a publication which, besides being in itself deeply interesting, derives an additional value from the circumstances under which it has come forth. M. Rosaceuw Saint Hilaire, for many years *Professeur Suppléant*, or Assistant Lecturer on Ancient History, at the Sorbonne, had begun, some time since, to write a History of Spain, the first six volumes of which had appeared successively. Soon after the sixth left the press, M. Saint Hilaire, till then a Roman Catholic nominally, and in reality rather indifferent as far as religious questions were concerned, became converted to Protestantism: of course, everything appeared to him henceforth in a totally new light; and when he took up his pen to proceed with his work, the part which he found himself called upon to discuss,—he, a Protestant, a Professor of the Sorbonne, a *quondam* contributor to the *Constitutionnel*,—was the reign of Charles V., the Reformation era, Luther, the Diet of Worms! What a treat for a man full of faith, and animated by the desire of bearing his testimony to the truth of the Gospel! No wonder, therefore, if the seventh volume of the *Histoire d'Espagne* is such delightful reading.† M. Saint Hilaire here hoists up his standard, as he has already done in his public lectures; and that standard is the *Cross of Christ*. The intrigues of the Ultramontanist party had rendered for a time M. Saint Hilaire's appointment as titular Professor of History very doubtful: we must expect that the publication of his new octavo will excite the bitterest animosity from the same quarter, where many important personages had vainly hoped to prevent what they deemed the disgrace of seeing a heretic named to the important post of Lecturer at the Sorbonne. But we know that *veritas prævalebit*.

If ever there was a man who could exclaim from long experience,—

Tout de sel entre-t-il dans l'âme des dévots ?

that man was M. Victor Cousin. After having waged for many years on behalf of eclecticism a spirited war against the *parti-prêtre*, he has now withdrawn entirely from the contest, and is busy completing his amusing biographies of the celebrated ladies of the seventeenth century. The two newly published *Memoirs on Madame de Chevreuse*

* *Histoire d'Attila et de ses Successeurs jusqu'à l'Etablissement des Hongrois en Europe.* Par M. Amédée Thierry. 3 vols. 8vo.

† *Histoire d'Espagne depuis les premiers Temps historiques jusqu'à la Mort de Ferdinand VII.* Vols. I.—VII. 8vo.

and Madame de Hautefort* are quite equal to the previous accounts of Madame de Sablé and Madame de Longueville. M. Cousin is an enthusiast, and the *con-amore* style with which he notes down the slightest particulars relating to his heroines, stamps his writings with all the *entrain*, all the raciness of youth.

M. de Salvandy, absorbed by the difficulties of the 'fusion,' forgets the use of a pen, which in the days of yore caused him to be compared to M. de Châteaubriand. But whilst we are wandering in the neighbourhood of the Sorbonne, we must not leave unnoticed the accomplished Lecturer on French Poetry, M. Saint-Marc Girardin. Not satisfied with getting through the press the fourth volume of his *Dramatic Literature*, besides contributing daily to the *Journal des Débats*, and writing for the *Revue des Deux Mondes* an excellent biography of Jean Jacques Rousseau, M. Saint-Marc Girardin has just been editing two volumes of hitherto unpublished letters of Voltaire.† This is a work which cannot fail to excite a great deal of interest, as the correspondence now for the first time brought to light embraces nearly the whole of the philosopher's life. We only regret that the clever editor should have made his preliminary notice so very short.

If we now add that M. Guizot, besides writing a capital Memoir of Sir R. Peel,‡ is still busy with his work on the English Revolution; if we add, moreover, that his son, M. Guillaume Guizot, has written an interesting account of the reign of King Alfred,§ we shall, we believe, have given a tolerably faithful summary of literary life, as manifested in the *parti parlementaire*.

Amongst the Republicans we do not find the same activity; or, rather, their activity allows itself to be frittered away upon comparatively unimportant subjects. After endeavouring (vainly, as we think) to connect with mere deism, in his book *Du Devoir*, the laws of private and social duty, M. Jules Simon now publishes a second volume, which may be taken up as the necessary sequel and complement of the first.|| In eloquence, generous feeling, and skilful analysis, M. Simon's works are highly remarkable; but we cannot imagine how any man will quietly venture all his hopes for the future on that pale creed to which philosophers have given the name of *natural religion*. As for us, we feel much more sympathy with the views of life and death enforced in another small *brochure* recently published, and containing M. Adolphe Monod's death-bed addresses to his friends and to his family. This is a volume worth its weight in gold.¶

The first instalment of M. de Lamennais's posthumous works is now

* *Madame de Chevreuse et Madame de Hautefort, nouvelles Etudes sur les Femmes illustres et la Société du XVIIe. Siècle.* Par M. Victor Cousin. 2 vols. 8vo.

† *Cours de Littérature Dramatique, ou de l'Usage des Passions dans le Drame.* Vols. I.-III. 12mo. Par M. Saint-Marc Girardin, de l'Académie Française.—*Lettres inédites de Voltaire, avec une Préface.* Par M. Saint-Marc Girardin, de l'Académie Française. 2 vols. 8vo.

‡ *Sir Robert Peel; Revue des Deux Mondes*, 15 Mai, 1 Juillet, 1 Août.

§ *Alfred le Grand, ou l'Angleterre sous les Anglo-Saxons.* Par M. Guillaume Guizot. 12mo.

|| *La Religion Naturelle.* Par M. Jules Simon. 8vo. and 12mo.

¶ *Les Adieux d'Adolphe Monod à ses Amis et à l'Eglise.* 8vo.

out,* and comprises two distinct parts, of unequal interest. Were it not for the beauty of the style, the writings bearing upon political subjects and events forgotten long since would be unreadable: whenever the author, on the contrary, discusses the lofty topics connected with philosophy and religion, he should not only be perused, but studied.

Since M. de Lamartine has bidden farewell to the Muses, and concentrated all his energies on the publication of a periodical *Cours de Littérature*, in which we have found much that is excellent,† M. Victor Hugo is the only great poet France can boast of. This assertion, however, must not be understood as implying that his new *recueil* in two volumes, *Les Contemplations*, is an unexceptionable work;‡ far from it. M. Hugo has a few hobbies, which he has been constantly riding ever since the appearance of the *Odes et Ballades*; and although they break down under him whenever he attempts to turn them to account, yet he cannot make up his mind to give them up. One of the greatest of these hobbies is the idea of setting himself apart as *the* man of the age, the apostle of the ideal, the poet-missionary, if we may so say; as the Olympio, in short, so well known by the readers of his earlier lyrics. Whenever he is possessed by that most absurd fancy, whenever he mixes up with his poetry a species of Pantheism, picked up in the writings of M. Pierre Leroux or M. Reynaud, he falls, as La Bruyère said of the *Mercur de France*, *audessous de rien*. But as soon as he sings of domestic life, home affections, and home sorrows, 'Richard is himself again,' and the most exquisite strains break from the poet's lyre. In the present volume, most of the pieces inspired by the recollection of M. Hugo's daughter, Madame Vacquerie, are really beautiful; the (so-called) philosophical poems are absurd.

With the exception of the *Contemplations*, a comedy by M. Ponsard.§ who has just, by the bye, been made *un des Quarante de l'Académie Française*, and a volume of tales from the pen of M. Edmond About,|| the imaginative literature of France has produced, during the last three months, nothing worth remembering. Imitations of Balzac, Soulié, and Eugène Sue, are still plentiful; sketches from the *demi-monde* abound; but such trash deserves not to be mentioned.

We can, however, easily forget M. Feuillet's insipid *marivaudage*, and M. Champfleury's realism, by returning once more to the great men who have in days of yore shed such an imperishable lustre on French literature; and an enterprising publisher, M. P. Jannet, has enabled us to do so, in giving us editions which are the *no plus ultrà* of accuracy, durability, and taste. Under the title of *Bibliothèque Elzévirienne*,¶ we see now marshalled before us a series of elegant

* *Œuvres Posthumes de F. Lamennais*. Publiées selon le Vœu de l'Auteur par E. D. Forquès. Vols. I. and II. 8vo.

† *Un Entretien par Mois, Cours familier de Littérature*. Par M. de Lamartine. 8vo.

‡ *Les Contemplations*. Par Victor Hugo. 2 vols. 8vo.

§ *La Bourse, Comédie, en cinq Actes et en Vers*. Par F. Ponsard, de l'Académie Française. 12mo.

|| *Les Mariages de Paris*. Par Edmond About. 12mo.

¶ *Bibliothèque Elzévirienne de P. Jannet, Rue Richelieu*, 15.

little volumes, comprising both annotated reprints of the French classics, and likewise editions of works which, although not generally known, are important as illustrations of the literary and political history of France. Divinity,* poetry,† moral philosophy,‡ the drama,§ tales,|| autobiographies,¶—nothing has been forgotten; and M. Janinet's invaluable collection is enriched daily by treasures which will soon make it the most important monument ever erected to French literature. When M. Janinet's advertised series of *Memoirs* is published, even M. Hachette's edition of Saint-Simon,** and M. Didot's *Journal de Dangeau*,†† excellent as these two reprints are, must be superseded.

A propos of history and of historical works, we had nearly omitted to mention M. Michelet's three volumes on the sixteenth century,‡‡ being the continuation of a History of France, the first part of which appeared as far back as 1835. Some one has called M. Michelet 'the Carlyle of *la jeune France*': the brilliancy of style in both cases, the fervid imagination, and the deep insight into the spiritual maladies of our times, render the parallel partly correct; but Mr. Carlyle, on the one hand, has the advantage over his rival for metaphysical powers and shrewd common-sense; whilst M. Michelet, on the other, is by far the superior in learning and research.

We cannot conclude this short *résumé* on the intellectual life of France during the last three months, without at least mentioning that the *Académie Française* held its annual public meeting on the 28th ultimo. The eloquent and witty speech delivered by M. Villemain, in his capacity of Perpetual Secretary, has called forth, as usual, some absurd remarks from the Bonapartist newspapers on the spirit of opposition manifested by the *Académie*. Those imperialist gentlemen must enjoy the exclusive right of speech; and when any one ventures politely but firmly to remonstrate against the calumnies of M. Sainte-Beuve, or the platitudes of M. Nisard, he is almost stamped as a conspirator.

* *L'Internelle Consolation, première Version Française de l'Imitation de Jésus Christ.* 1 vol.

† *Œuvres complètes de St. Amant.* 2 vols.—*Œuvres complètes de F. Villon.* 1 vol.—*Œuvres de Sénécé.* 2 vols.—*Œuvres complètes de Régulier.* 1 vol. &c.

‡ *Reflexions, Sentences et Maximes morales de La Rochefoucauld.* 1 vol.—*Caractères de La Bruyère.* 1 vol. &c.

§ *Ancien Théâtre Française.* Vols. I.—VIII.

|| *Le Roman Bourgeois.* Par Furetière, 1 vol.—*Les Aventures du Baron de Faneste.* Par Th. Ag. d'Aubigné. 1 vol. &c.

¶ *Mémoires de Madame de la Guette.* 1 vol.—*Mémoires de la Marquise de Courcelles.* 1 vol.

** *Mémoires complets et authentiques du Duc de Saint-Simon.* Publiés par M. Chéruel. 20 vols. 8vo.

†† *Journal du Marquis de Dangeau.* Publié en entier pour la première fois. Vols. I.—V. 8vo.

‡‡ *Histoire de France au Seizième Siècle. Renaissance, Réforme, Guerres de Religion.* Par M. Michelet. 3 vols. 6vo.

MISCELLANEA.

The Handbook of Natural Philosophy. By Dionysius Lardner, D.C.L. *Electricity, Magnetism, and Acoustics.* Walton and Maberly. The fourth and concluding volume of a cheap and valuable series. The learning and literary skill of Dr. Lardner are equally distinguished, and form one of the rarest combinations in the world of letters. He is a master as well as a teacher of all the natural sciences.—*The Camp and the Cutter: or, a Cruise in the Crimea.* By Edwin Galt. 1856. This narrative invites the reader with the double promise of pastime and instruction, and the fault will be in himself if he is disappointed of both.—*The Lion of Flanders: or, the Battle of the Golden Spurs.* By Hendrik Conscience. Lambert and Co. The genius of M. Conscience is homely and national. His stories of Flemish life may be compared for truth and freshness to the Swedish tales of Frederica Bremer; and for healthful moral tone we think they are to be preferred. The book whose title we have given proves him to be a master also of historical romance.—*Claud Wilford. A Romance.* By I. One. Simpkin, Marshall, and Co. The most trashy publication of this or any season. It painfully reminds us that the art of printing is not an unimixed blessing to society. For a book so ridiculous it is strangely dull; and the only joke which at all amused us is paraded on the title-page, where the author modestly 'reserves the right of translation.'—*Bible Poems and Lyrics: from Subjects of the Old-Testament Scriptures.* By Mrs. J. B. Moulton. Simpkin, Marshall, and Co. These verses of Mrs. Moulton are highly creditable: to say nothing of the coarser sex, we fear that not one lady in a thousand could write any so good. At the same time, we would rather they should admire her talent than follow her example.—*The Good Soldier. Outlines of the Life, Labours, and Character of the Rev. Hugh Beech, Wesleyan Minister.* By John H. Beech. Heylin. 1856. We strongly recommend this memorial of a good man's labours. Mr. Beech was a Minister of more than average talent and usefulness, and his son is a biographer of more than usual judgment and ability.—*Bright Light in Early Dawn: or, a Mother's Recollections of One whom Jesus loved. With a Preface by the Rev. Edmund Clay, B.A. Wertheim and Macintosh.* Of nothing are we more convinced than the fact and frequency of a deep spiritual influence in the hearts of young children; and this we say in spite of the impressions of this foolish book. But we fear it will be otherwise with readers less assured. If the parrot-like repetitions of infancy, found in the earlier pages of this Memoir, are thus confounded with a later and more genuine experience, there is danger that the one may be allowed to balance or neutralize the other.—*Neglected Things: or, Words of Warning on the Neglect of common Christian Duties.* By the Rev. E. Shelton. The preface of this little volume is tasteless and unpromising; but once over the threshold, the candid reader may find both entertainment and profit. It is full of practical suggestions; and precept and anecdote are blended with considerable skill.—*Faith and its Effects.* By Mrs. Phæbe Palmer. Heylin. 1856. This little work is rich in all the best experiences of the Christian life. If the 'rationale' of faith is still to seek, its reality and power are put beyond all doubt or controversy; and the believer stands immeasurably in advance of the philosopher.