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THE  
LONDON REVIEW.

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JULY, 1858.

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- ART. I.—1. *Divine Inspiration: or, The Supernatural Influence exerted in the Communication of Divine Truth.* By the REV. E. HENDERSON. London: Jackson and Walford. 1836.
2. *The Miraculous and Internal Evidences of the Christian Revelation.* By the REV. T. CHALMERS, D.D., LL.D. (Vols. III. and IV. of collected Works.) Glasgow: William Collins.
3. *The Soul: its Sorrows and its Aspirations. An Essay.* By FRANCIS W. NEWMAN. Fifth Edition. London: John Chapman. 1853.
4. *The Philosophy of Religion.* By J. D. MORELL, A.M. Longmans. 1849.
5. *Critical History and Defence of the Old Testament Canon.* By MOSES STUART. With Introduction by SAMUEL DAVIDSON, D.D. London: George Routledge. 1849.
6. *It is Written: or, The Scriptures and the Word of God.* From the French of PROFESSOR GAUSSEN. Fourth Edition. London: Bagster and Sons.
7. *The Doctrine of Inspiration: being an Inquiry into the Infallibility, Inspiration, and Authority of Holy Writ.* By the REV. JOHN MACNAUGHT, M.A., Oxon. Longmans. 1856.
8. *Inspiration a Reality: or, A Vindication of the Plenary Inspiration and Infallible Authority of Holy Scripture; in Reply to the Rev. J. Macnaught's 'Doctrine of Inspiration.'* By the REV. JOSIAH LOWE, A.B. Longmans. 1856.
9. *Christian Orthodoxy: a Theological Essay.* By JOHN WILLIAM DONALDSON, D.D. London: Williams and Norgate. 1857.
10. *The Text of the Old Testament Considered: with a Treatise on Sacred Interpretation, and a brief Introduction to the Old*
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- Testament Books and the Apocrypha.* By SAMUEL DAVIDSON, D.D. Longmans. 1856.
11. *An Examination of the Facts, Statements, and Explanations of the Rev. Dr. S. Davidson.* By the REV. JOHN KELLY. London: John Snow.
  12. *Dr. Davidson: his Heresies, Contradictions, and Plagiarisms.* By TWO GRADUATES. London: Wertheim and Macintosh. 1857.
  13. *Discourses on Holy Scripture.* By JOHN KELLY. London: John Snow. 1850.
  14. *Letters, Conversations, and Recollections of the late S. T. Coleridge.* Two Vols. 8vo. 1836.
  15. *Lectures on Inspiration.* By ALEXANDER THOMSON, M.A. London: Whittaker and Co.
  16. *The Inspiration of Holy Scripture. Five Sermons.* By the REV. LORD A. HERVEY, A.M. Cambridge: Macmillan and Co.
  17. *The Inspiration of Moses.* By the REV. J. IVORY HOLMES, M.A. London: Seeley and Co.
  18. *Journal of Sacred Literature, for July, 1854.*
  19. *British Quarterly, Nos. XLIX. and LII., for January, 1857, and October, 1857.*
  20. *North British Review, for August, 1857.*

No discussion has excited more profound interest, or is fraught with more serious consequences, than that now so vehemently waged concerning the fact, the nature, and the measure of the inspiration of Holy Scripture. We engage in it, therefore, with a grave feeling of responsibility,—accepting it as a duty from which we dare not shrink, and would not if we could, that we state boldly and uncompromisingly the ground we take, and are prepared to defend, in relation to the present controversy. At the outset let us be candid with those whom we shall be forced to treat as opponents in the course of our argument. We foresee the momentous results pending upon the issue of this discussion, and in the staunch defence of the truth, which we believe to be imperilled, we must make an end of unmeaning compliments. There can be no dalliance in war. On either side the conflict is too serious to be stayed or assuaged by any weak considerations. The battle must be resolutely fought without quarter, till by the strain of argument against argument it be proved with whom the victory rests. All that can be required, therefore, in any writer who enters this controversy, is the clearest and most forcible statement of arguments, whether in exposure of an opponent's weakness, or in the defence of his own

position. To this law we pledge ourselves. We feel too deeply and too strongly to write in doubtful language, or with impotent reserve. The question, whether there has been a Divine revelation or not, is the ultimate and essential form into which all inquiries concerning inspiration resolve themselves; and the answer to that question manifestly involves our knowledge of God, the existence of the Church, the standard of duty, and our hopes of a future world; in fact, every interest of mankind that is revered and precious. Self-respect, therefore, and respect for the convictions of those who differ from us, but who must acknowledge the vast importance and far-reaching potency of the conclusions which they seek to establish, compel us to use the exactest and plainest language we can find to express and enforce our opinions on this subject.

Let it not, however, be conceived, that we sympathize with the ignorant and bilious denunciations with which the doubters and impugnors of orthodox belief on this subject are so frequently assailed. Orthodox truth suffers more from such an ignoble and cowardly mode of defence, than from the most virulent attacks. If it is to be honourably maintained, it must be by the calm exposition of its evidences, and not by a savage howl at its opponents. Difficulties are admitted to complicate the doctrine of inspiration, which may be supposed sufficient to bewilder or to repulse many sincere inquirers, without the further incentive of sinister motives. For their recovery to sound doctrine, angry threats and browbeatings are the worst possible means to adopt. At any rate, they can be useful no longer. This doctrine is now threatened on every side. The sluices of the controversy which has so long deluged Germany have been lifted up in this country. High authorities in the Episcopal Church pronounce opinions widely at variance from the commonly received faith, and loudly affirm that the commonly received faith is indefensible. In every direction it is intimated that the time has come for a thorough investigation and fresh settlement of the doctrine of inspiration. We are content that it should be so, since we are convinced that the old faith will yet prevail; and it is far better to have an open and thorough criticism of its evidences which will triumphantly vindicate their strength, than to be dwelling in imaginary dread of their possible insufficiency. But if there be such an honest examination of this doctrine, that brasen-throated artillery of menacing epithets which has been pealing far and near must be silenced. The strong reasons on either side must be scrupulously weighed, and the balance fairly struck. If truth does not capitulate to bribes, neither will it to threats: it must be solicited



and won by the severe exercise of unimpassioned and unprejudiced reason. We do not purpose to collect within the limits of one or even two articles every quillet of proof either for or against the doctrine of plenary inspiration; but we trust to give a clear statement of the doctrine as we hold it, to expound fairly the evidence which vouches this doctrine, and to expose the fallacy of the various theories which have been hatched to supplant it,—only reversing the order of these propositions, that by the destruction of false theories we may clear the ground for orthodox scriptural truths. So far we hope to contribute our share to the settlement of the present disturbed controversy, in the renewed acceptance and the firmer establishment of the hitherto received doctrine, that the whole Bible is the word of God.

In a controversy so important, there should be the most rigorous care in the definition of the terms that are employed. Of late, the embroilment of language has become almost hopeless, from the various meanings into which the term 'inspiration' has been distorted; and the distinction drawn by Coleridge, and since almost very generally adopted, between revelation and inspiration, seems to us to have increased, instead of relieving, this perplexity. According to this distinction, revelation consists in the immediate communication from God by voice, dreams, visions, or by some transcendental mode of impressing the consciousness with knowledge, which otherwise would have been unattainable by man; and inspiration consists in that spiritual aid which was given to writers of Scripture, to convey to their fellow-men the knowledge which had been thus supernaturally communicated to them, and whatever information or sentiment of their own they pleased to combine with it. Now, this distinction, on which inspiration is contrasted depreciatingly with revelation, has been the beginning of strife. It has 'darkened counsel by words without knowledge,' and aggravated instead of simplifying the problem presented for our solution in the authority of Holy Scripture: for, in the first place, it so limits the meaning of the word *inspiration*, as completely to subvert its common acceptation; and, secondly, being supposed to intrench whatever is supernatural or Divine in Scripture within a safe stronghold, by rigidly marking off those of its contents that are asserted to be communicated by God, it at once derogates from the authority of all the rest, as something generically different, and encourages the freest licence in speculation as to the kind of assistance that was needed merely to speak or transcribe these Divine communications, and to compose the other human portions of the Bible. Consequently, Coleridge himself eliminates from the inspiration of Scripture writers its miraculous efficacy: others who abide by his distinction do not,

but have availed themselves of the liberty which the comparative indifference of the matter allowed them, to differ, in every conceivable way, as to the mode and measure of the supernatural aid confessedly bestowed by inspiration.

We accept the distinction only in so far as the mode of intelligence here specifically named 'revelation' is involved in inspiration, as forming one of its constitutive elements; but to regard the inspiration of a prophet or apostle as something different from his supernatural knowledge of the Divine will, instead of being exhibited and proved by that supernatural knowledge, we conceive to be a fundamental error, opposed alike to the plain representations of inspired men, the biblical statements concerning inspiration, and the universal acceptation of the meaning of that word. It is the introduction of this new meaning of the word 'inspiration,' emptied, too, of its highest potency, which has perplexed recent discussion on the subject. Against such a procedure we earnestly protest; for by this wayward and fanciful use of words in contempt of their common usage and explicit meaning, all controversy and all rational intercourse are put at an end, and mutual confusion is the sad result. Since the word is of biblical origin, we admit that if the popular meaning of 'inspiration' could be proved to be at variance from the scriptural, then it should be altered, and its value fixed according to the biblical standard; but in this case it is quite the reverse. The biblical, the etymological, the historical, and the popular sense of the word, are opposed to the meagre, contracted sense in which it is applied by Coleridge and those who have copied him.

'Inspiration' is understood to denote the peculiar mental state of a man who is commissioned and qualified by God to make known to his fellow man whatever God may will to be so published. The word was originally, and is therefore most properly, applied to the communications that were thus published either in speech or writing. Now the meaning commonly, and we hold correctly, conveyed by the expression that a composition either in whole or in part is inspired, or given by inspiration of God, is that it perfectly represents to us what God wished us to know, no matter what may be the substance or form of it. If, then, we construe this idea back from the writing to the writer's mind, it is plain that inspiration is connoted of the latter, only as it denotes that peculiar mental state of the writer, which made his words written in it divinely inspired words, or words which perfectly represented what God wished to be made known. In simpler phrase, it is that condition of the mind which impressed

that peculiar quality on his language, which Scripture designates divinely breathed or inspired. This simple analysis is enough to show that Coleridge's limitation of the word 'inspired' is erroneous, since it would deny the application of that word to those passages which the voice of God Himself is said to utter. These, according to him, are revealed, not inspired; but no practical value can attach to such distinction. What God spoke directly to His servants of old must be guaranteed to us by an infallible historian. For us, indeed, there is no revealed will of God that does not wholly rest on the validity of inspiration.

Inspiration, then, in its common acceptation, is a general term, signifying that specific mental endowment of any man whose words possessed the sanction and authority of God. It includes, therefore, in its meaning, every qualification necessary to give such an awful impress to his language. Now, among these qualifications the mode of intelligence implied in revelation is doubtless a pre-eminent one; for if it were the will of God to publish some fact or truth which was transcendental and inaccessible to the ordinary faculties of man, or was unknown to the mind of His inspired servant, then it would be imparted to his mind by a direct communication or revelation, and in that particular his inspiration would involve this most exalted function. But if God willed to publish to man some historical fact, or some religious experience, then the commission and the qualification given to any man to record these, constitute as perfect an inspiration as in the former case; for, according to the meaning of that word, its complexion or character cannot be affected by the substance of the Divine communication. All men are equally inspired whose words authoritatively express, whether the subject matter be otherwise known or not, what God has commanded and fitted them to record; so that in reading them we are assured they are such as God intended us to read. Accepting then this meaning of inspiration,—and to adopt any other is to throw confusion into the controversy,—it will be seen that these three qualifications are involved in this miraculous endowment; in order, namely, to constitute any writing inspired, or exactly what God has wished it to be:—that the writing state what God wished to be made known, ~~2~~so much as He wished to be made known, ~~2~~and in that manner in which He wished it to be made known. If any of these conditions in the writing or corresponding qualifications in the writer is wanting, then the prerogative, the high quality of inspiration is wanting, since what is written we can no longer consider to be given of God. His Divine seal does not rest upon it; it is man's production, and not God's, if in either manner or matter it is the offspring

of a merely human will. The three logical categories, *τί, ὅσον, οὐρον*, must be rigidly applied to inspiration, as to every other object of thought; and if they are not fulfilled, its whole nature is essentially changed, it becomes something else. For example, if any writing contain a fiction of man's own invention, we cannot accept that as coming from God; if it contain a certain history, but more than God purposed should be written, then the additional supposititious narrative can have no Divine significance or authority; or if the matter and the quantity be exactly what God purposed, but if it be presented to us in a totally different manner from that which God willed, then this representation is no longer God's, but man's. If, therefore, a writing, or any part of it, is to be presumed to have Divine authority for our intellect or conscience, in matter, measure, and manner, it must be exactly what God would have it be. And precisely this is meant by the claim that the Bible, or any section of it, is inspired. Inspiration is the gift enabling a man to communicate what, and how much, and in what way, God pleases through him to publish to his fellow men. It may be now exactly seen what relation revelation holds to inspiration. It appertains to the first qualification which we have said to be involved in inspiration. An inspired man whose words have the sanction of God must know what God would have him say; and if this knowledge be not accessible from human sources, or is imperfectly contained in them, then by some supernatural process this information must be supplied; to which specific act of intelligence the word 'revelation' may be appropriately confined. If he already knows what is to be said, such revelation is not needed. But his commission and qualification, to say it as God would have him say it, make the matter of this latter communication as impressively Divine, as purely God's message, as authoritative and obligatory for us, as that of the former given by revelation.

Hitherto we have been expounding and defining the commonly received notion or meaning of inspiration, as applied to the sacred writings and writers. In this article we shall use the word in this sense, namely, as denoting that quality in the writings, and that corresponding mental state in the writer, which give their words the authoritative sanction of God, as we have explained above; so that in reading them we are assured that we are reading just what God proposed we should read, as given directly from Himself. Let it be remembered, we do not here prejudice the fact, or the measure, or the modes of such inspiration. These questions are all left open. We merely determine the nature of inspiration, and affirm that this is the

proper meaning of the word. It remains for us to examine whether the Bible, or any part of it, is so inspired, and also to discover if any light can be thrown on the mode in which this peculiar mental state co-existed with the ordinary mental operations, or was itself elicited and continued.

We have adopted the popular meaning of inspiration on the following grounds : 1. Because it is universally received and is readily understood in this sense. Even sceptics do not differ from us here ; nay, even those who have corrupted the meaning of the word ‘inspiration,’ shrink from carrying out their rendering of it in the interpretation of the passage, *All Scripture is given by inspiration of God.* (2 Tim. iii. 16.) They endeavour to rid themselves of this testimony to the Divine authority of Scripture, by the grammatical quibble that θεόπνευστος is a qualifying epithet, and not a predicate, instead of vindicating their theory in this proof passage, and flatly asserting that inspiration does not vouch for the authority or truthfulness of Scripture ; and so they evince their unalterable sympathy with the common opinion that θεόπνευστία attributes a Divine sacredness to any writing, and accredits it as being exactly what God intended for us. 2. We believe, moreover, that this is the correct exegetical meaning of θεόπνευστία, or ‘inspiration,’ when used in Scripture. But, 3. We have here, at any rate, a fixed meaning of the word, and so the controversy concerning the Bible is brought to a plain intelligible issue : we have a clear, definite conception attached to the query, ‘Is the Bible inspired ?’ which will at once, like the stretching out of Moses’ rod over the waters, cause the two opposing parties to divide, and array themselves against each other : for the query means, ‘Is the Bible God-given ? and was the influence operating on its writers such as that their language represents to us exactly what He willed us to know ?’ They who assent, and they who dissent, here separate and turn towards antipodal points.

We assent, and shall accordingly endeavour to prove the fact of that inspiration in the Bible, the nature of which we have been exhibiting. It will be noticed that we have cautiously avoided the words ‘infallibility,’ ‘accuracy,’ &c., when defining the meaning of inspiration ; and we have done so because there are many previous questions concerning these words which need to be settled ere we predicate them of inspired writings. It cannot be God’s will that what He makes known to man should be infallible and accurate, in the absolute and impossible sense in which some writers strain them, when applied to Scripture. If any writing be precisely what God willed it to be, both in substance and form, it is inspired ; for though written by men,

if it be such as He intended and impelled these men to write, it is God's writing to us. Doubtless it will be in conformity with the eternal laws of rectitude and truth, else it could not be in accordance with His will; but it is an altogether different matter to postulate, that every thing in it shall be metaphysically and superhumanly accurate; for example, its statements always tallying with the essential reality, and not with the appearance of things, its language never varying in the description of the same events, even by different persons. Such accuracy or infallibility is not found in Scripture, and does not belong to inspiration. (God willed that His communications to mankind by man should be subject to the conditions of humanity, under which such absolute exactitude, which presupposes the omniscience of God to belong not only to the writer, but also to the readers, would be unintelligible. It depends therefore upon the meaning in which we explain these words, whether we can connect them with inspiration, which moreover has no proper reference to such external criteria, but simply to the Divine origin and consequent authority of the Scriptures.

Having thus elaborately, and with intentional reiteration, exhibited the nature of inspiration, we have now prepared the way for our defence of the position, that the whole Bible is inspired. In order, however, that we may present to our readers the different phases of the controversy on this subject, that we may clear away the objections brought against our position on *à priori* grounds, which else might be thought to invalidate the very foundations of our defence, and that we may thus gradually approach and explicate the position in which we shall finally rest, and which we are prepared to maintain, we shall state and criticize the principal theories avowed and urged against the common doctrine of plenary inspiration. These theories we shall arrange in order, as they are further or more nearly removed from that doctrine. By this plan we believe we shall render our readers a service, by giving them in one view a *résumé* and refutation of those diverse views now so loudly applauded by their several supporters; and we shall greatly simplify our future task, in having proved step by step the insufficiency of all the theories that stop short of the position we have assumed. We name those theories according to their respective authors, as this gives concentration and point to our work, and brings us at once to personal hand-to-hand conflict with individual men, which is much more comfortable than buffeting the air.

The first objection we shall examine is the bold and start-

ling statement made by Mr. Francis W. Newman, in his work, *'The Soul, its Sorrows and Aspirations'*, that an authoritative external revelation of moral and spiritual truth is essentially impossible to man. He supports this thesis at length, in the section of the above-named work entitled 'English Idolatry;' but it is his favourite—we might almost say, hobby-dogma; repeated, again and again, in his recent writings, and echoed by the members of that school, including Theodore Parker, Hennel, &c., which we now take him to represent. Accordingly,—although it has passed the microscopic lenses of Henry Rogers, and has been severely but justly exposed by him,—let us examine it for ourselves, and with a view to our own argument; for if this assertion has even a vestige of probability, it puts a cross bar in the way of our further inquiry, since it renders it a futile task to prove that there has been a revelation, which after all is without authority, and therefore comparatively worthless. Now the sentence we have quoted above is exceedingly intricate and ambiguous: we must warily unravel its knots, that we may discover its meaning. Mr. Newman, it will be observed, does not affirm that an external revelation of moral and spiritual truth is impossible. He does not presume to say that God could not, by any possible method, disclose to men His character and will, and the facts of their immortal destiny. If so, then indeed that is impossible to God, which is possible to man. Nor does Mr. Newman's assertion go to prove that such a revelation could be no wise advantageous, or would be altogether needless and superfluous.

Many of his other expressions, indeed, are tantamount to a denial even of the utility of a Divine revelation; but after Mr. Rogers's brilliant and irrefutable Essay on *The Analogies of an External Revelation with the Laws and Conditions of Human Development*, we have no doubt he would willingly cancel the unguarded expressions, and shelter himself within the subtle distinction that is drawn, though not with the broad emphasis desirable in a matter of so much importance, in the sentence: 'An *authoritative* external revelation is essentially impossible to man.' It is not then an external revelation, but an authoritative external revelation, that is impossible. This fine point, which after all is the gist of the sentence, has been missed by Mr. Rogers, whose caustic and withering criticism so unsparingly devastates Mr. Newman's opinions. This point, therefore, which contains the pith of Mr. Newman's opposition to the Bible, we now exhibit for dissection. It is this, that even if God (granting what Mr. Newman dare not deny,—that He can) were to communicate to mankind a statement of His

character, of His providential control and moral aim in the government of the world, and a description of the spiritual sphere which lies beyond death, and if, moreover, He were to append a luminous and perfect code of moral duty, neither of these communications could possess any authority with us, on the ground of their coming from God, and can only have authority at all, in so far as, upon quite independent grounds, we are able to authenticate the facts of the former communication as true, and to acknowledge the commands of the latter as right. The authorship of these communications, admitting them to come from God, gives them no extrinsic value whatever. This is a fair exposition of the meaning obscurely wrapped up in Mr. Newman's oracular and enigmatic sentence. Before entering upon its confutation, let it be observed, that he combines moral and spiritual truth together, and regards the authority which attaches to both as of essentially the same kind. This is a stupendous mistake, and lies at the root of the confusion that manifestly involves his mind in their treatment. It may do very well for Mr. Charles Kingsley, with his nobly Quixotic, but most illogical, soul, hating the tedious toil of analysis, as a poet scorns the rule of three, to proclaim as a great discovery, almost as the Gospel of our age, that the moral and spiritual are one.\* But the distinction between them has been immemorially established, and is too palpable to be erased at his dictation.

It is true, they have been, and should be, vitally associated in the history of mankind; for faith in the spiritual world is the most effectual coercive power that can be brought to stimulate and strengthen the individual conscience, and affords the only guarantee for the preservation of a high-toned national morality.† All religions, too, combine both kinds of truth, grounding the duties they enjoin upon the spiritual facts which they profess to reveal. Notwithstanding, however, that moral and spiritual truth are so intimately interwoven in nature, they are essentially different. (Spiritual truth consists in a statement of facts, moral truth in a prescription of duties.) The one appeals to our intelligence, the other to our conscience. So widely contrasted are they both in their own nature, and in the faculties by which they are apprehended. For what is the chief spiritual truth, but a revelation of the nature, the works, and purposes of God? and how does this differ, save in the boundless

\* See especially his Lectures on the Alexandrian School of Philosophy; and his article on Vaughan's *Hours with the Mystics*, in *Fraser's Magazine* of December, 1856.

† See, on this subject, Hampden's *Bampton Lecture*, Third Edition, p. 300.



sublimity and importance of such knowledge, from a narrative disclosing the spirit and recording the history of any finite spiritual being? Spiritual truth can only be a statement of facts. That there is a God,—that He is of such a character,—that He has entered into certain relations with His creatures, are simply facts, which are apprehended by our intelligence, and are credited, or discredited, according to the source and evidence of our information. Now, the only authority predicable of such a statement of facts is, that which will *authorize* our faith in it. An authoritative revelation of spiritual truth is one which we must believe to be true, or to represent the facts contained in it correctly, in strict accordance with their reality. In other words, the only authority of such a revelation is the authority of truth. On the other hand, the word ‘truth’ is not properly, but only by the accommodation of metaphorical licence, applied to ethics. The authority of a summary of duty is the authority of right. Moral truth is not a statement of facts which we are to learn, and concerning which all we have to determine is, that the evidence supporting it is sound; but an enforcement of laws which we are to obey, which have not merely to be impressed on our memory, and methodized by our logic, but which should govern the will, and discipline every active energy of our nature to their requirements. And here we must determine, ere we submit ourselves to them, that the laws enjoined upon us are ‘holy, just, and good.’ Spiritual facts, and moral laws, are thus essentially different from each other. The authority of the one is that of truth. The authority of the other is that of right.

Having disentangled the knot in Mr. Newman’s sentence, and exposed the rare superficiality of Mr. Kingsley and the Broad Church School, that the moral and spiritual are one, our criticism becomes as plain as sunlight. The plausibility that seems at first sight to gild Mr. Newman’s assertion, arises wholly from his illegitimate combination of two diverse kinds of truth in the subject of his proposition, and then fallaciously imputing to both that kind of authority which belongs only to one of them. For though it be true that there is a principle in man that is able to determine on certain conditions the propriety and obligation of a moral law, and that a revelation of moral law can only be authoritative to us, when it is approved by this principle of conscience, there is no similar principle that can determine, on *à priori* grounds, the reality of any facts that may be presented to it. Rend, then, these two kinds of truth apart; let each of them be tried on its respective merits, and the preposterous fallacy of Mr. Newman’s assertion instantly appears.

1. He says, an authoritative external revelation of spiritual truth is essentially impossible. This means that no external revelation of spiritual truth is trustworthy, or can have sufficient evidence to warrant our faith; for such is the meaning of an authoritative revelation here, otherwise it has no meaning. But spiritual truth comprises all truth concerning the existence and character of God, our own spiritual nature, and that of other spiritual beings. Then no external revelation concerning these things is trustworthy. We do not press this point to the absurd conclusion which is inevitable, that no historical fact, no human invention, no expression of the countenance, no virtuous or vicious deeds are trustworthy or credible, as revelations of the human spirit, which are as essential parts of spiritual truth, as the revelations of the great universal Spirit God. But we confine ourselves to this extraordinary statement, so far as it concerns our Divine knowledge. If no external revelation concerning God be authoritative, *i.e.*, truthful or trustworthy, whence do we derive our knowledge of God? An atheist may say we have none; but Mr. Newman is a theist, and his *Essay on the Soul* is expressly designed to show us whence we derive our conceptions of God. To him, therefore, we appeal with confidence, yet with amazement, when we think of the suicidal felony which his reasoning commits. He believes that we have a knowledge of God, which is correct. Then the source of that knowledge—the revelation conveying it—must be authoritative. What is it? It must be either external or internal. But if it be external, then an authoritative external revelation is essentially possible to man. Now it might have been that Mr. Newman was a believer in innate ideas, and imagined all our knowledge of God to be the illumination of certain impresses originally stamped on the soul. If so, he would have escaped the *battue* of our argument. But he is no *réchauffoir* of worn out theories. He knows God from the revelation He has made of Himself in the universe: treating of the argument from design, he writes, ‘Consequently, such fitnesses as meet our view on all sides, bring a reasonable conviction that design lies beneath them. To confess this is to confess the doctrine of an intelligent Creator, although we pretend not to understand anything concerning the mode, stages, or time of creation. Adding now the conclusions drawn from the order of the universe, we have testimony adapted to the cultivated judgment, that there is a boundless, eternal, unchangeable, designing mind, not without whom this system of things coheres; and this mind we call God.’ In this passage there is the confession that even the existence of God is revealed to us by the external universe, and that certain features of His

character are portrayed there also. In other sections, Mr. Newman proceeds to show how the sublime attributes of wisdom and goodness are likewise manifest in the harmony, certitude, and over-ruling beneficence of nature. He further visibly shows how the religious feelings, in their lowest, as well as their noblest, expression, are awakened by contact with the solemnities and grandeurs of nature,—how the deep shadow of awe creeps over the spirit beneath the hushed stillness and gloomy vastness of night,—how the sense of mysterious joy kindles again with the bright dawn of the sun among the crimson-dyed clouds of the east, or with the glorious coming of spring, when it rises disinterred and radiant with Elysian beauty from the death of winter. The sense of reverential wonder, admiration, order, whatever feeling seems to make us even dimly cognizant of an infinite spiritual Presence, only palpitates into life when the soul is touched by these external revelations of His majesty and love. According, therefore, to Mr. Newman's own diagnosis of our spiritual conceptions, every fact that conveys to our mind certain or authoritative knowledge of the being of God, or that thrills our soul with a felt but uncomprehended sense of His presence, is external to us.

What, then, can be his meaning, when, in the next sentence to that we have so often quoted, he says?—‘What God reveals to us, He reveals within, through the medium of our moral and spiritual senses.’ Are those fitnesses which he asserts to prove design, and to prove an intelligent cause, all lodged within him? Is the order of the universe, whose testimony proclaims a boundless, unchangeable, eternal, designing Mind, wrapped up and condensed in the human soul? Is man the universe? If not, then Mr. Newman is convicted of most wilful self-annihilation. His theistic essay is an attempt to show that God reveals Himself externally, yet authoritatively, to man in the material universe; and yet he madly lifts his hand to demolish all his fair reasoning, by the presumptuous and unreasoned dogma, that an authoritative external revelation of spiritual truth is an essential impossibility.

Against Mr. Newman's dogma we maintain diametrically the reverse,—that any revelation of spiritual truth, to be authoritative, must be external. We exclude, of course, the mere knowledge of our own existence, which is doubtless a part of spiritual truth, and is given in the fact of consciousness. But with that exception, all other spiritual truth concerning our fellow-men,—other finite spirits,—the nature of human existence after death,—and the great God, must be externally revealed to us. Limiting the question again to our Divine knowledge, if a man be shut

up from acquaintance with the works of God, what knowledge can he possibly have of His will and power? He may dream of these things, his imagination may intoxicate him with gorgeous reveries concerning Him, from all positive and well-assured knowledge of whom he is grievously debarred. But those hallucinations of the fancy—the only possible products of an internal revelation—are surely not authoritative. An authoritative revelation must consist in facts, not fancies, and must therefore be external, not internal. To a certain extent, indeed, the mind itself is a revelation of God; for, like all other created things, it is an effect, and contains some of the qualities of its Divine cause. If, therefore, a man shut up from other sources of knowledge were minutely to examine this, he might arrive at accurate, though limited, conceptions of God, deduced from the facts brought under his apprehension. But even in this case the revelation is external to him. He examines his mind as a thing apart from himself. It is an organized structure of subtile and awful properties. Different faculties, processes, and emotions belong to it; but these are not isolated, and held apart from each other. They are all united to the central will, and interwoven by the unconscious and unsearchable force of mental association. They thus hold definite and fixed relations among themselves, and are kept in perpetual sympathy with each other. His mind, therefore, he learns to be an organization as much as a plant, or the human body, or the *κόσμος*, being a system of powers which are connected and sympathetically developed according to predetermined and unchanging laws. But when a man so examines his own mind, the powers and the structure of which have not originated in himself, and when he is compelled by the examination to admit a supreme originating Cause, and to descry something of His character, the mental process is precisely the same as in examining any foreign object with the same intent. The construction of the mind is viewed as aloof from his own will, and exposed to his inspection, as though it were quite a separate object from himself; and the information he receives from his mental study comes to him as a new and objective revelation, just as much as though it were drawn from the external world; the only difference being, that in the one case the means of communication are memory and consciousness, and in the other, memory and perception. It is very certain, this knowledge of God, derived from reflection on the *anatomie vivante* of our own mind, is not what Mr. Newman means by ‘the revealing of spiritual truth within the soul.’ But, to secure both the flank and rear of our advancing arguments, we may grant, that so much as a man can learn of God

from the formative history of his own mind, (though this will be the unlikeliest and latest source of Divine knowledge,) may be said to be furnished by an internal revelation. Plainly all other knowledge must be revealed to us from without, from those facts of the material or spiritual universe which are brought under our cognizance.

It might be imagined that Mr. Newman, like other sceptics, felt the essential impossibility of which he speaks to attach to a revelation of God, which was distinct from the revelation of nature. If this had been his position, we must then have proved the possibility and likelihood of a supernatural revelation. But it is not so. His dogma reaches further back than that, and asserts that no statement of facts concerning God—whether these facts are apprehended in nature, or are supersensual—can be authoritative; and in reply, we affirm, that it is authoritative if it be true, of whatsoever nature the facts may be; that if irrefutably proved to be true by the corroborate evidence accompanying them, the facts stated must be accepted and believed by him, at the peril of the charge of irrationality; and that this is all the authority which a revelation of scriptural or any sort of truth can possibly claim, namely, an authority of evidence which will enforce belief. Now the facts recorded which contain spiritual truth, because they exhibit the character of God, may be remote from our immediate perception, whether they pertain to this state of things or another. The evidence of belief is seldom verified by an appeal to our own observation, but rests upon the testimony of others. The immense majority of facts which Mr. Newman accepts as revealing to him the power, wisdom, and beneficence of God, have not been explored or experienced by himself. The sublime order of the universe, as unfolded in the Newtonian system, he believes on the testimony of those who have evolved that system, by the rigid application of mechanical laws to the appearances of the heavenly bodies; yet, upon their testimony, he credits that fact, which reveals to him most distinctly and overpoweringly what we may term the physical and intellectual character, or the material force and contriving skill, of God. Pursuing the tracks of human history to learn the moral character of God, all the facts which he assumes to exhibit this character are adopted in faith of the testimony which records them. Beyond the narrow range of our own observation, the certainty or authority of every fact is judged by the worth of the evidence attesting it. This law is irreversible, and must be applied with strict impartiality both to spiritual and material truth. The statements of the Bible, even as to spiritual facts,

such as what God is affirmed to have said, or to have done, must be rigidly tried at this tribunal, and accepted and rejected, according to this imperious necessity, by one standard, viz., the validity of the testimony vouching the truth of these facts. The specific character of the facts themselves must not weigh a scruple in the balance. Bacon has denounced the arrogance of those who would determine on purely theoretic and *à priori* grounds what facts of nature are to be allowed or disallowed, and has shown the office of man in search of truth to be that of servant and interpreter; and like humility is surely required in the search after spiritual as after physical truth. Our elective fancy must not become a divining-rod, the despotic nod of which is to settle the fate of any fact in despite of the plainest confirming or opposing evidence. The age of such intellectual despotism has passed away, and it ill becomes Mr. Newman to imitate, by his imaginary impossibilities, the hierarchy of the Roman Church in Galileo's time.

We claim, therefore, for the Bible the authority of truth, which is all the authority that is conceivable upon the ground of its evidences, and smile at the presumptuous impotence of Mr. Newman's protest, that would foreclose the only just decision by his whimsical unphilosophical objection to the kind of truth the Bible contains. We are aware that, properly speaking, the testimony in support of much that the Bible reveals is two-fold: first, the human testimony which proves God to speak, or otherwise convey supernatural truth, in the Bible; secondly, the testimony of God Himself. Mr. Newman's dogma disavows the worth even of the latter; for if it were incontrovertibly proved that God had communicated some spiritual fact to His creatures, yet Mr. Newman's theory of essential impossibility would prevent him from relying on the testimony of God as authoritative. We do not follow him, as we do not envy him, in his boastful—it also seems to us, blasphemous—incredulity. The testimony of man may be authoritative, because true. If the testimony of God be not authoritative, it can only be because it is false. We have said before that it is not the possibility, or even the fact, of supernatural revelation which Mr. Newman disputes, but its authoritativeness; and we review and sum up our answer in these words:—With regard to the spiritual world, the only authority is truth: and if God has given an external revelation, it is authoritative, if true; and if not true, then God is false.

There is, however, a metaphysical fallacy mixed up with Mr. Newman's speculations on the Bible, which is thus introduced by him: 'Some assume, as a first principle, that the mind is

made for truth, or that our faculties are veracious. Perhaps the real first principle here rather is, that no higher arbiter of truth is accessible to man, than the mind of man.' Now, his meaning in the latter clause, we suspect, is the exact converse, instead of being a more nicely phrased and accurate definition, of the first principle which all men—not some—necessarily assume in the practical conduct of life, and ought to assume in their rational speculations. He has fairly focussed this first principle into the old doctrine of Protagoras, *Ἀνθρώπου πάντων μέτρον*, which is its contradictory, and issues in the denial of all truth whatsoever. Accordingly he intimates, that to attempt to prove the infallibility of the Bible is a blunder; for 'no proof can have a certainty higher than the accuracy and veracity of the faculties which conduct the proof;' and again he affirms 'that our certainty in Divine truth cannot be more certain than the veracity of our inward organs of discernment.' These sentences, though muffled in mist, are mere jargon, if they do not insinuate that our faculties are not 'accurate and veracious.' Likewise, from the tenor of his writings we infer that the real ground on which he disputes the possibility of an authoritative external revelation is, that the faculties by which it is apprehended are not trustworthy; and therefore no revelation, whatever it may be in itself, can become authoritative to us. He must see, however, that this fearful insinuation reaches infinitely further than to the belief of a spiritual revelation, and dissipates with its malignant touch the entire structure of human knowledge. If the faculties of reasoning exercised in weighing the value of testimony be not accurate, their decisions are vitiated in every instance in which they are applied, and 'Historic Doubts,' not only respecting Napoleon Buonaparte, but respecting the recent change of ministry or the Indian Rebellion, are unavoidable. If, moreover, these faculties are false, all other faculties must be so likewise,—perception, memory, association; and man is proved to be the sport of an immitigable delusion, fondly dreaming of the possibility of truth, and labouring in its search, while, by the congenital vice of his mind, falsehood must be his eternal portion. The disappointed passion and revolving rack of Ixion become the faint emblems of his mocked existence. Such Pyrrhonism sweeps away authoritative truth, not only from the sphere of religion, but also from the sphere of history, science, and even of our own consciousness; for when a man *dooms* the faculties of his own soul, there is no longer any truth for him. We care not for any insinuation or flaunting profession of this doctrine; for, when once detected and exposed, it is harmless. The mind revolts from it with instinctive horror, and will never be seduced

to accept a doctrine which treasonably condemns and nullifies itself. But we do care for and protest against Mr. Newman's application of this doctrine in the particular instance in which it suited his purpose, while he repudiates it everywhere else. If the faculties of men are veracious, and can give us authoritative certain truth in these matters, there is no essential impossibility that they may do so in the matter of Divine revelation. If any information we receive of distant or bygone events be so credibly sustained, that it may be relied upon as accurate and authoritative, so may the information we receive concerning God and the spiritual world. Mr. Newman believes that he has found a certain revelation of spiritual truth in the universe, and yet 'his certainty therein cannot be more certain than the veracity of his inward organs of discernment.' If, then, this doctrine avails against the Bible, it equally avails against the revelation of nature, and neither of them can be authoritative. Further, if our faculties be suspected in the mere apprehension of an external revelation, how much more if our knowledge of God be entirely generated within by some mysterious intuitive process of these fallacious powers! Assuredly, if the inward organs of discernment be doubted in the belief and interpretation of an external revelation of spiritual truth, so as by their depravity to cancel its authority, these inward organs, which do not discern, but create spiritual truth, may likewise be doubted, especially since their very existence is dubious, and, if real, appertains only to a few spiritualists, the hierophants of humanity. If, therefore, on this ground, there be no authoritative external revelation, *à fortiori*, there is no internal, and so there is no authoritative revelation at all.

2. Mr. Newman affirms the same of moral as of spiritual truth,—that an authoritative external revelation of it is impossible. This, however, is a very different proposition from the former. Let us endeavour to clearly understand it. The former proposition was, that God could not reveal spiritual truth in a form external to us, so as to authorize our belief in it upon the sole ground of His testimony. The present proposition is, that God cannot enjoin moral duties upon us which we must acknowledge to be right and obligatory on the sole ground of the injunction, and apart from our judgment of their rectitude on other grounds. An authoritative law is one that *authorizes* our obedience to it; and this authority can only belong to it when we *acknowledge* it to be right, and therefore obligatory. Now this proposition differs from the former in this essential point. We have a faculty that decides upon the right or wrong of an action *per se*. We have not a faculty that decides upon the truth or falsehood



of a fact *per se*. The authority of truth must be wholly external, because grounded on evidence. The authority of right is wholly internal, because grounded on conscience. (We admit at once the expression that an external revelation of moral law (or truth) is only authoritative when approved by conscience to be right; for that can only be right to a man, which he acknowledges to be right.) And it is this element of truth subtly pervading Mr. Newman's sentence which suffuses over it the colour of plausibility. But let him not think that he has carried *per saltum* his objection against the authority of Bible morality. We have granted that an external revelation of moral law can only be authoritative when it is acknowledged to be right. But then we affirm that a revelation of moral law *by God* is authoritative because it must be acknowledged to be right; and the fact that God enjoins it will outweigh in a healthy conscience every scruple that may be felt against its integrity, and bring every antagonistic moral judgment into agreement with itself. The sense of authority attributable to any moral law must come from within; but if there be an external revelation of moral law *by God*, that sense of authority immediately attaches to it; so that an authoritative external revelation of moral truths as well as spiritual truths is essentially possible.

Having again untied the knot of Mr. Newman's fallacy, the hitch of which it may puzzle our readers to catch, we are tempted to leave him; but in illustration rather than development of the position laid down above, that if a moral command be proved to come from God, the conscience must acknowledge it to be right in itself, and therefore right to obey, though on other grounds we may have judged it wrong, we make the following observations.

(1.) If upon any action, the motives and modifying circumstances of which were apparent to all, the moral judgment of one person were opposed to that of mankind, ought not that individual to accept the verdict of the universal conscience, and not his own, as right? Of course, (it is not right to him till he acknowledges it right; but as a mere man, ought he not to suspend his own judgment, considering the errors by which it may have been warped, in deference to the unanimous decision of his fellow-men? Then, if so, how much more should he be willing to reverse his own judgment and even that of humanity—since the consciences of all men are exposed to prejudicial, corrupting influences—in submission to the revealed judgment of Him who is raised above the sources of human depravity, and by the very necessity of His being is incorruptibly pure! The expression of His will must be authoritative to any one who has a due sense

of his own fallibility, of God's indefectible rectitude. In a passage which abruptly and unfairly contrasts his doctrine with that of a believer in Divine revelation, Mr. Newman confesses the need of substantiating or verifying our individual moral judgments by those of mankind. 'If,' he says, 'I am to obey the Commandments on the ground that a Divine voice pronounced them from Mount Sinai, (and not because I, and you, and collective humanity discern them to be right,) every one of us needs to ascertain a very distant and obscure matter of history, before he is under obligation to obey the Decalogue.' Our reply is: If, because not only you individually, but collective humanity discerns them to be right, you are under obligation to obey them, may not the solemn fact that God has discerned them to be right, impose a still more imperious obligation? Mr. Newman allows here that an external revelation of moral truth in the judgment of collective humanity is in some measure authoritative,—i. e., it has some share in forming the moral obligation of an individual: may not then the external revelation of God's judgment be authoritative in a higher degree? As to the certainty of the fact that God has revealed the Decalogue, we only add, it is infinitely more certain than any revelation of a single moral precept which he can prove to have the sanction of collective humanity.

(2.) Are we not all conscious that our judgments upon the actions of others, and also upon our desires and volitions, are apt to be biassed and wrong? Is not the influence of a corrupt will upon conscience a fact of which every man is painfully convicted? Can Mr. Newman name a moral philosopher of repute, from Socrates downwards, who has failed to notice the fact, and to explain by it the vacillation and anomalies of conscience? And is not the practical discipline of a virtuous man largely confined to the rectification of his moral judgments, when they have been perverted by prejudice, or passion, or interest? If it be so, will not such a man rejoice to accept, as a perfect standard, the moral judgments of one who has never been subject to those deteriorating forces, which he feels to have wrought so mischievously in himself? Will he not accept His will as right, when his own is self-convicted of being wrong? and even when he cannot discern the wrongfulness of his judgment, will he not wisely accept God's judgment as right, knowing from experience the subtle and unconscious influences arising from ignorance, evil habits, education, popular opinion, &c., that may have deflected his judgment, but could not affect God's? 'The accuracy of all judicial sentences depends on the knowledge, the capacity, the patience, and the impartiality of

the judge. Who will venture to claim for the judge, within his own bosom, the possession of those qualifications in a perfect, or even an eminent, degree? In what tongue, or language, has not the blindness of self-love passed into a proverb? Who is the man whose mental vision is not obstructed by some beam, as often as it is directed to the survey of his own heart, or of his own conduct?' \*

(3.) As a matter of fact, a man's judgments often change in reference to his own actions, or those of other men. The verdict of his conscience alters according to the representation given to it. New aspects, new relations, new consequences of a certain action are discovered. Every man is aware that a decision of his conscience is not necessarily right, because he thinks it right. He thinks his present decision right, though it differs from a former one, because of the clearer, fuller knowledge upon which it is formed. Accordingly the latter decision, and not the former, is now authoritative, because acknowledged to be right. But may not he acknowledge the judgment of another person, though at variance from his own, to be the right one, because formed upon knowledge far more impartial and complete than his own? and *must* he not acknowledge a judgment of God to be right, and therefore authoritative, whose will is stainlessly pure, and whose knowledge of the relations and consequences of every action is absolute? His own decision he cannot assert to be absolutely right; but the decisions of God he must believe to be absolutely right. Which, then, must be authoritative to him? In a similar manner we find a diversity in the moral usages and doctrines of different countries; all of these cannot be right. 'The law of right is one and absolute; nor does it speak one language at Rome, and another at Athens, varying from place to place, or from time to time.' How then may this law be discerned, which will end all moral controversies by revealing 'the absolutely right,' save in the revelation of moral truth by God?

(4.) To conclude this chain of reasoning, Mr. Newman believes God to be unchangeably perfect. Suppose then (and this question is not in dispute) that God did give a revelation of moral truth, it must be perfect too. Since the will of God is necessarily and eternally right, Mr. Newman must acknowledge that an exposition of it is also necessarily and eternally right; and this acknowledgment binds it at once as authoritative to him, though his own previous judgments have differed from it. Since Mr. Newman believes in a holy God, this question is reduced to

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\* Sir James Stephen's *Essays*, vol. ii., p. 463.

the point, Whether He has revealed His will at all? If He has, His revealed will must be right; (for, if not, it is either not His will revealed, or His will, *i. e.*, He Himself, is evil;) and if it must be right, it must be authoritative; since, as we proved before, the only authority a moral law can possess is, that it be acknowledged to be right, when it instantly becomes obligatory. If then a Divine external revelation of moral truth is possible, which Mr. Newman *does not* deny, there is no essential impossibility, but an essential necessity, in its being authoritative.

(5.) On other grounds the same conclusion is reached. Conscience may briefly be defined as 'the law of the will.' It pronounces a decision upon its spontaneous determinations, according to the influencing motives in each case. The self-determining powers of the will which are under the categorical control of conscience, relate to those beings which may be affected by them, viz., ourselves, other finite beings, and God; and our duty defines the right conduct of our will in these various relations.\* What then is our duty towards God? Considering the boundless relations in which we are connected with Him, this must be the first and weightiest announcement of conscience in directing our will. What do we owe—what ought we to do—to Him? Rectitude consists in doing right towards every being with whom, in the exercise of our will, we are related; the chief and essential element of rectitude or right-doing will, therefore, consist in our conduct towards God. If, then, He has enjoined upon us a command which it is His pleasure we should obey, does it not upon this showing become essentially and intrinsically right for us to obey, apart from its inherent or apparent rectitude on other grounds, which simply means, when investigated, that its fulfilment is discerned to be beneficial to ourselves and our fellow-men?

Conscience announces what is right towards God as well as towards man; and its most imperative sentence is, that man should obey and honour God. Now suppose that in the treatment of our fellow-men we had conceived a certain mode of action to be right, and God has commanded us to adopt a different course of action; which, then, is right? Two *momenta* here hang in opposite scales of the balance,—our conceptions of what we owe to our fellow-men, our knowledge of what we owe to God: which shall kick the beam? To whom, in such a conflict of obligation, do we confessedly owe the most?

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\* 'The ancients rightly founded the *καλον*, or *honestum*, in the *πρέπον*, or *decorum*; that is, they considered an action virtuous, which was performed in harmony with the relations necessary and accidental of the agent.'—*Sir William Hamilton, in his Edition of Reid*, p. 89.

—ought we to give the supremacy to our fellow-men or to God? Let it be remembered that every such conviction of our duty to our fellow-men is formed upon our notions of what will conduce to their welfare. In the boldest expression of this dilemma, its form accordingly will be, 'The welfare of man against the will of God.' Such antagonism in reality is impossible; but even if the conscience were forced to decide between these two opposing principles, it were right to obey the will of God, rather than consult the welfare of man. Conscience declares that we are bound by the deepest, the strongest obligation to God,—an obligation infinitely greater than can bind us to our fellow-men, or to our seeming selfish interests. The revealed will of God, if incontestably proved to be such, is authoritative against all other convictions of duty; for conscience plainly asserts the duty of obedience to God to be the highest and over-ruling duty of man.

We are happily never forced into such a dreadful dilemma as that we have stated above; for no wise man will maintain his own conceptions of right-dealing towards his fellow-men against the clear assertion of their wrongfulness by God. He will at once admit that error has crept into his calculation of human interests, or some secret passion has jaundiced the eye of conscience, and he will not asseverate his judgment to be right against that of God. But even if he does, he must also judge it right to obey the commands of God; and between the contradictory duties, the latter is the most urgent and inevitable in its claim: conscience declares the right of God to stand first.

We trust we have fairly expunged the veto which Mr. Newman interposed upon the prosecution of any argument in proof of the inspiration of the Bible, because of some *à priori* impossibility which he had discovered, and which precluded the necessity of any further deliberation or even doubt on the matter. His opinions are widely spread, and link themselves closely with the most plausible objections against biblical inspiration: so that we resolved to investigate them at length, in order to simplify our future inquiries.

The theory of Mr. Morell stands next for examination, as propounded in his *Philosophy of Religion*. Mr. Morell has earned for himself an honourable reputation in the schools of philosophy; and a theory which has been so thoughtfully elaborated as his doctrine of inspiration, demands honourable, *i. e.*, earnest and thorough, treatment at our hands. There can be no doubt that the work just mentioned has provoked much of the random and lawless speculation of the last few years upon those profounder questions

of religion which its author undertakes to unfold and adjudicate. It has not, indeed, been very widely read. Both its subject matter, and that luminous cloudiness of style with which his thoughts are mazily but brightly invested, have repelled students from it. Yet his conclusions have been vauntingly quoted by men whose clear, bold style has set them like a foil distinctly before the public, and the sanction of his philosophical name has given them an extrinsic value, which, though meretricious, has allured and emboldened young men to adopt them and press them to extreme but unavoidable results.

We shall allow Mr. Morell to explain his theory of inspiration as far as possible in his own words; and when obliged to compress his meaning in our own words, we guarantee to represent it with the utmost precision. 'Revelation' he defines to be 'a process of the intuitional consciousness gazing upon eternal verities:' upon this ground he maintains that revelation is purely an inner work in the soul, and so not a communication from without. Thus he says, 'We infer the Bible cannot in strict accuracy of language be termed a revelation, since a revelation implies' (we wish his language had been more accurate; elsewhere he says 'it signifies' or 'is') 'an actual process of intelligence in the living mind. The actual revelation was not made primarily in the book, but in the mind of the writers; and the power which that book possesses of conveying a revelation to us consists in its aiding in the awakening and elevation of our religious consciousness, in its presenting to us a mirror of the history of Christ, in its depicting the intense religious life of His first followers, and giving us the letter through which the Spirit of truth may be brought home in vital experience to the human heart.' Having frankly admitted that neither the Bible nor anything external to the mind constitutes a revelation, we are puzzled by the subsequent sentence. 'In reducing revelation to the category of intuition we are not by any means intending to thrust away out of view the Divine agencies which were employed in introducing the Christian revelation specifically into the world.' These agencies could not introduce 'the Christian revelation' as an objective thing into the world. A revelation, according to his doctrine, never was in the world, but only in the human mind. A process of intuition, the act of gazing upon verities, which he asserts to be revelation, cannot reasonably be styled by a proper name, such as 'the Christian revelation,' nor be said to be introduced into the world, unless the new mental faculty or operation which it designates had suddenly fallen by a miraculous illapse upon the minds of all men then existing in the world. We can understand 'that the arrangement through which these par-

ticular objects were presented to the eye of the soul, and the agencies by which its power of vision was strengthened first of all to behold them,' were introduced into the world; and if he mean these by the phrase 'the Christian revelation,' his notions of revelation are not widely different from those of other folk, since those particular objects and agencies are things objective to man, which are to operate upon him from without, and consequently through his perception and understanding. But if revelation consists not in these perceptible objects and Divine agencies, but in a hidden spiritual process which follows upon their presentation and their action on the mind, then we are openly at variance with him, and ask further what he considers inspiration to be. Mark his reply: 'The state of mind which we suppose to exist as consequent upon these special and Divine arrangements,—a state in which there is involved an extraordinary and miraculous elevation of the religious consciousness of certain chosen individuals for the express illumination of humanity at large,—this is what we express by the term "inspiration."' Now we confess our inability to point out a shade of difference between these definitions of revelation and inspiration: both are states of the mind, or mental acts; both consist in the intuition of spiritual truth, mediated by certain Divine arrangements, and awakened by a Divine agency. As though, however, he was not satisfied with this jumble of words, we find him on the very next page tumbling into a worse, when he disavows both his elaborate definitions, and gives us a plain refutation of his own theory. 'We may say therefore that "revelation" in the Christian sense indicates that act of Divine power by which God presents the realities of the spiritual world immediately to the human mind; while "inspiration" denotes that especial influence wrought upon the faculties of the subject by virtue of which he is able to grasp these realities in their perfect fulness and integrity.' Here, therefore, neither of them denotes that which both of them were strenuously assumed to mean,—a state of mind, a process of intuition. One of them, revelation, is an act of God, by which certain objects are presented to the mind; not an act of man, by which these objects are seen when they are presented. Inspiration is a Divine influence exerted upon man's faculties, not a certain state of these faculties consequent upon the exercise of this influence. Revelation and inspiration are here distinguished; but both denote an action of God in relation to the human mind, and not a state of mind at all; which statement explodes and confutes his foregoing reasoning.

Our controversy with Mr. Morell might now be summarily closed, if he granted that this act of Divine power in revealing

spiritual realities, and in elevating the faculties of the mind to apprehend them, was confined to a few men. This is the orthodox theory which we defend. Those few men to whom alone, by a special miraculous act of Divine power, spiritual realities were disclosed, would be—must be, on a due attestation of this fact—authorized teachers to us, or revealers, through the medium of language, of that which had been supernaturally revealed to them. But this is the exact contrary of our author's meaning, which we shall endeavour to expound. We have never set ourselves to a more difficult task; for we venture to say that no philosophical book published in the present age is so crowded with self-contradictions, or so obscured by a luminous mist of language, as the one immediately before us.

Our readers will have observed that, according to Mr. Morell, our knowledge of religious truth is intuitive, that revelation is an act or process of this intuition, and that inspiration denotes the condition of those in whom, through supernatural influences, these intuitions have been the most clear and distinct. And 'where,' he says, 'a man's religious intuitions are of that extraordinary character which appeared in the men who lived with Christ upon earth, and received a double portion of His spirit as apostles and martyrs, there we see the unquestionable evidence of a real inspiration; and the writings emanating from such men, when acknowledged by the universal Church, become essentially canonical, as being valid exhibitions of apostolical Christianity in its spirit and power.' Every thing in this theory evidently depends on the meaning of the word 'intuition.' We shall undertake to show, 1. That our knowledge of religious truth cannot be intuitive, according to any proper sense of that word; and 2. That Mr. Morell's ambiguous use of that term has involved in a hopeless imbroglio his analyses of religious phenomena.

Mr. Morell asserts the function of the intuitive faculty to be manifested in three spheres of human knowledge,—our knowledge of the beautiful, the good, the true. We have nothing to do at present with either the beautiful or the good; though it is manifestly a lax and unphilosophical use of the term 'intuition,' to apply it indiscriminately to these three spheres of knowledge. In the two former kinds of knowledge, concerning objects which we already know to be, we judge or feel them (we care not which expression be used, since they are really one, though logically twofold) to be also beautiful and good. There is a susceptibility of the mind which receives, or is cognisant of, these qualities of beauty and goodness. But that is another



and more fundamental potency of mind, which gives an intuitive knowledge of truth, or more correctly of being, since, in Mr. Morell's own words, 'truth, in the intuitional sense, is being; being manifesting itself to the human mind; being gazed upon immediately by the eye of the soul.'

Mr. Morell asserts that our knowledge of spiritual truth or of spiritual existence is intuitive. Now there is intuitive knowledge 'when a reality is known in itself, or as existing. In that case we can say of it, on the one hand, it is known because it exists; on the other, it exists because it is known.' Sir William Hamilton, from whom this definition is quoted, adds, 'In propriety of language this constitutes *exclusively* our immediate intuition, or real cognition. This is at once the doctrine of philosophers in general, and of Reid in particular. "It seems," Reid says, "admitted as a first principle by the learned and the unlearned, that what is really perceived must exist, and to perceive what does not exist is impossible. So far the unlearned and the philosopher agree."' Mr. Morell's language, though somewhat vague, goes to show that he accepts this definition of the word 'intuition,' which is the only sense of the word that can give an intelligible meaning to his theory. It is true, in the course of his argument, he confounds intuition with the faculty of imagination, in Dugald Stewart's sense of the word, with deduction, and with the faculty of simple apprehension. This we shall afterwards prove; at present, however, we hold him to this definition, which is involved in his expressions, otherwise meaningless, where he speaks of the intuitional consciousness gazing upon Divine verities, and of 'Being manifesting itself to the human mind,' which can only mean that we are immediately conscious of supersensual realities in themselves, or as existing. If this be so, there can be no revelation of them, in the common sense of that word. They are known in themselves, and to speak of this knowledge being mediated in any way, as Mr. Morell has done, is the babbling of nonsense. We know them as they *are*, not as they are *said to be*. We gaze upon them in their actual present existence, without any medium or intervening agency whatsoever. This faculty of spiritual intuition Mr. Morell affirms to belong to all men; but it has been benumbed and obscured by sin. **E**The awakening of it from this somnolency constitutes revelation; and the extraordinary means introduced in the Christian dispensation, in order to chafe and stimulate it, like Pygmalion's statue, into life, constitutes all that is peculiar or supernatural in inspiration.

These extraordinary means consist in the teaching and example of Christ, which cannot convey any information of the spiritual

world, though acquaintance with them may so elevate our consciousness as to behold that world with all its mysteries, by an intuitive vision; and in the agency of God's Spirit, which cannot reveal truth, though it may purify the soul to behold it unrevealed in its own essential eternal being. Now, according to Mr. Morell's theory, these Divine instrumentalities were not confined to the apostles or to any set of men, and, consequently, inspiration is not confined to them. All men, in whom these influences have operated to the quickening of religious thought and sentiment, have received, though in varying degree, the same inspiration.

With this simple and exact exposition of Mr. Morell's theory, we might leave it. It is so flagrantly opposed to every rational conception we can form of religion, and to our experience of the sources of religious knowledge, that its statement is its confutation. But we must proceed to demonstrate, on philosophical principles, that our knowledge of spiritual realities cannot be intuitive, and must therefore be revealed through the understanding.

The great source of error, which darkens and confounds Mr. Morell's reasoning, lies in his uncertain and shifting notions of what intuition really is; for at times he applies it in the widest metaphorical sense, and again, with a perfect unconsciousness of the change, in its rigid and proper metaphysical sense. He has no firm grasp of his own meaning; intuition is a very Proteus under Mr. Morell's hands, and, when seemingly caught, flits into airy and fantastic shapes to mock its pursuer. It would be interesting and amusing to our readers, if our subject or our space allowed us, to inform them of the variety of offices, the different names and functions, which Mr. Morell has discovered the intuitional faculty to hold.

Suffice it to say, that he has compressed the multiform susceptibilities and activities of the human mind within the scope of two great faculties,—the logical and the intuitional: and under the latter he has classed and impounded every form of knowledge which, from the certainty, quickness, and distinctness with which it is realized by the mind, is commonly termed 'intuitive,' because like the perceptions of sight, from which the word is derived. Philosopher though he is, he can never overcome the *idola fori*. Whatever men call 'intuitive,' he arranges under this faculty; though the first touch of analysis prove it indisputably to be the product of some logical process. He affirms, in this way, that our knowledge of the external world is intuitive. 'It is a case,' he says, 'in which the subject stands directly in face of the outward reality, and at once knows it;' and he ignorantly refers to Sir William Hamilton as having demonstrated the world-wide

consciousness of the human soul. But that great thinker not only gave no warrant for such an imputation, but warned and protested against such a perversion of the doctrine of perception. He believed that we were conscious of matter; but only in that sentient organism by which the soul is circumscribed, not in its infinite appearances in the wide, wide world. Referring to Reid's inaccuracy in regard to the precise object of perception, he says, 'This object is not, as he seems frequently to assert, any distant reality; for we are percipient of nothing but what is in proximate contact, in immediate relation, with our organs of sense. Distant realities we reach not by perception, but by a subsequent process of inference founded thereon.' This is the true philosophy of perception. Mr. Morell's, though seemingly implied in some incautious expressions of Reid's, is a bran-new philosophy, and a sheer impossibility.

We cannot refer to the other mental acts he has classified under the intuitional faculty, which would exhibit yet more glaringly his misconception and abuse of the word 'intuition,' in reference to material things and physical science; but we shall establish the same charge against him with aggravated force in reference to the spiritual world. We are said to become cognizant of its realities intuitively. Now intuition is the immediate consciousness of a man. But who is, or what finite being can be, immediately conscious of the realities of the unseen world,—has an intuitive knowledge of them, as now and here existent within the sphere of his consciousness? The affirmation that such an intuition is possible transcends the wildest hallucination of Jacob Boehme or St. Theresa. Let us take the great fact of the spiritual world,—the existence of God. Have we an immediate consciousness of His existence, which supersedes the necessity of all other revelation of His character, as being itself the highest and inappellable evidence? Do we know Him to exist, as we know ourselves to exist, by a certain, irrepressible, and absolute conviction? No, indeed; else where the need of other proof? Further, are we immediately conscious of the innumerable spiritual beings that tenant the spiritual universe, and of their various characters and conditions? Why, it would be absurd to say that we had such a consciousness of the myriads of our fellow-men. To have that, one man must be endowed with the separate consciousness of every man. Then indeed we might behold the far-famed 'collective humanity' of Comte and Newman in the omnivorous and pan-anthropic man, who held within himself the souls of all men. But if this be a monstrous supposition, and no man can have an intuitive knowledge of the existence—much less of the character—of his fellow-men, *à fortiori*, it must be absurd to say that we can have an intuitive

knowledge of all superhuman and invisible intelligences. The Bible informs us of such existences. According to Mr. Morell's theory, this knowledge of the Bible writers could only be obtained by intuition, and, if not, must be purely visionary. Further, have we an immediate consciousness of the purposes and actions of God? We have of our own, but cannot have of another being. Even granting that we have an intuitive knowledge of God, as existing now and here, within the sphere of our consciousness, Mr. Morell will hardly affirm that we can have such a knowledge of His boundless operations: yet the Bible reveals these operations, and purports to inform us of His intentions and dealings towards mankind: therefore this knowledge to which the Bible presumes, because it could not be intuitive, must be imaginary and false. Further, intuitive knowledge of the past or future is a contradiction in terms; we can have no intuition of that which transcends our consciousness, and we cannot be conscious of the past or of the future, but only of the actual and present. 'The past,' as Sir William Hamilton says, 'is only mediately cognizable in and through a present modification, relative to and representative of it, as having been. To speak of an immediate knowledge of the past, involves a contradiction *in adjecto*. For to know the past immediately, it must be known in itself; and to be known in itself, it must be now existing. But the past is just a negation of the existent. In like manner, supposing that a knowledge of the future were competent, this can only be conceived possible in and through a now present representation, that is, only as a mediate cognition. For, as not yet existent, the future cannot be known in itself, or as actually existent.' Yet in the Bible we have authoritative histories of the past, and prophecies of the future. This knowledge could not have been intuitive; therefore it must have been fictitious. What Mr. Morell means by 'prophetic intuitions,' we cannot imagine; for, as the above irrefragable reasoning shows, an intuition of the future, which is his definition of prophecy, is as much a verbal contradiction as a square triangle. In like manner, we might go through every item of intelligence contained in the Bible, and show that it could not be known by intuition; and therefore, since he maintains that intuition alone can explain and reveal the spiritual world, all its contents are spurious,—the productions of a diseased imagination, the reveries of crazed and deluded men.

Having thus opened our controversy with Mr. Morell, and explained the grounds of it, we shall now condense our several criticisms on his theory of revelation and inspiration under distinct heads, in order to present them as briefly and pointedly as possible.

1. According to the definition of the term 'intuition,' which Sir William Hamilton has given, which Mr. Morell adopts, and which fixes the only sense in which the word can be intelligibly employed with regard to *real existence*,\* we can have no intuition of spiritual beings, or of Divine verities, because they exist out of our own consciousness; and to say that they exist and are immediately known there, is to reduce the universe of God within the limits of our own being, which is pure idealism. It is impossible that the things revealed in the Bible could be known by intuition, because all of them which profess to be revelations of God, or from God, relate to, and are given by, a Being distinct from man; and therefore, by their very essential nature, could not be contained in his consciousness, and must have been communicated to it. Whatever knowledge we have of another being, since we do not possess this consciousness, must be revealed to us. Unless man be God, what he knows of God must come to him from without,—from God Himself. In one word, man's entire knowledge, both of the spiritual world and of the material world, so far as they lie beyond the sphere of his own consciousness, must be revealed to him, and therefore cannot be intuitive. Nor let it be imagined that the slightest doubt is being cast upon spiritual knowledge, because its authority is made to rest upon logical and irrefutable evidence, instead of what even Mr. Morell is bound to confess the very treacherous and contradictory *dicta* of his pseudo-faculty of intuition. We have already shown that spiritual truth consists of information concerning spiritual beings. We believe that our knowledge of the existence of the Great Spirit is derived from precisely the same kind of evidence, though infinitely multiplied, as that which vouches the existence of the finite spirits like ourselves; yet no dubiety is supposed to rest upon our belief in the existence of our fellow-men, because it is not known intuitively; nor can dubiety rest upon our faith in God, which is built upon evidence so overwhelming in its complexity, grandeur, and cumulate force. It is singular that Mr. Morell should conceive his faculty of intuition to reveal to him only spiritual truth of the celestial sphere, and not of the terrestrial. It is a telescopic, and not a microscopic, faculty; but it is a canon of science to verify the laws which we suppose to regulate remote objects by their operations near at hand. We should not believe that gravitation held planets to the sun, if it did not draw an apple to the ground. Will Mr. Morell assert that his knowledge of the

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\* It must be understood that the word 'intuition' is not applied here to judgments that are formed respecting persons or things that are known *to be*, but to the primary knowledge of *being*.

spiritual nature of his dearest friend is revealed to him by intuition? Has the existence of a solitary being in the world ever been revealed to him from within, or from his intuitional consciousness? We will allow him the most indulgent and metaphorical sense of that chameleonic word, and ask him, if he ever heard of the existence or character of a spiritual being on earth being revealed by intuition. Such knowledge would be spiritual truth; for it is information concerning a spiritual being. If, then, this faculty cannot reveal anything concerning those spiritual existences which seem the most easily and are most instinctively known, how can we credit its mysterious potency in reference to spiritual beings of a supersensible sphere? Since, however, the existence of the one infinite and unchangeable Spirit is admitted, and even granting the fact of His existence to be intuitively known,—which we are not inclined to believe, but will not at present dispute,—it is manifest that He alone can give us correct and authoritative information concerning Himself, and the condition, laws, and prospects of those inferior intelligences whom He has made. If there be a Spirit, He can convey this knowledge to our minds, as other finite spirits can convey a knowledge of their own state, and of other things with which they are conversant, to us. Such information, instead of being doubtful or unauthoritative, is the only conceivable source of knowledge on those matters that can have certitude; for who can reveal the nature of God, if not God Himself, or of the eternal world, if not ‘He who inhabiteth eternity?’ If it be remembered that spiritual truth is information concerning spiritual existences, it will be seen at once, first, that that knowledge, transcending our own consciousness, must be revealed from without; and, secondly, that God alone can give us that knowledge authoritatively. Mercifully, too, it has to be determined by the invariable principles of reasoning, whether God has given such a revelation, instead of being tried by the Babel voices of imaginary intuitions. Instead, therefore, of insinuating doubt, it is for the very purpose of giving certitude to our knowledge of religious truth, that we maintain it to be given through the understanding, and not through some unknown function of an unknown faculty, entitled the intuitional or religious consciousness.

Another, and perhaps more effective, mode of argument is open to us, in showing Mr. Morell that the religious truth contained in the Bible could not be given by any process of intuition.

Mr. F. Newman, Theodore Parker, and other infidel writers, agree with Mr. Morell, that religious truth is revealed within, by natural light, or by intuitional consciousness; but then they also contend

that the Bible writers—the men who claim to have had a revelation of religious truth—never had such a revelation from without or within, either by natural or by Divine light : so that while all other men have or may have this revelation, these very men who profess to have it, are just those who are miraculously deprived of it, being sunk in preternatural darkness, instead of soaring in preternatural light. In one sense, however, they carry out their theory consistently. They do not believe the Bible. And why? Because the revelation professedly given in the Bible could not be known intuitively, or by the religious sense of man, and therefore, since this is the only source of religious knowledge, must be mere fiction. Mr. Morell, however, believes in the Bible, as containing spiritual truth, and therefore, he must allow us to say, revealing that truth to those who could not know it, save from the Bible. Let us then take some of the facts which he accepts as true, and it will be apparent that they lie beyond the ken of intuition in any and every sense in which the word is used.

‘In regard,’ he says, ‘to the Jewish economy, as a Divine and miraculous interposition, we see in it God interposing to rescue the world from idolatry and crime. We see Him selecting a peculiar people to be the repository of truth, and the instrument of His gracious purposes. We see Him propounding to them a moral and ceremonial law, hedging them in with institutions, to keep them distinct from heathen nations,’ &c. He, therefore, regards God as the author of the moral and ceremonial law, and of the Jewish institutions. Well, but God did not establish them Himself among the Jews. Moses was His prophet, commissioned to establish them in His name. How then did Moses know the mind of God, who, according to Mr. Morell, had planned the minute and perfect arrangements of the great ceremonial code? We know the statutes of the ceremonial law, because Moses, or some one else, has recorded them for our instruction. But how did Moses know them? The institution and services of the priesthood; the order of the sacrifices; the construction of the tabernacle; the virtue of religious worship; these things were revealed or, in Mr. Morell’s language, ‘propounded by God to Moses.’ If propounded to him, how could they be intuitively known by him? If intuitively known by him, what need was there that they should be propounded to him? or how could they be so? We put it to any rational man in England, if he can conceive in what way, or by what jugglery of thought, the form of the tabernacle could be said to be determined by God, so as to be a Divine construction, and yet should be intuitively known by Moses? If we might make merry with Mr. Morell’s phraseology, when he speaks of ‘the inspired mind being simply

recipient of the Divine ideas *circumambient* about it, so responsive in all its strings to the breath of heaven, that truth leaves an impress upon it which answers perfectly to its objective reality; we would ask what objective reality the tabernacle had before it was erected in the wilderness; or how, in the name of common sense, that, or any other Divine idea, could be circumambient, floating about the mind of Moses, till by some mesmeric pass he was suddenly awakened from his trance to discern it? To pass to more solemn and important truth, Mr. Morell believes in the Divinity of Christ and the doctrine of atonement; yet these doctrines lie beyond the range of intuition, in any possible sense of that word. The apostles enjoyed frequent intercourse with Christ; but how could they have known His superhuman character, save from His stupendous miracles and His irreproachable purity? How could they have known His Divinity, had He not told it them, or if it had not been articulately impressed upon their minds by the Holy Spirit? In like manner, the relations of His death to the moral government of the universe transcend the powers of human discovery. In the philosophical sense of the word 'intuition,' we have shown intuitive knowledge of these things to be impossible; and in the popular sense of the word, intuitive knowledge of this would be worthless, because it could be merely conjectural.

Again, Mr. Morell believes in the gift of tongues. He believes, at the same time, that no assistance was rendered to the powers of the understanding, and that it is absurd to suppose that God directed the thoughts or speech of His servants. How then did the apostles acquire suddenly their knowledge of many languages? Was it by intuition? If so, we want to know what this intuition is, as contrasted with the human understanding, or in what sense a man may be said to have an intuitive knowledge of German and French.

~~2.~~ As we have already shown that spiritual truth lies beyond the scope of intuition, we shall now prove, on Mr. Morell's own showing, that it must be revealed through the understanding. He denies that a revelation of spiritual truth can come through the logical faculty, and must, therefore, be given by the higher faculty of intuition; because the former faculty only gives the form, while the latter gives the matter, of our knowledge; and since Revelation gives us entirely new ideas, furnishes 'the material of our notions,' and not merely their relations, combinations, and varying forms, therefore it must come through some intuitional process. Now let our controversy begin and end here. We deny that Revelation conveys a single new elementary notion, and



affirm that it conveys to us new and all-important truth by means of those notions which in our consciousness we already possess. When Mr. Morell proceeds to argue that, if revelation do not furnish us with rudimentary ideas, it does not, and cannot, make known any new truth, or any truth that might not be evolved by ourselves from our own experience; we would remind him he exhibits the nature of his own logical faculty,—but not that of other men. We fear he has relied too much on the impulses and dreams of his so-called intuition, and has sadly neglected the use of the logical faculty, which he affects to depreciate, as an organ of truth. Else we had been spared this exposure of his blundering contradictions. If he be informed that a tribe of men live in Central Africa, we presume he will allow that he has learnt new truth, though he had the notion of ‘a man’ before, and, only because he had, was capable of apprehending this truth. Further, their complexion, their homes, their government, and whatever peculiarity may distinguish them individually and socially, can only be represented to his mind by means of the notions he has already acquired of colour, of human habitations, and of the various modes of human life. Now, that they are of a certain complexion—say copper-coloured—is a new truth, which could not be elicited or distilled by any process of mental chemistry from his own experience, though, we admit, he had beforehand a conception of the glossy, tawny hue of copper, and, only because he had, understood the language by which this new truth was conveyed.

Having made this explanation, we are content to test Mr. Morell’s theory by his own touchstone,—by the ordeal whereby he has decreed it shall stand or fall. We understand a new elementary idea to be imparted to the mind in such cases, as when a blind man receives the sense of sight, and the consciousness of the colours of light which is communicated through that sense, or when a man is put into circumstances which evoke a new passion or sentiment which he never felt before. If, then, revelation consists in furnishing to the mind some new material of knowledge in this sense, we shall concede that it is given by intuition. If, however, it consists in giving the modes and relations of ideas with which we are already conversant, then he will, he must, by his own express definition concede that it is given through the understanding. How, then, shall we know the contents of revelation? Mr. Morell says, ‘The Bible is not revelation.’ It is, however, he allows, a faithful mirror or external revelation to us of what was intuitively revealed to the writers. By examining its contents, therefore,

we shall know the nature of the truths which had been through some faculty or other made known to them. Let us examine a few of the truths expressed there, that we may determine by Mr. Morell's own criterion what that faculty is. First, they believed that God was a Spirit. We know this truth was orally taught by Christ, and surely that method of instruction was not an intuitive process; but suppose it had been conveyed to them by supernatural means, if this truth contains a new elementary idea, we are to allow that it was revealed by intuition. But if not, then Mr. Morell allows it was given through the understanding. Is the notion then of spirit a new idea? It may be new information to be assured that God is a Spirit; but the only possibility of comprehending this information arises from the fact, that already we know what is meant by 'spirit.' The idea is given in our own self-consciousness, and in no conception we form of God can we rise above the elementary ideas of spirit contained there, though we may expand and modify these ideas indefinitely when we attribute them to God, which process Mr. Morell admits to be purely logical. Again the sacred writers believe, and Mr. Morell with ourselves says it was revealed to them, that our spirits continue their existence after death. This is one of the most momentous data of revelation. But this revelation must have been given through the understanding, because there is no new elementary idea contained in it. New information, and, if well-authenticated, of vast importance! But the ideas of existence and duration, which are elementary ideas of this proposition, are not infused into us by the act of revelation. If so, then the truth could not be apprehended till this magical infusion had taken place. We could know as little of it as the blind man of the glories of vision. But they are contained in the consciousness of our own existence, and of our own duration. To state that our duration shall be prolonged through the crisis of death is to state a most solemn truth; but not to give a new elementary idea. Again: the Bible writers believe in the love of God and of Jesus Christ, and certify certain actions as incontestable proofs of it. Now, it is the glorious intelligence of the Gospel to assure mankind of the love of God, but there is no new elementary idea contained in this utterance. We know from our own consciousness what 'love' means; and it is because we do thus know it, that we can comprehend and gladly appreciate the fact of Divine love, which else our conscience had made us timorously doubt. Had we not had the previous notion of love, we were as little capable of receiving the revelation of the Gospel as the brutes of the field. The elements of thought and feeling are necessarily assumed to exist in a man; and if he

do not possess them, he is simply not a man, and is cut off from all rational discourse. Accordingly, to assert that the communication of new truth requires the insertion of new elements of thought and feeling, is to assert that it requires a man to be more than man, or different from man. Instead, therefore, of Mr. Morell's egregious doctrine, that new truth cannot be given through the common elementary notions involved in human consciousness, we maintain it can only be given through them; if it consist in anything beyond them, it will be for ever unintelligible.

We therefore should be pleased if Mr. Morell could point out a single truth in the Bible, which contains, or requires for its understanding, a new rudimentary idea, an idea of which a single human being is not at this moment possessed. If so, that truth to him is, and ever will be, not only obscure and veiled, but an utter nonentity, as much as the reasoning of the *Principia*, or the poetry of *Paradise Lost*, to his dog. Or does he conceive that he will ever attain to a kind of knowledge which will consist of ideas generically different from those of his present consciousness? The revelations of heaven and hell, the descriptions of other spiritual beings, the sublime truth of the atonement, are intelligible to us, because they do not transcend the elementary ideas of our consciousness, but are communicated through them; and, therefore, according to Mr. Morell's own judgment, the knowledge of them must be received through the understanding, and not through the recently discovered organ of spiritual truth, which he names 'intuition.' We wish that we had time to show how Mr. Morell's thoughts on this subject have become perplexed by his confounding his mysterious faculty of intuition with the faculty of simple apprehension, (*έννοια, νόησις τῶν ἀδιαίρετων, conceptus, das Begreifen*,) which we have never known, among the fluctuations and *bouleversemens* of philosophic terminology, to be classified as distinct from understanding; at least it never has been regarded as equivalent with intuition, or with the higher potencies of the soul, such as the noetic faculty,—the reason, in the Kantian sense, to which Mr. Morell thinks his intuitional consciousness to be allied.

Our apprehension of external truth, we are aware, will be modified according to the vividness of our present consciousness: *e.g.*, if Africans be called copper-coloured, my conceptions of this fact will depend on the clearness with which I can recall the colour of copper; but I cannot therefore be said to have an intuitive knowledge of their colour. If I read of the love or hatred of a man, my conceptions of his feelings will depend upon the intensity with which I have experienced them myself; but I do not therefore know his heart by intuition. So men are

able to attach profounder meaning to passages of Scripture which reveal the character of God, from the deepening and enlarging experience of their life. (A father interprets more justly the love of his Heavenly Father from the new-born sensations of his own love, which broods yearningly over his young children ; but he cannot therefore be said to have an intuition of God's love, because his apprehension of it as revealed, or his sense of the meaning of the words revealing it, has been quickened.) Mr. Morell, however, calls all these *conceptions* of truth intuitions and revelations of it. In like manner, he considers that to be the *proper revelation* of Divine truth in the mind, when it awakens to apprehend the meaning of these truths it has long known as verbal propositions, but never felt in their real power ; and this sudden apprehension he calls 'intuition.' If so, then we may give up language ; for we have as great a right to call it abstraction, or any other well-defined but unsuitable word.

But, let it be observed, (1.) It is not only in reference to Divine truth that this mental phenomenon occurs. A renegade son, long years after his mother's death, may suddenly, by the touch of one of those associations that so mysteriously rule our spirits, see her pale sainted face brought clearly before him, and in an instant, as though the ice-bound seas of his heart were molten into fire, new and incontrollable feelings of tenderest, yet sorrowfullest, love will flood through his spirit. The charm that spell-bound him has been broken ; memory after memory now flashes across his mind with the dazzling speed of light, illuminating her strong indomitable love for him, which till then he had never understood ; and he would give worlds to prove his penitence, and beg forgiveness from her whose last prayer was for her unrelenting son. But we cannot say that he had an intuitive knowledge of his mother's love : it was revealed to him in those actions of her life which memory now recalls, and the meaning of which he now passionately feels. A company of young men spend their youth foolishly, recking nothing of the future years through which they may hope to live, and of the consequences which their present prodigality will entail upon them. At last one of them awakens to discern the meaning of the truth that he has a future, even in this life, and that he must resolutely prepare for it. Surely, however, he does not discover the probability of his continued existence by intuition, but from observation and testimony. Exactly similar to these two cases, are those in which the minds of men are often suddenly aroused to comprehend the force and personal application of spiritual truth, which has long been uselessly garnered in their memory,—not vitally productive in their life ; and it is ridiculous to say

these men have themselves attained the knowledge of these truths, which have been communicated to them by others, but which they only now have been wise enough to ponder, and to call this after-apprehension of neglected truth a revelation of it. (2.) No matter whether this act of apprehension be called an intuition or revelation, plainly this is an entirely different process from that which has to be explained in the case of Bible writers. We may apprehend dimly or clearly truth that is set before us, but then it must be set before us ere the faculty of apprehension can come into play. So the Bible writers may have had a weak or strong apprehension of the spiritual truth they furnish to us. But the question is, Whence was it furnished to them? where did they find that truth to apprehend? We can see nothing mentally or physically, if nothing is visible; neither could the apostles. It is of no use saying that their conceptions or, according to Mr. Morell's perverse phraseology, intuitions of the truth constituted the revelation of it to their minds, as they still constitute it to ours: this is quite away from the mark. We do not create the truth we are made to understand. In no proper sense is truth said to be revealed, when understood; but when presented to us for understanding. The truth is presented to us in the Bible; but by whom and how was it presented to those who wrote the Bible? These are the questions involved in the problem of inspiration which are amusingly blinked and ignored by Mr. Morell; for, to tell us, they found this truth in their intuitions and notions of it, is absurd tautology in an inquiry which purports to seek whence these intuitions and notions were obtained.

3. The theory of Mr. Morell concerning that spiritual organ which reveals Divine truth being exploded, his theory of inspiration falls to the ground. Inspiration, according to his theory, denotes a peculiarly elevated or awakened state of that organ, in which Divine truths are more distinctly beheld than they generally are by men. Since, however, the organ has turned out a chimera, a *lusus naturæ*, of like shape with millions of the same species that stalk through the wilderness of middle-age scholasticism, all denotations or connotations of its varying, its ordinary or extraordinary states, must be likewise chimerical. There is no intuitional consciousness in Mr. Morell, or in any other man, which gives to him, in any state, however exalted, an immediate knowledge of God's thoughts, and of the inscrutable mysteries of the unseen world. The presumption which claims such an organ of omniscience, beats the insane pretence of clairvoyance, which modestly bounds its vision within terrestrial limits; and we confess, but for Mr. Morell's innocent

unconsciousness of error, and manifest gravity of purpose, we should imagine many of the pages descriptive of this fabulous faculty to be written with the ironical seriousness of *Martinus Scriblerus*.

4. Even granting, however, that man had such a faculty, the necessity of a Divine revelation given through some other faculty, such as we conceive the Bible to be, may be proved from Mr. Morell's own confessions. This faculty which, when alive and in full vitality, discerns at a glance all spiritual truth, without any information from without, is generally, and always to some degree, torpid. Hence, with the majority of men, that mysterious eye of the soul is closed, and they are wholly blind; and even with the best of men it is filmed and cloudy, so that they see the bright realities circumambient around them with a 'shuffled, sullen, and uncertain light.' Mr. Morell owns, therefore, that there needs the stimulating action of some external causes, to quicken it from its primeval death, and continually to purge it from those incrustations that gather thickly upon its sensitive surface: accordingly he imputes the exaltation and power of the intuitional faculty of the apostles to their intercourse with Christ. The example and teaching of our Lord formed the special and Divine arrangements by means of which no spiritual truth was indeed revealed to them, but their souls were purified to see that truth as it existed in its own essential glory. In like manner Mr. Morell affirms that spiritual truth can only be revealed to us by an exaltation of this faculty. But we submit, if the Divine Lord must come into the world in the form of man, in order by personal intercourse to awaken and invigorate the intuitional consciousness of the apostles, may not some Divine agency which shall appeal to the same faculty as the words and actions of Christ instructed, be needful to awaken and invigorate this sublime consciousness in other men? The words and actions of Christ appealed primarily to the understanding of His followers, and through that influence Mr. Morell admits this eye of their soul was opened to behold spiritual truth. If for this purpose the stupendous and inconceivable miracle of Christianity,—the mystery of godliness, the manifestation of God in the flesh, be absolutely needful, is it an unwarrantable or unlikely expectation, that God Himself must prepare that revelation of truth, which, by informing the understanding of men, may so enkindle the inner light of intuition? The only unlikely thing here is, that there should be such an inner light at all; for it is plainly needless, and can only inform the soul of that which it has already learnt from the Bible. We never knew any one who received through this intuitional faculty anything additional to

what the Bible contained ; and if any one supposed himself to receive anything different from its truth, we trust he had common sense enough to reject its visionary offering, to extinguish its *ignis fatuus*, that he might see the plain light of revelation shining in his understanding.

We contend, therefore, that Mr. Morell's own exposition of the fundamental action of the intuitive faculty proves the necessity and likelihood of a Divinely constructed external instrument for giving it efficacy, that shall present to us through the medium of language the truth of God, as Christ Himself, the living Word, presented it to His disciples. Only the organ, the construction, the authority of the book, which are the real momenta of the doctrine of inspiration, must be discussed on grounds quite apart from those which Mr. Morell has considered, and of the nature of which he is evidently quite unconscious ; for the function of this book will be, in the first place, to teach the understanding, whatever after-processes may thus be initiated.

5. Some of the mischievous consequences of Mr. Morell's theory, leading to the overthrow and rejection of the Bible, are correctly presented to us in his book. He says, the entire knowledge of spiritual and moral truth professed by biblical writers, and contained in the Bible, was realized by means of their intuitional faculty. Two sceptical conclusions at once are open here : (1.) There is no such faculty : therefore, all that supernatural knowledge which it was presumed to reach is imaginary. (2.) There is such a faculty, which is the specific organ of Divine truth ; but the kind of truth contained in the Bible, *e.g.*, the ceremonial law, is not intuitional, and therefore is not Divine. But, without pressing these conclusions, Mr. Morell has drawn some of his own. He admits that the intuitions of the most eminent scriptural writers were obscure, uncertain, and varying, and therefore unauthoritative. For how can their statements authorize our belief in them, when, by the very conditions controlling their knowledge of what they reveal to us, they may, they must have been often in error ? Let us ask Mr. Morell the ground of his faith in a single spiritual truth which the apostles affirm, and which he most surely believes, *e.g.*, the pre-existent and superhuman nature of Christ. This was an intuition of the apostles. Yes, but their intuitions were often erroneous, therefore this may have been. Mr. Morell feels the pressure of this reasoning, and so shifts his appeal as to the final ground of certitude to his own intuitions of Christian truth. We wonder how any knowledge whatever concerning Christ could arise in his mind, save from the historical records of the evangelists ; but, granting that he has an intuitive knowledge

of Christ's human and superhuman character, if the intuition of the apostles may have been deceived, *à fortiori*, his may be. If he then appeals to the universal intuition of the Christian Church corroborating his own, as his warrant for faith, we reply in his own words: The apostles saw most clearly and comprehensively the truths of Christ; and if their statements respecting Christ are doubtful, no number of less enlightened minds can claim a higher authority than theirs. Mr. Morell's theory issues logically in Mr. Newman's proposition, that the authoritative external revelation of spiritual and moral truth is essentially impossible: and it cuts further still; for since no authority can be attached to the intuitional sources of revelation as they existed in the prophets and apostles, there can be none in the intuitions of other men: therefore, with fatal accuracy, we are driven to the conclusion, there is no authoritative, because no Divine, revelation at all. There is no word that has the *imprimatur* of God upon it, and that can give blissful rest to our tortured mind in its inquiry and yearning after Him. Why will Mr. Morell seek the fountain of Divine truth in the human soul, when, to be Divine, it must come from God Himself? How earnestly he craves for that Divine and authoritative knowledge which he is led by his foolish theory to denounce as essentially impossible! These are his words: 'Consequently the highest appeal for the truth of our theological sentiments must be the catholic expression of the religious consciousness of purified humanity in its eternal progress heavenward. This, we say, must inevitably be our highest appeal, next to God Himself.' And so we say. But then we believe that the appeal to God—the only appeal that will assure either our mind or heart—is open to us in the pages of the Bible. Again he writes, showing how the mind will seek after, and profoundly needs, even what it refuses to take: 'What we require in a criterion (of religious truth) is some great directory, by which we can get the clearest view of fundamental principles that the present state of human development can afford; some appeal which will tell us clearly in what we are wrong, and point to us the direction in which we may be ever approaching nearer to the right; some method, in a word, by which we can ascend intellectually to the full elevation of the age in which we live.' What noble testimony to the need of the Bible from God! for who but God can give us such a criterion of truth and right as that? and the Bible furnishes exactly what is required. There we have the truth of God, truth which He, the wise and good Father of Spirits, has revealed to us, which contains facts concerning Himself and the eternal world, and the commandments of His holy law, and



which must have been communicated by Him through words, images, or some other transcendental mode of informing the understanding. We acknowledge that there is a mystery in this high connexion between God's Spirit and man's; but we affirm that what God's Spirit has impressed upon the understanding of a man, in whatever mode it is done, is no more an intuition of the man himself, than when we inspire and inform each other's minds, but is *God's own revelation*.

.We advance to the consideration of another theory, which results—as do the two former, if consistently carried out—in annihilating the Christian revelation altogether. It is with a burning sense of indignation that we lay it before our readers, and remember that the author of it, the Rev. Mr. Macnaught, is a clergyman of the Church of England, and is battenning upon the resources of that establishment; while he devotes his strength, with the hot-brained zeal of an infidel neophyte, to the destruction of the religion which he ought to conserve. We are willing to allow that such may not be his intention, and that by some eccentric twist of ideas he conceives he is upholding the Christian religion,—although he must know that his book, to a large extent, is a barefaced theft of the arguments which the infidels of every age, from Porphyry to Theodore Parker, have used against Christianity; and that his opinions, with one exception, which exhibits his unenviable logical idiosyncrasy, chime in perfect harmony with theirs. We protest in the loudest accents, by all that is honest and decent in human conduct, that he leave that Church whose faith he has not only abjured, but laboriously seeks to undermine, and that he do not basely eat her bread, while he denies and traduces her creed. This is not a matter of opinion, nor even of propriety; it is one of simple honesty, which all men can decide without a moment's hesitation. The Church may be in error, and Mr. Macnaught in the right; but while he voluntarily holds the position of her minister and servant, he merely covers an act of meanness and treachery with a show of boldness, and incurs not only the indignation of the injured Church, but the contempt of the Socinian and the sceptic whom he serves. ( Certain we are that cassock and bands would restrain the energies and stifle the utterance of any infidel in whom the virtue of manliness survived the wreck of faith. ) We therefore speak now in the interest of honesty, and not of orthodoxy. Not that we plead for an absolute conformity of opinion, even in the Church itself. We do not advocate a strait-laced and casuistical creed as the doctrinal confession of the Established Church. If there be a National Establishment

at all, there must be great scope allowed for the varying interpretations of Scripture, which the discrepancies of mental constitution in different men will always necessarily occasion. Bigotry we hate, but dishonesty still more. And surely it overreaps the widest licence that is legitimate, in an establishment which is also a Christian Church, to retain within its pale a man whose doctrine expressly repudiates the authority of Scripture, and whom Tindal, Strauss, and Newman would hail as a brother of their faith, though certainly not a *peer* of their order of intelligence.

The doctrine of Mr. Macnaught may be expressed in the three following articles, which we state thus plainly, in order that he himself may see what that doctrine is, when extricated from the rhapsody and convolution of words in which it is enfolded:— 1. The Bible is often erroneous, and therefore fallible in its historical, moral, and religious teaching. 2. That the moral and religious teaching of the Bible, being doubtful and unauthoritative, can only be accepted by us as it appeals and conforms to our independent knowledge of rectitude and truth. 3. 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;' or, as he elsewhere phrases his belief, 'It seems to us to be the Bible's own teaching on the subject of inspiration, namely, that everything good in any book, person, or *thing*, is inspired, and that the value of any inspired book must be decided by the extent of its inspiration, and the importance of the truths which it well (or inspiringly) teaches. 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; but which of them is the *most valuable* document, or whether the Bible as a whole is incomparably more precious than any other book, these are questions which must be decided by examining the observable character and tendency of each book, and the beneficial effect which history may show that each has produced.'

The portion of this book which is likely to prove most pernicious, is that which supports its first proposition by a reproduction of the set infidel difficulties, which have been handed down from generation to generation as the staple of infidelity, but which this age alone has seen pressed against the Bible, with all the vehemence of a Tindal or Voltaire, by one who is professedly a Christian clergyman. Of course, we cannot enter into the discussion of each of these difficulties; but ere proceeding to his theory of inspiration, we must expose the one-sided and reckless mode in which he aggravates these difficulties in

depreciation of the Bible, and so warn those who may be tempted by his authority as a clergyman to receive falsehoods and sophistries against which they would be on their guard in an avowedly sceptical writer. That we may not select examples, we shall take the first which he cites. Let our exposure of these suffice to show his flippant mode of criticism, and the infidel conclusion he enforces.

His object is to prove the erroneousness or fallibility of the Bible, though he believes most devoutly in its inspiration. He begins, 'We are not about to lay the chief stress of our argument on the fact, (1.) That geology contradicts the account of creation's history, as given in Genesis; the establishing of our conclusions will not depend on the fact, (2.) That astronomy forbids our believing the earth to be surrounded by a transparent but solid case, (called *rakia* in the Hebrew; *stereoma* in the LXX.; "firmament" in the English,) in which the sun, and moon, and stars, are set, by which the waters above the firmament are separated from the waters under the firmament, and in which there are windows, by whose openings the world was once destroyed. We shall not rest our argument on the truth, (3.) That geography is puzzled to comprehend how a deluge, which is supposed to have transformed the whole face of our planet, so that its old ocean-beds became its mountain-tops, can have left the well-known river Euphrates to flow in its accustomed course, as it had done in the days of Adam and of Paradise,' &c.

This opening paragraph exhibits well the temper in which Mr. Macnaught finds and exposes Bible discrepancies, in order to prove its fallibility. That there are such apparent discrepancies, we allow; that they prove the fallibility of Bible teaching, we deny. But if it had been perfectly free from such difficulties, it would have been of no avail with Mr. Macnaught, who manufactures from his own fancy those which he imputes to the Bible as it is. Take this paragraph, each sentence of which is a mere assertion, not warranted, but confuted, by both science and the Bible. (1.) 'Geology contradicts the account of creation's history, as given in Genesis.' Mr. Macnaught says so. Would Sir Roderick Murchison say so? Did Mr. Hugh Miller say so? No, verily! It is a marvellous fact, that the order of creation represented in the first chapter of Genesis is the very sequence in which geologists have discovered the different kingdoms of organized beings, and *genera* of these kingdoms, to have been created. By what prophetic inspiration did the writer of that chapter foresee the recent conclusions of our nineteenth-century science? In every particular we undertake to show the perfect harmony between geology and Genesis. But if not, what is geology? A

science spelling out the word of creation from the rocky tablets of the earth. Has it yet spelled that entire word? Another letter added, and the meaning of the word, so far as geology can read, is changed; so on till the last letter is discovered, when, if not before, geology will be one with revelation. (2.) 'Astronomy forbids our believing the earth to be surrounded by a transparent but solid case.' And so does the Bible. (Psalm xix. 1; Isaiah xl.; Job xxvi. 78, &c.) Why does Mr. Macnaught refer to the *stereoma* of the Septuagint, and the *firmamentum* of St. Jerome, from whom our word 'firmament' has been taken? These are not inspired, and may be erroneous words; but he should know that *rakia*, the Hebrew word, is the most general word that language could supply to signify the vast boundlessness of the heavens; it is precisely equivalent to our word 'expansc,' which it would be rare folly to imagine a solid and crystalline sphere. The ancients, however, unanimously believed the heavens to be such; and how is it the Bible, though speaking so often of the heavens, is free from the infection of this superstition, and of all error? Mark, he objects to the phrase, 'windows of heaven,' to express the rifted openings of a cloud pouring out its waters on the earth. This objection is similar to many now made against biblical infallibility. The Bible, it is said, is not literally exact; for there are no windows in heaven. It may as well be said there are no clouds, (whether the word 'cloud' be derived from κλύδων, 'a wave,'—clot, clotted, clod,—or *claudo*, 'to bar, shut,') because there are no waves, no clods or bars in heaven; (see Horne Tooke's *Diversions of Purley*, vol. ii., p. 201;) or that there is no heaven, because the skies were not heaved or lifted up. In fact, this objection goes against all language, and, since we can acquire very little truth without language, against the possibility of truth itself; for all language is condensed metaphor. Against this objection, however, we affirm, on the other hand, that a striking metaphor, such as 'the windows of heaven,' will represent the actual truth, as no bald common-place word, which will be only a tarnished image, after all can do; for the truth of description must be seized by the imagination, which a new and vivid metaphor will at once excite, and not by the reason. (3.) He says, 'Geography is sorely puzzled to comprehend that a deluge, which is supposed,' &c. This sentence is an amusing one: the English of it is, that geography is puzzled to comprehend that a deluge which *has altered* the course of a certain river should not have altered it. Well may it be puzzled at such a contradiction; we rather think, however, that Mr. Macnaught has puzzled himself to find something about which geography may be puzzled. Who supposes the Deluge to have transformed the

whole face of the planet? The Bible does not say so. Who has survived the Deluge to inform Mr. Macnaught that the Euphrates does flow in its accustomed course, as in the days of Adam and Paradise? These are mere empty dreams, foolish enough at best, but worse than foolish when concocted by a Christian clergyman to bring the charge of untruth against the Bible.

Mr. Macnaught says he will not lay the stress of his argument on these supposititious facts; and he is wise, for he knows they are groundless. What then are the strong facts he adduces? The first is this: 'On opening the New Testament we are met on the first pages by the assertion, that all the generations from Abraham to David are fourteen generations, and from David until the carrying away into Babylon are fourteen generations, and from the carrying away into Babylon unto Christ are fourteen generations.'

With unseemly eagerness he hastens to prove this statement to be erroneous. 'If then,' he says, 'we compare Matthew's assertion quoted above, with the genealogy of Jesus, as given by Matthew himself, the case stands thus:—

|              |                |               |
|--------------|----------------|---------------|
| 1. Abram.    | 1. Solomon.    | 1. Salathiel. |
| 2. Isaac.    | 2. Roboam.     | 2. Zorobabel. |
| 3. Jacob.    | 3. Abia.       | 3. Abiud.     |
| 4. Judas.    | 4. Asa.        | 4. Eliakim.   |
| 5. Phares.   | 5. Josaphat.   | 5. Azor.      |
| 6. Esrom.    | 6. Joram.      | 6. Sadoc.     |
| 7. Aram.     | 7. Ozias.      | 7. Achim.     |
| 8. Aminadab. | 8. Joatham.    | 8. Eliud.     |
| 9. Naasson.  | 9. Achaz.      | 9. Eleazar.   |
| 10. Salmon.  | 10. Ezekias.   | 10. Matthan.  |
| 11. Booz.    | 11. Manasses.  | 11. Jacob.    |
| 12. Obed.    | 12. Amon.      | 12. Joseph.   |
| 13. Jesse.   | 13. Josias.    | 13. Jesus.    |
| 14. David.   | 14. Jechonias. | 14.           |

Obviously, in the last column, where Matthew says there should be fourteen generations, there are only thirteen. Every man will say there is some mistake.' Now, looking at this objection apart from the question of the apostle's infallibility or inspiration, we might say, if Mr. Macnaught's arithmetic be right, the writer, as a mere man, was a great simpleton,—to say a thing, and contradict himself in the very next sentence; to write out thirteen names, and then the next word he writes to say there are fourteen: such a supposition does not charge Matthew with the fallibility that may belong to ordinary

historians, but with a childish folly and incapacity which must make his authority in everything he says contemptibly worthless. If a man cannot calculate the simple number of fourteen, or cannot recollect the last sentence he writes, we doubt not his apostleship or inspiration, but his reason and his sanity. Shall we vindicate the evangelist from such a charge? Yes! but we shall make the charge in its worst form rebound on its fabricator. Let Mr. Macnaught read the passage he has just transcribed. Does it say, 'From Solomon to Jechonias are fourteen generations?' No! 'From David until the carrying away into Babylon.' When was the carrying away into Babylon? the only information we have is contained in the eleventh verse: 'And Josias begat Jechonias and his brethren, about the time they were carried away to Babylon.' Both Josias and Jechonias lived at that time, and were carried away into captivity. From David to Josias, then, who lived at the time of the exile, is fourteen generations; and from Jechonias, who also lived then, to Jesus, is fourteen. Nor let Mr. Macnaught demur that, if we put David at the head of the second list, we must put Josias at the head of the third; for Matthew does not say, from Josias to Christ were fourteen generations, but from the captivity; while he expressly says, from David to the captivity was fourteen generations. This is Matthew's own statement, and is infallibly correct, as the following table shows:—

|              |               |               |
|--------------|---------------|---------------|
| 1. Abram.    | 1. David.     | 1. Jechonias. |
| 2. Isaac.    | 2. Solomon.   | 2. Salathiel. |
| 3. Jacob.    | 3. Roboam.    | 3. Zorobabel. |
| 4. Judas.    | 4. Abia.      | 4. Abiud.     |
| 5. Phares.   | 5. Asa.       | 5. Eliakim.   |
| 6. Esrom.    | 6. Josaphat.  | 6. Azor.      |
| 7. Aram.     | 7. Joram.     | 7. Sadoc.     |
| 8. Aminadab. | 8. Ozias.     | 8. Achim.     |
| 9. Naasson.  | 9. Joatham.   | 9. Eliud.     |
| 10. Salmon.  | 10. Achaz.    | 10. Eleazar.  |
| 11. Booz.    | 11. Ezekias.  | 11. Matthan.  |
| 12. Obed.    | 12. Manasses. | 12. Jacob.    |
| 13. Jesse.   | 13. Amon.     | 13. Joseph.   |
| 14. David.   | 14. Josias.   | 14. Jesus.    |

We have no space to explain any more of the discrepancies which Mr. Macnaught has discovered, or rather for the most part invented, in the Bible. This work has been already done in the common handbooks of Christian evidence. But we have been anxious to expose the spirit in which Mr. Macnaught's objections to the Bible are conceived. To his shame, as a clergyman, there is no proof of the reverence and love for the Bible which he professes. When a natural philosopher meets

with discrepancies or anomaly he does not scoff at Nature, but distrusts himself. Revelation has even fewer difficulties in proportion to its commanding evidences; but our author never seems to doubt Macnaught.

A few words must suffice, in like manner, for his theory of inspiration. In addition to what we have quoted above, as his definition of inspiration, he contends: 1. That there are two generic differences. 'The difference is between the subjects or recipients of the Divine influence, not between the one and the same Divine presence or co-operation, which in every case justifies the epithet "inspired" being applied to any person or thing.' 2. It will be remarked, that in his definition of inspiration, he limits it to whatever is good,—beast or matter. But this is contradictory to the tenor, the specific arguments, and the object of the book, which is written to establish the statement we have just quoted, that wherever there has been the co-operation of God at all, then the epithet 'inspired' is justified. His design is to show that the Bible is inspired, though fallible, though filled in fact with errors; and that there is no connexion between inspiration and infallibility. Error, therefore, may be inspired as well as truth. Now, according to his own definition, we should say the errors of the Bible were bad; and if inspiration be confined to what is good alone, they cannot be inspired; and only the truthful portions of the Bible, few and uncertain, are inspired, and inspiration does guarantee infallibility. Taking his own definition, we say it is self-destructive. If only what is good in the Bible be inspired, then only what is true; for falsehood can in no sense be good, and consequently inspiration, without truth or infallibility, is impossible: but his definition is just the opposite of what he means, so confused is the language, so imbecile the reason of the new illuminators of mankind. His doctrine is, that wherever there is the co-operation of God in His creative energy, despite all accompanying vices or defects, there is inspiration. He may keep his own doctrine, but he shall bear its consequences too. (If, he asks, 'blemishes in the creature be not compatible with the stupendous interference of a Divine agency in generation, why should errors in the Bible be more compatible with the admirable co-operation of the Divine Spirit in the writing of that Bible?') Very well. In both the monsters of creation and falsehoods of Scripture, we may allow there having been the co-operation of God, and that consequently both of them are inspired. An inspired monster! an inspired falsehood! These words cannot sound ridiculous in Mr. Macnaught's ears; for wherever the creating, sustaining power of God is present, there, according to

him, is inspiration. The blossoming of flowers, the flowing of rivers, the fattening of cattle, are the result of inspiration. Genius is inspiration; therefore the lustful tales of the 'Decameron,' and the infidelity of 'Queen Mab,' are inspired. Clever mechanics are inspired; therefore Dr. Guillotin was inspired. Nay, the power of God sustains the energies of infernal spirits; His Spirit is present in Hell; therefore the devil is inspired; and assuredly, if cleverness, genius, tact, knowledge, as Mr. Macnaught says, are all the product of inspiration, none are more inspired than the great deceiver, 'the prince of the power of the air.' What arrant nonsense all this is! Let us endeavour to show Mr. Macnaught his fundamental mistake,—his *πρώτον ψεῦδος*. It lies in the sentence we have quoted, that 'there are no generic differences in the action of God's Spirit in the universe.' We agree with him that the pious Christian would devoutly and truly say, that 'all the processes of change, or of continuance in matter and in life, those processes which we, in our one-sided though true and philosophical fashion, ascribed to the "laws of nature," or to the principles of some science, were carried on by the direct agency of the Spirit, or *Ruach*, of God;' but not, as he proceeds to say, 'and so were referable to what, in our idiom, we call "Divine inspiration;"' because in our idiom 'Divine inspiration' is used to denote a generically definite action of the Spirit of God. We likewise agree with Mr. Macnaught, that 'poetry, inventive powers, genius, cleverness, skill, and intelligence in every form, are owing to the Spirit of God in man;' but not, as he affirms, 'to the inspiration of God;' because, if he allowed this, then sin of every kind, as well as error, might be said to be inspired.) His mistake consists in not seeing that God energizes in the universe in essentially different ways, and that inspiration denotes one kind of Divine action and not another. Two of these generic differences are at once distinguished. 1. He creates and upholds all things with the word of His power. In this sense God co-operates—as Mr. Macnaught—in the changes and continuance of matter, the generation of animals, and the works of man, inasmuch as, if His Spirit were withdrawn, all thought, life, motion, existence, would cease; but the word never in the history of the English language, till Mr. Macnaught's book appeared, was used to designate the co-operation of God in sustaining the universe He has made. A man might be thought mad, rather than profound, who talked of inspired grass, inspired thunder, inspired embryos and monsters. Yet this is Mr. Macnaught's style of speech. And worse, it sounds not merely like the babbling of folly, it is blasphemy; since, if all the thoughts of men and demons are inspired,



then all the wickedness in the universe of God is inspired. 2. God energizes in another and altogether different manner in controlling and purifying the thoughts and affections of His moral creatures. He sustains their being with all their faculties; but we never impute the resultant evil which they may contract, because they are free agents, and are responsible for their own conduct. In addition, however, to this original subsistent action of God in upholding the beings of the universe, He operates unconsciously on the minds of men, so as to inspire holy thoughts and feelings, and to become in an especial manner the author of all that is good in them. Now, the word 'inspiration' is sometimes, though not generally, used to denote the gracious spiritual influence of God, in the direction and exaltation of the faculties which He has created and perpetuates.

In Job xxxii. 8, a passage to which Mr. Macnaught often refers, our translators rightly thought that it was this peculiar blessing of God's Spirit that is intended, and so translate the word 'spirit' (*neshamah*) by 'inspiration:' *The inspiration of the Almighty giveth them understanding*; which does not mean, as the context proves, that God sustains the faculty of the understanding in man, but that He directs this faculty in those who seek His assistance in the discovery of true wisdom. So, in the Liturgy and Articles of the Church of England, the word 'inspiration' is occasionally employed to denote this special Divine work; e.g., we pray, 'Cleanse the thoughts of our hearts by the inspiration of Thy Holy Spirit, that we may perfectly love Thee,' &c. 'Grant unto Thy humble servants, that by Thy holy inspiration we may think those things that are good, and by merciful guiding may perform the same.' In accordance too with this usage, we see that Mr. Macnaught himself, after all his rhodomontades, dares not attribute it to everything in which the creative power of God co-operates, but limits it to that which is good in man, beast, or matter. (What does he mean by good or bad, in beast or matter?) His sense of incongruity has so far restrained the extravagance of his theory, when he is pressed by the strongest proofs of definition; but we beseech him to remember that by *good*, as used in reference to inspiration, is meant moral good, and not, as he immediately asserts, all that is excellent, great, clever, &c. A man may be an excellent jockey, a great scoundrel, a clever knave, and yet these qualifications are never imagined to be given by inspiration, which is strictly limited even in its widest and metaphorical application to that influence of the Holy One whose operancy leads the soul to this Divine holiness and peace.

3. But there is a miraculous influence of God's Spirit on the

mind of man, which constitutes a third mode, and an essentially different mode, of Divine operation. By this supernatural influence, men are supposed to receive immediate communications from God, to be made acquainted with realities which surpass the limits of human knowledge, and to be qualified to address their fellow men with the authority of ambassadors of God. This last mode of the Divine agency, in our language, is the specific definition and strictly proper meaning of inspiration. We do not now affirm there has been such inspiration, but merely that such is the English acceptation of that word, which designates, whether it be real or not, an entirely different kind of spiritual influence from even the second, which we have just described. Instead of there being no generic differences in the action of the Spirit of God, there are three such generic differences, three modes of Divine operation, which cannot by any possibility of thought be identified; though, as we see in Mr. Macnaught, they may be confused with each other. Now the only question at issue concerning the Bible is this: Has that *miraculous* influence, enlightening the mind, and qualifying its utterances with Divine authority, been given to any extent to any or to all of the biblical writers? Mr. Macnaught says, No; he only influences they received were such as are common to all good men, clever men, and which we see to be compatible with errors of knowledge, judgment, and morality. Let this position be clearly understood, and every sensible man will see at once, that it is tantamount to an express denial of revelation, at least in the Bible. And such is Mr. Macnaught's conclusion, though skillfully concealed by the garments of a sort of spiritualism which deceives honest men, because it uses their familiar religious terms seemingly in faith, but in reality as a mask to cover and insinuate the most scornful scepticism. Accordingly, we hear Mr. Macnaught use the term 'revelation;' but what can it mean, when, according to his extracted statements, there was no spiritual fact known to prophets and apostles which any good man may not know as well as they, and the same influences are now working on every prayerful soul as wrought in them? Of course, there is abundant contradiction in Mr. Macnaught's look, as when he treats of prophecy, a subject which completely affles him. He would manifestly like to discard it altogether, and hankers after the *high* criticism of Germany, which explains all predictions to be mere guesses when real, and, when too particular and exact for conjecture, to be the imposture of a later age, which has intercalated the history of an event in the phraseology and manner of the prophetic style. Among its ancient writings, though wavering and dubious, our author

shrinks from committing himself to this prodigious faith of neology. He repudiates, however, the moral or religious evidence of prophecy, as attesting the Divine authority of the prophets, on the ground that the evil spirits as well as God may impart miraculous foreknowledge. We bear this quibble at present, but we fix him to his concession, that in some cases God did communicate to His servants the knowledge of future events. Now, the knowledge of a single event, in the particularity and certainty of its circumstantial details, some hundreds of years before it transpires, is miraculous, transcending any mental power discernible in the holiest or most gifted men. (There is a horizon which bounds the possible knowledge of every human mind, and no goodness or genius of themselves can vault that impassable limit.) The infinite God foreknows the future, and, according to Mr. Macnaught's confession, He has imparted His knowledge to the minds of His servants. But such a direct communication of His own proper knowledge to human intelligence is exceptional and supernatural, entirely different from the ordinary influences of the Divine Spirit, stimulating and controlling the natural powers of the mind. Cannot Mr. Macnaught see a generic difference here?

These discrepancies, however, in Mr. Macnaught's book are of no moment compared with the consequences of his theory, which a remorseless logic must compel him to accept. Grant that the Divine relations to the inspired writers of the Bible were precisely the same as those of other truth-dealing men, and, as we have shown, it must follow that no revelation of the spiritual word can be made by them. But accepting for a moment this infidel postulate of Mr. Macnaught, let us turn to the Bible itself, and what arrogance, blasphemy, fanaticism, and falsehood instantly appear to crowd its pages! Do not these men claim an immediate knowledge of the Divine will? Do they not speak with an overweening authority? Are not miracles wrought as witnesses that the hand of God is on them, and are not those who refuse to hear them denounced as the enemies of God? 'Prophets of God,' 'apostles of Jesus Christ;' their name and bearing become a huge and intolerable imposition, to be resented with disdain, if this supposition be correct. We know the utmost reach of the human mind in its explorations of the dim soundless depths of eternity. However God may graciously work in men both to will and to do of His good pleasure, yet the bounds of our consciousness are preserved inviolate. No man can attain the consciousness of God, or know intently His thoughts and purposes.

(It is the dream of the mystic pantheist to burst the limits of

his dim soul, and dissolve in a glory which is utter darkness through excess of light; but even he never dreams to recall the vision of his ecstasy, when he has relapsed into the narrow cell of self. The ardent genius of Plato soared loftily in the dark night that overspreads our human life, to descry the pure morning light of that eternal day, whose burning blush always lowers along the horizon of death; but he cowered again upon the earth in timorous doubt, and could only breathe in beautifully pitiful notes his instinctive but unassured hope of a higher life among the gods. His philosophy is pre-eminently a philosophy of doubt. When he speaks of the gods, or of the one absolute God, it is in language of sublime conjecture. He never assumes to know their will, or to bear a message directly from God to man. He confesses his imaginings to be without authority, and he longs for a revelation that will dissipate the weird and crushing uncertainty that bewildered him in his transcendental speculations. As the subtle surmises of a mighty thinker, his reveries and balancings of probability in reference to God and eternity are profoundly interesting; but if he had ventured to utter one word on the authority of God, not having given us the vouchers of such a commission, it would be ridiculed or pitied as the wanderings of insanity, or the audacity of a blasphemous presumption. It is therefore with a chill of disgust creeping over us, that we read Mr. Macnaught's comparison of the Socratic religion and Christ's religion; as if the philosophy of Socrates were a religion at all; as if there were a single truth enunciated by Socrates, beyond the primary truth of the Divine existence, which could be believed, or that he wished to be believed, on the ground of his testimony. He only announced *the probable*, the results of his own conjecture, and against this we cannot even bring into comparison the religion of Christ. Christ's authority, as contrasted with Socrates, does not rest on the greater probability or the more seeming excellence of His truth in our judgment, but on the fact that 'He spake that which He had seen with the Father.' And it betrays a childish ignorance of Socrates' aims and opinions, to exalt them into a religion of which he was the founder, or to compare them as being *in nature* akin to the teachings of our Lord. The common sense of mankind informs them what must be the limits of human intelligence, assisted only by the ordinary influences of God's Spirit in the search of spiritual truth; and if any man pretend to have overstepped these, and proclaim himself to be a revealer of God's oracles, when there is not the appropriate and unassailable evidence requisite to establish this claim, he is quickly disposed of, despite the most splendid talents, or the purest life, as a crazed fanatic. The name of Swedenborg may stand in illustration of this truth.

Our space is already overrun; but we must not throw this book aside without exposing the crowning inconsistency which it exhibits. According to this novel creed, Jesus Christ, the Founder of Christianity, is believed to be a Divine Person. Consequently His authority in spiritual matters is final and absolute. But all His followers were more or less prejudiced by Jewish and carnal notions, and hence have coloured and misrepresented in transmission to us the teachings and spirit of their Lord; so that it is now impossible to attain from them a complete and exact knowledge of the Christian system as established by its Founder. For the present we take Mr. Macnaught as the representative and advocate of these opinions, though we would not have delayed to consider them, did we not know that more vigorous minds than his, such as Dr. Donaldson, and some of Mr. Maurice's followers, if not Mr. Maurice himself, have avowed them, and present their blind faith in an unknown Christ, as their warrant to the Christian name, and a place in the Christian Church. To simplify our argument, we discard the subsequent articles of this creed, and fasten upon the cardinal truth of its first proposition. Mr. Macnaught believes that Jesus Christ is a Divine Person: in necessary sequence of this faith, he also believes in the unerring certitude of His truth, and the immaculate perfection of His character.

Now two questions arise here with a peremptory demand. 1. Upon what grounds does Mr. Macnaught believe in the Divinity and perfect humanity of Christ? and, 2. What avails this faith in a Divine Person who existed in the antiquated centuries of the past, if all the records of His life are blurred over with human folly, so that His teachings are not merely unknown but misrepresented, and the dread sanction of His name is given to propagate errors and consecrate sin? Here, unfortunately, our oracle is silent. No reconciling word is vouchsafed to either question. We have the strongest general assurances of Christ's Divine wisdom, purity, and truth, coupled with the severest criticism of His several acts and sayings; and the same New Testament which furnishes Mr. Macnaught with the grounds of his flippant censure, is, nevertheless, the only warrant he can appeal to, in justification of his belief in the actual Divinity of Christ. He spake as never man spake—yes; and all His life was instinct with the Godhead—yes: yet to this awful personage Mr. Macnaught acts the part of a neighbour who 'cometh and searcheth Him,' and cleverly finds Him out!

Most confidently do we affirm this last phase of the new theology to be the most incomprehensible form of credulity which the Church has witnessed. It is worse than the

Docetism of the second and third centuries, which affirmed the human body of Christ to be a phantasm, and denied His humanity altogether. This doctrine was at least self-consistent. But the nineteenth century has given birth to a sect of men who ignore the history of Christ, while they believe in His existence; conceive the actions which are recorded of Him to be sinful, while they revere Him as perfect; and, having invalidated every source of evidence concerning His religious truth, His character, and His miraculous knowledge and power, yet worship Him with implicit faith, as the Word of God who is God.

The theories just passed under review embody in the most distinct and specific forms the different modes of argumentation and the *animus* of the opposition now urged against the doctrine of inspiration. We have selected them, and undertaken their confutation, because they stand out so clearly in their representative character, and involve in their discussion most of the preliminary objections which dispute our entrance to the positive evidence which establishes, with most conclusive certainty, the plenary inspiration of the Bible.

One result we have obtained which is of supreme importance in our controversy. These three theories, which include and exhibit with the greatest simplicity and force the numerous beliefs which the disbelievers in miraculous inspiration adopt in lieu of their abandoned faith, issue inevitably in the denial of a Divine revelation altogether:—the first, Mr. Newman's, openly avowing this denial of a revelation, because of its essential impossibility; the second, Mr. Morell's, not avowing, but yet necessitating such a denial, because revelation is said to consist in the awakening or brightening of a man's own intuitions, and cannot, therefore, be a communication from God; the third, Mr. Macnaught's, conspiring to the same end by maintaining that the Bible writers, who claim to have received such a revelation, had no aid or inspiration from God different from other men. So far all of them reach, though by different methods, one broad conclusion,—that there is no express revelation of truth or duty given by God to man. We said at the beginning of our article, that this was the form into which all objections to the commonly received doctrine of inspiration ultimately resolve themselves. We have proved our assertion in reference to these three authors, and believe that the same process will press every objection to the doctrine of inspiration to its proper consequence in utter infidelity. To abandon that doctrine is to overthrow revelation and Christianity.

Against all their theories, accordingly, we have had to stoop to a lower level than the height of our argument demands, and to prove the possibility, need, and authority of a revelation from God, which shall be a direct and supernatural communication of facts and laws from Him. The position we have defended is, that God can from without, by miraculous inspiration, by addition or infusion, inform the human mind with knowledge which He alone can impart. If this position be conceded, all the reasoning of Newman, Morell, and Macnaught has come to nothing.

There remains, however, another class of theologians, who agree with ourselves on the fundamental question of revelation, who believe in the immediate communication of spiritual and moral truth by God to the human mind, and who, in the strong but just and felicitous language of Coleridge, esteem the difference between the grace and communion of the Holy Ghost, for which every godly man is permitted to hope and instructed to pray, and this supernatural knowledge, to be a positive difference of kind, a chasm, the pretended overleaping of which constitutes imposture, or betrays insanity; but who, nevertheless, as we conceive, depart from sound doctrine in respect to the nature and extent of inspiration. Having reached this class, however, we seem to breathe another atmosphere. At least they believe that God has spoken to His fallen children, and in that happy faith we draw near to them as brethren.

We regret that no one has explained the position and doctrine of this school in a succinct and scientific form. The general expression that is used—and that expression states the belief of many accomplished men—is, that the strictly religious portions of the Bible, and they alone, are inspired. So Whately, Hampton, Hinds, and Davidson have written. Such an expression, however, is very indeterminate, and can give no satisfaction to an earnest inquirer; for the questions arise, What is meant by religious truth? Are history or hymns included in that term? And what are the precise value and authority of the other non-religious portions of Scripture? None of the men whose names we have mentioned, has definitively expounded his views on these vital questions, or applied them with unswerving consistency in the solution of biblical difficulties. We conceive that their errors are most deadly, and in the last issue must overthrow that which they hold most dear, even the word of God which the Bible contains. Their fallacies, however, wind intricately among all the arguments by which we maintain our own position, and can only be thoroughly exposed when we enter upon the task which yet remains for us, and build up the mighty constructive evidence

which intrenches impregnably the whole Bible as a Divine book. Having cleared our way by canvassing the most explicit and popular theories antagonistic to the Divine origin and authority of the Bible, we hope presently to discharge the nobler office of expounding and defending the true doctrine,—the doctrine of the distinctive, authoritative, and complete inspiration of Scripture.

ART. II.—1. *The Lyrics of Ireland*. Edited and Annotated by SAMUEL LOVER. London. 1858.

2. *Songs and Ballads*. By SAMUEL LOVER.

THERE are many reasons why the popular poetry of Ireland should favourably compare with that of other nations. The traits of character which forbid us to expect a great poem, in the sense of an art-production, from any of the genuine children of her soil, promise great things at least in this direction. Indeed, the national minstrelsy of Ireland has been aided by every circumstance of her existence. The wild, soft, romantic beauties of her natural scenery, the ardent and impulsive temper of her race, the troubles and vicissitudes of her social and political condition, all these have directly tended to inspire the love of song, and to give it the most earnest popular expression. A religion which has always fostered superstition, and a traditional history of the most eventful kind, have added their own incitements to these elements of poetic life and character. A love of music more marked than that of other races has found also a more spontaneous utterance among this unfortunate but buoyant people. So the result is witnessed in a body of airs and songs intensely national, running through the whole compass of human feelings and misfortunes, breathing by turns the tenderest love and the fiercest hatred, and fluctuating through all the shades of humour, tenderness, and sorrow. Song is the language of a nation's childhood; and Ireland, never coming to maturity, has made the loughs and mountains musical with the sallies of her passionate youth.

We have then some reason to welcome the appearance of Mr. Lover's volume. But let us be just in our demands, or we shall, assuredly, be ungenerous in our verdict. No mere *book* of songs can abide a purely literary test. The popular lyric conforms to quite another standard; and this will readily appear when the nature of his composition is clearly understood.

Lyric poetry divides itself into two great classes. The first belongs to poetry proper; and at the head of this class stands



the celebrated name of Horace. The odes of this great master have only an imaginary relation to the art of music. Like the *Lycidas* of Milton, and even the *Alexander's Feast* of Dryden, they require neither lyre nor timbrel, neither flute nor trumpet, nor yet the airs of the accomplished vocalist, to give them full, complete, and adequate expression. They are already attuned to the receiving ear, already ordered to the modulating voice, and need only be 'to their own music chanted.' The composer cannot set them without running counter to the elaborate principles of harmony on which they are constructed, and so destroying their peculiar charm. He is earnestly requested to leave these compositions alone, and every specimen of high-toned lyric verse which comes under this description.

Perhaps the snatches of song in Shakspeare, and a few other *morceaux* in our literature, may seem to be exceptions to this rule. But this is not the case. It will be found that just in proportion as these lyrics are susceptible of improvement by the musician's art, they actually demand it: imperfect in their naked state of poetry, they are mere hints of sentiment, words waiting for the soul of music; and this condition removes them into the second region of lyric verse, namely, that of song. Most of the Shakspearean lyrics answer to this definition, and many of them are really of popular origin and musical connexion.

It is difficult to analyse the peculiar merit of a song. We know, indeed, some of its conditions; but they are, for the most part, negative only. Thus, excess and refinement of thought are both fatal; poetic accent must not be nicely measured or insisted on; and words of harsh or hissing sound are always to be avoided. This last particular is well advanced by Mr. Lover in the preface to his 'Songs and Ballads.' Of some delicate verses by Shelley he justly remarks, that 'nearly every word shuts up the mouth instead of opening it, and, therefore cannot be vocalized;' while the simple lines of Burns,—

'Ye banks and braes o' bonny Doon,  
How can ye bloom sae fresh and fair?'

exactly meet this requirement of our melodist: 'They open the mouth,' says he, 'as agreeably as Italian.'

We are thus let into one secret, at least, of song-writing, and have some notion of the cause of frequent failure in this department. Generally speaking, the composition of a song belongs to the melodist rather than the poet, and is dependent, if not upon the highest, yet certainly upon one of the rarest, of human

gifts. How many authors of genius have failed in their ambition to produce a popular song! They would have found it as easy to invent a proverb and make it current among the people. Indeed, there is this significant analogy betwixt the origin of song and proverb, that both have their freest, clearest, and most artless expression, before the age of culture has set in. The wisdom and poetry thus thrown off in the energy of a nation's youth survive by virtue of our sympathy and admiration; but to speak that artless language again is only possible to some favoured child of nature; and to come nearest to its freshness and simplicity of speech is, in truth, the last perfection of art. The songs of Moore may be taken as examples of the latter power, and those of Burns of the former. Yet it would, perhaps, be more just to say of Burns, that his peasant birth and poet skill gave him the advantage of both these conditions; it would be rash to say that his songs owe more to nature than to plastic and presiding art.

We must not withhold from Moore the honourable name of poet; yet we yield it with much reluctance and some abatement. If we take the romance of *Lalla Rookh* as the measure of his genius,—surely not an unfair selection on our part,—we must pronounce him wanting in the dignity and proportions of that character. Other qualities apart, it settles the pretensions of any muse to prove so deficient in nobleness, simplicity, and purity; and the muse of Moore is false throughout,—meretricious in dress and manner, even when not expressly wanton in behaviour. This is not a mere occasional characteristic, like the voluptuousness of Tasso and Ariosto; it pervades the whole of his elaborate compositions, and is unredced by any sterling picture of moral excellence and beauty. Even his songs have a cold factitious air, when divorced from their better half, the inspiring melodies. We seldom read a quatrain of his without a painful sense of its laboured prettiness, and especially of the feeble artifice which contrives that the first three lines shall do little more than provide the fourth with pointed phrase or antithetical conceit. Something of this can be traced even in his most admired verses. For example:—

‘O who would not welcome that moment’s returning  
 When passion first waked a new life thro’ his frame;  
 And his soul, like the wood that grows precious in burning,  
 Gave out all its sweets to love’s exquisite flame?’

Surely this is not love-poetry of a very genuine kind. It is sadly wanting in simplicity, and speaks of fire without evincing the slightest ardour. Besides, there is no fitness in the com-

parison. The burning wood gives out its sweets to another; but the inflamed soul, it is intimated, enjoys its own perfume. What has 'exquisite flame' to do with the matter? The analogy suggested is false as well as forced. Compare this pedantic metaphor of Moore with the natural imagery of Burns:—

'Pleasures are like poppies spread;  
You seize the flower—the bloom is fled;  
Or like a snow flake in the river—  
A moment white, then lost for ever!'

Here all is obvious, simple, and appropriate. The lines breathe true vocal melody as well as sterling poetry,—a combination seldom attained after the literate age has begun, and still more rarely by a person in the literate class. Burns, as we have intimated, was happily placed in this respect; to the freshness and ardour of a peasant-poet, he brought so much of tact and culture as never fails to be prompted by unusual gifts. The result is, that the songs of Burns belong as much to the literature as to the popular minstrelsy of Scotland.

To the Irish bard we can attribute only the lesser of these merits. Moore was a melodist rather than a poet; he was nothing if not musical. Sometimes—under the degrading influence of fashion—he seemed only animated by the soul of a dancing-master; but in his better moments he caught a higher mood; the airs of his native land inspired something like genuine feeling in his bosom; and then he touched the lyre with the alternate tenderness and gaiety of a troubadour. At such times it was felt that the soul of music woke all the finer chords of his nature: the bard who, fallen upon evil days and under foreign influences, had met the votaries of fashion half-way, now drew them for the rest to an unwonted elevation, while the gilded saloons echoed like Tara's Halls, and the spell of the minstrel brought back a genuine hour of chivalry. Without that music the words he sang are scarcely less exanimate than the instrument that once he smote. Most truly did he say,

'I was but as the wind passing heedlessly over,  
And all the wild music I waked was thine own.'

In speaking of Moore we have so far anticipated our subject as to dispose at once of the foremost lyric poet of Ireland. It has served our immediate purpose very well; for if the most literary member of the band has still more of the minstrel than of the poet in his nature, our readers will be prepared to show every indulgence to the popular verses which compose Mr. Lover's volume. For lyric poetry of the highest stamp they

will seek elsewhere ; but here will be found many a song which the national genius has steeped in undying strains, and many another which sufficiently expresses the mingled fun and feeling of a gay, bright, frank, and passionate peasantry. It should be remembered, at the same time, that some of the best known airs of Ireland are most inadequately represented in verse. Very poor, for example, as Mr. Lover acknowledges, are the words given in illustration of the tune *Lilli Burlero*, once as popular in the sister island as *Marlbrook* in our own country. Another proof this that the power of national songs resides almost entirely in the music. A melody will survive, and bring smiles to the mouth or moisture to the eyes, when no words remain that are worthy to direct or interpret the feeling.

Mr. Lover enters upon the editorial duties assigned to him with becoming diffidence. This feeling is justified by the discouragement and difficulty which meet him in the outset. In the first place he is denied the use of the popular Irish melodies of Moore, whose works are still the copyright of Messrs. Longman. He is thus excluded from what are usually esteemed the literary masterpieces of the Irish lyric muse. He turns then to the general field of national productions, and encounters at once the embarrassment of riches. He has now to select the most characteristic pieces, and arrange as best he may. In a matter of some difficulty like this, Mr. Lover has shown on the whole considerable taste and judgment ; but in the principles of selection adopted by the editor, his anxious patriotism has got the better of his discretion. He appears eager to show that Ireland has produced as many, or nearly as many, lyrics within the last two centuries, as England and Scotland have produced in five. He is determined that the volume which records the poetical activity of his country shall not want in bulk ; and is more solicitous about the quantity than the quality of the melodies which have been struck from his national lyre. Many of the songs in this collection might have been written by sentimental Englishmen, in the most artificial of literary periods, so little have they of the wild passion and pathos, the tenderness and volatility, the spontaneous bird-like gladness and fulness of life, and the demonstrative woe of the Irish heart. But then they were written by Irishmen ; and Ireland cannot afford to lose the slightest of these tributary offerings. On the other hand, we have songs that are not Irish in virtue of their paternity, but which have been naturalized, though alien, on account of the strong sympathy which they breathe for Ireland. In the first case, Mr. Lover claims the lyrics for Ireland, because, though they make no allusion to the

scenery of Ireland, are not pervaded by the Irish spirit, and embody none of her aspirations, reminiscences, or hopes, yet they are the offspring of her vagrant children; and in the second case, he claims them for Ireland, because, though they were not written by Irishmen, yet they *might* have been,—so full are they of love for his native land.

We think that a better case might be made for the admission of two of the songs at least, one of which is of Scottish, and the other of English, origin, than for a multitude of those whose authorship is unquestionably Irish, but which have no affinity with the peculiarities either of Irish feeling or expression. The two songs to which we allude are ‘Savourneen Deelish,’ by Colman, and Campbell’s far-famed lyric, ‘The Exile of Erin.’ These have been adapted to the national music of Ireland, and taken warmly to the Irish heart; and, in virtue of their true feeling, are now as truly Irish as though they had been written by Irishmen. The same argument, however, will not apply to songs which are utterly destitute of all literary, and are of no representative, value,—songs which were written in England to please English audiences, at a time when mere prettiness and false sentimentality were in vogue, and which have never been popular in Ireland.

Because the works of Goldsmith, Sheridan, O’Keefe, Cherry, and even Moore, have sometimes been placed to the account of England, Mr. Lover is not justified in arriving at the conclusion that ‘the lyric works of all who are Irishmen should appear in a collection of Irish songs,’—whether they be good, bad, or indifferent. We agree with him that it is not necessary that the Shannon, or the Liffey, or some other topographical mark, or Hibernian epithet or idiom, should appear in a song, to give Ireland a right to claim it; and that ‘human affections, passions, and sentiments, are expressed in Ireland without allusion to the shamrock, or an appeal to St. Patrick;’ but our complaint is, that many songs are introduced which express no human feeling at all; and we maintain that nothing should appear in a national collection of lyrics, which does not in some way betray its nationality, and contribute to the national credit. Mr. Lover has admitted into his collection *The Island of Atlantis*,—about the poorest of all Dr. Croly’s productions,—and a rhyme from Mr. Barham’s *Ingoldsby Legends*. Although the first is no song at all, yet it obtains a place because it was written by an Irishman; and although the second was written by an Englishman, it wins the same honour because its subject is Irish. Yet we do not find a single lyric, or even a reference to William Allingham, who, though as yet comparatively

young, is admitted to be the most original and artistic of Ireland’s living poets, and many of whose ballads and lyrics are sung in the streets of Ireland at this hour.

Under the first two of the six divisions into which Mr. Lover has classified his collection, namely, that containing *Songs of the Affections*, and that entitled *Convivial and Comic Songs*, will be found most of those pieces over which the reader will be glad to linger longest, and in which all the finer traits of the Irish character are best exemplified. ‘Mild Mable Kelly,’ by Carolan, the last of the ancient Irish bards, and ‘Hours like Those,’ by Callanan, are full of true tenderness, and, when accompanied by music, give the hearer a correct idea of that foud and plaintive feeling which is mingled up with so much of mirthful ebullience in the national temperament. Lady Dufferin’s ‘Lament of the Irish Emigrant’ is universally known, thanks to the beautiful air to which it is set. Another of her songs, ‘Terence’s Farewell,’ will be new to many readers; and, as it is pre-eminently true to the peasant life of Ireland, with its mixture of shrewdness and simplicity, we make no apology for reprinting it here.

‘ So, my Kathleen, you ’re going to leave me  
All alone by myself in this place,  
But I ’m sure you will never deceive me,  
Oh no, if there’s truth in that face.  
Though England ’s a beautiful city,  
Full of illigant boys, oh what then ?—  
You would n’t forget your poor Terence,  
You ’ll come back to ould Ireland again.

‘ Och, those English deceivers by nature,  
Though may be you’d think them sincere,  
They ’ll say you ’re a sweet charming creature,  
But don’t you believe them, my dear.  
No, Kathleen, *agra* ! don’t be minding  
The flattering speeches they ’ll make ;  
Just tell them a poor boy in Ireland  
Is breaking his heart for your sake.

‘ It ’s a folly to keep you from going,  
Though, faith, it ’s a mighty hard case ;  
For, Kathleen, you know there ’s no knowing  
When next I shall see your sweet face.  
And when you come back to me, Kathleen,  
None the better will I be off, then—  
You ’ll be spaking such beautiful English,  
Sure, I won’t know my Kathleen again.

‘ Eh, now, where ’s the need of this hurry?—  
 Don’t flutter me so in this way—  
 I ’ve forgot, ’twixt the grief and the flurry,  
 Every word I was maning to say;  
 Now just wait a minute, I bid ye,—  
 Can I talk if ye bother me so?  
 Oh, Kathleen, my blessing go wid ye,  
 Every inch of the way that you go.’

Many of the songs in this division can only be appreciated when sung; and many more are too full of conceits and affectations to be at all representative of the wide, warm nature of the Irishman. A large proportion are deficient in that *naïveté* and directness which distinguish English and Scottish songs of an early period. This, however, is easily accounted for. The ballad and lyrical literature of England and Scotland has its roots in the far past, whereas that of Ireland is altogether of modern growth. She has an ancient literature, it is true; but it is lost to the majority of Irish writers, being locked up in an unknown tongue. No longer ago than the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the English language was not the language of Ireland; and the country was, as yet, unconquered. For fully a century subsequent to this period, the majority of the people continued to speak their native language; and amid the disorders and disasters which ensued, there was but little opportunity, as there could be but little inclination, to devote much time to art-culture. Life was too earnest and too active to take shape in song. The ancient bards were already beginning to decay; and amid the almost uninterrupted clangour of war and cries of party dissension, there was no likelihood that the venerable race of minstrels would be revived under any modification whatever. Their successors, writing in English, imitated, as was natural, such models as were popular at the moment in England; and hence so much, in the composition of the songs, that is untrue to Ireland,—so much that is merely meretricious and artificial.

Nevertheless, all circumstances considered, it must be admitted that Ireland has acquired, already, a fine stock of national songs, many of which are worthy of that noble music to which they are wedded. And that that music is noble, no tasteful reader will be disposed to deny. Wilder, more rapid, and, as a rule, more melancholy than the ancient music of Scotland, the Celtic origin of both and their natural affinity are so evident, that the war has long waxed hot and furious among musical critics, not only in the attempt to decide which ought to have the pre-eminence, but also as to which of the two nations belong a mul-

titude of admired airs of disputed nationality. If Ireland has borrowed some melodies from Scotland, it is pretty clear that Scotland has not been free from the charge of borrowing wholesale without acknowledgment. Burns, writing to Thomson in 1793, says, 'Your Irish airs are pretty, but they are *downright Irish*. If they were like the "Banks of Banna," for instance, though really Irish, yet in the Scottish taste, you might adopt them.' The poet adds, 'Since you are so fond of Irish music, what say you to twenty-five of them in an additional number? We could easily find this quantity of charming airs; I will take care that you shall not want songs; and I assure you you would find it the most saleable of the whole.' That the practice of adopting Irish airs, and setting Scottish words to them, prevailed to a very considerable extent, there can be no question. Three years after Burns made this suggestion to Thomson, the latter, writing to Burns, says, 'We have several free-born Irishmen on the Scottish list, but they are now naturalized, and reckoned our own good subjects.' He adds, 'Indeed, we have none better.'

Here we have first the suggestion, and then the distinct admission of appropriation, coupled with the acknowledgment of the superiority of the appropriated Irish airs over those of Scotland, by two such competent critics as Burns and Thomson. If it be said that there has been a mutual interchange of airs between Ireland and Scotland, and that the song-writers of Ireland have been as largely indebted to the music of Scotland, as the Scottish lyrical poets have been to that of Ireland, such an assertion may be doubted. For, while the Scottish dialect, with but slight modifications, has existed for centuries, the English language—in which the national songs of Ireland are now written—is, comparatively at least, a novel language in the Emerald Isle; and though it has now been almost universally spoken for several generations, yet the social disquietude of the country, its sudden disruptions, and the savage fury of its party enmities, have tended to prevent that rapid development of artistic culture which is observable in the history of other nations more favourably circumstanced. On the supposition, therefore, that the airs of the two countries are numerically proportioned, it is evident that the lyrical writers of Ireland cannot have had anything like so strong an inducement as those of Scotland to set their words to foreign melodies. Their native country was already rich in these, allied to a language which was rapidly becoming extinct. What they had to do, in order to win a name for themselves, as well as to preserve the national music from falling into oblivion, was to write songs which their



fellow-countrymen should regard as worthy of that high alliance with the ancient melodies which they themselves would naturally seek for their productions. They had no need to seek for foreign music while so many of their own airs, of so much tender and pathetic beauty, were perishing for lack of words. In Scotland, especially of late years, the case was very different. There, bard after bard had snatched the national melodies, and linked his own immortal words to their delicious cadences.

We have already seen how Burns and Thomson, to enrich the lyrical fame of Scotland, planned and executed wholesale plunder upon the minstrelsy of Ireland. Doubtless, many such cases of premeditated appropriation have occurred which are not capable of being so palpably manifested; but many other instances of unconscious adoption might probably be pointed out. Mr. Lover signalizes one; and that a very notable one too.

He proves that the beautiful air of 'Lochaber' is Irish. Moore claimed it for Ireland, and wrote his song, 'When cold in the Earth,' to this fine tune; but added, in the seventh number of the *Irish Melodies*, 'Our right to this fine air (the "Lochaber" of the Scotch) will, I fear, be disputed.' And disputed it has been, unquestionably. Nevertheless, it is, as Mr. Lover incontrovertibly proves, purely Irish. The Scotch lay claim to it because it is given in the *Tea-table Miscellany* of Allan Ramsay, who wrote the words beginning with, 'Farewell to Lochaber, farewell to my Jean,' to the tune of 'Lochaber no more.' But Mr. Lover has found a volume in the British Museum, bearing the title of, *New Poems, Songs, Prologues, Epilogues, never before printed, by Thomas Duffett, and set by the most eminent Musicians about the Town. London, 1676*; which will set the matter at rest for ever. One of the songs in this collection is entitled, 'Since Cœlia's my Foe;' and this song, so far from being set to music by one of the 'eminent musicians about the town,' is adapted to 'the Irish tune.' Now the definite article is, in this instance, significant, rendering the inference, as Mr. Lover maintains, almost inevitable, that it was a melody which had lately been introduced from Ireland, of which the name was not known, and it was therefore recognised, for want of a better title, as 'the Irish tune.'

However this may be, it is certain that the Scottish plea is untenable. In the *Book of Scottish Songs* it is stated that the original name of 'Lochaber' was 'King James's March to Ireland.' Now this is peculiarly unfortunate, so far as the Scotch claim is concerned; inasmuch as James did not visit Ireland until 1688, while the melody was already admired in

London as an Irish tune, twelve years before the period of the visit, and continued popular, in connexion with Duffett's song, for fifty years, without any rival claim being set up as to the nationality of the music. In confirmation of the mass of circumstantial evidence collected by Mr. Lover, is a passage in Bunting's *Ancient Music of Ireland*, published at Dublin in 1840, and written in utter ignorance of the existence of the song entitled, 'Since Cœlia's my Foe.' 'Another eminent harper of this period,' says Bunting, 'was Miles Reilly of Killincarra, in the county of Cavan, born about 1635. He was universally referred to, by the harpers at Belfast, as the composer of the original of "Lochaber." The air is supposed to have been carried into Scotland by Thomas Connallon, born five years later at Cloonmahon in the county of Sligo. O'Neill calls him "the great harper," and states that he attained to city honours (they made him, as I heard, a baillie, or kind of burgomaster) in Edinburgh, where he died.' Here is the name of the composer of the air given, transmitted through a succession of harpers. According to Bunting, he was born in 1635; the air composed by him was popular in London about thirty years afterwards; and its passage into Scotland is accounted for by the migration of Connallon, who died in that country.

Doubtless many other airs have been transmitted to Scotland in a similar manner. It is only natural that the minstrels should seek a land where their gentle art was highly appreciated, while in their own country the horrors of war and internecine discord, with all the harsh and terrible realities which follow in the wake of war, made men indisposed to listen to the bard, whose function it is, in times of peace, to celebrate the triumphs of his country's chieftains. Ireland had no triumphs to celebrate; and, therefore, her native minstrelsy carried the wild airs of a passionate and musical people to a country where they might pour them into the ears of a sympathizing audience.

Mr. Lover betrays a very reasonable indignation against the Scotch publishers, for their wholesale appropriation of Irish airs without acknowledgment. The 'Banks of Banna,' almost as notoriously Irish as 'St. Patrick's Day,' is published in Wood's *Songs of Scotland*, 1851, with a note, saying that 'the air has been sometimes claimed as Irish.' It is nearly a century since the Hon. George Ogle wrote the song beginning, 'Shepherds, I have lost my love,' to the tune of 'Banks of Banna;' and Burns, writing in 1793 to Thomson, says, 'You are quite right in inserting the last five (airs) in your list, though they are certainly Irish. "Shepherds, I have lost my love," ("Banks of Banna,") is, to me, a heavenly air. What would

you think of a set of Scottish verses to it?’ The Scottish verses were written, but they were found inadmissible. The reader may guess why, when we state that the song to this ‘heavenly air’ began in this earthly manner :—

‘Yestreen I got a pint of wine,  
A place where body saw na;  
Yestreen lay on this breast of mine  
The gowden locks of Anna.’

Well may Mr. Lover exclaim in the presence of such a carnal appreciation of the celestial, ‘It is surprising how Burns could have written such trash.’ The failure of Burns did not prevent George Thomson himself from making the attempt to appropriate the ‘Banks of Banna.’ Accordingly, in this case, he wrote verses of his own, which Mr. Lover designates as ‘mere jingle’ but which, we imagine, our readers would characterize as something worse. Mr. Thomson’s first stanza runs as follows :—

‘Dearest Anna, grieve not so,  
Tho’ we’re doomed this hour to part;  
Fortune long hath proved my foe,  
But never can subdue my heart.  
Forced to distant climes I fly,—  
*Climes where gold and diamonds grow;*  
For thee to toil, for thee to sigh,  
Till that blest day which seals my vow.’

Of course, this would never do; and the attempt to adapt Scottish words to an Irish air having failed, first in 1793, and then in 1824, the publisher of 1851 gets over the difficulty by appropriating the Irish song altogether, *both words and music*; and adds to the affront by saying, that ‘the air has been *sometimes* claimed as Irish.’ This is, assuredly, too bad!

It is under the head of *Convivial and Comic Songs*, that the Hibernian character of Mr. Lover’s collection shows to greatest advantage. Mr. Lover himself contributes many of the most delicate little pieces of Irish humour and wit to this department. The names of William Carleton, Charles Lever, J. F. Waller, Gerald Griffin, and Thomas Davis, Lady Morgan, Miss Edgeworth, and the several members of the Sheridan family, both male and female, share the greater part of Mr. Lover’s collection among them. Mrs. Downing also, under the head of *Patriotic and Military Songs*, contributes some excellent pieces, the noblest and most national of which is ‘The Grave of Mac Caura.’ But as fun is the life of an Irishman, so is it the life of this volume; and the fun is here unquestionably Irish. Mr. Lover has wisely abstained from publishing a mul-

titude of songs which have passed muster as Irish for a long series of years, for no other reason than because they consisted of uproarious nonsense, written in what was supposed to be the Irish brogue. Now, however mad the Irishman may wax in his mirth, it is never unmeaning; there is method in his madness; and, therefore, the absurdities attributed to him in his convivial moments, are a libel on his genuine character. He is a singular and grotesque compound, certainly, but he is not a monster. His loudest laugh has tones of tenderness in it, and his very tears are not without a merry twinkle. In the court-house, at chapel, by the bed-side of a dearly loved friend, poor 'Pat' cannot resist a joke. Generally speaking, however, his jokes are not coarse. And yet, even Irish writers had got into the habit of maligning the Irish character by attributing to it coarseness as one of its characteristics. We are glad to find that Mr. Lover has exercised a wise discretion in this department, by steadily refusing admission to the expletive oaths, the 'whack fol de rols,' the 'hurroos, pigs, praties, brogues, jewels, jays, and shillelahs,' which were formerly thought indispensable requisites in representing Irish humour.

The convivial songs selected by Mr. Lover are generally very good, and free from anything, except their conviviality, to which serious exceptions can be taken; and they celebrate the glories of whiskey, and disparage the claims of wine. Some of the comic songs are exceedingly graphic, and give faithful pictures of the households of the peasantry. In the following verses, which exhibit a lover's property-attractions, the reader may see what furniture is thought sufficient for the home of the Irish peasant:—

'First a nate feather bed, and a four-posted stead,  
 A bolster, quilt, blankets, and sheets too,  
 A straw curtain, one side to the rafters well tied,  
 And a purty dale board at our feet too;  
 In one corner some meal, in another a pail  
 Of sweet milk, and roll'd butter hard by it,  
 Some salt in a barrel, and, for fear we should quarrel,  
 Some whiskey to keep us both quiet.

'Four knives and four forks, four bottles and corks,  
 Six plates, spoons, and two pewter dishes,  
 Salt butter a store, and salt herrings *galore*,  
 With good praties as much as she wishes;  
 Two pots and a griddle, a sieve and a riddle,  
 A slote for a tongs to bring fire on,  
 A pair of pot-hooks, and two little crooks  
 To hang up the salt box and gridiron.

- ‘ Three noggins, three mugs, a bowl, and two jugs,  
 A crock, and a pan something lesser,  
 A nate looking-glass, to dress at for mass,  
 Nail’d up to a clean little dresser;  
 Some starch and some blue, in two papers for you,  
 An iron and holder to hold it,  
 A beetle to whack, and a stick horse’s back,  
 To dry your cap on ’fore you fold it.
- ‘ Some onions and eggs in two little kegs,  
 A kish wherein plenty of turf is,  
 A spade and grifaun, to dig up the lawn,  
 And some manure to cover the murphies;  
 A dog and two cats to run after the rats,  
 A cock for a clock, to give warning,  
 A plough and a sow, and a nate Kerry cow,  
 To give milk for your tea in the morning.’

‘ Father Prout,’ to the air of ‘ Groves of Blarney,’ contributes a song entitled ‘ The Town of Passage,’ in which the following truthful passage occurs : —

‘ Mud cabins swarm in  
 This place so charmin’,  
 With sailors’ garments  
 Hung out to dry;  
 And each abode is  
 Snug and cominodious,  
 With pigs melodious,  
 In their straw-built sty.

‘ ’T is there the turf is,  
 And lots of murphies,  
 Dead sprats and herrings,  
 And oyster-shells;  
 Nor any lack, oh!  
 Of good tobacco,  
 Though what is smuggled  
 By far excels.’

‘ Barney Brallaghan’s Courtship’ is full of Irish pleasantry, while ‘ Bumper, Squire Jones,’ a fine song written to Carolan’s air, is extremely popular. The same may be said of ‘ Garry-owen,’ which, after ‘ St. Patrick’s Day,’ is the most popular national air of Ireland. We might instance many other pieces of almost equal merit, in which the sportive Irish heart frolics in wit and humour, and turns the very accidents of misfortune and poverty into irresistible fun and drollery.

The other departments of Mr. Lover’s volume may be dispatched in a few sentences. In the *Moral, Sentimental, and*

*Satirical Songs* we have several good pieces, such as 'Old Times,' 'The Bells of Shandon,' and 'Waiting for the May.' Nevertheless, Mr. Lover has good reason to lament the absence of many of Moore's sentimental effusions. The *Patriotic and Military Songs* include two such admirable pieces as Wolfe's 'Burial of Sir John Moore,' and Campbell's 'To the Battle, Men of Erin,' (which is sung to the air of 'Beside a Rock,') besides a multitude of others only little inferior to them in lyrical fire and vehement patriotism. Among the *Historical and Political Songs*, 'The Blackbird,' 'The White Cockade,' 'The Siege of Carrickfergus,' and 'Kathaleen Ny-Houlahan,' strike us as the best. The finest songs among the miscellaneous pieces are, beyond question, Ferguson's 'Forging of the Anchor' and Waller's 'First Cuckoo in Spring;' but, besides these, there are many others of considerable merit, such as Cherry's 'Tom Moody,' 'The Bay of Biscay,'—universally known,—'Leading the Calves,' and the 'Rakes of Mallow.' Mr. Lover admits the measureless superiority of the English sea songs over those of Ireland and Scotland; and accounts for the absence of sections devoted to pastoral poetry in his own volume thus: He says, that on examination he discovered that much of the pastoral poetry of England arose out of the fashion that sprang up, at one time, in literature and the fine arts, to affect the rural; 'when city gallants made love under the names of Corydon and Amintor to their Sylvias and Daphnes; Kings and Queens were represented on canvass as Endymions and Dianas; while dukes and duchesses took the humbler forms of shepherds and shepherdesses.' This may be to a certain extent true, but the merit of the 'discovery' certainly does not appertain to Mr. Lover. Besides, the species of poetry that owes its cultivation to the affectations of fashion has generally little merit; and what is beautiful in the pastoral poetry of England must be traced to a more genuine source, namely, to that truly English love of nature which foreigners have remarked with envy and admiration.

Mr. Lover introduces a number of his own songs into this collection. There is no impropriety, we conceive, in the editor thus taking to himself an honourable place amongst the Irish melodists. The author of 'Molly Bawn' and 'The Angel's Whisper,' of 'Larry O'Gaff' and 'The low-backed Car,' is perhaps the most popular interpreter of Irish sentiment and Irish fun now living, excepting always the author of *Harry Lorrequer*. 'Fisherman' is a lyric of the greatest beauty in a style which Mr. Lover has only rarely attempted.

The annotations of this volume are by no means the least

interesting part of it. They evince considerable learning, and an amiable desire on the part of the editor to do justice to the merits of his distinguished countrymen. With the exception of one or two trifling errors,—as where Irish Johnstone is called ‘Johnson,’—we have nowhere observed signs of incompetence or carelessness in the execution of his novel editorial duties.

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- ART. III.—1. *The English Language.* By R. G. LATHAM, M.A., M.D., F.R.S. Walton and Maberly. 1855.  
 2. *Encyclopædia Britannica.* Vol. X. Art. *Grammar.* Eighth Edition. Edinburgh: A. and C. Black. 1856.  
 3. ‘*Shall*’ and ‘*Will*.’ By SIR E. HEAD. London: Murray. 1856.

IN England, grammar appears to be deemed a study necessary only for children. There have been plenty of school grammars ever since the days of Lindley Murray; but we do not recollect a single treatise of higher pretensions, elucidating the peculiar construction of the English language, with a view to practical accuracy. The proprietors of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, in bringing out the eighth edition of that work, had a fine opportunity for laying down the recognised principles of all cultivated language, and then marking the peculiar features of our own, and the progress we have been making in accuracy or otherwise during the last two or three centuries; instead of which, they have reprinted the puerile treatise which appeared in a former edition,—a mere accident, containing little besides an account of the nature and functions of the various parts of speech, with an examination of some of their inflections in Latin and English.

Mr. Latham’s treatise on the English language, in which its etymology and history are viewed in relation to the other Teutonic dialects of Europe, is in pleasing contrast with all attempts at squaring our vernacular by the Pelasgic models; but it is like that of the *Encyclopædia* in this respect, that it is chiefly an examination of accident, and scarcely touches those principles of arrangement, concord, and government, which come into requisition in the practical use of language.

It cannot be maintained that such a treatise is unnecessary. To any one who has strictly examined the mechanism of English, it must be obvious that its syntactical principles have never been fully elucidated, that many of its idioms have almost wholly escaped our popular grammarians, and that there

are discoveries yet to be made, which will tax both the industry and the ingenuity of our most accomplished philologists. Pedantry, taking advantage of this state of matters, is every now and then striving to thrust upon us some awkward locution which no one seems to know how to repel; and so the very liberty in which we have indulged, of neglecting to ascertain and abide by any fixed principles in the use of our vernacular, sometimes issues in our being brought into bondage to rules which we need not have acknowledged. In the following pages we propose to glance at a few of those points in which, the theory not being satisfactorily ascertained, the usage is uncertain and often faulty.

SHALL and WILL have not inaptly been termed, ‘ the great shibboleth of modern English speech.’ The natives of south Britain have, in the course of ages, arrived at a tacit understanding with each other, as to the precise circumstances under which ‘ will ’ is not to include any notion of volition, and ‘ shall ’ is to convey no idea of obligation. But they have taken no adequate pains to explain to others the principles on which they proceed; and these principles are so subtle, and the application of them involved in so much nicety, that not only are foreigners continually at fault, but the Scotch, the Irish, and the Americans, who claim English as their mother tongue, confess themselves puzzled by the intricacy of our usage. Our friends in the north, represented by a writer in the *Edinburgh Review*,\* pronounce it a ‘ most unlearnable system of speaking; one of the most capricious and inconsistent of all imaginable irregularities; at variance not less with original etymology than with former usage, and substantially with itself.’ The Scotch, as a nation, may be said to know no sign of the future but ‘ will:’ among the rustic population ‘ shall ’ is scarcely ever heard; while those of the better classes who have become acquainted with it through English society and literature use it comparatively little, and that with diffidence and uncertainty, resulting in frequent mistake. Among the Anglo-Irish, the vulgar tendency is to the too frequent use of ‘ shall;’ but in the north of Ireland, where the inhabitants are chiefly of Scottish descent, ‘ will ’ prevails as in the mother country, and from this mixture arises a good deal of uncertainty and variety. The same may be said of some parts, at least, of America; the causes probably being similar. In England alone the usage appears to be uniform and familiar.

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\* Vol. xlvii., p. 492.



Doubtless, one cause of this diversity, at least among the educated classes, is, that so little has been done to elucidate the idiom of 'shall' and 'will.' Pure-bred Englishmen seem to have some common instinct about it, and the educated among them generally believe that there is an easy rule on the subject, but are at fault, notwithstanding, whenever they attempt to explain its application. Our grammarians have, for the most part, ignored it, as none of their business. Richard Cobbett says, that 'the respective uses of these words are as well known to us all, as the use of our teeth and our noses; and to misapply them argues not only a deficiency in the reasoning faculties, but almost a deficiency in instinctive discrimination.' Dr. Wallis, the Savilian Professor of Geometry at Oxford, who wrote in Latin about the middle of the seventeenth century, laid it down that 'will' in the first person promises or threatens, in the second and third only foretells; and 'shall,' on the contrary, in the first person simply foretells, in the second and third promises, commands, or threatens. But he makes no attempt to explain this seeming anomaly, and consequently affords no clue to the usages in interrogative and dependent sentences, where chiefly the niceties in shades of different meaning appear. Dr. Johnson omits the subject in his Grammar, and gives in his Dictionary little more than a repetition of Wallis's rule; which is also pretty nearly all that Lindley Murray, who, it will be remembered, was an American, could find to say on the point.

The article above alluded to, in the *Edinburgh Review*, seems to have roused the spirit of Englishmen to explain and vindicate their native idiom. Foremost on the field was Archdeacon Hare, who, writing in the *Philological Museum* on the subject of Greek verbs, and remarking that many of them have a passive or middle form of the future, answering to an active present, takes occasion to advert to our English use of 'shall' and 'will' for expressing time to come. He says, 'This was one of the artifices to which the genius of the Greek language had recourse to avoid speaking presumptuously of the future; for there is an awful, irrepressible, and almost instinctive consciousness of the uncertainty of the future, and of our own powerlessness over it, which in all cultivated languages has silently and imperceptibly modified the modes of expression with regard to it; and from a double kind of *litotes*, the one belonging to human nature generally, the other imposed by good breeding on the individual, and urging him to veil the manifestations of his will, we are induced to frame all sorts of shifts for the sake of speaking with becoming modesty.' And again: 'Our own language supplies us with an exact parallel to

the middle future of the Greek; indeed, this is the only way of accounting for the singular mixture of the two verbs "shall" and "will" by which we express the future. When speaking in the first person, we speak submissively; when speaking to or of another, we speak courteously. In our older writers, for instance in our translation of the Bible, "shall" is applied to all the three persons: we had not reached that stage of politeness which shrinks from the appearance even of speaking compulsorily of another. On the other hand, the Scotch use "will" in the first person; that is, as a nation they have not acquired that particular shade of good breeding which shrinks from thrusting itself forward.'

These observations of the archdeacon elicited some strictures from Professor De Morgan in the *Transactions of the Philological Society*. He says that Dr. Hare's *usus ethicus* is taken from the brighter side of human nature; that it explains 'I shall, thou wilt,' but not 'I will, thou shalt:' he then offers a theory deduced from the darker side, and propounded in the somewhat darkening style of modern German metaphysics. There may be some very correct ideas couched in his abstruse propositions about the *ego* and the *non-ego*; and the disposition of man to think of his own volition in the category of compelling or non-compelling, and of another man's in the category of restrained or non-restrained; and then the suppression of reference to the will of the *non-ego* being likely to infer restraint produced by the predominant will of the *ego*. But it is a theorizing which at best does nothing to help the practice.

Finally, about two years ago, Sir Edmund Head, adopting the views of Archdeacon Hare, sent forth a little volume which he has since allowed to get out of print, intending, as it is understood, to digest his ideas somewhat what more perfectly before presenting them to the public in a second edition. Much as we should desire to see his thoughts matured and systematically arranged, we must regret that for the present the best thing that has appeared on the subject has also disappeared. Sir Edmund Head's view is, that 'shall' was the original auxiliary to denote the pure future, and that 'will' was introduced with the second and third persons, according to the theory of Archdeacon Hare, to avoid the appearance of speaking compulsorily of others. He regards it as 'a sort of interloper' never to be employed except when 'shall' would wear the appearance of discourtesy; and in this way he accounts for 'He will die,' and 'He says he shall die;' the expression 'He says' excluding the possibility of compulsion on the part of the speaker. It is to be feared that, however correct the principle,

so far as it goes, it will scarcely be deemed to afford an infallible guide in all cases. For instance, if we say, 'I hope he shall not die,' we feel this is incorrect; and yet the words, 'I hope,' exclude the control of the speaker. Moreover, what sounds uncourteous to an Englishman's ears may convey no such impression to a foreigner, and there seems a necessity for deciding under what circumstances a 'shall' must be held as conveying the idea of compulsion. Another mistake, as it appears to us, lies in this author's insisting that the simple notion of futurity must be isolated, and separated from the shades of meaning involved in 'shall' and 'will.' He sets aside De Morgan's theory, by laying it down that *I will, thou shalt*, is not a future at all; that the true future is 'shall' in the first person, and 'will' in the second and third, and that whenever this is departed from, these words cease to be properly auxiliaries, and resume their own specific meaning of obligation or volition, as the case may be. But this seems inconsistent with the former position, that 'shall' is to be used as a pure future auxiliary, whenever there are any terms in the sentence which exclude the idea of compulsion, or, as he expresses it, 'serve as a loop-hole to avoid discourtesy.'

In truth, we begin to apprehend that it is not a very grateful task to examine this subject, because most of those people who experience no difficulty in the practice, conclude that there is no intricacy about the theory; while those who are conscious of difficulty and uncertainty, are anxious to lay hold of some easy general maxim applicable to all cases, and are disposed to be impatient of complicated rules and nice distinctions. We shall deem ourselves happy, if we succeed in throwing around the subject such a degree of interest, as to compensate the reader for the amount of attention which it certainly demands.

All the languages belonging to the Romance family are possessed of terminational inflexions to indicate future time, while those of the Teutonic stock are destitute of this provision, and mark the future by auxiliaries. Doubtless those which we call 'auxiliaries' were originally verbs having a distinct and independent signification; but it is historically clear that in passing into auxiliaries they modified or lost a part of their meaning. This is easily perceived in the words 'have' and 'had,' which absolutely convey the idea of possession, but as auxiliaries only denote past time. Grimm reckons thirteen verbs in Gothic, most of which at a very early period underwent this process of casting off their special sense and acquiring an auxiliary character. 'Shall' is obviously from the Gothic

*skalan*, to owe (= *debere*) through the Anglo-Saxon *scealan*; and there occurs in Chaucer's *Court of Love* a remarkable and perhaps unique example of its use as an independent verb: 'By the faith, I shall to God.' 'Will' (Saxon *willan*, Gothic *wilyan*) was at no distant period in good use as a principal verb signifying volition: 'He can walk if he *wills* it.'\* The difficulties and delicacies about the uses of these verbs arise from the fact that in their auxiliary capacity they retain their primitive sense in some circumstances and not in others. Hence there are in English two distinct futures, the one strong, the other weak; the one announcing the future in connexion with the assertion of a certain power over it, the other in the tone of pure prediction.

If the speaker would express his determination in connexion with the future, he uses 'will' in the first person, and 'shall' in the second and third. Thus he says,—

|                     |                      |
|---------------------|----------------------|
| 'I <i>will</i> ,    | We <i>will</i> ,     |
| Thou <i>shalt</i> , | You <i>shall</i> ,   |
| He <i>shall</i> ,   | They <i>shall</i> .' |

The corresponding interrogative forms are, '*Will* thou? *shall* I? *shall* he?' &c.

The reason on which this proceeds is obvious. A man determines to perform an action: 'I *will* pursue; I *will* overtake; I *will* divide the spoil;' and the announcement of that determination becomes equivalent to the declaration of a future fact. The same holds good if he proclaims his will or determination concerning another, when he has power to enforce that will: 'Thou *shalt* surely die.' Hence *will* in the first person, and *shall* in the second and third, constitute logically, if not historically, the earliest form of a future tense. The two auxiliaries retaining their original meaning of volition and obligation respectively, the speaker proclaims resolution for himself and compulsion for others; or he inquires what determination the person addressed has formed for himself, and what destiny or obligation he has in view for those who are in his power. It cannot be said of these forms that they do not constitute, properly speaking, a future tense, and that *shall* and *will* in these cases are not auxiliaries, but independent verbs of compulsion and volition. They express time in combination with those ideas, and, notwithstanding this combination, must be translated into all the Romance languages by employing the future forms; thus: *Je viendrai, tu viendras*. To express volition and obligation apart from future time, we

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\* Locke.

say, 'I wish to go,' 'Thou oughtest to go,' corresponding with, *Je veux venir, Tu dois venir.*

It is a somewhat different process when the human mind apprehends the future from a consideration of causes without itself; as did the youthful Bethlehemite, when, perceiving the inveterate jealousy of a powerful monarch, he exclaimed, 'I *shall* one day perish by the hand of Saul,' where 'shall' expresses mere future time. But recognising such a destiny as hanging over another, he could not use this auxiliary, because it was already appropriated to express the will of the speaker, and thence might arise confusion; such confusion as our translators have introduced into the passage, 'Behold, I send unto you prophets, and wise men, and scribes; and some of them ye *shall* kill and crucify.' Some other term was needed; and 'will,' being already in use as a future auxiliary, was gradually pressed into this service; being obliged, however, to lay aside its determinative meaning, and become merely a sign of the future. This is no more than what has happened to other words. For instance, the verb 'to go' conveys the idea of locomotion, and a man says he is going to market when he is in the act of travelling thither; but the same expression is used to signify futurity without locomotion, and we say we are going to do a thing simply to convey our intention of doing it. In this way 'will' came to be used in the second and third persons to signify futurity without volition, because 'shall' was understood to convey compulsion on the part of the speaker. Therefore we not only say, 'He *will* go to town,' without making it distinctly appear whether he has himself planned the arrangement; but we say, 'He *will* be drowned,' without the least danger of being understood to indicate his resolution to incur such an evil. Hence the weak or merely predictive future is,—

|                    |                    |
|--------------------|--------------------|
| I <i>shall</i> ,   | We <i>shall</i> ,  |
| Thou <i>wilt</i> , | You <i>will</i> ,  |
| He <i>will</i> ,   | They <i>will</i> , |

which so sorely puzzles foreigners. They understand one saying, 'I *shall* die,' foreseeing a destiny which he does not choose; but they do not comprehend why one says, 'You *will* die,' when the will does not go with the destiny, but against it. The only apology that can be made for this apparently anomalous use of 'will' is, that it was necessary to choose between the two auxiliaries; and to the English mind there appeared less awkwardness in leaving it uncertain whether the fact announced is a man's will or his fate, than in announcing his fate in terms which imply that it is our own will and appointment concerning

him. Whatever the reason may be, the well understood fact is, that 'will' does not necessarily convey any idea of volition, when used absolutely in the second and third persons. It is our idiomatic mode of expressing the future of another, when we would not at the same time assert any control over it.

We thus get at the general principle, that 'shall' never conveys the determination of its own nominative, and that 'will' is used for this purpose in all the persons, and also for mere prediction in the second and third. It is here to be remarked, however, that there is now in established use an elegant *litotes* resulting from the employment of the modest tone of prediction, even where intention is to be conveyed. A public speaker who says, 'I *shall* explain this as clearly as possible,' conveys a modest promise; a teacher who says: 'You *will* learn that lesson thoroughly,' gently hints a command. Still the principle holds good, that the other is the form for conveying the will of the speaker; it is used whenever a promise or resolution is to be conveyed with any emphasis, and the courtesy implied in the opposite form depends on the circumstance that it is an employment of the tone of mere prediction. On the other hand, the poets are privileged to use the strong future in cases where it would be inadmissible in prose.

'A few short years, and then these sounds *shall* hail  
The day again.'—*Rogers*.

'The sun himself *shall* die, and ancient night  
Again involve the desolate abyss;  
The stars *shall* fade away, the sun himself  
Grow dim with age, and nature sink in years;  
But thou *shalt* flourish in immortal youth.'—*Addison*.

The mode of interrogation in the weak future is by 'shall' in the first and second persons, and 'will' in the third: 'Shall I? Shalt thou? Will he?' the reason for using 'shall' in the second person being that 'will' is preoccupied with the strong future. 'Will you go?' conveys a request: therefore, 'Shall you go?' must be the form, if we would inquire concerning an arrangement already made. We are thus enabled to trace out the secret of the subtle instinct which guides the English mind. It regards the will of the speaker as in possession of the strong future in affirmations, and of the party addressed in interrogations; and therefore carefully avoids using any of its forms where mere prediction is either required by the sense or suggested by courtesy. There is at present a decided tendency to use the modest 'I shall' in cases where the intimation of a fixed resolution would seem to require 'I will,' as though 'I will'

conveyed consent to a request, and 'I shall' announced a determination framed without regard to the desire of the person addressed. 'I *will* go, since you request it:' 'I *shall* go, whether you like it or not.' The former sentence clearly requires 'will;' in the latter it may be termed optional, but 'shall' is rather more agreeable to present usage for intimating a disagreeable resolution politely. 'I will be at home at six to-morrow,' intimates an arrangement now made for the sake of the party addressed; 'I shall be at home,' announces one already made on other grounds.

The distinction between 'shall' and 'will' displays some intricacy in dependent sentences. When the second and third persons are represented as the subjects of their own opinions or expressions, 'shall' is weak, as in the first person. We thus put ourselves in the place of the individual referred to, and use the auxiliary that he would have employed, if speaking in his own name. 'He believes he *shall* die, and says he *will* make his will.' 'You say you *shall* lose, and resolve you *will* never play again.' 'Piso promises that he *will* go; believes that he *shall* go.' 'John hopes he *shall* be there, and that you and James *will* be absent.'

'Would' and 'should,' if not used as principal verbs, always appear in a dependent position, and are subject to the same rules as 'shall' and 'will.' Only it is to be noted, that as the idea of duty and obligation is in primary possession of 'should' even in the first person, it must not be used as a weak auxiliary when there is any danger of conveying the stronger meaning. 'I *should* have died but for that remedy,' is quite correct; 'I *should* have spoken, but I was afraid,' is ambiguous, and does not distinctly convey whether the 'should' is merely conditional, or intended to intimate a duty neglected. Dryden says, 'I *would* have called you Sappho, but that I hear you are handsomer.' 'I *should* be well contented I had time either to purge or see them' (his poems) 'fairly burned.' 'I *would* advise you not to trust too much to Virgil's *Pastorals*.' The following lines by Cowper afford a fine example of the use of 'should' and 'would':—

'*Would* I describe a preacher, such as Paul,  
Were he on earth, *would* hear, approve, and own,  
Paul *should* himself direct me. I *would* trace  
His master strokes, and draw from his design.  
I *would* express him simple, grave, sincere,' &c.

When the future is used hypothetically or contingently, it is more suitable to the genius of the English language to use a present form either of the indicative, subjunctive, or potential.

'Stay here till I come,'—not 'shall come.' 'In the day thou *eatest* thereof thou shalt surely die.' Sir Edmund Head has—we think, unwisely—discussed the point whether Burke used the proper auxiliaries in the following sentences: 'All nations will fly from so dangerous a connexion, lest they *should* become sharers of our ruin.' 'Whenever those who conjure up that spirit *will* choose to abide the consequences.' The truth is, neither of the auxiliaries distinguished by italics ought to have been employed, because a present form is generally admissible when other words in the sentence indicate that future time is intended. But it may be observed, that the use of a present form in such cases is comparatively modern; and likewise, that a future would be employed in French, Italian, Spanish, or Portuguese, which are furnished with a terminational inflexion to mark that tense. Modern high German has avoided all these difficulties, and has worked out the idea of a future with greater exactness than any of the other dialects that are destitute of terminational inflexions. It has reserved *wollen* to express the free exercise of will, and *sollen* to denote destiny, while *werden* (become) marks the abstract future. In low German, Flemish, and Dutch, *sollen* is quite established as an auxiliary. The Swedes and Danes also form their futures with *skall*, retaining occasionally, as in English, the idea of duty.

A brief glance through the successive ages of our literature suffices to show that this idiom has advanced to its present position by slow and very irregular steps; and that, with respect to some points at least, it is undeniably true, as the Edinburgh Reviewer affirms, that the English usage is comparatively recent.

We are told that the old Saxon *scealan* was used both to mark the pure future, and to express *oportet* or *decet*; while *willan* expressed volition as strongly as would be conveyed in French by using *vouloir* before an infinitive. In the margin of some semi-Saxon homilies preserved in the Bodleian Library, and supposed to have been written about A.D. 1150, there is a fragment on 'The Grave,' part of which runs thus:—

'Now I bring thee  
Where thou *shalt* be.  
Now I *shall* thee measure,  
And then earth afterwards.'

In the oldest remains of what may be termed English literature, there is a strong predominance of 'shall' to mark future time in all the persons; yet not without traces of the present usage. A charter of the reign of Henry III. (A.D. 1258)



runs thus :—‘This know ye well all, that we will and grant what our counsellors all, or the more part of them, that be chosen through us, and through the landfolk of our kingdom, have done and *shall* do, to the honour of God and our allegiance,’ &c. Early in the next century, we have an elegy on the death of Edward I. :—

‘ Now Kyng Edward liveth na more ;  
 Alas that he yet *shulde* deye !  
 He *wolde* ha rered up ful heyge  
 Our baners that bueth broht to grounde.’

And not long afterwards, the following from Mandeville :—  
 ‘ And therefore I *shall* tell you what the Soudan told me upon a day in his chamber.’—‘ And that know we well by our prophecies, that Christian men *shall* winnen this lond again out of our hands.’—‘ That is a great slander to our faith and our laws, when folk that ben withouten law *shall* reproven us.’

The constable of Dynevor Castle, imploring assistance against Owen Glyndwr, who was born in 1354, says :—‘ I prei zow that ze *nul* not bugil ous, that ze send to ous warning wyth yn schort time, whether *schull* we have eny help or no.’ Of the same century are Gower, Wycklyffe, and Chaucer. From Gower we select the following passages :—

‘ And said them for the kindship,  
 He *would* do them some grace again,  
 And bade that one of them *should* sain (say)  
 What thing is him levest (liefest) to crave,  
 And he it *shall* of gift have.’

‘ Florent, if I for thee so shape,  
 That thou through me thy death escape,  
 And take worship of thy deed,  
 What thing *shall* I have to my meed ?  
 “ What thing,” quod he, “ that thou *wilte* axe.”’

It has been suggested that a comma placed before ‘axe’ would render it an imperative, and ‘wilt’ would then be a principal verb, and not an auxiliary ; but we think the occurrence of ‘that’ forbids this construction, and that this is one of the few early examples of ‘will’ as an auxiliary apart from any strong expression of volition.

Wycklyffe’s translation of the Bible (A.D. 1380) exhibits the strongest preponderance of ‘shalls’ to be met with perhaps in any author. For instance, in the Psalms : ‘I shall extol Thee.’ ‘I shall magnify Thee.’ ‘Unto Thee shall I cry.’ And so in all the pious resolutions of the Psalmist. Likewise in the fol-

lowing passages: 'Fro this time I schal not eat it.' (Luke xxii. 16.) 'Either he schal hate the one,' &c. (Matt. vi. 24.) 'Days schuln come.' (Mat. ix. 15.) These are but specimens of numberless passages in which Wycklyffe uses *schal*, where Tyndale, and all subsequent translators, employ 'will.' Probably, the Reformer was influenced in this respect by strong opinions concerning the Divine predestination; and in this view it is interesting to remark that he translates Luke xx. 13, 'Paraventure thei volen drede my sone,' as though the 'per-adventure' opened the way for the 'will'; whereas, in the parallel passages in Matthew and Mark, he uses *schal* to translate the same word, probably regarding it not as prediction, but command.

Although Chaucer uses 'shall' more than we do, there are yet numerous examples of his distinct recognition of the functions of 'will.' 'If thou be rich, thou shalt find a great number of friends and fellows, and therefore *wol* I show you how ye shulen behave you in gathering of your riches, and in what manner ye shulen usen 'em.'—'He that hasteth himself too busily to wax rich shall be non inuocent.'\*

'And eke it is not likely all thy life

To stonden in hire grace no more shal I.'—*Knight's Tale*, 1173.

'In swiche a gise as I you tellen shall.'—*Ibid.*, 1210.

—————'For the flood wol passe anon,

And thou *wolt* sain haile Maister Nicholay.'—*Miller's Tale*, 3577.

'I hope he *wol* be ded.'—*Knight's Tale*, 4027.

'Our corn is stolen, men *wol* us fonnes call.'

'Ne never more he shall his lady see.'

'I *wol* be ded, or elles thou shalt die;

Thou shalt not love my lady Emelie,

But I *wol* love hire, and no mo.'—*Ibid.*, 1589.

In the fifteenth century we mark the same general use of 'shall,' under all circumstances, as the sign of the future, as in the following official document of Edward VI., bearing date 1462: 'Forasmoche as we by divers means bene credibly enformed, and undarstand for certayne, that owr sayde outward enemyes in greate nombar *shall*, in all haste to them possible, enter into this owr realme of England.'† In a testament of the same age we read,—

'Hence must I nedes, but whother *shalle* I goo?

I dowte my demeryttys which weyen on every side.

But Goddys mercy *shall* I truste to be my guyde.'

\* *Tale of Melibeus*.

† *Ellis's Letters*, vol. i., p. 127.

Yet, in the following extract from some *Directions for Writing in Cipher*, *will* is permitted its legitimate functions: 'Item, when ij consonants comen togider, which *will* not be sowned, ther shal be set betwene hem, or next afore or after as hit *wil* falle, this silable ex, the which *shal* stand for nought save for the sownyng of the word. Item, whenever this word *the* comith, ye *shal* sette afore this lettre R, which *wil* make rthe.'

In the next century, we find the celebrated Latimer saying, 'Men *shall* never shoot well except they be brought up to it.' 'These poor unlearned shepherds *shall* condemn many a stout and great learned clerk.' And Lord Berners, in his translation of 'Froissart:.' 'Slay these rascals, for they *shall* let and trouble us without reason.' But on the other hand: 'Understand that the kyng here of his pytie and gentylnesse *wyll* show to his enemyes all the grace he maye.' Lord Dacre, informing Henry VIII. of Queen Margaret's delivery of a daughter, says, 'And for somiche as the quene lieth as yet in childe bedde, and *shall* kepe her chambre these thre wookes at the leiste.' In the prayer-books of 1552 and 1559, the exhortation to be delivered, when the people are negligent to come to the holy communion, concludes thus: 'These things if ye do earnestly consider, ye *shall* by God's grace return to a better mind,' &c. The learned and judicious Hooker seems utterly uncertain respecting this idiom. The following passage occurs in his celebrated treatise: 'Mark, I beseech you, what *would* follow. God, in delivering Scripture to His church, *should* cleane have abrogated among them the law of nature. Admit this, and what *shall* the Scripture be but a snare and a torment to weak consciences? To find out some sentence clearly and infallibly setting before our eyes what we ought to do, *would* trouble us more than we are aware. Admit this, and it *shall* not be with masters as it was with him in the Gospel; but servants, being commanded to go, *shall* stand still.' Camden, writing upon language about the same period, uses 'shall' and 'will' as we do, to express the weak future: 'Hitherto *will* our sparkfull youth laugh at their great-grandfathers' English, who had more care to do well than to speak minion-like; and left more glory to us by their exploiting great actes, than we *shall* by our forging new words and uncouth phrases.'

The English language was, no doubt, undergoing considerable change about this time; and we judge from the Bible of Tyn-dale and Coverdale, (1534,) as well as from other remains, that 'will' had been making progress as an auxiliary, and was at least pretty constantly used with all the persons where the will of the nominative was obviously connected with the action fore-

told. Therefore, we have, 'I *will* praise Thee;' 'I *will* bless the Lord at all times;' 'I *will* smite the shepherd;' 'I *will* go before you into Galilee;' 'They *will* receive my son;' instead of the all-prevailing 'shall' of Wickliffe's translation. So in the secular literature of that age:—

'Many a man *wylle* go bare,  
And take moche kark and care,  
And hard he *wyll* fare,  
Alle the days of hys lyfe.

'And after comyth a knave,  
The worst of a thrave,  
And alle he shalle have,  
For weddyng of hys wyffe.'

We know not the author of the above; but in Spenser we have,—

'Then I thy sovereign praises loud *will* sing,  
That all the woods shall answer, and their echo ring.  
Then *would* ye wonder, and her praises sing.'

But as yet there are few instances of 'will' taking the place of 'shall' to form a weak future in the second and third persons: that is, being used where volition is not obviously connected with futurity. We find this advance in Shakspeare and his contemporaries, however, and may quote from him almost at random.

'These deeds must not be thought  
After this wise; so, it *will* make us mad.'—*Macbeth*.

'Glamis hath murdered sleep. And therefore Cawdor  
Shall sleep no more; Macbeth shall sleep no more.'—*Ibid*.

'*Will* all great Neptune's ocean wash this blood  
Clean from my hand? No; this my hand *will* rather  
The multitudinous seas incarnadine,  
Making the green one red.'—*Ibid*.

Moreover, from the following passage it may fairly be inferred that 'will' had pretty fully taken the place of 'shall' as a weak future, and that 'shall' was well understood to indicate compulsion:—

SICINIUS.—'It is a mind  
That *shall* remain a poison where it is,  
Not poison any farther.'

COR.—'Shall remain!  
Hear you this Triton of the minnows? Mark you  
His absolute *shall*?'—*Coriolanus*.

Far different is in this respect the language of our authorized version of the Scriptures, transmitted from the beginning of the

seventeenth century. The translators employ 'shall' almost constantly in the second and third persons, whatever the sense. The reader need not be reminded of such passages as, 'They *shall* deliver you up to be afflicted, and *shall* kill you; and ye *shall* be hated,' &c. 'Before the cock crow, thou *shalt* deny me thrice.' They occur in almost every page; and, considering that the contrary usage is found in all the eminent writers of the same period, it is difficult to attribute the constant use of the tone of compulsion to anything but extreme doctrinal views. We remark, moreover, that the translators betray an acquaintance with the functions of 'will,' though so rarely using it. 'There is hope of a tree, if it be cut down, that it *will* sprout again.' (Job xiv.) 'Ye *will* surely say unto me this proverb.' At the same time it must be admitted that it might have been a very delicate task, in many cases, to decide whether a Greek future should be translated as the language of mere prediction, or of sovereign power. In that passage, for instance, 'I will be their God, and they shall be My people,' over which we recollect that a certain minister of extreme views in the neighbourhood of London used to rant after this manner: 'I *will* and they *shall*, and because I *will* they *shall*. O that blessed *shall*!'

Waiving any theological discussions for those that are strictly philological, we remark that if our translators decided on the use of 'shall' with a view to indicate a determinative prediction, they ought always to have rendered commands in the direct imperative: 'Do not kill;' 'Do not steal;' which would have prevented the awkwardness which arises from our finding, 'Thou *shalt* not kill,' in one chapter, and, 'Some of them ye *shall* kill,' in another.

It is an interesting fact that though 'will' was in general use as a merely predictive auxiliary in the age to which we refer, it seems not yet to have been deemed suitable to indicate a future which must necessarily have been against the will of the nominative. For instance, in the passage quoted from Job above, it is said the tree *will* sprout again; but in the immediate connexion, when the fate of the human race is contrasted with that of the vegetable, it is thus: 'They *shall* not awake nor be raised out of their sleep.'

By about the middle of the seventeenth century, however, when Dr. Wallis announced the rule above referred to, it seems to have been universally understood that 'will' was to be used for mere prediction in the second and third persons, however the predicted fact might be contrary to the wish of the party; and that 'shall' was to be regarded as expressing the determination of the speaker, whether in the way of threat, command, or

promise, when used with reference to another. This was the last step towards establishing the idiom as it now exists.

Dr. Jamieson, in the preface to his Scottish Dictionary, has laboured with some success to prove that Lowland Scotch is not, properly speaking, a corruption of English; that it never was derived through the Anglo-Saxon, but was formed independently and in common with it from the Gothic, a branch of that race having obtained a settlement in the northern part of the Island long before the immigration of the Saxons. Now it is found that there are Teutones using 'will,' at least in the first person, as a mere sign of the future; and if we were but to suppose the original settlers in Scotland to have had this peculiarity, it would be easily accounted for, that it is so deeply rooted in the national phraseology, and that Scotchmen, though ever so conversant with English society and literature, seldom entirely overcome it. But unfortunately for this theory, it happens that the earlier Scotch literature is in this, as in most other respects, much like the English, 'shall' being the most usual sign of the future. An interesting example, the earliest we have at hand, is from Barbour, a poet belonging to the middle of the fourteenth century:—

'He thought that he *should* weel lichtly  
Win him, and have him at his will.'  
'I'll tell you a thing sickerly,\*  
That you men will all win or die,  
For doubt of deid † they *sall* not flee.'

Blind Harry in the fifteenth century sings:—

'Thou *shall* have leave to fish and tak thee mae; ‡  
All this forsooth *shall* in our flitting gae.'  
'Uncle, he said, I will no longer bide.'  
'He is richt neer, we *shall* have him but § fail.'  
'You leed all out: you have been with Wallace;  
I *shall* you know or you come off this place.'

Dunbar flourished in Scotland at the court of James IV., about the end of the fifteenth century. Sir Walter Scott says, 'As a poet he was unrivalled by any that Scotland ever produced.' The following couplet exhibits the idiom as then prevalent in England:—

'What tidings heard you there, I pray you?  
The tother answerit, I *sall* say you.'

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\* 'Certainly.'

‡ *Mae*, 'more.'

† *Doubt of deid*, 'dread of death.'

§ *But*, 'without.'

To be brief upon this point: we have not detected in any of the earlier literature of Scotland that vicious tendency to the use of 'will' which prevails among the lower classes, and which a superior education seldom entirely corrects. Witness Dr. Chalmers: 'To devote as much time and attention to other subjects, as I *will* be under the necessity of doing next winter.' And again, in a much loftier passage: 'Compel me to retire, and I shall be fallen indeed; I *would* feel myself blighted in the eyes of all my acquaintance; I *would* never more lift up my face in society; I *would* bury myself in the oblivion of shame and solitude; I *would* be overpowered by the feelings of my own disgrace; the torments of self-reflection would pursue me.' In like manner the late Hugh Miller tells of a countryman who remarked 'that if the conflagration went on as it was doing, we *would* have as our next season's employment the old town of Edinburgh to rebuild.' Mr. Masson, likewise a Scotchman, now occupying the chair of English Language and Literature in University College, London, has the following in one of his public addresses: 'I could count up and name at this moment some four or five men to whose personal influence, experienced as a student, I owe more than to any books, and of whom while life lasts I *will* always think with gratitude.' An Englishman would certainly have used the merely predictive *shall*.

In the Scotch Ballad of Sir Patrick Pens, the King asks,—

'O where *will* I get me a skeilly skipper  
To sail this ship of mine?'

And not to pass over Robert Burns:—

'Gin ye'll go there, you runkl'd pair,  
We *will* get famous laughing.'

'I doubt na, sir, but then *we'll* find  
Ye're still as great a stirk.'

Yet Burns understood the use of 'shall':—

'But lapfu's large o' gospel kail  
*Shall* fill thy crib in plenty.'

'But if the lover's raptured hour  
*Shall* ever be your lot.'

Sir Edmund Head remarks that whatever may be said on the vexed question of the authorship of the *Vestiges of Creation*, he has no doubt that the author was a Scotchman from the following passage: 'I do not expect that any word of praise which this work may elicit *shall* ever be responded to by me; or that any word of censure *shall* ever be parried or deprecated.' [In

a note he adds, that he has since heard Mr. Robert Chambers of Edinburgh named as the author. We have good reasons, however, for saying, that Mr. Chambers is not the author of the work in question, the theory of which is, probably, far beyond the reach and compass of his mind. The writer, who pertinaciously hides himself behind the willing Mr. Chambers, is indeed a Scotchman ; but the fact cannot be inferred from this awkward use of 'shall,' because it is not a Scotticism. It is one of those blunders to which Scotch, Irish, and Americans are alike liable, whenever they force themselves to depart from their accustomed idiom, in order to write, as they suppose, finer English. We could multiply examples of a similar nature, but one may suffice. Boswell represents Johnson as having said with reference to the fate of Hackman, who murdered Miss Ray, 'I hope he *shall* find mercy.' We are quite sure Johnson said no such thing ; but Boswell, being a Scotchman, aware of his native tendency to the too frequent use of *will*, yet perplexed as to the proper occasions of foregoing it, stumbled in this instance on 'shall' in the wrong place.

The Irish tendency to use 'shall' for 'will' may be in a great measure accidental, and attributable to mere uncertainty and ignorance. It by no means appears as an inveterate and universal idiom, as 'will' does in Scotland. The educated classes seldom trip, except in the north, where they are influenced by their Scotch extraction. Yet we find Burke frequently at fault, as in the following : 'The noble lord in the blue riband *shall* tell you that restraints in trade are futile and useless.'

The Americans, like the Irish, appear to be uncertain in this matter, rather than occupied with any strong national tendency, which is easily accounted for by the fact of their having emigrated from different parts of the United Kingdom. Yet we are told the usage is settled and familiar in the northern States. The following may be mentioned as an interesting illustration of this :—At Massachusetts in 1844, Abner Rogers was tried for the murder of Charles Lincoln, warden of the state penitentiary. The man who had been sent to search the prisoner said in evidence :—'He (Rogers) said, "I have fixed the warden and I'll have a rope round my neck ;" on the strength of what he said, I took his suspenders from him.' In cross-examination the witness said his words were, 'I will have a rope,' not, 'I shall have a rope ;'—'I am sure the word was *will*, not *shall*.' The counsel against the prisoner argued, that it showed an intention of suicide, to escape from the penalty of the law, which he knew he had incurred. The defence consisted in a plea of insanity



on which ground the prisoner was actually acquitted. The inference, either way, was, perhaps, not worth much; but the case seems to prove the distinction to have been so well understood, that 'I will' was held to intimate an intention of self-destruction, and that 'shall' would have been considered as betraying his consciousness of having incurred a felon's doom. Strange that the fate of an alleged murderer should turn on the construction of one little word, the commonest of its class! It is clear that the interchange of 'shall' and 'will' is not always a matter of indifference, and we may, therefore, be pardoned for a serious attempt to reconcile and adjust their respective claims.

Having dwelt so fully on one point, we can do little more than briefly advert to a few others, which seem to require elucidation. More closely allied to the subject of 'shall and will,' than might appear at first sight, is that of the respective uses of the subjunctive and the indicative mood. Our earlier grammarians laid it down that 'some conjunctions require the indicative, and some the subjunctive, mood after them;' and, whether in obedience to them, or from some more remote cause which we have not penetrated, Scotch writers almost invariably use the subjunctive with the conjunctions *if*, *lest*, *although*, and *whether*, whatever the sense may be. Subsequent grammarians have with much more accuracy decided, that when a matter is contingent and future, the subjunctive is required; but the indicative, if the thing is in itself certain, whatever the dubiety of the speaker concerning it. This would fall in with Mr. Latham's view, that the form, 'If I be,' &c., is an ellipsis for the future, 'If I *shall* be;' and it might be added, that it came into general use just about the time that 'will' was superseding 'shall' as a pure future in the second and third persons. That is, when 'He shall die' came to be recognised as the language of compulsion, and 'He will die' was used instead as the tone of prediction, we also laid aside 'If he shall die,' and adopted 'If he die.' It may fairly be doubted, however, whether what our grammarians call a subjunctive is an ellipsis of the future. The past tense, 'If I were,' seems fatal to this supposition. Mr. Latham, in common with some others, tells us that this *were* belonged originally to another verb, and that in fact our verb '*to be*' is made up of parts of three old verbs once quite distinct. We think this rather strengthens our position than otherwise; and we would argue from it that the necessity for a subjunctive mood to express what was merely contingent and hypothetical was so urgently felt that special terms from another verb were retained to serve the purpose. Be this as it may, the fact is that we have the forms, 'If I be,' 'If I were,'

distinct from, 'If I am,' 'If I was,' and that their obvious design is to express something that is not and was not, but that may happen contingently, or may be supposed hypothetically. But our best writers are far from adhering uniformly to this or any other principle. Hence the following :—

'His own theory, if indeed he *have* one, is not easy to get at.'—*Athenæum*.

'If he *find* his collection too small for a volume, he may yet have enough to furnish out an essay.'—*Johnson*.

'If any of us *are* condemned to the cruel punishment of surviving our country.'—*Sir James Mackintosh*.

Then as to adverbs. One of the most common and beautiful idioms of our language is that which connects adjectives with verbs in certain cases; yet some, misled by Latin rules, and conceiving that every word used to qualify a verb ought to be an adverb, object to the usage. 'He cut his way gallantly through, and came off safe,' says Macaulay; but they would have it 'safely.' The true principle seems to be, that when the qualifying word does not apply so much to the verb as to its nominative, the adjective may be used. In the above instance the safety refers not so much to the warrior's mode of coming off, as to his condition in consequence. In many cases the distinction is so subtle as almost to defy rules. Hazlitt says, 'His genius burned brightest at the last;' and we can scarcely quarrel with those who would prefer 'most brightly' here, because the brightness does not seem to refer more directly to the character of his genius than to the manner in which it burned. In such sentences as the following, nothing but an adjective could have been used; and by such the principle is fully established, that our idiom allows us to qualify a noun by an adjective, through a verb.

'Magnesia feels smooth.'—*Kirwan*.

'Nay, look not big.'—*Shakspeare*.

'Leave the lily pale, and tinge the violet blue.'—*Prior*.

'My friend made me welcome, but struck me quite dumb.'—*Goldsmith*.

On no point are our best writers and speakers more frequently at fault, than in the placing of adverbs, especially such as, *only, almost, generally, always, often*. Lindley Murray taught that they were to be placed 'for the most part before adjectives, after verbs active and neuter, and frequently between the auxiliary and the verb;' by which doubtless he meant that if an adverb qualifies an adjective, it is to precede it; if a simple verb, to follow it; and if a compound, to be placed between the auxiliary and the principal. This rule holds good, with a few exceptions, when no words have to be taken into con-

sideration, except the adjective or verb in question. But it very frequently happens that an adverb which as to grammatical construction qualifies a verb or adjective, has yet more immediate reference, in point of meaning, to the governed word which follows; in which case the adverb should be placed between the words to which it is thus related. We may say, 'A master mind was *sadly* wanting;' because the adverb has reference only to the verb *was wanting*, and takes its proper place between the auxiliary and the principal. (But Southey was wrong when he said, 'A master mind was equally wanting in the cabinet and in the field,' because *equally* refers more immediately to 'in the cabinet and in the field,' and, therefore, ought to have been placed immediately before these words. In the following sentences it is obvious that the adverb should occur in the place indicated by brackets:—

'Thales was *not only* famous [ ] for his knowledge of human nature, but for his moral wisdom.'—*Enfield's History of Philosophy*.

'The happy genius of Buchanan, *equally* formed to excel [ ] in prose and in verse.'—*Robertson*.

It is scarcely possible to read a column of the most spirited writing in the *Times* without finding the force of an adverb partly lost through being misplaced in these circumstances. Taking up at hap-hazard the number for the day on which we are writing, (May 31st,) we find in a leading article, 'They must know that they can *only* help to serve the public [ ] by joining one or other of the great sections into which the political world is divided.' Obviously the *only* should not have been placed between the auxiliary and the verb, but immediately before *by joining*. On the other hand, the rule, 'after verbs active and neuter,' cannot be maintained, if there are words following on which the adverb would thus bear improperly. 'They saw the moon distinctly,' is quite right; but, 'They saw her distinctly rise in the east,' makes the word *distinctly* refer awkwardly to the rising of the moon, and not to the seeing her. Errors of the latter kind are not so frequent as the former, yet they are to be found abundantly in the literature of our day, and probably our school grammars are chiefly to blame for both.

That 'a verb must agree with its nominative case in number and person,' is a recognised rule of universal grammar. Continental writers are never caught tripping like our own on this point. Hallam says, with some truth, that 'the English have ever been as indocile in acknowledging the rules of criticism, even those which determine the most ordinary questions of grammar, as the Italians and French have been voluntarily

obedient.' In public speaking especially, the nominative is often lost sight of, and the verb made to agree with any noun which from its position or other circumstances may happen to linger on the ear; and for our part we would rather have a solecism in every sentence, than a grammatical accuracy that grates; for instance, by the occurrence of an unexpectedly singular verb to agree with some distant nominative, when the idea on which the mind has fastened is plural. This may always be avoided by such a transposition as shall make the real nominative the leading idea in the mind, or such alteration as to make the nominative agree with the verb in the number that seems most natural. And it is, therefore, unpardonable to find the writings of Hallam, Alison, Macaulay, and Disraeli, to say nothing of Blair, Johnson, and Gibbon, teeming with errors of this sort.

'A few *hours* of mutual intercourse *dispels* the illusion which years of separation may have produced.'—*Alison*.

'At present trade is thought to be in a depressed state, if *less* than a million of tons *are* produced in a year.'—*Macaulay*.

'Less' certainly requires a singular verb, which, however, would sound intolerable here; but the substitution of *fewer* would have answered the purpose, or it might have been, 'Less is produced than a million tons.' And in the passage from Alison, 'The mutual intercourse of a few hours *dispels*.'

We intended, however, to advert only to points which grammar has not distinctly settled; and in reference to this primary rule, there are some with which pedantry is meddling to the abridgement of our freedom. For instance, there have been attempts, within the last few years, in some highly respectable periodicals, to introduce such locutions as, 'There are a church and chapel,' on the principle that two singular nominatives coupled by *and* require a verb in the plural. But in such a case as this, the grammatical construction is complete with the first nominative, and the ear has been offended by the plural verb before the second nominative is announced to account for it. It is otherwise when the sense is suspended, as it is by the use of an auxiliary: 'Where have the church and chapel been built?' Here the mind is carried forward to *been built* as the completion of the verb, and the two nominatives have appeared in the mean time. The translators of our Bible use the singular in the cases to which we have adverted: 'Where *is* the King of Hamath and the King of Arphad?' &c. 'The first, wherein *was* the table, and the candlestick, and the shewbread,' &c. So also Byron:—

‘ Ah! then and there *was hurrying* to and fro,  
 And gathering *tears*, and *tremblings* of distress,  
 And *cheeks* all pale which but an hour ago  
 • Blush’d at the praise of their own loveliness.’

Who could endure to read *were* for *was* in the first line? Yet we have vainly searched page after page in what are reckoned our standard authors for passages to serve as authority. Evidently, though apprehending the awkwardness of a plural, they were afraid to venture on the singular, and chose other modes of expression; so that we scarcely ever find this form used before two singular nouns. Their fears were groundless. It is quite justifiable to suppose that an ellipsis is used, and that the full expression in the above case is, ‘There is a church, and there is a chapel.’

Collective nouns supply another set of examples of unascertained rules and unsettled practice. It is well understood that in the case of such words as *committee*, *meeting*, *parliament*, &c., the verb should be singular if the statement refers to the whole body, but plural if what is asserted applies rather to the individuals; but there are cases which are not reached by this principle, and our best authors are not at one either with themselves or with each other. The following sentences are no doubt correct: ‘A number of cottagers *are* enabled to keep cows.’\* ‘The number of the poor *is* of course greatest.’† ‘A body of soldiers *were* actively engaged.’ ‘No tribe *appears* more savage.’ ‘A knot of young men *were* landing.’ The principle appears to be, that when the collective word is not the leading idea, but is employed as a kind of indefinite numeral before the noun, the plural is used as it would have been if a definite number had been employed; so that we say, ‘A *set* of men *were* working,’ as we should if it had been ‘a score.’

We shall advert only to one other point. Within the last thirty years we have been induced to adopt one of the most vicious and un-English locutions that ever encumbered our language. At first it was heard only in conversation, and was recognised as an ugly Americanism; but now even good writers inform the public that such a thing is or was ‘being done;’ a church is *being built*, for instance. It has not been run through all the tenses yet; but of course it is quite as legitimate and indeed necessary to say that such a church *will be being built* during the ensuing year, and that another *has been being built* during the last twelve months, and yet another *may have been being built* for two years, for aught we know. On the same

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\* Sir J. Sinclair.

† Southey.

principle, our house agents put up bills of 'House to be let;' and ere long we presume the streets will no longer resound with 'Knives to grind,' or, 'Umbrellas to mend;' for some one with a little learning will teach these useful itinerants to cry, 'Knives to be ground,' and, 'Umbrellas to be mended.' With respect to the English participle in *-ing*, it were easy to show that its functions are by no means so circumscribed as those called the active present in Latin, and the corresponding ones in the modern languages of Southern Europe, and that it cannot be made subject to the same rules. But we prefer taking broader ground. Most, if not all, of the modern languages of Europe are destitute of terminational inflexions to indicate the passive voice; they form a perfect passive by joining the verb *to be* with a perfect participle; but the imperfect, that is the expression of unfinished time, whether present, past, or future, is expressed by the active form. Most continental nations use it reflectively in this case, but the English do not. The cook tells us that the beef is roasting nicely; the draper, that this calico will wash without yielding the colour; the carpenter, that a certain wood works easily; and the newsmonger, that wheat sells freely at so much a quarter, while the French would say that it 'sells itself' at so much; and so of the rest. The verb *werden* gives the Germans considerable help in this matter; but still, in common with some of the other Teutonic nations, they freely employ the active form reflectively. The principle granted, as we think it must be, unless we are to give up the above locutions, that the idiom of our language admits the use of an active form of the verb to express with respect to an inanimate object the action which it receives, there is at once an end put to the necessity for framing an imperfect passive in the awkward manner to which we have adverted. With respect to living agents, where an ambiguity might arise from using the active form, there was a term in good use till it was superseded by this Americanism; and a man said he was *getting* dressed, if his valet was performing the office for him, rather than that he was dressing, which conveyed that he was doing it himself. The advantage of *to get* over *to be* consists chiefly in avoiding the very un-English juxtaposition of one part of the neuter verb as auxiliary to another.

We are not for trammelling our English with rules derived from languages formed on widely different principles; but we are for having the principles of our own language well ascertained, and then strictly adhered to, that solecism on the one hand, and pedantry on the other, may be alike avoided. Doubtless the perfection of writing is attained when there is unblamable accuracy with the appearance of perfect ease.

- ART IV.—1. *The Typology of Scripture : viewed in Connexion with the entire Scheme of the Divine Dispensations.* By PATRICK FAIRBAIRN, D.D., Professor of Divinity, Free Church College, Glasgow. Third Edition. 1857.
2. *The Patriarchs, as setting forth and setting forward the Things of the Sermon on the Mount.* By THOMAS WORSLEY, M.A., F.G.S., Master of Downing College, Cambridge. London. 1849.
3. *The Law of the Offerings in Leviticus i.—vii., considered as the appointed Figure of the various Aspects of the Offering of the Body of Jesus Christ.* By ANDREW JUKES. Third Edition. 1857.
4. *The Types of Genesis, briefly considered as revealing the Development of human Nature in the World within, and without, and in the Dispensations.* By ANDREW JUKES. 1858.

THE remark of Bacon has been often repeated, that ‘all history is prophecy.’ Long before the days of the English philosopher the same observation had been made, in substance, by an eastern Prince, who said, ‘The thing that hath been, it is that which shall be ; and that which is done, is that which shall be done.’ The capabilities and the passions of men remaining the same, old historic scenes re-appear on new fields and with new names, and the events of a thousand years ago are reproduced, with new accessories, to-day.

It might, therefore, be considered probable, *à priori*, that many of the scenes and events of the Old Testament would correspond, more or less closely, with those of a later date. It were not unreasonable to expect that the fratricide of Cain, or the envy of Joseph’s brethren, or the long persecution and subsequent exaltation of David, should find their counterparts in following ages. But this admission is very far from accounting for the phenomena presented to us by the types of Scripture. For the events typified, being altogether of a supernatural character, could have nothing analogous to them in the ordinary course of human affairs. The whole of the world’s history, as the inspired writings lead us to understand it, is ‘as it were a wheel in the middle of a wheel.’ Within the great outer circle, there is a smaller, though a gradually widening, circle of special interposition and grace, in which, from Adam to the incarnation of Christ, and from the incarnation to the restitution of all things, we trace the operation of a growing remedial power,—grace abounding much more than sin had abounded. The true faith is based on great seminal facts, facts altogether supernatural; and especially on the great fact that God was mani-

ested in the flesh. Of this, no foreshadows could be expected in the ordinary course of events. No monarchy set up by merely human prowess and wisdom could image forth that kingdom which was not to be of this world. No rites or ordinances of man's invention could represent that pure and perfect truth which was to be revealed in Christ. If these things were foreshadowed at all, the type, equally with the antitype, must be provided by a Divine arrangement. And it is in perfect agreement with what we know of the ways of God, who so frames the course of organic nature that it gives forth ceaseless representations of higher truth, that He should have so ordered precedent events, as to afford some intimation of the better things which He had in store.

So it has been. The Gospel was a reality, though but imperfectly revealed, before the appearance of Christ. The day-star had heralded the morning. The advent of the Prince of Life was rendered more illustrious by the magnificent preparation of ages. And as the modern astronomer muses with undecaying interest upon those glimmers which his early predecessors saw before the discovery of gravitation had illumined the whole horizon of science; so, and for yet higher reasons, may the theologian meditate with a peculiar interest upon those indications which were beheld by the Church of old, of the approach of Him who was to be the Light of the world. Nor ought such contemplations to be indulged in by theologians only. The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews administers a sharp reproof to the churches of his day for their dulness in not comprehending better the typical character of Melchisedec; 'thus placing it beyond a doubt,' as Dr. Fairbairn justly remarks, 'that it is both the duty and privilege of the Church, with that measure of the Spirit's grace which it is the part even of private Christians to possess, to search into the types of ancient Scripture, and come to a correct understanding of them.' \*

Many things in the Old Testament possess, undoubtedly, a symbolical character. According to the Rabbins, the numbers three, four, seven, and ten, are especially to be so accounted. When there are symbolic figures, as the cherubim, which, coeval with the expulsion from paradise, vanish only with the disappearance of inspiration. Many events in the lives of the prophets were symbolical; of which Isaiah and Jonah furnish familiar examples. Again, underneath the whole history of the bondage and deliverance of the Israelites, their pilgrimage in the wilderness, their conquest and possession of Canaan, there

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\* Vol. i., p. 39.



lies a symbolic sense, which is recognised in various parts of the New Testament. That their ordinances of worship, their sacrifices and offerings, were symbolical of the better things to come, is expressly declared. In the Book of Psalms, the inspired minstrel, as he pours forth his complaints, or recites his dangers and struggles and victories, or exults in the astonishment of his adversaries and the establishment of his throne, speaks again and again in a higher sense than could attach to his own person. And beyond all this, many Christians, both ancient and modern, have imagined that the whole of the Old Testament history, if not its lyrical and didactic portions also, possesses a mystic sense; that its narratives are, indeed, objectively true; but that this outward sense is far inferior in value to that inward and mystical meaning, for which, accordingly, every believer should laboriously seek.

Of this difficult, yet fascinating, subject, the symbology of Scripture, it is only one section which our limits will allow us to examine. Certain events, rites, and institutions, of which we have the record in the Old Testament, have been so arranged and ordered as to foreshadow things connected with the Messiah and His kingdom. The resemblance is designed, not accidental. Not only may an analogy be discovered, but an analogy was intended. These events were brought about, these institutions were established, with the particular design of exhibiting such analogy, of exciting and nourishing expectation in the olden Church concerning the kingdom of Christ, and of exhibiting to the Church of the latter days the wisdom and the faithfulness of Jehovah.

The types of the Old Testament, then, are often identical with its histories, yet they possess a character which does not belong to history as such. It has been well observed by Cecil, that the narratives of Scripture are often 'stated to us as cases in which God discovers His mind concerning this or that man, this or that thing.' But some of these actions and events are invested with a yet higher significance. They were so ordered as to bear a preconcerted relation to higher things under the Gospel. It was so from the beginning. Adam, as the head and representative of mankind, and as lord of the visible creation, which was put under his feet, is 'the figure' (τύπος, 'type') 'of Him that was to come.' In these typical arrangements, the faithful in early times might discern some intimation of the better things to come; as when Abraham saw the day of Christ, and was glad: while to ourselves the wonderful analogy appears still more clearly, and our comprehension of the grand Divine scheme is greatly aided by the study of those dim and sketchy outlines of it which its Designer drew of old.

The relation between type and prophecy is equally near with that which exists between type and history. For every type is more or less a prophecy. Still, every prophecy is not a type. The one is a prediction in words, the other is a prediction by actions, or by symbolical persons or ordinances. The one foretells, the other images or pre-figures, coming realities. Many of the prophecies have no other significance than that which is connected with their fulfilment; the types have always a significance or a moral import of their own, besides their allusive meaning. On the other hand, prophecy has the advantage over type in directness and precision. These historical pre-figurations, therefore, although they possess much of the nature of prophecy, are yet sufficiently distinct from it to require a separate name; which accordingly they have, not only in theological language, but in the New Testament itself. Yet there are many instances in which type and prophecy, like the hues of the rainbow, insensibly melt into each other; and it is from this cause that one chief difficulty in framing a satisfactory definition of type arises.)

But the most fruitful source of mystery and confusion remains to be mentioned. It lies in a total disregard of the difference between correspondences preconcerted by Divine wisdom, and resemblances suggested by human ingenuity. No one who understands the wants of a popular assembly will set lightly by the faculty of illustrating New Testament doctrine from Old Testament story, or of illustrating and enforcing the duties of daily life from that exhaustless treasury of incident and instruction. But it is necessary to keep in view the difference between analogies which are divinely appointed, and those which may suggest themselves to our fallible understandings. It is sometimes difficult, no doubt, to draw the line with precision, and to distinguish between a real type and a happy illustration; but many able and pious divines appear scarcely conscious that any difference exists between these. We remember, some years ago, hearing a noted preacher of the strictest Calvinist school expound Peter's vision upon the housetop at Joppa. The vision, he said, had a twofold signification, one for Peter, and one for ourselves. To Peter it symbolized the calling of the Gentiles; which the preacher explained according to the narrative in Acts x. But to us it symbolized the Church in the heart of Christ; which symbol he unfolded in a fourfold way. First, the sheet was let down from heaven with all the creatures in it; so the elect are in the heart of Christ from eternity. Secondly, the sheet contained creatures of all kinds, great and small, tame and fierce, two-footed, four-footed, and many-footed, clean and un-

clean ; so with the Church chosen by God, who does not give to man an account of His ways. Thirdly, all who were in the sheet at the beginning remained therein to the end ; none of the walking things walked out, none of the flying things flew out, none of the creeping things crept out : so it was impossible for any of the chosen to be finally separated from Christ. Lastly, the sheet was drawn up into heaven just as it came down ; as none who were originally in could possibly get out, so none who were originally out could possibly get in. The evil was, that all this dexterous spiritualizing of his own was placed side by side with the inspired account, the Divine reason of the vision ; ascribing to both interpretations of it equal authority, without pointing out, or even appearing to perceive, that the one was of God, and the other of man.

In the early Church, this fanciful method of interpreting Scripture was often carried to an absurd length. We need not swell the present article with quotations of this class, which might be readily produced to any extent from the ponderous tomes of the Fathers. Anxious to discover in every part of Scripture a hidden sense, they display the greatest ingenuity in spiritualizing every part of it, the Pentateuch especially. Although in tracing out such lines of resemblance we may indulge in a pleasing exercise of fancy, we can never deduce from them a revelation of God's mind and will ; and unless the most assiduous care be taken to distinguish between the word itself, and such ingenious allegorizings upon it, Holy Writ is liable to become imperceptibly lowered in men's estimation, until it and the curious conceits of such writers upon it are regarded as of about equal authority.

No such result as this was intended, especially by the better part of the patristic writers. They continually uphold Scripture, and appeal to it as authoritative. Thus we find Jerome avowing (in Psalm lxxxvi.) that ' no man, be he ever so holy or eloquent, hath any authority after the apostles : ' and Augustine says,\* ' Hear not this, "Donatus saith, Rogatus saith, Vincentius saith, Hilary saith, Ambrose saith, Augustine saith," but hearken unto this, "The Lord saith." ' Still there is too much room for the censure of Luther, (on Gal. iv. 26,) who calls their interpretations ' trifling and foolish fables, with which the Scriptures are rent into so many and divers senses, that silly poor consciences could receive no certain doctrine of anything.' And we have sometimes thought that their excessive love of spiritualizing each inspired narrative, even to its minutest particulars ; their

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\* Epist. xlviii.

habit of obscuring the plain historic details with a multitude of wild fancies ; and the way in which they often refer to the sacred text, as if it were merely the vehicle for their own more subtle conceptions ; did, in some degree, help to bring about that growing indifference to the inspired writings, which at length rendered it possible for the priesthood to deprive the people of them altogether.

With the revival of biblical studies consequent upon the Reformation, came, of course, an increased measure of attention to the types of Scripture ; and it may be sufficient to refer the inquirer who wishes to investigate the history of this branch of theology to the first chapter of Professor Fairbairn's book, in which he gives an interesting sketch of the history of opinion on this subject, estimating each writer candidly and carefully from his own point of view. Among the older English treatises intended more especially for popular use, that of Keach on *Scripture Metaphors* is now most generally known ; and, although a bulky volume, it has been lately republished ; showing that there is still a demand for those ingenious and fanciful expositious to which we have referred.

It is not only the republication of old works which evinces this demand. The Master of Downing College, Cambridge, has given to the world, in the volume mentioned at the head of this article, a work, which in learning and ability is worthy of his position, but which is, in many parts, a revival of the oddest vagaries of the Fathers. He conceives that Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, respectively, 'present to us the eternal triune object of worship,' Father, Son, and Holy Ghost ; that their marriages symbolize God's union with His Church and with each member of it ; that the offspring of these marriages, and more particularly the twelve sons of Jacob, symbolize the practical fruits and results of this spiritual union. He thinks that the twelve patriarchs typify, not merely as a collective body, but individually, the twelve apostles, and gives us the antitype of each ; thus Simeon prefigures Peter, Judah prefigures Andrew, and so on. In making out this scheme, the names of the persons mentioned are explained as furnishing a key to the allegorical interpretation. Thus Leah, whose name means 'wearisome and fatiguing labour,' was the symbol of 'services and works which are of little worth in themselves,—labours rather of a painful and reluctant duty, than of a free and joyful love.' 'She sets forth to us that fundamental repulsiveness or stubbornness of our nature, whose proper and ordained discipline is the daily task-work of duty, as done not to man, nor to self, but to God.' (Pp. 71, 113.) Afterwards Leah is identified with the ox, as the symbol of stubbornness

and wearisome labour; and so, 'with Leah, the ox symbolizes our task-work of duty, and our capacity for it;' and the sheep, (Rachel signifying *sheep*,) 'our labours of love; i.e., our real rest and capacity for it.' (Page 128.) This part of Mr. Worsley's volume is marked for special commendation by Mr. Jukes, as discovering 'much spiritual insight.'

Since the commencement of the present year, a new volume from the pen of Mr. Jukes, *Types in Genesis*, has appeared. His name is not new in connexion with these subjects. His work upon the Jewish offerings, in which he endeavours to show that the several offerings described in the first seven chapters of Leviticus are 'the appointed figure of the various aspects of the body of Jesus Christ,' has already passed into a third edition; and it might furnish us with apt illustration of the modern development of this school. The volume on Genesis, however, is more full and varied. It is the most elaborate and fascinating performance of its class which has come under our notice. It allures by its ingenuity, refreshes by its originality, and edifies by its picty. It contains passages worthy of our best divines; and it evinces an intimate and thoughtful acquaintance with human nature. Notwithstanding this, the author's system of interpretation is a castle in the clouds. He exalts the contemplative far above the active life; and his contemplations are mostly fanciful, and occasionally absurd. His general view is, that the entire book of Genesis has a threefold signification besides the literal, which, it is but just to say, he thoroughly believes in. It reveals first the development of human nature in the world within, then in the world without, then in the dispensations.

The seven days' creation, he thinks, are a type seminal of all things. The process of creation reveals the process of the Spirit's work in the elect, the progress of mankind generally, and the succession of the Divine dispensations. The great characters of Genesis are seven,—Adam, Abel, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph; and these seven, in their successive history, symbolize the perfect development of human nature, from the first stage of the old Adam to the full eternal victory of faith and love,—from a polluted and disordered, to a purified and regulated, world. In working out this scheme, which he does with immense ingenuity, he is obliged, by the necessity of his theory, to assume that the internal history of all spiritual men goes on in the same order; that there is in every such man first the Adam stage, then the Abel stage, then the Noah or regeneration stage, then the Abraham or faith stage, then the Isaac or sonship stage, then the Jacob or service stage, then the

Joseph or victory stage; and that each of these stages keeps its order as unvaryingly as the geological strata. All this, it need not be said, is so contrary to experience, that none but an enthusiast can take it for granted.

Like the Master of Downing College, Mr. Jukes attaches great importance to the meaning of names. Every name has some deep signification. All the genealogies, he doubts not, (page 92,) are treasures of celestial wisdom; though as yet he has not been able to decipher the spiritual import of every name. As a specimen of this allegorical interpretation, we may select his view of the river, branching into four heads, which watered the garden of Eden:—

‘In Eden the stream is one, but “from thence it is parted,” and becomes four distinct rivers. What is this but that stream of living waters, which, one and undivided for those who enter Paradise,—and without a name while it is there, for in its undivided flow the one stream is beyond all human description,—without the garden, is parted into four streams, giving its waters to the world as Pison, Gihon, Euphrates, and Hiddekel? For Divine truth, which is the living water to those who can see it as it is within the veil, is one full stream, in undivided flow; but to us on earth it ever comes by four distinct channels. It may be said in general, that there are four sources of truth, and but four, which are accessible to men, which are like rivers in the fertility they produce upon their banks, and in the glorious power they all possess of reflecting heaven: first, *intuition*, by which we get an acquaintance with moral or spiritual things, which are not objects of sense; second, *perception*, through the senses, by which we only get an acquaintance with material things and their properties; third, *testimony*, by which we learn what others have found out through perception or intuition; fourth, *reasoning* or reflection, a process of the understanding, by which we unfold what is contained or implied or suggested by the perceptions, intuitions, or testimony. If I err not, the first of these is Pison; the second is Gihon or Nile—since the fall, the stream of Egypt; the third is Hiddekel, that is, the Tigris; and the fourth river, or channel of truth, is the Euphrates.’—Pp. 49, 50.

In these fancies, he refines somewhat upon the view of Augustine and Ambrose, who connect the four rivers with the fourfold sense of Scripture, namely, its literal, inward, outward, and dispensational applications. Augustine also hints\* that the four rivers may signify the four Gospels. Mr. Jukes allots them thus, and adds another conjecture of his own:—

‘In this application, if I err not, John is plainly Pison, “where there is gold, and the gold of that land is good.” Luke, I think, is

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\* *De Civit. Dei*, lib. xiii., cap. 21.

Gihon; Mark, Hiddekel; and Matthew, Euphrates. In the Epistles also we can trace these four rivers: in Paul's arguments, Euphrates; in James's moralizing, Gihon; in Peter, Hiddekel; in John, Pison.—Page 51.

In the same way these rivers may be made to symbolize the four major prophets, or the four Hebrews at the court of Nebuchadnezzar, or the four faces of the cherubim, or the four winds whence the heavenly breath blew in Ezekiel's vision. May not Scripture, by such a mode of treatment, be made to mean anything? We know the result to which the revival of patristic studies has tended among Churchmen; ritualism and tractarianism have claimed the Fathers as theirs, and have held almost undisputed possession of their authority. It is natural that Calvinist divines, differing from these in doctrine, and for the most part in Church polity also, should have been led to study, perhaps more closely than before, the writings of the Fathers: we hope this is not a fair specimen of the result to be anticipated from the revival of such studies.

As another example, we may quote Mr. Jukes's explanation of the poplar and chesnut rods, with strips of their bark peeled off, which Jacob placed before Laban's cattle. For this exposition our author is indebted, in part, to Gregory the Great. The subject is curious enough in itself; certainly his explanation of it is not less so. Laban, it must be understood, symbolizes 'the outward man;' the flocks, 'the animal emotions within us;' Jacob, 'the spirit of service:—

'Those animal emotions, which hitherto have been altogether under the power of our outward man, [Laban.] by the Spirit's efforts [Jacob's plans] receive another hue, [the flocks become ringstraked and spotted,] and show in their very appearance the Spirit's handy-work. Animal emotions, of course, are animal to the end, but on them a great outward change has passed, so that even the old man must confess they do not look as they used to look. Jacob has changed their hue. This is done by setting rods of varied colours before their eyes. These "rods" are portions of the Word; and like that which, when stretched out over the sea, opened a path for Israel, these feeble rods effect great things; by them, as by "the rod out of the stem of Jesse," the weak are made strong. These, partly peeled, partly unpeeled,—peeled, that is, with the inward sense opened, so that what is covered and hidden within may be brought to light,—unpeeled, that is, in the letter alone, with the outward covering still untouched, as at first we always see the Word,—are set before the flocks, where the living streams are opened, that the offspring or fruit may take another hue.'—Pp. 332, 333.

It is one advantage of this style of interpretation, that logical

consistency need not be thought of; and nothing in these writers is more admirable than their ability not to see anything which makes against their theory. There is in them withal a delightful elasticity. We are told, for instance, that in Scripture women always in the spiritual sense signify affections. It is not always easy to carry this out rigidly, but what then? There is no difficulty whatever; for we are told that 'as our principles are ever what our affections are, women also represent certain truths.' (Page 328.) The astounding incorrectness of what is here assumed, and the amusing *non sequitur*, need not be pointed out. To us who have no spiritual insight, an affection of the soul, and an abstract truth, may seem to be very different things to be represented by one and the same symbol; but a connecting link is found, and all goes on smoothly.

One great objection to this method of handling God's word is that it is perfectly arbitrary; there is no recognised system or principle upon which to proceed. If A takes one view, B is equally entitled to take another, and so on to the end. Nothing can more surely weaken the intellect and obscure the natural perceptions of a people, nothing can more surely loosen the hold which the true doctrine may have had upon their minds, than to be doomed to listen perpetually to such teaching. At first it allures by its ingenuity; but after the stimulant comes the reaction, and the likely result is spiritual decrepitude or paralysis. If it be asked, what reason or authority can be given for such views of Holy Writ, the answer is at hand:—

'But is not all this mere imagination? What proof have we that there is anything but fancy to support all this? I am not careful to answer this: first, because I write for those who, though requiring help, fully believe that some such secrets are treasured here; and also because the spiritual sense is its own proof, as a key by opening a complicated lock sufficiently proves that it has been designed for it; a proof indeed which requires some capacity in the observer, and some exercise and intelligence in the things of God, but which will, I am assured, be increasingly satisfactory to those who will test it in the daily study and meditation of the word of God.'—Page xv.

That is, any sense which any good man thinks he can discover lying hid beneath the surface, is to be regarded as the true sense of the words. If the man thinks he has opened the lock, why, he *has* opened it. Other readers, indeed, may not be able to perceive that it has been opened; two different persons, each possessed of the 'spiritual sense,' may bring out diametrically opposite meanings from the same passage; yet each of them, his own spiritual sense being satisfied, needs no further assurance



that he has opened its true meaning. Thus truth becomes 'whatsoever a man troweth,' and the whole system of Scripture exposition is deprived of everything like a solid basis.

We must not, however, allow our dislike of this capricious style of exposition to drive us to the opposite extreme,—that of unduly disparaging the types and symbols of Scripture, or of neglecting them altogether. Such was the effect upon the cold and severe intellect of Spencer, who, in his great work, *De Legibus Hebræorum*, does not hesitate sneeringly to call typology 'a nose of wax,' which may be modelled to any shape at pleasure. Influenced by his views, and sheltered by his great name, many theologians of the seventeenth century avoid the whole subject. But were the endless allegories of the typologists the sole cause of this shyness? In justice to them, another cause must be mentioned. Whatever might be their errors, they kept the person and work of Christ continually in view; indeed, many of their mistakes arose from their determination to find Christ in every line of the Old Testament: whereas the tendency of too many of the leading divines of the period of which we now speak was rather to forget Him, and to discover the reasons of Christianity not so much in the pre-existing elements and characteristics of former dispensations, as in the general nature of things. This was one manifestation of that unevangelical, semi-pagan spirit which had produced such deplorable results in England previous to the great revival of the last century. For example, they explain the Mosaic services and sacrifices by supposing either that they were borrowed from the Egyptian idolatry, or partly accommodated to it, with the design of weaning the Israelites from it. Moses is with Spencer an improved Egyptian, and his system is a refinement upon the polity and customs of Egypt. Michaelis doubts this, but ascribes his laws to his wonderful worldly and political insight. Warburton, though he allows a typical meaning more fully than these, yet thinks that the primary design of these institutions was 'to preserve the doctrine of the unity by means of institutions partly in compliance to their Egyptian prejudices, and partly in opposition to those and the like institutions.'\* The language of Barrow, in his sermon on *The Imperfection of the Jewish Religion*, is absolutely contemptuous. He speaks of Jehovah as 'descending to the meanness of their capacities, feeding them with milk, alluring them with petty shows, scaring them with frightful appearances; so tempering His ordinances as might best serve to keep them in good order;' and adds, that 'such a variety of

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\* Quoted in Fairbairn, vol. ii., p. 202.

superficial formalities might well agree to childish and plebeian fancies; but to men of somewhat elevated minds and well-improved reason, men who had tasted and could relish rational entertainments, they must needs be insipid and disgusting.'

In such views we may trace partly a recoil from the excessive imaginativeness of the opposite school, and partly the spirit and tendency of the age, which was to deprive the doctrines of the Cross of their just pre-eminence. In our own day, also, there is a tendency, too widely spread, in the same direction. The concentric waves become less defined, the more distant they are from the spot where the stone struck the water; and it may be, that in some pulpits which are situated far from the central influences of modern heresy, its distant effects are perceptible, however slightly, in the infrequency with which the types of Christ and of His work are treated on. Or possibly this comparative silence may be occasioned by the felt need of some definite principle of interpretation, which shall avoid puerile comparisons on the one hand, and rationalistic exclusions on the other.

In studying the types of Scripture, the first point is to ascertain which they really are; how to distinguish between a divinely appointed type, and a mere resemblance or analogy between something in the Old Testament and something in the New; how to prove,—to use the words of Bishop Marsh,—‘that what is *alleged* as a type, was really *designed* as a type.’ Then, having ascertained this, it remains to inquire into the grounds of the analogy, to discover the true resemblance, to unfold the connexion between type and antitype. The first may be called the external, the second the internal, branch of the subject.

How then may we discriminate between a true type and an imaginary one? We must beware of presuming to know more of the Divine purposes than is distinctly revealed to us. It has been pointed out, that typical persons or things are such as have been raised up, or ordered, by the Almighty, *with the design*, on His part, of representing higher things to come. The mere fact, therefore, that resemblances exist, is not sufficient. ‘The only possible source of information on this subject,’ says Bishop Marsh, ‘is Scripture itself. The only possible means of knowing that two distant, though similar, historical facts were so connected in the general scheme of Divine Providence, that the one was designed to prefigure the other, is the authority of that book in which the scheme of Divine Providence is unfolded.’ It may not be altogether competent to us to deny that anything is typical which is not stated in Holy Writ to be so; our position is, that the authority of Scripture is the only sufficient evidence we can

possess. This authority may be either by the direct assertion of the inspired text, or by plain and obvious intimation.

In many instances we have the direct assertion of Scripture. Adam is 'the figure (type) of Him that was to come.' The preservation of Noah and his family in the ark shadowed forth, according to St. Peter, that salvation which is 'by the resurrection of Jesus Christ,' into whose name we are baptized. Melchisedec, king of righteousness and peace, priest of the Most High God, deriving his authority not from pedigree, not 'after the law of a carnal commandment,' but immediately from Jehovah, is 'made like unto the Son of God.' Isaac, the son of his parents' old age, who was born out of the usual course of nature, according to the promise of God, typifies the body of those who believe in Christ, and who are, 'as Isaac was, the children of promise;' (Gal. iv. 28;) being 'born, not according to the flesh, nor according to the will of man, but of God;' while Ishmael, who was born after the flesh, was rejected. Moses declared that the Lord God would raise unto Israel a prophet like unto Himself; for whom the Jewish people continued to wait, after the series of inspired Old Testament prophets had closed,\* and whom at length Peter declared to have arisen in the person of Jesus. The Israelitish people are again and again spoken of as typical of the Church under the Christian dispensation; and the principal incidents of their marvellous story are expressly declared to have been typical of things pertaining to Christ. Thus manna still falls in the wilderness of this world, bread from heaven is supplied to the Lord's chosen, and streams from the smitten rock still refresh them in their journeys; for Christ is the true bread of life, of which whosoever eateth shall live for ever; and if the fathers drank of the rock that followed them, 'that rock was Christ.' Their high priest typified 'the High Priest of our profession;' and the whole order of the tabernacle services, together with the tabernacle itself, made according to the pattern which Moses saw in the mount,—indeed, the whole order of the Jewish ritual worship, from the days of Moses to the days of the Messiah, was a perpetual type, which 'served unto the example and shadow of heavenly things.' Then, 'as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up.'

In all these instances, (some expositors would except the last mentioned,) we are taught by the express authority of inspiration, not merely that an analogy may be discovered, but that the relation between the former and the latter things was designed. Those who (as Adam Clarke and others) have doubted whether

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\* See 1 Maccabees iv. 46, and xiv. 41.

the brasen serpent was a divinely arranged type, have overlooked the force of the *must* (ὑποθῆναι δεῖ) which occupies so significant a place amongst the other words of the Lord. Besides these, there is another large class of examples: there are intimations or recognitions, more or less direct, of typical design, which, though they fall short of direct assertion, are yet sufficiently explicit, with the light of the above passages before us. Thus the blood of Abel is placed in relationship with the blood of sprinkling. The tree of life, from whose vicinity guilty Adam was driven, reappears in the visions of the beloved disciple, in the paradise of God, in the midst of the New Jerusalem, where also the mysterious cherubim are once more seen, and cause their voices to swell the chorus of the four-and-twenty elders, and of the myriads who are before the throne. 'David, My servant,' it is promised by Ezekiel, (xxxvii. 34,) 'shall again be king over Israel, and they shall all have one shepherd;' and Jeremiah, (xxx. 9,) foreseeing distant days of glory and liberty, announces, 'They shall serve the Lord their God, and David their king, whom I will raise up unto them.' These and many other intimations connect the royal psalmist typically with his Son and Lord. The incarceration of Jonah was a sign, which was fulfilled in the burial and resurrection of Jesus. And when the temple was rebuilt, Joshua the high priest and his fellows are set forth as 'men of sign,' (Zech. iii. 8,) representatives of the Branch, who should, in the fulness of time, be raised up from the stem of Jesse.

It is also plainly intimated that the land of Canaan itself bore a typical character; that it represented the inheritance which yet remains for the people of God. The promise thrice made to Abraham was, 'To thee and to thy seed will I give this land.' This promise was renewed in the same terms to Isaac, and again to Jacob. Yet they all died without having any abiding possession therein. But we learn from Heb. xi. 13-16, that they died expecting, nevertheless, that 'a country' would be given them, that the Divine promise would be fulfilled, if not in their literal occupation of the fields and vineyards, which lay between Jordan and the sea, yet in their possession of 'a better country,' which Canaan prefigured to them, no less than to ourselves. It might be urged, indeed, that as the people Israel possessed a typical character,—as their high priest, their ritual and offerings, their being selected through God's sovereign grace from the other nations of the earth, their deliverance from the bondage of Egypt, and their pilgrimage in the wilderness, were all prefigurations of things to come,—it is quite in accordance with analogy to suppose that the land which Jehovah had chosen for them

in preference to all other portions of the earth, should possess a similar character, and should stand as a type of the redeemed inheritance. But we are not left to mere inference of this kind. Not to dwell on the name by which Jehovah designates the land of Canaan, as 'My rest,' shadowing forth not obscurely a something higher and more spiritual than the country, as subdued and settled by Joshua and his successors; we find in the Epistle to the Hebrews a parallel drawn between that earthly rest, and the sabbatism which remains for the people of God,—a perpetual sabbatic rest which still 'remaineth,' which is still future, although in a certain sense 'we which have believed do,' in our present state, 'enter into rest.'

The holy city, equally with the land, and in some respects yet more vividly, is set forth as a type of things to come. The numerous passages, especially in the Psalms, in which Jerusalem is spoken of in a symbolical sense, belong rather to the department of prophecy. But in the New Testament, Paul contrasts the 'Jerusalem which now is,' with the 'Jerusalem which is above;' (and whether we interpret these and similar passages as referring to the future kingdom of glory, or to the Messianic theocracy now existing, does not affect our inquiry, for equally in either case is Jerusalem typical; )—while John describes the new, the holy Jerusalem, so as evidently to imply the typical character of the old. The whole structure and complexion of these passages show that Canaan and Jerusalem of old were not seized upon as happy illustrations merely. They prove that the old Canaan was designed to prefigure the new; just as it was with other parts of the Jewish system and history; for, as De Wette acknowledged in his old age, 'Christianity lay in Judaism as leaves and fruits do in the seed; though certainly it needed the Divine sun to bring them forth.'

Rapid as this sketch is, (and it would be easy to enlarge and expand it in every part,) it may perhaps sufficiently illustrate the method by which we must discover which of the events, persons, or ordinances mentioned in the Old Testament, are really typical; i.e., designed by God to prefigure other future things belonging to Christ and His kingdom. In adopting this method, with Marsh, Vanmildert, Horne, Richard Watson, and other writers, we find ourselves at issue with Professor Fairbairn, who thinks it too restrictive. He conceives that the typical field is vastly larger than the bare letter of Scripture appears to indicate; and that we must bring in analogy. He asks, If Sarah had a typical character, why not Rebekah? If Melchisedec, why not Joseph, Samson, Joshua? He says,—

'We deem it impossible for any one to avoid the conviction, that in

whatever respect these particular examples may have been adduced, it is simply *as examples* adapted to the occasion, and taken from a vast storehouse, where many more were to be found. They have 'so much at least the appearance of having been selected merely on account of their suitableness to the immediate end in view, that they cannot fairly be regarded otherwise than as specimens of the class they belong to. And if so, they should rather have the effect of prompting further inquiry than of repressing it ; since, instead of themselves comprehending and bounding the whole field of scriptural typology, they only exhibit ractically the principles on which others of a like description are to be considered and explained.'—Vol. i., p. 41.

And again :—

'It is possible, surely, that in this, as well as in other things, Scripture may unfold certain fundamental views or principles, of which it makes but a few individual applications, and for the rest leaves them in the hands of spiritually enlightened consciences. The more so, as this is one of the leading peculiarities of New Testament Scripture rather to develop great truths, than to dwell on minute and isolated facts.'—Vol. i., p. 43.

In another place he uses stronger language. The style of interpretation which prefers, on a subject so mysterious, to allow God's word to speak for itself, he designates as one which 'miserably dwarfs and cripples the relation which the preparatory portion bears to the ultimate in God's revelations.' Much, however, depends upon the amount of Scripture recognition which may be deemed sufficient. For ourselves, we might be satisfied with language less categorically explicit than the rigidity of Marsh or Vanmildert would require. Still, we cannot think it safe to pronounce a person, Samson for example, to be a type of Christ, when we find no hint of the kind in Scripture itself. There are, doubtless, some points of resemblance between the supernatural strength of Samson, his prodigious achievements, and the victories of the Son of God ; but this does not authorize us to say, that he was raised up to prefigure the Messiah conqueror. If one man pronounces Samson to be a type, then why may not another allege Shamgar, Gideon, or any other whose deeds were great in war ? And if these all are true types of a fighting and victorious Messiah, why may not Job and Jeremiah, and others, be types of a suffering Messiah, and so on until everything becomes typical ? If we once let slip our moorings, we cannot tell whither we may drift.

With regard to the enlargement of the typological field, for which our esteemed professor pleads, we have only space to say three things. First, it is nowhere stated or implied in Scripture that the field is so extremely extensive ; it appears more reason-

able, on the other hand, to suppose that some only of the persons and events there mentioned should have been raised up and ordered for the distinguished and peculiar service of setting forth Him that was to come. Secondly, the field, after all, is not so extremely circumscribed. There is one typical land, where most of the events recorded took place: and what other land can be imagined to have this honour? One typical people, whom God chose from amongst all nations of the earth, and whose records fill the historical books of the Old Testament: and what other people can be alleged? One typical ritual, to which allusion is being continually made: and which other, of the several systems of worship casually named, can for one instant be imagined to foreshadow the things of the Gospel? Then, with respect to individuals and particular events; several of the most eminent and remarkable are described to us as possessing, in addition to their historical character, a typical one. Thirdly, Dr. Fairbairn scarcely appears to have faith in his own views; for while he pleads so urgently for the admission to the rank of types, of persons or events not so set forth in Scripture, in his two excellent volumes he seldom treats of any thing or person as typical, which we ourselves, with our more cautious theory, would not admit to be so. There are exceptions, as Enoch; but they are few. His sound judgment has prevented him from running into extravagancies. Practically, we find him, upon the whole, an excellent guide; but in this part of his theory he lays down a principle of interpretation which, though it may not seriously mislead himself, may mislead others.

Undoubtedly, there is a prophetic and allusive element pervading the Old Testament, which the study of its pages only serves more and more to disclose. Indeed, more or less in all words uttered or recorded under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost there is a wonderful depth; which causes them to present, from which ever side they are viewed, new and inimitable hues of Divine wisdom. In this way, many portions of ancient Scripture may suggest Christ and His work, or heaven and its glory, to the devout reader. And even in regard to the method of explaining Scripture types and symbols, which we have been compelled to censure as overstrained and fanciful, we must not be so exclusive or so uncharitable, as to forget that in the mysterious fulness of Holy Writ the grander and the minuter meanings may harmoniously co-exist; as the earth turns continually upon its own axis, while it is still pursuing its revolution round the sun in its orbit.

Having erected our land-marks, and distinguished what

ought from what ought not to be included within our bounds, we are in a position to examine the field itself, to inquire into the true relation between type and antitype. In order to do this satisfactorily, we should have some good general principles to rest upon. In this the earlier writers on this branch of divinity were extremely deficient. Copious as they are, and sometimes a little magisterial withal, in their explanation of the meaning of particular types, they do not usually give any intelligible account of the principles of interpretation upon which they proceed. To this cause is partly to be ascribed (as Fairbairn justly remarks) the disrepute into which these studies fell, in proportion as the exact and critical study of Scripture came to be cultivated; and he further observes, that, although several works on Scripture symbology, especially that of Bähr, have appeared within the last twenty years, there is as yet no treatise in which the true principles of interpretation are thoroughly and satisfactorily elucidated. To supply this want is one object of his interesting and able work. For the information of those of our readers who may not have read it, we may subjoin his five canons of interpretation.

1. That nothing is to be regarded as typical of the good things under the Gospel, which is in itself of a forbidden and sinful nature. (This, it will be seen, though a necessary rule according to his method of distinguishing types, is according to our method superfluous; since whatever is revealed, as a type, must bear upon it the Divine image and superscription.) 2. That we must be guided by the light furnished by their realization in the Gospel, rather than by any knowledge we may suppose the ancient worshippers to have possessed. Yet, 3. That we must carefully study the truths or ideas exhibited in the types; considered merely as providential transactions, or as religious institutions. 4. That while a type can have but one radical meaning, yet the fundamental idea or principle exhibited in it may be often capable of more than one application; as in those types which have their realization first in Christ, and then in His people. 5. That due regard must be had to the essential difference between type and antitype.—Vol. i., pp. 137-167.

Following these foot-prints, we should be led on, for the most part, wisely and safely; but we prefer striking out a shorter track of our own, more suitable to our present limits. Let us, first, accompany the ancient worshippers, that we may inquire what amount of light, arising from typical transactions and ordinances, shone upon their path. This will better prepare us for the ampler interpretations of the New Testament.

The contemporaries of Adam could doubtless see that he stood to them in a representative and federal relation. His sin



had shut the gates of Paradise, not only against himself, but against them. It had brought upon them, no less than upon himself, the curse of toil, and the penalty of death; through his sin they suffered. But, together with the announcement of the doom, the oracle had promised that the serpent's head should be bruised by One of woman born; and it is not too much to suppose, that they may have understood the representative character of the promised Champion, so far as to expect that mankind, who had been involved in ruin by one man's fall, would through another man's work be restored. Nothing in the life of Adam, so far as we know, could enable them to foresee the *facts* connected with the manifestation of Christ in the flesh; nor, probably, had they any distinct conception of Adam's typical character; yet, the relation in which they stood to him, taken in connexion with the first promise, was sufficient to lead them to look for salvation through the work of a coming man, as they had been subjected to sorrow and death through the fall of the first man. They might have some comprehension of what was afterwards spoken by Paul, 'As in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive.' With some, this expectation might take the form of a hope of returning to Eden, and eating of the life-giving tree; with others, of restored peaceful communion with the Lord God; with others, of a resurrection from the dead: but in any case the blessing was to come through another man, whom God would provide, and who was to suffer in the encounter.

The views thus suggested to them would be confirmed and illustrated by the symbols set up after the fall. Although the flaming sword kept the way of the tree of life, the cherubim still occupied the garden. These, with their fourfold appearance, might possibly suggest to them some grand conceptions of Him by whom their forfeited paradise was to be regained, or of the qualities to be found in those who should, hereafter, actually occupy the spot which the cherubim now held ideally. The rite of sacrifice confessed the sinfulness of sin, and told, however indistinctly at first, that the great God might be approached; a cheering truth, which the institution of the day of rest revealed more distinctly still. And thus, not only was provision made for the expression of penitence, but a foundation was laid for a hope of restoration, through a man hereafter to come. In such faith Abel offered up his 'more excellent sacrifice,' and obtained witness that he was righteous; and the same light which he possessed was available for others, till the days of the Deluge.

The preservation of Noah's family in the ark would not add anything to the doctrinal knowledge already possessed; but it

would more fearfully display God's hatred against sin, and the certainty that His word would be accomplished; while it would show, also, that there was no other way of escape from destruction than that which He provided; and that His power and mercy were boundless to all whose way was right before Him. We do not see that the rainbow can be made a type of Christ. The purpose for which it was set in the cloud, is distinctly stated in Genesis; and it is a purpose worthy of a sign so beautiful. But, might not pious men among the descendants of Noah, or at least may not we, look through the outward terrestrial promise to a higher spiritual one? The answer is, Very possibly they might, and certainly we may; yet this does not exalt the rainbow into a type of Christ. For not the rainbow only, but every rain-drop as it falls, and every blade of grass which is refreshed by the descending blessing, displays the power and faithfulness of the Almighty, and may serve as a starting-point whence the soul may rise to yet higher and more spiritual contemplations: but an exact and careful science requires that we should recognise the distinction between those meditations of redemption which almost every appearance in nature may suggest, and the divinely appointed prefigurations of it.

The Old Testament references to Melchizedek are peculiarly interesting, inasmuch as they so clearly show that the Church of the Old Testament saw in him a type of the Messiah. In him David (Psalm cx.) saw a type of One who was to be not only, as he himself was, a King ruling in the midst of his enemies, but also a Priest for ever. He rose to the distinct perception that 'there ariseth after the similitude of Melchizedek another Priest.' We cannot doubt that in His name, 'King of righteousness,'—in his throne, Salem or Sion,—in his acts, offering up on behalf of Abraham an intercessory prayer, pronouncing on Abraham a blessing, and presenting, so to speak, Abraham's offering of thanksgiving and adoration to the Most High,—and in his superior greatness, as testified by tithes of all being presented to him,—David saw, in type, the things of Him for whom the faithful were waiting with longing expectation. David also saw, and taught the Church, that the then-existing priesthood was not to be perpetual, inasmuch as the Royal Priest who was to endure for ever, was to be of another order than that of Aaron. He himself was a king, and had subdued his enemies; but he was not a priest,—he could not offer atonement for the people. He could, indeed, by his errors bring sufferings upon them; but he could not reconcile them to God. The Lord's people needed some one who was more than a king to appear before them at God's right hand.

But his Lord, for whom he waited, was to be one who could not only conquer, but bless; could not only 'strike through kings in the day of His wrath,' but make atonement and procure blessing for a sinful people. All this was revealed long before the coming of Christ; and with unqualified confidence does David speak, in the Psalm now under review. As Luther says, 'He clings to it with such a firm faith, what he does not see he apprehends with such power of mind, it is so sure to him, that he speaks of it as if he saw it already fulfilled before his eyes.'

'It may well fill us with deep shame,' (we quote a weighty sentence of Hengstenberg,) 'when we see how believers under the Old Testament prepared for themselves, out of what the Lord had already done, ladders on which they rose freshly and joyfully to comprehensive hopes;—(we are too much inclined to despise small beginnings;)—how David simply brought all his doubts to God, and how he, who was sent entirely alone to this word of God, laid hold of it with triumphant joy and immovable firmness,—while the "Thou art a priest for ever" has been verified to us for eighteen hundred years.'

There were those of old who saw that the land of Canaan was a type of greater things to come. Abraham had the nations of the whole earth in his eye, as indeed the promise warranted him, that in his seed, not only the land which God would give him for an inheritance, but all nations of the earth should be blessed. The occupation of Canaan by his posterity, so far from being the complete fulfilment of the promise made to Abraham, was but the pledge or earnest of the fulfilment of the more important and essential part of it,—the promise of the Seed; and accordingly when the Seed appeared, the sons of Abraham according to the flesh ceased to hold the lands of Judah, the earnest being no longer needed now that the promise had been fulfilled. It is now the sons of Abraham according to the spirit, whom God hath raised up of the stones, who await the occupation and felicity of the whole earth under the reign of their triumphant Lord. David saw that the kingdom was to extend far beyond the narrow frontiers of Israel; he 'was not content with this dominion of a corner; it served only to give a new impetus to his world-wide expectations.' In Isaiah we have the clearest indications that the Canaan that then was, was viewed by him and by the waiting Church (few though they might be) as a 'figure for the time then present' of the universal dominion of the Messiah.

Who, then, were to be the inheritors of this kingdom and the partakers of its blessedness? On this question the types were not altogether silent. Spiritual men of old might understand the les-

sons which were taught by the birth and election of Isaac, and the rejection of Ishmael ; and by the choice of Jacob, and rejection of Esau. Not that the decrees which have reference to these have any immediate bearing upon their personal salvation, as many have mistakenly imagined. The true view which was typically set before the Jewish people was that 'the children of the promise are counted for the seed,' and that it was to such children of promise that God would show His wonders. This they ought to have understood, though in fact the majority of them clung with the greatest tenacity to their own carnal view of the subject. Who can read the first chapter of Isaiah, and countless other passages in the prophets of a similar tenor, without perceiving that they were continually admonished, that it was not natural birth merely, but a spiritual change, a washed heart, which would give them a title to the blessings of the covenant ?

Onward from the time of the expulsion from Paradise, expectation was directed to another man, another and higher Adam. Onward from the time of Abraham, expectation was directed towards another Melchizedek, who should be ordained a priest for ever. Onward from the days of Moses, expectation was directed, still directed to the coming of a Man ; another 'prophet, like unto Moses,' understanding the word 'prophet' here in its widest sense, as teacher, lawgiver, ruler, leader, judge. Onward from the time of David, expectation was directed to another and greater David, who, having subdued all His enemies, should rule in Sion, triumphant for evermore. These progressive types directed attention to the person of the Redeemer ; while Canaan shadowed forth the glory and beauty of His inheritance ; and the calling of Isaac and of Jacob, with the rejection of Ishmael and of Esau, taught with sufficient clearness, that the inheritance of the blessing should not be by the title of an outward carnal generation, but of God's holy and sovereign choice. In accordance with these leading features of interpretation, the whole of the historical types may be explained. Some of them, as the manna, and the water from the smitten rock, would probably be understood, in their spiritual sense, by but few. We now turn to survey the position of the ancient worshippers in regard to the sacrificial typology.

Here we are at once informed, that 'the way into the holiest of all was not yet made manifest, while as the first tabernacle was yet standing.' (Heb. ix. 8.) The religion of the Old Covenant must not be looked at too exclusively in a typical aspect. It had another and more direct bearing. We are not to measure the religious knowledge of the ancient worshippers by the amount

of light which shone upon them from things typical. They had the law and the prophets ; God gave them His Commandments and Sabbaths, His statutes, and judgments, and promises, besides that inward light, which, until darkened by long and wilful wickedness, shines more or less in the bosom of every man. Therefore, if we should be led to the conclusion, that the services of the Levitical ritual conveyed to them no clear ideas respecting the Redeemer, or respecting the great Sacrifice which was to be offered up 'in the end of the world,' it will not follow that we are to regard them as being altogether in darkness. In these respects, as Dr. Fairbairn justly observes, 'the views even of the better part of the Old Testament worshippers must have been comparatively dim, and their acceptance as worshippers did not depend upon the clearness of their discernment in regard to the person and kingdom of Christ.' (Vol. i., p. 147.) The law of the Decalogue was plain enough to them, whatever the law of ceremonies and ordinances might be. And one principal end of the outward ceremonial institutions was to keep alive acquaintance with the law.

'The outward came into existence merely for the sake of the religious and moral elements contained in it, for the spiritual lessons it conveyed, or the sentiments of godly fear and brotherly love it was fitted to awaken. And that such ordinances should not only exist, but also be spread out into a vast multiplicity of forms, was a matter of necessity ; as the dispensation then set up admitted so very sparingly of direct instruction, and was comparatively straitened in its supplies of inward grace. Imperfect as those outward ordinances were,—so imperfect that they were at last done away as unprofitable,—the members of the Old Covenant were still chiefly dependent upon them for having the character of the Divine law exhibited to their minds, and its demands kept fresh upon the conscience. It was therefore fit, that they should not only pervade, but should even be carried beyond the strictly religious territory, and should embrace all the more important relations of life, that the Israelite might thus find something in what he ordinarily saw and did, in the very food he ate and the garments he wore, to remind him of the law of his God, and stimulate him to the cultivation of that righteousness which it was his paramount duty to cherish and exemplify.'—*Fairbairn*, vol. ii., p. 171.

Thus the sacrifices and offerings re-echoed the lessons of the moral law, and confirmed its testimony. They thus declared their own imperfection ; for even to the devout worshipper of old 'the law made nothing perfect.' They helped to produce conviction of sin, and multiplied, by reason of the perversity of men's hearts, the occasions of offence. They thus tended to

produce, in the more spiritual men, a longing desire for atonement and reconciliation. Of atonement and reconciliation they plainly spoke, revealed it as possible, and thus nourished hope in God's mercy. We agree with Fairbairn and others, that there is no sufficient reason to think that the ancient worshippers could attain, by means of these symbolic services, to any conception of the outward facts of Christ's appearance, and sufferings, and death. The acceptable sacrifice was that of 'a broken and contrite heart;' the chief inward preparation of the worshipper was a keen sense of guilt, and of his need of atonement. Then, when he approached the curtained tabernacle, or the gorgeous temple, with his prescribed offerings,—when he beheld the priest in his sacerdotal robes, when he made confession and prayer beside the slaughtered victim, when he thought of God's great promises of a Deliverer and a Redeemer,—we cannot doubt that often his soul was replenished with that conscious blessedness which is the portion of the man whose transgression is forgiven, and his sin covered, and to whom the Lord will not impute sin. Heaven bestowed its tranquillizing comfort upon the sincere penitent, although he might have but a dim apprehension of that arrangement of wisdom and mercy which was shadowed forth in his symbolic offering.

But we must tear ourselves away from these scenes of olden time, and turn to contemplate our own position. We are enabled to 'look to the end of that which is abolished;' to survey type and prophecy in the light of their fulfilment. Now that the building is complete, we can better comprehend the design of the Divine Architect; and can admire His wisdom, and read His thoughts, in some of those preparatory processes which to our less instructed forefathers may have appeared meaningless, or mysterious.

In seeking to explain typical transactions, we ought first to look, not at the supposed antitype, but at the type itself. The opposite course has led to many errors. For example, the stone on which Jacob reposed his head at Bethel has been taken for a type of Christ, as the foundation stone of His Church; and this being taken for granted, it is easy enough to find resemblances in the firmness of the stone, the durability of the stone, the calm repose of Jacob who laid his head upon it, the vision of celestial things which he had while he was lying upon it, the ministration of angels to the heirs of salvation, and the straight way from Christ the foundation up to heaven. There is, no doubt, a kind of outward similarity; but there is nothing more. The stone on which the patriarch laid his head was not in any sense a foundation, requiring stability; it was merely made use of for

slumber, and it was only resorted to as a necessity,—a misfortune rather than a privilege.

Nor must we make too much of resemblances which are merely external and superficial. Abel is regarded, by Witsius and many succeeding writers, as a type of Christ in his character as the Shepherd of Israel.

‘A superficial likeness, we admit; but what is to be found of real unity and agreement? What light does the one throw upon the other? What expectation beforehand could the earlier beget of the later, or what confirmation does it supply? Christ certainly died as the spiritual Shepherd of souls, but Abel was not murdered on account of having been a keeper of sheep; nor had his death any necessary connexion with his having followed such an employment. For what purpose, then, press points of resemblance so utterly disconnected, and dignify them with the name of typical prefigurations,—resemblances incapable of affording any insight into the mind and purposes of God? But when, on the contrary, we look into the past records of God’s providence, and find there, in the dealings of His hand and the institutions of His worship, *a coincidence of principle and economical design with what appears in the dispensation of the Gospel*, we cannot but feel that we have something of real weight and importance for the mind to rest upon.’—*Fairbairn*, vol. i., p. 85.

Having discovered such a ‘coincidence of principle’ in any given symbolic act or ordinance, our exposition is only weakened and diluted by the introduction of superficial and unessential analogies. Thus in the account of the brasen serpent, we have the leading points of a malignant and fatal evil, a remedy appointed in the Divine compassion expressly to meet the case, certainly efficacious, publicly and authoritatively made known, and available wherever the poison had reached; while the perishing people were required not to labour, offer, or pay, but simply to look, in order to live. But what a catalogue of other resemblances has been prepared! The metal alone is held to typify Christ in at least four ways. Brass is solid,—His almighty strength; brass is cheap,—His outward meanness; brass is less lustrous than many other metals,—the dim lustre of His human nature; brass is sonorous,—His Gospel is to be proclaimed with a trumpet voice! How *can* men who write and preach thus, do so with any thoroughness of conviction that they are unfolding the mind of God?

If the type be first carefully studied, in itself, and in connexion with surrounding circumstances, and if the New Testament exposition of it be considered, (inspiration gives no countenance to trifling and multiplied analogies,) we have then a firm foundation to rest upon, unity of design, and

authority. This unity of design, however, must be understood with one important exception. All the historical types have a moral teaching and import distinct from the typical. This moral meaning was as obvious to the Old Testament believers as it is to ourselves. Some of the symbolic actions of the prophets, indeed, are wholly destitute of meaning, considered by themselves; as Ezekiel's lying first on his left and then on his right side, or as Agabus binding himself with Paul's girdle. But the symbolic transactions of God's providence invariably possess a meaning of their own, independent of their reference to things to come. The moral teaching we are usually left to gather from the record of the transaction, just as in the case of any other inspired narrative. Thus from the histories of Abel, of Noah, of Melchizedek, we may collect varied instruction, independently of their typical meaning. In this way the story of Joseph discloses the ways of God to man, in a manner which cannot fail to remind us of His dealings with His Only-begotten One; so much so, that Joseph is often viewed as a type of Christ, though in Scripture he is not spoken of as such. There may be many points of resemblance where there is no appointed prefiguration; and if we confound the revealed types with such as are merely inferred to be types by ourselves, we not only part company with an infallible guide, but we surrender, at least to a great extent, the argument with which this wonderful providential system furnishes us in defence of the faith.

In illustration of the moral meaning as distinct from the typical, we may select the account of the manna which fell in the wilderness. It was, in the outward aspect, a miraculous provision for the bodily wants of the Israelites, when supplies in the ordinary way could not be had; and as such, it was so ordered and supplied as to convey much excellent instruction. The people had to rise betimes, that they might learn industry; to gather it with their own hands,—to teach them that as they could not do God's work, so God would not do theirs; the smallness of its particles exercised their patience; its breeding worms after the first day suggested the folly of heaping up possessions which cannot be profitably used; the double portion which fell on the sixth day testified that God intended man to labour no more than six days in the week, and that if he would but concur in his Maker's plan, six days' labour would yield him seven days' food, and seven days' labour would do no more; while the miraculous nature of the supply manifested God's paternal goodness, showed His kindness even to the unthankful, and taught a lesson of absolute yet cheerful dependence upon Him. All this must have been as evident to the Israelites as it



is to ourselves. Even in this lower sense the manna was, as St. Paul calls it, 'spiritual meat;' not that eating of it directly nourished their souls, as some have foolishly imagined, yet it was bestowed in such a way as must have led to edifying contemplations. But it is, in a higher sense, 'spiritual meat,' inasmuch as it has an ordained connexion with the spiritual mysteries of Christ's kingdom. For us, lessons of the highest import, hidden in this wonderful story, are unfolded by the Lord Himself. In the typical sense, we have, looking at it generally, a redeemed people marching through a wilderness to their promised inheritance, a wilderness which yielded no food; and accordingly, not from natural sources, but immediately from the hand of God, they receive that provision without which they must die. Then, coming more to particular analogies, we see that, like Christ who is the true bread of life, the manna was given when no other help could be found;—it was the peculiar gift of God, for which the people were altogether dependent upon Him;—it fell nightly with the dew;—it was equally for all who would go and gather it, not the exclusive privilege of a few; it was plentiful enough for all;—it fell near to them, round about the camp;—they could not hoard up a stock, but must seek it afresh on each succeeding day, and the greatest equally with the humblest was dependent on the heaven-sent and daily bounty. Such analogies appear to be naturally suggested by the history; but that the roundness of the manna signified Christ's eternal duration, its whiteness His innocence, or its sweet taste the spiritual delights which flow from Him,—these and similar comparisons we would consign to the chamber of forgetfulness. In a similar manner we may distinguish the moral from the typical meaning of the water from the smitten rock, the slaying of the paschal lamb, and other types.

Then as to the sacrificial and ritual types. We have already hinted at some of the religious lessons which these were calculated to impart to the ancient Jews; while respecting the insight into God's scheme of redemption by Jesus Christ, which they may have afforded, we have expressed ourselves cautiously, yet not with absolute incredulity. For symbols, as Müller has observed, 'are co-eval with the human race; they result from the union of the soul and the body in man; nature has implanted the feeling for them in the human heart.' And 'an earlier race of mankind, who lived still more in sensible impressions than ourselves, must have had a still stronger feeling of them.' Even we ourselves, however, are by no means wholly independent of the symbolical, even in the most spiritual and least ritual parts of our external worship. Why do we use

different postures in singing, in hearing, and in prayer? The language, too, with which we clothe our most spiritual ideas, is necessarily symbolical; it is borrowed from objects with which we are familiar in the world around us, and we unconsciously transfer the outward and visible to the spiritual and invisible; so that the difference between ourselves and the ancient worshippers is not so total as might be imagined.

The examples which have been just cited are among the more easy and obvious parts of the subject. It is when we come to view the Mosaic ritual, with its complicated ceremonies and appointments, that we feel how unsatisfactory are all slight analogies; and how much of patient thought is required, to enable us to grasp the hidden meaning of those 'figures for the time then present.'

The central object, the leading symbol, is the tabernacle itself, for which the temple was afterwards substituted. That it really bore a symbolical meaning is evident from Heb. viii. 2: 'The true tabernacle, which the Lord pitched, and not man.' There is, therefore, some divinely fixed tabernacle, which that in the wilderness represented. Looking first at the type, we see that the tabernacle was God's habitation and chosen dwelling; that there He manifested His glory; that there atonement was made for sin; that it was, literally, 'the tent of meeting,' the place where Jehovah met with His people, communed with them, and where the longing soul was to 'find Him, and approach even unto His seat;' it was from between the cherubims that God shone forth. Now what manifestation of God at all answers to this, except the manifestation of Him in the incarnate Christ? And this is precisely what the New Testament reveals. Not to lay undue stress upon the force of ἐσκήνωσεν in John i. 14, 'The Word was made flesh, and dwelt (tabernacled) among us;' we have the true interpretation conveyed by the Lord Himself, in the memorable words, 'Destroy this *temple*, and in three days I will raise it up again.'

Thus the tabernacle (and afterwards the temple) where Jehovah dwelt, where the Shekinah was, represented the body, the flesh of Christ, 'in whom dwelleth the fulness of the God-head *σωματικῶς*,' in a bodily receptacle or habitation. His flesh, though born of woman, was made fit for the inhabitation of the Divinity by the operation of the Holy Spirit; a body was prepared for Him, as the pattern of the tabernacle was prepared above. In the flesh thus prepared was God manifested; and the body of Christ holds such pre-eminence over all other flesh, as did the tabernacle over all the other tents of Israel; so that those who saw Him could say, 'We beheld His glory, as of the

Only-begotten of the Father ;' and He himself could say, 'He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father.' The indwelling of God with His people, their maintenance of a holy fellowship with Him, was now first visibly realized when the Word became flesh. In the words, 'Destroy this temple,' Christ intimated that His body had now become what the temple had hitherto been, that the idea symbolized in the temple was now actually embodied in His person, in which the Godhead had really and properly taken up its dwelling. Type and antitype stood there side by side; the outward temple had served its purpose, and was now among the things which were ready to vanish away.

But why did He, whose throne is in heaven, 'make in Salem His tabernacle, and His dwelling-place in Zion?' It was that He might meet with His people, and that they might meet with Him; not as amidst the unendurable terrors of Mount Sinai, but in a place where He might 'commune with them from the mercy-seat.' 'There,' said Jehovah, again and again, 'I will meet with thee.' (Exod. xxv. 22; xxix. 42; xxx. 6, 36; Num. xvii. 4.) So the inhabitation of God in the man Christ Jesus was not for Himself, not for His own glory, but only as the medium of intercourse and communion between God and His Church. In the beautiful words of Alford, the Church 'is veritably His body; not that which in our glorified humanity He personally bears, but that in which He, as the Christ of God, is manifested and glorified. He is its Head; from Him comes its life: in Him it is exalted: in it He is lived forth and witnessed to: He possesses nothing for Himself,—neither His communion with the Father, nor His fulness of the Spirit, nor His glorified humanity,—but all for His Church, which is, in the innermost reality, HIMSELF;—His flesh and His bones.' God was manifested in Christ, and Christ is manifested in His people, who are one with Himself,—'I in them, and Thou in Me;' so that the true temple is not Christ apart from His Church, but Christ with His Church, who are the living stones thereof;—the Head, not without the members, but with them. Hence the Church is, in this sense, what Christ is,—'the house of God,' and 'the habitation of God through the Spirit.' 'All the building,'—Christ in and with His Church,—'fitly framed together, groweth unto an holy temple in the Lord.' (Ephes. ii. 21.)

Having obtained this general view, we may well afford to leave the conjectures—which might be collected by hundreds—respecting the symbolic meaning of the several parts of the tabernacle,—its materials, plan, dimensions, colours, bars, rings, and staves,—to those who can find satisfaction in them. One thing, however, is observable: that the materials were to be

furnished by the people as a free offering. This invested them with a holy character, as things separated from common purposes, and dedicated to the Lord. We may also perhaps note that the materials were to be the best of their several kinds. For the rest, we adopt the words of Fairbairn :—

‘It is enough to account for the things referred to, that as God’s house was made in the fashion of a tent, these, or others somewhat similar, were absolutely necessary; they as properly belonged to it in that character, as the members of our Lord’s body and the garments He wore belonged to His humanity; and it is as much beside the purpose to search for an independent and separate instruction in the one, as for an independent and separate use in the other. Hence, when the house of God exchanged the tent for the temple form, it dropped the parts and properties in question, as being no longer necessary or suitable; which alone was sufficient to prove them to have been only outward and incidental.’—Vol. ii., p. 232.

The holiness of the tabernacle was evidenced not only in the manner just alluded to, but in a more formal way. It was consecrated by pouring upon it an anointing oil, (Exod. xxx. 22–33,) compounded according to specific directions. We can only indicate at the foot of the page some Scripture proofs, that oil was an appointed emblem of the operation of the Holy Spirit; \* and the symbolic meaning of this anointing, in regard to Christ the Lord, may be inferred from what has been said respecting the import of the place itself. It is not necessary, however, to go into the whole of the sacrificial typology,—the ark, with its tables of the testimony, its propitiatory, and its overshadowing cherubim,—the golden altar of incense, the table of shew-bread, and the golden candlesticks,—the calling, anointing, and office of the high priest,—the various sacrifices, feasts, and offerings. To all these the Epistle to the Hebrews affords a key: and we must content ourselves with having indicated, by an example or two, that which we believe to be the right method of interpretation. We must leave the rest of these interesting points untouched, and shall bring this sketch to a conclusion by noticing some errors to which mistaken typological principles have led, as seen in connexion with Romanism, with Millenarianism, and with Calvinism.

It is an invariable rule, drawn from an induction of all the examples which Scripture authorizes us to regard as such, that the antitype rises above the type. The one is more outward and

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\* 1 Sam. x. 6; xvi. 13; compared with Isai. lxi. 1; Acts x. 38; 1 John ii. 20. The ground of the symbol may have been the healing and the refreshing power of the oil, according to the ideas of the men of the East. (Isai. i. 6; Mark vi. 13; Psalm xxiii. 5.) And see Fairbairn, vol. ii., pp. 235–237.

natural, the other more inward and spiritual; the one is more earthly, the other more heavenly; the same truth is expressed by the one in an humbler, by the other on a loftier stage. Even where the thing typified is itself of an outward and visible nature, the rule still holds good; as we shall see if we compare the slaying of the paschal lamb with the crucifixion of Christ; or the entrance of the high priest within the inner veil, with the ascension of our Lord into the presence of His Father. It was in this manner that the All-wise saw fit to train mankind in the earlier ages; preparing them, by the help of things familiar and sensible, for events of infinite magnitude and of eternal interest. It is wonderful to observe, that our Maker has proceeded upon a similar method in the realm of animated creation,—proceeding through long ages, with slow and stately steps, from lowlier type to higher antitype. The earliest vertebrate animals were so framed as to show that the structure of man must have been present to the mind of the Creator; so that, to adopt the language of Hugh Miller, ‘as scene after scene, and one dynasty of the inferior animals succeeded another, there were strange typical indications which pre-Adamite students of prophecy among the spiritual existences of the universe might possibly have aspired to read,—symbolical indications to the effect that the Creator was in the future to be more intimately connected with His material works than in the past, through a glorious creature made in His own image and likeness.’ This finished work and masterpiece of the visible creation, man, was the point towards which,—‘if,’ as Professor Owen says, ‘we may without impropriety adopt the personified term Nature,—she has advanced, guided by the archetypal light amidst the wreck of worlds, from the first embodiment of the vertebrate idea under its old ichthyic vestment, until it became arrayed in the glorious garb of the human form.’ We can only hint at the high contemplations to which such statements lead, or at the new chapter of analogy which might have been suggested to Butler, had such discoveries of the past been laid open in his day; and we recal ourselves to our point, that in revelation the antitype everywhere exceeds and rises above the type. We must not imitate those Judaizing Christians of the early Church whom Paul exposes, who tried to hold fast at once to both type and antitype. We cannot retain the vanishing things of a former dispensation, and yet grasp the realities of the new. There is beauty in the dimness of early dawn, but we cannot retain that beauty amidst the brilliancies of sunrise, or the glories of meridian day.

This, however, the Church of Rome attempts to do. In her notion of the Church of Christ, instead of rising through type

and symbol to the idea of a spiritual Israel, she endeavours to conform herself to the outward ritualism of ancient times. The sacrifices of the law must have their correspondence in the offering of the Eucharist; there must be the same outward ordinance of the priesthood; as the priesthood of the old covenant was continued through genealogical descent, so the priesthood of the new must be determined by apostolical succession; and as the ancient hierarchy culminated in a high priest at Jerusalem, so the Christian hierarchy must culminate in a bishop of Rome. These hierarchical and ritual ideas are far from being confined within the limits of the Papal sway: in England, in Protestantism, they are not upon the wane among the more cultivated classes. They proceed upon an interpretation of inspired symbols which is radically defective and wrong,—ignoring, as it does, the great idea of progression, which pervades all those ancient but transitory and vanishing symbols; and it would be no small service to the cause of truth, if, by the extension of sound and just typological views, we could help to banish this stagnant ritualism, at least from Protestant Churches. In our view, the ‘symbolic teaching’ which is now deduced, not only from the several parts of the rubric, but from the different parts and decorations of a carefully appointed church, is a step in the wrong direction,—retrogressive rather than progressive; it tends, not to hasten the approaching day, but to prolong the nocturnal gloom out of which, we would hope, the world is emerging. If we were to give specimens of these puerilities, our more serious readers might think it misbecoming the gravity of the theme. Indeed, a lady with whom we have the honour to be acquainted, herself a Nonconformist, found some difficulty a short time ago in keeping her countenance in the presence of a stately rector, who, having explained to her the symbolic teaching of the internal parts of his church, led her outside the door of the porch, and called attention to a dog’s head, with a huge iron ring hanging from its mouth, which served as a knocker. ‘What may this teach?’ inquired the lady. ‘Without are dogs,’ was the reply.

Millenarianism errs, as we think, owing to the same cause; although, as its mistakes are less vital and substantial than the errors of Romanism, it may be touched with a gentler hand. It expects, for example, the restoration of the literal Canaan, to be a land for the people of God, as of old; whereas Canaan cannot be a type of itself,—the antitype must rise higher than that which prefigures it. As, under the Gospel, the ‘seed of Abraham’ are no longer his descendants according to the flesh, but ‘all those who are of faith are blessed with faithful Abraham,’ amongst whom are included men of various nations and kindreds; so,

the land which is given to the seed of Abraham for an inheritance must be correspondingly understood. It must not be understood to mean merely the narrow territory of Palestine; but rather the whole earth, as prepared for the heirs of righteousness; that earth which the meek shall inherit; the new heavens and new earth for which we look, where righteousness dwells, where the land shall yield her fruit, and the tree of life shall grow, and wasting and destruction shall be unknown for evermore.

So with regard to the nationality of the Jews, and their re-possession of Canaan. We would not presume to interpret unfulfilled prophecy so authoritatively as to declare either that the Jews will, or that they will not, again hold possession of that country. It may be that, in the counsels of Providence, a restoration of their national life is decreed as a sequel to the astonishing history of their dispersion and preservation: we are by no means convinced of this, but on such subjects it becomes us to think and speak modestly. But even if this should be the case, the Jew again inhabiting and governing Judea cannot amount to a realization of what was prefigured by the typical people of old: this would be a mere reproduction of old things, not the fulfilment of an appointed type. The Jewish people, considered as typical, represented the whole elect of God, who should believe unto righteousness; and the distinction between Jew and Gentile, when the great purposes of that long-continuing sign, their punishment and dispersion, shall have been accomplished, will be outwardly done away, as no longer necessary; even as it is already inwardly done away in the case of all Israelites who truly receive Christ Jesus, between whom and us there is no difference.

In these views we find ourselves in full agreement with Dr. Fairbairn; on the point which remains to be noticed, we differ from him. He says,\* that 'the advocates of a modified Arminianism' mistake the doctrine of election as unfolded in the Epistles of the New Testament; that they do not believe that it means an appointment to a personal salvation and to an eternal inheritance; and that their argument is, that since the calling of the Jews, so often there allusively spoken of, was only to temporal privileges and to an earthly inheritance, the election which it prefigured cannot be understood to be an election to salvation and eternal life. This is not our view of the matter. We believe that the election spoken of so often in the Epistles does signify 'an appointment to a personal salvation and to an eternal life:' but we do not think that it is set forth to us as

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\* Vol. i., p. 162.

the destined privilege of a definite number, be they few or many, to the exclusion of the rest of mankind. Where God bestows the highest privileges, (as upon us in England,) yet each man must, by the Divine help, work out his own salvation. Our author, in explaining the deliverance from Egypt and the institution of the Passover, dwells largely upon the election of the Israelitish people to that deliverance;\* but he fails to remark, that although the Israelites, as a body, belonged to the election of grace, yet each man had a work to do for himself,—had to sprinkle his own door-post,—in order to insure his own individual exemption from the scourge. Neglecting this, his election would be void. The application of this to the purposes of God, in the calling of grace, is obvious; individual election is conditional.

Still less can we coincide with the view, expressed in the chapter upon Abel, that,—

‘so far from the whole offspring of the woman being included, there was from the first to pervade the Divine plan a principle of election, in virtue of which a portion only, and that by no means the likeliest, according to the estimation of nature, were to inherit the blessing, while the rest should fall in with the designs of the tempter, and be reckoned to him for a seed of cursing.’—Vol. i., p. 275.

If it were a part of the Divine plan, for instance, to hand over Cain from the beginning to the devil, to ‘be reckoned to him for a seed of cursing,’ how hollow and hypocritical is the Divine expostulation with him!—‘If thou doest well, shalt thou not be accepted?’ And how insincere the offer of mercy which followed!—‘If thou doest not well, a sin-offering lieth at the door.’ It is well that our esteemed author is not always severely logical, and is sometimes happily inconsistent with himself. The fact is, that it is the Calvinist doctrine, not the evangelical Arminian, which loses sight, to some extent, of the distinction between type and antitype; asserting that, as a defined number, namely, the posterity of Abraham, were to possess Canaan, so a definite number, namely, those individuals whom God in His decrees may have appointed, are to inherit salvation and glory. We must rise to a higher, juster, and more spiritual view than this. The absolute sovereignty of God is set forth to us not so much in the arbitrary election of individuals, as in the appointment of a method by which, and of terms upon which, men may receive the election to eternal life. In the type, those who were called were called ‘according to the

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\* Vol. ii., pp. 49-51.



law of a carnal commandment,' by natural propagation from Abraham; whereas in the antitype they are called 'according to the power of an endless life' in a higher and more spiritual way; begotten of the incorruptible seed of the word, which whosoever receives in obedience and faith, becomes a partaker of the heavenly blessings. 'Thus they are 'elect according to the foreknowledge of God;' but it is presented to us as a conditional election of characters, not as an unconditional election of persons.

These concluding glances may remind us how closely our present subject is related to other branches of theology. Indeed, in Revelation, as in the physical world, no one part is wholly independent of any other part. The stalks of flowers, and the muscles of animals, bear a proportion, as to their strength, to the weight of the earth; so that if our earth were twice as heavy, or half as heavy, as it now is, vegetable and animal structures, from the greatest to the most minute, would require to be altered in due proportion, to enable them to discharge their present functions. An analogous and higher harmony pervades all the dispensations of God, and all the different divisions of that most illimitable of all sciences, theology. Thus the types of the Bible stand in intimate and necessary connexion with its histories, its doctrines, its prophecies, its practical precepts, and its examples; they are connected with the incarnation of Christ, with the whole work of redemption, with the way of salvation, and with the fair inheritance which lies yet beyond us. The study of them has also its peculiar advantages. It illustrates the wisdom, prescience, and unchangeableness of God; enhances to us the value of the Old Testament Scriptures; and, by the evidence which it discloses of Jehovah's power and faithfulness throughout past ages, it animates our faith, and invigorates our hope, in regard to that portion of His designs which is yet wrapt in the mystery of the future.

*There are 17.*

- ART. V.—1. *A Description of active and extinct Volcanoes.* By CHARLES DAUBENY, M.D., F.R.S. 8vo. Second Edition. 1848.
2. *Historical and Topographical Map of the Eruptions of Etna, from the Era of the Sicani to the present Time* (1824). By JOSEPH GEMELLARO.
3. *Carta Topographica dell' Etna*, (with the Atlas). Per il BARONE SARTORIUS DI WALTERSHAUSEN. Sicilia, 1836 al 1843; and Berlin, 1845.

4. *Storia Natural e Generale dell' Etna del* CANONICO GIUSEPPE RECUPERO. Catane. 1815.
5. *Rambles of a Naturalist.* By A. DE QUATREFAGES. (Translated.) Two Vols. 1857.

'THE wonder which exceeds all others,' observes Pliny, 'is that the earth exists a single day without being burnt up.' If this was the greatest marvel of the Roman naturalist, with his limited and imperfect knowledge of volcanic phenomena, surely it may be ours in a period when at least a superficial knowledge of volcanic action upon the face of our globe is so widely extended, and when, by laborious and accurate researches into the agency of terrestrial heat, we have analogically arrived at a fair conception of what lies under our feet, and what may be the thermal condition of the central portion of our globe. Supposing the views generally entertained by natural philosophers respecting the incandescence of the greater part of the interior of our planet to be correct,\* then we all walk, not upon 'the solid earth,' as is commonly said, but upon a mere pellicle of cool matter, the thickness of which, when compared with that of the earth, would represent little more than one inch for a globe whose diameter is about nine yards. In another form of illustration, our cool and firm crust does not much exceed the proportion of the thickness of a sheet of ordinary paper, as compared with one of the large globes employed for geographical tuition. In a sense, then, far truer than Horace ever dreamed of when he sung the strain, we may say to every sojourner upon our globe:—

—'Incedis per ignes  
Suppositos cineri doloso.'

'Where'er you tread, the raging fire  
Flames underneath a treacherous ash.'

The number of volcanoes active and semi-extinct (called by the Italians, *solfaturas*) cannot be precisely, but may be approximately, stated. We present a tabular view derived from two authors, Girardin† and Huot‡ (the latter cited by M. Quatrefages). This tabular view will also show the geographical distribution of volcanoes, and their numerical relation to continents and islands.

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\* We merely represent current views on this point. Our own would rather tend to coincide with those of Mr. Hoppkins, which are the result of profound mathematical investigation, and cannot be here stated.

† *Considérations Générales sur les Volcans.* Par M. J. Girardin.

‡ *Nouveau Cours Élémentaire de Géologie.* Par J. J. N. Huot.

| PARTS OF THE WORLD. | ON CONTINENTS. |       | ON ISLANDS. |       | TOTALS.   |       |
|---------------------|----------------|-------|-------------|-------|-----------|-------|
|                     | Girardin.      | Huot. | Girardin.   | Huot. | Girardin. | Huot. |
| Europe.....         | 4              | 4     | 20          | 18    | 24        | 22    |
| Asia .....          | 17             | 55    | 29          | 71    | 46        | 126   |
| Africa .....        | 2              | 13    | 9           | 12    | 11        | 25    |
| America .....       | 86             | 114   | 28          | 90    | 114       | 204   |
| The Ocean .....     | —              | —     | 108         | 182   | 108       | 182   |
| Totals .....        | 109            | 186   | 194         | 373   | 303       | 559   |

It is very difficult to determine even approximately the number of *active* volcanoes on the globe at the present time, since travellers disagree in attributing activity to particular examples; some regarding those as extinct which others consider to be in force. A list of those now presumed to be active is to be seen in Johnston's *Physical Atlas*, and it includes 270, of which 190 are found on the islands or around the shores of the Pacific Ocean. Sir Charles Lyell estimates the eruptions of all known volcanoes to amount, on an average, to 20 every year. Of those volcanoes which are situated upon the islands of the sea, (nearly 194 according to Girardin, and 373 according to Huot,) that is, according to both estimates, about two units of the whole number,—many occur in plains but little elevated above the level of the sea, and at considerable distances from other mountains, so as to appear isolated. When so situated, it may be fairly presumed, that the volcanic mountains have risen from the bottom of the sea by the effects of the subaqueous agency, and that the plains which surround them have been raised above the level of the sea by the gradual accumulation of the materials ejected from the orifices of the volcanoes. In support of this view, the upper layers of the soils of such plains are almost entirely composed of material derived from the deposition of volcanic matter, and they rest on a thick stratum of such matter. We shall presently explain Von Buch's theory of upheavals in connexion with a description of Etna. He was the first to show that large volcanoes did not originate from the simple accumulation of these products, but that they had been elevated together with the consolidated masses. Several volcanoes seem to be the fiery centres of a large volcanic district, which surrounds them in circles of greater or lesser extent. These are generally the loftiest peaks of whole groupes of craters which are crowded together, and of which one or other has at some time shown signs of activity. Among such central volcanoes are Vesuvius, Etna, the Peak of Teyde in Teneriffe, the Pico of the Azores, the volcano of

the Isle of Bourbon, famous for its mighty and frequent outbursts; Mount Erebus, about 12,500 feet high, discovered not many years since in the Antarctic Ocean, under south latitude 78°; and Mouna Loa, with Mouna Kea, in Hawaii, which are about the highest known island mountains, reaching, as they do, the one to an elevation of 13,760 feet, and the other to 13,950 feet, above the level of the sea. The crater on one of these mountains will presently be the subject of our description.

With reference to the small crater cones which surround a central volcano, we are generally acquainted with one eruption of each, namely, that to which they owe their origin, and before and after which the volcanic agency has found an outlet at some other point, more or less distant. Thus the whole group of the Canary Islands rests upon one volcanic hearth, over which each of these islands was reared up from the bottom of the sea.

All that has been observed of Vesuvius confirms the opinion that, together with the Phlegrean fields of Puzzuoli, and with the neighbouring islands, it forms a single volcanic district, of which the mountain itself is the centre, and that an outburst at any particular spot within this circle tends to prevent another in any other part of the same district. But we cannot extend this connexion beyond the particular district; for upon consulting a list of the known explosions of Vesuvius and Etna, (as tabulated by Hoff and Daubeny,) from the date of the earliest recorded eruptions of Etna, viz., B.C. 480, 427, and 396, and continued down to the year 1842, we find, from a comparison of the whole, that these eruptions exhibit little synchronism, and that the nearest coincidence was in 1694 and in 1811, when the outbursts from these mountains occurred within a month of each other. On eight several occasions an interval of less than half a year appeared between them, but no other striking coincidences appear; and therefore we regard each as a central volcano of a connected system, dissociated from other systems.

A considerable number of fiery mountains lie in a line one after another, in a long cleft rent through the crust of the earth; and they are frequently grouped in double rows or chains, which bound a greater or less extent. Such have been called linear or chain volcanoes. To this denomination belong the numerous volcanoes of Iceland, of which at least seven are still considered to be partially active, the highest mountain in Iceland being one—viz., Peräfa-Jökul—five thousand six hundred feet in height. In other parts of the volcanic belt that runs across this island, enormous clefts have been torn open, from which streams of lava have flowed forth to a length and breadth which have scarcely been equalled in any other volcanic country. At the extra-

ordinary eruption of Skáptar Jökul\* in 1783, three fire-spouts rose high in the air, and then formed a torrent of burning lava, that flowed steadily for six weeks, and ran a distance of sixty miles to the sea in a broken breadth of nearly twelve miles. The Lipari Isles appear to be the loftiest crater-crests of a volcanic tract of considerable length, among which Stromboli is ever active. The western row of the lesser Antilles forms a connective chain of volcanic islands. On the continent of America a great number of burning mountains rise up upon the ridge of the Cordilleras. They generally form the highest portions of the mountain crests, and twelve may be regarded as chain volcanoes. Of these are the long row of Chilean volcanoes, of which Aconcagua, nearly in the latitude of Valparaiso, is twenty-four thousand feet in height. These volcanoes stretch almost in a straight line along the coast, from 46° to 29° south latitude.

Farther north, in the chain of the Andes, lie the lofty volcanoes of Bolivia and Upper Peru. The high land of Quito is described by Humboldt as being an enormous volcanic vault, and is bounded by two lines of burning mountains, amongst which are Sangay, Tunguragua, Cotopaxi, eighteen thousand seven hundred and twenty-five feet in height; Antisana, no less than nineteen thousand feet above the sea level; also Pinchincha and Imbaruru. The underground fire breaks forth sometimes from one, and sometimes from another, of these openings, which are supposed to be separate volcanoes; and Humboldt states that, during his long stay at Quito, not a month passed in which there were not heard awful noises, with or without earthquakes, beneath their feet.

In Central America, we find in Guatemala, lying between the northern and southern continents, about forty volcanoes crowded together. All of these follow the various bends of the Cordilleras, in an almost unbroken row. One of the most terrific examples of volcanic activity, both in regard to the quantity of matter thrown up, and the magnitude of the accompanying phenomena, was an outburst of Cosequiva in Nicaragua, a volcanic hill only five hundred feet high, standing in a tongue of ground in the the bay of Fonseca, on the Pacific coast. It began on the 20th of January, 1835, and lasted several days. The country round, over a space of forty-three leagues across, was wrapped in impenetrable darkness. The shore of the headland was pushed 800 feet out into the sea by the fall of ashes, and two islands of slag and cinders were thrown up in the bay. The fine dust was carried by the wind as far as Jamaica, and an

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\*Skáptar Jökul, or Yökul, signifies 'Snow Mountain.'

English vessel was covered with the floating pumice at a distance of eight hundred miles out at sea.

The line of Mexican volcanoes is well known, and includes the lofty cone of Colima, and the ever burning Popocatepetl, seventeen thousand feet high. Another, of scarcely less height, is Orizala. On a scale which equals or perhaps surpasses that of the Andes, there is a continuous line of volcanic action which commences on the north with the Aleutian Isles, in Russian America, and extends first in a westerly direction for nearly two hundred geographical miles, and then southwards, without interruption, throughout a space of between sixty and seventy degrees of latitude, to the Moluccas, where it sends off a branch to the south coast, while the principal train continues westerly through Sumbawa and Java to Sumatra, and then in a north-westerly direction to the Bay of Bengal. This immense volcanic line may be said to follow throughout its course the external border of the continent of Asia; whilst the branch striking south-east from the Moluccas passes from New Guinea to New Zealand, conforming, though not strictly, to the outline of Australia. In Java alone there are said to be thirty-eight considerable volcanoes, some of which are twelve thousand feet high. These rarely emit lava, but they discharge quantities of sulphur and sulphurous vapours, and rivers of mud issue from them. The careful observer, Dr. Junghuhn, has with his *Travels in Java* presented us with an atlas, in which are interesting sketches of the principal craters. Of these we may specify the Galung Gung, or Galongoon, which in 1822 was the scene of one of the most destructive eruptions of modern date.

As the reader will feel more interest in descriptions of particular volcanoes, and their most important phenomena, we proceed to describe that famous mountain Etna, omitting to notice Vesuvius, as being better known and more frequently described, as well as inferior in magnitude.

The outline of this volcano forms an irregular circle of considerably more than one hundred miles in extent, a more or less prominent range of heights separating it at almost every point from the surrounding plain. An arched plateau, which marks the actual limits of the volcano, rises above these heights on all sides towards the mountain, by an insensible inclination of two or three degrees. This mountain pedestal supports an elliptical cone, the sides of which form the lateral declivities of Etna, having a tolerably regular inclination of about seven or eight degrees. These lateral slopes abut on the central elevation, (the *Mongibello* of the Sicilians,) the highest part of which is terminated by a small inclined plane, (the *Piano del Lago*,) which is itself surrounded by the terminal cone, in which lies the great

crater. Towards the east, two narrow and almost abrupt craters detach themselves from the *Piano del Lago*, and, forming a part of the central elevation, enclose, as it were with two arms, a great valley known by the name of the *Val del Bove*, presently to be described.

Mount Etna rises in a pyramidal form, and isolated in the midst of a distinctly defined region, to a height of nearly 11,000 feet. Its absolute height varies with that of the cone which terminates it; and as the latter is modified by every eruption, new measurements are frequently required. Admiral Smyth obtained his result by trigonometrical operations, which gave the height as 10,874 feet. Sir John Herschel found the height by barometrical observations to be 10,872½ feet. The mean is 10,873 feet. But the summit exists no longer, and it would appear that the actual height scarcely equals that of another point of the crater, which was found by the same observer to be forty-three feet lower than the former. The present height, then, may be taken as 10,830 feet. The base is from thirty to forty miles in diameter.

The great extent of surface, and the facility with which the eye can embrace every part of the mountain range, impart to Etna an appearance far from menacing and unsightly, while the eye follows its broad and finely developed outline, which rises in apparently gentle slopes to the culminating point. Pindar styled it 'the column of heaven.'

A certain topographical division of this mountain has long been recognised.\* It proceeds upon the supposition of three concentric regions or zones, which are readily distinguishable.

The first zone (*regione collu*) comprises the level ground; and this is the region celebrated for the fertility of its soil, the clearness of the atmosphere, and the salubrity of the climate. Numerous cultivators have from the earliest times occupied this district. On this narrow space sixty-five townships or villages are grouped together, which (according to G. Gemellaro) contain a population of about 300,000 persons,—a number which seems surprising in such a country.

The second zone is the woody region, (*il bosco, regione silvosa*), and it owes its title to the thick forest with which it was formerly covered, and which still, at different points, partially shades this part of the mountain. This district com-

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\* It is singular that Cardinal Bembo, when a youth, in the sixteenth century, described in his *Etna Dialogus* (see his *Opuscula*, Basil., 1556) these regions of vegetation on the declivities of Etna, and that the same were observed by Tournefort on Mount Ararat.

prises the lateral declivities, and a great portion of the central elevation of the mountain.

The third zone, which is named 'the desert region,' (*regione deserta*,) occupies the space from the limit of the second zone to the summit. It is in reality nothing more than a vast wilderness, wherein an incessant contest is waged between the fire smouldering beneath the rocks, and the *snow* which covers the declivities and the summit during the greater portion of the year. So remarkable a contrast has, as may be supposed, afforded opportunities for poetical antitheses or allusions from the times of the Roman poets to our own day. It led Silius Italicus to sing,—

‘*Summo cana jugo cohibet, mirabile dictu,  
Vicinam flammis glaciem, æternoque rigore  
Ardentes horrent scopuli.*’

More than two hundred conical eminences, varying in height, but generally of a very regular form, and hollowed in their interior into a sort of funnel-like cavity, are scattered from the extreme limits of the cultivated region as far as the *Piano del Lago*. These extraneous cones are like so many blow-holes, through which the subterranean fires have made their way at different epochs. All appear to be exclusively formed of ashes and scoriæ, and to belong to the present geological epoch. Most of them are scattered over the woody region, raising their summits far above the trees, which are either green or bare, according as their formation is of more or less ancient date. These secondary volcanoes occur in the ascent of the mountain, and but a small number are to be found near the summit.

The ascent by a recent scientific traveller, M. Quatrefages, furnishes us with particulars from which we may imagine an ascent of our own. That *savant* describes how at every step of advance we tread upon a soil covered with rich crops of corn and olive groves.

‘We pass through villages in which everything announces ease and competency. On the road side, charming cottages, or small comfortable farm-steeds, the white-washed walls of which are half hidden beneath the luxuriant tendrils of the vine, or the foliage of richly laden fruit-trees. But the ground is a bed of volcanic cinders; the waving crops, the richly laden cherry orchards, the pomegranate trees, the flowering orange, have all sprung up on lava, which has scarcely been pulverized by the slow action of time. The lovely villages through which we passed, the charming country houses which we stopped to admire, are built with lava and cemented with *pozzolane*.

‘Not unfrequently, indeed, the very verge of an ancient crater has served for the site of some smiling cottage whose beauty had attracted



our attention. At every step we take, we are traversing or skirting along some more recent lava bed, whose arid and upheaved *cheire*\* covers fields which were once as fertile as those which it now intersects in the form of a large black dyke. Everywhere by the side of present happiness and wealth we see the phantom of past desolation and misery, making us tremble for the future.

'This feeling more especially arises when we see rising behind the houses of Nicolosi the double summit of Monti Rossi. This is the crater which in 1669 buried under a shower of ashes all the neighbouring country, and even threatened Catania with complete destruction, although situated at more than twelve miles' distance from it. Excavated by the violence of the eruption which produced it, it has preserved the form of two cones in juxtaposition, and both rising to a height of nearly a thousand feet, the dark red colour of their scorix contrasting in the most striking manner with the surrounding objects. A stream of gigantic scorix issues from the base of this mountain, and, bending in a southerly direction, falls into the sea to the south-west of Catania, being more than three miles wide in several parts of its course. Not a blade of grass grows on the rocks, which seem to repulse every form of vegetation, excepting here and there, where a few lichens appear to struggle for their mere existence in thin and irregular patches. The *cheire* here possesses no other soil than that which has been transported to it.

'We continued,' says M. Quatrefages, 'to ascend beneath the rays of a burning sun. The path, becoming more and more steep, passed along a loose soil almost entirely formed of decomposed lava. From time to time it traversed some uncovered lava stream, or wound round the base of some ancient crater which is now covered by vegetation, and stands forth like a pyramid of verdure. The fruitfulness of the woody region is remarkable; for here the flora of Etna, which is so rich in species, seems at every step to dispute possession of the ground with the volcano, which is incessantly threatening it. This struggle gives rise to the most striking contrasts; for absolute sterility is often in immediate juxtaposition with the richest vegetation, as was forcibly exemplified in this part of our excursion. For here all the slopes situated to the left of our road were concealed beneath a thick covering of green, surrounded here and there by trees which looked as if they were merely balanced on their denuded roots. A few shepherds (followed by numerous herds) who had watched us pass with an air of indifference, imparted animation to the scene. The shallow ground lying to our right presented an equally striking aspect; but above us lay, like petrified torrents and cascades, the enormous lava beds of the *Boccarelle del Fuoco*, those twin craters which in 1766 destroyed, according to the statement of Dr. Gemellaro, more than a million of oaks in this part of the forest.

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\* *Cheire* or *schiarra* is the name in the Sicilian patois given to the surface of a lava bed which has cooled on slightly inclined slopes in such a manner as to become charged with more or less considerable blocks of the same substance.

'After two hours' march we reached the border of the wood, and the *Casa del Bosco*, a small hut which is built opposite to the *Grotta del Capre*. It was past mid-day. We had already reached a height of 6,233 feet above the point from which we started, and there remained only about 3,000 feet more to climb in order to reach the *Casa Gemellaro*. This, however, was the roughest part of the excursion. After a short siesta we resumed the ascent, and entered the *desert region*.

'Here the vegetation decreases so suddenly that it seems almost wholly to disappear. The 477 species of plants which grew in the woody region, are here reduced to about 80, among which we must include more than 20 species of lichens: \* but not a tree or a shrub is to be seen in these solitudes. The flora of Etna is here only represented by a few of the lowest forms of plants, which are scattered in tufts in the crevices of rocks, or upon some of the slopes formed by the ancient *lapilli* [a term applied to fragments of light scorïæ, the average size of which is about that of a walnut]. It is impossible to conceive anything more desolate than this part of the mountain. Our eyes were wearied with gazing on these slopes, which were uniformly covered with old lava, or with grey ashes. The path now became scarcely perceptible. At the foot of Montagnuola, one of the most considerable of the secondary cones of the mountain, the guides showed us the glaciers of Catania, which consist of vast masses of snow regularly arranged below a thin stratum of sand. A little higher up the snow was completely uncovered.' †

The travellers pursued their ascending course until they found themselves at the base of the cone, and then began an ascent which they considered

'fully as arduous as that of Stroniboli. The stones and sand crumbled away at every moment from under our feet, until, by the direction of our guide, we struck upon a lava bed lying somewhat further west. At last we reached the crater, where we stood motionless, wrapt in the contemplation of the spectacle presented to us. At our feet yawned the great crater. It was not here a simple inverted

\* These numbers are said to be taken from the work *Chloris Etnensis*, by Signor C. S. Rapricque Schmaltz, a work which we cannot find, but which the author in a kind of autobiography mentions as having been committed to Recupero.

† The German geologist Hoffmann, who visited Etna in 1830, made the following interesting botanical observations on the desert region. The feet may represent French or German measurements, and are therefore not reduced to English feet.

|                                                                       | FEET. |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|
| Limits of the woody region on road from Nicolosi to the crater...     | 5,470 |
| Extreme limits of vegetation .....                                    | 8,628 |
| Limit of the vegetation of the <i>Astragalidæ</i> .....               | 7,429 |
| Limit of the vegetation of the <i>Borberidæ</i> .....                 | 7,110 |
| Limit of the vegetation of <i>Petris Aquilina</i> (common fern) ..... | 5,619 |
| Limit of snow under the Montagnuola, Oct. 19th. ....                  | 7,909 |

Many of these plants rise to a much greater height than on any other mountain situated in the same latitude.

cone or funnel, as we had observed in all the secondary cones, and which is the case even on the summit of Vesuvius itself; nor did we see before us that uniform blackness of the rocks and ashes which characterizes Stromboli. The effects of the eruption of the preceding year were still apparent; and the crater of Etna, at the period of our visit, had the appearance of a deep and irregular valley beset with points and capes, and formed by abrupt slopes, bristling with enormous scorïæ and blocks of lava, heaped up in masses, or rolled and twisted in a thousand different ways by the force of the volcanic action, or the accidental influences to which they had been subjected in the act of falling. The blue, green, and white lava, stained here and there with broad black patches or streaks of dull red, made the livid colour of the surrounding rocks still more striking. A death-like silence reigned over the chaos; long lines of white vapour were noiselessly escaping from a thousand different fumaroles, and, trailing slowly along the sides of the crater, carried to the spot where we were standing suffocating emanations of sulphurous and hydrochloric acids. The pale light of the moon, joined to the rising dawn, was a fit accompaniment to this wild scene, whose grand and truly supernatural character no language can adequately express.

‘The soil on which we were treading was entirely composed of cinders and scorïæ, and was humid and warm, and covered with a white coating that looked like hoar frost. This humidity was the acid emitted from the crater, which moistened and corroded everything that came in contact with it; while the silvery film on which a few crystals were sparkling, was a deposit of sulphur sublimated by the volcanoes, and of the salts formed by the chemical reactions which were incessantly occurring in this formidable laboratory.’ [According to Elie de Beaumont, the salts are principally sulphates.] ‘By following the narrow ridge which borders the crater to the south, we reached the highest point, which is situated on its eastern extremity. Here an indescribable spectacle presented itself to our gaze. The sky was perfectly pure, the air was exquisitely transparent, while the horizon (which, from the shortness of the twilight, was now brightly illumined) appeared to have no other limits than those which resulted from the curvature of the earth’s surface. From our lofty pedestal we looked down a depth of four or five thousand feet upon the highest summits of the Pelorian and Medonian mountains, while the whole of Sicily lay spread before us as on a map..... Wrapt in mute admiration, we cast our eyes from one extremity to the other of this immense circle, when, suddenly, the guide exclaimed, “*Eccolo! ecco il sole!*” and, truly, there was the sun; which, raising its ensanguined orb before us, bathed in one universal tinge of purple earth, sea, and sky, and projected to the very limits of the horizon, and across the entire island, the gigantic shadow of Etna, which, becoming more and more contracted, grew also more distinct in proportion as the sun rose higher above the Ionian sea.’

‘Light vapours were now everywhere curling upwards from the

earth, as it began to be warmed by the rising sun. First thin and airy, they gradually thickened, and soon contracted the horizon on every side. After throwing one last look at the valley of the crater, we left our place of observation, and descended towards the foot of a mamelon which lay to the east. Our guide soon stopped us near a narrow and steep declivity which was entirely detached from the rounded margin of the cone, and abutted upon a precipice which descended to a depth of several hundred feet. Here we saw him roll up his sleeve and apply it to his mouth, a proceeding which he signified by signs that we must imitate, rushing forwards across the slope as he exclaimed, "*Fate presto!*" Without hesitation we followed him, and speedily reached the margin of the mouth which, in 1842, had thrown its lava into the Val del Bove; and which, being re-opened by the eruption of 1843, appeared still to threaten the neighbouring district. From the depths of these abysses we had from time to time heard rolling peals of subterranean thunder. Here all description becomes absolutely impossible.

'A vast irregular circular enclosure, formed by perpendicular walls, encircled the chasm. To the left, at the foot of the escarpement, a large blow-hole had opened, from which darted forth eddies of fiery red smoke. In the centre, to the right, everywhere lay enormous blocks of lava, which had been shivered, cracked, and torn, some black, others of a dark red, but all exhibiting in their crevices the vivid tints of the lava from which they had been formed. A thousand streams of white or grey smoke were crossing and recrossing each other in all directions, with a deafening noise, and with a whistling sound, similar to that of a locomotive from which the steam is escaping. Unfortunately we could do no more than throw a hasty glance at this strange and terrific scene. The hydrochloric acid had entered our throats, and penetrated to the last ramification of the bronchial tubes. With haste, and almost as it were intoxicated, we regained the protecting slope, where we might breathe more at our ease; and then, resting on our staffs, sprang to the edge of the declivity, which was solely composed of moveable *débris*; and in five minutes we had reached the base of the cone, which it had cost us more than an hour to ascend.

'Our mules were waiting for us at the *Casa*, and no sooner had they received their light load of wrappers and cloaks, baskets and panniers, than they descended by the straight and nearest track, while we diverged to the left, in order to obtain a view of the Val del Bove. This excursion was, perhaps, the most arduous part of our whole journey. The wind was blowing from the north-east, and in a few minutes it had grown into a perfect hurricane. Its icy breath raised clouds of sand and gravel, which pricked and stung our faces and hands as if with so many needles. We found considerable difficulty in reaching the *Torre del Filosofo*, a small and ancient monument which is now in ruins, but which, according to Sicilian legends, was the habitation of Empedocles. The probability is, however, that this was once a tomb. It nearly touches the escarpement of Serre del

Solfizio, which bounds the *Val del Bove*\* on the side nearest the volcano. Standing upon these perpendicular rocks, we admired this immense circuit, which measures more than six miles in length, and more than three miles in breadth, and whose walls, which are almost everywhere perpendicular, and formed of masses of lava older than the human race, often rise to a height of more than one thousand feet from the base, which is almost entirely composed of *cheire* superposed upon one another.'

No visitor to Etna has been disappointed with the *Val del Bove*, though we have perused accounts savouring of dissatisfaction with the other parts of the mountain. Dr. Buckland was the first English geologist who carefully examined it, and Sir Charles Lyell has well described it. This vast amphitheatre is five miles in diameter, surrounded on three sides by precipices of from 2,000 to 3,000 feet in height. 'Their faces are broken in the most picturesque manner by the vertical walls of lava which traverse them. These usually stand out in relief, are exceedingly diversified in form, and of great altitude. Their black lines may often, in autumn, be seen relieved by clouds of fleecy vapour which settle behind them, and do not disperse until mid-day, continuing to fill the valley, while the sun is shining on every other part of Sicily, and on the higher regions of Etna. So soon as the vapours begin to rise, the changes of scene are strikingly varied, different rocks being hidden and unveiled by turns; and the summit of Etna often breaking through the clouds for a moment with its dazzling snows, and being then as suddenly withdrawn from view. An unusual silence prevails; for there are no torrents dashing from the rocks, nor any movement of running water in this valley. Every drop that falls from heaven, or flows from melting ice or snow, is instantly absorbed by the porous lava; and such is the dearth of springs that the herdsman is compelled to supply his flocks during the hot season from stores of snow laid up in the hollows of the mountain during winter. Strips of herbage and forest land serve to heighten the desolation by contrast. After the eruption of 1819, hundreds of trees, or their white skeletons, stood upon the borders of the black lava, with trunks and branches all leafless, barkless, and blasted.

————— 'As when heaven's fire  
Hath scathed the forest oaks, or mountain pines,  
With singed tops their stately growth, tho' bare,  
Stands on the blasted heath.'

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\* The *Val del Bove*, or 'Valley of Oxen,' commences near the summit of Etna, and descends into the woody region. Its title recalls the lines of Horace's picture of the happy rustic who—

'*Aut in reductâ valle mugientium  
Prospectat errantes greges.*'—*Hor. Epod.*

Looking at the pictorial outlines and sketches of this wonderful spot, and comparing the descriptions of several visitors, we are led to conclude with Sir C. Lyell, that a series of subsidences has formerly occurred on the eastern side of Etna, by which (together, possibly, with the eruptions of the sea) this amphitheatre of lava may have been formed in the remote ages. We know from records that vast subsidences have taken place on other volcanic mountains; for, in 1772, the largest volcano in Java, named Papandayang, was the subject of a subsidence, by which an extent of ground no less than fifteen miles in length, and six in breadth, covered forty villages, and the cone lost 4,000 feet of its height engulfed in the earth. Another similar instance is known in the summit of Carguaizazo, one of the loftiest of the Andes of Quito, which fell in on the 19th of July, 1698; and another mountain of greater altitude in the same chain, named Capac Urcu, fell in a short time before the conquest of America by the Spaniards. So late too as the year 1822, a mountain in Java, as we shall elsewhere notice, covered with a dense forest, became an enormous semicircular gulf.

The disastrous eruption of 1669 has been faithfully described by the Italian, Recupero, who drew much of his information from a manuscript preserved at Nicolosi, (near Etna,) and which was written by a certain Don Vincenzo Macro, chaplain to the church of Nicolosi. Recupero further consulted the writings of eleven learned Sicilians, a narrative left by the Earl of Winchelsea, English ambassador at Constantinople, and another memoir by the well-known Borelli. All of these were eye-witnesses of the scenes they record, and to theirs Recupero has added his own testimony. The facts therefore appear unusually well attested. From the details afforded by these witnesses, and extracted by M. Quatrefages, the following brief narrative is collected:—

‘On March the 8th, 1669, a terrible hurricane arose suddenly at daybreak, and continued to rage for half an hour, shaking all the houses of Nicolosi. The following night was marked by an earthquake, the shocks of which gradually increased in intensity until the Sunday, when the walls of the houses began to fall in. The population sought safety in the open country, and during the night of Monday a terrible shock overthrew all the houses of the town. The earthquake now became more violent from hour to hour, and the trees and the few huts still standing oscillated like so many pieces of wood on the troubled ocean. Human beings were unable to retain their footing on this undulating ground, and stumbled and fell at every repeated movement. About this period the earth opened for a space of twelve miles from the Piano di San-Lio to Monte Frumento,—one of the secondary cones which lie nearest to the summit of Etna. The

fissure thus made inclined from south-west to north-east, and was from six to four feet wide, but its depth could not be sounded, notwithstanding the frequent attempts made to ascertain it. At length the flames of Etna burst through the soil, which had been so often broken and rebroken. The first mouth was opened to the west of Monte Nucilla, and threw into the air a column of sand and smoke, which was estimated by the inhabitants of Catania to have risen to an elevation of more than 1,200 feet. In the space of two hours, six other mouths were opened, all of which were placed in a longitudinal line, and in the same direction as the fissure of which we have spoken. A black and thick smoke issued with horrible noise from these blow-holes, new craters were formed in the course of the day, and on the Tuesday morning the crater appeared from which arose the Monti Rossi.

‘This last opening at first ejected a thick smoke, mixed with burning scorix; but after the course of a few hours its mouth gave vent to an immense quantity of lava, which, forming a stream nearly three miles wide and ten feet high, took a southerly direction, and struck against the base of Monpilieri, an ancient crater, which was then covered with trees and other vegetation. The burning stream penetrated through this somewhat shallow soil, and, forming itself a passage across the mountain, it flowed for some time along this self-made aqueduct; but Monpilieri having partially broken down, the lava flowed round it, encircling it like an island of verdure lost in the midst of flames. Seven secondary mouths opened at the same time round the principal crater. They were at first isolated, and threw up into the air an enormous quantity of burning stones, which struck each other as they fell back, and joined the noise of their fall to the terrific artillery of the volcano. At the end of three days they were united into one vast and horrible chasm of fully 2,500 feet in circumference, which never ceased from the 11th of March to the 15th of July to pour forth its thundering roar, to eject cinders and scorix, and to vomit streams of lava.’

Up to this time the great crater had remained completely inactive; but on the 15th of March all at once, towards ten o’clock at night, the entire mountain seemed to shake. First a gigantic column of black smoke and fire darted upwards, and then, with a horrible noise, the summit fell, piece by piece, into the abysses of the volcano. On the following day four daring mountaineers ventured to make the ascent. They found the surface of the soil depressed round the crater, and all the openings which had surrounded it before engulfed and swallowed up, while the orifice, the circumference of which had formerly not exceeded three miles, now measured double that length (if the measurements of Recupero be not exaggerated).

‘The torrent of lava which issued from the Monti Rossi, still continued its course in a southerly direction. Its different branches

reached a length of nearly four miles. Each day new streams of liquid fire flowed over the substances that had been partially solidified since the previous nights, thus widening the beds of the different streams which encroached upon the various islands of land temporarily spared. On the 1st of April the lava came within sight of the walls of Catania, and extended to the Campagna of the Albanelli. Here, as if to show its power, it first lifted up and transplanted to a considerable distance an argillaceous hill covered with cornfields, and then an entire vineyard, which floated for some time upon its burning waves. After having levelled various inequalities, the lava at length reached a deep and broad valley, and the Catanians now believed themselves secure. But in the short space of six hours the valley was completely filled, while the lava flowing straight towards them stopped at a stone's throw from the walls, like an enemy who pitches his camp before the fortress he is about to assail.

'On the 12th of April, a stream of lava nearly a mile and a half wide, and more than thirty feet high, advanced in a direct line towards the town. Struck in its course by another current which was flowing westward, it turned aside, and, running within a pistol-shot of the ramparts, it passed beyond the harbour, and finally reached the harbour on the 23rd of April. Then began a contest between the fire and the water, which even the eye-witnesses felt the impossibility of fully describing. The lava, cooled at its base by contact with the water, presented a perpendicular wall of about 1,500 yards in extent, and thirty or forty feet in height. At the point of contact between the two elements, enormous masses of water were converted into vapour, which, rising with a horrible whistling sound, hid the sun behind a mass of thick clouds, and then fell in salt rain over the neighbouring country. In the course of a few days the lava had caused the coast line to advance some nine hundred feet further into the sea. New affluents continued to increase the burning stream, whose current, after being incessantly widened, at last reached the ramparts of Catania.'

Day by day the stream rose higher and higher, until it was even with the top of the walls, which, no longer able to support this enormous pressure, gave way on the 30th of April for a space of about 120 feet. The lava at once entered by the breach which had been thus made. The part of the town thus broken into was the highest, and Catania now seemed doomed to total destruction. It was, however, saved by the energy of three men, who ventured to contend with the volcano. Doctor Savorio Musureci, and the painter Giacinto Platania, conceived the idea of constructing walls of dry stones, which, being placed in an oblique position before the current, were intended to divert its direction. This was partially successful; but a Dominican brother devised a more promising method of resistance. The beds of lava became incased in a kind of solid



canal formed of blocks of cool lava cemented together. The liquid mass, protected by this kind of casing, was able to extend its ravages to a greater distance by preserving its fluidity. The Dominican thought that by knocking down these natural dykes at some favourable point, he might open new channels for the burning waves. Followed by an hundred active men, he made an attack upon the stream, not far from the crater, with sticks, and clubs, and hammers. So intense was the heat that every man was obliged to fall back to recover his breath after he had struck two or three blows. By continued efforts, and by the aid of iron clamps, they contrived to demolish a portion of the dyke, and then the lava diffused itself through this opening. But the new current turned in the direction of the town of Palermo; and its inhabitants, fearing its destruction, fell upon the Dominican and his assistants, and obliged him to retreat.

The proceeding, however, was so far successful that the lava was prevented from overwhelming the whole town; and it stopped on the 8th of May, after having destroyed three hundred houses, several palaces and churches, and the garden of the Benedictines. The present garden of the latter has been made up of earth brought from a distance to cover this lava, which rises like an irregular rampart within a few feet of the walls of this monastery, which is, undoubtedly, the handsomest building in Catania. On the 13th of May, a small stream flowed over the rampart to the south of the town near the church Della Parma; but a wall of dry stones which had been hastily constructed, sufficed to arrest its further progress. Some days afterwards a new current invaded the castle, filled up its fosses, and speedily reached the level of the ramparts. A dyke was constructed; but on the 11th of June the lava crossed the wall and flowed through the town. A new barrier was then opposed to it, arrested it, and preserved one of the finest parts of Catania. From this period the lava flowed in a direct course into the sea. Lord Winchelsea tells us that the eruption continued some time longer, and that the cinders fell at Catania, and as far as thirty miles out at sea, with such violence and intensity as to be injurious and painful to the eyes.

This celebrated eruption covered about fifty square miles with a stratum of thick lava, which at certain points extended to a depth of 100 feet, and which, after threatening to annihilate Catania, destroyed the habitations of 27,000 persons. Even in the present day traces exist on the surface of the soil of these terrible phenomena which occurred nearly 200 years before: Recupero has found fifteen accessory mouths, which mark the direction of the subterranean forces over a space of about 1,500 yards.

Catania itself may be called the capital of lava. Although it is separated from the great crater, which is the centre of action of the subterranean fires, by a distance of twenty-five miles, as the crow flies, yet this town appears as if it were the direct product of the volcano. Enclosed within four lava beds of different ages, the materials for its houses, and pavements, and streets, have all been derived from the products of the crater. It is only through the lava that its inhabitants can penetrate to the springs of water. Its harbours have been filled up with molten matter, and liquid fire has consumed its gardens, overthrown its walls, and buried entire districts. What lava has spared, earthquakes have destroyed; yet Catania has ever risen like a phoenix from the midst of her blasted ruins, and after each succeeding catastrophe has laid down wider streets, erected loftier palaces, and founded more magnificent churches and convents. There is a part of the walls where the traveller may now see the solid lava curling over the top of the rampart, as if still in the very act of falling. Here the burning flood had accumulated until it rose to the top of the rampart, which was 60 feet in height, and then fell in a fiery cascade, and overwhelmed a part of the city, as previously described.

In reflecting upon the structure and probable origin of volcanoes, we may naturally ask, Are they mountains of rocks kindred with other mountains around them, and do they thus consist of *nuclei* of rock, covered externally with their own ejected products? or do they rise from plains by successive additions of erupted matter, not having original *nuclei* of a different material?

We find that the earliest theories (which may be traced as far back as to the Greek philosophers) were based upon the supposition that the enormous quantities of lava, cinders, and scoriæ, ejected in every eruption of Mount Etna, went to compose its entire mass of successive accumulations; and this view is held by many distinguished geologists even at the present time. M. Elie de Beaumont has observed that a profound knowledge of the outline of Etna is almost a theory in itself. The essential character of its profile, as a whole, is a want of continuity in its outline. Between the lateral declivities and the central elevation there is a clearly perceptible break; and the same feature may be observed between the central elevation and the terminal cone. From these distinctions we are led to refer these different parts to different origins.

We proceed to give a brief abstract of this geologist's theory, without committing ourselves to it. Those who would enter into its merits should peruse the objections offered by Sir

Charles Lyell, in his *Principles of Geology*,—a book so accessible, that we need not cite the arguments themselves. Only a careful study of the existing sketches and notices of the volcano, in all its parts, will enable the student to institute a fair comparison between the two geologists.

It is the opinion of M. Elie de Beaumont, that the primitive nucleus of Etna is the central elevation, and that this has been formed of upheavals. It may be supposed that the spot on which the central elevation now rises was originally a nearly horizontal plain, the soil of which, being broken up by the action of subterranean fires, has, at different epochs, opened passages to currents of very fluid lava. This lava has spread into thin and uniform sheets around these blow-holes; and, by solidifying, they have formed ledges of rocks, whose compactness depended upon the thickness of the streams. The ejection of these fused substances was accompanied by a violent liberation of elastic fluids, which carried with them large quantities of cinders, scoriæ, and *lapilli*. These very solid substances issued from all the fissures; and, falling back in a shower upon the bath of lava, have produced these uniform strata of stony and scoriaceous fragments which alternate with the rocky strata.

Many ages may have passed during the continuance of these phenomena. At last the internal forces, which had so often burst their way through the soil, exhibited an extraordinary energy, probably on account of the ever increasing resistance opposed to their actions by these strata, which had been continually augmenting and solidifying. The internal forces, being unable to burst through these, may have upheaved them; and by this violent movement broken them, until a full communication was maintained between the interior of the earth and the upper air. Before this event, as M. De Beaumont thinks, there must have been, at this point, a multitude of ephemeral volcanoes, which have been replaced by a permanent volcano since that period. But, as the quantity of gaseous matter which escapes from these craters exceeds by very much the volume of lava and scorizæ, so we shall readily conceive that the enormous vault formed by the upheaval of Etna would soon require proper support. The very efforts which have given it its elevation would have dislocated it; and it must, to some considerable extent, have fallen back into the abysses which it had covered. To such a recession the celebrated Val del Bove may be regarded as owing its origin; and, if we entertain this idea, we shall easily understand the connexion which evidently exists between the craters that surround this valley, and the crater of the volcano itself. These craters are evidently continuations of one

another; and they collectively form the circumference of the bowl which had been upheaved on the surface of the soil. By falling in, the vault exposed a section of the strata of which the escarpments of the valley were all alike composed, and which are again met with on the Piano del Lago, in the interior of a partial sinking.

If we can accept these views, then there was an epoch in which the primitive nucleus of Etna rose solitary in the midst of the plain, towering above the whole island of Sicily, with its abrupt and irregular outlines; but this condition was necessarily subjected to various and rapid modifications. Dating from the present geological epoch, the eruptions which have occurred upon its sides, and round the central elevation, have levelled the base of the mountain, and given rise to lateral slopes, whose declivities and general aspect plainly reveal their origin. These lava beds, ashes, and scoriæ have, as it were, woven a modern vesture, beneath which the volcano concealed its primitive form, and veiled its infancy. Winds, rains, and streams have carried into the plains an enormous mass of these moveable substances, and thus gradually formed, at different points, slight elevations of the soil. These secondary causes have incessantly tended to raise the base and to level the plains; and it is to the same cause that we must more especially attribute that general character of flatness exhibited by the entire mass of the mountain, notwithstanding its altitude. The surrounding land may, in the course of ages, be so much elevated in this manner, that the greater part of Etna may be buried beneath its own craters. Yet it is not probable that the primitive nucleus of this volcano will ever altogether disappear; for, strange as it may at first appear, the quantity of material ejected by the terminal crater is so small, that it scarcely suffices to cover the slightly inclined surface of the Piano del Lago. On the steeper declivities this material is only accumulated in the crevices and ravines, in the same manner as may be observed in a slight layer of snow.

Incredible as this fact may seem, and opposed as it is to many commonly received opinions, M. Quatrefages remarks, that it admits of ready proof; for the Torre del Filosofo is only separated from the terminal cone by a distance of about one hundred yards. This monument is more than two thousand years' old; and yet the volcanic products accumulated round its base had only acquired, in 1807, a thickness of nine feet one inch, according to the measurements of Dr. Mario Gemellaro, confirmed by Signor Agatino Recupero. The Piano del Lago, which is situated immediately at the foot of the great crater, does not, therefore, rise each year more, on an average, than one twenty-fifth of an inch from the accumulation of the direct

products of the volcano, together with the materials which atmospheric agents may carry away from the cone, and distribute over this nearly horizontal surface. (This action is really less than that of the river Nile, the mud of which raises the soil which it fertilizes about one-twentieth of an inch annually.) Thus, as De Beaumont remarks, the monuments of Thebes and of Memphis are in more rapid process of being buried under the alluvial deposits of the river, than the Torre del Filosofo under the ashes of Etna.

M. De Beaumont allows that the phenomena of upheaval which formerly originated the mountain, are reproduced with less intensity in our own day; and he is of opinion that many of the cones (more particularly the terminal cone) possess a solid nucleus formed by upheaval. He considers that their external shape is due to a covering which is formed by the ejections of the crater, which thus disguise and modify the inequalities of the slopes.

The present terminal cone of Etna is not older than a century. It is formed with considerable rapidity from time to time; and then, as already intimated, sinks into the abysses of the volcano. A few eruptions restore it to nearly its former dimensions. In 1834, the present cone was 1,394 feet in height, and its circumference at the base measured no less than 16,410 feet. It is probable that Etna has not yet attained its greatest height; and, in accordance with the views of M. De Beaumont, each new eruption, tending to upheave it, may augment its height to an appreciable degree. Several phenomena might be adduced in support of the opinion that, even in the highest parts of the volcano, the internal forces produce upheaval. A singular illustrative proof of this is given by Recupero, upon the statement of the Padre Massa, who says, that 'during the eruption of 1688 there appeared, in the highest part of the volcano, a *large cupola of perfectly white snow*, which rivalled in extent the domes of the largest churches, and in brilliancy the marbles of Paros and of Carrara.' Recupero adds that this cupola must have resulted from some violent outburst of subterranean fire, which had raised and curved the superficial strata of the soil that were at the time covered with snow; and M. Quatrefages subjoins, that these strata must have been of considerable thickness, since they were able to protect the snow against the heat of the central fire which had caused their upheaval.

The central elevation and the terminal cone being formed of strata which have been upheaved, and consequently broken at many points, and of moveable materials which are simply accumulated together in incoherent masses, cannot possess any considerable stability. This is proved by the subsidence visible

on the margins of the Piano del Lago, and at other points. Hence, if the crater itself be slow in opening, and if the passages of communication should be clogged or closed, the boiling lava may raise up the vault which confines it, and thus so far detach it from the loosely accumulated materials around. Upheaval is again observable in the great number of eruptions in which the fluid lava has reached the very summit of the orifice, and flowed over the margin of the great crater. The lava could not reach this elevation unless it were upheaved by an enormous force, the action of which could not be merely limited to the vertical tube of the crater, but must necessarily be exerted elsewhere, and possibly even over the whole mass of the mountain. Fissures have been frequently observed which formed a kind of radiation along the face of the volcano, the lines all converging towards the crater as a centre. After the eruptions, the margins of some of these fissures were found to display different levels, thus proving elevation or depression of the soil.

Having devoted so much space to the most interesting of volcanic mountains, we shall only passingly refer to some others. Amongst the most impressive and the least known are the volcanoes of Hawaii, one of the Sandwich Islands, memorable for the murder of Captain Cook. The island is of an irregular form, fully 260 miles in circumference, and from shore to shore of volcanic origin and structure. The whole island may be regarded as a collection of mountains having a common base, which uplifts several cones to heights of 13,000 to 14,000 feet above the level of the sea: Mouna Kea being 13,510 feet high, Mouna Loa, 13,760 feet, and Mouna Hualali, 11,000 feet above the sea level. Of these the second is still in active combustion, and occasionally ejects floods of lava from various points. It is a vast dome, sixty miles in diameter, and nearly three miles in height, having a shoulder or terrace on its eastern slope, in which is situated the active crater of Kilanea; and this from time to time displays the grandest volcanic phenomena. The whole dome appears to be of a bronze colour, and its uninterrupted smooth outline is relieved against the deep blue of a tropical sky. Masses of clouds float around it, throwing their shadows upon its sides, whilst a blue haze rests upon the plain in the distance, —a plain of volcanoes at an elevation of 4,000 feet.

An American missionary and the gentlemen of the United States Exploring Expedition have recently visited the volcano named Mouna Loa, and were much impressed by its active displays, and by its appearance of desolation. Upon it is a lateral crater, several thousand feet below the summit of the mountain, though itself situated (according to our observer)

3,970 feet above the sea level,—that is, about the same height as Vesuvius. This is the famous crater of Kilanea, and one of very considerable interest. (Its capacity is enormous; for it is three and a half miles long, two and a half wide, and more than a thousand feet deep. The whole city of New York might be placed in it, and would be almost unnoticed when located at its bottom, or compared with the vast extent around.) A black ledge surrounds the whole crater at a depth of 660 feet from the summit edge, and the depth from the black ledge to the bottom is 384 feet. To walk on the black ledge is not always safe; a crackling noise is caused by treading the crisp surface, which resembles that made by walking on frozen snow in very cold weather. Here and there are seen dark pits and vaulted caverns, with heated air rushing from them. From large and extended cracks the air issues at a temperature of 180°. When evening sets in, the more active parts of the crater assume the appearance of a city in flames. Long, intersecting lines of fire glow like streets in a blaze; and when here and there a more conspicuous burst of flame takes place, fancy may picture a church or some large building becoming a prey to the devouring element. From another point of view the crater appeared to be nearly circular, and to be traversed in all directions by what might be called canals of fire intensely bright. Several of these radiated from a centre near the north-east edge, so as to form a star from which coruscations were emitted like jets of burning gas. In other parts furnaces were in terrible activity, and are undergoing continual change, sometimes becoming comparatively dark, and then bursting forth and throwing up torrents of flame and molten lava. All around the edge it was exceedingly agitated, and a noise like that of the surf of the sea was audible. In other localities the stillness heightened the effect of the whole scene of former activity.

The base of the crater consists of an immense sheet of scoriaceous lava, as if suddenly cooled from a state of fusion. The upheaved waves and deep hollows show that congelation has taken place before the mighty agitation had subsided. Dotted with cones sixty or seventy feet high, and extensively intersected by deep cracks from which sulphurous smoke ascends, it is surrounded by a wall about twelve miles in circumference, and is in most parts about a thousand feet below the rim. In the still active parts of the crater there is an enormous cauldron, nearly three miles in circumference, filled to within twenty feet of its brim with red molten lava, over which lies a thin scum resembling the slag in a smelting furnace. The whole surface is in fearful agitation, and great rolling billows of lava follow each other to

the sides. When this spot is visited after sunset, the cracks unnoticed during daylight seem to be on fire, and the slag-like surface is semi-transparent, and so extensively perforated as to display one sheet of liquid fire. The waves rise high, and pour over each other in wild confusion, until they form a succession of cascades of surprising grandeur. The canals are now incandescent, the numerous rents are restlessly active, and throw out great volumes of molten lava. These fall with an echoless, lead-like sound, breaking the otherwise impressive stillness.

A remarkable eruption from this crater occurred in 1840. The lava, which had risen high in the great chasm, began to escape from it. A change took place in the level of the lava, so that it sank gradually for six weeks, or until the eruption ceased, when the great cauldron or lake of lava stood 400 feet lower than at the commencement of the outbreak. Thus there was proved to be a passage of the fluid matter under the surface, and it was supposed to have been at its first outflow 1,000 feet below the surface. When it had found its subterranean way for about two miles, the fiery flood broke out, and spread itself superficially over fifty acres of land, and then again found a course underground for several miles farther towards the sea, reappearing at the bottom of an ancient wooded crater which it partly filled up. Again, the course of the fluid mass became invisible for several miles, until for the last time it burst forth at a point which was afterwards ascertained to be 1,244 feet above the sea, and twenty-seven miles from the original crater. From thence it poured along in the open air for twelve miles, and then leaped over a cliff fifty feet high, and ran into the sea during the space of three weeks. Its termination was at a spot about forty miles from its mountain source. The crust of the earth overlying the subterranean course of the lava was often traversed by innumerable fissures, which emitted steam; and in some places the incumbent rocks were uplifted twenty or thirty feet. There is no exactly similar instance in the history of eruptions. Subsequent outbursts have taken place, and one very recently. This crater, therefore, is one of the most active on the globe.

The outbreak of a volcano in Java produced perhaps as destructive effects as any known in modern times. This took place in the mountain of Galung Gung, which in 1822 was covered by a dense forest, and situated in a fruitful and thickly peopled part of Java. In July of that year, the waters of a river which flowed from its flanks, became for a time hot and turbid. On the 8th of October following, a terrifically loud explosion was heard, the earth shook, and immense columns of water and boiling mud, mingled with burning brimstone, ashes, and *lapilli*,



as large as nuts, were projected from the mountain like a water spout, with such prodigious violence that large quantities fell beyond a river forty miles distant. Every valley within the range of this eruption became filled with a burning torrent. The rivers, swollen with hot water and mud, overflowed their banks, and carried away great numbers of the people, who were endeavouring to escape; and also the bodies of cattle, wild beasts, and birds. It is affirmed that no less a space than twenty-four miles between the mountains and the river Tandoi was covered with bluish mud to such a depth that people were buried in their houses, and not a trace of the numerous villages and plantations throughout that extent of space was visible. The bodies of those who perished within this distance were buried in mud and concealed; but near the more immediate limits of the volcanic force, they were exposed and thrown over the ground in great numbers, some being partially boiled, some partly burnt. It was observed that the boiling mud and cinders were projected from the volcano with such violence, that while many remote villages were utterly destroyed and buried, others situated much nearer to the mountain were uninjured.

The first eruption lasted nearly five hours. On the following day the rain fell in torrents, and the rivers, densely loaded with mud, deluged the country far around. A second eruption, more violent than the first, occurred after four days. In this hot water and mud were again vomited forth, and large blocks of basalt were cast to the distance of seven miles from the volcano. At the same time a violent earthquake was felt, and it is stated in one account, that the face of the mountain was entirely changed. Its summits were broken down; and one side, which had previously been covered with trees, became an enormous gulf, and took the shape of a semi-circle. This cavity was formed about mid-way between the mount and the plain, and was surrounded by steep rocks said to be newly accumulated during the eruption. The rivers Banjarang and Toulau changed their course, and new hills and valleys are affirmed to have been formed. In one night two thousand persons were killed. The official account states that altogether one hundred and fourteen villages were destroyed, and more than four thousand persons deprived of life, by this terrible catastrophe.\*

We may now proceed to speak of the forces which produce such tremendous results. If we take the specific gravity of lava to be 2.8, the following table will show the force requisite to cause it to flow over the tops of the several volcanoes enumerated.

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\* Official Report of the President, Baron Van der Capellen, cited by Lyell.

From this table several popular illustrations of the enormous force of volcanoes might be deduced. The reader will understand that *one* atmosphere represents a pressure of fifteen pounds on a square inch, being that of our atmosphere. Consequently, to ascertain the pressure in pounds, in each instance, the figures in the several columns must be multiplied by 15.

| Name of Volcano.         | Height, in feet, above the sea. | Force exerted upon the lava, in atmospheres. | Initial velocity, in feet, per second. |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| Stromboli (highest peak) | 2168                            | 176                                          | 371                                    |
| Vesuvius                 | 3874                            | 314                                          | 496                                    |
| Jorullo, Mexico          | 2942                            | 319                                          | 502                                    |
| Hekla, Iceland           | 5106                            | 413                                          | 570                                    |
| Etna                     | 10892                           | 882                                          | 832                                    |
| Teneriffe                | 12465                           | 1009                                         | 896                                    |
| Mouna Kea, Hawaii        | 14700                           | 1191                                         | 966                                    |
| Popocatepetl, Mexico     | 17712                           | 1435                                         | 1062                                   |
| Mount Elias              | 18079                           | 1465                                         | 1072                                   |
| Cotopaxi, Quito          | 18869                           | 1492                                         | 1104                                   |

But the above figures must be considerably under the actual dynamical results; for there can be little doubt that the chimney of a volcano extends in general as much below the level of the sea as it does above. Probably it is often many times as deep. Thus the actual force pressing upon the lava in its reservoir may, and frequently must be, far greater than the amount given in this table, and the initial velocity (col. 3.) must likewise be greater.

The extraordinary effects of volcanic energy have already been illustrated by our details of particular eruptions; and these probably have never been exceeded, and very rarely equalled. We may here mention, in addition, as to distance and intensity, that during the eruption of Vesuvius in 472-473, the ashes ejected were transported by the winds to Africa, Syria, and Egypt, and also fell in Constantinople. Ships were covered, in 1631, with ashes from Vesuvius, while sailing twenty leagues away from it. The Soufrière mountain, in St. Vincent, gave forth ashes at the eruption in 1812, which were carried by the winds to Barbadoes. A terrific eruption of Tomboro, in Sumbawa, happened in 1815, when clouds of ashes obscured the sun, covered the streets and houses in Java for some inches in depth, and this at a distance of three hundred miles. Cotopaxi has propelled by ejection from its

crater blocks of ten cubic yards, weighing about thirty tons, to a distance of nine miles. Stones eight pounds in weight were thrown six miles by Vesuvius, namely, to Pompeii. Sir William Hamilton observed stones to be thrown so high above the mountain tops, that they occupied eleven seconds in falling, which gives a height of two thousand feet, and an initial velocity of three hundred and fifty feet in a second. At a violent eruption in Teneriffe, in 1798, the mountain threw out stones so high that twelve or fifteen seconds were counted during their descent, giving consequently from two thousand five hundred to three thousand six hundred feet, and an initial velocity of from three hundred and eighty to four hundred and eighty feet per second. The pressure of a whole column of lava, which should overflow the crater of Teneriffe, would (according to D'Aubuisson) be equal to one thousand atmospheres, or, as we have enumerated in the above table, one thousand and nine atmospheres.

'Man is small and feeble, but full of pride,' says M. Quatrefages, 'and he always takes himself as the unit, and as a term of comparison. He measures the globe and the universe by his own stature, and the infinite powers of nature by his own forces. In his eyes, Etna, that blow-hole which is scarcely perceptible upon our planet, which is about 24,000 miles in circumference, is a gigantic mountain, and he starts back in amazement at the forces which are required to upheave it. It is not very difficult, however, to convince oneself that in volcanic phenomena the energy of the cause is fully in harmony with the greatness of the effects.

'Let us then, by way of illustration, inquire what relation exists between the forces employed at the present day by industrial science, and those which slumber within the crater of Etna. Let us suppose, —and the assumption is by no means exaggerated,—that this crater is five hundred yards in diameter, and that it penetrates below the earth to a depth equal to the height of the mountain.

'The magnificent steam-engines which exhaust the air on the atmospheric line of St.-Germain (near Paris) have a four hundred horse power. They act under a pressure of six atmospheres, and their pistons present a surface of more than three square yards. In approximate calculations like this, the pressure of an atmosphere on a surface whose extent we know, may be regarded as equal to the weight of a column of water of the same base, and of eleven yards in height. Consequently the total effect produced by the machines of Saint-Germain may be represented by a weight of about 150 tons.

'A column of water raised from the level of the sea to the summit of Etna, would exert a pressure of 300 atmospheres; but the fluid lava is nearly three times heavier than water. Consequently, when this lava flows over the margin of the terminal cone, its pressure at the level of the plain will equal the force of 900 atmospheres, while its force at the bottom of the crater itself will be equal to the pressure of

1,800 atmospheres. The weight of this pressure on every square yard of surface will therefore be equal to more than 40,000 tons.

'Now we know that the pressure of liquids is exerted in all directions at once. Consequently each square yard of the vault which supports the volcano is subjected to a force acting from below upwards, which is 283 times greater than the machines of Saint-Germain. In the crater alone, the total force which is solely employed in sustaining the column of lava at the level of the orifice is equal to 53,262,500 times that of these machines. This is a force of more than twenty-one thousands of millions of horses.

'Hitherto we have supposed that the steam-engine was in perfect working order, and that the lava rose easily to the margin of the crater. In the steam-engine the safety valves become clogged, and are no longer available at the right moment; innumerable causes, some of which are still unknown, bring about the sudden evaporation of too large a quantity of water. In this case the boilers burst, and, rending the most solid walls, throw the fragments far around them. Under circumstances such as these, masses of fused metal weighing two tons have been projected to a distance of 250 yards. Now volcanoes have also their explosions, or, more correctly speaking, their eruptions are to a certain extent one continuous explosion, and the preceding remarks will show how extensively powerful must be their action.

'To appreciate completely the forces which are put in action, it will be necessary to add the pressures that we have already calculated, also the tumultuous liberation of vapours and gases, and the frightful degree of tension to which these elastic fluids must be subjected at a temperature capable of liquefying the hardest rocks. It would be necessary to multiply the upward pressure resulting from these combined forces not merely by the surface of the crater, but by the extent of the bore, which may perhaps embrace the entire central elevation; and we should then obtain numbers representing a force of which nothing would be able to give us any adequate idea, if the mountain itself did not exist as a monument of this formidable power.' \*

Let us assume that the pressure of steam necessary to raise felspathic lava five miles may be taken in round numbers as two thousand atmospheres. Then, although this immense pressure is considerable, yet it seldom or ever had been brought into mechanical action by human creatures. Only of late years have we found any approach amongst men to such figures. Messrs Hopkins and Fairbairn, at the request of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, accumulated pressures equal to those of the highest mountains, arriving even at the pressure of a column of water of thirty-three miles. Were such a pressure as this in action, and were it unrelieved by volcanic rents, it would lift up large tracts of solid land; and it may even now be

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\* *Rambles of a Naturalist*, vol. ii., p. 171.

operating in this manner.) To such a force we may attribute the uplifting of the western coast of South America in 1822, when, through a space of one thousand miles in length, the level of land and sea was altered, and the ground was in many places permanently raised.) Thus, too, entire provinces have been raised gradually and continuously, as, for example, a portion of Scandinavia. Considerable islands have lifted themselves up from the bottom of the sea, and have afterwards vanished as rapidly as they appeared. We have no space to enumerate the recorded instances of the appearance and disappearance of some volcanic islands, and of the permanence of others. (The number of these islands would surprise the unprepared reader, as in the instance of the Aleutian islands, and the Azores, where, in 1757, nine new islands were formed in less than a twelvemonth.) In the very bosom of the opposing elements rise up the hearths and fountains of fire, and the quenching waters flow into the very furnaces which have once raged with terrific flames, while the liquid masses of lava have rolled down in fiery streams to meet their natural foe, and have only paused and failed when they had advanced far into the drowning depths of the ocean.

Such are some of the more unquestionable tokens of the agency of fire in the elevation and alteration of large portions of our earth. (Many of the largest volcanoes appear to have burnt themselves out, and now stand like blasted and scathed monuments of ancient combustion.) On their scarred sides the courses of primeval lava-streams can be continuously traced,—fiery streams that seethed and swelled long before man walked the earth. All these marks of a world-old incandescence have a special interest for the geologist; but they possess also a higher interest seldom adverted to,—an interest for the believer in revelation, an intense interest for every expectant of ‘a new heaven and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness.’ To one who should be unacquainted with the forces and frequency of volcanic phenomena, it would seem a strange thing to prophesy that this ocean-girded globe shall be finally consumed by fire. But to one well informed upon these points nothing will appear more probable than that ‘the earth, and all the works therein, shall be burned up.’ (One hour’s relaxation of the repressing power of the Omnipotent,—one upraising of His finger from off the subdued springs of irrepressible force,—and immediately, from ten thousand rents of the cleft and riven earth, would burst forth innumerable fires, and the solid masses composing the exterior envelope of the globe would become molten seas; ‘the mountains would indeed flow down at His presence, as when the melting fire burneth, the fire causeth the waters to boil.’) ‘The hills

would melt like wax at the presence of the Lord ;' and it would then be acknowledged, in a sense infinitely more terrific than was conceived of old,—' For a fire is kindled in Mine anger, and shall burn unto the lowest hell, and shall consume the earth with her increase, and set on fire the foundations of the mountains.' (Deut. xxxii. 22.) Having, then, plain prognostications of the future from far spreading and desolate fields of lava and cinders and ashes, from the once flaming beacons of lofty mountains, and from cities and villages and vineyards buried under the heavy clouds of ejected ashes, we may well repeat and apply the inference of an apostle : ' Seeing then that all these things shall be dissolved, what manner of persons ought ye to be in all holy conversation and godliness?'

ART. VI.—1. *The Union Newspaper*. Articles on the *Lutheran Reaction in Germany*, in the Months of November and December, 1857.

2. *Evangelical Christendom*. Vols. VII.—XI. (1853–1857.)

3. *Results of an Investigation into Cases of Protestant Persecution on the Continent, undertaken at the Instance of the Executive Committee for the Vindication and Promotion of religious Liberty, recently constituted by the Hamburg Committee. With a Selection of Documents*. By the REV. T. R. BROOKE, B.A., Rector of Avening, and the REV. E. STEANE, D.D., one of the Honorary Secretaries of the Conference: to which are added, *The Minutes of the Hamburg Committee*. London. 1854.

4. *Signs of the Times*. By C. C. J. BÜNSEN, D.D., &c. Translated by SUSANNA WINKWORTH. London. 1856.

ON a recent occasion we presented our readers with a sketch of the general course and history of German Protestantism, from the time of Luther until now, and with a discriminative statement of the several characteristics, and of the respective limits and prevalence, of Lutheranism, and of the Reformed Church, in Germany. In this article our principal object is to furnish a matter-of-fact view of the present attitude and tendencies of the dominant Lutheran party, both as respects its *High-Church ritualism* and its *intolerance*. Other points may receive incidental illustration; but as the great feature in German ecclesiastical development, since 1848, has been the rapid progress of a sort of *German Puseyism*; and as, in connexion with this, Lutheranism has re-assumed its ancient and hereditary

intolerance, so that far more acts of unscrupulous religious persecution have, within the last few years, been committed in Lutheran than in Popish lands; these are the two points to which special attention must be directed. We observe that in this country the *Union* newspaper, which represents the Denison party in the Anglican Church, and which does not affect to disguise its radically Popish principles and sympathies, has recently been directing attention to what it deems the excellent example set by the Lutherans in this matter,—i.e., in the matter of *ritualism*; for the point of *persecution* is discreetly kept out of sight. It is high time that the attention of readers and thinkers of another class than those who patronize the *Union*, should be directed to the same fact.

Let us assume and premise a few points which were brought fully out in the former article to which we have referred. A scholastic and dogmatic theology, a semi-Popish and (on some points) superstitious ritualism, sacramental salvation, and an intolerant State-Churchism, are essential parts of Lutheranism. In fact, they constitute its *differentia*, to use a term of the school logic. They make it *Lutheranism*. Private confession and priestly absolution, also, were practices maintained by the authority and example of Luther. The rights of the Church laity have never been acknowledged, nor has the true idea of Church communion and discipline been any more recognised than in Popery. The meaning and the duty of personal conversion are things which have no relation to the Lutheran State-Churchism, and find no corresponding ideas or facts in its ecclesiastical arrangements. From these *data* it follows that a free evangelical Church-life is incompatible with strict Lutheranism. If found within it, it must be as a spirit imprisoned. If such a spirit emerges into activity, it cannot but rebel, whether consciously or unconsciously, against the bondage of the system. The proper force and action of Lutheranism are essentially Popish, rather than Protestant; ritual, dogmatic, and political, rather than free, living, and evangelical. Hence, until its force had spent itself in its incessant controversies, mixed up as these were with unflinching persecutions, and protracted through more than a century and a half; until its zeal was wearied out, and its failing dogmatic faith had become utterly unable to sustain a longer conflict; Lutheranism approved itself to be the bigoted and persecuting system which we have shown that it was constituted to be. To be this is its nature, its organic life. At last, however, its bitter spirit yielded to the palsying hand of universal indifference and unbelief. (Even the tenacious life of bigotry, the last thing that dies in any form of organized world-churchism,

wasted away and seemed to expire amid that azotic atmosphere of all-involving scepticism which overspread Europe in the latter half of the last century.

Bigotry, however, was not really dead. In Germany it was but in a trance, from which it was destined to revive when faith should first have revived. In France it was about to transmute into another body. There, indeed, as elsewhere, for a season, belief and bigotry had seemed to be equally extinct. But the day soon came when the explosion of the Great Revolution poured in upon the atmosphere of a faithless and exanimate world a stream of intense and stimulating oxygen, which quickened into furious life and devouring flame every evil and pernicious influence in society,—and, alas! at that time there was little but evil left to be quickened. Then, in France, bigotry suddenly rose again from its seeming death, and led the van in the rout and revelry of Furies. It was now, however, no longer, as in the days of Bossuet and Louis XIV., the bigotry of an intolerant State-Church, but of a state-established and propagandist unbelief. The faith of France at that day was infidelity; and this faith was preached with missionary zeal and ardour, whilst every form of Christianity was held a thing to be proscribed.

In Germany the crisis was far less violent, and produced no political revolution. One of the signs of its approach had been that, as we have stated, orthodox bigotry was, for a season, laid to rest. Nor, indeed, did religious bigotry re-appear in any force for many years. What the spirit of evangelical liberty and Christian love had been unable to achieve, did seem, at least in so far, to have been accomplished by the scoffs of the philosophers and the infidel indifference of the great but evil Frederick. Neither did the intolerance of unbelief in Germany manifest itself as it had done in France. As German infidelity was never to any great extent infected with the virulent spirit of the French atheistic materialism, so it never had the opportunity to become proscriptive and propagandist. It became the dominant *fashion*, and was taught at Universities by Professors, not only of Philosophy, but of Theology and Exegesis. But, except in the way of ridicule directed against what was supposed to be an obsolete and effete superstition, it had little power and less provocation to persecute Christianity. It was itself, in fact, professed and taught under the forms of orthodoxy; and, as for true Christian faith and free evangelical life, there was not enough in the land to excite opposition. In this condition things remained for some years after the opening of the present century.

But the French Revolution was for good as well as for evil. It contributed to vitalize the world's atmosphere, and to renovate



the energies of European life. Germany's own troubles succeeded. There seemed at first, after the Napoleonic whirlwind had swept the land, to be left no heart or hope, no Teutonic pride or union of race, no patriotism, whether in principal or minor states. But ere long hope and effort sprung out of extremity, behind and beneath which lowered the darkness of despair; and sorrow and suffering became the occasion of returning patriotism and loyal devotion.

From this time German hearts began to look to God. Unbelief had proved itself the parent of selfishness and apathy. God's judgments had seemed to brand it with a curse. Faith in God was felt to be a necessity of humanity, needful for truth and loyalty, needful in order to genuine nobility, needful as the only counterforce to base self-seeking, the only ground of stability, and the only law and assurance of progress. Religion had begun to revive in Britain, where—if we except the Methodists and some Dissenting congregations—it had been almost as low at the beginning of the century as on the Continent. The movement was soon shared by Germany; and for nearly forty years growing evangelical light qualified more and more the gloom of German infidelity. During all this period, until about the year 1850, little was feared or thought about any revival of Lutheran orthodox bigotry.

The evangelical revival found a congenial home in several of the 'Reformed' or semi-Reformed countries of western and south-western Germany. We refer, in particular, to certain parts of Rhenish Prussia, to southern Westphalia, and to Württemberg, which last country has long been under the joint influence of a mitigated Lutheranism and a mild Calvinism.

But it might have been seen from the beginning, that the new spirit of evangelical life could not long remain in harmony with the Church forms and constitution of those countries in which rigid Lutheranism was established. So long only as rationalism remained sufficiently powerful to act, in combination (so far) with evangelical truth and feeling, as a counterpoise to strict Lutheran orthodox bigotry, could this latter be prevented from assuming its own, its proper altitude. Life once infused into the evangelical heart of a community must, before long, impart a quickening energy through all its veins, and to all its activities. It will quicken the evil as well as the good, bigotry as well as true zeal. The contagion of earnestness must spread. Besides, in a sense, truth and sincerity themselves would demand in the lands of strict Lutheran State-Churchism the revival of Lutheran orthodoxy, bigotry included. This is *the truth* of Lutheranism,

and can only be held fully in abeyance by the presence, within the professing community, of at least a species of latitudinarianism. An honest and thorough Lutheran must find himself driven to this issue. It was, in fact, necessary, either that the new evangelical life should modify the Lutheranism, or Lutheranism must suppress that life.

It has been the wish of the last and the present King of Prussia, that the former result should be attained. Hence the establishment of the Evangelical Union in 1817, which for some years seemed likely ultimately to accomplish the purposes of its author. No state arrangement, however, can undo by mere authority or decree the evil which during centuries has been striking its roots deep into the soil of a nation's habits and institutions. The great names of Lutheran theology have canonized bigotry and intolerance; the standard confessions of the Church, and the most venerable and authoritative treatises of its doctors, have made sacramental mysticism an article of faith, and priestly ritualism a property of their Church order. All the ecclesiastical *prestige* of the past was in favour of a revival of lofty ecclesiastical pretensions. In the traditions and the time-honoured institutes of the National Church, buried though these had long been beneath a chaotic deluge of egoistic unbelief, there yet lay ready to be quickened, as soon as the turbid overflow had passed away, and the influences of faith and devotion could once more warm and work upon the common mind and heart, all the germs of Lutheran High-Churchism. We say the common mind and heart; for it is a mistake to suppose that only the professional pride and vanity of the clergy would be favourable to the revival of high ecclesiasticism. The doctrines of sacramental salvation and of priestly powers commend themselves to the indolence and cowardice and superstition, as well as to the love of marvel and of pageantry, which, in however various degrees, are common to the nature of all men.

It was not, however, until after the *annus mirabilis* of 1848, that the revival of Lutheran High-Churchism made itself much felt or very apparent in Germany. The disclosures of that year led to a reactionary policy in favour of despotism throughout the Continent. Under the favour, and with the support, of this political reaction, there immediately set in an ecclesiastical reaction. The same men were often leaders in both at once. The pro-Russian leanings of Prussia during the late war greatly helped the movement, notwithstanding that the personal sympathies of the excellent Prussian King were opposed to the aims of the high Lutheran bigots. In Prussia itself the Union has been maintained in little more than name. The Liturgy pre-

pared and revised, and again revised, under the authority of two Frederick Williams, is far too Lutheran and mass-like, too theatrical and protracted, to meet the views and feelings of the Reformed. Besides which, it is performed exclusively by the minister and the choir, the people taking no part. The practical effect of the Union has come to be limited, for the most part, to a recognition of each other as fellow Christians by the adherents of the two Churches, in the common administration of the Lord's Supper; to which it may be added, that the consistories of the provinces contain members of both communions, and direct the affairs of both. This, however, is no longer done by all the members of these consistories in common. The members of each communion, on distinctive and disputable points, vote apart, and regulate separately what are considered their own affairs. Each is required to declare his adhesion to one of the state confessions; and the effect of a moderate and catholic-spirited theologian's declining to identify himself specifically with either the Lutheran or the Reformed confession, and adopting the much more catholic confession of the 'Union' itself, is, that he has no vote on any point particularly affecting the administration of the Churches of either communion. Thus, altogether contrary to the intention of the Prussian Sovereigns, the Union, instead of bringing about a true fusion of the two Churches, has been reduced to a mere mechanical conjunction. It is not one organization and one body, but two distinct Churches, joined in one leash, and badged with one label. In Prussia Proper there may have been something like a partial fusion. But in Rhenish Prussia the Churches are Reformed, while in the Eastern provinces strict Lutheranism prevails. In the kingdom of Würtemberg only, among German principalities, has the Union taken full effect. In Saxony, Hanover, Bavaria Proper, and Mecklenburg, it has never been introduced. The Protestantism of these countries is strict Lutheranism.

The great leader in the work of reviving Lutheranism *within* the 'Union' has been Stahl, supported by Hengstenberg. These two men, indeed, may be considered as the heads of the High Lutheran movement throughout Germany. Besides the influence which Hengstenberg exerts through his private connexions with leading Prussian statesmen, and in his position as Professor at the University of Berlin, he edits a periodical of high literary ability, and devoted to this cause, entitled the *Evangelical Church Journal*. It is not, indeed, to the speeches or writings of these men that we are to look for a full development of the views and wishes of High Lutherans. Their position at Berlin, their official connexion with the State-Church under the King's

own eye, the comparatively liberal character of the Prussian government among German states; these, and other influences associated with these, necessarily impose a certain restraint upon the speech and action of men standing before the public of Germany and of the world, as do Stahl and Hengstenberg. There are not wanting, however, sufficiently significant indications of the extreme views which they really hold. At the meeting of the *Kirchentag*, at Bremen, in 1852, Hengstenberg and Stahl gave great offence to the majority of their Protestant brethren, by the ultra-tolerant terms in which they spoke of 'their erring sister Church of Rome.' On the same occasion, standing, it must be remembered, in the republican city, where the sister Churches of the French Huguenots have been for centuries established, and in an assembly of pastors and church-officers, many of whom had been deputed from Churches which had been augmented, or perhaps even founded, some ages since, by Huguenot refugees, Stahl excited the just indignation of the Reformed, by saying that 'if believing Catholics in our day are seen flocking to the Jesuit camp, it is only the natural result of their seeing believing Protestants becoming daily more identified in spirit with Cromwellians and Huguenots.' A more palpable insult than this to Merle D'Aubigné, a Huguenot by descent, and one of the admiring historians of Cromwell's career, could not have been devised. Hengstenberg read, before the same assembly at Bremen, a paper on the Jesuit Missions, in which he plainly expressed his opinion that the Roman Catholic Church in Germany is not less necessary than Lutheranism; that, by the Westphalian Peace, 'the co-existence' of Popery and of the Protestant Church 'has been decided as by the judgment of God;' and that the 'Evangelical Church wants the provocation of the Roman Catholic Church, to keep her alive to the necessity of a firm common ground of doctrine, and a Church discipline which tends to union. The decided tendency of this day,' he added, 'is infidelity. But from nothing will its cause suffer more, than from a lively opposition from two Churches which have in common the same triune God, and the three confessions of the ancient Church.' In another part of the same address, Hengstenberg laments 'the deplorable discontinuance of private confession in the Lutheran Church.' In May, 1856, at the pastoral Conferences held in Berlin, Stahl showed still more unmistakably the tendencies of his party. He delivered an opening address on the notorious Austrian *Concordat*, the main principles and provisions of which he did not scruple to go all lengths in defending. 'Its aim,' he said, 'was to secure to the Church her full freedom,' to enable her 'to unfold all her forces and her gifts, in order that she might pour out all her

blessings and educate generations in her faith.' To do this, he argued, was the Christian Church's vocation; schools and education ought to be under her entire control and direction; 'and that the Church to which in Austria this right ought to be conceded was the Catholic Church, was clear as day.' Hence the power given by the Concordat to the bishops and priests 'was the right of the Catholic Church, and a blessing for the Catholic population.' It was, however, incumbent on the priesthood to see to it, that they breathed into the population 'the blessing of the Christian Catholic faith, and not the mere poison of Protestant hate.' These are the sentiments, it must be borne in mind, of a member of the highest council in the Prussian Protestant Church, and they were delivered in an assembly of Prussian Protestant divines. We need not remind our readers of the character of the *Austrian Concordat*, which revives and secures the utmost prerogatives of mediæval and ultramontane Popery. 'This is the spirit,' says an able correspondent of *Evangelical Christendom*,\* 'in which Stahl conceives the notion of Protestant relations, not to Roman Catholic Christians' individually, 'but to the system of the Romish Church; [such is] the complacency with which he contemplates the inhabitants of a vast empire being handed over, in that which concerns education, religion, literature, and the most sacred of family ties, to a Church, in tearing from which a moiety of the German nation, Luther believed himself to be doing God service.' What can we call Stahl but a Lutheran ultramontane?

It is, however, to the utterances and acts of ecclesiastics who rule in a sphere where they have to contend with less opposition and are surrounded by feebler counteractive influences, that we must look for a fully characteristic development of modern High Lutheranism. Till within the last year or two, the Electorate of Hessen was administered by the notorious Hassenpflug, of whom our readers will hear more by and bye. This dignitary was prime minister, and had earned in the discharge of his office the bitter antipathy of his fellow-subjects. His enemies called him 'Hessenfluch' or *Hessen's Curse*, also *Hass und fluch*, or *Hate and curse*. He was, however, a High Lutheran, for merely political reasons, as we must presume, since he has distinguished himself by his sanction, for revenue's sake, of faro-banks, well known as among the most pernicious of gambling hells. However this may be, he affected the character of a pre-eminently orthodox minister of a pre-eminently Christian state, and as such promoted in every way the cause of High-Churchism. The chief instrument of his ecclesiastical designs was Professor

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\* Vol. I., p. 278.

Vilmar, of Marburg. One great object of these men was in every way to discountenance, incommode, and discourage the Reformed Church, wishing, if it were possible, to absorb the Reformed Churches of Cassel into the Lutheran Church. On the recommendation of Hassenpflug, Dr. Vilmar was expected to be confirmed in the appointment of superintendent (or bishop) at Cassel, in which position he would have enacted, on a smaller scale, but in a more arrogant and reckless spirit, the part which Stahl and Hengstenberg have played at Berlin. The Elector, however, happily decided upon this point to take the opinion of the celebrated jurist, Professor Emil Richter, of Berlin, a colleague, but *not* a fellow-labourer, with Dr. Stahl, both as a professor in the University, and as a member of the High Church Council. The professor gave an opinion unfavourable to Dr. Vilmar, and pronounced a strong condemnation on the Hassenpflug-Vilmar system. The consequence was that the minister resigned, and Dr. Vilmar lost the coveted appointment.\* We are happy to observe, from the *Evangelical Christendom* for December last, that the Elector and his consort were present last autumn at the meeting of the *Gustavus Adolphus Society*, at Cassel, from which we conclude that they have receded still farther from the position in which Hassenpflug would have had them stand.

Now Dr. Vilmar may be taken as an unexceptionable exponent of High Lutheran views. By education, indeed, he belongs to the 'Reformed,' and he has continued nominally to be attached to that communion. Prior to the disappointment of which we have spoken, he had even for some time acted as Reformed superintendent at Cassel. But at heart, and indeed in undisguised profession, his principles were those of Lutheran semi-Popery. It was his wish and purpose to use his whole authority and influence as superintendent,—if his acting-appointment had been confirmed by the Elector,—in order to constrain the ancient Reformed Church of Hessa to conform to the Lutheran doctrine and ritual. The manner in which he had been working for this end is fully detailed in an interesting paper contained in *Evangelical Christendom*, vol. viii.

In the same paper is given a digest of his semi-Popish principles,—the principles, it must be observed, of a Lutheranizing Reformed divine,—from which we may easily understand what

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\* In a series of articles published a few months ago in the *Union*, which go over, in part, the same ground as we have been reviewing in the text, 'the pious and able Dr. Vilmar' is lauded as 'the apostle of the reaction,' and this same Hassenpflug is graced with the title of 'the Bayard of the counter-revolutionists, in that part of Germany.'

strict Lutheranism means. It appears from this that at the Summer Pastoral Conference, at Giessen, (in Hessen Darmstadt,) in 1847, Vilmar carried the proposition, that 'the absolution of the sin-forgiving office (*i. e.*, of the ordained clergyman) works with judicial power, and wholly without reference to the faith, or want of faith, of the recipient.' It is a part of his doctrine that this sin-forgiving office is transmitted by successive ordination, and is the only hope for social regeneration. Dr. Vilmar, of course, though belonging nominally to the Reformed Church of Hessia, believes in the Lutheran 'miracle of the altar;' and so far does he approximate to Popery on this point, that he maintains that every religious service ought to culminate in the Eucharist, and has advised that, in case no communicant appear, the clergyman should partake alone, as the priests do in the mass. This divine's teaching in reference to confirmation assorts very exactly with his doctrines of baptismal regeneration, (in which he is, of course, a believer,) sacramental efficacy in the Eucharist, ordination, and priestly absolution. He maintains that 'pastors communicate the Holy Ghost to the children by the laying on of hands, and by prayer;' that 'the pastors are not so much to teach, as to show and bring Christ to the children by confirmation; for Christ will, for the first time, be present in the spirit, soul, and body of the child, by the sacrament of His body and blood.' Accordingly, he distinctly lays it down that 'the end and aim of the pastoral religious instruction is not the acquisition of knowledge, nor is it the awakening of good purposes and resolutions, *as they are called*,' but that the all in all of the ordinance is 'what is given to the candidate by the imposition of hands,' and 'the admission to the sacrament of the altar.' Only one thing is wanted to complete the Popery of this sacramental doctrine, and that is 'the adoration of the host.' Our readers will not be surprised when we tell them, on the authority of the *Union*, which on such a point must be excellent authority, that the High Lutheran school have not scrupled now to go even this length. And why not? If the Redeemer is there visibly and bodily present in the consecrated bread, why should He not, in that form and body, be adored? \*

\* Let the following quotation serve as an illustration of what is said in the text. It is taken from an address of Privy Councillor Schede, of Berlin, delivered at the meeting of the *Kirchentag* in 1853. (See *Evangelical Christendom*, vol. vii., p. 331.) 'The exaltation of the pulpit above the altar was a great error. The sacrificial service ought to be restored, and especially the elevation of the elements, as, in Luther's words, "an incessant sermon on the offering of Christ." The Prussian *Agenda* [the Liturgy of the two Frederick Williams (III. and IV.)] had done much to restore this idea. The offertory should be restored, as in the ancient Church. He dissented from the view of those who make the preaching of the Gospel the centre; and maintained that Christ was present in the sacrament with His flesh and blood.'

Let us add one or two further particulars as to the proceedings of this famous Dr. Vilmar. Of course he is anxious in every way to define as strictly and deeply as possible the distinction between the clergy and the laity. Hence, during the time that he acted as superintendent, he required that no one should give religious instruction in the Hessian Gymnasias, unless he were ordained; and he forbade any lay-teacher to pray extempore before the scholars. They were at liberty only to recite the Lord's prayer.

From what has now been laid before them, our readers may gather what is the present aspect of affairs in Hessa. It should be Reformed, but the High Lutheran spirit struggles hard to prevail. Besides such symptoms of this as have been described, we must add that Lutheranism is trying, by doing away, as far as possible, with the Heidelberg Catechism, and using only Lutheran formularies of faith and doctrine, by the imposition of a long Lutherized Liturgy, and in every other way, to starve Calvinistic Evangelism to death, and to assimilate and absorb the Reformed Churches.

But let us turn from Hessa to Mecklenburg Schwerin, which from the beginning has been strictly Lutheran, where scarcely any Papists or Reformed are to be met with. As Spain prides itself upon being a pure Catholic nation, undisturbed by the presence of either Jews, or Protestants, or unbelievers of any name, so Mecklenburg, notwithstanding the presence of three or four thousand Jews, prides itself on the fact that its half a million or more of Christians are all Lutherans, and considers itself an eminently Christian, and a purely Lutheran, country. Unhappily, however, its Lutheranism has no more been able to prevent this state from being one of the most demoralized and least religious in Germany, than Spain's Catholicism has availed to redeem it from the stigma of being one of the most unhappy and of the least virtuous or prosperous of European kingdoms. At the same time Mecklenburg is as conspicuous among even German states for superior intolerance, as Spain has been for a like distinction among the great nations of Europe. Let us, then, inquire what are the ecclesiastical tendencies which rule in this Lutheran principality.

On this point we will hear the testimony of Professor Plitt, of Heidelberg, the friend and, very recently, the pastor, of Bünsen, a man of distinguished character, and one of the very few truly liberal and enlightened minds of Germany, so far as regards the principles of religious liberty, on which subject he read at the Berlin Conference an admirable essay. Professor Plitt is a frequent correspondent of that excellent and most



instructive periodical, *Evangelical Christendom*, and gives the information which we are about to appropriate, in a communication which will be found in the tenth volume of that journal, pp. 275-277. Compare also pp. 356-7.

Dr. Kliefoth is an ecclesiastic of eminence in Mecklenburg. He is, of course, an orthodox Lutheran, and of his zeal for orthodoxy he has given evidence by the active and influential part he has taken in persecuting Baptist dissenters. Of the extremity to which this persecution has been pushed we shall presently give some instances. He is a member of the *Oberkirchenrath* or High Church Consistory of the principality, and therefore has great official sway in Church affairs. He is, moreover, the editor of a *Kirchenzeitung* or *Ecclesiastical Journal*. In the first number of this journal for the year 1856, this Lutheran dignitary published a remarkable essay *On Italian Protestantism and English Christianity*. In this, the evangelical movement in Italy is described as 'English fanaticism.' The English Bible Society, Tract Society, and Missionary Societies, are called 'an extensive apparatus of political and radical propagandism.' English Dissent is stigmatized as the great 'agitator against the Churches of the Continent.' The noble and pious Earl of Shaftesbury is represented as 'the arch-agitator;' the Evangelical Alliance is called 'the focus of all this agitation.' As might be expected from these tokens, the grand petty potentate of Tuscany has the sympathy and admiration of this Lutheran doctor, and the interference on behalf of the Medici by diplomacy and deputations is considered a mischievous and radical impertinence, bad in taste and bad in its moral influence. No sympathy has this Protestant divine and journalist with Sardinia in its noble efforts to establish liberty; and he is utterly unable even to rejoice with the evangelical Christians of Piedmont in the toleration which they have at length obtained. 'The "Reformed" colouring which pervades' their confession and their discipline; their neglect of tradition and adherence to the sole authority of the Word of God; their rejection of the doctrines of baptismal regeneration and consubstantiation; 'their *spiritualism* in the relation between office and gifts,' that is, as Professor Plitt aptly explains, their 'making the office depend on the gifts, whereas Lutherans make the gifts depend upon the office;'\* all these characteristics of true Protestantism excite the strongest distaste of the Lutheran High Church councillor against these long persecuted

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\* 'In Mecklenburg,' says Professor Plitt, 'it appears, one need only be ordained by Dr. Kliefoth to be an official dispenser of the means of grace, and all spiritual gifts will come of themselves.'

confessors of an ante-mediæval Christianity, and his deepest disgust and indignation against those English Christians who have shown them sympathy.

‘In these times,’ says the indignant German Lutheran, ‘when certain German theological professors have begun to feel such a silly, but not on that account less violent, enthusiasm for the Evangelical Alliance, and with the predilection of the German fashionables for all that is foreign, we may be brought to that point, that we would not only desire to have English horses, English manufactures, and English constitutions, but also English Christianity. In such a time as this, it is therefore best to see and consider well, as to what sort of Christianity this is, which English Dissent kindly wishes to bring to us through the medium of the Evangelical Alliance.’

Well, English horses are indisputably better than German, though we must confess that the Berlin horses are, for carriages and cavalry, superb; (working waggon-horses of the magnificent English breed, or of any breed, are positively not to be found in that capital;) English manufactures, too, on the whole, are certainly better far than German; and as to the English constitution, it is the envy of the world, and most of all of groaning German patriots, tracked and sentried as they are by the ubiquitous police nuisance, and educated and governed by all-intermeddling bureaux;—in these practical blessings we are happier and more prosperous than the fuming, dissatisfied, ever-theorizing, ‘cloud-compelling’ Germans. Is it not worth while for a philosophic divine to consider whether English Christianity may not be at the bottom of English prosperity, whether the excellence and the successful working of our constitutional government, whether even our success as manufacturers and agriculturists, may not depend, more or less remotely, but really and ultimately, on the character of our Christianity, and on the fact of our possessing a well-balanced Christian liberty?

No doubt Professor Plitt is one of those ‘certain German theological professors’ to whom Dr. Kliefoth makes contemptuous reference. Professor Plitt has answered his censor in the article from which we quote. Dr. Schenkel, who, like Dr. Plitt, is of Heidelberg, is another of these professors. His reply is thus given by his colleague. Our readers need scarcely be reminded that Dr. Schenkel is a very distinguished theologian.

‘You poor Italian congregations,’ exclaims Dr. Schenkel, ‘born to the love of evangelical truth, and reared in want and suffering, and amid the tears of martyrdom, to be so judged, so treated, by modern hierarchical Lutheranism, which still hangs over itself some rags of Luther’s doctrinal mantle, and calls itself Lutheran, but which, in fact, has already gone over to the camp of your Roman enemies!.....

Do not put your trust in man, but do not fear his wickedness. Trust, as Luther did, in the power and protection of your God; and be assured of this, while *one* Mecklenburg upper councillor scorns you, many thousand members of German Protestant congregations give you the hand of brotherhood in silent sympathy.'

Kliefoth speaks for Lutheran High Churchism; Schenkel for the Reformed in their newly rekindled zeal and love.

We have looked at Lutheranism in central Germany,—in Hessa, an ancient territory of the Reformed,—and seen how it asserts its character and pretensions; we have listened to its voice, as speaking from orthodox Mecklenburg to the north, where for centuries it has ruled without a rival; now let us observe how it demeans itself in the very region of its birth, where from the beginning it has had almost absolute sway. Professor Plitt affords us, in the paper to which we have referred, a glimpse of its character in Prussian Saxony. There assembled at Gnadau, in the spring of 1856, the Central Church Committee of the province. That 'one of the speakers of this assembly laid strong emphasis on the doctrine that infants are regenerated in baptism,' is no more than all would expect. Evangelical theology is not to be looked for in Saxony. Those who are not Rationalists will be believers in the mystical and miraculous efficacy of the sacraments. But there is another point on which Professor Plitt gives us some information worthy of attention. He states, in a second communication to *Evangelical Christendom*, contained in the same tenth volume, (see page 356,) that 'the fondness for long liturgies, and disinclination to sermons, which is found throughout Germany and among the young clergy, is a sign of the growing High Church tendency among us.' In the earlier communication, from which we have derived all besides that we have given to our readers on Professor Plitt's authority, he affords us an illustration of the tendency in this direction which is found in Prussian Saxony, as one of the characteristics of the Lutheran *renaissance*. He is referring to what took place at the Gnadau Assembly already spoken of.

'It is known,' he says, 'that the High Church clergy are trying to introduce into the public worship a prolix liturgy and mass, which bears much resemblance to that of Rome, and naturally forces the free preaching of the Gospel more and more into the back-ground. At the above-mentioned Assembly, a Lutheran pastor made a speech on the reformation of the form of public worship, in which he warmly recommended the introduction of the mass. He says that it is an abnormal state of things, that our morning service, which is considered the most important, is principally of an instructive nature, and that it ought to be "Adoration," "Communion," "Mass." He says

hat *he* must be a spiritual cripple (or stunted being) who only seeks to receive edification; man must edify himself..... By "adoration" a person edifies himself; for by it alone can he be inspired with "holy awe." Consequently no holy awe can be inspired by the law of God; must only inspire myself with it through the act of adoration.'

We have already given in a note to a former page the accordant High Lutheran sentiments of Privy Councillor Schede on his point, delivered before the *Kirchentag* of 1853; and we cannot better indicate the tendency and true meaning of all such ideas than by quoting a sentence from the reply which Professor Schenkel made at the time to the Privy Councillor of Berlin. 'Luther maintained that "the sermon is the principal part of worship." *The essence of the Romish Church is offering, that of the Protestant is the proclamation of grace.*' By this infallible diagnostic we may test the Protestant pretensions of any form of worship. At the same time prayer must prepare the way for, and must follow and bring to fruitful effect, the proclamation of grace.'

The essential identity of the principles involved in the movement of the 'New Lutherans,' as they are called, with those which constitute the definition of Puseyism, must be evident to every one. Necessary sacramental efficacy, or, as it may be otherwise described, salvation *ex opere operato*; superhuman priestly power in absolution, consecration, baptism, confirmation, ordination, and (of course, also) excommunication; these are the things taught and believed both by Lutheran and by Anglican High Churchmen. Both parties are alike distinguished by a paganism—or, which is the same thing, a popish—devotion to gesture, grimace, gaudy show, and theatrical pomp, in their ritual services; ritualism being, both for the one and the other party, not only the body but the soul of their devotions. Both alike are, in the highest degree, intolerant and contemptuous in their demeanour towards other communions. Both alike would separate the clergy from the laity by the deepest and broadest line of demarcation, prohibiting the laity from all public devotion or spiritual acts whatever.

Bünsen, indeed, wishes as far as possible to throw a veil over the offensive features of the Anglican High-Churchism, while he is justly severe on the Lutheran exclusives of his own land.

'Equally conspicuous,' he says, 'both on the Continent and in England, is the second sign [of the times] I mentioned: I mean *the rising power of the clergy as a governing caste or hierarchy, and especially, though by no means exclusively, of the Romish clergy.* Here, too, the diversity of the whole national and political life has an obvious influence upon the complexion of the particular case; still the

phenomenon remains essentially the same.'—*Signs of the Times*, pp. 26, 27.

Thus far we, of course, agree with him. But when, in the very next sentence, he proceeds to say, in almost startling juxtaposition with the words we have quoted, 'No things can be more unlike than English Puseyism and German Lutheranism,' we await with curious expectation the proofs which he should give for such an assertion. All, however, that we meet with in this place is the following distinction:—

'The first rests upon a firmly established episcopate, independent of the executive and the police, and reciprocally influences and is influenced by many national movements. But modern Lutheranism is the child of a consistorial Church of officials.'—*Ibid.*

No doubt this is as Bünsen asserts. But how does this distinction, important as it is in some respects, affect such resemblances in spirit, doctrine, and ceremonial details, as those which have passed under our view? The Popish spirit and principles from which all these things grow may flourish alike within the precincts of an English university, or under the shadow of a Lutheran consistorial court. They may be found to harmonize equally with the traditions of Anglicanism and of Lutheranism; with the tendencies of episcopacy in England, and of the consistorial government in Germany; with the canons of our Established Church, and with the too considerable remains of Popery which were left in Lutheranism by its founder; with the non-recognition of the laity, and the utter want of anything like spiritual communion and inner Church discipline in our State Church, and with the like defects in the German State Churches. It is true, indeed, that the episcopacy of England is 'independent of the executive and the police;' this renders it more dignified and more nationally powerful, whilst it greatly reduces its power to enforce upon the clergy strict and detailed uniformity, and to harass and pursue Dissent. It is true, likewise, that the 'episcopacy' 'influences and is influenced by many national movements;' and that this, on the whole, greatly increases its power for good, and limits its power for evil. But these considerations in no way affect the general parallel which we have been compelled to recognise. Besides which M. Bünsen has failed to observe that the appointment of our bishops to their sees and of many of our incumbents to their parishes by the ministry of the Crown constitutes, to some considerable extent, an analogy to the position in which the German Consistories and Church dignitaries stand to their respective state governments.

It is, indeed, true that the splendour of the episcopal hierarchy

of England, its venerable antiquity as an institution, and its direct descent from the times preceding the Reformation, have thrown the episcopal character of the Anglican Church government out into high relief, and led the High-Churchmen of England to maintain views as to the dignity attaching to the episcopal office, and the distinctions of the 'three orders,' peculiar to themselves. But these views are only an accidental Anglican extravagance. They are no essential part of Protestant Popery, or of what Papists call Catholic doctrine. Rome does not insist upon the dogma of the 'three orders,' but only upon the necessary grace of ordination, and the derivation of her own orders from the times and hands of the apostles. In precisely the same spirit as the high Anglican and the Romanist, we have seen that such men as Dr. Vilmar and Dr. Kliefoth teach the virtue of ordination, which in effect they make a sacrament of grace, and the necessity of a ministerial succession transmitted by imposition of hands. If they do not insist upon the need and blessing of an episcopal descent of orders, it is merely because their circumstances preclude them from doing so. 'Their poverty, and not their will, consenteth' to the position in which they find themselves.

To us, then, it appears that the parallel which has presented itself between Lutheran and Anglican High-Churchism is about as complete as it well could be. Our readers, however, will be interested to hear what more M. Bünsen, who has given his own children to the ministry of the Anglican Church, has to say upon this point.

'If we now turn to the Protestant Churches, the phenomenon of Puseyism in the Episcopal Church of England only appears as a faint reflection of the hierarchic schemes of Rome, its prototype; while it is met by a puritanic resistance of a purely national type, and a universal aspiration after greater evangelical liberty. But to the praise of both parties, and still more to the honour of England, be it said, that the High-Church clergy, where they have not gone over to Romanism, cannot be called enemies to civil liberty, nor can they, any more than their theological opponents, the Evangelicals, be accused of a leaning to a Russian Cæsaro-papacy. After various fluctuations, many of the most eminent men of both parties are now agreed as to the propriety of admitting the laity to a share in the government of the Church. But on this point the clerical party displays all the blindness of its hereditary absolutism. It is willing, as it is said in the resolution passed this month by the majority of Convocation, to "confer" the franchise on the laity, without dreaming that the latter can never admit that any such power resides in the clerical body..... The counter current has hitherto exercised little more than a retarding agency. The laity and the parochial clergy are protected

by the common law.....The bishop can canonically depose the latter; but the injured party has his action of damages. For practical purposes, the power of excommunication has entirely ceased; and the clergyman is too certain that a civil action will be entered against him by common law before a jury, to dare to maintain Church discipline. The question is now whether it is still possible to convert this negative position of affairs into a positive one. A mixed Royal Commission might be formed, composed of lay and clerical members, to draw up and propose a scheme of Church government in which the laity should find their place. That, if this be not done, the entire separation of the Church from the State will come to pass, and that by the instrumentality of a puritanic movement among the people, is already foreseen by many.....

‘But the fever of Puseyism which had infected the younger half of the clergy, and a part of the university students, together with the ladies belonging to the upper classes, is already on the decline. The realities of life are dispelling it. The arduous conflict waged against Russia,’ [we may now add the terrible revolt in India,] ‘with its solemn aspects for religion and humanity, its lessons and rebukes, and its illustrious examples among those who are not members of the Established Church,—as in the case of the heroic and highly-gifted Florence Nightingale,’ [and the lamented Havelock,] ‘has awakened all who are worth anything from their dreams. Mediæval phantasms vanish before such realities, as the mist before the sun.....’

‘Everything that exercises a saving influence in England; public spirit; the sense of legally established civil liberty, as a closely guarded jewel, as the very health of life; the conviction that perfect freedom of conscience is alone in harmony with Christianity; that every check upon this is persecution, and all persecution unchristian; finally, the belief that in this unconditional religious liberty the ameliorating agency is really to be found: all this is wanting to that clerical tendency in Germany, which corresponds to Puseyism. This, in adopting the title of Lutheranism,.....makes itself the organ of absolute monarchical power and the privileges of the feudal nobility; and, above all, the advocate for the penal laws by which the external discipline of the Church was maintained during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. A double police government is the ideal of this party, which is thereby not only drawing perdition down upon itself, but threatening to deliver up Protestantism and the State into the hands of the Jesuits.’—*Signs of the Times*, pp. 232-236.

This extract, we refer especially to the last paragraph, makes it sufficiently plain that the difference between Puseyism and High Lutheranism consists not in anything internal, but merely in the circumstances by which the two things are surrounded. Puseyism is modified by the atmosphere of British free thought, and the influence of British free institutions. Lutheranism is more at liberty, under the protection of despotic ideas and institutions, to develop its inherent tendencies. It is this, and this

alone, in our judgment, which must account for the Lutheran efforts to establish a police Church discipline, as contradistinguished from the Anglican liberalism on this point. In Germany, High-Churchism is in a position to make such efforts; in England, the case is otherwise. There are few things about which, for several years past, there has been more talk in Protestant Germany than about 'the restoration of discipline.' The subject is brought up, year after year, at pastoral Conferences, and at the *Kirchentag*. But very different ideas are, by the opposite ecclesiastical parties, attached to this phrase of excellent sound. Dr. Sack, of Magdeburg, Dr. Nitzsch, of Berlin, and M. Von Bethmann Hollweg, understand by it a real spiritual and congregational discipline, restricted in its application to those who are or would be communicants, and in its penalties to Church censure, or to suspension or expulsion from Church privileges and communion. Such a Church discipline is, however, in fact, incompatible with the theory and position of a State Church. Only free Churches can have an efficient spiritual discipline, or undertake to maintain purity and Christian life within their communion. This is clearly seen by Stahl and his party, and pressed with close logic upon their opponents. The party of Stahl, accordingly, understand by Church discipline the power to enforce the outward observance of ecclesiastical duties, and to restrain and punish immorality and irreligion, dissent and heresy, if needful, by the secular arm and by civil penalties. This is the old idea of discipline which was inherited from the Reformers, whether of Germany or of Switzerland. It ruled in the English ecclesiastical legislation of the Elizabethan era. It was still, to some extent, operative in the Established Church of Scotland, so lately as the last century. Not content with censure, penance, and excommunication, the Church claimed the power, in certain cases, to demand fine, imprisonment, or even worse, against those who violated its regulations, or showed towards it opposition or contempt. But in England all such ideas have for some time—not, perhaps, for so long a time as some suppose—been obsolete. Though from the tone, the tactics, and the intolerable assumptions of many parish clergymen in dealing with Dissenters in a dependent position or of the lower orders, it may be fairly and certainly concluded that, if they could, they would gladly restore such discipline in England; yet we do not apprehend that there is any danger of their venturing to demand this, notwithstanding such an example of hardy bigotry and arrogance (in another but kindred matter) as the Rev. Mr. Edouart's. But, in Germany, Church bigotry and intolerance do not yet need to hide



themselves. The power of discipline, in the sense last described, is actually exercised to an unhappy extent, against Dissenters, at any rate; and the police is employed to enforce intolerant Church laws, and to hunt out heretics and dissidents.

This leads us, by a natural transition, from a consideration of the High-Church doctrine to a view of the intolerant practice of the German strict Lutherans. We have explained, in a former article, that the basis of all ecclesiastical rights and legislation, as fixed by the statutes of German governments, is to be found in the provisions of the Westphalian peace. Since the conclusion of that peace, it has been the law throughout Germany to protect the existing *status* of the Romanist, Lutheran, and Reformed Churches, and to prohibit proselytism from any recognised and protected community, in any place, to either of the two others. Existing rights and organizations, however, being preserved intact, any government is at liberty, apart from this restriction, to favour and promote, in any way it may think fit, either of the three Churches in preference to the other two. Communities which were simply protected might grow by the natural increase of children born into the community, and baptized and confirmed by the Church pastors, but could scarcely be expected to make progress in any other way. The favoured Church would, on account of the official and governmental patronage, receive, without direct or obvious proselytism, many voluntary accessions. It would also possess great advantages in respect of increased revenues, multiplied and improved educational institutions, more abundant pastoral aid, &c.; the law being satisfied in regard to the other communions by a bare maintenance of the *status quo* of 1624. Meanwhile Dissent, *i. e.*, any form of Christianity differing from the three recognised by the treaties of Westphalia, has been altogether prohibited. No Baptist, or Independent, or Anglican Episcopalian, or Methodist, can, by the German law, expect anything but absolute intolerance.

This was, and is still, the law which pervades Germany. It has always, however, been within the competency of the governments to make special and arbitrary exceptions, in favour of particular communities. The Jews have, on this principle, usually enjoyed protection. But every such case is considered as depending merely upon the good pleasure of the government, which might at any time withdraw the favourable exception, and fall back on the principles of the Westphalian settlement. In fact, it would appear that special cases of exemption ordinarily depend upon particular cabinet directions to the police, and not upon an organic law. Hence it follows that

the same dissenting denomination may be tolerated in one town of a country or province, and prohibited, perhaps severely persecuted, in every other part of it; or it may obtain an authorization to-day, which is liable to be withdrawn the next year, or the next month, at the will of a King, or a cabinet, or a republican senate. Thus the Baptists, after having been persecuted for thirty years, have at length obtained a recognition and authorization from the Senate of Hamburg, which, it is to be hoped, will be perpetual, but which might be withdrawn at almost any time. Thus, again, the same Dissenters are fully protected at Berlin, and fairly tolerated at Stettin; yet, in other parts of the eastern Prussian provinces, they have been vexatiously proscribed and harassed by the police.

It is true, indeed, that Prussia has made an effort to raise itself above the level of the Westphalian provisions, in regard to religious liberty. Not only has the King personally been strongly in favour of unrestricted freedom of conscience, in the English sense, but the new constitution of Prussia, adopted January 31st, 1850, lays down, in eight admirable articles, the most thorough-going principles of religious liberty. These articles, which are given at full length by Bünsen, guarantee both the freedom of the Church and of the State: they make civil and political rights independent of the religious profession; they decree 'the liberty of religious confession, and of union in religious societies, or of social worship, domestic and public.' Article XIII., indeed, says that 'those religious societies or clerical bodies which have no corporate rights, can obtain such rights only by special laws;' but the meaning of this is, doubtless, that only such Churches as are thus incorporated by special laws, can obtain State assistance and endowment.

Notwithstanding, however, these provisions of the new Prussian constitution, religious liberty is no more practically *the law* of Prussia than it was before. The treaty of Westphalia is still in force. Each protected Church can demand to have the provisions of that treaty enforced against any who, by attempting to proselyte, or otherwise, violate their guaranteed rights. Many minor laws, founded upon the Westphalian provisions, and intended to secure their being thoroughly carried out, are also still in force. The adoption of a constitution cannot at once either repeal, or modify and mould anew, the legislation of centuries. The *only* laws to which parties could make appeal,—the only guarantees of property, the only guides in administration, the only standards in litigation,—are laws the entire genius and spirit of which are antithetical to the principles of the new Constitution. There are many intolerant laws, yet unrepealed, which at

this day deform the statute-books of England. And, every now and then, some fanatical High-Churchman furnishes a disgusting, yet instructive, lesson of mediæval bigotry,—offers in his own person a living specimen of what the English world had supposed to be only discoverable as a fossil monster,—by making his appeal to one of these laws, on behalf of a dead tyranny, and against living liberty and charity. It is easy to understand, therefore, how the tenor of the whole stream of German and Prussian legislation has force to suppress and annul the provisions of the new Constitution. It must be remembered, in connexion with this, that the clergy, the land-owners, and magistracy, and the police authorities, are usually agreed in their opposition to what they consider the revolutionary principles of modern religious liberalism. Nothing can give effect to the Constitution, but special and detailed legislation in repeal of the old enactments, and in conformity with the new articles. Until this is done, any future sovereign of Prussia, whatever may be his personal disposition, will be liable to be surprised, as the present King has been more than once, by learning that, without his knowledge, yet under his name and authority, Dissenters have been harshly persecuted in his dominions.

Among the German sovereigns, none is more distinguished for personal liberality than the amiable and enlightened reigning King of Bavaria. (He is a Catholic by profession, but he married a daughter of the Princess Marianne of Prussia, whose pious and lovely character, eminently Christian life, and most happy death, are beautifully commemorated in a paper contributed to *Evangelical Christendom*. (Vol. i., pp. 101–103.) Both the Princess's daughter and her son-in-law, then Prince of Bavaria, ministered affectionately to her in her last hours. The King of Bavaria was thus a nephew of the brave and noble Prince Waldemar, who so distinguished himself as a volunteer under the eye of Lord Hardinge in the Punjaub. This King—we need not say how unlike in character to his father, of Lola Montes notoriety—is not disposed to yield any countenance to the spirit of religious bigotry, and, not unmindful of the faith in which his justly beloved consort was educated, shows such kindness to the Protestant Churches that some of the Papists intimate that he is a Protestant at heart. In Würtemberg and Baden, too, the authorities evince, on the whole, a liberal spirit.

But all this really amounts to very little. The police *régime* prevails everywhere. The idea of religious liberty is naturalized nowhere. There can be little doubt that, if Dissenters were to make themselves active, even in the provinces of Bavaria and Würtemberg, the police would be upon them, and they would

soon be sent about their business.\* Accordingly, in Würtemberg, though the Wesleyans are very active, and have numerous members and frequent meetings, they have found it prudent to employ no ordained minister, but only lay agents. Their members all attend the parish churches, and receive the communion there. The same plan they pursue in some other neighbouring provinces. Such a modicum of liberty as this implies, is not what the members of free Christian nationalities have a right to demand; and yet this much is only enjoyed *on sufferance*. In a word, the entire religious provisions and legislation of Germany rest upon a basis of intolerance and exclusiveness. That freedom of conscience and of worship, which is of the essence of Protestantism, and which was in effect won for humanity by Luther's revolt against Rome, is yet denied and proscribed in a truly Popish spirit throughout Lutheran and Protestant Germany.

Still more, in some countries of Protestant Germany intolerance rises into active persecution, such as must be considered, in the nineteenth century, not less cruel and odious than were the iniquities of the Inquisition in the sixteenth. Tuscany herself, at this day, is not more intolerant than Mecklenburg. We shall proceed to give a few examples of these modern persecutions.

We begin with the case of Schaumburg Lippe, one of the smallest states in Europe, containing something more than thirty thousand inhabitants, of whom about one hundred or rather more are Roman Catholics, the remainder being almost entirely Lutherans. The following decree, which was issued by the Prince in June, 1852, is a document worthy of reproduction:—

‘We, by the grace of God, George William, reigning Prince of Schaumburg Lippe, having been informed by our Government and Consistory that the sect of the so-called Baptists, for some time past existing in our territory, have sought by public addresses and the distribution of tracts to gain adherents, and that the emissaries of this sect have even dared to dispense the holy sacraments; and We being resolved that this sect so opposed to public as well as ecclesiastical order shall not continue to pervert the minds of our subjects, and finding that the warnings of the clergy have been of no avail, do make the following decree, founded upon the Church Ordinance of the year 1614, as follows:—

‘1. The local authorities are prohibited from granting a permission of residence to any missionaries of the Baptists.

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\* In fact, we find that the one Baptist Church in Bavaria, situated at Bayreuth, which had been in existence since 1840, was in 1852 suppressed by the police under threat of imprisonment and hard labour.

'2. Should such foreign missionaries secretly or without permission remain in the country, they are to be arrested and imprisoned, for the first offence, for one month, for every subsequent offence three months.

'3. If Baptists who are natives of the country hold conventicles or meetings for religious worship, they shall be imprisoned one month or two, according as the meeting has been held privately or in public. Foreigners holding such meetings are liable to the punishment in Clause 2.

'4. Whoever allows such meetings to be held at his house, but does not himself conduct it, shall suffer imprisonment for fourteen days.

'5. Any person, whether a native or a foreigner, who sells or distributes Baptist tracts, shall be liable to an imprisonment of fourteen days for each offence. A foreigner incurs in addition the penalty in Clause 2. All tracts of this kind are to be sent to our Government.

'6. Persons performing ecclesiastical acts, namely, the administration of the sacraments, ordination, and marriage, shall be subject to an imprisonment of six months. Foreigners incur in addition the penalty in Clause 2.

'The offences recited in Clauses 2, 3, 4, 5, shall be decided upon by the police authorities; that under Clause 6 shall be brought before our court of justice.

'*Bückeburg, June 29th, 1852.*

'In the name and on behalf of his Serene Highness our most gracious Prince and Lord.

'The President and Council of the Government of Schaumburg Lippe. (Signed) 'VON LAUER. WERNER.'

'Published July 3rd, 1852.\*

It will be observed that this decree is founded upon 'the Church Ordinance of 1614.' Since that date, earlier even than the beginning of the Thirty Years' War, there has been no improvement, no change, in the ecclesiastical policy of this part of Germany. The maxims and principles which prevailed in the time of the English James I., in Germany still rule in the ascendant.

Nor was this decree of 'his Serene Highness the most gracious Prince and Lord' of Schaumburg Lippe permitted to be a dead letter. The sword once drawn was not allowed to rest innocuous. The Baptist meetings, though no longer held publicly, were not discontinued. Like the Covenanters, they met sometimes in the depths of the forest, at other times secretly in private houses. The efforts of the police to surprise them were in vain. Ten of them, including one woman, were then interrogated separately by the police, and sentenced to a month's imprisonment, *with an additional fortnight for the woman, because she would not reveal where she had last partaken of the Lord's*

\* *Protestant Persecution, &c.*, p. 19.

*Supper.* This was on October 20th, 1852 : since that time, imprisonment for similar *crimes* has been frequent. On one occasion, May 11th, 1853, four women were cast into prison. One of them, the wife of Mr. Tecklenburg, a respectable tradesman in Bückeburg, from whom the Rev. Dr. Steane, and the Rev. T. R. Brooke, Rector of Avening, obtained their information in reference to these cases, had an infant in arms only four months old, and another had one only six weeks old. They were deprived of all books but the Bible. Mr. Tecklenburg also had suffered imprisonment ; but, *in addition to this, a fine was inflicted on him for refusing to take his infant to be baptized ; and his goods were seized for it.* A Lutheran clergyman was seated on the bench with the civil magistrates, when some of the offenders were sentenced to imprisonment. He defended the principles on which the law proceeded and was administered. It could not be permitted, he argued, that Dissenters should administer the sacraments and make proselytes. He professed, however, not to approve of the fine inflicted on Tecklenburg for not bringing his infant to be baptized. This minister was a member of the *Kirchentag*, and had heard Dr. Steane plead at Elberfeld, in 1853,—a few months before,—for religious liberty.

Dr. Steane and Mr. Brooke had also an interview with Baron von Lauer, President of the Government, and also of the Senate of Justice, in the principality of Schaumburg Lippe. This nobleman admitted that morally the Baptists were very good people, and that politically they were peaceable and good subjects ; but he defended the decree and imprisonment on the ground that neither the Lutheran Church, nor the State which protected it, could allow any Dissent. This, he maintained, was true Lutheranism, according to the teaching of Luther himself.

The visit of the English deputation produced no favourable effect whatever on the persecuting authorities of this petty principality. Not a great many weeks afterwards,—in January, 1854,—they put in an execution, and *distrainted* upon the unfortunate prisoners, after their sentences had expired, *for the cost of the food they received in the prison, the prison dues, and the fees for examination.* (!) Subsequently there have been renewed imprisonments of men and women for holding private meetings to read the Scriptures and to pray. A shoemaker, named Brinckmann, also, was in the winter of 1855 required to pay a fine of twenty-five thalers, or £3. 15s., because he had not consented to his daughter's being confirmed. This fine was commuted to an imprisonment of thirty-seven days *and two hours.*

Let us add, to the credit of his Majesty of Prussia, that when, through the Committee on Religious Liberty, appointed at the

Paris Conference of the Evangelical Alliance in 1855, he received intelligence of these cases, and in particular of the severe imprisonment of Brinckmann, he immediately dispatched his minister at Cassel to Bückeburg, to seek an interview with the Prince of Schaumburg Lippe, and to represent to him the regret of the King at the intolerance manifested towards the Baptists, and particularly at the severe treatment of Brinckmann. By this time, however, Brinckmann's imprisonment had expired.

Let us further add, in this connexion, the statement of a fact which will serve to illustrate not only the personally liberal sentiments of Frederick William IV., but some of our previous remarks in regard to his inability by any promulgation of articles of liberty, or by any exertions of his own, to secure practical religious liberty throughout his dominions. We trust that now, since Sir C. E. Eardley's interview with his Majesty during last autumn, the Baptists in Prussia enjoy, in effect, the privileges of a recognised and authorized religious community. But as they had never previously enjoyed that position, they were subject, in the eastern provinces, to frequent harassing interferences. Passports were refused them by the local authorities, and sometimes fines have been inflicted for holding meetings. Among some others who had been fined was a schoolmaster named Stangnowski, residing at Goyden, in East Prussia. He petitioned the King to annul his sentence. This request the King declared himself unable to grant, but himself paid the fine instead of the schoolmaster, who, however, was then required to pay the expenses of the process.\*

Schaumburg Lippe lies within the general limits of the territory of Hanover, towards its southern border. Let us pass about a hundred miles almost due south into the electoral principality of Hessen Cassel. The Church of Hessen Cassel has, for centuries, been professedly 'Reformed' rather than Lutheran. Its position, however, has been on the border of the Lutheran territories, and it has been much influenced by Lutheran ideas. Of late, also, as we have already seen, political causes have favoured a policy of absolutist reaction, of which Hassenpflug, the late minister, has been the moving spirit, and of which he wished to make hierarchical Lutheranism a main instrument. In this territory persecution has been carried to great lengths. The special laws, indeed, of Hessia, unlike those of purely Lutheran territories, are liberal, and the administration of justice

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\* We have derived the facts above stated, partly, as acknowledged, from the small, and cheap, but very interesting and valuable, pamphlet by Dr. Steane and Mr. Brooke, and partly from *Evangelical Christendom*, vol. viii., pp. 84, 174, 212, 305; and vol. x., pp. 80-83, 92.

seems to be impartial. Again and again have the sentences inflicted on the Baptist dissidents by the local magistracy and the police been annulled by the courts of law. But this has availed nothing; for the highest executive authorities have overriden the courts, and enforced the decisions of the local magistrates. The clergy, it appears, are often the great instigators in these proceedings. Religious meetings are forbidden, whether public or private, and those who hold them are imprisoned. The oath of a Baptist is not taken in a court of justice, in consequence of a decree of Hassenpflug; and the bodies of Baptists are not allowed to be interred in holy ground, but 'in the place where none but suicides besides are buried.' In 1853, Dr. Steane and Mr. Brooke had an interview with Hassenpflug, at that time minister, which deserves to be recorded:—

'The Prime Minister of Hesse Cassel, at the present time, is his Excellency John Daniel Louis Frederic Hassenpflug. The reception we met with from this gentleman formed a striking contrast to that with which we had just been honoured by the commander-in-chief; and we cannot characterize his manners towards us otherwise than by saying that they were extremely rude and ungentlemanly. We again used, as our introduction, the letter of Sir A. Malet; but he treated it with marked disrespect; a circumstance which we felt to be the more offensive, as Electoral Hesse is one of the governments to which that minister is accredited. Having read it, he said curtly, that he should pay no more attention to a deputation bringing such a letter, than he should to any ordinary travellers. This was the first sentence he addressed to us, and it could not, of course, fail to make its proper impression, foreshadowing with no little distinctness the subsequent contemptuousness with which we were treated. As to the object of our visit, (he continued,) he wished us to understand that the Baptists should not be tolerated in Hessa. We asked if this hostility to them had a personal origin, if they were not peaceable subjects, or if they improperly meddled with politics? He replied, By no means; it rested entirely upon ecclesiastical reasons. We inquired if we were, therefore, to understand that no religious liberty would be allowed to persons dissenting from the Church of the State. He answered that he would not say what might be the case if other evangelical sects should arise, but certainly the Baptists should have none. We disclaimed for them all connexion both in their principles and historically with the Anabaptists of Munster. This disclaimer he allowed might be just in relation to the English Baptists, but he denied its application to those of Germany. We rejoined that the Committee by which we were deputed would not throw their shield over them, if they were not persons of good moral character. It might be so, he said, but that was not enough; the Turks were a moral people. And the Turks, we answered, are tolerated in our country. He replied, with a sneer, such things might do for England, but would not suit Hessa. We inquired, if the law which we had with us, and which we showed him, applied



to the Baptists. This was the Constitution given by the Elector in 1848. He threw the paper violently from him, and said, with evident anger, "This is of no force now;" and he then pointed our attention to a law of the present year, which annulled it. We further inquired, if we might entertain the hope that the present restrictions would be removed, when martial law terminated. To this he replied, that he could not say what might be done then, adding emphatically, but assuredly they would not have the Baptists in Hessa.

'Through the whole conversation, Mr. Hassenpflug manifested great irritation and impatience. We admired the quiet equanimity with which Mr. Lehmann translated to us the waspish sentences in which the Baptists were denounced, and we confess to the feeling of a sense of strong provocation which it required something more than philosophy to repress. He would have left us at once on understanding our errand, and evidently intended to hold no communication with us, only that, perceiving this, we succeeded in detaining him by our questions. We were consequently kept standing in an ante-room during the interview. At length, seizing the opportunity supplied by a momentary pause in the conversation, he abruptly made a bow, and hurried away, slamming the door after him as he left the room.'—*Protestant Persecution*, pp. 11, 12.

From the south of Hessen Cassel if we proceed but a few miles eastward, passing through the territory of Eisenach, we come to the principality of Saxe Meiningen, a portion of the ancient Thuringia, and still overshadowed in parts by dense forests. Here also intolerance is pushed to the length of grievous persecution. A sample of the regulations made against the Baptists is the following:—'The holding of religious meetings, whether public, or *if only a third person is present*, and especially if children are admitted, is prohibited to the Baptists under a fine of ten florins.' The consequence of the decree of which this prohibition forms a part, is that the poor Baptists of Hildburg-hausen, a branch of the Baptist Church of Hersfeld, in Hessen Cassel, are placed under the constant surveillance of the police, and are obliged either to go altogether without any social religious intercourse whatever,—they dare not even read the Bible together, much less pray as well as read,—or to repair to the forest to hold their meetings in secrecy, under cover of its shady depths, and of the darkness of night, and upon Prussian soil. On one such occasion their devoted pastor, the persecuted Beyebach, of Hersfeld, appointed to meet his flock, and administer to them the Lord's Supper. How striking is this description of the scene, and how strongly does it remind one of similar scenes which were enacted on Scotland's moors during the days of Claverhouse!

'It was at ten o'clock on a dark and rainy night when they all met on the side of a hill in the depths of a pine forest, to show forth the

death of Christ. "Our table," says that good man who put the statement into our hands, "was the mossy turf. I spread that table with a white cloth. How beautiful did the cup of the Lord appear upon it, while a few stars looked down from a clouded sky! It was so dark in the gloom of the forest that we could scarcely see the bread. But our hearts were the more full of joy, as we had so long missed this sacred privilege. In commemorating our Lord's death He had strengthened our faith and love, and we joined in a song in the loneliness of a night in the forest."—*Protestant Persecution, &c.*, p. 6.

The ducal functionary whom the English deputation visited, the 'minister of the interior,'—a title which sounds sufficiently ridiculous when applied to the administrator of so small a principality as Meiningen,—this functionary, M. Oberlander by name, received Dr. Steane and his colleague very civilly, not at all in the Hassenpflug style. He explained to them that the decree against the Baptists was based upon an article in the penal code, which is common to the Thuringian states. He admitted that the Baptists were good people, and politically inoffensive. But he seems to have firmly, and with official reserve, though quietly and courteously, maintained the attitude of an upholder of the principles of intolerance, as was indeed to be expected from the author of the persecuting decrees. It may be proper to add that Saxe Meiningen contains probably about 170,000 to 180,000 inhabitants, of whom there may possibly be about 1,000 Romanists, and from 1,500 to 2,000 Jews, the rest being all Lutherans.

But the most important and instructive instance among all the persecuting states of Germany is that of purely Lutheran Mecklenburg.

The following summary of the principal recent cases of persecution in this country is taken from a memorial presented to Frederick William (IV.) of Prussia, by a deputation from the Paris Conference of 1855, consisting of Sir C. E. Eardley, and three foreign pastors, one Lutheran and two Reformed. The details of these cases are painfully interesting, but our space compels us to omit them. It must be observed that *only recent* instances are here stated. These persecutions had been carried on for several years previously with equal cruelty and pertinacity.

'In the month of June, 1855, M. Wachs and M. Nörnberg were imprisoned at Techentin, near Ludwigslust, for having distributed tracts and conversed on religious subjects. On the 21st of July, M. Nörnberg was again arrested at Grabow, when he was sentenced to a fine, and officially warned that another time, instead of a fine, *he would be subjected to corporal chastisement!* M. Wachs was con-

demned to eight days' imprisonment, and for half the time on bread and water. The 10th of August of the same year, M. Wegener and M. Behnke were condemned to a fine of ten thalers each, and M. Wegener, in addition, to six weeks' imprisonment, (half of the time on bread and water,) for having administered the sacrament. The same Christian has been' [this refers also to former persecutions] 'imprisoned six times, and for the payment of the fines his goods have been sold seven times, including two cows, a pig, and a goat, the means of subsistence for his family.'

M. Wegener, in fact, acts as pastor to this persecuted flock, and, since the above summary was drawn up, he has been again imprisoned twice. But the former part of the next paragraph, in continuation of the preceding quotation, discloses a means of proscription and coercion more fearful than the worst of active persecutions. It is well known that, according to the Lutheran law, no person can be married who has not received the sacrament of the Lord's Supper at least once during the previous year. Rationalists, infidels, and gross profligates make no difficulty of this test; but a conscientious Baptist cannot partake of the Lutheran mass. Hence the Baptist can only be married by the favour of the Lutheran pastor, and the connivance of the authorities. The pastors, however, in Mecklenburg are as little disposed to favour, as the authorities are to connive. Hence the Baptists cannot be married in Mecklenburg; nor will the authorities grant them passports to leave the country for the purpose of marrying and coming back again. The sad result in many cases may easily be anticipated. In Lutheran Sweden, as in Mecklenburg, among many grievances this is the greatest which the Dissenters have to suffer. There, in Sweden, the parents and Baptist preachers together have begun systematically to perform the marriage ceremony among themselves: this, however, is legally worthless; all the children are in fact illegitimate. In Mecklenburg the state is too small, the police are too vigilant and powerful, and the Dissenters are too few in number, for them to commence this method. Dr. Steane has personally told us, that in the case about to be mentioned, the parties had already been betrothed for three years, and during that time had in vain sought to be united to each other.

'A sailor named Feindt, having been refused by several clergymen, determined to come to England with his intended bride, to be married. [They absconded accordingly from Mecklenburg.] Arrived at Hamburg, he was arrested on board the steamer, and he and his affianced bride were thrown into prison, because they had not a passport. Being sent home by the authorities, he applied for a passport, which was refused him, as it had been before.

'The government publicly declared that if the Baptists would not submit, there remained no other alternative but emigration. Consequently, in the month of July, 1855, the preacher Kleppe left Hamburg with twenty-six members, and twenty-three other persons, for America; but they did not depart from Europe without addressing a solemn protest against that compulsory exile to the Grand Duke and to the superior ecclesiastical authority.'

For our parts, we are disposed to wish, for their own sakes, that the preacher Wegener and all his fellow Baptists had gone with them. Yet we are so sensible of the good these earnest, praying men are doing, by their strict adherence to scriptural authority, and their veneration for Sabbath sanctity, that we know not how their heaven is to be spared from the land.

Now let us hear what the bland minister of Mecklenburg had to say to the English deputation as to the principles on which he acted. It must be remembered that at the period of this interview, in the latter part of 1853, the later and most aggravated acts of persecution specifically referred to in the foregoing extracts had not yet been committed. Severe fines and imprisonments, however, had at this time been inflicted; and, besides, about a thousand religious tracts, eight Bibles, and a quantity of other books, among which were *Baxter's Saints' Rest*, *Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress* and *Holy War*, and the *Memoirs of Mrs. Judson*, had been seized and carried away.\*

Mr. Von Schröter is the Mecklenburg Minister of Justice and of Ecclesiastical Affairs. Dr. Steane and Mr. Brooke waited upon this gentleman at Schwerin to represent to him the feelings of English Christians in respect to the persecutions at Ludwigs-lust. They carried letters of commendation from Lord Augustus Loftus, chargé d' affaires at Berlin. By Mr. Von Schröter they were received and treated throughout with the utmost courtesy. Like all the other authorities of the persecuting courts whom they had visited, this functionary spoke highly of the peaceable and moral personal character of the Baptists. He said that he himself respected those of them whom he knew, that he believed that they were generally sincere Christians, and could 'cordially extend to them the hand of Christian fellowship,' as 'true believers.' He raised no objection to the visit and object of the deputation, nor to their further communication with the Grand Duke, but admitted that it was 'certainly a Christian obligation to sympathize with those who suffered for conscience' sake; and that, with their sentiments, they ought to use their best endea-

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\* It is clear that the Mecklenburg Inquisition only needs development to become a perfect parallel to that of Rome. The authorities are evidently prepared to adopt a Lutheran *Index Expurgatorius*.

vours on behalf of those for whom they pleaded.' Nevertheless, he fully and inexorably adhered to his determination of utterly suppressing the Baptists, and denying them anything whatever in the way of liberty. The extracts which we subjoin are most instructive and suggestive. Whoever wishes to understand the principles of German State-Churchism and intolerance will carefully consider them.

'After inquiring specifically the object of our visit, which was frankly declared to him, he proceeded to explain to us at great length the ecclesiastical condition and laws of Mecklenburg. Lutheranism, he said, was the only recognised form of religion in the country. There were a few congregations of the Reformed or Calvinistic faith, and two congregations of Roman Catholics; but their existence formed no exception to the statement he had made, since they were allowed, not by law, but by the special permission of the Crown granted in each particular case. Besides these there were no other Churches, and none would be permitted. The Baptist worship consequently was illegal, and as such was suppressed. The Baptists had no ministers in Mecklenburg *de jure*, nor by royal permission, and would be allowed to have none, nor to organize Churches. The hardships they had endured could not be complained of, because they were only the penalty justly inflicted for the violation of the law, which forbade the holding of religious meetings and the administration of the sacraments, of both which misdemeanours they had been guilty. *They might entertain their opinions, but they must not profess them. They might worship in their families, but other persons might not be present: nor might they make proselytes. The law would not molest a man for being a Baptist, or a Methodist, or of any other religious way that he pleased; for the law gave universal liberty of conscience, so that all men were free to embrace what sentiments they chose, ONLY they must keep them to themselves.* A man might be baptized and the law would not punish him, but the man who baptized him would be punished. The Government must protect the Lutheran Church, and guard its subjects against the intrusion of any other faith; hence it was its duty to suppress all missionary efforts on the part of other religionists, and it would continue rigorously to prohibit their attempts to propagate their views..... We ventured in conclusion to remark, that we could see no difference in this respect between Mecklenburg and Tuscany. In the latter country, they imprisoned the Madii for acting on their convictions; in the former, they imprisoned the Baptists for the same offence. If Popery was exclusively the religion of the one, Lutheranism was as exclusively and jealously the religion of the other. Instead of conceiving offence at the comparison, as we feared he might, Mr. Von Schröter acknowledged its truth, only adding that in Tuscany they carried matters a little further; for there they endeavoured, however impossible it might be, to extinguish liberty of thought.....

'We then referred to the refusal of the marriage rite to Baptists,

and inquired if he was cognizant of the fact. He answered that he was; that he knew there were many cases of the kind, and that it was the unavoidable, and he thought the proper, consequence of their leaving the Lutheran Church; for it was unreasonable to expect that, having left it, they should still be permitted to enjoy its privileges. We remarked that we regarded it rather from a social point of view, under which aspect it constituted a most serious grievance, and might lead to greater evils; and that we hoped a remedy would be found, either by allowing Baptists and other Dissenters, if there were any, to be married by their own ministers, or by making marriage a civil rite, to be performed by a civil functionary. And this latter alternative we sustained by saying, that however desirable it might be to have the marriage contract associated with religious observances, yet Protestants had never, like the Romanists, advanced it into a sacrament, or even regarded it as in itself a part of religion; and that this was now the law in England, where formerly, as in Mecklenburg, none but the established clergy could perform the rite.

'To this he replied, first, that it could never be conceded to the Baptists to be married by their own ministers, for the law did not admit that they had any ministers; on the contrary, they were totally proscribed. And secondly, that, though marriage certainly was not a sacrament, it was a religious rite, and its performance pertained to the Church, and so it was regarded by Luther and all Lutherans. As to the example of England, he should be very sorry to see it followed in Germany, and he thought that with us the consequences would be dreadful.

'We remarked that if these were the opinions of German statesmen and governments, we feared the case of the Baptists was hopeless. He said it was so, and repeated, "Nothing is left for them but to emigrate.".....

'To this account of our conversation with Mr. Von Schrœter we subjoin only one remark. We left his presence filled with astonishment that sentiments so intensely intolerant could find an advocate in one whose heart was obviously under better influences, and whose whole manner, so courteous, cordial, and Christian, impressed us with sentiments of sincere respect, and left upon our minds the gratifying conviction that he knew and felt the power of the truth.'

The distinction which Mr. Von Schrœter draws between the Popish and the Lutheran persecutions is almost too fine to be appreciated, and is certainly not one of principle. If the Lutherans really did not attempt to 'extinguish liberty of thought,' the reason apparently would be that they had arrived at the conclusion that such a thing is not possible to be done. But at least they are disposed to do what is in their power towards this end. Men and women are questioned as to their private meetings for devotion; the police are perpetually on the watch; the presence of a third person, not of the family, how-

ever near and intimate a friend, when prayer is offered to God, a hymn sung, or the Bible read, is a violation of the law; a person may be a Baptist in heart, but he must not possess a Baptist religious biography, or book or tract of doctrine or of devotion, or even a Baptist Bible; in other words, he may be Baptist at heart and in conscience, but he may not by any means sustain his knowledge of Divine truth, or his feelings of piety, in the only manner fully accordant with his own convictions; parents, though possessing *this* Lutheran 'liberty of conscience,' are utterly precluded from bringing up their children in their own faith, except orally and through their own unaided recollections of what they may at one time have heard or read. *This* is what Mr. Von Schreter calls granting 'universal liberty of conscience.' The State grants only what it cannot take away or touch; it withholds *all that it can*. As if the same conscience which told men to believe, as Baptists, did not equally require them to impart what they believe to be saving truth to others, especially their family, friends, and neighbours. A Christian who believes in faith and conscience and personal salvation, cannot honestly or rationally pretend that such principles as these are compatible with 'liberty of conscience.' Persecution, confessing itself impotent to break into the penetralia of a man's own conscience and innermost convictions, in mere despair retires from that citadel, and then calls this a concession of 'liberty of conscience.'

On this point there is no real distinction between the Lutheran and the Popish doctrines of persecution. Nor, indeed, is there any essential distinction whatever between the two. It is true that the rule of the Lutherans is that Dissenters must 'emigrate.' In other words, banishment is their extreme punishment. Whereas submission is enforced by the Papal power under pain, ultimately, and if minor punishments should prove unavailing, of perpetual imprisonment or death. But this is only an accidental, not an essential distinction. It does not arise, let it be noted, from the Lutheran power being more merciful or more scrupulous. It merely arises from the fact that each state can, of course, only claim jurisdiction within its own borders. From the nature of things, the Papacy must claim universal dominion. The Pope assumes to be head of the universal Christian Church, and spiritual ruler over all the territories of Christendom. Mecklenburg's Lutheran Grand Duke, as *summus episcopus*, can only claim dominion over the consciences of half a million of his own subjects within his own narrow territory; but the Pope must claim dominion over the consciences of all men throughout the world. The former

banishes from *his* territory; the Pope can only banish from *his* by the infliction of death, or by perpetual imprisonment. Exile from Mecklenburg is civil and political death, so far as that principality is concerned; and when the Dissenter has passed into another territory, he is beyond the authority and responsibility of the Grand Duke. But no heretic can be so banished as to be beyond the (supposed) authority and responsibility of him who claims to be Christ's viceregent over all souls here on earth. Were the ruler of Mecklenburg to become the master of Europe, or were Germany and the German Lutheran system co-extensive with Europe, then every Dissenter would be subject to banishment from the Continent. Were his dominion, like the Pope's spiritual diocese, to embrace the world, the Lutheran autocrat would find himself obliged to resort to the *ultima ratio* of Rome, in dealing with dissidents. We see, therefore, no essential or material distinction between Lutheran and Popish intolerance. Let it be known that the one is as hardy and as unscrupulous as the other, and that whatever differences may appear in favour of the Lutherans, are merely accidental and circumstantial; that they are either owing to territorial limitations, or to a certain mental intelligence which has learnt to recognise the strength of that barrier surrounding the inner man, which even the Inquisition cannot enter, and also has discovered that the secret convictions of the conscience may themselves be disregarded, as certain to languish and to be without effect, if the 'Dissenter' or 'heretic' can be prevented from uttering them to his neighbour, and precluded from nurturing them by intercourse with books or men. We make these remarks, because we have observed that it is usually conceded by those who condemn the Lutheran intolerance, that after all it is by no means parallel with that of Rome. We believe it to be precisely the same thing.

Let us further remark, that Lutheran intolerance is a thing utterly incongruous and inexcusable. The very *fact* of Lutheranism, and the whole history of Luther, are in irreconcilable contrariety to the persecuting attitude and authority which Lutheranism has assumed. But, more than this, the concession of equal rights to the *three Churches* renders the persecution of Dissenters, merely as such, a thing altogether inconsistent and indefensible. The theory of Rome is, at least, consistent and perfect within itself, however irreconcilable with the spirit and teaching of Scripture, the lessons of history, and the constitution of humanity. But Lutheran persecution, while equally irreconcilable with these things, is at the same time utterly at variance with the Church facts in which Lutheranism has volun-



tarily acquiesced, and with the Church rights which it has guaranteed. In Germany there are as many Popes as there are states; with the anomaly that the same man, in each state, frequently acts as Pope, in connexion with two different and opposed Churches, the Lutheran and the Reformed, and abdicates his popedom and infallibility in regard to the third, that over which the original Pope of Rome is ruler.

On what ground does the Lutheran prince claim to act with autocratic authority as *summus episcopus* over either the Lutheran or Reformed Church, or over both at the same time? How can the very same men who deny to a schoolmaster the right to pray with his pupils, unless he has been ordained to the priestly office, and who affirm that the gifts and graces proper to the discharge of the sacred office are conferred, and can only be conferred, by the imposition of priestly hands, yet maintain the right of the secular prince, merely in virtue of his political position and authority, to guide and control all the councils of the clergy, and to arrange and revise all the offices of worship? Or are we to believe that the kingly or princely office in modern times carries along with it, by Divine ordinance, the highest priestly dignity and authority, and that, in this sense, every secular prince is the 'Lord's anointed?' The Lutheran High-Church men of the Stahl and Hengstenberg school have, as we understand, been driven to adopt some such theory as this last, which is called by Bunsen and others the doctrine of a *Cæsaro-Papacy*. We need not say that that is the theory by which the twofold authority of the sacred Russian Czar is sustained. In his case, one is shocked at its impiety, and almost awed at the thought of the power with which it invests the Russian autocrat. In the case of the Lutheran princes, the theory is equally impious, but at the same time it becomes ridiculous and contemptible.

Once more, let us ask on what ground the Lutheran Cæsar-Popes are to justify their protection of the three recognised State-Churches, the Lutheran, the Reformed, and the (so called) Catholic; and at the same time to justify their intolerant exclusion of all other Churches? It is clear that they cannot proceed on the assumption that one only of these is the right; or, if they do, they must confess that they not only protect, but tolerate, two Churches already whose doctrines are erroneous. And then,—if they are at liberty to tolerate two that are in error, why is not another to be tolerated? Why may no Anglican, Episcopalian, or Congregational, or Wesleyan, or Baptist Church obtain toleration or protection? Why are the Governments to be irrevocably and for ever shut up to these three, and no others

whatever? Pressed by the force of these considerations, it is well known that Stahl has lately broached a theory, which endeavours to show that all three of the recognised Churches are right; that they have but each of them fastened with special emphasis on particular ideas, and developed them more fully than the other two, and more fully also than they have themselves developed *other* parts of Church doctrine or practice; and that there is a higher unity, towards which all three Churches tend, and in which ultimately they are to blend and unite. The mission of German Christianity is, in Stahl's opinion, to discern that high ideal unity, and to lead the way to its consummation. There is, therefore, a higher catholic *and visible* unity than that to which Rome pretends, discerned by the spirit of Stahl, which is to include Lutheranism, the Reformed, and Popery, in some future grand organic body. Of this grander popedom, already dimly perceived in outline by gifted Lutheran seers, but as yet only in embryo, we may, perhaps, call Stahl the pope, in foreshadowing type. If it ever *should* be realized, the future heads of this vast and vague unity will assuredly look back to Stahl as, in a certain sense, the father of their spirits, and the prophet of their reign.

It is really not worth while to inquire how much of truth distorted there may be in this vision of Stahl's. Let us only remind him that Germany is but a small part of Christendom, and that if anything like that of which he attempts to draw an outline should be realized, its area must include within its sweep such empires as Russia, and, above all, such countries as those of Britain and America; moreover, that there may be other tendencies besides those distinctly represented by the three German Churches, which would need to be embodied in the great universal Church of the future; such tendencies, for example, as are characteristic of Congregationalism and of Methodism; and, still further, that there was a time when neither Lutheranism nor Calvinism could put in any claim to be considered as other than Dissenting sects, and mere embryo 'Churches,' in presence of the Established 'Catholic Church.' His theory, then, intended as a justification of the policy which recognises these three Churches, *and them only*, breaks down at every point. On his own principles, and especially when the history of the German Churches in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is made to reflect light upon them, other Churches, representative, for aught he can know beforehand, of other and higher and more salutary tendencies than any which have as yet been distinctive of the three German Churches, may have a good right to put in their claim, not only for toleration,

but for protection. We should surely be justified, however, if it were worth our while, in taking another and a far stronger tone when arguing with a *Lutheran* in reference to *Popery*. We utterly deny that *Popery*, *as such*, represents any true or living principle. It is a corrupt world-Church, worse even than the *Lutheran*. It needs to be checked and watched on every side, to counteract its constitutional evil habits and tendencies, and to prevent it from being a spiritual pestilence and curse.

It will be observed that all the persecutions to which we have referred have been directed against the Baptists. The question involved, however, as our readers will have seen, is one which impartially concerns all 'Dissenters.' The proceedings against this denomination are not founded on their peculiar doctrines, but are based upon general grounds. They are prosecuted and persecuted as Dissenters. It would be very interesting to inquire how it is that, after a long reign of State-Churchism and Popish or semi-Popish ritualism, the doctrines of the Baptists seem to spring up almost indigenously among the people at the earliest period of religious awakening among them. But we have not space to enter on this question. As a fact, it cannot escape observation that this is the form ordinarily assumed by the first strong reaction from Popish superstition and dogmatism. It is not much more than thirty years since Baptist doctrine and discipline took root in Hamburg under the ministry of the Rev. J. G. Oncken. At that time, in its English form, anti-pædobaptism was unknown in Germany. It has fought and suffered hard to obtain and maintain a footing. Only very lately has Mr. Oncken succeeded in gaining from the Senate of Hamburg a recognition of his Church. He has, however, at length obtained it, and is greatly respected in that large and spiritually destitute city. Within the period we have named more than seventy churches have sprung up in Germany and Scandiuavia. It is this success, mainly, which has provoked during the past ten years so much persecution. In Norway there is now complete religious liberty for Dissenters, and also, we believe, in Denmark. But in Sweden, as well as in most parts of Germany, the efforts of the denomination are met by the most unrelenting persecution.

The chief strength of the Baptist movement consists in their strict adherence to Scripture teaching and authority, as they understand it, and in the provision which is made in their meetings for satisfying the craving of all earnest Christians after social religious intercourse and real spiritual communion. They found on the rock of Scripture, and thus provide a stronghold for Christian faith; the Lutherans stand upon ritualism and tra-

dition. They insist upon personal religion and conscious conversion; the State Churches teach sacramental salvation, and proceed upon the basis of a merely national Christianity. They provide a field for lay agency, develop congregational consciousness and responsibility, recognise the gifts and use the aid of private Christians in the mutual and common edification of the Church; Lutheranism proscribes lay agency, and ignores congregational action and responsibility. Nor have even the 'Reformed' Churches made any due provision for the exercise and training of individual piety and gifts, although they have to a considerable extent recognised the rights and functions of the congregation collectively. Moreover, so far as regards the congregation, it must be remembered that even the 'Reformed' Churches proceed, in common with all State Churches, (we do not mean Churches *aided*, but Churches controlled by, and identified with, the State,) on the assumption that every baptized and confirmed adult in the community is, unless legally excommunicated, a member of the congregation. A State Church cannot possess a true spiritual discipline, or consist, even professedly, of truly converted and sanctified men, united in a common bond of faith and love. Whereas the Baptist Churches profess to be constituted only of spiritual believers, and to be cemented and guarded by an efficient congregational discipline. Hence the power which they have had to attract from the State Churches many of the most earnest and devotional spirits belonging to them. But the charge made against the Baptists of proselytism, in the odious sense which we attach to that word in this country, is not, to any considerable extent, established. They do not *seek* to detach earnest and spiritual men from the State Churches, but only to convert sinners from the error of their way. Most distinctly and emphatically did their leading ministers at the Berlin Conference deny the accusation of proselytism, in the sense we have indicated. At the same time they maintained, frankly and nobly, their right to bring unconverted men to Christ and salvation, even though they might have been baptized and confirmed. Dr. Krummacher has given currency to this outcry about 'proselytism.' But let it be remembered that, in the German sense, it is proselytism to detach any man from outward and nominal connexion with the Church to which hereditarily he belongs, even though he should never enter the church doors, or the minister should be a Rationalist or concealed Papist. Let us note, in passing, that another of the accusations sometimes brought against the Baptists is the strictness with which they enforce the observance of the Lord's day.

At the same time we do not suppose that these zealous men

have no faults. They are not, as we are fully convinced, anti-nomians; but in our judgment it is a matter of great regret that they are decided Calvinists, and strict communionists. A well known and highly respected Christian gentleman, a member of the Church of England, and connected with the Evangelical Alliance, was in Berlin some months before the meeting of the Evangelical Conference. He attended Divine service at the Baptist Church, of which the Rev. G. Lehmann is minister, and partook of the Lord's Supper with himself and the members of his Church. For having permitted this breach of rigid Baptist exclusiveness, Mr. Lehmann was called to account at a meeting of his brethren, and a resolution was passed condemnatory of conduct so latitudinarian. Some months later, at Berlin, this gentleman presided at a meeting of Christians of different denominations, before which Baptists were stating their wrongs. He made no allusion to his own experience. Exclusiveness such as this must be justly displeasing to the true Christians of Germany, and cannot but tend to aggravate the prejudice with which the Baptists are regarded.

On the whole, notwithstanding such facts as have passed under our review, we feel persuaded that the day of religious liberty, both for Germany and for Sweden, cannot be long delayed. It is but a few years since our own 'Test and Corporation Acts' were done away. It seems incredible, when we think of it, that they could have endured so long. Germany must follow the example of Britain. First, religious liberty, and then constitutional liberty, must come. There is no other law of progress for the world than this. It needs no power of prophecy to foretell that, unless these things be presently conceded, the volcano which broke out in such fiery eruption and overflow ten years ago, must break out anew in still more destructive force and fury. We would rather hope that, in one grand epoch of safe but progressive reform, Germany may accomplish, during the space of the next twenty years, what Britain slowly consummated in the century and a half from 1688 to 1838. The pulse of the world beats more rapidly now than it did. We live a century in a *decennium*.

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ART. VII.—1. *The Heir of Redclyffe*. Eleventh Edition. London: J. W. Parker. 1857.

2. *Heartsease; or, The Brother's Wife*. By the Author of 'The Heir of Redclyffe.' Fifth Edition. London: J. W. Parker. 1855.

3. *The Daisy Chain; or, Aspirations. A Family Chronicle*.

- By the Author of 'The Heir of Redclyffe.' Third Edition. London : J. W. Parker. 1857.
4. *Dynevor Terrace: or, The Clue of Life.* By the Author of 'The Heir of Redclyffe.' Second Edition. London : J. W. Parker. 1858.
  5. *The Lances of Lynwood.* By the Author of 'The Heir of Redclyffe.' Second Edition. London : J. W. Parker. 1856.
  6. *The two Guardians: or, Home in this World.* By the Author of 'The Heir of Redclyffe.' Third Edition. London : Masters. 1855.
  7. *The Castle Builders: or, The deferred Confirmation.* Second Edition. London : Mozleys. 1855.
  8. *Kings of England. A History for the Young.* By the Author of 'The Heir of Redclyffe.' Fifth Edition. London : Mozleys and Masters. 1857.
  9. *Landmarks of History.—Middle Ages, from the Reign of Charlemagne to that of Charles V.* By the Author of 'The Kings of England,' &c. Second Edition. London. 1855.

WHAT is the legitimate use of novels? or have they any legitimate use at all? Should we regard them as injurious, or the reverse, according to the principles which they inculcate, and the amount of time expended on their perusal? or is their very existence an abuse, to which we only hesitate to apply a harsher name, because habit has rendered the toleration of them inveterate, and our folly makes them appear amusing? Is all fiction to be condemned *per se*, and without any reference to the mode or the purpose of its application? or may these two circumstances of treatment convert it from a dangerous to a useful weapon? These are questions which are discussed among serious persons who have arrived at either conclusion, with the same firmness of inward conviction; whilst others, who are unwilling to condemn all novels unreservedly on principle, yet consider the influence of a large majority to be such as to require the banishment of the remainder.

Arguments are not wanting which may be urged in support of each of these opinions. On the one hand it is pleaded that to condemn peremptorily all books of fiction would involve as its legitimate result the neglect of all works of whatever kind which are not simple statements of fact; that it would shut us out from all that the human imagination has ever conceived; that it would deprive us of a world of beauty to which we now have access in the pages of poetry and romance; that Milton and Cowper, Shakspeare and Scott, must be equally excluded with the authors of novels, strictly so called; in other words,

that we must denounce in great measure the bright heritage of literature, to which, as children of the world's later days, we have succeeded. To this it is replied, that our chief concern is with the realities of the present and the future; that for our direction in these we need not works of imagination, but the guidance of revelation, and the actual experience of the past; and that the tendency of fiction is to impress upon minds the most impressive a false view of life, to lead the young to dwell upon passions which are just being developed, and thus to foster a sickly sentimentalism, if even worse consequences do not ensue. We cannot pursue the controversy further; but before proceeding to discuss the volumes before us, we will present one or two points for consideration.

First, then,—and this is our reason for devoting so much space to the treatment of this subject,—with whatever feelings we may regard novels, there can be no doubt of their immense influence for good or evil. Perhaps no other engine of equal power is brought to bear upon the minds of most of us at a very critical period of our education. Who is ignorant that, just at the time when the character is being most effectually formed,—at that interval which generally occurs between the dependence of childhood and becoming actually responsible as our own masters,—novels form a large part of the food by which the intellectual wants of the age are supplied? We believe that there are very few instances in which, under some shape or other, they do not find admission to the heart of a family. And where daily occupations are so laborious as to render the task of reading books demanding much thought and attention, after business hours, an impossibility; where the mind and body equally are too fatigued to pursue or retain the thread of a subject save under the stimulant of an exciting narrative; or where the habit of mind is too indolent to find pleasure in any save light and trifling reading; in all these cases—and it will be seen at a glance what a large number of persons they include—the only education derived from books is obtained through the medium of novels.

Secondly, it may be well to trace the causes of this influence, and to learn why this peculiar form of fiction has so great a power over us at a certain age. We think it may be accounted for by the complex character, partly imagined and partly real, which most novels assume. Of all the forces brought to bear upon our minds, perhaps the most powerful are those which work on the imagination. This influence is never entirely subdued, but is modified at different periods of life. In early childhood the fancy has the most unfettered play, and we are delighted with stories that appeal to it, and set it to work, without any

regard to the probability or possibility of the circumstances that are introduced. As we advance, however, in age, we become acquainted by actual experience with the bounds within which the probable must lie, and are no longer content with representations of life in which these limits are palpably overstepped. At this period the novel steps in; it appeals to and gratifies our imagination by the fictitious form in which it is cast, whilst the art which imparts to it a semblance of truthfulness satisfies our longing after reality. We beg the reader to remember that we are speaking of the mind at a certain age, and under average circumstances, when the inexperience of the young longs after an acquaintance with the world of which it is ignorant, but which it would not care to know in its true colours. It has been said that the veritable account of *all* a man's thoughts, words, and actions would form the most interesting biography ever composed: it would do so to the true student of human nature, but not to the class of young persons of whom we are speaking. The latter require a certain amount of artistic treatment to make a biography tolerable. Like those persons who have become accustomed to pictures in which the minor details are falsified, in order that the central features may stand out in bolder relief, and who cannot comprehend or admire the unqualified truthfulness of the pre-Raphaelite school; so these readers would be soon disgusted if the little incidents of daily life were not greatly curtailed, that the hero may stand out in heroic stature. But with all this an idea of truth must be combined, or the effect will be destroyed. It is only whilst in its perusal we forget that *it is* a fiction, that any real influence is exerted upon our minds.

Taking, then, these two points as admitted, that novels do exercise an immense influence, and that this influence is based upon their mixed character of fact and fiction, it will be seen how great a responsibility rests upon those authors who employ them as means of education, to see that their power is judiciously wielded. In estimating their writings, therefore, we shall leave the question with which our paper commenced, and, taking them as existing forces, endeavour to discover their direction. For the mere employment of fiction does not imply the production of an untrue impression on the mind; and the true ground of objection to most novels is not that they are fictitious, but that, standing in a peculiar category, and professing to present society and human passions as they really exist, they do constantly *mis*-represent them and make them appear under false colours. In fact, by the same standard all works of imagination may be tried. No sane person would believe that *Paradise Lost* was intended to describe accurately the scenes which it portrays;



but many a young heart might be led to believe that the world was as morbidly melancholy as it is painted by the hand of Byron; yet the works of the latter probably contain more accurate descriptions of persons and places. A wise man will judge accordingly, and will allow his child to read Milton, whilst he withholds the *Childe Harold* or the *Giaour*.

We are, it must be remembered, far from admitting that the novel is a desirable vehicle for education. We are fully convinced that immense damage is done to many young people by the indiscriminate reading of the trashy fictions that form the staple of but too many circulating libraries. False in sentiment, prurient in imagination, unsound in argument, with vice so dressed up as to appear attractive, with virtue rendered repulsive, both directly and by implication, with long dilations upon all that should be passed over in silence, with so much suppression of truth as to amount to a suggestion of error, a large number, perhaps the majority of our novels, produce just the fruits that might be anticipated from so polluted an origin. And even in those rare cases in which a writer of fiction sets himself seriously to the task of placing truth before others, hoping that through the attractions of his story his principles and arguments may gain a hearing which would otherwise have been denied, we are persuaded that the very form adopted is of itself a serious hinderance to the object in view; that the presentation of simple truth will either be sacrificed for the sake of the story, or the latter will be found unmanageable in the bounds which the writer has prescribed for his own guidance.

With this difficulty, however, the author of the *Heir of Redclyffe* has grappled in some of the volumes before us. Unless we have totally misinterpreted their intention, to teach is the object with which the fictions as well as the histories were written. The success of this attempt will of course come within the sphere of our remarks. But we proceed to the books themselves.

Taking the histories first under our consideration, we must confess our great disappointment on reading the *Landmarks* and the *Kings of England*. We cannot but think that the number of editions through which they have passed, is rather due to the fame of their author as a writer of fiction, than to their own intrinsic worth. Although composed expressly for children, these volumes are no exception to the general character of English histories in deriving a peculiar colouring from the views of their own composer. So great a stickler is the author of *The Heir of Redclyffe* for the Divine right of kings, that the existence of the Commonwealth is ignored; and it is asserted that the reign

of Charles II. dates from the time of his father's martyrdom, although it was eleven years before he was restored to the throne. *Ex uno disce omnes.* All the past story of England, and the characters of her rulers, are regarded from the High Church point of view. Not the defenders of a pure creed, not the restorers of a biblical standard, not the champions of our civil liberties, are the heroes of this volume, but the attesters and defenders of the material ecclesiastical polity of their own day, —the supporters of the so-called privileges of the Church of England. Strange are the conclusions involved by this theory, and most unsound and unsuited to the use of children the estimate of character founded upon it. There is, indeed, much obscurity in some of the facts, and consequent difficulty in deciding on the whole career of Thomas à Becket; but of his pride, duplicity, and disloyalty there can hardly be a question in certain parts of his conduct. And is it indeed true, that he practised *great humility* in his own person, 'wearing sackcloth next his skin, and daily washing the feet of the poorest beggars?' (Page 48.) Admitting the fact, we deny the inference, and are rather reminded of the 'pride that apes,' than of the genuine virtue. Charles I. is of course a martyr: his unhesitating and unblushing deceit, his violent invasion of his subjects' rights, are passed by without a word of condemnation; and we can allow much for the feeling of regard aroused by the iniquity of his sentence and the heroism of his death. But making every allowance on these grounds, we protest in the name of simple truth, and on the authority of proved and well-known facts, against such an expression as the following, when speaking of the shower of snow that fell as the body was carried to the tomb, —that 'to the feelings of the mourners it was as if heaven itself sent a witness to the *purity and spotless life of the martyr.*' These words jar painfully upon those who know at once the truths of history and the declarations of the Gospel. But let us turn to another example. Here is the picture of James I.: 'He had much high principle, excellent sense, and great shrewdness of character, and his learning was deep and extensive; but his conduct was often unwise, and there was little about him that was like a king.' (Page 177.) We pass by the question of this monarch's learning, and take the last sentence as a qualification of his good sense, which is certainly rendered questionable by his conduct to the Duke of Buckingham; but to the attribute of high principle we must demur: on what is it grounded? where are the proofs? Is not the author aware that King James was so notoriously jealous of his eldest son Henry, that he could not conceal his satisfaction at his death? Nay,

more,—that far graver suspicions cloud his memory, and that time has not removed from his name the stigma of being privy to the foulest crimes?

Of course, by these criticisms we are not suggesting that any such dark and revolting questions should be ventilated, but only that a distinctive and truthful judgment, in accordance with the facts, should be pronounced on each of the kings. In so brief a summary, the special requirement is to give such an account of incidents and persons as may be easily remembered, stating such cases as must be deemed questionable. But to the very decided statements above quoted, there is joined an equal lack of decision in instances we had supposed to be sufficiently established. Thus of Wycklyffe we are told, 'It is difficult to judge how far he taught and believed the truth, or how far he was to blame for *disregard to the authority of the Church*;' the Church at that time being that of Rome, in the most corrupt period of its history; whilst Queen Mary of England, the furious persecutor of the Reformed, in whose reign three hundred persons suffered for the faith, is dismissed as *pious, patient, and melancholy*. By the way, the application of the epithet *pious* in these two little books has sorely puzzled us, and on seeing to whom it is assigned we are at a loss to discover its specific meaning. In Johnson's *Dictionary* it is defined to mean 'careful of the duties owed by created beings to God.' We are not then surprised to see Alfred the Great, Edward the Confessor, and the third and sixth Henries,—of the latter we are told that his imprisonment was 'in 1461, thirty-nine years since the crown had been placed on his head, *which was still as free from any thought of evil as in those days of infancy*,'—so described, to all of whom it is assigned traditionally, as well as to Edward VI., of whose character we have fuller knowledge. But the epithet seems hardly reconcilable with the cruelty of Mary of England, with the behaviour of Mary Queen of Scots, deemed privy to her husband's murder, with the immorality of Charlemagne, to which it is placed in closer juxtaposition, or with the weak vacillation of Louis le Débonnaire.

There has been an unhealthy tone gradually prevailing in the histories of our own land, which we find existing in this volume, and against which we beg to utter our emphatic protest. It is seen in the obvious desire to qualify the broad distinction between truth and error,—to abandon the ground on which our civil and religious rights have been maintained and won,—to lead us, in estimating our sovereigns, away from their public character to the private motives by which they were supposed to be influenced, and so to reverse the decisions which have been handed down to

is by those to whom our faith and freedom were dear. Surely it is by their public acts that the influence of the reigns of our monarchs has been directed. In her public capacity Queen Mary did a foul wrong to our fatherland in endeavouring to bring our necks again beneath the iron bondage of Popish corruption, and in the bloodshed of the most learned and pious of our prelates and laymen; and we protest against the prevalent endeavour to merge the whole question into a discussion upon her own sincerity, and the gloomy superstition that had possession of her heart. In her public capacity Queen Elizabeth maintained the independence and glory of England, won for our name an influence abroad, and secured to us a pure Gospel at home; and such benefits should not be hastily slurred over, that we may pry too closely into the weaknesses of a high unbending spirit. King Charles I. had violated all that he swore to observe, and had himself proved that negotiation was impossible, before the Parliament had recourse to arms; and though nothing, save its folly, could exceed the wickedness of putting him to death, no man ever less deserved the title of a martyr. We run great danger of committing worse errors, if we suffer ourselves to be so misled. The differences between Popery and Protestantism, between liberty and despotism, are not of such trifling moment. We hold them to be so dear, that life without them has lost its value; so dear, that we would defend them to the last; and he that would deprive us or our fathers of them is no mistaken friend, but our bitter foe. If these points are not to be plainly stated, the study of the past may be abandoned. We should not be satisfied to teach our children from the *Kings of England* by the author of *The Heir of Redclyffe*.

To proceed to the fictions. We are not surprised at the success which has attended the publication of three of these novels. Viewed by the standard of average fictions, *The Heir of Redclyffe*, *Heartsease*, and *Dynevor Terrace* certainly rise immensely above most of their contemporaries in many estimable qualities, whilst they combine with them certain peculiarities which are most acceptable to the readers of fiction. Of the latter, one of the most conspicuous is the class of society in which the scene of all three is laid. Sentimental young ladies love to dream of young noblemen sufficiently handsome, wealthy, and energetic to be attractive without being insipid. There is much that is winning in the picture of a country mansion which is peopled by a family of superior endowments, intellectual and moral, as well as pecuniary; who are high enough in the social scale to mingle with nobility on equal terms, and yet not so much raised above the middle class as to seem altogether

inaccessible. And we may add, that it is no feeble or vulgar imitation that the author portrays. The society is described by one who is evidently well acquainted with such scenes. There is nothing high-flown or stilted; all is in good taste, and evidences a delicate and refined tone of mind. One exception only occurs in the account of Mr. Oliver Dynevor's restoration to his home at Stoneleigh, in which all persons who are not of old family are made to appear either ridiculous or vulgar.

At the risk of appearing somewhat hypercritical, we shall pause to take exception to the selection of such a scene for these stories. We shall consider presently the nature of the principles inculcated; but the object of the writer is to advocate a certain line of conduct, and we question whether the prospect of success be not greatly damaged by the very popularity of the medium employed. There are a number of young people surrounded by every luxury money can purchase, with abundant means to carry into action any scheme of benevolence, meeting, it is true, with occasional difficulties, but always ending in triumphant successes; and how many of the readers can we suppose to be similarly circumstanced? How much of reality to the great majority of those who peruse these pages is there in such representations? And does not the very unrealism become their passport, and the means of their being read at all. To get away from the stern, every-day struggle of life, to wander at will among aged elms, or beneath the shade of park oaks, discussing plans for the benefit of one's poorer neighbours,—how easy it is under all this false gilding and glare to settle satisfactorily questions of no small importance, and how intensely difficult, when away from the tinsel and glitter of this theatrical display, to carry out for ourselves needful duties in the humdrum course of an uneventful life! For be it remembered, that all such reading, if it do not invigorate, will assuredly enervate; that its effects will not be absolutely *nil*, even if the mind is not so disgusted, on realizing the distinction between the supposed and the actual conflict, as to abandon it altogether.

Another cause of the popularity of these volumes is the author's success in dealing with the pathetic. In this respect great power is exhibited, and the consciousness of its possession has led to its being very liberally employed. The intense satisfaction that some persons feel in having their feelings worked upon by a harrowing story is a curious phenomenon; but the scenes of pathos in these stories are drawn by a master hand. Mark in the following quotation, how with true artistic touch the minor incidents are all carefully inserted, and yet not painted in too heavily, so as to add to the impressiveness and beauty of

the scene. It is the death of Sir Guy Morville, in a foreign land, only a few months after his marriage:—

‘The rite was over, and stillness succeeded the low tones, while all knelt in their places. Amabel rose first, for Guy, though serene, looked greatly exhausted; and as she sprinkled him with vinegar, the others stood up. Guy looked for Philip, and held out his hand. Whether it was his gentle force, or of Philip’s own accord, Amabel could not tell; but as he lay with that look of perfect peace and love, Philip bent down over him, and kissed his forehead.

“Thank you,” he faintly whispered; “God bless you and my sister.”

‘Philip went, and he added to Amy, “Poor fellow, it will be worse for him than for you; you must take care of him.”

‘She hardly heard the last words, for his head sank on one side in a death-like faintness, the room was cleared of all but herself, and Anne fetched the physician at once.

‘At length it passed off, and Guy slept. The doctor felt his pulse, and she asked his opinion of it. Very low and unequal, she was told; his strength was failing, and there seemed no power of rallying it; but they must do their best to support him with cordials, according to the state of his pulse. The physician could not remain all night himself, but would come as soon as he could on the following day.

‘Amabel hardly knew when it was that he went away; the two Mr. Morrisses went to the other hotel; and she made her evening visit to Philip. It was all like a dream which she could afterwards scarcely remember, till night had come on, and for the first time she found herself allowed to keep watch over her husband.

‘He had slept quietly for some time, when she roused him to give him some wine, as she was desired to do constantly. He smiled and said, “Is no one here but you?”

“No one.”

“My own sweet wife, my Verena, as you have always been. We have been very happy together.”

“Indeed we have,” said she; a look of suffering crossing her face as she thought of her unclouded happiness.

“It will not be so very long before we meet again.”

“A few months, perhaps,” said Amabel, in a stifled voice, “like your mother—”

“No, don’t wish that, Amy. You would not wish it to have no mother.”

“You will pray.” She could say no more, but struggled for calmness.

“Yes,” he answered, “I trust you to it and to mamma for comfort. And Charlie, I shall not rob him any longer. I only borrowed you for a little while,” he added, smiling. “In a little while we shall meet, years and months seem alike now. I am sorry to cause you so much grief, my Amy; but it is all as it should be, and we have been very happy.”

'Amy listened, her eyes intently fixed on him, unable to repress her agitation, except by silence. After some little time he spoke again: "My love to Charlie, and Laura, and Charlotte,—my brother and sisters, how kindly they have made me one of them! I need not ask Charlotte to take care of Bustle, and your father will ride Deloraine. My love to him and earnest thanks, for you above all, Amy. And dear mamma! I must look now to meeting her in a brighter world; but tell her how I have felt all her kindness since I first came in my strangeness and grief. How kind she was! how she helped me, and led me, and made me know what a mother was. Amy, it will not hurt you to hear it was your likeness to her that first taught me to love you. I have been so very happy, I don't understand it."

—'He was again silent, as in contemplation; and Amabel's overcoming emotion had been calmed and chastened down again, now that it was no longer herself that was spoken of. Both were still, and he seemed to sleep a little. When next he spoke, it was to ask if she could repeat their old favourite lines in *Sintram*. They came to her lips, and she repeated them in a low steady voice. [Here follow the verses.]

"In eternal peace," repeated Guy. "I did not think it would have been so soon. I can't think where the battle has been. I never thought my life would be so bright. It was a foolish longing, when first I was ill, for the cool waves of Redclyffe Bay, and that shipwreck excitement, if I was to die. This is far better: read me a Psalm, Amy,—'Out of the deep.'"

'There was something in his perfect happiness that would not let her grieve, though a dull heavy sense of consternation was growing on her. So it went on through the night—not a long nor a dreary one—but more like a dream. He dozed and woke, said a few tranquil words, and listened to some prayer, psalm, or verse, then slept again, apparently without suffering, except when he tried to take the cordials; and this he did with such increasing difficulty, that she hardly knew how to bear to cause him so much pain, though it was the last lingering hope. He strove to swallow them, each time with the mechanical, "Thank you!" so affecting, when thus spoken; but at last he came to, "It is of no use: I cannot."

'Then she knew all hope was gone, and sat still watching him. The darkness lessened, and twilight came. He slept, but his breath grew short and unequal; and as she wiped the moisture from his forehead, she knew it was the death-damp. Morning light came on—the church bells rang out matins—the white hills were tipped with rosy light. His pulse was almost gone—his hand was cold. At last he opened his eyes.

"Amy!" he said, as if bewildered, or in pain.

"Here, dearest!"

"I don't see."

'At that moment the sun was rising, and the light streamed in at the open window, and over the bed; but it was "another dawn than ours" that he beheld, as his most beautiful of all smiles beamed over

his face, and he said, "Glory in the highest!—peace—good will." A struggle for breath gave an instant's look of pain; then he whispered so that she could but just hear—"The last prayer." She read the commendatory prayer. She knew not the exact moment, but even as she said, "Amen," she perceived that it was over. The soul was with Him with whom dwell the spirits of just men made perfect; and there lay the earthly part with the smile on his face. She closed the dark-fringed eyelids—saw him look more beautiful than in sleep—then, laying her face down on the bed, she knelt on. She took no heed of time, no heed of aught that was earthly. How long she knelt, she never knew; but she was roused by Anne's voice in a frightened sob,

"My lady, my lady,—come away! Oh, Miss Amabel, you should not be here."—*The Heir of Redclyffe*, pp. 409-412.

Apart from its theological tendencies, (which shall presently be considered,) and one marked improbability which they involve, we think that few persons would call in question the truthfulness or beauty of this description. We have quoted it at length, as affording a fair example of the author's style; and numerous other passages might have been selected from the other works, which are fully its equal in expression and power. In *Heartsease* there is a charming and touching picture of the birth of Violet's first-born, in which the condition of the young mother, gradually recovering strength and tone in her love for the babe and her husband, is finely wrought out and skilfully contrasted with Arthur's uncontrolled grief at his own thoughtlessness, which has produced so painful a juncture, and with the mournful but active tenderness of the elder brother. In this region is the key to the author's influence. To weep over such imaginary evils, to be choked with emotion at the elaborate account of the hero's sorrow, or those of his lady-love, is a species of excitement most tenderly cherished by many who pass by the miseries existing around them without a single sensation of pain. And it is very difficult to define the limits within which the indulgence of such a passion is allowable. Much as we are liable to be carried away by our feelings, in our more sober and sterner judgment there seems to be so much need of real and active sympathy with existing trouble, that we can ill afford the spurious imitation which so many mistake for the genuine impulse. Surely the telling argument of Sandy Mackaye, against writing verses on the coral islands, is equally applicable to the diversion of our sympathy to imaginary woes, when the stern ills of life darken around us on every side, and call us to be instant in season and out of season to spread the only true remedy for the disease. But our present purpose is not so much to discuss this question as to account for the wide-spread popularity which these fictions



have enjoyed; and one of the main elements of this popularity is the skill displayed in delineating the pathetic.

There are certain features of these stories which other writers of fiction would do well to copy. The moral tone is pure and high throughout; not a word that any lady might blush to read or write. The usual love scenes are not dilated upon, that the fancy may ponder unhealthily over morbid sentiment, but are simple, straightforward, and manly. All this is so far well. There is besides a healthy tone of speaking of life's common and every-day duties. With some curious exceptions, a love of quiet and home is instilled in the course of the narrative. The direct advantages of an average condition in life, in comparison with the more showy and generally envied positions in society, are strongly brought out; and a country residence, with its simple pleasures and occupations, is contrasted with the wearisome gaieties of the metropolis, in a manner very unfavourable to the latter, so generally attractive to the minds of the young. Indeed, the author seems to have almost a morbid horror of London; not exactly of its dissipation,—for in one passage a dread of this is dismissed as needless prudery, the young ladies being recommended to go and enjoy themselves to the full; the only caution being that they should not think too much of self, and then they would do very well,—but of its long lines of streets, of its children's nurseries up many pairs of stairs, and of its yellow fogs. We gladly acknowledge, also, that there are no well dressed and successful villains to afford a contrast to the more reputable characters of the stories; and the absence of this most injurious violation of good taste and proper feeling is the more to be marked, since modern novels generally abound in such characters. In the works before us, on the contrary, the interest is of a more genuine and sterling kind, depending upon the power with which the portraits are drawn, upon the skilful interweaving of the plot, and upon the principles discussed or involved in the conversations,—in short, upon the legitimate sources of interest in a fiction. If, then, these works were novels, in the ordinary acceptance of that term, and nothing more, did they merely profess to describe modern society, and in their course to illustrate some moral principle, we should conclude our criticism at this point, with the expression of our approval, qualified only by our doubt as to the utility in any case of this class of writings. As it is, we are most anxious that the defects we are about to notice may not blind us to the author's excellencies; and that the adverse judgment to which we have come should not be in any degree weakened by an apparent or actual incapacity to acknowledge the merits with which, from one point of view,

these fictions abound. Let us then at once fully and unreservedly declare, that for the high tone of morality which is maintained throughout; for the portraiture of private life, and individual character, not merely in its most obvious, but in its minor features and most difficult *minutiæ*; for easy and natural flow of conversation, neither forced, nor insipid, nor overdrawn; and for sound common-sense, (where religious prejudices are not excited,) varied by occasional glimpses of humour; the works under review are justly entitled to a very high position. Of the author's observation and humour we cannot refrain from quoting one example:—

“The governess was one of those morbidly sensitive persons who cannot be stopped when once they have begun arguing that they are injured. Two women together, each with the last-word instinct, have no power to cease; and *when the words are spent in explaining,—not scolding,—conscience is not called in to silence them*, and nothing but dinner or a thunderstorm can check them.”—*Daisy Chain*, vol. ii., p. 17.

With all these elements of strength and influence to advance their popularity, these novels are essentially religious fictions. They are prefaced and headed by religious verses from the *Christian Year* and the *Lyra Innocentium*. They are full of religious questions; of school teaching, church building, and other subjects of debate in the religious world. On the title-page of *Dynevor Terrace* is a quotation, which is but a metrical casting of the text, ‘The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom:’ on that of *The Daisy Chain* we read:—

‘To the highest room  
Earth’s loveliest flowers our Lord receives;  
Close to His heart a place He gives,  
Where they shall ever bloom:’

whilst that of *The Heir of Redclyffe* is adorned by a stanza of very doubtful divinity, in which ‘stern self-mastering and tearful prayer’ are made indispensable to the acquisition of that salvation which the Scriptures teach us was bought at a far higher price. This is, of course, by far the most important feature of these stories: if the religious teaching be unsound, when weighed in the balance of Scripture truth, it will follow, that all the excellencies which we have noted above only aggravate the evil of such false teaching, by presenting it in the most agreeable form.

Viewed simply as works of art, any obvious educational intention is a blot upon a novel. Whenever the characters described are merely the puppets employed to personify certain opinions, they are generally little more than abstract qualities, and lose the

semblance of reality. It is a mark of the author's ingenuity that this danger has been evaded, although the form in which the plot is cast rendered the risk more than usually imminent. In *Heartsease*, *Dynevor Terrace*, and *The Heir of Redclyffe*, we have two opposite characters portrayed,—the one well-disposed, impulsive, fickle; the other high-principled, morose, unbending; and as the story in each case advances, the fickle character gains strength, and the stern is gradually softened. We question, indeed, if it be judicious to paint high-principled persons in such unfavourable colours as those with which Philip Morville, James Frost, and Theodora Martindale, who is merely a repetition of Philip Morville in petticoats, are wrought into the canvass. Nor can we imagine anything much more intolerable, than the assumption and conceit which the author seems to think consistent with steady resolve and fixed principle. As a creation of the brain, the conception and execution of the character of Viscount Fitzjocelyn, in *Dynevor Terrace*, is far superior to anything that the author has produced. Let any one consider the difference between depicting a steady self-consistent line of thought and action,—such as exists only upon paper,—and a detailed record of the varied inconsistencies of purpose and performance, of which most of our lives are made up; and he will, we think, arrive at the same conclusion. And yet it is far from being a very showy or, as it is termed, striking character in the eyes of many readers; just as many persons, although fain to assent to the judgement of the past upon Shakspeare's plays, would yet be quite unable either to indicate the most powerfully drawn characters, or to analyse the element of their successful delineation, when the persons were pointed out to them.

The narrative of *The Daisy Chain* is far less skilfully managed. It is a series of conversations upon things in general, and the improvement of a certain neglected hamlet called 'Cocksmoor' in particular, held by different members of the May family, (which numbers nine individuals,) and their acquaintances of all classes in a country town. Despite some points of interest, we consider it far inferior to the other three principal novels. The incidents narrated verge on the utmost bounds of probability. At the opening of the story, the mother of the family is killed on the spot by the upsetting of the carriage in which she is seated with her husband and eldest daughter; whilst a broken arm, and a long illness ensuing thereupon, for Dr. May, and a spinal complaint which renders Margaret helpless for life, are also incidents involved in the same catastrophe. Then there is a younger daughter, Ethel, a sort of female prodigy, who studies

Latin and Greek, and writes verses so as to keep up with her brother, a boy of no average capacity, in his school work. This young lady, who is plain, short-sighted, awkward, and untidy at the outset, talks from first to last like a philosopher, and entertains a project for building a church at the aforesaid Cocksmoor, the completion of which is the grand incident of the story; and, under the influence of such a scheme, becomes neat, handy, and almost good-looking. Add to this, a brother who carries off every prize and scholarship with great *éclat*, and who is possessed of first-rate abilities, but confides the theological and speculative difficulties that grow on him at Oxford to the ear of a singularly innocent and sprightly maiden, who comes up to the grand commemoration, and with whom the Oxonian is violently enamoured. From such materials it would not be easy to compose a very probable fiction; nor is the attempt successful.

We have heard *The Daisy Chain* somewhat slightly described as a story in which a whole family is converted through the circumstance of a younger member's having determined to build a church. In certain cases we should take exception to the ridicule implied in such a definition: if a single member of a household should place before himself some really high object, and consistently pursue it in the strength vouchsafed by God for its fulfilment, in such a case,—and precedents are not lacking to confirm our position,—much good might be effected by the influence of the example upon others. But we cannot but think *The Daisy Chain* is fully liable to the charge. There is a great deal of conversation about education; we are really bored with the difficulties that haunted the first attempts to establish a school, and with other *minutiae* of the Cocksmoor adventurers; but there is nothing to indicate that a really high object was in view. To erect a church, tower and steeple, is not a noble aim, unless it be regarded as a means of spreading Christ's truth; but the impression produced by *The Daisy Chain* is, that the church and its services were the *end* to be arrived at.

The same ambiguity in which this subject is enveloped surrounds all the religious teaching which is so plentifully scattered through these volumes. But yet there are indications of its real teaching, which are sufficiently plain, and are calculated to alarm all those who are jealous for the progress of evangelical truth. Christianity, according to the author of *The Heir of Redclyffe*, is one long system of sacraments and ceremonies; the grace derived from one service lasting until its repetition at the appointed season, and under Church authority. It is in essence and spirit very different from the teaching of the

Reformers. The words are from the formularies of the Church of England; but the tendency of the teaching is that of the Church of Rome.

This is a serious charge; but let us see if it is substantiated by fact. In *Heartsease*, we have an account of the baptism of a delicate infant, whilst the mother is lying unconscious, and almost at death's door. This opportunity is seized upon to inculcate the doctrine of baptismal regeneration. The mother calls for her child, and the following conversation ensues:—

“I have been thinking about baby's name.”

“Too late, Violet; they named him John. They say I desired it.”

“What! was he obliged to be baptized? Is he so delicate? O, Arthur! tell me; I know he is tiny, but I did not think he was ill.”

‘Arthur tried to soothe her with assurances of his well-doing, and the nurse corroborated them; but though she tried to believe, she was not pacified, and would not let her darling be taken from her arms until Mr. Harding arrived; his morning visit having been hastened by a dispatch from Arthur, who feared that she would suffer for her anxiety. She asked so many questions that he, who last night had seen her too weak to look up or speak, was quite taken by surprise. By a little exceeding the truth, he did at length satisfy her mind; *but after this there was an alteration in her manner with her baby; it was not only the mere caressing, there was a sort of reverence and look of reflection as she contemplated him*, such as made Arthur once ask, what she could be studying in that queer, little red visage?’

“I was thinking *how very good he is!*” was her simple answer, and Arthur's smile by no means comprehended her meaning.”—Pp. 100, 101.

We are aware that there is nothing very remarkable in the fact of a writer holding such dogmas; but we quoted this passage to show how ingeniously the theory is endeavoured to be implanted in the reader's mind in the course of the story. And this, be it remembered, in a majority of cases, will be read by young and unguarded persons. As we wrote out the words, we could not help smiling with Arthur at the delicious vagueness, so characteristic of the school to which the writer belongs, of the expression, ‘*a sort of reverence and look of reflection:*’ we have pondered it, but must give up the real meaning in despair.

The author's views are not, however, universally thus merely hinted at. Here is a theory of the *grace* of confirmation, taken from *The Castle Builders*, a story intended for much younger readers. Kate and Emmeline are two young ladies who have neglected the rite of confirmation in consequence of their sudden removal from school, and have since entered heartily

into a whirl of pleasure and society. The death of a half-brother has at once saddened and aroused them to a desire for better things ; but there is no real sign of new life, and, in the course of the story, these aspirations grow faint once more. Yet, to these young ladies the following passages, and the ensuing remarks, are not deemed inapplicable :—

‘The sermon’ (which Kate is reading to her sister) ‘seemed to have been sent as an answer to their complaints of loneliness and dreariness. *It spoke of the glorious company to which they belonged ; of the angels at their side ; of the saints made perfect, who were their brethren ; of the whole catholic Church praying with them and for them ; of the Comforter within their hearts ; of the Brother who is touched with the feeling of our infirmities ; of the Father whose hand is ever over us. Dreary and dark the world around might be, but the path of the just would only be as the shining light, shining more and more unto the perfect day.*

‘It was beautiful, and how doubly beautiful, because it was true,—less than the truth, instead of more!.....

“O, yes,” exclaimed Emmeline, “it is a different thing now ; *for we all bear a charm within ;* you and I, Kate, may live in a world of our own.”

“The real world,” said Kate,.....“when we do really come near to the altar, I mean.”

“O, Emmie! don’t you wish for the time?”

“With all my heart,” said Emmeline ; “then we shall be full Christians, united to the better world, within and above, and independent of the earthly world below and around.”

“Yes. I am very glad Uncle Willoughby has made a beginning, and spoken to Mr. Brent.”—Pp. 224, 225.

We confess we were astounded on reading this passage. It is not merely the vague and mistaken idea of two young girls ; for it is passed by without remark, and, indeed, is consistent with a certain theory. In opposition to the statement that ‘we all bear a charm within,’ we can call to mind a text which speaks of the Spirit of truth,—for this is what is meant by the word ‘*charm*,’—whom the world cannot receive. And what are we to think of a full Christianity, a union with the better world, of which a *beginning is made* by Uncle Willoughby speaking to Mr. Brent? These impressions, however, prove evanescent ; and, in a subsequent part of the story, the two young ladies, still unconfirmed, are staying with their brother-in-law, the model clergyman of the story, with whom one of the sisters is conversing, as follows :—

“You see, Herbert, religion won’t do for me.”

“I don’t see any such thing. You have had a fit of excitement

of feeling, and it has passed off; but you are not thinking that you have been without religion all the years of your life."

"O, no! but that is not what one means. That is too shocking."

"You are a Christian. Each right action or feeling, each act of faith or prayer, through your whole life, have they not been the fruits of your baptismal grace?"

"I suppose so; but there have been few enough of them."

"And do you think that is caused by any defect in the grace thus given you?"

"O, no, no!"

"But they have been passing, fleeting, unstable of late. You have had no rest in them, no comfort of mind, no true wisdom, no strength, no firmness, no abiding sense of love and fear of God."

Emmeline gave a sort of groan, that showed the words went home to her heart.

"And you say it is the fault of religion? Emmeline, our religion holds out to us a means of receiving the strength of the Holy Ghost, the Comforter, giving us the Spirit of wisdom and understanding, the Spirit of counsel and ghostly strength, the Spirit of knowledge and true godliness, and the Spirit of God's holy fear."

"Confirmation!" said Emmeline. "O, Herbert! would it do all that for me? I do believe it would be peace at last."

"Emmeline, *I am sure it would*. It is not I that tell you so. It is the promise of God *through His Church*."

"Yes; but it is on a condition. How am I to fulfil that condition? I may make the vow, and intend to keep it, and believe fully; but the feeling will go. I shall be unsteady again."

"If you were to stand in your own strength, not in the all-sufficient grace, you would; but, besides prayer, will there not then be open to you the special means of strengthening and refreshing our souls?"

"But how many there are no better for being confirmed!"

"How can we tell? They may be better; or, if they fail, it may be that their hearts are not prepared. They wanted prayer, or they wanted faith, or they were not in earnest, or they fell away through some unresisted temptation; not from any defect in the Confirmation grace, which will yet restore many."

"Then you think, if we had been confirmed, we should have avoided our faults?"

"No; I say no such thing. I cannot tell how you would have kept your vow; but I know you would then have been obedient to that summons of the Church, the grace would have been given to you, and if you had used it rightly"—

"Ah! I do believe that it would have made a difference. I know I should have been afraid to stay away from the holy communion, after your letter; and then I should have watched myself more, and, perhaps, have been saved from these faults."—Pp. 331, 332.

The next quotation is from *The Daisy Chain*. Harry May, a young lad full of high animal spirits, and about to go to sea,

has been indulging in some practical jokes, and has shown such want of steady purpose, that his father has decided not to allow him to be a candidate for an approaching Confirmation.

'Harry and Mary were sitting twisted together into a sort of bundle, on the same footstool, by Margaret's sofa. Harry had begged of her to hear him say the Catechism once more, and Mary had joined with him in the repetition. There was to be only one more Sunday at home.

"And that!" he said, and sighed.

'Margaret knew what he meant, for the feast was to be spread for those newly admitted to share it. She only said a caressing word of affection.

"I wonder when I shall have another chance," said Harry. "If we should get to Australia or New Zealand,—but then, perhaps, there might be no Confirmation going on, and I might be worse by that time."

"O, you must not let that be!"

"Why, you see, if I cannot be good here, with all this going on, what shall I do among those fellows away from all?"

"You will have one friend."

"Mr. Ernscliffe! you are always thinking of him, Margaret; but perhaps he may not go; and if he should, a lieutenant cannot do much for a midshipman. No, I thought, when I was reading with my father, that *somehow* it might help me to do what *it* called putting away childish things—don't you know? I might be able to be stronger and steadier *somehow*. And then, if—if—you know—if I did tumble overboard, or any thing of that sort, there is *that* about the—what they will go to next Sunday, being necessary to salvation."

'Harry laid down his head and cried; Margaret could not speak for tears; and Mary was incoherently protesting against any notion of his falling overboard.

"It is *generally* necessary, Harry," Margaret said at last,—“not in impossible cases.”

"Yes, if it had been impossible, but it was not; if I had not been a mad goose all this time: but when a bit of fun gets hold of me, I can't think."—*Daisy Chain*, vol. i., pp. 271, 272.

It would be enough merely to quote such passages and pass them by without remark, were it not for the fact that there are thousands by whom such teaching is believed to be Christianity. These volumes have been quoted with approval by religious journals, have been read by thousands of young persons whose minds were awakening to a sense of their need of something more than the world can give. They are to be found in families, and are perused by firesides, where the heads of the household profess to hold evangelical doctrine. What would be the probable effect on a youthful mind just awakened to some sense of sin and of personal responsibility, on reading such a story?



Would not the natural result be to turn away the heart from that personal, close union with Christ, which alone can bring salvation, and to lead it to rest in the mere outward means in which we are told that grace is infallibly conveyed? Can any thing be more calculated to satisfy the conscience in its eager desire to escape from that contact with a perfect Redeemer which is so distasteful to our sin-stained hearts? Or what are we to think of doctrines which, under a profession of Christianity, dare to make the way of access to the holiest less broad than the word of God has declared it to be? Thank God, the road is made so wide that whosoever will may come, not waiting for sacramental grace, or for the imposition of priestly hands, but by immediate pardon from Him who ever liveth to make intercession for us.

It is thoroughly in keeping with the doctrines advocated in these stories, that they should abound in analysis of character. When outward acts have so great a value under certain circumstances, it becomes necessary to search into the motives by which they are prompted, in order that their value may be accurately ascertained. Here, of course, as in the cases above quoted, there is some truth, which gives its real power and consequent risk of misleading its readers. 'As unto the Lord, and not unto men,' is the broad principle laid down in Scripture for our guidance in searching into the character of motives. But in these works the analysis is carried on to an extent which seems to grow upon the author, as the later stories are most occupied with it. Ethel May follows up the intricacies of her own impulses, and pursues the scent with a keenness in which we are far from participating. The most trifling incidents, the most passing allusion, is sufficient to draw forth a long strain of soliloquy, which is rarely brought to a successful conclusion. Here is a specimen.

"There is an object in all one does in trying to be a comfort to papa."

"That's no use," said Norman listlessly, "we never can."

"O, but, Norman, he won't be always as he is now; I am sure he cares for us enough to be pleased if we do right and get on."

"We used to be so happy," said Norman.

"Ethel hesitated a little, and presently answered, "I don't think it can be right to lament for our own sakes so much, is it?"

"I don't want to do so," said Norman, in the same dejected way.

"I suppose we ought not to feel it either." Norman only shook his head: "We ought to think of her gain. You can't? Well, I am glad; for no more can I. I can't think of her liking for baby and papa and all of us to be left to ourselves. But that's not right of me; and, of course, it all comes right where she is; so I always put

that out of my head, and think what is to come next in doing, and pleasing papa, and learning."

"That's grown horrid," said Norman; "there's no pleasure in getting on, nor in anything."

"Don't you care for papa and all of us being glad, Norman?"

"As Norman could not say just then that he did, he would not answer.

"I wish —" said Ethel, disappointed, but cheering up the next minute. "I do believe it's having nothing to do. You will be better when you get back to school on Monday."

"That is worst of all."

"You don't like going among the boys again? But that must be done some time or other, or shall I get Richard to speak to Dr. Hoxton to let you have another week's leave?"

"No, no, don't be foolish; it can't be helped."

"I am very sorry, but I think you will be better for it."

She almost began to fancy herself unfeeling, when she found him so much more depressed than she was herself, and unable to feel it a relief to know that the time of rest and want of occupation was over. She thought it light-minded, though she could not help it, to look forward to the daily studies where she might lose her sad thoughts, and be as if every thing were as usual. But suppose she should be to blame, where would be now the gentle discipline? Poor Ethel's feelings were not such as to deserve the imputation of levity, when this thought came over her; but her buoyant mind, always seeking for consolation, recurred to Margaret's improvement, and she fixed her hopes on her.—*Daisy Chain*, vol. i., p. 43.

The buoyant mind, however, turns again and again to the same course of groundless self-accusation. Ethel is described as tormenting herself most unmercifully by endeavours to trace some selfishness, or pride, or other evil impulse, at the root of actions which are at least outwardly praiseworthy. And her companion, Meta Rivers, and her brother Norman, indulge extensively in introspective meditation. The great source of discomfort and alarm to the former is that she is too happy, her life has been too bright.

"Really and truly," said Meta, thoughtfully, "I never do meet with any reasonable trial of temper; and I am often afraid it cannot be right or safe to live so entirely at ease, and without contradictions."

"Well, but," said Ethel, "it is the state of life in which you are placed."

"Yes, but are we meant never to have vexations?".....

"Do you mean that nothing ever goes wrong with you, or that you do not mind any thing? Which?"

"Nothing goes wrong enough with me to give me a handsome excuse for minding it."

"Then, it must be all your good temper."

"I don't think so," said Ethel, "it is that nothing is disagreeable to me."

"Stay," said Ethel, "if the ill-temper was in you, you would only be the crosser for being indulged; at least, so books say. And I am sure myself, that it is not whether things are disagreeable or not, but whether one's will is in them, that signifies."

"I don't quite understand."

"Why, I have seen the boys do for play, and have done myself, what would have been a horrid hardship had one been made to do it. I never liked any lessons as well as those I did without being obliged, and always, when there is a thing I hate very much in itself, I can get up an interest in it, by resolving, that I will do it well, or fast, or something; if I can stick my will to it, it is like a lever, and it is done. Now, I think it must be the same with you, only your will is more easily set at it than mine."

"What makes me uncomfortable is, that I feel as if I never followed anything but my will."

"Ethel screwed up her face, as if the eyes of her mind were nursing some thought almost beyond her. "If our will and our duty were the same," she said, "that can't be wrong. The better people are, the more they love what He commands, you know. In heaven they have no will but His."

"O, but Ethel," cried Meta, distressed, "that is putting it too high. Won't you understand what I mean? We have learnt so much lately about self-denial, and crossing one's own inclinations and enduring hardness. And here I live with two dear, kind people, who only try to keep every little annoyance from my path. I can't wish for a thing without getting it; I am waited on all day long, and I feel like one of the women that are at ease,—one of the careless daughters."

"I think still, papa would say it was your happy, contented temper that made you find no vexation."

"But that sort of temper is not goodness. I was born with it; I never did mind anything, not even being punished, they say, unless I knew papa was grieved, which always did make me unhappy enough; I laughed, and went to play most saucily, whatever they did to me. If I had striven for the temper, it would be worth having, but it is my nature. And Ethel," she added, in a low voice, as the tears came into her eyes, "don't you remember last Sunday? I felt myself so vain and petted a thing, as if I had no share in the cup of suffering, and did not deserve to call myself a member; it seemed ungrateful."

"Ethel felt ashamed, as she heard of warmer feelings than her own had been, expressed in that lowered, trembling voice, and she sought for the answer that would only come to her mind in sense, not at first in words. "Discipline," said she, "would not that show the willingness to have the part? *Taking the right time for refusing oneself some pleasant thing.*"

"Would not that be making up something for oneself?" said Meta.

“No, the Church orders it. It is in the Prayer Book,” said Ethel. “I mean one can do little secret things, not reading story-books on those days, or keeping some tiresome sort of work for them. It is very trumpery, but it keeps the remembrance, and it is not so much as if one did not heed.”—*The Daisy Chain*, vol. i., pp. 281–283.

It would be difficult to trace in every particular the false teaching contained in this passage. It reminds us of nothing so strongly as of the story of Dionysius the tyrant, whose great felicity made him fear the envy of the gods, to arrest which, he threw into the sea his most precious ring, by way of what Ethel calls ‘discipline.’ The whole notion is one which is without foundation in Scripture, or in reason. That we should give up what we value, because it involves ruin, or because it may be of use to others, is a demand sufficiently intelligible; but the endeavour to make life gratuitously unhappy may be Popery, but is not Christianity.

True it is, that a little further on Dr. May points out to Meta, that the plethora of happiness is sent here by God’s hand; but the author has written an unconscious satire, the more biting because full of truth, upon the creed adopted in these volumes. If, in any sense of which the words are capable, we are to expect to share the cup of suffering, a young heart might well falter at the recollection of such unclouded happiness; though in that case we should hardly have supposed that the end in view would be gained by such ‘trumpery’ as not reading story-books, or keeping some tiresome work for certain days. The advice is almost, we fancy, without parallel. We remember, indeed, once hearing a clergyman recommend the ladies of his congregation not to wear brooches in the season of Lent; but that sage counsel was only spoken from the pulpit, not written down on paper and corrected for the press.

Strange too does it seem to us that, in this very passage, the writer has remarked a genuine source of childish trouble, which ought—we should have supposed, could hardly have failed—to have suggested by a true analogy the real source of that tribulation of mind to which every Christian is exposed. The childish love to an earthly parent had made the joyous girl sad when he was grieved; and the consciousness of a heart full of love to Christ, that He is grieved by its failure to imitate His example more closely, is the deepest source of sorrow to a Christian, and one which renders such spasmodic and unnatural efforts to make ourselves miserable but too superfluous. ‘Sorrowful, but always rejoicing,’ is the paradoxical, but genuine experience of the true believer; the first from a sense of his own shortcomings, the second from an assurance of his Saviour’s love.

There is, however, a seeming plausibility in this analysis of motives which makes it appear of special value to a certain class of minds. The same tendency is prevalent in other branches of literature, and the young especially are most liable to forget how very little beneath the surface such disquisitions for the most part are able to pierce, and by how many other circumstances a really true conclusion on certain grounds may require to be modified, and how very difficult it is, if it be not altogether impossible, to exhaust all the considerations which should be taken into account in any such estimate. We doubt, therefore, whether there be any process much more deceptive; and when we turn from these general reasons for questioning its utility, and look to the teaching of the New Testament, we find a very different mode of teaching: we learn then that there is an absolute standard of truth, by which we ought to judge ourselves, and that the Divine power of the Holy Spirit will be vouchsafed to those who seek Him, and will bear witness in them according to God's will.

In selecting the quotations which we have given above to illustrate the teaching of these volumes, we have naturally been led to those places in which the author's views are most plainly enforced. But throughout these stories there abound small suggestions and passing remarks in which the same principles are either enforced or assumed. The heir of Redclyffe saves the crew of a vessel that has been wrecked, and immediately goes, all dripping as he is, to attend the early service. The young sisters, Kate and Emmeline, in the *Castle Builders*, are so enamoured of the Church Catechism, that they teach it to their classes in the school every day; and when some disappointment follows upon their attempts to instruct the children, its origin is traced to their not having acted under proper ecclesiastical authority. The Mays build a church at Cocksmoor, adorned with painted windows of saints and virgins; and the author considers the present of some 'beautiful carved fittings' from a Roman Catholic chapel in France, to be so valuable an addition as to deserve special notice. These are but a sample of the ideas which are most skilfully interspersed in the thread of the narrative. In most respects these puerilities are faithfully copied from the habits of those who agree with the doctrine of these stories; but we cannot but hope that injustice is done to the managers of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, who are described as setting their friends to work, before holding an Anniversary Meeting, to entrap persons who are described as being, if not essentially foolish and ignorant, at least without any profession of personal Christianity, into making

speeches, simply because they occupy a high position in the social scale. We can hardly imagine anything more repugnant to all proper and high feeling than getting such men, simply on account of their influence in the world, to urge upon others the most sacred of those duties which Christianity enforces; duties which call for so great sacrifices as can only be undertaken in a full assurance of that truth which they are intended to promote.

We can only notice two other points before we conclude. There are two principles especially recommended by the Church of Rome, which are more distasteful perhaps than any others to English ears. One is, that the Bible should be withheld from the people; the other is, the enforcing of confession to a priest. We may well suppose that great caution would be employed, lest offence should be given by the too plain advocacy of these two points; but they are both advanced in these volumes, and so advanced that the very principle involved in their rejection is conceded: they are advanced in fact on the same ground on which they are maintained by the Papists.

Here is the writer's view of confession. We must explain, that Flora has married a very empty-headed man, in order to gain a high position in society; that her first child has died through its mother's neglect, and the administering of soothing doses by the nurse; and that sorrow for its loss, and a sense of her share in the cause of it, weigh heavily upon Flora's heart, who at last, after months of stony silence, takes counsel of her sister Ethel.

"I do know what to say," said Ethel, "and that is, *Do as the Prayer Book tells you in any perplexity*—"

"I am not perplexed," said Flora.

"Don't say so. This is either the station to which God has called you, or it is not."

"He never called me to it."

"But you don't know whether you ought to leave it. If you ought not, you would be ten times more miserable. Go to Richard, Flora—he belongs to you as much as I—he has authority besides."

"Richard!"

"He is the clearest of us all in practical matters," said Ethel, preventing what she feared would be disparaging. "I don't mean only that you should ask him about this Parliament matter alone; but I am sure you would be happier if you talked things over with him before—before you go to church."

"You don't know what you propose."

"I do," said Ethel, growing bolder. "You have been going all this time by feeling. You have never cleared up and got to the bottom of your troubles."

"I could not talk to any one."

"Not to any one but a clergyman."—*Daisy Chain*, vol. ii., p. 327.

What is this but the whole Popish theory? Here is a mind burdened with a sense of sin; no relief has been found; the heart is weighed down by trouble, and all the ordinary cares of life fail to cause forgetfulness of itself, or to afford relief. Where shall the anxious mother turn? where find comfort from her own bitter self-reproaches? We know to whom the word of God would point,—to One with deepest inward spring of sympathy for human misery,—to One who can be touched with the feeling of our infirmities. But there is no reference to such a consolation. Doubtless, the author would admit that such a well-spring of joy was to be found; but its supply, according to the theory of these volumes, finds its passage only through a certain channel. Richard May, because ordained by episcopal hands, has *authority*,—such trouble can be spoken of *only to a clergyman*. There is no thought of casting all your care on Him who careth for you.

The suggestion of the desirability of withholding the Scriptures comes in a more disguised shape. It occurs in a brief sentence in the midst of discussion upon the most desirable school-books.

“O! Margaret, will you look at these *First Truths*? Do you think they would be easy enough? Shall I take some of the *Parables* and *Miracles* at once, or content myself with the book about *Jane Sparks*?”

“There’s some very easy reading in *Jane Sparks*, isn’t there? *I would not make the little books from the New Testament too common.*”  
—*The Daisy Chain*. vol. i., p. 154.

As we read this sage counsel on the best kind of books for teaching children, our mind went back to a certain passage of far higher authority,—an authority which we cannot persuade ourselves that the author of these fictions would venture to reject, although, in its plainest acceptation, it is in direct opposition to the idea of not making God’s word too common. “Therefore shall ye lay up these My words in your heart, and in your soul, and bind them for a sign upon your hand, that they may be as frontlets between your eyes. *And ye shall teach them your children, speaking of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way; when thou liest down, and when thou risest up.* And thou shalt write them upon the door-posts of thine house, and upon thy gates: that your days may be multiplied, and the days of your children, in the land which the Lord sware unto your fathers to give them, as the days of heaven upon the earth.”

To those who can understand and value those great principles

upon which Protestant Christianity is based, it will not seem a matter of astonishment that we have devoted so much space to the consideration of these volumes. It is constantly remarked that in a large class of society in the present day, men have abandoned the strongholds of faith, which our fathers deemed impregnable: and to what cause are we to attribute such a defection? Is it not to the lamentable deficiency of distinctive dogmatic teaching? to the spurious sentimentality of liberalism in matters of faith, which is so largely prevalent? to the admission into the bosom of our families, and to the perusal of our children, of such works as these which we have been reviewing? to the subtle form in which false principles are instilled, so that they take possession of the mind by stealth, and first undermine and then carry positions, which we should stoutly defend, were they openly and avowedly assailed?

Nor are we ignorant that in this criticism we have rendered ourselves liable to the reproach of narrowmindedness; for there are many parts in these works which, if they stood alone, might seem worthy of high approval. Take, as an example, these words from the last few pages of *Dynevor Terrace*:—

‘Louis’s tastes would have worn out with habit, had it not been for the radiance permanent in his own mind, namely, the thankful, adoring love that finds the true brightness in ‘whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report.’ This spirit it was which had kept his heart fresh, his spirit youthful, and changed constitutional versatility into a power of hearty adaptation to the least congenial tastes.

‘Gentleness, affection, humility, and refinement were in his nature. Mrs. Frost had trained these qualities into the beauty of Christian graces; and Mrs. Ponsonby and her daughter had taught him to bring his high principles to supply that which was wanting. Indolence of will, facility of disposition, unsteadiness of purpose, inconsiderate impulses without perseverance, had all betokened an inherent weakness, which the earl’s cure, ambition, had been powerless to remedy. But duty had been effectual in drawing strength out of what had been feeble by nature. It was religion that had made a man of Louis; and his father saw and owned it, no longer as merely the woman’s guide in life, and the man’s resource chiefly in death, to be respected and moderately attended to, but never so as to interfere unseasonably with the world. No; he had learnt that it was the only sound and sure moving-spring: he knew it as his son’s strengthening, brightening thread of life; and began to perceive that his own course might have been less gloomy, and less harsh, devoid of such dark strands, had he held the right clue.’—Pp. 531, 532.

Of course we are able to endorse these sentiments, and join with the author in attributing to the power of truth that influ-



ence for time, as well as for eternity, which is here assigned it. But when we come to define what is meant by the word '*religion*' here employed; when we would determine how it acts, and by what agency it operates; we find that, under the same term, we are speaking of things widely different; that our author attributes to a series of sacraments and services, to the intervention of a man, invested by a fancied succession from the apostles with certain spiritual powers,—in short, to outward acts and human agency,—that which we believe to be made effectual only through the influence of God's Spirit and the direct operation of His Son. It is under a different name the old subject of contention, which, under varied aspects, has been debated from the establishment of Christianity down to the present day.

To the objections here urged to these works, it has been suggested in reply, that the form of instruction employed did not admit of a more direct statement of Christian truth; and that it would be unbecoming in a fiction to introduce the holiest names. For the idea that this view has been really entertained, there seem to be some grounds in the careful avoidance throughout of the name of our Lord. But to this it is enough to reply, that such a reason is sufficient in itself to condemn the use of fiction as a medium of religious instruction. But, apart from this consideration, the tendency of these volumes is abundantly evident to all who, being themselves acquainted with the truth, have carefully perused them. It is from this, the Christian, evangelical aspect, that we have been ever wont to regard the literature of our day; it is avowedly from this aspect that we look with peculiar interest and anxiety on all that is intended to instruct and amuse the rising generation; and, if we mistake not, it is from this aspect that the author herself (in her own acceptance, of course, of the terms 'Christian' and 'evangelical') would wish them to be judged. So viewed, then, we consider these works to be fearfully unsound in theory; the amount of their injurious influence being in proportion to the acknowledged ability of their author. They are all well written, most of them highly finished; with great depth of pathos, with considerable insight into character, with no small ingenuity in weaving the plot of a story, and maintaining a conversation between the actors. But, to a great delicacy and refinement which makes them admissible in the female circle, to a power of mental analysis which gives an air of consummate judgment, and to some genuine touches of humour which relieve the tedium of a serious discussion, they do not add a scriptural or a safe understanding of that truth, to teach which is their main

object. From the outset of life, by a baptism in which grace is inevitably received, to Confirmation, in which it is inevitably renewed, (but which children can dispense with because '*they have not had so many years to sin away the grace received at baptism,*'\*) thence to the Communion, which is made identical with John vi. 53; and so to the closing scene, when, with his last breath, (as in the passage already quoted,) the dying man whispers to have the Commendatory Prayer read; it is one long system of form without substance, because the two are made identical, and of ceremony without Christ, because the one is made essential to the other. It is the special danger of such a creed, that it will seem to many to be genuine; it will satisfy where it will not save. We earnestly, therefore, entreat those who value truth not to place in their children's hands any volumes by the author of *The Heir of Redclyffe*.

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- ART. VIII.—1. *The Mahāwanso: with the Translation subjoined, and an introductory Essay on Pāli Buddhistical Literature.* By the HON. GEORGE TURNOUR, Esq. Vol. I. Ceylon. 1837.
2. *Introduction à l'Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien.* Par E. BURNOURF. Paris. 1844.
3. *Eastern Monachism: an Account of the Origin, Discipline, &c., of the Order of Mendicants founded by Gotama Budha, &c.* By the REV. R. SPENCE HARDY. London. 1850.
4. *A Manual of Buddhism in its modern Development.* Translated from Cingalese MSS. By the REV. R. SPENCE HARDY. London. 1854.
5. *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces of Hindustan and the Punjab, from 1819 to 1825.* By MOORCROFT and TREBECK. London. 1841.
6. *Christianity in Ceylon, &c.: with an historical Sketch of the Brahminical and Buddhist Superstitions.* By SIR JAMES EMERSON TENNENT. London. 1850.
7. *History of India: the Hindoo and Mahomedan Periods.* By the HON. MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE. London. 1857.

ON the southern side of the magnificent forests and cultivated uplands which rise in verdant majesty towards the Himalayan peaks, once stood the royal city of Kapiwalastu. The garden of its reigning prince was in the neighbourhood of gentle slopes,

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\* *Castle Builders*, p. 212.

which were beautified with clumps of cedar, cypress, and fir trees, relieved by patches of rhododendrons, amidst a variegated groundwork of asters and anemones. The whole was overlooked and sheltered by the hills which still guard the course of fertilizing streams, and whose wooded undulations gracefully subside towards the plains of Behar. There, about 624 years before Christ, just when Psammeticus had established his sole authority in Egypt, and had given imperial majesty to Memphis,—when Babylon was nearing the point of her meridian glory,—when Greece was about to exhibit her most perfect models of philosophy and plastic art, and Tarquinius was rearing the walls of Rome, and laying the foundations of the Capitol,—when Josiah was kindling afresh the sacrificial fires of Judaism, and, though chastened by the rising wail of Jeremiah, was giving to the former temple her last and most impressive pass-over,—just then, in the royal garden on the borders of Nepaul, the son of the monarch Sudhódana was born. At the moment of his birth, it is said, he stood erect; and looking towards the four quarters, and the four half quarters, above and below, without seeing any one, in either of these ten directions, who was equal to himself, he exclaimed, ‘I am the most exalted in the world, I am the chief in the world, I am the most excellent in the world; this is my last birth; hereafter there is to me no other existence.’

This remarkable person was Gótama Buddha, whose name now stands at the head of that vast system which is called Buddhism. The sacred books preserved by his followers record the acts of his life; and sketch, with all the warmth of eastern fanaticism, the features of his character. Upon his person, they say, there were certain signs, by which the soothsayers knew that, previous to his reception of the supreme Buddhahip, he would become a recluse. Five days after his birth he received the name of Siahárta, though he is more commonly known as Sakya or Gótama. His memory has not escaped the honours of juvenile miracle; (for it is asserted that he attended a ploughing festival when only a few months old, and sat in the air without any support; he may have been, indeed, the first to attempt that singular feat, which the eastern devotee, in some cases, still seems to perform.) He was married at sixteen. Yasódará, a daughter of Suprabudha, who reigned at Koli, was the honoured bride. (The father of the future Buddha had been told that his son would be led to renounce the world under the influence of four tokens,—decrepitude, sickness, a corpse, and a hermit; and had therefore given strict orders that these objects should be kept away from the scenes of the young man’s life.

But his precautions were vain. During a ramble to one of the palace gardens, the prince saw an old man tremulously leaning on his staff. He anxiously sought an explanation, and soon found his curiosity giving place to the impressive conviction, that decay is the lot of all men.) At short intervals, a leper, a dead body, and a hermit, successively caught his notice. The spell was triumphant. The luxuries of an eastern palace, the voluptuous pleasures of an oriental garden, all the charms that music could afford, all the perfumes of a spicy land, all the enticements of love and beauty, and even the happy tidings that his queen had become a mother, all failed to hold his ascetic spirit back from its rigid course. There was a last look at the sleeping wife and babe; and then a dash on horseback away from all human relations to the solitude of the desert. For six years he underwent a course of severe discipline in the forest of Urwela; but as the result was not equal to his desires, he lessened his daily allowance of food to a pepper-pod, or something equally small, until his outer man was so reduced that he lay for a time senseless on the ground. In another part of the forest, however, he finally realized his object, and received the supreme Buddhahip under the shadow of a *Bó* tree. This attainment he had kept in view through the unnumbered births which he had known before his present existence as a man; and in each of the forms of life which he had sustained, whether animal, human, or divine, he had performed some act, or exercised some virtue, that fitted him more fully for his final honour. Whilst under the *Bó* tree, he was beset by a dreadful host of demons; but he remained tranquil, 'like the star in the midst of the storm;' and the fiends, when they had spent their power without effect, 'passed away like the thunder-cloud retiring from the orb of the moon, causing it to appear in greater beauty.' The rapid stages of his advance, as he neared the standard of perfection, are reverently marked. At the tenth hour of the night which saw his last conflict, he attained the wisdom by which he knew all the circumstances of all the beings that have ever existed in the infinite worlds; at the twentieth hour he received the divine eyes by which he could see all things, within the space of the boundless systems of worlds, as clearly as if they were close at hand; and at the tenth hour of the following morning, or the close of the third watch of the night, he found the knowledge by which he could understand the sequence of existence, the cause and end of all sorrow. He had now reached the goal, and gained that for which, through myriads of ages, he had sacrificed so much, and endured such lengthened toil. As a Buddha, he could now per-

form any act, discern any object, and understand any truth, to which he turned his attention. He soon entered on his ministerial work; and, 'wiser than the wisest, and higher than the highest,' announced himself as the teacher of the three worlds. Benares, Rajagaha, Wésáli, and Sewet were his great centres of action; but he visited many parts of India, and is said to have touched several times at Ceylon. The celestial worlds, also, came within the range of his teaching; and Dewas and Brahmas sometimes listened to his voice. His miracles were on a vast scale. Lest, however, the record of their character and number should too heavily tax the confidence even of the faithful, we are told, that in his time the possession of miraculous powers was common to his disciples; thousands of whom could, with the greatest ease, overturn the earth, or stop the course of the sun. But were all the glory of doubtful miracle to fade away from around his memory, the purer light of one action would shed undying lustre on his name. In the height of his religious and philosophical power, he used the full influence which his sanctity commanded, and employed all the talents and genius which had gathered around his venerated person, in giving a scientific form to the Pali language, and in immortalizing it as the hallowed speech of his priesthood and system. The oldest Pali grammar noticed in the literature of Ceylon, is that of Kachcháyano. The author was one of the eighty celebrated contemporary disciples of Gótama, and was selected by his master for the important office of compiling the first grammar of the sacred tongue. 'Seated in the midst of the four classes of devotees of which his congregation was composed; opening his sacred mouth like unto a flower expanding under the genial influence of Surio's rays, and pouring out a stream of eloquence like unto that of Brahma, Buddha said, "My disciples, the profoundly wise Sariputto is competent to spread abroad the tidings of the wisdom contained in my religion."' Thus, 'Buddha allotted to me,' says the grammarian, 'this important task; and this being achieved, men of various nations and tongues, rejecting the dialects which have been confused by their disorderly mixture with the Sanscrit and other languages, will with facility acquire, by conformity to the rules of grammar, the knowledge of the word.' In this way, to fix the language which was to perpetuate his thoughts seems to have been one of the last deeds of the far-sighted philosopher. He died at the age of eighty, near Kusinara, which is supposed by some to be in Assam, while others think it was near Delhi. (His body was consumed; but his relics were carefully preserved by his disciples as objects of worship.)

We must be satisfied with this sketch of a life, which, though brought before us by native biographers with all the pomp and glitter which suit an eastern devotee, is worthy of serious study; nor, perhaps, will it be difficult to discover beneath the extravagant imagery some features of greatness, and the leading events of a career which has for ever distinguished an epoch in the history of our race. Gótama's name is a great landmark in the dominion of Buddhism. In its more definite form, and as an embodiment of doctrines, the system dates from the time of his life. The sacred books, however, show, that before his advent the principles which he enforced had been taught by the twenty-four Buddhas who had formed the divine succession of the past, and whose teachings ran back into dim antiquity; so that he had only to re-discover, revive, and formally perpetuate the old religious philosophy which had sprung out of, and so fiercely rivalled, the Brahmin faith. Indeed, the Buddhist religion seems to have been one of those great systems which, at a very early age, rose, close upon one another, against the claims of the promised Messiah, near the spot, it may be, where the original promise of human salvation was given, and where it was said, 'I will put enmity between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel.'

When we follow the waves of human population, as they went out from the first seat of life, and passed over the extremities of continents to cover the insulated fragments of a former world, we find many broken remnants of those institutions, customs, and laws, whose more complete forms are still to be seen in the original homes of the race. Wherever any thing like a definite shape of idolatry or false religion is found, though it be at the extreme limits of human emigration, it bears marks by which we can trace the early influence of those systems whose unearthly proportions even now fling their unbroken shadow over so much of the eastern world. Two thousand years before Christ, just as the Assyrians had learnt to adore their departed Nimrod, or the constellation Orion,—while Persia was beholding divinity in the sun,—while Egypt was setting up her sacred brutes,—and God was leading forth Abraham to maintain a pure devotion,—India was singing the hymns which initiated her pantheism, and preparing herself for an idolatrous course, from the standard of her *Vedas* to the impurities of Krishna and the devilism of Kali. The religion of the Brahmins had kept up its sway for more than a thousand years, when the Buddhistical philosophy and Monachism rose into hostile power, and effected a vast revolution. The rival system exalted the Buddhas above the gods, denied the inspiration of the *Vedas*, and

testified against the tyranny of *caste*. It prospered on the continent of India until the early ages of Christianity; and then declined or shifted its ground, till its dominion was established within its present limits, and it became the national faith of Nepaul, Thibet, Ava, Ceylon, China, and Japan.

One secret of that great power and influence which have been accumulated by the gigantic systems of false religion, whether instituted by Nimrod, Brahma, Buddha, Zoroaster, or Mahomet, is in this, that they either exhibit error clothed with the ornaments of truth, or they so associate the leading ideas of genuine revelation with the creations of the carnal mind, as to give error its utmost advantage over fallen human nature. This is seen especially in Buddhism, as compared with that Divine religion which is developed in the histories and teachings of the Bible. There is a remarkable similarity as to vastness of outline, depth of influence, and richness of illustration. That holy religion which reveals Jehovah, opens the treasures of eternity, embraces the interests of an entire race, and unveils eternal life to universal man, must necessarily be distinguished by grandeur, power, and beauty. The semblance of these qualities has been assumed by Buddhism, and is used in a striking manner for the adornment of its own errors. It owes much to the place of its birth, the East. The first worshippers of Jehovah were to some extent influenced by the scenes in which they prophesied. 'Moses and the prophets drank in the fire of eastern day from a thousand sources. They dwelt in a land of wonders; bathed on the one side by the "great sea," and bordering a desert whose mysteries were dreadful; a land through which the Lord Himself had led His hosts, and in which there still remained the memorials of His wrath.' In accordance with all this, the spirit and language of their devotion was simple, lofty, and intense. So, the system of Buddhism towered to its greatest height in the neighbourhood of its birth; clothed itself there with formidable majesty, and long exercised a mysterious authority and power. All men have felt a yearning after something beyond the limits of the visible world; but the feeling is modified by circumstances. False piety has, in some cases, ascribed divinity to the simplest objects in creation, so that in the pebble, the flower, the cloud, or the spring, the devotee has found a wondrous charm; at other times, it has begotten disgust at the common affairs of life, taught its votaries to scowl on all that is gentle, and to turn from every happy scene to the solitude and gloom of deserts or the grave. Some men have been called by it to listen to voices unheard by the crowd, until they should realize the presence of superior

spirits, by whose influence they were to be swayed, or in communion with whom they might be released from the tyranny of sense; while others have been enticed to pry into the secrets of the future, or to seek for superhuman powers; so that their own intensified energies, or their alliance with beings from other worlds, might raise them above the common herd of mortals. But, as Mr. Hardy shows, in his *Eastern Monachism*, all these characteristics are brought within the mighty range of Buddhism, and each feature is found in its most gigantic form. The thoughts and sympathies of the Buddhist are all in the superlative. The poetry of his religion deals with mountains as with grains, and with oceans as with rills; its asceticism rejects not only the pleasures of earth, but the enjoyments of heaven; its mysticism is the loss of being as well as of consciousness; its magic makes the entire universe plastic to its touch, and eternity obedient to its voice. Endeavours have been made to give expression to all this in mere outward forms. The earlier disciples of Gótama must needs have the elect scenes of their devotion distinguished by subduing beauty or impressive grandeur; and on Samanala's Peak, in Ceylon, we might feel the reason and admire the policy of their choice; for who could stand on that throne of clouds, overlooking one of the fairest portions of the earth, and fail to acknowledge a mysterious and infinite power? Or, who could wander near the solitary cocoa-nut tree, which springs out of a recess amidst the Aluewihare rocks, and waves its thin stem and scanty leaves over the rude pinnacles and masses which stand in wild ruin near the mountains from which they were riven; or look out from the dim temples on the black rocks of Dambool, upon the forests beneath; without feeling himself overawed by a superhuman presence? Standing on these 'land-marks in the sea of time,' everything conspires to recal the native legends, that the spirits, from unrecorded ages to the present time, hover in clouds and darkness about the hallowed scenes. The most ponderous and lasting temple that mortals ever raised can be overthrown by man, may fall by accident, and must yield to age; it cannot therefore inspire those overwhelming feelings of space and duration which are associated with the works of an Almighty Mind. On the Samanala, or Adam's Peak, nearly eight thousand feet above the level of the sea, on the extreme summit, is the *Sree Pada*, or sacred foot-print of Buddha, the gigantic seal of his unearthly power. Everything about Buddha is vast. His followers seem to have associated, in some degree, the notion of corporeal size with mental greatness, and that of lofty powers with multiplied number. Illustrations of this are found in the



stupendous Dágobas which cover his relics,—in one case so large, that a twelve-foot wall of ninety-seven miles in length might, it is supposed, be built with its materials; in the immense sculptures which perpetuate his memory; in the temples devoted to his worship; and in the gigantic forms which represent him to the worshippers, six of whom, it is said, could sit in the palm of his hand, while he overawes the devotee by rising to a stature of sixty or even eighty feet. (Buddha's Tooth, the most sacred thing on earth, the Palladium of Ceylon, is two inches in length, and one inch in diameter at the base.) Caught out of the fire which consumed the body of the sage by the priest Kaima, it has shared, for just fifteen centuries, the fortunes of those who along with it swayed the destinies of the island. It has had its wanderings and returns, its captivities and exiles, degradations and triumphs; and now rests, after so many years of travel, in one of the richest shrines of which superstition can boast. It arrived in Ceylon in the year 309. (In 1815, the British power seized it; and when last exhibited, it was brought from its chamber in the Kandian temple, where it had reposed on a silver table.) Six covers, of several feet in height, were removed in succession; the first bell-shaped, and of silver gilt, and the others of gold, richly jewelled and adorned. It was then placed in its casket, on the back of a gorgeously caparisoned elephant, under a small octagonal roof supported by silver pillars. When the distinguished bearer appeared coming out of the temple, two lines of elephants, magnificent creatures, knelt down, and remained in this posture; while the people, joining the points of their fingers, raising their arms above their heads, and bending forward, shouted, in full and deep tones, '*Sadhu!*' The mighty voice rose and continued to swell, until all the adoring multitude had united in the grand and solemn peal.

But while the errors of Buddhism are thus decorated, some of the leading ideas of genuine revelation, the remnants of original tradition, are pressed into its service, and with superlative skill are worked up into its own mysterious contexture. The records of this system, as well as those of Hinduism, reveal the first growth of error, and help us to detect the point where the early deviation from truth began. When primitive rectitude had been once forsaken, superstition grew apace; although, perhaps, even at the worst times, some lingering truth would afford its solitary lesson. There is a remarkable coincidence between the statements of Buddhist story respecting the creation, and the records of Moses as to the facts of the case. This coincidence is the more worthy of note, as it seems to indicate a common origin rather than a copy. There is also 'the tree of life;' or, as it is

described, 'the tree producing all things necessary or desirable, the tree by which the progenitors of the race existed;' and it is strikingly added, 'the tree after the extinction of which the human race became mortal.' Associated with this, is the doctrine of man's fall from a more perfect condition to his present state. This fall, however, was by progressive stages, answering to repeated wickedness; and herein the Buddhistical doctrine is a variation from the teaching of the inspired volume. Both would agree that 'the wages of sin is death.' Indeed, the fact of the fall is deeply impressed on Buddhism. Its ruling thought is that the natural world is subject to misery; and though a dreamy notion of former joy may here and there express itself, the system wears 'an aspect of sorrow and anguish.' Four aphorisms are declared by Buddha: 1. The beings in this world are subject to decay. 2. They have no protection, no adequate helper. 3. They have no real possessions; all they have they must leave. 4. They cannot arrive at perfect satisfaction and content; they are constantly the slaves of evil desire. In accordance with these principles, the priest who would excel must remain in some place where there is the burning of bodies, or the stench of decay, or weeping for lost friends. The ninth of the twelve sacred ordinances of the Chinese provides, that to dwell among the tombs is to bring the mind of the mendicant to just views of the three things which form the first gate of the law of Foe,—instability, grief, and emptiness. So, the loathsomeness of the body is a common topic of illustration among the sages. They set it forth, surrounded by the most disgusting associations, and use an almost endless variety of figure to make its vileness still more vile. The greatest merit is due to him who only for the space of a 'finger-snapping' meditates on the three signs attached to existence,—sorrow, changeableness, and unreality. Reflections on these subjects are as 'the gates leading to the city of Nirwana.' The votary is to remember, that 'the body exists only for a moment; it is no sooner born than it is destroyed; it is like the flash of the lightning as it passes through the sky; like the foam; like the grain of salt thrown into water; or like fire among dry straw; or a wave of the sea; or a flame trembling in the wind; or the dew upon the grass.' Again, that 'the sentient being is subject to constant suffering; he is like a worm in a nest of ants; like a living carcase, bereft of hands and feet, and thrown upon the sand; like a lizard in the hollow of a bamboo that is burning at both ends.' And once more, that 'the body is unreal, even as the *mirage* that appears in the sunshine, or a painted picture, or a mere machine, or food seen in a dream, or lightning dancing

in the sky, or the course of an arrow shot from the bow.' Indeed, so depressing are the elect themes of meritorious thought, that sad stories are told in the Thibetan scriptures of suicide among the priests, who have been in some cases driven to distraction and despair by the incessant study of human woe. Nor is there anything in this philosophy to cheer the soul amidst these gloomy thoughts. The Buddhist knows nothing of an atonement. He reels under the weight of his sin, but he can never rid himself of the burden. The voice which promises him rest is a mere sound; the promise has no substance, no life. In the wilderness to which he is driven he finds no water, no shade, no rock, no guide, no friend. He hears of salvation, but never meets a Saviour. Mocked by delusive hopes, his disappointment is bitter. The best affections of his heart are withered; and should he persevere in his anxious pursuit, he becomes a silent being, full of abstract thought, thought that seeks its own destruction, so that even of thought there may be none. But, still worse, the future has no light. Buddhism admits no immortal soul. Every being, until *Nirwana* or extinction be attained, necessarily produces another being, to whom are passed on all the merit and demerit that have been accumulated, during an unknown period, by an almost endless chain of similar beings. These are all distinct from each other, no two living at the same time, but each is bound by a law of production to every individual link of the foregoing succession; so that he is either liable to suffer for their crimes, or eligible for the reward of their virtues. The effects of the transmuted merit or demerit are infallible in their result, but by no means certain as to the time in which they will happen, or the persons upon whom they may fall. A man may be the inheritor of the foulest crimes committed during the three or four generations immediately before him; and yet on account of some virtuous act of one who preceded him in the fifth degree, he may live without a cloud to darken his path during any period of his present life, and leave all the consequences of former crimes, augmented by his own vice, to be endured by one whom he himself will produce, or some more distant member of the series. This doctrine appears to be all the more gloomy from the fact that it is associated with no idea of a God. (Buddhism is essentially atheistic. It may not be safe to assert that faith in a Supreme Being was never entertained by the sages who flourished before Gótama's birth; nor, perhaps, can it be said that Nepaul has so strictly maintained the subtleties by which writers of authority carefully avoid the notion of God, even while they seem to be closely approaching it.) The most ancient, and what we might call the most orthodox, of

existing sects have no God. There is a supreme power, but no Supreme Being. Buddhists deny such an entity as Brahma. They are not pantheists like the Brahmins, but atheists. Their philosophy does not admit the existence of a separate *ego*, or self; but while the Hindu notion is that *I* is Brahma, the Buddhist holds that *I* is nothingness. There is no Creator in his creed; no being that is self-existent and eternal. All sentient beings are one nature. A distinct immaterial spirit cannot be. The power that masters the universe is *Karma*, literally 'action'; consisting of *Kusala* and *Akusala*, 'merit' and 'demerit.' How being first began, cannot now be known; but the cause of its continuance is *ignorance*, from which are produced *merit* and *demerit*; whence comes *consciousness*; then *body* and *mind*; and afterwards the *six organs of sense*; from the organs of sense comes *contact*; from contact, *desire*; from desire, *sensation*; from sensation, the *cleaving to existing objects*; from this cleaving, *reproduction*; and from reproduction, *disease*, *decay*, and *death*. Thus, like the revolutions of a wheel, death and birth follow each other in endless rotation; and the ceaseless whirl is morally occasioned by the cleaving to existing objects; while *Karma*, or 'action,' is its instrumental cause. In this circle no individuality is found; nothing that can be viewed as man; nothing that can be called God. There is the body, and there are the various powers, such as the conscious, the perceptive, the reasoning, and the sensuous; but there is no conscious, perceptive, reasoning, or sensuous person or subject. There are attributes, and there are faculties, active and passive, but no individual, strictly, who uses these powers, or to whom they properly belong. In fact, there is neither human soul, nor Infinite Mind.

Yet this disconsolate error is found strangely associated with a shadowy representation of the fundamental facts or doctrines of genuine revelation. Buddhism has its trinity. With all the ancient systems, it pays homage to the number *three*. While the Brahmin acknowledges *Brahma*, *Vishnu*, and *Siva*; while Egypt had her *Amoun-ra*, *Amoun-neu*, and *Sevek-ra*; the Greeks and Romans their *Jupiter*, *Neptune*, and *Pluto*; and the North its *Har*, or 'lofty one,' *Yafu-har*, 'equal to the High,' and *Thridi*, 'the third;' Buddhism hallows its 'three most precious gems,' *Buddha*, *Dharmma*, and *Sangha*, or the *Buddhas*, the sacred books, and the priesthood. These are associated in the threefold formulary repeated by the devoted seeker, when he names, as an act of devotion, the triad to which he looks as his refuge and object of trust. The initiated must receive and repeat the *Tun-sarana* or threefold protection: 'I take refuge in *Buddha*, I take refuge in the Truth, I take refuge in the associated Priesthood.'

The Buddhas are beings who appear at certain points in duration, after intervals too vast for our thought,—geological periods. Before the reception of the Buddhahood, they pass through countless phases of existence; at one time born as a *Déwa*, and at another as a frog. During this changeable pilgrimage, they gradually accumulate merit, and during the process are called *Bódhisattvas*. Immediately before they attain their final object, they are always of woman born, and pass through infancy and youth like ordinary beings; until, at a prescribed age, they abandon the world and go into the wilderness; where, after a course of severe discipline, they receive their supernatural powers under the shadow of a tree. Their highest distinction and glory is, that they are then endowed with wisdom, by which they can guide sentient beings into the path which leads to *Nirwana*. At their death, they cease to exist. They enter upon no other state, nor do they continue to be Buddhas. No worship is paid to them, either as deities, or as still existing and active agents of benevolence and power. (A Buddha is merely revered as a glorified remembrance, the light of whose purity is to inspire and guide mankind in their aspirations and struggles.) There are seven gradations of mind by which the supreme Buddhahood is approached. '1. The unwise being who is under the power of ignorance, impurity, enmity, and evil desire. 2. The one who has made the true profession, and entirely approves the doctrine of the great teacher; to him the doors of the four hells are shut. 3. The one whose mind is pure in five degrees, but still partially entangled; he will be born only once more into the world of men. 4. The mind which is purified in ten degrees, but has not yet attained the *Rahatship*; he will never return to the world of men. 5. He who is free from the power of evil desire, and enjoys a sight of *Nirwana*; he is no longer subject to repetition of existence, and has the four supernatural powers of the *Rahats*. 6. The one who is severed, alone, like the unicorn; his mind is light, pure, free, and knowing everything but what belongs to the supreme Buddhahood; he is the *Pasé-Buddha*. 7. The being who knows all things, is free from all evil, knows fully all that is excellent and good; he is the supreme Buddha.' It is remarkable that with a notion of what we should call the first person in the Trinity, Buddhism connects the idea of an incarnate Messiah; an idea which prevails in most of the older forms of false religion, and one which probably excited the distinctive ambition of many ancient heroes. Buddhists believe that in times of great moral depravity and mental debasement, a Buddha becomes incarnate, to fulfil his own final transmigration; while at the same time he regenerates

society and restores religion. The sacred books contain the history and names of twenty-five of these incarnations. Four of the number have appeared during the present *kalpa*, or great period of moral renovation,—*Kakusauda*, *Konagauma*, *Kasyapa*, and, finally, *Gótama*, whose memory now affords the great reason for dreamy hope. All these are said to have visited Adam's Peak, in Ceylon. The first of the four, whose names are given, found the hill called 'the Peak of the Gods,' (*Deiwakuta*) and discovered the memorials of former Budhas still existing on its summit: he followed their examples and came to renew their doctrine. The second found the place bearing its present name, *Samantakuta*, 'Peak of Saman.' Gótama paid several visits to this spot; and the impress of his sacred footstep is still adored on the extreme point of the holy mountain.

The second of the sacred gems is *Dharmma*, or 'Truth.' This is contained in the sacred books called *Pitakattaya*, or three *Pitakas*, 'caskets or chests.' The text is divided into three great classes. The instruction in the first is addressed to the priests; in the second, to the laity; and in the third, to the Dewas and Brahmas of the celestial worlds. The first division is said to be 'the life of the religion of Buddha,' inasmuch as 'where discipline is at an end, religion is at an end.' This class is divided into five books; and these contain 42,250 stanzas. The second division contains seven sections. It is said to take its name (*Sutra*) 'from its precise definition of right, from its exquisite tenor, from its collective excellence and overflowing richness, from its protection of the good, and from the fact that it divides as with a line or thread.' The moral subjects of these books are treated chiefly in the form of aphorisms; and a collection of these might be made, which, for the purity of its ethics, could scarcely be equalled by any other than truly inspired authors. This division contains 142,250 stanzas. The third section of the sacred books, addressed by Buddha to the Dewas and Brahmas, contains seven parts. These are not in the form of sermons, but specify terms and doctrines, with definitions and explanations. It includes, exclusive of the commentaries, 96,250 stanzas. In size, these *Pitakas* are exceeded by the Brahminical scriptures; but they far exceed all the compositions of the West. They have no less than 810,000 lines of ordinary poetic measure. In addition to the text, however, there are commentaries composed of 311,250 stanzas; these added to the text would make 592,000, including just 2,000,000 lines. The whimsical editor of one edition of Voltaire's works (Paris, 1817) says in his prospectus, 'This work will be in twelve volumes: each volume will contain about 1,000 pages, each page 50 lines, and each line 55 letters;

so that Voltaire, in the production of his works, must have traced about 33,000,000 letters. The Bible only contains 3,565,480 !' He thus leaves us to measure the superiority of Voltaire over inspired writers, if not over the One who inspired them, by the larger number of letters which he wrote. How could the poor editor have sustained the honour of his voluminous friend, had he seen the *Vedas*, the *Puranas*, and the *Pitakas* of the East? Buddha eclipses Voltaire ! Did Burnouf ever think, while he was preparing to open his valuable Eastern lore to Europe, that his success would involve such a sacrifice on the part of France? Could he have supposed, that when, with such historical accuracy, he was introducing us to Buddhism, it was to be at the immortal expense of Voltaire? But, alas! even the vain scribbler of thirty-three millions of letters must give place; *sic transit gloria*, and 'there is no remembrance of the wise man more than of the fool.' The sacred books of Thibet, in a hundred volumes, are described as similar, in a great measure, to those of Ceylon, although the account of their origin is different. The traditions of the Nepaulese as to their scriptures differ in an equal degree; indeed, the variation is so great that no satisfactory conclusions can be arrived at, Mr. Hardy thinks, as to the age in which the *Pitakas* were compiled. It would appear that the system propounded by Gótama was not committed to writing, either by himself or his immediate disciples. It is asserted that his discourses were kept in the memory of his followers for several hundred years, and were at last reduced to writing in the island of Ceylon. The documents themselves seem to show that between the death of Buddha and their compilation in their present form a considerable period must have passed. They contain the record of many improbable events; and where the statements are founded on truth, a long time must have elapsed before simple facts could be distorted into such absurd fictions as they relate; and an interval equally long would be required before the legends with which they abound could be invented, or, when invented, be generally received. Miraculous events and supernatural interferences are gravely recited, such as all men must have known to be false, had they been published near Gótama's lifetime. But as the Pali language, the dialect in which the *Pitakas* are composed, has long ceased to be spoken, we may be certain that the books must have been written at a very early period. To establish the text of the holy records was the task of three successive convocations. This work was rendered the more important and necessary by the occurrence of schism. Differences seem to have arisen even before the death of Gótama; and the *Maháwanso* deplores the scandal of

eighteen heresies which sprang up within two centuries from his decease. The lingering effects of these are still to be found in several of the indefinable sects which survive in Hindostan. The twofold work of suppressing a schism which took place before Buddha's funeral solemnities were closed, and of vindicating and establishing the authenticity of the *Pitakattaya*, was successfully accomplished by the first convocation, which was held, B.C. 543, at Rajagaha, the capital of Ajátasatto. The whole of the sacred text was there rehearsed, every syllable being repeated with the utmost nicety, and a correct version made, though not committed to writing. As the assembly was entirely composed of *Rahats*, who had attained a state beyond the possibility of error on any religious subject, its decisions were necessarily true, and every doctrine was infallibly stated. A beautiful account of this convocation is given in the third chapter of the *Mahāwanso*, where it is said, 'At the close, the self-balanced great earth, in the excess of its exultation, quaked six times from the lowest abyss of the ocean !' After the interval of a century, another council was summoned, and met in the tenth year of Kálásoko at Wésali. It was called to put down a heresy which had appeared in that city under the countenance of some disobedient priests. The *Pitakas* were again repeated without any variation, again vindicated and fixed ; and *Atthakathá* or 'Commentaries' delivered, which serve to develope the history of Buddhism during the interval between this and the former meeting. The third convocation was held at Pátalapura, B.C. 309, in the eighteenth year of the reign of Dhámmásoko, a distinguished convert, and at that time the supreme lord of India. At the close of this council began the great dispersion of missionaries to foreign lands, for the purpose of spreading the faith which was now most certainly defined, and bore the final impress of divine sanction. A doubt, perhaps, may be entertained as to the alleged fact, that so large an amount of tradition was correctly retained in the memory through the long period of these three councils ; although we are scarcely prepared duly to estimate the retentive power of the human mind, under some peculiar circumstances. The feats of the Egyptian priests astonished Herodotus ; Druids not unfrequently spent twenty years in mastering their sacred verses. (The poems of Hesiod and Homer were not improbably preserved a century or two in the memory of those who successively rehearsed them.) And perhaps the recitals of mediæval minstrels would have made us wonder. A great part of the *Pitakas* are in metrical stanza, and the rhythm would afford great facilities to the priests who studied them. The large number of repetitions by which



they are distinguished would afford another advantage, especially as there is the repetition, not only of epithets and comparisons, but of historical details and doctrinal formulas. It is not necessary to admit that the whole text of these voluminous productions was ever held in the memory of any one man. Different parts may have been learnt by different persons; and the portions thus preserved being collected, the entire text, according to the present arrangement, may have been compiled from them. The nucleus of the sacred books was most probably formed at an early period; additions would be made at various times; until an authorized assembly established the canon, and for ever shut it up against novelty or change. And when the style of the compositions has been more critically examined, such variations may be discovered as may indicate the relative antiquity of the several parts. At all events, the latest portion must have been committed to writing long before Christ. The Commentaries, *Atthakathá*, are said to have been defined and authenticated at the same time with the text, and by the same convocations. When Mahindo, the son of the Emperor Dhammāsoko, embarked on his mission for the conversion of Ceylon, B.C. 307, he carried with him in his memory, it is said, the whole of these Commentaries, and translated them into Cingalese. About 420 of the Christian era, they were re-translated from the Cingalese into Pali; and this is the only version now extant, the original Pali and the Cingalese version having both perished. The *Atthakathá* are therefore more recent than the text; and seem to abound much more in miraculous details. The *Maháwanso* declares that 'all the elders and preceptors hold these compilations in the same estimation as the original text.' This was acknowledged not long ago by the Ceylonese priesthood; but when their attention was called to the numerous errors with which these writings abound, they gave up their position, and now profess to receive the words of Buddha alone as unquestionable truth. There is a stanza which forcibly reminds us of sentences we have met with in Rabbinical pages: 'The words of the priesthood are good, those of the Rahats are better, but those of the all-knowing are best of all.' 'It is a received and well grounded opinion of the learned in India,' says Colebrook, 'that no book is altogether safe from changes and interpolations until it has been commented; but when once a gloss has been published, no fabrication could afterwards succeed; because the perpetual commentary notices every passage, and, in general, explains every word.' It is remarkable that these Commentaries should have taken the same place in Buddhism, as the Rabbinical authors have among the Jews, and the 'Fathers' among some

Christians ; and that in stating their relative importance, the Buddhists should express themselves in language so strikingly similar to that of both Jewish and Christian votaries of tradition. However absurd these Buddhist documents may seem to be in themselves, or how unintelligible soever the style in which they are written, they are considered to be the strength of the system which they expound ; and it is worthy of note, that no religious scheme has yet become extinct that holds such records, claiming the rights of inspired truth. It might be expected, that the writings which occupy so exalted a place in Buddhism would be deeply revered. The *Dharmma* is regarded as the second of the three greatest treasures in the possession of either Déwas or men. It is literally worshipped. Blessings are looked for from it, as the reward of devotion. The books are usually wrapped in cloth, and are never mentioned without some title of honour. On some occasions, they are placed on a kind of rude altar near the roadside, that those who pass may make a meritorious offering in the form of money : and thus is preserved what seems to be the original type of customs which now belong to the Christian profession of southern Europe.

The truth contained in the sacred books is commonly called *Bana*, 'the Word ;' and the praise of the *Bana* forms the favourite theme of Buddhist authors. They break forth, on every favourable opportunity, into lofty eulogies, pressing epithet upon epithet, with growing warmth. 'The discourses of Buddha,' they say, 'are as a divine charm to cure the poison of evil desire ; a divine medicine to heal the disease of anger ; a fire like that which burns at the end of a *Kalpa*, to destroy the evils of repeated existence ; a meridian sun to dry up the mud of covetousness ; a great rain to quench the fire of sensuality ; a thicket to block up the road that leads to the *Narakas* ; a ship in which to sail to the opposite shores of the ocean of existence ; a collyrium for taking away the eye-film of heresy ; a moon to bring out the night-blowing lotus of merit ; a succession of trees bearing immortal fruit, placed here and there, by which the travellers may be enabled to cross the desert of existence ; a ladder by which to ascend to the *Déwa-lokas* ; a straight highway by which to pass to the incomparable wisdom ; a door of entrance to the eternal city of Nirwana ; a talismanic tree to give whatever is requisite ; a flavour more exquisite than any other in the three worlds ; a treasury of the best things that it is possible to attain ; and a power by which may be appeased the sorrow of every sentient being. The *Dharmma* is perfect ; having nothing redundant, and nothing wanting.' How beautiful is this eulogium ; especially if we think of it as applied to that truth which

is most precious to the Christian, and which is to save the world ! The influence of *Bana*, when read, is sometimes strikingly described : 'On a certain occasion, a priest, who resided in a cave near Anurádhapura, repeated the *Kála-Karáma-Sútra* at the foot of a tree. Whilst thus engaged, he began to perspire ; but the sun appeared in one quarter and the moon in another, and caused a breeze to arise, that he might thereby be cooled. At the same time, like a beautiful woman opening her mouth so that her teeth may just be perceived, all the birds of the trees in the forest began to unfold themselves partially ; all the bees began to murmur an offering of praise ; all the pea-fowl, doves, and other birds, remained in silence, lest they should disturb the sound of *Bana* ; and they listened attentively for the commencement of the recitation, thinking every moment that it would begin ; even the apes and other animals all remained in anxious expectation. When the priest began to speak, his voice rose from the midst of the assembly like thunder from a rain-cloud ; from rainbow lips his tongue moved like the play of the lightning ; and the words came from his rain-cloud mouth, falling upon the hearts of those who listened, like a shower of divine instruction filling as many tanks and pools.'

The advantages to be derived from hearing the 'word' are said to be immensely great ; and there is scarcely any benefit that a Buddhist can appreciate, which may not be expected as the reward of this exercise. In the primitive times of the system, when the language of the *Bana* was that of the people, its recitation probably wrought great effects ; and the discourses in which it was explained might have powerfully swayed the multitude. But the rehearsal has now become an unmeaning and comparatively powerless form, and the hearers have learnt to suppose that it is meritorious to listen to that which they do not understand. So, in more systems than one, the dialect that was once vernacular, and which intelligibly expressed to the listener all that was divine in his religion, has kept its place unchanged, as the language of devotion, though it ceased long ago to be familiar to the popular mind. The words that spoke to the soul of the fathers fall as meaningless charms on the ears of the children. (Both the Vulgar Latin and the Pali, like enshrined spirits of the mighty dead, still command the awe of the crowds who live under their spell ; while they hold communion with none but the initiated few.) There may be something judicial in this ; and, if so, the lesson should not be given in vain.

One institution of Buddhism forcibly reminds us of a holier system, established by Him who said, 'Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature.' It was an ordinance

of Buddha, that the priests, who were then supposed to dwell most commonly in the wilderness, should live for three months in the year, during the rainy season, in a fixed abode. The period thus spent was called *Wass*; and while it lasted, they read 'the word' to the people. The reading place, known as the *Bana-Maduwa*, is usually erected for the time, and is covered with a roof, having several breaks, and gradually diminishing toward the top, in the form of a pagoda or pyramid with successive platforms. These buildings are generally found near the *Wiháras*, or monastic establishments; though they are often placed just where it is most agreeable or convenient to the people, who rear them as an act of merit. Within, is an elevated platform, to be occupied by the priests, while the hearers sit around on their mats. The reading season is observed as a festival, and is magnificently sustained. In some cases, a hundred priests are present. The *Bana* is read in a kind of recitative, something between singing and reading. (It is, in fact, a primitive and effective example of what is called 'intoning'; most ridiculous imitations of which we have sometimes heard from unskilled occupants of cathedral stalls.) Truly, 'there is no new thing under the sun!' On some occasions one Buddhist official reads the original Pali, and another interprets; the usual mode, however, is to read the Pali alone; so that, to the people, the service is in an unknown tongue. When the name of Buddha is repeated by the reader, the congregation cry, '*Sadhu!*' and their shout may be heard at a great distance. The full moon sees the largest assemblies; and then Buddhism is viewed in its most attractive form. Some of the loveliest scenes in nature are in Ceylon; and when the moonlight of that luxurious climate has silvered the hills, and brought out even the most delicate beauties of the valley; when there is a silence, such as is felt only amidst the hush of an Indian landscape; then the voices that come forth at intervals from the *Bana-Maduwa*, 'were they,' says a witness, 'other than from atheist lips, would have a resistless charm; one's spirit might drink in a rich profusion of the thoughts that come so pleasantly. We can scarcely tell whether the waking dream be a reality, or a vision of some brighter land.' Now and then, a priest, like individuals in other spheres, becomes popular, either for the sweetness of his voice, or the style of his explanations. But Eastern popularity is gained by qualities unlike those which secure favour in the West. Emphasis, intonation, and manner are perfect just as they are passionless; and are most winning when they deepen rather than disturb the stillness of the soul. Dr. Judson describes a model case. 'I went,' he says, 'to hear a Burman

preacher. On our arrival, we found a *zayat* in the precincts of one of the most celebrated pagodas lighted up, and the floor spread with mats. In the centre was a frame raised about eighteen inches from the ground, where the preacher, on his arrival, seated himself. He appeared to be about forty-five years old, of very pleasant countenance and harmonious speech. He was once a priest, but now a layman. The people, as they came in, seated themselves on the mats, the men on the one side of the house, and the women on the other. It was an undistinguished day, and the congregation was very small, not more than one hundred. When all things were properly adjusted, the preacher closed his eyes, and commenced the exercise, which consisted in repeating a portion of their sacred writings. His subject was the conversion of the two prime disciples of Gótama, and their subsequent promotion and glory. His oratory I found to be different to all we call oratory. At first he seems dull and monotonous; but presently his soft mellifluous tones win their way into the heart, and lull the soul into that state of calmness and serenity which, to a Burman mind, somewhat resembles the boasted perfection of their saints of old. His discourse continued about half an hour; and at the close the whole company burst out into a short prayer; then rose, and retired.' )

When persons are sick, the priest is sent for to read the *Bana*; he is brought with great ceremony, and is treated with much respect. He continues to recite the sacred word, until the invalid either recovers or dies. Indeed, the *Bana* must be trusted from first to last. 'Of all enjoyments,' says Buddha, 'that of *Dharmma* is the most exquisite; of all desire that of *Dharmma* is most excellent. He who listens not to the *Bana* is unable to procure merit; even he whose wisdom is vast as the rain which falls during a whole *Kalpa* could not attain *Nirwana* without hearing the *Bana*. The *Dharmma* softens the heart of the most obdurate beings; it establishes friendship between the greatest foes; it shines upon the darkness of the world as the rays of the sun when this luminary has ascended the Yugandara rocks, shining upon the lotus flowers of the lake, causing them to expand, and bringing out their beauty.'

The third 'precious gem' in this remarkable system is the *Sangha*, or 'Priesthood.' Its priests can boast of a succession before whose antiquity the claimants of later times dwindle into puny littleness. Buddhist priests are known as *Sráwakas*, *Sramanas*, *Thérós*, or *Bhikshus*; terms which convey notions of teaching, ascetic discipline, eldership, and mendicancy. The religion owes its rapid and early extension, as well as its subsequent popularity, in a good measure, to its liberal terms of

admission to sacred orders. In this respect it stands in singular contrast to the rival system from which, as a dissentient, it sprang. No man is a Brahmin but by birth; but the privileges of an ascetic are offered by Buddha to all who will receive them on the stipulated conditions. The only exceptions are cases of disease, slavery, military profession, or the lack of parental consent. This broad rule has been violated in later times, but it remains on record as a witness for the original constitution. The novice must be eight years of age at least. Nor can any one receive *Upasampadā*, or 'ordination,' under twenty. The candidate enters into connexion with the *Wihāra*, or monastery, when he becomes a pupil in some priest's school. When admitted to the noviciate, he is called to be careful in his choice of a monastery. Eighteen kinds of locality it is well for him to avoid; and, among the rest, the places to which women resort: these must be shunned as though they were haunted by so many demons. And the dangers arising from female presence are represented as by no means small. A certain priest, it is said, who lived in a forest, one day heard a female demon singing near his door. He was improperly drawn to the spot, when she caught him, and hurried him away, that she might eat him. Upon his wishing to know what she was about to do, she said she had eaten many such priests as he; and that she should think it very unfortunate if the time ever came, when she should be unable to secure some member of the sacred order!

In addition to the fourteen books which, as a lay student, the novice must read and study, there are eight which he must entirely learn, to prepare himself for the priesthood. Some of these are full of moral precepts and proverbs. Others contain rules for meditation and instructions as to his daily conduct. Some of the proverbs are beautiful, and others equally curious; for instance: 'As drops of water falling into a vessel gradually fill it, so are all science and instruction and riches to be acquired.' 'A good action done in this world will receive its reward in the next, even as the water poured out at the root of the tree will be seen aloft in the branches or the fruit.' These may be understood more easily than some other curious specimens: 'To him who sits after eating, there will be corpulence; to him who stands, strength; to him who walks, length of years; to him who runs, death will run.' ('Be not friends with a man who has little hair; nor with one who has no whiskers.')

The course of discipline upon which the novice enters is designed not only to overcome the evils of the passing moment, but also to prevent the sorrows of the future. All the precepts which he learns must be obeyed from pure motives. This is

enforced under the most terrific penalties: 'Were any one to practise the ten obligations, merely to fill the belly,' says the holy record, 'this man will receive double punishment. After death, he will be born in the *Awichi* hell, where he will have to reside myriads of years in the midst of flames, hot, fierce, and overpowering; in which he will be turned upside down, and in every possible direction, covered with foam. When released from this, he will be born in the hell of sprites, where he will have a body extremely attenuated and most loathsome. He will walk upon earth in misery, the spectre of a priest. But afterwards, his arms, legs, nose, and ears are cut off; the scalp is torn away, and boiling gruel poured on his head; his skull is rubbed with gravel until it is as white as a sea-shell; a lighted brand being put into his mouth, his body is rubbed with oil, and set on fire; his frame is hacked; he is thrown down, and, a spike being driven from ear to ear, he is pinned to the ground; his flesh is torn with hooks, and cut with small pieces of metal like coins; the body is transfixed to the ground, and turned round and round by the legs, the pin serving as a pivot; he is flogged till his body is of the consistence of a wisp of straw; he is eaten by hungry dogs; his tongue is fastened to a stake, and he remains there till he dies.' The rule of ordination is simple. The rite takes place in a meeting of the chapter. The candidate is called to declare that there are no impediments to his admission, and that he has all that the priest's office requires, such as the alms-bowl and the robes. Universal silence is the token of approval and consent. The president then repeats to him the principal rules which he will have to observe; and he is pronounced to be a *Upasampadā*, an authorized priest. (He is now sworn to celibacy, poverty, mendicancy, and obedience; and it is very remarkable that so striking a type of Christian monachism should have existed at so early a period of the world's history; and that it should have appeared in a form so complete and so adapted for resisting change, as probably to outlive the formal asceticism which claims a purer faith. The *Sramana* is told at his ordination, that as our life cannot be preserved when the head is taken off, so the priest who is once associated with a woman, thereby loses his official life as a son of Sakya. (He must possess but eight articles. The first three are robes of different descriptions; then a girdle, an alms-bowl, a razor, a needle, and a water-strainer.) The bowl is used in receiving food, presented in alms. The water-strainer is most important, because, 'if any priest shall knowingly drink water containing insects, it is a fault which must be confessed, in order to absolution.' (The *Jaina* priests carry a broom also, to sweep the insects out of their way, lest

they should crush the smallest being. How this rule will be observed in the spreading light of microscopic discovery does not appear. Means, however, have been found in later times for evading the rule of poverty; as an observer remarks, 'When passing through the interior of Ceylon, amidst scenery so beautiful, that it almost appears to give reality to the legend that it was once paradise, and my attention has been attracted by the sight of lands teeming with more than usual fertility, it has almost invariably happened that on inquiring to whom these rich domains belonged, I have been told that they were the property of the priests.' It may not be difficult, nevertheless, to deal as tenderly with the reputation of Buddhist *Sramanas* as we are inclined to do with the memory of those who, by diligently observing one rule, called up from the wildernesses of our own land so many beautiful evidences of their transgressions against another. Poverty will not long find a home on the scene of obedient toil; for 'the hand of the diligent maketh rich.' The priest of Buddha is not allowed to open the door of his mouth to anything which has not come as alms; unless it be water, or any substance used for cleaning his teeth. While in health, he must procure his food by his own exertions, in carrying the alms-bowl from house to house. He must never look, as he passes, to a greater distance before him than the length of a yoke; nor may he take a side-glance, nor cast his eyes upward, nor bend his body to see anything upon the ground. Elephants, chariots, horses, soldiers, and women, he must never see. Neither his arms nor his feet are to be put out in a careless manner. He may not call a woman by her name; nor ask what kind of victuals are in the house, or what sort will be presented. He must never say that he is hungry in order to get food. But no rule is at all times proof against the ingenuity which the calls of the stomach may inspire. A certain priest who was suffering from lack of supplies, called at a house where the woman said she had nothing to give, but pretended to go and ask for something from her neighbour. During her absence the priest took the opportunity of discovering what was in the house. In one corner was a piece of sugar-cane, in another place some sugar-candy, salted meat, rice, and ghee. When the woman returned, she said she could get nothing. 'It is not a fortunate day for the priesthood,' was the reply: 'I have seen an omen!' 'What was it?' inquired the woman. 'I saw,' he said, 'a serpent, like a piece of sugar-cane; on looking for something to strike it with, I saw some stones like pieces of sugar-candy; the hood of the snake was like a piece of salted meat, its teeth like grains of rice, and the poisonous saliva falling from its gums was like ghee in an



earthen vessel !' The mistress of the house stood convicted, and gave him all the articles he had seen. The rules which prescribe the manner in which food is to be received and eaten are very precise and curious; affording an insight into the manners of the times among classes seldom noticed in grave history. On the rise of Buddhism men of all grades were admitted to the priesthood; and it might be expected that the behaviour of so many uncultivated men would be rude and offensive to the eyes and taste of a prince. Such an evil could be remedied, and the priesthood saved from contempt, only by the stringent application of rules which guided the most common actions of daily life, regulating not only the character and quantity of food, but also the manner in which it was to be eaten. The law of obedience and the monastic discipline are not so severe in Buddhism as they have been among the ascetic orders of Rome. In many respects, however, they are wondrously similar. The superior priests claim the highest marks of respect. Their inferiors are not to jostle them, or go in front of their seats, or take a higher place, or talk when near them, or use action with their hands or feet while they converse with them; nor are they to walk in their presence with sandals on; nor appear in the same court at a higher elevation; nor go before them or press upon them when carrying the alms-bowl. Schism within the priesthood is one of the sins from the fearful consequences of which nothing that may be done in the present existence can secure an escape. But the severity of the institution is much alleviated by the provision that its members may retire under certain circumstances, and again join the ranks of the laity. In the early ages of the system there was an order of female ascetics. The first of the profession was Gótama's own foster-mother. In giving directions for the conduct of the nuns, he says, 'Women are hasty; they are given to quarrel; they indulge hatred, and are full of evil. If I exalt them to the principal places in this institution, they will become more wilful than before; they will despise my priests; but unto those who act thus there can be no benefit from profession; and therefore let there be eight ordinances of restraint, that they may be kept in, as the waters of the lake are kept in by the embankment. Among the duties required by the law it is found that 'the oldest nun must always rise in the presence of the youngest male novice and worship him. No nun must ever speak disrespectfully to a priest, or seek in any way to instruct him; but always be ready to hear his lessons.' It will be suspected that the female is not treated with much esteem by Buddhist writers; one of them, at all events, says, 'That which is named "woman" is sin; that is, she is not vicious,

but she is vice itself.' The priestesses carried the alms-bowl from door to door in the same way as the priests; and are represented as being present at meetings of the chapter. The convents were, in some instances, adjoining the residence of the priests; but the intercourse between the two orders was guarded by many restrictions. In this, as well as in many other features, there seems to be a family likeness between Buddhism and mistaken Christianity. Nuns, however, were never very numerous in Ceylon; for religious enthusiasm seldom overcame domestic sympathies among Ceylonese women, and rarely led them to unnecessary self-denial. The sacred island has now ceased to remember female devotees. They are still to be found in Burma; but there they are far less numerous than the priests; the greater part of them are old; and the few who are young, show themselves ever ready to make their ascetic vows yield to the claims of a husband. Siamese sisters are still more rare. In Arrakan, they are equally common with priests; their dress is similar, and their discipline much the same. Among the Chinese, they are said to be women of coarse manners, and far from attractive in person; their heads are entirely shaven; and their principal garment is a loose flowing robe, not unlike the dress of the priests. Moorcroft, when passing through Ladak in Thibet, met a number of Buddhist nuns, 'who,' he says, 'were curious about my objects, my dress, habits, and so on, apologizing at the same time, with unaffected civility, for being so inquisitive.'

The associated priesthood, forming, as we have shown, the third of the 'most precious gems,' claims great reverence, and inherits peculiar privileges; indeed, it may be questioned whether Buddhism places its distinctive blessings within the reach of any but the priesthood. *Nirwana*, or the cessation of existence, is the great and final advantage of the system; but the sacred books say that 'the priesthood is to be sought, in order that existence may be overcome, and that *Nirwana* may be obtained.' The observance of thirteen ordinances is necessary to destroy that cleaving to existence which prevents the attainment of the desired object. The seeker is obliged to reject all but the meanest garments, and never to possess but three of these; to eat no food but what has been received under certain restrictions; to call at all houses alike when carrying the alms-bowl; to remain on one seat while eating, till the meal is finished; to eat from one vessel only; to cease eating when certain things occur; to reside in the forest; to live at the foot of a tree, or in an open space, or in a cemetery; to take any seat that may be provided; and to refrain from lying down under any circumstances whatever. All this is necessary to gain

*Nirwana* ; and yet it is said, that the layman can keep two only of the thirteen precepts ; so that the most desirable prospect which their religion opens can scarcely be to him an object of hope. Christianity allows a distinction between clergy and laity, as to discipline ; but salvation from sin, and eternal life, are as free for the most private and obscure of the people, as they are for the most reverend prelate or even commissioned apostle. Buddhism is more exclusive in its division. No one who has not in some state of existence, either present or past, observed the ascetic ordinances, can enter *Nirwana*. But this attainment is rendered still more difficult, and all but hopeless, even to the priest, by the multiplied gradations and hard tasks of the prescribed course. There are four '*paths*,' an entrance into any of which secures, either remotely or without delay, the great object of pursuit. Each path is divided into two stages, the perception and the enjoyment. The first path, *Sowán*, is said to be in twenty-four sections ; the second, *Sakradágámi*, in twelve ; the third, *Anagámi*, in forty-eight ; and the fourth, *Aryahat*, in twelve. All who intend to enter these paths must submit to the entire demands of the system, as to the *mode of worship, meditation, and ascetic rites*. The worship did not, at one time, involve the adoration of images, although it is not known at what period the present custom was introduced. The images of Buddha are called *Pilamas*, 'a counterpart or likeness ;' and though their use is not coeval with the system, it must have come in at an early point. Buddha himself declares that the proper objects of worship are of three kinds : the relics of his own body, the things that have been raised on his account, or for his sake, and the articles which he once possessed. His relics include his canine tooth, the print of his foot on Adam's Peak, and other precious remains ; the erections made for his sake are his images ; and the articles which he possessed are those deposited in the gigantic structures called *Dágobas*, or tombs of relics. 'In the last division,' said Gótama to one of his disciples, 'is the *Bó* tree at the foot of which I became a Buddha. Therefore send to obtain a branch of that tree, and set it in the court of this *Wihara*. He who worships it will receive the same reward as if he worshipped me in person.' The *Dharmma* and the priesthood share with Buddha in the honour of being adored.

The practice of meditation, which is also necessary, has five principal modes. At the close of day, or at dawn, the votary must seek a quiet and retired spot ; and, with the body in a suitable posture, enter on one of the several themes ; either, 'May all things be happy !' which is the meditation of *kindness* ;

or, 'May the poor be relieved!' which is the meditation of *pity*; or, 'May the good fortune of the prosperous never pass away!' which is the meditation of *joy*; or, 'such views of the body as excite dissatisfaction, aversion, and disgust,' the *inauspicious* meditation; or, 'all creatures indifferently,' which is the meditation of *equanimity*. In these courses, there are many sentiments which are worthy of praise; but the wishes of the recluse are of no moral value, as they lead to no practical benevolence; but rather illustrate the inspired question: 'If a brother or sister be naked and destitute of daily food, and one of you say unto them, Depart in peace, be ye warmed and filled; notwithstanding ye give them not those things which are needful to the body; what doth it profit?'

The ascetic rites of Buddhism are very curious. There is the common pacing before the *Dagobas*; but above this, it is thought to be possible, by the performance of certain ceremonies, and in connexion with a marked course of moral action, to arrive at the command of supernatural powers. Here we have an almost unlimited subject for study. We can refer to but one rite, as a specimen; it is called *Kasina*. This includes ten modes of action. A small circle of earth must be made, of such a size that the person may easily fix his eye upon it. This must be ever present; he must think of nothing else; but ponder upon it, till he finds relief in decay and death. Or, a portion of water, caught in a cloth, as it falls from the sky, and poured into an alms-bowl or some other vessel, may be the absorbing object. Or, the flame of the lamp may be gazed on until the mind is lost in the thought of flame; or the wind passing through a window or hole in the wall; or a blue, golden, blood-red, or white flower; or a sunbeam shining through a hole, or through the foliage of the wood; or the sky as seen through a break in the roof. There are fourteen ways in which these meditations are to be exercised; and these involve so many metaphysical shades and curious abstractions, that it would be vain to attempt a clear description of them. Yet, the sacred writings say, that 'when the whole of these fourteen modes are not accomplished, the lowest order of supernatural power cannot be acquired.' Unless *Kasina* has been exercised in former births, it is exceedingly difficult; and even when the first results are realized, the obstacles are proportionably great at every future stage. Some singular cases are recorded of those who have given themselves up to these exercises. 'Buddha has distinguished me,' said Maha Kasyapa, 'by comparing me, in thought, to the imperturbability of the air, though a hand be moved through it.' There was a priest who lived in a cave in

the southern province of Ceylon, upon the walls of which were painted in a superior manner the stories of the Buddhas. The place was visited by some priests, who greatly admired the paintings, and expressed their admiration; but he replied, that he had lived there sixty years, and had never seen them; and that he should never have known of their existence, had they not informed him. A large *Ná* tree flourished near the door of the cave; but he knew that the tree was there only from the fall of the pollen and the flowers. The tree itself he had never seen, as he carefully observed the precept not to look upwards or to a distance. (We should almost think that his cave had been visited, and that lessons had been taken of him, by those whom we sometimes meet in distinctive guise in this western world; and who manage to look neither up nor straightforward, any way, indeed, but fairly in your face.) When one of the Eastern monarchs was repairing a certain tank, a priest was seen to be in the act of *Samádhi*, meditation; and as no one was able to rouse him from his abstraction, he was covered with earth and buried in the embankment. At another time, some thieves mistook a priest in this state for a statue, and heaped their booty around him; but when, on coming to himself, he began to move, they fled in great terror. These early teachings and practices of Buddhism cannot but remind us of what is still talked of and pursued under the modern name of 'mesmerism.' After all, it turns out to be an old thing. Though not to be ignored, but rather, perhaps, respected for its antiquity; yet we may indulge a doubt as to its scientific claims, when, after so long a course, its modern professors seem to know and to do less than its first students. For whatever power has been exercised over patients, either in the new or the old world, surely, no one has equalled the Buddhist, who could accomplish the more difficult feat of sending *himself* off into a delicious abstraction, and remaining, at will, in a state which was the prelude and earnest of *Nirwana* itself! With all his powers, however, his modes of access to the sacred paths are all but impracticable; and, on his own admission, unless there has been a concurrence of most favourable circumstances in previous births, the ascetic of the present age must give up the pursuit in despair. This is now acknowledged by those who have the deepest interest in the system. Who dares hope for the immediate reception of *Nirwana*?

But our readers, it may be, think it time to put the question, 'What, after all, is this *Nirwana*?' The Buddhist describes it in a style which may not suit our western taste; and perhaps the doctrine of *Nirwana* is too subtle for even our most refined metaphysics: nevertheless, here it is, as Gótama gives it: '*It is the*

end of successive existence, the arriving at its opposite shore, its completion ; those who attain it are few. It is very subtle it is free from decay, free from delay, and the gradual development of events ; it is pure, it is tranquil ; it is firm, stable, free from death ; it is not made nor created, but supernatural, free from government and restraint, free from sorrow, free from all the evils of existence.' If this is not sufficient, then the sacred books explain : '*Nirwana* does not exist previous to its reception, nor is it that which was not brought into existence ; still to the being who attains it there is *Nirwana*. *Nirwana* is neither in the east, south, west, nor north ; neither in the sky above, nor in the earth below ; nor in any of the infinite worlds is there such a place as *Nirwana* ; and yet it exists. When a priest attains *Nirwana*, there is such a place. Our Buddha has attained *Nirwana*, where there is no repetition of birth ; we cannot say he is here or that he is there : when a fire is extinguished, can it be said that it is here, or that it is there ? Even so our Buddha has attained *Nirwana* ; he is like the sun that has set behind the Hastagiri mountain ; it cannot be said that he is here, or that he is there. He who attains *Nirwana*, has by destruction of the hundred and eight modes of evil desire released himself from birth, as from the jaws of an alligator ; he has overcome all attachment to outward objects. He knows that there is no *ego*, no self. He has released himself from the cleaving to existing objects ; by the destruction of birth he is released from old age, decay, sorrow, and death ; all the principles of existence are annihilated.' As far as we can understand this, we learn, that *Nirwana* cannot be a state of sensuous enjoyment, nor intellectual pleasure. It is not pure spirituality. It is neither consciousness nor unconsciousness ; nor a state that is neither conscious nor unconscious. It is, in fact, a nonentity ; and the being who attains *Nirwana* becomes non-existent.

This, then, is the highest aspiration, the brightest hope, of millions upon millions of men ; a third part at least of the world's population. The thought is oppressive. Surely Christian England should be moved by the fact, that on possessions which she has gained at such cost, the few disciples of her Redeemer must be searched for amidst the multitudes of Buddhists ; in that East, to which she has access, where she has so broad a sway, and in which she holds so deep a stake, the souls who hope for eternal life in Christ are overwhelmingly outnumbered by those who look for *Nirwana*, and look in vain ; indeed, of those who are mediately and immediately influenced by the sceptre of our beloved Queen, more are bewildered among the paths of Buddha, than are following Him who is 'the way, the truth, and the life.'

A system of hopeless asceticism still covers vast regions with its gigantic shadows; and from some of its aspects it would seem impossible to dissolve it. At the same time, it shows tokens of weakness. It is remarkable that the sacred records of Buddhism contain a prophecy which declares that in five thousand years from the time of its establishment, this religious philosophy shall come to an end; and the gradual manner in which its dissolution will be effected is set forth in detail. The age of declension is divided into four periods. The first extends to the time when the paths to *Nirwana* will be no longer practicable; the second reaches the point where priestly obedience to the precepts will cease; the third to the days when *Pali*, the language of the *Bana* will be no longer understood; the fourth will close when the reception of the priesthood is at an end; and the fifth will wind up when the relics of Buddha are to disappear. At the close of this period, the Dewas, Brahmas, and Demons, knowing that this will be the last opportunity for paying honour to the sacred relics, will assemble and present offerings. The relics, it is said, will put forth rays of glory which will extend to the *Brama Lokas*. The Brahmas and other beings will exclaim, 'To-day the relics of Buddha will become extinct!' They will tremble greatly; and with a sorrow like that which was manifested when Gótama attained *Nirwana*, they will cry, 'The commands of Buddha are neglected! The fame of Buddha is overshadowed! The glory of Buddha is defiled! The religion of Buddha has passed away!'

Gótama was a bold man to say that his system would last for five thousand years; but he has certainly established his claim to extraordinary character, by foretelling its final overthrow. His prophecy is true, as to the ultimate event; is it to prove so in its allotment of time? Many of the premonitory signs referred to are now unfolding themselves. If we may judge from the general relaxation of ascetic discipline, the votaries of the system are already yielding to the impression that the ordinances cannot be kept; and that, therefore, the paths to *Nirwana* are closing up. It can scarcely be said now, that the precepts are observed by the priesthood. The *Pali*, as a sacred language, has not ceased to be understood; but it is fast becoming a dead and unknown tongue to the listening congregations. There is still a priesthood, but its numbers decrease. In Ceylon, which may be viewed, perhaps, as a holy centre, the sacred order has gradually dwindled, since the visit of the Chinese traveller, Fa Hian, in the fifth century, from 60,000 to 2,500; while the character of its members seems to be degenerating under the legitimate influence of their own

principles ; and differences of opinion among them threaten to split the system into powerless sections. It is true that the relics of Buddha have not yet entirely disappeared ; but their shrines are slowly falling to decay ; some of the most celebrated are now heaps of ruins. No new temples are being built. The great tooth of Buddha is in trust under the British government, and has been exhibited probably for the last time ; while the access of Europeans to China, and other parts of the East, may soon result in the dispersion of relics which have been closeted for ages. The fact that Buddhist nations are all but unrivalled for their long preservation of individuality is worthy of deeper attention than it has yet secured. Is there any country, in either Europe or Asia, besides those which are Buddhist or Brahminical, where the same religion is now professed, as existed there at the time of the Redeemer's death ? How deep and lasting was the impression which Buddha made upon the world ! His religion has hitherto withstood the rush of ages. It did seem, at times, to waver and be tremulous to its fall ; but even then, with superhuman ingenuity, it fastened upon the powers that threatened it, and drew from them into itself, not only fresh elements of strength, but reproductive and expansive power. Its fanatical struggle with Brahminism, on the scene of its birth, first resulted in the ascendancy of the latter, about the opening of the Christian era ; and finally in its own expulsion from Hindostan, perhaps nine centuries later. Persecution, however, only dispersed its powers over Eastern and Central Asia ; where it seems to have become, to a great extent, the civilizer of those races by whom its doctrines were embraced. Its introduction to China appears to be contemporary with the first upward movement of that empire towards its distinctive style of refinement. It threw a salutary influence over the tribes of Thibet ; through them it began a humanizing process among the Moguls ; and, it may be, had something to do with checking the westward rush of the barbarous swarms which once threatened to devour Europe. It nestled very early in Ceylon. Bintenne marks the spot where Gótama first alighted ; and though there is nothing to distinguish the scenes of his second and third visit, his alleged footstep on Adam's Peak, the *Dágoba* constructed near Colombo, with those of other localities, the *Bó* tree planted at Anurádhapura, and numerous inscriptions, some of which have been deciphered, all survive, to hallow *Lauká*, the sacred isle ; which is still more holy, from its being the ground on which the *Bana* was first committed to writing. There, insulated and in retirement, Buddhism has remained for upwards of two thousand years, unchanged in its leading features, and



continuously illustrated and exemplified by the inanimate and mummy-like character of the Cingalese. Mr. Hardy tells us, that the Buddhists of other lands have a traditional impression, that while their system flourishes in Ceylon, it will prosper everywhere; but that when it falls there, it will perish from the world; and that not long ago the high priest in Ceylon, as if feeling the tremulous tokens of its dissolution, wrote to the monarch of Siam to solicit aid; informing his majesty, that unless he gave them liberal support, their religion would disappear from the island before the influence of European teaching, and their common cause must inevitably fall. Such facts call us so to harmonize our lives and our creed, our prayers and our works, that the transition state of the millions who have come under our influence in the East, may result, not in universal unbelief and blasphemy, but in the entire reception and enjoyment of Christ's kingdom. As a people, we have been instrumental in partially loosening the hold of their long-established religion; and we are bound, by everything that is sacred, to bless them with a holier and more happy faith. Such work claims all our intellect as well as our heart. It will properly share our sympathies, and afford us pure enjoyment just in accordance with the amount of information we bring to it. Our missionary zeal will be genuine and steady only as it is founded on an enlightened acquaintance with every thing that distinguishes our foreign scenes of action. Those who take part in evangelizing the world should not be ignorant of the errors which oppose them. The most formidable of these are in the East. There Buddhism is fearfully prominent; nor can Christians any longer keep up their consistency, if they neglect to inform themselves as to its character, history, and teaching; for while nothing is gained by ignoring its deep and terribly expanded power, it laughs to scorn mere blind, unintelligent, and impulsive efforts to overthrow its empire. Were the study of this religious philosophy beyond all but those who have leisure and capacity for mastering eastern dialects, the mass of even intelligent Christians would have a rational excuse for ignorance; but the publication of Mr. Hardy's valuable and interesting volumes alone has robbed us of any such defence.

*W. D. A. Hardy, Esq. Secretary.*

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ART. IX.—1. *A Review of the Law relating to Marriages within the prohibited Degrees of Affinity; and of the Canons and social Considerations by which the Law is supposed to be justi-*

- fed.* By T. CAMPBELL FOSTER, Esq., of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law. London: Benning and Co. 1847.
2. *Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister not forbidden by the Law of Nature; not dissuaded by Expediency; not prohibited by the Scriptures: including an Examination of Professor Buck's Notes on Leviticus.* By the REV. J. F. DENHAM, M.A., F.R.S. London. 1847.
  3. *The Eighteenth Chapter of Leviticus not the Marriage Code of Israel.* By J. P. BROWN WESTHEAD, M.P. London: Hatchard and Son. 1850.
  4. *Observations on the Debate on the Marriages Bill in the House of Lords, on the 25th of February, 1851.* Louth. 1851.
  5. *Facts and Opinions in favour of legalizing Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister.* Sixty-sixth Thousand. Printed for the Marriage Law Reform Association.
  6. *Reasons for legalizing Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister.* By LORD DENMAN. London. 1852.
  7. *Against Profane Dealing with Holy Matrimony.* By the REV. JOHN KEBLE, M.A.

THE opinion pronounced by Sir Creswell Creswell, in the case of *Brook versus Brook*, may be taken as the final interpretation of a most injurious law. It is decisive of the fact that marriage with a deceased wife's sister, contracted by a British subject, is not lawful matrimony in the eyes of English jurisprudence, even if the rite be performed in a country where such unions are permitted. This judgment was based upon a broad and simple principle, namely, that whereas the form or rite of matrimony may lawfully vary according to the usage of the place or country where it is celebrated, the eligibility of the contracting parties is always ruled by the law of domicile. It is clear that the learned judge was right in applying this canon to the case before him, coming as it did under the Marriage Act of 1835, the very essence of which consisted in its affirming a certain relation of affinity to be within the prohibited degrees, and therefore not admissible under any circumstances whatever. The law declares every such marriage (contracted after the date of its promulgation) to be null and void from the beginning, because of the incompetency of the parties to enter into such relationship; it is therefore null and void without exception, and in spite of every compliance with due form and ceremony, either in England or elsewhere.

This important decision has been recently confirmed by Vice-Chancellor Stuart. It removes all doubt as to the position in

which a large number of Her Majesty's subjects are placed, and exhibits the law of this country in direct antagonism with their claims and practice. We have been led to make an inquiry into the social consequences of the obnoxious Act, as well as into the grounds of the prohibition therein contained; and a sense of public duty compels us to give the result of this inquiry to our readers. The subject is one which, for obvious reasons, we would otherwise rather have avoided; but an existing evil is neither removed nor lessened by a fastidious oversight, the present agitation increases rather than declines, and the struggle to which it points is capable of a wise and satisfactory determination which we would fain promote. At the risk of offending the vague prejudices of some, but in the hope of removing those of many more, we venture to examine and urge the claims of that large class now suffering under this restriction; and sure we are that the dignity of the law, and the *prestige* of the public marriage bond, are greatly involved in the admission of these claims. This last consideration, indeed, has the utmost weight with us. We have no wish to see the day when matrimony shall be treated as a private contract, owing neither sanction nor restraint to public law, and terminable always by arrangement or caprice. Yet such is the direct tendency of this oppressive Act. Over the family relation of many thousand virtuous citizens of England the English law has no control; it is powerless either to bind or to loose. If they were *not* virtuous citizens, it would be competent at least to loose; for this statute, whilst punishing the constancy of devoted husbands and fathers, holds out a tempting impunity to the unfaithful and the base. Not one of these thousands but might at once repudiate both wife and children; and if society is not daily scandalized by such repudiations, it is only because the sufferers for whom we plead are superior to a law which stoops successively to defraud, to stigmatize, and to seduce them. It must be virtue indeed which can uphold in public esteem those whom the solemn law of England denounces on the most sensitive and important relation of life. For the most part, these persons are exemplary in their married life, and duly meet its several obligations. They bring up their children in the fear of God, and rear in their house an altar to His name. In the meantime the law does nothing to confirm their faith and duty. At once arbitrary and impotent, it tempts the husband, brands the wife, and disinherits the children,—but all in vain, while virtue, charity, and prudence interpose. If this state of things should continue, and these independent unions still challenge comparison with those

authorized and protected by the State, the question may any day be urged, What does the stability of the family compact owe to the sanctions of public law? The answer to this question must then be of the most undesirable kind,—unless, indeed, it can be justly affirmed that the parties who contravene the prohibitory Act of 1835 are, in character and conduct, rather above than below the average of those who enter on the marriage state, and therefore do not afford a fair example of independent virtue. We believe that there would be some force in such a plea, sufficient to bar the adoption of an inference the most dangerous to social order; but this only serves to aggravate and emphasize the gross injustice with which so many estimable persons are now visited by the law.

We have indicated some of the public grounds on which we desire to proceed; but we should have no misgiving as to our duty in this matter even if its issues were more strictly limited and special. It is urged by those who resist the legalization of these marriages that the public at large have no feeling or interest in the subject: though, curiously enough, one of their loudest arguments is made to echo from the opposite assertion that public feeling is strongly opposed to them. Now, waiving the contradiction involved, it is worth while considering how far the first of these allegations is sustained by reference to facts. Is it really a mere individual grievance, or does the question rather assume proportions of a social magnitude? The justice of a cause in no wise depends upon the number of those whose immediate interests are involved, and even parliamentary relief is not withheld from individuals who are personally aggrieved; but in any given cause the importance and urgency of its public claims do frequently acquire magnitude and strength from arithmetical proportions. We should not, for our own part, have felt justified in openly promoting the removal of this restriction, if the abstract justice of such a measure were a matter of doubt on the one hand, or its necessity strictly private and limited on the other. But we have satisfied ourselves that neither of these drawbacks attaches to the present cause. We have never doubted that the contraction of the marriages in question was within the range of natural and Christian liberty; but we had no conception that so large a number of our countrymen were personally interested in the abrogation of this law till the present legal decision induced us to make it the subject of particular inquiry. It appears that when materials for a statistical report were first sought for,—now more than twelve years ago,—five hundred marriages of this description were ascertained in the course of one month, the inquiry being cou-

ducted by only four persons, and limited to fourteen English towns. It is now calculated, on a very low estimate, that five hundred persons contract this forbidden tie every year, and that six thousand British families exist with no other formal bond than this illegal compact. The analysis of the muster roll of names is most significant. We have already intimated that the parties so offending against the law are otherwise irreproachable in the relations they have assumed; and, besides the reason adduced in support of this statement, we may add that the position of such parties is quite in keeping with their acknowledged character and habits. The list includes persons in every walk of life; but a larger proportionate number belong to the middle ranks of society and the upper grade of the humbler and poorer classes; and this majority may be fairly associated under the common designation of *respectable* or well-conducted citizens. But it is worthy of remark that the educated and religious classes of this country are largely represented in the list. Men of all parties, of all professions, and of every shade of religious opinion, are found equally at variance with this law, and equally concerned in its repeal. Persons whose character and lives have little else in common agree at least in this; and those who are scrupulous observers of every other legal obligation are bold and confident offenders here. No force of intellect, no range of learning, no depth of piety, no simplicity of moral instincts, appears to afford sufficient protection against the growth of this stigmatized attachment and the contraction of this forbidden tie. It is an affection that may spring up in the chastest bosom,—an offence not unfrequently committed by loyal and timid natures. From the learned and pious clergyman, habituated to the purest teaching of our Lord, to the humblest labourer whose best instincts are associated with his only privilege of love, we have the same practical testimony to the lawfulness and advantage of such an union. The choice is sanctioned by universal practice. It shocks no national prejudice; it impugns no general dictate of morality; it is not even a matter of class feeling or opinion; and only when we come to observe the leanings of that small but zealous band who *oppose* the liberty of marriage to this extent, do we find traces of a peculiar school of thought and feeling in the language of a Tractarian theology. The affirmative impulse springs at least from the depths of natural affection to meet the sunshine of Christian liberty; but the negative and restrictive canon issues from under the shadows of collegiate cloisters, and is greeted with appropriate coldness and distrust.

Hitherto we have endeavoured to present the social aspect of

this question, as seen in the actual working of the offensive law; and we have done so in order to show that there is at least strong *primâ facie* evidence against its justice and propriety. We have no intention to avoid the strain of argument which must ultimately decide whether these disputed marriages are lawful unions in the sight and law of God, and, therefore wickedly branded by the hasty and arbitrary legislation of man. On the other hand, it is not the end of controversy to say that an English statute, passed in the year 1835, is violated whenever such unions are contracted; for that statute itself is now upon its trial, and since it has so signally failed to repress the practice of marriage with a deceased wife's sister, even in the case of persons most scrupulous in respect to public as well as private obligations, we may well inquire if this prohibitory act is not a notable offence against liberty and justice, a crime as well as a blunder, a gross violation of one of the most inalienable rights of man, namely, freedom of choice in selecting a partner for the hallowed nuptial bond. Our duty, we say, is limited to this inquiry. We are not called upon to say how far a Christian man may be justified or condemned for disregarding this legal prohibition, so long as it stands unrepealed in English law. No doubt good men may differ in their conception of this duty, according as they hold the liberty of marriage to have its paramount authority in the Divine institution and declared will of God, or lean to the opinion that it may be lawfully exercised only in subordination to the civil rule. The way of patience and obedience will commend itself to some, though it cost the bitter effort of repressed affection, and the renunciation of hope and comfort for the future; many will submit to be restrained by motives of prudence who yet feel the injury and wrong which they suffer; while others, indignant at this abridgment of their dearest liberty, and impatient of a yoke which neither they nor their fathers were able to bear, will follow the dictates of their heart under the sanctions of conscience and the word of God. We do not presume to judge the conduct of these men; *let every man be persuaded in his own mind.* We shall better serve all parties by proceeding to examine the objections which are said to lie against this particular marriage connexion, and more especially if our inquiry and conclusion should do anything to hasten the repeal of the offensive statute,—a statute both nugatory and obnoxious, at once a difficulty and a dead letter, impotent alike to command respect or to enforce obedience, and productive only of confusion, scandal, and wide-spread discontent.

And here it may be well to notice a remark taking an inter-

rogative form, with which it has been attempted to stop the mouths of those who plead for the legalization of these marriages. It illustrates very curiously the matchless ease with which some people dispose of the happiness and interests of their neighbour. 'Where is the hardship,' it is asked, 'of this particular restriction? Is there not choice enough, that you must set your heart upon the only woman whom the legislature in its wisdom has debarred?' Now this question would be quite as pertinent and conclusive—and quite as little so—if the prohibition pointed in any other direction; if, for example, it forbade the inter-marriage of parties who had resided in the same street for a year, or under the same roof for six months. No reasonable person could exclaim against so trifling an exception made in so large a field of choice. Few people wish to marry their next-door neighbour; and the man who will not go beyond his own street for a wife is not worth pleasing. Besides, it is surely a morbid and ill-regulated mind that makes so much ado about one woman when there are so many thousands in the world. It is much in this way that we are apt to reason in the case before us; for not one person in a hundred feels the pinch of this particular law; and unless restrained by the reflection that an injury to the liberties of one class is a threat to the liberties of all, we may suffer a little prejudice to go a long way, sacrifice anything that is not ours to preserve the *status quo*, however false, and speak like a written book about the necessity of controlling the imagination and desires. But if we would act with a public spirit, or in a rational and impartial manner, we shall judge this law by its effect on those whom it *does* concern, and not by its relation to those whom it in no way coerces or controls. It is easy to ask, 'Where is the hardship of this restriction?' and ninety-nine out of every hundred persons can lightly answer, 'Where indeed?' But this law was made to control the hundredth man; the others it passes by; but it touches him home, for he is already a lover or a husband, and feels it to be a mockery when you turn him from the Eden of his affections, and say, 'The world is all before you where to choose.' And he asks in his turn, 'By what right, and on whose authority, am I excluded from that solace which God excepted from the forfeiture of Eden itself, and without which the world is not merely a wilderness but a desert?'

*By what right, and on whose authority*, is then the ultimate point of inquiry on which the virtue of this restriction must be decided. The *onus* of proof rests with the interdicting power; and it is evident that no light grounds, no doubtful authenticity, will suffice to justify interference with the original liberty of

marriage. Neither the ecclesiastical nor the civil power can lawfully so effectually abridge the ancient charter, but only God in the revelation of His will. For marriage is not a sacrament, nor even an ordinance, of the Christian Church. Like the Sabbath-day of rest, it is a primitive and Divine institution, intended to bless the whole family of man, conferring inalienable rights, as well as imposing important obligations. The Church, therefore, has no distinct and separate authority in controlling marriage. It may add its blessing, but cannot withhold the sacred privilege of the bond itself. It has never affected to do so without giving rise to a train of misery and confusion, such as we hope the world may never witness again. For these reasons we are not prepared to accept the decrees of the Church as duly authorizing the prohibition of marriage in cases of supposed affinity.

No person acquainted with the history and character of the canon law will feel bound by any of its provisions, except such as are clearly warranted by Holy Scripture. For many ages it forbade the marriage of the clergy altogether. Even the Canons called Apostolical, the earliest authority quoted against the lawfulness of marriage with a deceased wife's sister, condemn marriage with a cousin in the same terms, and declare that he who has married a widow or a servant-maid 'cannot be a bishop, presbyter, or deacon, or any other of the sacerdotal list.' Later canons prohibited the marriage of cousins even down to the seventh degree. Relations of affinity were declared to have all the force of relations of consanguinity. But this was not all; for a new species of affinity was created by the rite of baptism; and the laws of spiritual kinship were carried to such a pitch that, according to Lord Coke, they authorized a divorce 'because the husband had been godfather to his wife's cousin.' So much for the authority of the canon law.

It is a relief to repair at once to the statute of 32nd Henry VIII., c. 38, by which all marriages are enacted to be lawful unless prohibited by God's law. An opinion has been expressed by Mr. Justice Erle (before his elevation to the bench) that by virtue of this statute alone the validity of such marriages could even now be legally affirmed from the bench, since the Judge is made interpreter of Scriptures on this point. Such a question it is not for us to determine: but it is for us to adopt the principle affirmed in the statute of King Henry, and bring the prohibition now complained of to the test of God's holy word. It is not sufficient to disown the table of prohibited degrees, as wanting in due authority; because there is an impression more or less general that they have Scripture on their side, and that



they do but formulate and adopt the spirit of those injunctions which God delivered to His ancient people as the general law of marriage. The degrees of affinity claim to be framed on certain Levitical enactments, and the former will retain their *prestige* in the public mind, unless it can be clearly shown that they proceeded upon a total misconstruction of the latter. We believe that it may be distinctly proved that such degrees of affinity as the Jewish law recognised had an immediate reference to the practice of polygamy and divorce, and ceased always when the primary conjugal relation was dissolved by death.

On making reference to the enactments of the Levitical law, the first thing which strikes the inquirer is the significant fact that what seems to be forbidden in one place (Lev. xviii. 16) is certainly enjoined in another (Deut. xxv. 5). In the first of these passages the Jew is commanded not to approach his brother's wife; and, according to a popular interpretation, this law is tantamount to the prohibition of marriage with a brother's widow, and by inference condemnatory also of a marriage with a deceased wife's sister. Of the second passage there is no room for doubt, since it expressly enjoins upon the Israelite the duty of taking his brother's widow to wife, and thus perpetuating the name and family of his brother. How then must we understand these distinct and opposite injunctions? It is contended by those who adopt the popular reading of the passage first adduced that the latter is a special exception to the more general prohibitory rule embodied in the former, and was made for certain reasons of social expediency that do not extend beyond the Jewish nation, while the prohibition itself remains in force as a part of the Divine and unalterable law of marriage. This, we say, is the more usual exposition of the texts; and especially is it the view of those divines who, influenced by the canon law of the early English Church, are prepared to recognise in the Levitical code a distinct enumeration of the disqualifying degrees of affinity.

Now let us in the first place examine this supposed rule in the light of this supposed exception. It is clear, at least, that the primary and fundamental laws of morality are not violated by the contraction of such marriage. No object of national policy or expediency would warrant the suspension of such a canon. If this particular marriage connexion is of its nature impure and immoral, as Dr. Pusey contends, surely the God of purity would have it in perpetual abhorrence; or shall we say of the 'only wise God,' that He could devise no other means of conserving the family property of His people than by suffering

the very fountains of domestic life to be polluted? Yet such is the dreadful inference of this interpretation. If the prohibitory statute belongs to the moral law, of perpetual obligation, then the effect of this exception was to authorize an unhallowed and incestuous marriage; nay, more, this violation of natural and instinctive purity was commanded, and not simply allowed 'because of the hardness of their hearts;' and that for reasons neither urgent nor necessary, but from motives of ordinary convenience which the persistent refusal of the brother-in-law was allowed to overrule.

It may be answered that under the Jewish theocracy God did actually so far relax the original law of marriage as to permit of a plurality of wives, while it is universally admitted that neither was it so from the beginning, nor is the same permission extended to our own times. Now if this argument has any force, it amounts to this: we are all under the original law of marriage, and cannot claim the advantage of that temporary legislation which God designed expressly for the Jewish people. This is cheerfully granted, but unfortunately for the objectors it tells against themselves. In this case the rule of prohibition, as well as the special exception are both found, (if found at all,) for the first and only time, in the same Levitical law. *From the beginning it was not so.* True, indeed, that in the family of Adam, even consanguinity was necessarily disregarded; but God presently signified His prohibition in such cases, by the implanting of a natural law; and human legislation is warranted in restraining the possible outrages of depravity, by taking this implanted law as the basis of its prohibition. But we are asked to extend this prohibition to relations of affinity, and that not upon the ground that it was the original law of marriage, which it was not, nor yet because the general feeling of mankind revolts against such connexions, as incestuous or indecent, which is equally removed from the truth, but because it is found (as some suppose) among the regulations of marriage given to a peculiar people.

But the great argument against the prohibition of marriage on the ground of affinity remains to be stated; and we offer it with confidence, as having the most decisive and satisfactory bearing on the present controversy. Whatever the obligations of affinity may be, they wholly depend upon the primary bond of marriage, and altogether cease when that bond is dissolved. If it can be proved that the marriage contract is indelible, that death itself is not able to annul it,—and this appears to be the drift and *rationale* of the canon law of marriage,—then may it be reasonably affirmed, that the minor obligations it involves,

remain also in force. On the other hand, if we hold with St. Paul, that a widower is freed from the law of his late wife, then do we maintain that he is freed likewise from the restraints of its subordinate ties. If his wife has ceased to be his wife, surely her sister has ceased to be his sister; and, if he own her in that relationship, except by voluntary courtesy or friendship, he is still under the law of his late wife, and, so far from being free to marry his sister-in-law, he is morally bound not to marry at all. The matter plainly then amounts to this: if the marriage of a widower with a deceased wife's sister is incest, then must his marriage with a stranger be adultery.


We believe this argument to be unanswerable. But those who have no answer to give, will yet find something to say, if only to relieve themselves from the confusion of imposed silence. Let us, then, obviate this chance to the best of our power, by noticing a possible remark in this connexion. We may be told that the fraternal relation is indelible from its very nature, and, therefore, in the case before us, must necessarily survive the disruption of the conjugal tie. Yes, indeed! The mutual relationship which dates from the same womb, must end only in a double grave; the tie of real, natural brotherhood *is* indelible; but who will say that a relation of affinity, contracted in adult age, and dependent upon a temporary bond, may not be dissolved in time, and perish with the connexion out of which it grew? Or rather, who would not say that such surcease must inevitably occur? Whatever the nature and force of this relationship may be,—even granting that in a certain moral sense it has the reality of a natural brotherhood,—still it is only co-extensive with the primary marriage bond; it derives its every virtue, and its very existence, from the fact that man and wife are one flesh, and have in consequence their relatives in common; and, therefore, when man and wife cease to be thus mystically one, the source and ground of all relations of affinity must necessarily lapse and cease.

Let not the reader suppose that we have wholly lost sight of Leviticus and its provisions. It seems to us that the considerations just adduced throw a valuable light upon the origin and *rationale* of the prohibited degrees of affinity, and prepare us for an aspect of the case very different from that which modern Church casuists have taken. The whole turns upon the fact of polygamy as practised by the Jewish people. Since a plurality of wives was permitted, it became a matter of expedience that the connexions of the wife should be excepted from the husband's choice. It was especially undesirable that occasion for domestic jealousy of the worst kind should be given; and this object is

expressly stated in the injunction which forbids a man to take his wife's sister *to vex her*. It was known that Leah and Rachel entertained jealous feelings of each other, though each had voluntarily presented a handmaid to her lord. Hence the paraphrase and comment of Dr. Adam Clarke:—‘Thou shalt not marry two sisters at the same time, as Jacob did Rachel and Leah: but there is nothing in this law that rendered it illegal to marry a sister-in-law, when her sister was dead.’ A similar objection would lie against the introduction of a wife's niece into the home of the pluralist; and as the manner of the law-giver, under Divine instruction, was to formulate the laws and injunctions according to simple principles, easy of apprehension, it is no matter of surprise that the analogy of the ties of consanguinity already imposed by nature should afford a model to some extent for the ties of affinity, thus far restraining the husband from intermarrying with the relations of a living wife. But the tables of affinity, as found in the Jewish marriage law, include no such degree as *deceased* wife's sister, for no such degree existed. As we have already seen reason to believe, affinity was a living relationship, at least in this far, that it depended on an actual surviving conjugal connexion. The tables of the prohibited degrees, as promulgated in the canons of the English Church, are therefore not a fair reproduction of the Levitical, either in the letter or the spirit. By making the ties of affinity indelible, they betray a desire to perpetuate the obligation of the original marriage bond. In imposing these restrictions they lack the *prestige* of Divine authority, and lose the *rationale* of the original enactments; and so that which was not more binding than beneficent in the Levitical law, became a piece of harsh ecclesiastical tyranny in the canons of the Church, fruitful in mischief as every unwarranted restriction of the kind must be, an expression of that spirit of apostasy whose audacity rose to its height in the time and chair of Gregory the Seventh, *forbidding to marry*.

We are now prepared to appreciate the nature and spirit of that injunction which imposed upon every Israelite, in a certain contingency, the obligation to marry his brother's widow. This is commonly described as an exception to the more general rule supposed to be embodied in the denunciatory text already given, (Lev. xviii. 16,) which rule the Almighty was pleased to relax so far in consideration of the family interests of His people. But no warrant for this exposition is found in the sacred record. It was not a permission accorded, but an injunction given. The Jew was commanded to espouse, not his sister-in-law, but his brother's widow. The tie of affinity had ceased with the rupture

of the marriage bond in death, and there was no bar whatever to a totally new connexion. Permission for such an intermarriage was not needed; and no ordonnance upon the subject would have been issued, if it had not been designed to make that a sacred duty which was otherwise simply optional. But the misapprehension is explained and removed by a closer examination of the text referred to, and the associated verses. They contain no injunctions on the subject of marriage at all, but denounce with special emphasis those forms of incest and aggravated adultery which were of frequent occurrence among the Canaanites, and against which therefore the Israelites were guarded by peculiar threats. It was not the brother's widow, but the brother's wife, whom the Jew was forbidden to approach; the idiomatic phrase employed is the one always used in Scripture to denote a wanton and illicit connexion, and is exactly the contrary of that by which the purity of conjugal intercourse is there set forth. The crimes denounced in this chapter are 'abominations' common among the heathen; and strange indeed would it have been if the enumeration had included that particular union which the Levitical code elsewhere itself enjoined as part of 'the duty of a brother.' It is not desirable to enter more fully into this part of our subject; but of course we offer the above interpretation on much better authority than our own. The subject is clearly expounded in a tract entitled, *The Case of Marriage between near Relations considered*, published in the year 1753, by a scholar of the name of Fry. This tract fell into the hands of Mr. Wesley, who makes the following reference to it in his Journal, under the date of October 16th, 1756: 'I read over Fry's *Case of Marriage between near Relations considered*, and two points I think he has fully proved. 1. That many marriages, commonly supposed to be unlawful, are neither contrary to the law of nature, nor the revealed law of God, nor the law of the land. 2. That Ecclesiastical Courts have no right to meddle with cases of this kind.' Even Mr. Wesley, however, might form a hasty judgment, from which his deliberate opinion could not with certainty and fairness be assumed; but the passage just quoted is supported by a second entry in the author's journal, written after a considerable lapse of years. In 1785, Mr. Wesley again read the tract of Mr. Fry, and 'carefully considered it:' his approval is still more marked; for he adds in his own strong way, 'I wonder it is not more known, as there is nothing like it in the English tongue.' The same opinion of this production was formed by Sir William Jones and many others. The testimony of Mr. Alleyne, a barrister, is valuable, as including one more weighty than his own. 'I admired the book,' say she, 'and found great satisfaction in the



perusal of most parts of it; but being entirely ignorant of the Eastern languages, I applied to an eminent and learned divine, and through his means procured the interpretation of the text of Leviticus from one whose masterly acquaintance with the Hebrew language is known and admired in every learned society. I will leave you to judge what were my feelings when I found a gentleman of such distinguished abilities referring me to Fry's work as being *the most correct and accurate comment on that chapter* (Leviticus xviii.) to be anywhere found.\* But there is no occasion to multiply authorities on behalf of the exposition just offered to our readers. It is substantially that put forth by the great majority of scholars and divines, and is feebly and diffidently disputed by Mr. Keble himself,—one of the few most earnestly desirous of maintaining the prohibition on a scriptural basis. Such an attempt must be abandoned. The fact is clear, that this particular connexion, marriage of a man with his deceased wife's sister, or marriage of a woman with her late husband's brother, was never forbidden under the Levitical dispensation. Such marriages have been contracted by the Jewish people without reproach from the time of Moses until now; and our blessed Lord Himself, who could not refer to the practice of polygamy and divorce without signifying His displeasure and disallowance, suffers a striking instance of this kind to come before Him without the slightest intimation of either.

We have thought proper to say thus much on the presumed authority of Scripture; but we do not insist upon the acceptance of this explanation in every part, and are very far from admitting that the general argument requires it. The onus of proof rests with those who would restrict the liberty of marriage; for the most part they have abandoned the attempt, and for the rest signally failed. Indeed, it would be monstrous to suppose that seven hundred clergymen would have signed a petition in favour of the legalization of these marriages, if such unions were opposed either to the letter or the spirit of revealed religion. Even if theologians were equally divided on the point of Scripture, the jurist and the moralist could entertain no doubt; for *if there be any grounds to dispute the prohibition, there can be none to warrant its enforcement*. The question then only remains,—is there any feature in the family or social compact which demands that the liberty of marriage should be restricted in this particular? This is of all things the most unlikely cir-

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\* *The Legal Degrees of Marriage Stated and Considered.* 1775.

cumstance, as it would in some degree impeach the wisdom and perfection of the social order; but so loudly is it affirmed, that the inquiry must be seriously made.

We hope to do full justice to the arguments of those who seek to maintain this prohibition on the ground of social expediency. The only liberty we shall take is to translate the indefinite fears and hints of prejudice into plain language; and it will be no fault of ours if the process of converting them into intelligible statements should ruin them as arguments for restraining the liberty of marriage. It is probable that we shall find that the alarm which these alliances occasion in some quarters, springs from a morbid anticipation of events best left to the providence of the future, coupled with a very weak and unwarranted distrust of family virtue; that the objections raised to them lie equally against second marriages of every kind, and stepmothers in general; and that the same fears and scruples would dictate an indefinite extension of the prohibition forbidding the marriage of a widower with a governess, a pupil, a ward, or other domestic inmate.

It will be some relief to dispose at once of the most offensive form of this objection. 'The prohibition of such marriages,' says Dr. Pusey, 'is the safeguard of our domestic relations.' If the ascetic divine of Oxford were alone in the expression of this opinion, it would hardly call for refutation or denial. The subject of marriage is not that on which he may be consulted to most advantage, considering that he is very chary in allowing this indulgence on any terms, and would most likely answer the inquirer by a chilling homily on the virtue of a celibate life. But Dr. Pusey is far from being singular in the utterance of this opinion. It has fallen with oracular brevity on the ears of our senators, and sounded with words of mysterious meaning the warning note of a newspaper. We are assured by a contemporary, that 'the peace of twenty families is of more consequence than the passions of one.' Nothing is adduced in explanation of this danger; but it is left as a last word to do its work upon the imagination. On the whole we prefer, as comparatively lucid, the statement of the learned doctor, that 'the prohibition of such marriages is the safeguard of our domestic relations.' It seems to us, however, that this is rather curiously said of a law which brands with illegitimacy no small proportion of the children of decent and virtuous British parents,—of a law, moreover, *which makes them what they are*. It is still more curiously said of a statutory provision which is almost unknown in any other country, and which England itself has only enjoyed since the year 1835. Alas for the domestic purity of our neighbours,—of our ancestors! But these are little discre-

pancies that need not detain us now. We are anxious to know what great evils are averted by this Act of Parliament. What is this safeguard, and whence is the danger? Is it the husband or the sister-in-law that is likely to have designs against the peace and honour of the wife? Let the reader pardon us for putting the unjust aspersion into intelligible words. Let those who know the sisterly purity of such relations remember that to state the slander is amply to refute it. But we are ready to believe that some are sincerely dull, and obstinately fixed in this ungenerous persuasion; and to them, with all patience, we would show how futile an expedient must any legal enactment be against such a state of things. We would ask, If men or women can so far admit base feeling, and surrender right principle, are they the sort of persons whom this Act of Parliament, or any other, would serve to restrain? They associate as usual; all the conditions of their position are unchanged; and yet this law, remote as well as feeble in its influence, is supposed to be a check upon the worst of characters. It is quite inconceivable to us that such an evil should be controlled by such a remedy; our comfort lies in a very different consideration. We are glad to think that this domestic danger scarcely exists, and that the law in this respect has a perfect sinecure.

But the argument of expediency takes another form. It is said that the comfort of the wife is concerned in the knowledge that her sister cannot take the place that may be vacated by her own death. Here, too, we must challenge the feebleness of the remedy, before we question the asserted evil. In the face of the operation of this law it is merely gratuitous to say that any lady may confide in the effect of this exclusion. It may be weakness, or something worse, to anticipate any contingency of the kind; but, once indulged, the reflection will be forced upon her, that her sister may by possibility be her successor; and the painful conviction will be added, that such an event would be attended by most unwelcome circumstances, created by the present legal prohibition. But further, we demur to this objection as wholly strained and irrelevant. It lies equally against second marriages of every sort; and no woman of healthy mind will dwell with uneasy, vain, and speculative thoughts upon a future which is beyond her interest or control. We grant, indeed, that maternal love has sometimes forced upon the dying mother the question of her children's welfare, then uppermost when all less selfish feelings are absorbed; but we deny that a step-mother's unwelcome image has grown more unwelcome in that moment by assuming the features of an aunt. Love stronger than death—yes; and if there be any form of human love which



looks beyond the grave, and yearns downwards, it may be, from a purer and pulseless state of being, it is surely that which follows, with an interest how deep! the fortunes of its own beloved orphans. We do not underrate the conjugal affection; no doubt the tender sentiment of Gertrude is sometimes predominant,—

—————'And seems it still  
A sweetness in the cup of death to be,  
Lord of my bosom's love! to die beholding thee.'

But far oftener the last thought, the last glance, and the last prayer are otherwise bestowed; for the anxiety of love is beautifully placed upon the objects which require it most, and man can find compensations for himself which never wholly come to the motherless child. The objection under notice is therefore without force, unless it can be shown that the sister of a deceased wife makes a harsher stepmother than a stranger; and if this be asserted,—let those believe the slander who will.

Once more: the expediency of this prohibition is argued from a different point. The sister of the deceased wife is not unfrequently called upon to take the charge of the bereaved children; and it is asked, How can she do so with modesty and propriety, if she stand in a marriageable relation to the widower? Now here is at least an admission that a sister is the person most likely to fulfil the maternal duties from which her relative has been called away by death; and it appears to be inferred that to place any difficulty in the way of this arrangement would be a practical and serious evil. We cheerfully admit that such would be the case. As to the alleged impropriety, however, we see the matter in a very different light, though of course we speak under the correction of those finer feminine sensibilities, which the ruder organization of man can only faintly appreciate. Yet we venture to say, that the impropriety and the danger are both seriously heightened by the position of such parties under the present law. No one can doubt that an affection of love is possible between a man and his late wife's sister, be such an affection desirable or otherwise; and in the light of facts no candid person will deny that frequent and familiar domestic intercourse is likely to awaken it. But while the law forbids their union, surely no prudent woman would lightly risk her peace of mind, on the one hand, or her reputation on the other, by taking charge even of the sacred trust of her sister. It is no infringement of true delicacy that this contingency should find entrance to her mind; but it would argue, as we believe, a serious want of womanly prudence to incur such momentous risks, while the

Marriage Act of 1835 remains for her a snare. At the same time, if the prohibitory law were removed, no proper feeling of self-respect would interpose to deter her from entering the widower's family; for who puts a false construction on the motives of a maiden governess when she assumes a not unsimilar position? We believe that no true woman ever allowed false delicacy to interfere with real duty.

We should be glad to escape from these nice points of female casuistry; but really the social objections said to lie against the marriages in question consist of nothing more. Stray sentiments of a kindred nature are frequently met with in this controversy. We hear much of the brotherly and sisterly affection subsisting between the relations of the husband and the wife; and many fears are expressed, that the purity of such an affection should be sullied by the removal of this prohibition. But why so? Surely the mere fact that a connexion of another kind is just possible in the future can have no such disturbing influence on the sentiments of the family circle. Domestic purity existed before the Act of Lord Lyndhurst was ever framed; and we may reasonably hope that it will survive, when that unfortunate statute is repealed and forgotten. The petitioners do not ask of any of us that we should personally approve of the connexion they have formed, much less that we should imitate what we may hold to be a questionable choice. They only insist that the standard of their practice should not be framed upon the consciences and feelings of other people. Indeed, there is nothing to justify this coercion of control,—for such it certainly is; and perhaps there is no great difference between the tyranny which should compel a man to contract a certain marriage, and the tyranny which compels him to desist from contracting the only one which promises him connubial happiness.

It is no part of our purpose to maintain the peculiar propriety or advantage of these marriages. We interfere on the score of equal liberty and justice, and cannot resist the appeal which is reasonably made on that behalf. But as the question of social expediency has been raised, we may remark that this is a ground by no means shunned by those who have advocated the legalization of marriage with a deceased wife's sister; and certainly there is more than sufficient as a set-off against the slender prejudices that have recently come before us. Many persons, indeed, have withdrawn or qualified the theoretical objections which they formerly entertained, being satisfied by observation that the influence of this law is only mischievous. Of that number is Dr. Hook; and no one will deny that the Vicar of Leeds is both a competent and impartial witness on this delicate

and important subject. His testimony is given in the following terms :—

‘People in general do not consider such marriages improper. *They cannot be proved to be improper by Scripture.* The question is therefore one of expediency, and my experience as a parochial minister induces me to think the measure expedient. In the upper classes of society a sister-in-law may live with a widower, and no scandal arise. He can secure in her a kind friend for his children. This is scarcely possible with respect to the poor, as any one who is acquainted with their habitations and habits will at once perceive. Yet when a poor man has lost his wife, whatever may be his feelings, he is compelled to replace her as soon as he can. To him his wife is not only the companion, but the nurse of his children, and the servant-of-all-work in his house. If a step-mother is then necessary, where are the children so likely to find one who will regard them with affection, and treat them with kindness, as in the sister of their mother, whom from early years they have known and loved? On these grounds, if ever Convocation be called, and I be elected one of the proctors, I shall move for an alteration, in this regard, in the table of kindred and affinity. Until this be the case, I shall be glad to see such marriages legalized by the civil rite.’

This strong testimony is very far from standing alone. The Rector of Whitechapel, and the Vicar of St. Pancras, speak to the same effect, as well as many other ministers of populous London districts. Authorities of a very different class take the same view of this social question. Mr. Justice Story, the great jurist of America, and Lord Denman, the late Lord Chief Justice of England, concur in censuring a prohibition at once so inexpedient and unjust. Dr. Franklin believed the practice of such intermarriages to be commendable, as well as lawful, ‘the reason being rather stronger than that given by the Jewish law which enjoins the widow to marry the brother of a former husband,.....it being more apparently necessary to take care of the education of a sister’s children already existing, than to procure the existence of children merely that they might keep up the name of a brother.’

But we have no power to admit a tithe of the evidence that might be brought to impeach the wisdom of this unfortunate enactment; for time and space both fail us. The law is for the most part impotent, quite failing in the matter of restraint; its presence does not hinder, as its absence would not really promote, the formation of connexions springing from far deeper sources than any which legislation can control. Where it exerts any influence, it is only to bring misery on the scrupulous and the timid: it cannot check the spontaneous feelings

of the heart, but it does sometimes avail to overawe the conscience. It is of the essence of a bad law to make a new crime ; and it is in the nature of things that such a law should be resisted and condemned. We forbear to dwell upon the tendency of this Act to depreciate the public bond of marriage, especially among the ignorant and poor. If their contract is not recognised as legal, they will naturally learn to dispense with a useless ceremony ; and, living under the imputation of concubinage, they will be only too apt to claim the licence as well as the disgrace of such a state. There is only one remedy for this threatening state of things ; namely, to legalize marriage with a deceased wife's sister. If parties are inclined to such a contract by every usual impulse and consideration, *let them marry* ; 'for' in the words of a venerable prelate of the English Church, 'it were a hard thing that they who do converse, and are apt to love, should by man be forbidden to marry, when by God they are not. For this aptness to love being left upon them, together with their frequent conversation, is a snare ; which because God knew He permitted them, to their remedy ; and if men do not, *they will find their prohibition of marriages will not be sufficient security against greater evils.*' The language in which Bishop Jeremy Taylor justified the intermarriage of cousins, long interdicted by the canon law, is still more suitable to the case before us, where no tie of blood and no considerations of race appear.

## BRIEF LITERARY NOTICES.

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*A History of the so-called Jansenist Church of Holland; with a Sketch of its earlier Annals and some Account of the Brothers of the Common Life. By the Rev. J. M. Neale, M.A., Author of 'History of the Holy Eastern Church,' &c., &c. 8vo. Oxford and London: J. H. and J. Parker, 1858.*—This volume contains a succinct and well written sketch of the rise and progress of Jansenism in France, by way of introduction. Then follows an account of the Church of Holland before and in the Reformation, and a rapid description of some thirty pages of the *Brothers of the Common Life*; the remainder of the work being occupied rather with a personal history of the Archbishops of Utrecht and their struggles with the Papacy, than with any general delineation of the Church over which they presided.

The subject is an interesting one to Protestant readers, and we are not aware of the existence of any English work containing the information which Mr. Neale supplies. Indeed we question whether that most striking episode in the history of the Church of Rome, the struggle so long and well maintained by Arnauld, and Pascal, and Bossuet, and others of undying fame against the Jesuits, has met with the understanding and sympathy which it deserves at the hands of English authors. Certainly the portion of it which has been the least treated is that selected in this instance. We could have wished a fuller description of the story and labours of the *Brothers of the Common Life*. The amount of information here given excites an appetite which it hardly satisfies. We have, too, more sympathy with the errors of those who in a time of gross darkness were searchers after truth, than with the 'Jansenists,' who chose (after the light of the Reformation had dawned) to remain in the communion of the Church of Rome. In this feeling, however, Mr. Neale does not participate; his whole history is written from a peculiar and narrow standpoint, to use the German phrase. With him a Church cannot exist, unless it have a line of bishops legitimately derived from some catholic communion. It is painful to read a book written by an English clergyman, and dedicated by permission to an English bishop, in which the question as to whether a certain man was or was not *the true and diocesan Archbishop of Utrecht* is stated to be a *matter of life and death* to the Church whose history he is writing. This idea, of course, is founded upon the dogma of apostolical succession,—a

theory which is without a shadow of foundation in Scripture,—and the whole book is in accordance with it. We must do Mr. Neale the justice to add, that he is well up in the system he has adopted; he revels in intricate difficulties of canon-law, in questions of ecclesiastical jurisdiction under doubtful circumstances, in most points of subtle distinction, which we fear will not be very intelligible to the majority of English readers. The book is replete with words of uncouth and barbarous sound,—such as consultations, and mandements, and perohitions,—until it would seem to ears unused to these technicalities, to have been rather the production of some Romish canonist than the work of a Protestant divine.

It is strictly in keeping with all this, that the author has no sympathy with the efforts of the Reformers in Holland. He complains that whilst we are acquainted with the cruelties of Alva and others on the same side, the excesses of their enemies are never mentioned. To produce anything which can damage the name of Protestant, anything which can by contract or equivalence palliate Romish persecution, is a work which Mr. Neale performs with undisguised satisfaction. And it is without a single word of regret that, after giving statistics of the comparative strength of the Romish and Protestant bodies, it is added, ‘it needs no prophetic power to foretell that the commencement of the next century will see Holland a Roman Catholic country.’

We imagine therefore, that this volume will hardly carry out the wishes of its author, in exciting a general sympathy with the Jansenist Church of Holland. We cannot indeed withhold our pity from those who have been so long the victims of Ultramontane persecution; but unless we mistake the character of the English public, they will not enter very warmly into the merits of a struggle for mere ecclesiastical authority. The battle of God’s truth against man’s corruptions of its verities, is one in which we may feel it a duty and privilege to engage; but we do not feel called upon to enter into remote and, to our thinking, unimportant questions, as to whether Archbishop Van Steenovell was in every respect canonically elected and consecrated,—whether he was a bishop *in partibus*, or a true diocesan prelate; or whether the ceremony by which he was admitted to office could be validly performed by less than three bishops? By thus narrowing the controversy Mr. Neale has thrown his history into a shape which will only interest those who agree with him in his peculiar theories.

*School-Days of Eminent Men.* By John Timbs, F.S.A. London: Kent. 1858.—What would we not give for a true and particular account of the early days of the truly great? Who shall tell us the story of the youth of the blind prince of poets, old Dan Homer? Can no antiquary unveil for us the rude tracings of his early day-dreams, carved on some rock of the blue Ægean? Where is the copy of his first boyish hexameter? Is it to be found imbedded in some warlike strain of the Iliad, or worked up in some quiet ‘interior’ of the Odyssey? We can picture him reciting his verses before the tent of the warrior, or in the hut-corner of the husbandman,—regaling some swartly chieftain with the story of Achilles’ anger, or soothing some lonely wife with the sweet song of Penelope’s trust and truth: but

who shall fill out the faint sketch of our fancy with the faithful colours of historic fact? Where is the Boswell to this great Grecian? What, again, shall we figure to ourselves of the school-days of Socrates? Shall we pourtray him as an ill-favoured, chub-headed lad, —ever in mischief, yet always scrambling out of it easily with his ready wit and his arch smile? How was that noble turn of thought given to the active mind enshrined in so ungainly a carcase? What curious circumstances nursed the shrewd habit of observation, and gave the keen edge to that admirable faculty of reasoning? Who will point out the shady nook by his favourite stream Ilissus where he first experienced those heavenly dreams, and revelled in those glorious fits of contemplation, which were to him as the inspiration of the Almighty, giving him understanding? To turn from the ancients to the moderns: how little do we know of the youth of Shakspeare! In what school did he gather his various lore? What was the course of life that accumulated such limitless stores of observation? In what wit-combats did the boy flesh his sharp, though tiny, sword? What great artist first guided the little hand that afterwards attained such mastery of the pencil and the palette? Commend us to the schoolmaster who flogged the accident into wild Will, or to the worthy attorney who allowed him in such a sin against law as the perpetration of poetry. There is, and was in his day, a free grammar-school at Stratford-on-Avon: so the life-manufacturers assume that little Will *must* have resorted thither, and there quaffed his first draught of Helicon. But it is to the full as likely that he set forth in the world with the bare knowledge of his letters, and in odd fits of industry and at chance opportunities mastered reading and writing, and digested scraps of ancient history, with the same wondrous facility with which he afterwards sketched the characteristics of the men and women of all time. It seems probable that he served for a little while as a soldier; and it is possible that he was once an attorney's clerk: but whether as soldier or clerk, strolling player or deerstealer, his early career is quite uncertain and obscure.

Mr. Timbs has chosen a good subject, and has treated it as well as might be expected from a man of his industry as a compiler. Half the volume is occupied with 'Sketches of the Progress of Education in England, from the Reigu of King Alfred to that of Queen Victoria;' and the remainder with anecdote biographies of Eminent Men, from William of Wykeham to Havelock. The whole forms an interesting little book, which must be accepted till some more potent writer deals with so promising a topic. Mr. Timbs is rather amusing at times,—quite unintentionally, we are sure; as when, for instance, he innocently adduces the old 'Quarterly' as the authority for his sketch of John Wesley; and when he winds up his Preface with the following specimen of fine writing and clearness of expression:—'That by narrating the circumstances under which these Eminent Men have severally reached their excellence,—that the number and variety of suggestive points in this volume may exercise a beneficial influence, and not only interest the reader, but induce him to emulate their examples, is the sincere wish of THE AUTHOR.'

## MISCELLANEA.

*The Indian Rebellion ; its Causes and Results. In a Series of Letters from the Rev. Alexander Duff, D.D., LL.D. Calcutta. London : Nisbet. 1858.* The letters of Dr. Duff, collected in this volume, contain the best history of the Indian Revolt which has reached us from the theatre of that event. They form a very animated narrative, and furnish, as we think, a very sound opinion of the political and religious bearings of the subject.—*The Struggles of a Young Artist : being a Memoir of David C. Gibson. By a Brother Artist. Nisbet. 1858.* A touching memorial of genius,—of death encountered in the dawn of life, and religion beaming through the clouds of death.—*Recollections of the last Four Popes, and of Rome in their Times. By H.E. Cardinal Wiseman. London : Hurst and Blackett. 1858.* No one can doubt that a faithful and candid retrospect of the period above indicated, during a great portion of which Dr. Wiseman resided in Rome, would be extremely interesting. His long stay, his official position, and his undoubted talents, both of observation and description, ought to have led to something more satisfactory than this large volume, which is a singular instance of the skill which an ingenious man can exert, to seem to be saying something while in reality he is saying nothing. We presume his Eminence holds every other object as of little importance in comparison of the elevation of his Church, or we might protest against the injustice thus done to his literary reputation. Historically, it neither presents us with hitherto unknown facts, nor depicts with vigour scenes already described by others. The constant laudation of his subject leads to this difficulty, that he is at a loss for those contrasts which, as is known to none better than to His Eminence, every artist requires to give effect to his picture. He paints, as Queen Elizabeth would be painted, without shadow, and the result is an indefinite and unimpressive *tableaux*,—none of the racy vigour of Rembrandt, none of the tale-telling wrinkles of Denner. For instance, when praising Pius the Seventh's freedom from nepotism, he ventures to institute a comparison with his relation and predecessor on the Papal throne; but the blame is very mild, and the balance of good qualities in the defective character well maintained; 'he had unfortunately left a contrary example,—a weakness in a life of strong-minded virtue, a blemish in a pontificate of sorrowful glory.'—*The Life of Dr. Adam Clarke, LL.D., F.A.S., &c., &c. By J. W. Etheridge, M.A., Ph.D. Second Edition. Mason. 1858.* A valuable and very welcome book. We hope to find an early opportunity of following, under the guidance of his biographer, the varied and instructive history of Dr. Clarke; and in the meantime we heartily commend his volume to our readers. Dr. Etheridge has supplied the first adequate memorial of a great and good man,—touching with success at every point of his career and every feature of his character.—*The Art of Questioning. By Joshua*



*G. Fitch, M.A. Sunday School Union.* This little tract is perfect after its kind. Mr. Fitch evinces talents for teaching of the very highest order.—*Life and Death. A Sermon in Memory of the Rev. Henry Montague Batty, M.A., of Merton College, Oxford, and Curate of St. Peter's, Hammersmith. By the Rev. Thomas Arundell, Incumbent. Hatchard.* An excellent sermon, devoted to the memory of a young clergyman who was suddenly removed from a sphere of active but unobtrusive duty. Mr. Batty was much more than a man of promise, and it would be wrong to say of so useful a minister, so advanced a Christian, that his death was premature.—*Love made Perfect: Illustrated in the Life and Diary of Mrs. Elizabeth Pickford, late of Salisbury. Edited by the Rev. Peter M'Owan. Hamilton, Adams, and Co.* The memoir of a very pious lady.—*The Voice of Christian Life in Song: or, Hymns and Hymn Writers of many Lands and Ages. By the Author of 'Tales and Sketches of Christian Life.'* Nisbet and Co. A very charming work, conceived in a beautiful spirit of charity, and executed with considerable taste. It shows how much of the catholic faith of the Christian Church is sustained in Hymns and Anthems, forming the sweetest bond of union for her scattered children.—*Hymns of the Church Militant. Nisbet and Co.* Another volume of the same interesting class, but larger in compass, and more miscellaneous in character. It is 'simply a book of hymns for private use.' Both these works may come before us at another time.—*The Anniversaries. Poems in Commemoration of Great Men and Great Events. By Thomas H. Gill. Macmillan and Co.* Mr. Gill writes like a scholar and a Christian; but he is no poet. His verses are not by any means contemptible, but still they are of the sort which it is much easier to write than to read.—*King Edward VI. An Historical Drama in Five Acts, after the Elizabethan Model. By Tresham Dames Gregg, Author of 'Mary Tudor,' &c. London. 1857.* It would be unfair that theatrical abuses should suffice to bring every dramatic composition into disgrace; yet many of our readers will be surprised to find a doctor of divinity, and the redoubtable champion of Protestantism, inditing historic plays after the manner of Shakspeare. Let us say, however, that the doctor has not lost the opportunity of girding at Popery, nor even of rating it in good set terms. These dramas are not absolutely dull. The author has caught the language and rhythm of his predecessor to some extent; his characters are voluble if not discriminated; and sometimes we have a speech which, read *ore rotundo*, might pass for something very much better than it is. But that is all. No dignity of purpose, sentiment, or action, redeems these attempts from the sentence of literary failure, or their author from the charge of unworthy trifling.—*Hell, the Doom of Sin. A Poem; with Lights and Shadows of musing Hours. By Edward Armstrong Telfer.* No doubt Mr. Telfer has written with the best intentions, but his 'poem' is a great mistake. We advise him to burn every copy he can lay hands upon—and he may begin with ours:

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