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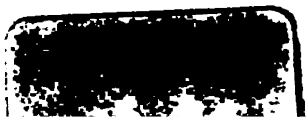

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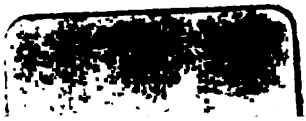

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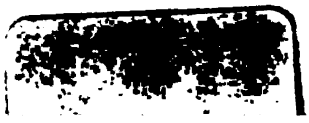

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THE

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MDCCCXXXIV.

JANUARY——JUNE.

THIRD SERIES.

VOL. XI.

Φιλοσοφίαν δὲ οὐ τὴν Στωϊκὴν λέγω, οὐδὲ τὴν Πλατωνικὴν, ἢ τὴν Ἐπικουρείων τε καὶ Ἀριστοτελικήν· ἀλλ' ὅσα εἴρηται παρ' ἑκάστῃ τῶν αἱρέσεων τούτων καλῶς, διικανούμην μετὰ ἰδιωτῶν ἐπιστήμης ἐκδιδάσκουσα, τοῦτο σύμπαν τὸ ΕΚΛΕΚΤΙΚΟΝ φιλοσοφίαν φῶμι.

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THE ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR JANUARY, 1834.

Art. I. 1. *Reports of the British and Foreign School Society*, 1831–2–3. 8vo.

2. *Reports of the National Society*, 1831–2–3. 8vo.

3. *An Act to regulate the Labour of Children and Young Persons in the Mills and Factories of the United Kingdom*, passed 29th August, 1833. 3 & 4 Will. IV. Chap. ciii.

4. *Speech of the Lord Chancellor on the Education of the People*, as reported in the Times and Morning Chronicle of March 15, 1833.

5. *Edinburgh Review*, No. CXVII. Art. 1. National Education in England and France.

6. *Foreign Quarterly Review*, No. XXIV. Art. 1. Necessity and Practicability of a National System of Education.

7. *Popular Education in England.* By D. D. Scott, Esq. London, 1833.

THAT it is the duty of a Christian People, to take care that, in some way or other, facilities are afforded for the instruction of its youth, we suppose few will dispute. The God who constituted the various relations of social life, has imposed the obligation. It is the order of His providence, that every successive generation of the human family, shall in this particular, as well as in many others, be dependent upon that which precedes it. The chain which thus binds together the children of men, cannot be severed:—the responsibility which the connection involves, can never be evaded.

There are, it is true, a goodly number still to be found, who practically maintain the strange paradox, that it is not the will of God that *all* his rational creatures should be, in any enlarged sense of the word, intelligent. With such persons, we hold no

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controversy. It would be a mere waste of words, to reason with men so incapable of estimating the dignity of their species,—so wilfully ignorant of the genius of the Gospel.

The doubts of the weak, and the alarms of the timid, with regard to the consequences which may be expected to result from the general diffusion of knowledge, would be worthy of more respect, but for their *irreligious* character and tendency. God himself has explicitly declared, that "for the soul to be without knowledge is not good." We dare not, therefore, sympathize with terrors which are founded in distrust of His wisdom, or venture to excuse precautions which would seek an imaginary security in the degradation of His creature.

The plain truth is, that all objections to the education of the poor, come from what source they will, are, in their very nature, utterly antichristian. They may be invariably traced either to superstitious fear, or to unmixed selfishness. In the one case, they symbolize with the Papal Beast; in the other, with the Pagan. Both these cruel systems were sustained by Popular Ignorance: she was the pillar of their strength, and the nurse of their crimes. With the spirit of that religion which is emphatically Light and Love, we repeat it, they have no communion.

When God selected from the nations a people for himself, and in a peculiar sense became their Ruler and Head, he placed upon ignorance the seal of his reprobation; not only by charging the father to teach diligently to his children the Words of the Law, but also by providing an apparatus of means by which general knowledge might be diffused among the people. Without entering into any discussion respecting the precise duties of "the men of Issachar who had understanding of the times", the character of "the schools of the prophets", or the tradition of the Jews, that the men of the tribe of Simeon were generally employed as schoolmasters, and on this account dispersed among the other tribes,—it is perfectly safe to infer, from many incidental allusions in Scripture, that the mass of the Hebrew people were, in the best periods of their history, not less elevated above their idolatrous neighbours by their intelligence, than by their acquaintance with the true God. The Proverbs of the wise man, who spake, among other things, "of trees, from the cedar-tree that is in Lebanon, even unto the hyssop that springeth out of the wall, of beasts, of fowl, of creeping things, and of fishes," were admirably fitted for *popular* instruction. Indeed, it is expressly said, "he taught *the people* knowledge"; and there can be no reasonable doubt, that, in his time, the Hebrews were a more generally enlightened people than any other nation of antiquity. We need not refer, in proof, to the moral and intellectual condition of the lower orders under Greek or Roman rule. Every reader of history is aware, that it was most debased. Humanity shudders at

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the degradation of a Greek Helot. What could the instructions of the Academy effect for a class who were regarded, both by Stoics and Epicureans, as little better than the beasts? A Roman slave ranked no higher. He was literally a domestic animal: provision was made for his bodily wants, but none whatever for his spiritual. Of Atticus, indeed, it is recorded, that he possessed a learned household; every footboy in his family was trained to read and write for him. But then it was a distinction which rendered him remarkable above all the men of his times. In his case, too, the object appears to have been, (as indeed he tells his friend Cicero,) that he might employ these people in copying, for his own library, or for sale, the writings of the best authors, rather than with any view to the benefit of his servants.

The entrance of God's Word alone *diffused* light. Benevolent, expansive, and elevating, Christianity blessed alike the beggar and the prince; its torch illuminated with equal ray the cottage and the palace; and its sparks, wherever they fell, kindled at the same time, and often in equal degrees, a flame of intelligence and holiness. Thus, intellectually as well as spiritually, the revelation of Christ proved the light of the world; and they who rejected Him, remained in darkness.

In every subsequent age, the interests of popular education have been inseparable from those of spiritual Christianity. When the barbarous hordes of the north, like an overflowing flood, desolated Christendom, they made war not less against learning than against religion. The Dragon who cast them out of his mouth, viewed each with little short of equal hatred. During the long reign of Antichrist, literature shared the fate of the Gospel. At one time, it took refuge under its wing in the monastery: at another, they wandered in company, in dens and caves of the earth. At the Reformation, they rose from the dust together; and ever since, with some melancholy exceptions, they have fought side by side the glorious battles of Truth and Righteousness.

Of late years, indeed, attempts have been made to sever religion and learning, under the pretext, forsooth, of avoiding polemics. But this atheistic neutrality cannot be maintained. All attempts at elevating the national character without the help of Christianity, will fail. Apart from the influences of religion, the bulk of the community can never be raised above sensual pleasures; nor can either learning or liberty be long preserved. This simple truth is every day becoming more evident; and it is plain, that freedom, learning, and religion must stand or fall together. With these views, we rejoice in every fresh attempt to diffuse the elements of useful knowledge among the people.

A few brief notices of the various endeavours which have been

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made, at different periods of our history, to promote popular education in England, may not be uninteresting to our readers. Alfred the Great appears to have been the first person who ever set vigorously about the task of introducing the elements of learning among the English people. He complains that, on his accession, he knew not one person south of the Thames, who could so much as interpret the Service Book, and very few in the northern parts who had even reached that pitch of erudition. To remedy the evil, he established schools every where, for the instruction of all classes, and enjoined by law 'all freeholders, 'possessed of two hydes of land or more', to send their children to them for instruction. Not content with this, he himself undertook to supply with books the schools he had opened, either by furnishing original compositions, or by making translations from the Greek; in each case seeking to convey instruction, not so much in the way of didactic essay, as by parables, stories, and apophthegms, at one time clothed in plain prose, at another couched in poetry. The civil dissensions which broke out at his death, put an early end to these excellent designs.

From this time down to the Reformation, we seek in vain for any extended movement in favour of general education. Schools, it is true, were in some cases carried on in the monasteries. From Stow's Survey of London it appears, that 'there were 'three principal ones' belonging to the churches of the metropolis in the time of King Stephen; but whether they were schools for the poor, in the present acceptation of the word, may reasonably be doubted. At this time, all Europe was overshadowed by that "thick darkness" which, "like the smoke of a great furnace", the inspired Seer beheld in his vision, "ascending out of the bottomless pit", and "filling the kingdom of the Beast." Rich and poor, the noble and the slave, alike bore the mark of debasement "on their right hand or on their foreheads." It was an age of gloomy and besotted superstition; and England partook of the character of the times.

At the Reformation, a new era may be said to have commenced. No sooner had the doctrines of the Reformed Faith struck their roots deeply into those States of Europe which now became professedly Protestant, than with one accord they began to make suitable provision for the religious education of their youth. Holland, Geneva, Switzerland, and Scotland, vied with each other in the good work of providing schools of elementary instruction for their whole population. Ignorance was then universally recognized as the enemy of Divine Truth, and, at the same time, was wisely deemed one of the greatest of political evils. Had the life of Edward the Sixth been spared but a few years longer, England would probably have been saved from the disgrace of being for centuries the only Protestant country in which

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elementary education was not taken up as a great public duty. The Reformers themselves were by no means insensible to its importance; on the contrary, frequent indications of a feeling in favour of educating the poor may be traced in their writings. The Homilies of the Established Church, published by authority, contain strong admonitions to 'serving men,' to 'get good learning.' Private endowments for schools were every where encouraged; and charters were freely granted with a view to their security and permanence. Still, the good work languished; and it was not till above a century after the shackles of Popery had been thrown aside, that Cranmer's wish for 'grammar schools to be founded in every shire of England,' began to take effect. It is certain, that, in the times of the Commonwealth, a considerable portion of the people could both read and write. The civil wars would doubtless occasion the suspension of many of these establishments; and the atrocious policy followed by the Stuart family after the Restoration, would effectually prevent their being re-organized. It excites no surprise, therefore, to find that, in the reign of Queen Anne, 'the notorious ignorance and viciousness of the working classes' began seriously to attract public attention, and that many benevolent persons were desirous of establishing charity schools. In the Spectator of February, 1712, there is a paper on this subject; in which these schools are spoken of, as 'the greatest instances of public spirit the age has 'produced.' A writer in the Guardian of the following year, indulges in the expectation, that the 'next generation' would 'scarcely present a single instance of a child unable to read and 'write, and unacquainted with the principles of the Christian 'faith.' We shall shortly have occasion to see how far these expectations have been fulfilled. Since then, a hundred and twenty years have rolled away. We cannot stop to trace our way through them. Those who may be desirous of minutely investigating the moral and intellectual condition of the lower orders of Englishmen during that time, will find various sources of information open to them. The journals of Whitefield and Wesley will throw light on the state of things in their day; and the records of the Special Commissions of 1831, together with the recent report of the Commissioners on the Poor Laws, will serve to illustrate that in our own. England may thus be compared at different periods of her history; and the advancement or deterioration of the popular mind at particular seasons, be in some degree ascertained.

We need not discuss the various causes which have united to render old endowments in favour of education so signally inefficient. The labours of the Commissioners for inquiring into abuses connected with Public Charities, are partially before the public:—we trust the time is not far distant, when some practical

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good will be attained by the investigation. It is disgraceful, that trustees should be permitted, for the sake of securing emoluments, to teach nothing but Latin and Greek to a few select pupils, where the donors of the funds have distinctly prescribed the education of the lower classes, of persons not having the means of common sustentation, nay, of parish paupers. The mild correctives of legislative wisdom must surely be applied before long to such monstrous evils.

From the times to which we have just referred, down to the year 1798, the spirit of slumber seems to have settled upon the country with regard to popular education. Sunday Schools had, indeed, for some years been extensively established in various parts of the kingdom, and, in detached situations, were carried on with various degrees of success; but, as they were then chiefly taught by hired teachers, most of them were miserably conducted. Still, a certain portion of good was done. As early as the year 1787, the Sunday School Society were able to report, that 'the 'schools were well attended; that the scholars not only learned 'to read, but that their general behaviour was improved, and 'that the very neighbourhood in which such schools were 'established, exhibited examples of decency, regularity, and se-'curity, to which they had long been unaccustomed.' It was not till the beginning of the present century, that gratuitous teachers fairly took out of the hands of the hireling, this "work of faith and labour of love."

About the year 1798, the spirit of private adventure, sustained by Christian philanthropy, once more awakened public attention to existing deficiencies in our system of popular instruction. Joseph Lancaster, with all his faults certainly an extraordinary man, now first began to publish those plans of education which, with various modifications, under the name of the Monitorial System, have since been carried into effect in every part of the civilized world. How far he was justified in laying claim to originality in his schemes, and in demanding to be recognized as the inventor of a new system of education, is of little moment. It would certainly have been wiser, had he been content with the far higher honour of being an instrument in the hands of Providence, by whose means the blessings of Scriptural instruction were brought within the reach of thousands, perhaps millions, who would otherwise have been left in the depths of ignorance. The British and Foreign School Society arose out of this movement; and sustained by Christian benevolence, it has ever since been exerting, in proportion to its means, a most beneficial influence in every region of the globe.

We do not know that there would be any impropriety in saying, that Lancaster was also the founder of "the National Society established for promoting the Education of the Poor in the prin-

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ciples of the Established Church." It certainly would never have existed, but for the jealousy excited by the success of his labours. Its sectarian and exclusive regulations sufficiently indicate the spirit of its founders. Every child is obliged, on pain of expulsion, to learn the formularies of the Establishment, and is expected to attend the parish church, 'unless such reasons be 'assigned for non-attendance as are satisfactory to the persons 'having the direction of the school.' No religious tracts may be used in the schools, but such as are contained in the catalogue of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge. This institution, since its establishment, has divided with the British and Foreign School Society the patronage of the public.

Our readers are already familiar with the praiseworthy attempt of Mr. Brougham (at that time a distinguished member of the Lower House) to introduce a general system of National Education. We need not, therefore, bestow more than a passing allusion upon that extraordinary measure. The merits of the Bill were, at the time, amply discussed in our pages *. Its failure, which greatly mortified the eminent person by whom it had been prepared at no ordinary expense of time and labour, was attributable entirely to the relative position of the Established Church and Dissent, whose conflicting interests no amount of skill could avail to reconcile. In 1826, the Bill was again brought forward, but shortly afterwards was quietly withdrawn.

After this abortive effort, no further attempt was made to agitate the question of a National provision for Education. The two Societies were left to pursue their respective operations undisturbed; and the country, hearing nothing further about parliamentary interference, settled quietly into the opinion, that the educational necessities of its population were fully met. In the Companion to the Almanack published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in 1829, this absurdity was gravely attempted to be proved. The Writer, after giving a digest of the returns made to parliament in the year 1818, and comparing it with a similar return made in 1828, comes to the conclusion, that 'no very large portion of the children of the working popu-'lation are now wanting the means of instruction.' He says: 'Since the date of these returns (those of 1818), a period of ten 'years, the most extraordinary exertions' (what extraordinary nonsense!) 'have been used to promote the education of the 'people. In the great work of teaching the children of the poor 'the principles of religion, and the elements of useful knowledge, 'all parties and persuasions have united with the most charitable 'zeal. The belief that universal education can have any injurious

* See Eclectic Review, 2d Series, Vol. XV., pp. 193 *et seq.*; 290; and 359.

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'effects upon the welfare of the community, is now happily ex-
'ploded; and we have the satisfaction of believing that there are
'very few districts in England where the children of the working
'classes may not now obtain instruction.' The fallacy of these statements is well exposed in the last Number of the Edinburgh Review. The data on which the whole conclusion rests, is shewn to be 'to the last degree vague and unsatisfactory;' and an opinion is risked, that 'the strenuous exertions of the two Societies 'have scarcely kept pace with the increase of population during 'the last ten years.' This, we doubt not, will be found to be the truth of the matter. The condition of the agricultural districts is stated, in the Report of the British and Foreign School Society for 1831, to be most distressing.

'Debasing ignorance prevails to an extent which could not be credited, were it not verified by the closest investigation. The facts which have been elicited respecting the moral and intellectual state of those counties which have been disgraced by riots and acts of incendiarism, are truly affecting, and yet they are but a fair representation of the actual state of our peasantry. We call ourselves an enlightened nation, an educated people; and yet, out of nearly *seven hundred* prisoners put on trial in four counties, upwards of *two hundred and sixty* were as ignorant as the savages of the desert;—they could not read a single letter. Of the whole seven hundred, only *one hundred and fifty* could write, or even read with ease; and (in the words of one of the chaplains to the gaols) nearly the whole number were totally ignorant with regard to the nature and obligations of true religion.'

Surely the worthy chaplain who made this frank confession, must have blushed as he wrote, at the signal proof it afforded of the inefficiency, even as a system of 'spiritual police,' of that Establishment of which he was a minister.

On first reading the statement we have quoted, it struck us as a little extravagant, to say that these men were 'as ignorant *as* '*savages*'; but a little reflection convinced us that the similitude was adopted in sober sadness. We do not know whether a North American Indian might not with reason complain of the comparison. He ranks *higher* in the scale of intelligent being, than such miserable paupers as, in the year 1830, crowded the prisons of Christian England.

Further proof of the inadequacy of existing means for the instruction of the people, is furnished in the Reports of the same Society for 1832–3. We shall quote only one or two.

'In September last (1831), out of fifty prisoners put on trial at Bedford, only four could read. In the month of January (1833), there were in the same prison between fifty and sixty awaiting their trials, of whom not more than ten could read, and even some of these could not make out the sense of a sentence, though they knew their letters. At Wisbeach, in the Isle of Ely, it appears from a memorandum

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on the calendar, of a kind which ought to be affixed to every similar document, that, of nineteen prisoners put on trial, only six were able to read and write; and it is added, the capital offences were committed entirely by persons in a state of the most debasing ignorance.'

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These statements, resting as they do on authenticated documents, furnish melancholy proof, that, in spite of all the charitable zeal brought to bear on the instruction of the people, ignorance, like a pestilence, still spreads itself over the land.

With these facts before us, we were not a little surprised to find sentiments expressive of a contrary opinion, put into the mouth of the Lord Chancellor, by the Times Newspaper of March 14th of the present year. His Lordship, in rising to move for certain returns connected with the subject of Education, is stated to have given, among others, the following reasons for not again bringing forward the measure relative to Popular Education, which he introduced into the House of Commons when he was a member of that assembly. 'It appeared from returns made prior to 1820, 'that there existed in England and Wales a considerable number 'of endowed and unendowed schools, in addition to Sunday 'schools for the education of poor children; but these establish-'ments were by no means adequate to the wants of the country, 'inasmuch as they furnished the means of education to only 'about 600,000, or 700,000 children. It was then thought, by 'some of the best friends of Education who had investigated the 'subject, that it was not advisable to establish a compulsory rate 'for the support of schools, lest those benevolent persons who 'then, by voluntary contributions, maintained 14,000 unendowed 'day schools, at which 478,000 children were educated, should 'withdraw their support from those establishments. Nevertheless 'he, (Lord Brougham,) in common with many other persons, was 'of opinion that a compulsory rate should be established, for the 'purposes of Education; and for this reason,—that the support 'which schools received from voluntary subscriptions was of a 'temporary, fluctuating, and fleeting nature; so that not only 'might it vary in one year as compared with another, but it might 'utterly pass away.'—These were the grounds on which the Bill of 1820 was brought forward. The cause of its rejection then, and of its subsequent withdrawal after a second introduction in 1826, have already been stated. 'In 1828,' (his Lordship is said to have observed,) 'a new era opened with respect to the Dis-'senters. In that year, the repeal of the Test and Corporation 'Acts removed the distinction which had previously divided his 'Majesty's subjects into churchmen and dissenters; and it then 'appeared to him, that the objections which the latter body had 'formerly entertained to his bill, would be removed.'

If Lord Brougham really made these observations, (and we see no reason to doubt it,) we have before us another very striking

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instance of the utter ignorance which prevails with respect to the views and feelings of Dissenters, even among those who have had every opportunity of being well informed. What a strange supposition! The objections of the Dissenters to a Bill which went to throw the government of the common schools of the country almost exclusively into the hands of the clergy of the Established Church, are removed,—because the Test and Corporation Acts were repealed!! Surely his Lordship could not be serious when he made (if he did make) this most ludicrous assumption.

Leaving this, however, let us follow his Lordship a little further. 'It also occurred to him, that it would be most material 'to endeavour to ascertain, whether the voluntary support which was 'given to schools in this country was of so fluctuating and fleeting 'a nature as he had supposed. In order to satisfy his mind upon 'this point, he addressed, in his individual capacity, about 500 'letters to clergymen in every county in the kingdom, requesting 'information on the subject of the schools in their respective 'parishes. To these letters, which were addressed quite at 'random, he received nearly as many answers; and the informa-'tion which they contained was highly gratifying. The result 'shewed that, whereas in 1818 there were in the whole kingdom, 'as he had already stated, 14,000 unendowed day schools, edu-'cating 478,000 children, in 1828 there were, in the particular 'places to which he had addressed his letters alone, no less than '3200 schools of this description, educating 105,000 children. 'Taking these places as affording a fair sample of the rest of the 'kingdom, as he had a right to do from the manner in which he 'had addressed his circulars, the result would be, that there were '230,000' (we suppose this is a typographical error for 32,000, as reported in the Morning Chronicle) 'unendowed day schools, 'educating 1,030,000 children, all supported by voluntary sub-'scription; independently of the endowed schools which educated '165,000, and of the Sunday schools, which furnished very useful 'and salutary education, though necessarily of inferior importance 'to that which could be obtained from day schools.'

Very little attention to these calculations will suffice to shew the utter fallacy of this reasoning; and we cannot but wonder that a man of Lord Brougham's sagacity should have allowed himself to have been so grievously misled. Because 500 parishes report double the number of children they did in 1818, therefore 10,000 parishes have twice as many children under instruction as they had ten years ago:—that is the argument.

It will be shortly seen, that we are inclined to dispute alike both the premises and the conclusion. On turning to the last Report of the National Society, we find that, after sending circulars to every parish church and chapelry in the kingdom, in number about 12,000, under favour of a free cover, by which the funds of

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the Society were relieved from the expense of postage, the account being, as they state, carried to considerable perfection, and returns received from 9309 places, they are yet only able to report 6,470 day schools with 409,000 scholars. And these, be it remembered, include, by their own shewing, ALL the old endowed schools;—in fact, every school in which children of the poor are instructed under the care or control of the Established Church. We think it quite fair to conclude, that, had the 2013 parishes from which no reports were received, possessed schools, they would not have failed to swell a list, which was evidently prepared, at the cost of immense labour, for the purpose of shewing how large a proportion of the population are educated by the clergy. Well then, let our readers bear in mind, we have as yet only found, including all the old endowed schools,—antiquated nurseries, for the most part, of pharisaism and obsequious dependence,—6470 schools with 409,000 pupils; and of these, not even one half are conducted on the system of the National Society. The British and Foreign School Society, unfavoured by free covers, have not been able to obtain a correct list of schools established on their system. They do not, however, estimate them at more than 600 or 800, with from 60,000 to 80,000 children. Now, as these two added together, do not give a total of more than 7,200 schools, with not quite 500,000 scholars, we would humbly ask, where the remaining 25,000!! schools, *supported by voluntary subscription*, with their half million of children, are to be found?—The fact is,—as any one may see, who chooses to take the trouble of turning over a few pages of the digest of parochial returns,— the 14,000 schools reported in 1818, included all the little dame-schools, as well as cheap private day schools of every description; and *these* are all doubled in the notable calculation of 32,000 schools and 1,030,000 children; while, to complete the delusion, no allowance whatever is made for the increase of population. The error is two-fold. First, the calculation assumes, that private schools have increased in an equal ratio with public ones; and then, that the number of children needing instruction is the same as it was in 1818. Now, with regard to the first of these suppositions, it should be remembered, that, in almost every instance, the opening of a National Lancasterian school brings to the ground a certain number of cheap private day schools, for which, in all reason, some allowance ought to be made. We could point out cases in which the opening of a public school, inadequately supported, and afterwards allowed to fall, has absolutely done mischief. The second omission is too flagrant to need notice. Miss Martineau's alarm is indeed needless, if we make no material advance in ten years. Why, if calculations like these were correct, and, in addition to 32,000 schools supported by voluntary subscription, were to be reckoned

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all the endowed and private schools, and all the sunday schools of the Dissenters, as well as those conducted on that day only in connexion with the Established Church,—England, instead of being one of the worst, would be one of the best educated countries in Europe. In this case, we should never have found that, 'out 'of 700 prisoners put on trial in four counties in 1831, only 150 'could read with ease'; that, 'out of 41,017 individuals visited 'by the committee of the Herefordshire Auxiliary Bible Society 'in 1830, only 24,222 possessed that invaluable attainment'; and that, in a village not 50 miles from London, inspected only a few months ago, 'out of 1467 persons visited, upwards of 900 were 'totally ignorant of letters.' That we *have* found things thus, is the best proof of the fallacy of the statements on which we have thought it right thus freely to animadvert. How Lord Brougham (for whom we entertain the most unfeigned respect) can ever have been brought to sanction such delusive arithmetic, we are at a loss to imagine. Yet, it is on grounds like these, his Lordship is made to state, 'that he became a convert to the opinions of 'those who thought it would be unwise to disturb a state of things 'which produced such admirable results.'

His Lordship, however, still considers the means of education to be 'defective in two points.' 'In the first place, they were 'defective in small parishes. There were 500 parishes' (according to the report given in the Chronicle 1500) 'in which no schools 'existed at all. This was owing to the parishes being small in 'size and of limited population. In many of them, there were 'not more than thirty or forty families. It was evident that, 'however perfect the system of education might be, the in- 'habitants of such districts must depend upon private means for 'instruction.'

Now, we are willing to take either report, and let the number of destitute parishes stand at 500 or at 1500; and in either case we would ask,—Does Lord Brougham really believe that this is the entire number of parishes in which no provision is made for the education of the people, and that this destitution exists only in places where there is not sufficient population to maintain a school? We cannot bring ourselves to suppose that he is so deluded. But then, why has he not contradicted statements sent forth to the world under the sanction of his name?

In the remarks we have thus thought it right to make, we have said little or nothing as to the *character* of the schools which do really exist. In every estimate of the provision actually made for the education of the people, this is a most important item; yet, it forms no part of Lord Brougham's result! The returns of 1828, like those of 1818, dignify with the name of school, every miserable garret or hovel in which weakness or decrepitude ekes out a wretched subsistence by abusing the title of teacher; but

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no deductions are made on this account. These swell the list; they form no inconsiderable part of the original fourteen thousand, and are all doubled by the rapid pen of the sanguine Chancellor.

But, putting the dame-schools out of sight, we would ask, what is the *quality* of the instruction afforded in the great majority of what are called national schools? We feel no scruple in describing it as most contemptible. Geography, grammar, history, the elements of geometry, nay, even the higher branches of arithmetic, are, in nearly all of them, forbidden; any thing like a vigorous exercise of the intellectual powers is discouraged *on principle*; and all religious instruction of a kind which does not accord with the semi-papistical notions of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, is, on principle too, disallowed. The ability to recite the catechism and the creed, with, perhaps, a collect and a prayer, is commonly the sum total of the religious attainments of the scholars.—Is this education? Is this the kind of education which the children of Englishmen ought to receive in the nineteenth century? Is any thing but matter of shame and regret to be found in the multiplication of such "old wives'" establishments for the instruction of youth?

We pass on to notice, as next in order, the introduction of a Bill for regulating the labour of children and young persons in the mills and factories of the United Kingdom. The xxth clause enacts, 'that, from and after the expiration of six months 'from the passing of this act, every child herein restricted to the 'performance of forty-eight hours of labour in any one week, 'shall, so long as such child shall be within the said restricting age, '*attend some school, to be chosen by the parents or guardians of* '*such child*, or such school as may be appointed by any inspector 'in case the parents or guardians of such child shall omit to 'appoint any school, or in case such child shall be without parents 'or guardians; and it shall and may be lawful in such last men-'tioned case, for any inspector to order the employer of any such 'child, to make a deduction from the weekly wages of such child 'as the same shall become due, not exceeding the rate of one 'penny in every shilling, to pay for the schooling of such child; 'and such employer is hereby required to pay the sum so de-'ducted, according to the order and direction of such inspector.' The attendance of the child at school is secured by further clauses, requiring the production of 'a schoolmaster's ticket or voucher,' every Monday morning, certifying regular attendance. Additional clauses enact, that 'wherever it shall appear to any inspector, 'that a new or additional school is necessary to enable the 'children employed in any factory to obtain the education re-'quired by the act, such inspector is authorized to establish, or 'procure the establishment of such school; and if, upon examina-

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'tion, any inspector shall be of opinion that any schoolmaster or 'schoolmistress is incompetent, or in any way unfit for the perform-'ance of the duties of that office, it shall be lawful for such inspector 'to disallow and withhold the order for any payment or salary to 'such schoolmaster or schoolmistress as hereinbefore provided.'

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This is a great step in favour of Popular Education. It secures at once the instruction of a very large and neglected portion of the population, and cannot fail to be productive of the most beneficial results. The *principle* also on which the enactment proceeds, is important, viz. that the State has a right to *demand* the instruction of children. So far as the act in question extends, it not only provides the means of education, but compels the parent either to avail himself of the provision, or to shew that in some other way his child is reaping the benefit it offers to confer. How far compulsory enactments similar to those which have been acted upon so successfully in Prussia and elsewhere, might be advisable in any general measure, is a distinct question, and one which, from its importance, would not admit of hasty decision. We confess to a strong leaning in their favour. In the case of factory children, there can be no doubt of the expediency of insisting upon their instruction. Without such a clause, all other provision would have been nugatory.

We do not precisely see from what source funds are to be provided for the new schools that may be required; nor is any thing said as to the kind of school to be established. Every thing seems left in the hands of the inspector, whose power is certainly by no means limited. We should consider this as very loose and crude legislation, did we not look upon the incompleteness of the measure as an indication of the intention of Government, before long, to bring forward a general plan of a more specific character, under the regulations of which the factory schools are, we presume, intended to fall.

We come now to the recent grant of £20,000;—a vote which derives its importance, not from its amount, which is but trifling; but from the fact of its being *the first sum of money ever set apart by Parliament for the education of the English poor*. Our readers are aware, that it is to be devoted to the building of school-rooms, and, according to the speech of Lord Althorp, to be divided indifferently between the advocates of the two societies: that is to say, one half is to be bestowed on the erection of buildings exclusively for the instruction of the children of members of the Established Church;—the other half is—*for the nation*. As the grant is professedly a temporary expedient, or, as Lord Althorp termed it, 'an experimental vote,' perhaps it may be considered as scarcely open to criticism. We cannot, however, but decidedly object to any portion of the public money being voted in aid of

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schools from which the children of all but one sect are systematically excluded. These are not times for Parliament to support what may very fairly be termed *the persecuting principle.* Dissenters are guilty of unpardonable negligence in allowing a shilling to be appropriated to such purposes without the most vigorous resistance. The period is gone by for this kind of imposition. The public mind only needs to be aroused by well directed agitation to the simple injustice on which all such unchristian monopolies are based, in order to ensure their abolition. Whenever this wholesome movement commences,—and it cannot be far distant,—the thread of their existence will be between the shears:—the indignant voice of an abused people will demand their extinction in terms which no Ministry can resist.

That, before long, something must and will be done on an extended scale for the education of the people, there can be no doubt. It is, therefore, highly important, that the Dissenters, as a body, should be prepared to state with distinctness and decision, what they will accept, and what they will oppose. The resources of private benevolence are confessedly inadequate to the task of bringing the schoolmaster to every man's door. In large towns, a great deal has undoubtedly been effected by enterprising and benevolent individuals; but, in villages and thinly scattered districts, comparatively little has been, or can be done. The difficulty of raising a sufficient sum to afford a decent maintenance for a respectable schoolmaster, is, in these situations, generally too great to be overcome without some compromise of principle. As a natural result, persons are frequently appointed to the office, whose only qualification is to be found in their deriving emolument from some other occupation, such as that of parish clerk or sexton, by the aid of which they are enabled to maintain themselves, and thus keep open the school doors. Now it is in cases like these, that the aid of Government is indispensably necessary. How it may be most effectually imparted, is an interesting and, as yet, an open question.

We should be decidedly inclined to advocate a general measure in preference to any partial expedients; but then it must be founded on just and liberal principles. It would be an act of suicide on the part of the Dissenters, to allow any Bill to be passed, which should throw the slightest additional power into the hands of the Established Church. On this point, they must be firm and united. The Edinburgh Reviewer affects to believe that no measure more favourable to the Dissenters than the Bill of 1820, could pass the House of Lords. If that be true, we may confidently predict, that no Bill will pass at all. Dissenters are bound to speak out on this subject; they have no sinister ends to answer, and they have a right to be bold and fearless. All they want is, a Bill which shall promote the daily instruction

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of the children of the poor; '*on principles at once consistent* '*with the rights of conscience and the claims of God*'; and less than this, we trust and believe they will never admit.

How this is to be accomplished,—by what provision this desirable object can be most effectually secured, is a question of much delicacy and difficulty. There is a great deal of truth in the remark of the Edinburgh Reviewer, that 'neither of the dis-'tinguished societies which have been working so long and so as-'siduously in promoting the education of the poorer classes, has 'yet adopted a course of instruction in exact accordance with 'what a system of NATIONAL EDUCATION ought to be.' But then the Reviewer should in justice have stated, that the plans of the one Society are contracted *on principle;* those of the other, *by necessity.* It is also unfair to say, that the British and Foreign School Society 'has relaxed from its exclusively religious 'spirit'. It never was *exclusively* religious. Its friends have never been so absurd, as to pretend that secular knowledge was unimportant. We are confident that the Committee of that institution would not wish to have their views on Education expressed in terms materially differing from those chosen by the Reviewer himself, to describe the views and feelings of the founders of the educational institutions of Scotland.

The statement which the Committee of the General Assembly have lately made, that, in their Highland schools, those in which the greatest variety of secular instruction is imparted, are most distinguished by a religious character, is one which we should have been quite prepared to expect. Man is distinguished from the brute, not less by improveable reason, than by the capacity for devotion; and these two are not opposed the one to the other. The more truly enlightened any man becomes,—the more his reasoning faculties expand and are purified by an enlarged acquaintance with external nature, the more *inexcusable* is he, if he remain unimpressed by the consideration of "things which are unseen and eternal." Irreligion is wilful stupidity: "the *fool* hath said in his heart, there is no God."

That other books besides the Bible might advantageously be introduced into elementary schools, we cheerfully concede; and the same concession, we doubt not, would at any time be made by the Committee of the British and Foreign School Society, although many circumstances may render it inexpedient for them to make the innovation. It is curious to observe, how ingeniously the want of other books for reading is supplied, in the model schools of the Society in question, by a carefully selected set of spelling lessons, through which a vast variety of secular knowledge is imparted to the children *orally* by the monitors, who, in turn, gain their information either from the master or from a well selected library, which is thrown open to their use out of school-

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hours; so that while it is perfectly true, that no book but the Bible is *read* in the school, it is equally certain that many other books are *taught*. We do not mean to imply that there is any thing like disingenuousness in this proceeding: it simply shews how public opinion, we do not say compels, but *enables* them to keep in advance of their original constitution.

The formation of a committee of the most active and enlightened members of both Societies, for the purpose of selecting or preparing a series of reading lessons, as suggested by the Edinburgh Reviewer, is a matter for the consideration of the Government. We do not anticipate much difficulty with regard to lessons. A series which would be acceptable to all parties, might without doubt be easily prepared. Let them but be compiled under the remembrance of what the Edinburgh Reviewer properly terms the wise consideration, that children are not only 'doomed to act their part in the great community of mankind,' but destined to be subjects of a kingdom which is "not of this world," and the Christian public will be fully satisfied.

Whatever plan Parliament may resolve to pursue, must, however, in the main, be carried into effect irrespectively of any existing societies whatsoever. The best thing Government can do for voluntary associations is, to let them alone. The National and the British and Foreign School Societies will not necessarily fall to the ground, because legislative provision is made for elementary instruction. Each will continue, for a time at least, to enjoy the confidence and support of its respective friends; and if either of them can furnish a better or cheaper education than the Government commission, they will, and ought to be preferred. The British and Foreign School Society has of late years obtained a strong hold on the affections of intelligent and religious persons, in a department where the Government will find it exceedingly difficult to compete with them;—we mean, in the selection and training of teachers. Unlimited pecuniary resources may secure talent, but will never ensure piety; and in an elementary school, every practical man knows, that a very moderate share of ability, when united to religious zeal, will accomplish much more in the actual improvement of children, both literary and moral, than the most shining talent when unaccompanied by a hearty and disinterested love for the employment. Just as the 'ignorant sectary'—in other words, a plain, warm-hearted preacher of the Gospel—will often take hold on the affections, and elevate the character of a rural district, upon which collegiate attainments have been brought to bear in vain; so will a zealous and affectionate schoolmaster, though he may be quite guiltless of Latin or Greek, often succeed in casting far into the shade, his more accomplished, but less beloved competitor.

If the Committee of the British and Foreign School Society

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will do their duty,—and we believe they will,—they may confer an incalculable benefit on the country, by turning their resources as much as possible towards the enlargement of their training establishment; they may then rival, in *moral* power at least, any institution for the instruction of teachers, which Government can maintain. We know that the selection and recommendation of teachers is a most thankless office; for the public are neither prepared to estimate its importance, nor to allow for its difficulties. In discriminating among the various characters which present themselves for notice, it is not easy to avoid collision with the injudicious friends of disappointed candidates, or to escape the suspicion of being sometimes governed by the love of power or the desire of patronage. But all this only renders it the more important, that such a service should be performed by men who look higher for their reward than the favour of princes or of people.

We are glad to find, from a recent publication of the Society, that a very good ground-work is already laid for such a *College of Schoolmasters*. Every candidate for a school under the Society, 'is placed as a monitor in each class of the school, and is expected 'to work his way, as a practical teacher, from the lowest to the 'highest form, proving his ability to *govern* by the maintenance 'of order in the central model school, whenever it may be placed 'under his control.' This discipline is simply intended to teach the student how *to communicate*, in the best possible way, that portion of knowledge which he already possesses. In order that he may obtain additional information, and thus improve his own mind, 'facilities are afforded, out of school hours, for the acqui-'sition of various kinds of useful knowledge. Two hours every 'evening are devoted to Arithmetic, Geography, the Elements of 'Geometry, and History, under a master; one hour early in the 'morning to a Bible class; and two hours in the week to the 'Evidences of the Christian Religion. A good library is also 'provided, in which the best treatises on Education, as well as 'books on every branch of knowledge, are thrown open to the use 'of the candidates.' This is beginning at the right end; and such plans, if vigorously followed out, must prove highly beneficial to the country.

The importance of securing a faithful body of public teachers, appears now to be deeply felt everywhere. We observe in a New York paper, which has just come to hand, that, only a few weeks back, a public meeting of a highly respectable character was held in that city, at which Resolutions were passed, expressing an opinion that the common schools of that State were greatly deficient in good teachers, and appointing a Committee to memorialize the legislature, praying for the endowment, by the State, of a central institution for the education of teachers upon a scale

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co-extensive with the public wants. Without this provision, no system of public instruction can ever be complete.

In addressing ourselves to the task of stating what should, in our view, form the leading features of any Bill for the universal establishment of elementary schools in England, we feel that we are treading upon delicate ground. A mere outline is all we shall offer. Having laid down certain general principles such as these—that the schools shall be open on equal terms to children of all religious denominations, and that no sectarian manual or church formulary be introduced, (without which provision, no plan can ever be acceptable to the country,)—we should say, that it would be well for Government to pursue some such course as this:—I. To appoint an efficient Board of Commissioners for the promotion of public education, composed of men whose known sentiments should be a sufficient guarantee that the rights of conscience would be respected. II. To establish, under the control of these Commissioners, six or eight good normal schools (*Ecoles normales*) in different parts of the country, in which facilities should be afforded for the proper education and training of teachers. III. To require each parish, either by itself or jointly with one or more neighbouring parishes, to erect within a limited time one or more school-houses, according to the extent of population; to provide out of the parish rate an amount of income towards the support of a teacher, which amount should be fixed by the Board of Commissioners; and to appoint, subject to re-election every three years, a committee or local board of education. The first and most important duty of the local board would be, the appointment of a teacher; subject, of course, to the approbation of the Government board, in one of whose normal schools he must be trained. We need scarcely add, that, in the choice of a teacher, there must be no further attempt to exclude Dissenters,—no more tests wide enough to admit the unprincipled and irreligious, narrow and exclusive only to the conscientious. Character and ability must alone be demanded. The regulation of fees to be paid to the master by the scholars, according to the ability of their parents and the extent of instruction they receive, will also, under certain limitations, naturally fall under the care of the local committee. The Government Board should then be invested with the power of visitation by Inspectors, and, in cases of incompetency, be authorized to require the immediate suspension or removal of the teacher by the local board.

With regard to the kind and amount of *literary* instruction to be given, we see no difficulty. It would be the duty of the Board of Commissioners to take care that it was of the most useful kind, and imparted in the most approved manner. We would say, let all be done 'on the most liberal and comprehensive footing; no

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'branch of knowledge, ancient or modern, being excluded, which 'the master could teach, and the parents might desire for their 'children.' The impartation of religious knowledge is a more difficult question. We believe that the country generally would be satisfied with the reverential and intelligent reading of the Bible for two hours every day by all the children who were able to do it with propriety. The Catholics and Jews might be excepted, wherever the parent expressed a wish to that effect. To set apart particular portions of time, during which ministers of different denominations might attend to their respective flocks, would, we fear, be quite useless. The introduction of any catechism is objectionable, apart from the inefficiency of such a mode of instruction. The best "form of sound words," repeated as a daily task, soon becomes a mere form of words, and ceases to impress either the intellect or the heart. The formularies of any church, we have already shewn, can never be admitted. We would say, therefore, Give us the Bible,—the whole Bible, and nothing but the Bible, for 'the Bible is the religion of Protestants.'

A very little consideration will suffice to shew, that the *real* amount of religious instruction communicated in any school will depend upon the character of the teacher. If he be a man "fearing God and working righteousness," the school will in some measure be imbued with his character and spirit. If he be a "scorner," he "will delight himself in scorning." It is absurd to talk of irreligious men imparting religious instruction, either from the pulpit or the desk. "Doth a fountain send forth at the same place sweet water and bitter? Can the fig-tree bear olive-berries? either a vine figs? So can no fountain both yield salt water and fresh." In the case we have supposed, an additional responsibility would lie upon Sabbath-school teachers. Relieved, as they would in great measure be, from the drudgery of elementary teaching, a more decidedly religious character would be imparted to their instructions; older and more experienced Christians would, we trust, come forward to their assistance; and schools of Sabbath instruction would be emphatically, the Nurseries of the Church.

We had intended to give a brief account of the law regarding Education in Prussia, as well as a short digest of the French '*Projet de Loi*,' but the length to which this article has already extended, forbids the attempt. We shall conclude, therefore, with a few words of advice to Christians of all denominations who love and cherish a catholic spirit.

Government will, before long, take decisive steps in favour of Popular Education. Let their first movements then be carefully watched. It is not to be concealed, that two parties—factions we might term them—are already busily engaged in seeking to obtain the ear of the ministry on this important subject. The one is

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willing to stake religion itself on the chance of securing by a bold stroke the introduction of the formularies of their church:—the other, under the pretext of avoiding polemics, is anxious to dispense altogether with the Bible and religious instruction. If the latter party should succeed,—and this is not impossible,—they will owe their success to the obstinate bigotry of their reverend opponents. Priestly domination is always the parent of infidelity and irreligion. We are confident, however, that the good sense and piety of the country are equally opposed to each of these schemes. We appeal from both, to plain Christian principle,—to men who love their Bible better than their creed, their country better than their party. We entreat such, as they value Divine truth and Christian liberty, to awake and to unite. There is no time to lose. The ground must be occupied without a moment's delay; and the Parliament and the Government must be alike made to feel, that the British people have yet piety enough remaining amongst them to maintain the faith, and spirit enough to resist and to prevent any encroachment upon their religious liberties.

Above all, let the Dissenters beware of a spirit of apathy with regard to the public instruction of the people. It is a matter of surpassing moment to them. The day in which we live, is pregnant with events, the precise character and bearing of which no mortal can divine. It becomes us to cherish, not a spirit of exultation, but of prayer;—to be found, not lulled in fancied security, but with our "loins girded and our lamps burning." The 'conflict of great principles,' which, all parties agree, is coming on, will be severe and searching. To be faithful throughout, will require many unexpected and painful sacrifices. A time of "plucking up" is not less trying to faith and love, than a time of "planting." For the result we have no fears. "The Lord God omnipotent reigneth." Let us but be true to our principles, and our children and our children's children will reap the benefit.

Art. II.—The Congregational Lecture. First Series. *Christian Ethics;* or Moral Philosophy on the Principles of Divine Revelation. By Ralph Wardlaw, D.D. 8vo. pp. xvi. 416. Price 10*s.* 6*d.* London, 1833.

To a large proportion of our readers, the occasion upon which this course of lectures was delivered, cannot be unknown. The public-spirited founders of the Congregational Library for the use of the orthodox Dissenters in the metropolis, conceived that it would advance the important object of that Institution, 'the promotion of ecclesiastical, theological, and biblical literature,'—to connect with it 'a Lecture, partaking of the cha-

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'racter of Academic prelections, rather than of popular addresses, 'and embracing a series of annual courses of lectures, to be de- 'livered at the Library, or, if necessary, in some contiguous place 'of worship.'

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'To illustrate the evidence and importance of the great doctrines of Revelation; to exhibit the true principles of philology in their application to such doctrines; to prove the accordance and identity of genuine philosophy with the records and discoveries of Scripture; and to trace the errors and corruptions which have existed in the Christian Church to their proper sources; and, by the connexion of sound reasoning with the honest interpretation of God's holy word, to point out the methods of refutation and counteraction; are amongst the objects for which "the Congregational Lecture" has been established.'

In the selection of Lecturers, it is proposed to appoint such individuals of the Congregational denomination as, 'by their li- 'terary attainments and ministerial reputation, have rendered ser- 'vice to the cause of Divine truth, in the consecration of their 'talents to the "defence and confirmation of the Gospel."' Dr. Wardlaw modestly states, that he owes his being appointed to deliver the first series, to the circumstance of his learned and excellent friend, the Rev. Dr. John Pye Smith, having found it necessary, from special engagements, to decline accepting of it. The Lecture could not, however, have been commenced under more favourable auspices. As to the lecturer, Dr. Wardlaw, as an author, may be regarded as standing at the head of his denomination in Scotland; and the subject he has chosen, if not strictly popular, is treated in a manner at once so Scriptural and so practical, as to render the volume a very suitable commencement of a series intended to harmonize genuine philosophy with the doctrines and discoveries of Holy Scripture. A sentence which occurs in the introductory lecture, might serve as a general motto to the volume, and indeed to the whole series: 'It is 'only false philosophy that fears Revelation, or that Revelation 'has to fear.'

The present volume contains a course of nine lectures, the first of which was delivered on Tuesday, April 30th, before a highly respectable auditory, at the Congregational Library; and the last on Tuesday, May 30th. The second course is to be delivered in the ensuing Spring, by the Rev. Robert Vaughan, the recently appointed Professor of Modern History in the London University.

We know not why Dr. Wardlaw should have thought it needful to apologize for the title of his volume, as presumptuous, or as holding out the promise of more than it performs; but it will be proper to give his own explanation.

'He wishes it to be regarded as strictly and exclusively *elementary*, —having for its design, to investigate and ascertain principles, not at

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all to unfold the details of duty, or to furnish a practical commentary on the commandments. Had not the title, indeed, been formally announced in the opening of the first lecture, he would now have been disposed to modify it to—*Elements* of Moral Philosophy on the Principles of Divine Revelation.

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It seems to us, that the modified title promises more, and is far more comprehensive, than the one which stands on the title-page. Ethics, 'the science of manners' or social duty, is properly a branch only of Moral Philosophy, which must necessarily include also the science of religious duty, or theology, the science of political duty, or natural law, and what may be properly distinguished as political science. Paley, indeed, tells us, that Moral Philosophy, Morals, Natural Law, Casuistry, and Ethics, all mean the same thing; and it is true, that all these terms are vaguely used as almost convertible, but with no propriety. We lay little stress, in such inquiries, upon technical definitions. It cannot, however, be a matter absolutely indifferent, whether we call a part by the name of the whole, and suffer that pretended science to appropriate the name and occupy the whole field of moral philosophy, which forms, in fact, but a subordinate and dependent inquiry; or rather, as frequently prosecuted, an arbitrary method of investigation, based upon false assumptions, and limited to a certain class of facts, which cannot even be rightly understood, apart from other facts, to which they are essentially related as cause or effect. In other words, moral philosophy must include theology, so far as the latter is a science based upon facts· by disregarding those facts, it becomes as necessarily false as a system of natural philosophy would be, that should exclude any of the great physical facts relating to the constitution of material nature.

The writer of the article Moral Philosophy in the Encyclopœdia Britannica, gives the following statement of the specific nature of that science, which is cited by Dr. Wardlaw as presenting a clear view of the fallacious principle that forms the radical error of all theories of morals.

'"Moral Philosophy has this in common with natural philosophy, that it appeals to nature, or to fact; depends on observation; and builds its reasonings on plain, uncontroverted experiments, or upon the fullest induction of particulars of which the subject will admit. We must observe, in both these sciences, how nature is affected, and what her conduct is in such and such circumstances; or, in other words, we must collect the appearances of nature in any given instance, trace them to some given principles or terms of operation, and then apply these principles or laws to the explaining of other phenomena. Therefore, moral philosophy inquires, uot how man might have been, but how he is, constituted; not into what principles and dispositions his actions may be artfully resolved, but from what principles and

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dispositions they actually flow; not what he may, by education, habit, or foreign influence, come to be, or to do, but what, by his nature, or original constituent principles, he is formed to be and to do. We discover the office, use, or distinction of any work, whether natural or artificial, by observing its structure, the parts of which it consists, their connexion, or joint action. It is thus we understand the office and use of a watch, a plant, an eye, or a hand. It is the same with a living creature of the rational or brute kind. Therefore, to determine the office, duty, or distinction of man, or, in other words, what his business is, or what conduct he is obliged to pursue, we must inspect his constitution, take every part to pieces, examine their mutual relations one to the other, and the common effect or tendency of the whole."'

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According to this statement, Dr. Wardlaw remarks, 'we are 'to pursue our investigations in morals, as we do our researches 'in physics.' This is in itself an absurdity. Not only so; the theory requires, that we regard the present moral constitution of man, indicated by its various phenomena, as being in all respects the work of Deity, as really as the structure of his corporal frame; 'so that, from the observation of man as he is, we 'are to learn the moral character of Deity, and the principles of 'rectitude, as existing in his nature, and approved under his go-'vernment, in the same way in which we discover his intelligence 'and wisdom from the marks of skill in the material universe.' 'This of course,' adds Dr. W., 'proceeds on the assumption, 'that man as he now is, is what he was originally made, and was 'designed by his Maker to continue to be.' But such assumption, being not merely unproved and unsusceptible of proof, but contradicted by indications which receive their only adequate explanation from the testimony of Scripture, must communicate the character of error to the whole chain of dependent observations and reasonings. Nor is this the only false assumption involved in the theory. It supposes that the mental apparatus of observation and judgement by which the facts embraced by moral philosophy are to be investigated, is as fully adapted to the discovery of truth, as the senses are to ascertain the physical qualities of material objects;—that the moral sense is as true in its perceptions of right and wrong, as the eye of the anatomist or chemist is in detecting the results of dissection or analysis;—that, in moral investigations, as in physical, the intellectual faculty alone is concerned in the ascertainment of truth, and is competent by its own light to make the discovery. Now if moral philosophers confined their speculations to purely intellectual phenomena,—to those facts and appearances which belong to the physiology of the human mind,—less error and less presumption would be involved in their assuming the moral integrity of human nature. The study of the mind, or what is now distinguished by the name of Intellectual Philosophy, either ranks among physical sciences, or

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it does not. If it does, it has nothing to do with ethics; it is no part of its office to ascertain or determine the *duty* of man; the questions of causation, of free-will, of moral obligation, have no more to do with the physiology of mind, than with comparative anatomy. But if it does not rank under natural philosophy or physics, the laws and processes of physical investigation cannot apply to it; and to make it 'depend upon observation' is purely absurd.

Moral philosophy, however, it may be said, is a mixed science: it treats partly of what is, and is so far physical; partly of what ought to be, which belongs to metaphysics, or rather to morals. Justly it has been remarked by one of the most philosophic writers of the day, that 'there never would have been occasion to affirm 'the independence of physics and metaphysics, were it not that 'the immemorial practice of confounding the science of the human mind with pure abstractions, has filled both departments of 'intellectual philosophy with absurdity, and has detained both, 'to the present day, in a state of infancy.'* The purpose of the physical sciences, throughout all their provinces, is, we have been told, to answer the question, *What is?* That of the moral sciences is, to answer the question, *What ought to be?* But even as to what *is*, a distinction must be made, as wide as the interval between the respective provinces of Physical and Moral Science, —a distinction between physical existence and moral condition,— between being and well-being, between the bare fact of what is, and the real character of actual existences. Now, of the *moral* character of what is, it is evident that no correct judgement can be formed without reference to what ought to be. Admitting that will, action, habit, disposition, are terms denoting facts in human nature, an explanation of which must be sought in mental philosophy, we cannot pronounce the will to be virtuous or the contrary, an action to be morally good or bad, a disposition to be right or depraved, without passing at once the boundary of physical inquiries, and including, in our affirmation of what is, a belief of what ought to be. It is then evident that an attempt to determine what ought to be, by a simple induction from existing phenomena, is as unphilosophical as it is irreligious. It is not only inverting the process by which the moral sense can alone discern good from evil, but it goes far towards reducing vice and virtue, right and wrong, to mere physical distinctions.

Moral philosophy has almost avowedly been the antagonist of Theology. It is, at least, an attempt to do without Revelation in the science of Morals. Writers who have not themselves ranked among disbelievers, have apparently essayed to construct

* Introductory Essay to Edwards on the Will.

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ethical systems independent of the facts and discoveries of Revelation, out of compliment to an infidel philosophy. The amiable Dugald Stewart does not stand clear from this grave charge. Dr. Wardlaw has pointed out a flagrant instance of the sanction which he has given to the radical error of the philosophic systems.

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'The late Dugald Stewart quotes, with high approbation, the following sentiment of Melanchthon, where, in the language of the philosopher, that reformer "combats the pernicious and impious tenets of those theologians who maintained, that moral distinctions are created entirely by the arbitrary revealed will of God:"—"Wherefore, our decision is this; that those precepts which learned men have committed to writing, transcribing them from the common sense and common feelings of human nature, are to be accounted as not less divine, than those contained in the tables given to Moses; and that it could not be the intention of our Maker to supersede, by a law graven on a stone, that which is graven with his own finger on the table of the heart."—"This language," says the commentator, "was, undoubtedly, an important step towards a just system of moral philosophy. But still, like the other steps of the reformers, it was only a return to common sense, and to the genuine spirit of Christianity, from the dogmas imposed on the credulity of mankind by an ambitious priesthood. Many years were yet to elapse, before any attempts were to be made to trace, with analytical accuracy, the moral phenomena of human nature to their first principles in the constitution and condition of man; or even to disentangle the plain and practical lessons of Ethics, from the speculative and controverted articles of theological systems." Assuming the fairness of the citation from Melanchthon, the sentiment expressed in it seems to me to involve an unaccountable oversight,—and, in some degree at least, a falling-in with the grand error of philosophical writers on Ethics. In allowing *equal authority* to the deductions of "learned men" from "the common sense and common feelings of human nature," with that ascribed to the ten commandments, the moral law as given by Moses, the good reformer had surely forgotten the depravity of that nature the dictates of whose "common sense and common feelings" are thus identified in certainty and obligation with the direct announcements of the will of Deity; and had forgotten also the bias produced by this depravity in the minds of those very "learned men" by whom the deductions are drawn, and the theories framed. Granting, to no small extent, the correctness and authority of the dictates of conscience; still, as the conscience of a fallen creature, it is liable to be warped and deflected from rectitude in its decisions, and must not, therefore, have absolutely implicit reliance. So far from its being the design of Jehovah to "supersede by a law graven on stones that which is graven with his own finger on the table of the heart;" it is obvious that, had the law continued "written on the heart," in the same sense, and to the same extent, as at first, there would never have been any occasion for the proclamation of it from Sinai, and the graving of it, for permanent appeal, on the tables of stone.....When Mr. Stewart speaks of the language of Melanchthon as "an important step towards a just

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system of moral philosophy," and of "tracing with analytical accuracy the moral phenomena of human nature to their first principles in the constitution and condition of man," he proceeds on the common assumption, that the "constitution and condition of man,"—that is, of man as he now is,—afford a just criterion, and the only one accessible to us, of right and wrong; and that the "first principles of the moral phenomena of human life" are there to be sought, with the view of thence ascertaining a correct system of morals.

'To a certain extent, I have admitted, there is truth in the representations thus made by philosophers. Reason and conscience are not obliterated, but do certainly continue to bear testimony for God. What we plead for is, that in a depraved nature, subject to all the manifold biases of corruption, they cannot be trusted to as affording any *certain standard* either of truth or duty,—any infallible indication of the mind and will of Deity. The creature that has lost the moral image of God, cannot, in his moral constitution, present a fair exhibition either of what God is, or of what God wills, or afford any correct index to the principles of moral rectitude. Were the philosophers who write thus making any reference to the present state of our nature as being different from what it was originally, we should then understand their meaning with the qualifications which the recognition of such difference implies. But their appeals to the constitution of our nature for the principles of morals, are not only unaccompanied with any such admission, but contain either the implication, or the express avowal, of the contrary.' pp. 49—52.

In fact, as the Author justly remarks, 'there can be no 'boundary drawn for the philosophical moralist, that does not 'inclose a portion, far from inconsiderable, of the territory of the 'theologian.' Taking morals in its most enlarged and proper sense, as comprehending 'all the obligations, not of human 'beings alone, but of intelligent creatures universally, in all the 'relations they can occupy, whether to their Maker or to each 'other, together with the great principles from which these ob-'ligations arise',—theology is a branch of morals; and ethics, as we have already remarked, another. But since the primary duty man owes to his Maker, and the relations in which he stands to the Author of all created existence, must have, of necessity, an important bearing on all the social relations, and the duties connected with them, these two branches of morals cannot be treated independently of each other without leading to error. The same principles, the same modes of investigation, must be common to both. In theology, as in ethics, different modes of inquiry may be adopted; but, as the false philosophy includes its own theology, so does Christianity include its own ethics; and it involves nothing short of a denial of Revelation, or a tacit rejection of it, to maintain that, without Revelation, it is possible to ascertain either what is, morally, or what ought to be.

These remarks will, we hope, place in a strong light, the value of Dr. Wardlaw's labours, as well as the propriety of the present

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title of the volume. It is one main part of his design, to shew that all systems of ethics that are not fundamentally Christian, must be essentially erroneous. Having, in the introductory lecture, illustrated the respective provinces of philosophy and theology, his object, in the next two, is to expose the mistakes we have adverted to in the usual method of conducting ethical inquiries, and especially the attempt to deduce a scheme of virtue from the present character of human nature. In the fourth lecture, he proceeds to examine the moral system of Bishop Butler, which may be designated, Dr. W. remarks, as 'the system of Zeno baptized into Christ.' Dr. Chalmers, with that rashness which so much detracts from the value of his authority, pronounces Bishop Butler's Sermons to contain 'the most precious repository of sound ethical principles extant in any language.' Yet even Sir James Mackintosh has pointed out the defectiveness of the learned Prelate's scheme; and defect, in a scheme of morals, is much the same as error, and must proceed from error. Bishop Butler contends, that our nature or constitution is adapted to virtue, 'as a watch is adapted to measure 'time', although it is liable to go wrong; and that therefore, to *follow nature,* is to live according to conscience, conscience being, in the complex constitution of the human mind, the legitimate ruling principle. Man's obligation to obey the rule of right within is, 'its being the law of his nature.' After citing these and similar expressions, Dr. W. proceeds:

'Now I entertain no doubt, that this is a just account of the original constitution of our nature,—that such is the due subordination of its various powers and propensions,—such the legitimate order of their respective operations. But you can hardly fail to have been sensible, how little reference there is, in these representations, to the fallen condition and depraved character of this nature. I am far from intending to insinuate, that the fallen and degenerate condition of man has no place in Butler's Theology. When treating, in his "Analogy," of the economy of redemption by a Mediator, he speaks of "the world's being in a state of ruin" as "a supposition which seems the very ground of the Christian Dispensation," and argues, on this ground, the reasonableness, from the analogy of divine providence, of the scheme of mediatorial interposition. But he is one of those to whom I have already alluded, as, in their reasonings on morals, appearing at times as if they had forgotten the characters of human nature which, on other occasions, they have admitted: and I must be excused for adding, that not only in this seeming forgetfulness, but also in the vague generality of the terms in which human degeneracy is usually expressed, and in the statements given by him of the influence of the Redeemer's atonement, and of the conditions, on man's part, of acceptance with God, there is evidence, that his impressions of the real amount of this degeneracy, as existing in the moral state and character of each individual man, were hardly adequate to the

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unqualified and humbling representations of the inspired volume. In the extracts which have just been given from the Bishop's Sermons, we are certainly, in a great degree, allowed to lose sight of the present character of human nature, and are left to suppose it, in its present state, such as it was designed, by the author of its constitution, to be. The various parts of the watch are put together by the skill of the artist, each in its proper place, and all relatively adjusted to the production of a certain effect,—the correct measurement of time. So is it, according to Bishop Butler's theory, with human nature. It is "*adapted to virtue*" *as evidently as* "*a watch is adapted to measure time.*" But, suppose the watch, by the perverse interference of some lover of mischief, to have been so thoroughly disorganized,—its moving and its subordinate parts and powers so changed in their collocation and their mutual action, that the result has become a constant tendency to go backward instead of forward, or to go backwards and forwards with irregular, fitful, ever-shifting alternation,—so as to require a complete remodelling, and especially a re-adjustment of its great moving power, to render it fit for its original purpose;—would not this be a more appropriate analogy for representing the present character of fallen man? The whole machine is out of order. The main-spring has been broken; and an antagonist power works all the parts of the mechanism. It is far from being with human nature, as Butler, by the similitude of the watch, might lead his reader to suppose. The watch, when duly adjusted, is only, in his phrase, "liable to be out of order." This might suit for an illustration of the state of human nature *at first*, when it received its constitution from its Maker. But it has lost its appropriateness *now*. That nature, alas! is not now a machine that is merely "apt to go out of order;" it *is* out of order; so radically disorganized, that the grand original power which impelled all its movements, has been broken and lost, and an unnatural power, the very opposite of it, has taken its place; so that it cannot be restored to the original harmony of its working, except by the interposition of the Omnipotence that framed it.' pp. 125, 7.

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'If human nature be in a state of depravity, conscience must partake of that depravity. If it did not, indeed, there could be no depravity. If the ruling power were right, all would be right that is subordinate. But where, I ask, in human nature now, is conscience, in the highest department of its exercise?—where is "conscience *towards God?*" What are the results of its authority?—What the actual state of things under its dictatorship? Let the speedy and universal loss of the original knowledge of the true God, answer the question. Let the polytheistic superstitions of heathenism, with all their fooleries, impurities, and ruthless cruelties,—let the sceptical theism, and the presumptuous atheism, of philosophy,—let the manifest and conscious ungodliness of the whole race of mankind,—answer the question. According to Butler, "wanton disregard and irreverence towards an infinite Being, our Creator, are by no means as suitable to the nature of man, as reverence and dutiful submission of heart towards that Almighty Being." But an abstract proposition as

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to essential fitness and propriety is a different thing from a statement of fact. We ask, what is the *matter of fact*, as to the operation of conscience in this particular? Has this presiding and ruling power in the "nature of man" been found fulfilling its appropriate function, inspiring right feelings, and dictating right practice, towards the one blessed object of reverence, and love, and homage, and obedience? Does not the entire history of our race, from the beginning hitherto, reply in the negative?—And if conscience has failed here, we must insist upon it that it has essentially failed in every thing. It has proved treacherous in regard to the very first principle of all obligation; and it carries the spirit of this treason against God into the entire administration of its perverted power.—Even in its dictates towards fellow-creatures too, how sadly is it under the domination of the appetites, and passions, and selfish desires!—how constantly liable to be swayed and bribed to wrong decisions; and how much in danger are even its right judgments of being set aside by the power of such interfering influences! It may be, and incessantly is, tampered with in a thousand ways. The question, therefore, on our present subject, comes to be—how we can be sure of an unbiassed verdict;—and how, from a nature of which the principles are so disordered, and the aberrations, especially in the highest and most essential of all departments, so prodigious, we can, with any assurance of correctness, extract the pure and primary elements of moral goodness. It is not at all, whether conscience ought or ought not to be the ruling power, and the appetites and desires, the affections and passions, in subordination to its authoritative jurisdiction. This was the original state of things; and, so long as this state continued, man, in "following nature," followed a sure guide,—a guide whose counsels, intuitively discerned, were all divine. But when, in a discussion like the present, we proceed on such a view of human nature, our argument becomes purely hypothetical. Human nature, in this view of it, has now no existence. If it had;—if it retained its original character;—if all were in the harmony of holy principle, and under the direction of an inwardly-presiding and never-resisted Deity;—we should require no discussions to determine either the principle or the rule of moral obligation. But the question is, whether in human nature, as it now is, we have sufficient data, to warrant our assuming it as a standard from which to ascertain the principles of rectitude. Here, in my apprehension, lies the principal fallacy of Butler's system. Virtue, according to him, consists in "following nature:" but then the nature to be followed is not the nature of man as it now is: or, if it be, then, as formerly hinted, the conception entertained by the theorist of the depravity of man as a fallen creature, must have been far short of the scriptural representation of it.' pp. 128—31.

Dr. Wardlaw does not of course deny that Conscience continues, in fallen human nature, to 'witness in favour of God and 'his law'. But, 'in the highest department of all, its operation,' he remarks, 'is partial, erroneous, feeble, capricious, ineffectual.' 'The moral character of man', it is added, 'consists, properly 'and directly in his *dispositions*, not in the decisions of his judge-

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'ment.' This may be admitted; but surely the respected Author uses language of very equivocal propriety, when he infers, that 'there can be nothing properly moral, therefore, in con-'science; else there must be morality in hell.' There *will be* morality there; for there will be moral knowledge, and moral consciousness, and moral suffering. But Dr. W. must mean to employ the term morality as equivalent to goodness or virtue,—a very unusual, and (we submit) inaccurate use of the word. Nor can we approve of his definition of Conscience, as the mere 'ex-'ercise of the judgement in the department of morals.' The objection urged by Dr. Payne against this definition is, we must think, unanswerable: 'My judgement pronounces the conduct of 'a friend to be wrong, but it cannot be said, that my conscience 'condemns him.' Even Bishop Butler's definition goes much beyond our Author's statement, though cited in support of his own phraseology. The Bishop's words are: 'The principle in 'man by which he approves or disapproves his heart, temper, 'and actions, is conscience.' Now self-approbation or self-condemnation is assuredly something more than a mere exercise of judgement, deciding on the right or wrong of our conduct: it includes a sense of merit or demerit, founded on a conscious responsibility for our conduct. Dr. Wardlaw asks, What is conscience in a sinless creature? We reply, the same faculty that it is in a fallen creature—*a consciousness of moral accountableness.* So far from agreeing with Dr. W., that 'the operation of what is 'usually denominated conscience, strictly and properly began' when Adam fell, we should rather say, that its operation was disturbed by his sin, and that his conscience was most perfect before his sense of accountableness to God had been obscured or overcome by temptation. What do we understand by a seared or hardened conscience, but a state of mind in which, although the perception of right and wrong is not destroyed, the sense of moral accountableness appears to have become obliterated or suspended? Remorse differs from conscience, in being a consciousness not merely of responsibility, but of guilt. A tender conscience, that is, a deep and vivid sense of accountableness to God, may consist with a very erroneous, because ill informed judgement as to right and wrong. Surely, then, conscience cannot be identical with judgement; cannot consist in it. In other words, conscience is not the mind judging of the right or wrong of our own actions, but is the mind knowing and considering that, for choosing or doing the right or the wrong, we are accountable to the Author of our being. In a holy being, this sense of accountableness, connected with conscious rectitude and the enjoyment of the Divine favour, must be an element of perfect happiness. In a sinful being, it is that which makes conscious guilt a source of torment. We recollect the late Robert Hall making this profound remark

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in a sermon upon these words, "There is no peace, saith my God, to the wicked"—'*No one in this world has reached the full susceptibility of conscience*'.

We have anticipated in some degree the subject of Lecture V., 'On the Rule of Moral Obligation', containing some of the remarks on Conscience upon which we have felt it our duty to animadvert. In a note, Dr. Wardlaw adverts to the theories of Dr. Brown and Sir James Mackintosh upon the same subject, which we agree with him in deeming altogether inaccurate and erroneous. In discussing the *rule* of moral obligation, the Author draws an important distinction between the *principle* or foundation, and the *rule* or law of moral rectitude. The latter he identifies with the will of God. 'The two propositions, that man is a subject of 'the Divine Governor, and, that the will of the Divine Governor 'is his law', he regards 'as of identically the same import'. In Lecture VI. he proceeds to consider 'the original principle of 'Moral Obligation'. The will of God, Dr. W. shews, is not the origin of the principles of rectitude, but is itself determined by them. We must give in his own language his illustration of this cardinal proposition.

'When, in tracing back existence from the simple postulate that *something now is*, we arrive at the great First Cause, the Originator of all being but its own; and with a certainty strictly demonstrative, come to the conclusion that this great First Cause is a Being that exists by an absolute necessity of nature;—we are at once sensible that we can go no further. We have reached the ultimate point, beyond which there *is* nothing, and *can be* nothing.—It is true, that when we speak of Deity as existing by an absolute necessity, we use language which involves in it a great deal more than we are capable of distinctly comprehending:—but it is not by our capacity of comprehension that we are to measure truth; it is by the results of legitimate ratiocination. The conclusions to which we are conducted, may, in their vastness and abstruseness, be full of mystery,—they may have in them "a length and breadth, and depth and height, passing knowledge,"—while yet they are so sure, that every attempt even to imagine the contrary involves us in palpable contradiction.

'Thus it is with regard to the Divine *existence*. Now the very same process of reasoning which we apply to the existence, is, with equal legitimacy, applicable to his *nature*. If he exists by an absolute necessity, then by the same necessity he not only *is*, but *is what he is*.—And, whether his nature be considered physically, intellectually, or morally, the observation is equally true. Whatever attributes belong to it, they belong to it by the same necessity that is predicated of its existence. If, therefore, in tracing back existence, we arrive at our ultimate point in Deity,—being arrested and fixed in the eternal necessity of his being; must not the same be the result, in tracing to their origin the principles of moral rectitude?—Here also, do not we

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reach our ultimate point in Deity? If we cannot go further back in regard to *being*, can we in regard to *principle*? Are we not arrested and fixed by the eternal necessity of the principles of the divine character,—the attributes or qualities of the divine nature,—just as really, and as finally, as we are by the necessity of the divine existence? It must be in the moral world as it is in the physical; with regard to virtue, as with regard to matter and mind. In tracing back existence, we come to the necessity of God's *being*; in tracing back principles, we come to the necessity of God's *character*. In neither case can we reach any further than this point of necessity. We are constrained to stop here:—and, when we have thus resolved the ultimate principles of moral rectitude in the creature, into conformity with the eternal and immutable prototype of all excellence in the nature of the Godhead, our minds repose, in delightful satisfaction, on this secure resting-place. To talk of any fitnesses of things by which, as a standard, *the rectitude of that nature itself* is to be tried and ascertained, is as inconsiderate as it is profane:—for, not only is this to suppose fitnesses existing independently of all being whatever, which is sheer absurdity; it is, at the same time, going beyond necessity, and assuming something ulterior, *according to which that which is necessary must be*: which is a plain contradiction in terms.' pp. 209—211.

We may be allowed to express our satisfaction at finding Dr. Wardlaw's sentiments upon this subject in complete harmony with those which have been maintained in this journal. Shall we be excused, if we transcribe a few sentences from a review of Professor Dewar's Moral Philosophy, which appeared nine years ago?

'That the will of God is the origin of the distinctions of right and wrong *to us*, that it is in fact *our* ultimate rule, might perhaps be admitted with safety, provided that it be borne in mind, that it cannot be the rule of the Divine conduct. The perfections of God, as Hooker finely remarks, are "a kind of law to his working; for that perfection which God is, giveth perfection to that he doth." "God, therefore, is a law both to Himself and to all other things besides". The immutability of the Divine will is the necessary consequence of the Divine perfections from which it emanates: and it follows, that the moral distinctions which are ultimately to be traced to those perfections, must also be immutable. . . . . The will of God is *our* rule, or the criterion of virtue to us, because it is the expression of the Divine character, and the medium of discovering his infinite perfections. But, as the goodness of God towards his creatures is not the only attribute of the Divine nature, it follows, that his holy will cannot be *solely* determined by his goodness, nor can the happiness of mankind be its criterion. Moreover, the Divine will is the expression *to us* of other Divine attributes, besides that perfection of goodness of which the happiness of man is the object; and therefore, when we say that his will is the *immediate* criterion of

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virtue, we must admit the ultimate criterion, that which determines the will of God, to be, not simple goodness, nor yet any end terminating in the creature,—but that ineffable perfection which includes infinite goodness in its nature, and which finds its highest end in its own exercise. "The general end of God's eternal working", says Hooker, "is the exercise of his most glorious and most abundant virtue."

'The eternal foundations of right and wrong, then, are laid in the Divine character. And, indeed, obedience to his declared will would cease to be virtue, could it be separated from those affections of heart, of which, not the will, but the character of God is the object. In other words, the essence and soul of virtue is the love of God; and all systems of morals which overlook this truth, in dissevering ethics from theology, must at once be unphilosophical and pernicious. Now, God is necessarily the perfection which he is; and virtue being the love of whatever God is,—of that necessary perfection which is the glory of God,—the nature of virtue itself must be necessary and immutable.' *

The latter part of Dr. Wardlaw's sixth lecture is occupied with an examination of President Dwight's modified theory of Utility as the foundation of Virtue, and of Paley's still more exceptionable scheme of Morals as based on Expediency. Paley's erroneous theory, apparently borrowed from Archbishop King, may be traced in part to his having been led, by the imperfect analogy between human legislation and the Divine Government, to view them as strictly parallel. The will of the legislator is the criterion of political duty; and the good of society is the criterion of all wise and upright legislation. But, although the will of God is the criterion of religious obedience, and the true foundation of moral duty, yet, neither in the motives and obligation to obedience, nor in the criterion of wisdom and rectitude, does the analogy hold good between political and moral duty, consistently with either sound philosophy or religious reverence. President Dwight combats the error of Paley, and maintains that Utility, as judged by ourselves, cannot be a proper rule of moral conduct; but he admits, that, were we omniscient, and able to discern the true nature of *all* the effects of our conduct, it might be so. 'To the 'eye of God', he affirms, 'it is the real rule'. Dr. Wardlaw shews that this assertion is both exceptionable in itself, and at variance with other statements of the learned American divine, which recognize a foundation of virtue 'in the nature of things'. Now the *nature* of things, whatever the phrase may imply, and the *tendency* of things, or their utility, are not the same thing; and yet, they are obviously confounded.

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* Eclectic Rev., 2d Series, Vol. XXV. pp. 516, 517.

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'To say, that virtue is founded in utility, and, at the same time, that virtue possesses a previous and essential nature, from which it is that this utility arises, is manifestly incorrect. It is confounding the effect with the cause,—essential properties with their appropriate results.' p. 231.

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'If, instead of representing utility as the *foundation* of the principles of moral rectitude, or as that on account of which they are to be regarded as right, the utilitarian theorists had represented it as *a manifestation of the nature and tendency of those principles*, they would have come nearer the truth. It must be obvious to every mind, that a principle may, in its nature, when put into partial exercise, be fitted to produce happiness, whilst yet the production of happiness is not that which constitutes the rectitude of the principle. While I more than hesitate to admit, that utility, or the tendency to happiness, is the ultimate principle into which moral rectitude is to be resolved, there can be no hesitation in admitting, that happiness is the direct and invariable result of the putting forth of the principles of moral rectitude on the part of the Godhead;—and, as a consequence, that, when *understood in its proper extent*, and, *estimated by a mind of capacity sufficient to comprehend that extent*, utility, though not itself constituting rectitude, becomes its legitimate and correct criterion.'

pp. 218, 219.

But 'the proper extent,' Dr. W. proceeds to explain as comprising what is 'inseparably associated with the good of the 'universe, and essential to its attainment, but still above it, first 'in order, first in magnitude,'—*the glory of God.* And the criterion of rectitude is, consequently, one, he remarks, which 'only 'the Divine mind is possessed of sufficient extension and in-'tuitive certainty of discernment' to apply. Thus guarded and explained, our Author's admission amounts to much the same as a denial of the position, that utility can be even a *criterion* of rectitude. The utilitarian will not thank him for a concession of which he can make no advantage. Dr. Wardlaw occupies safer ground, when he takes his stand upon the position, that utility is not the foundation, but the *result* of virtue or moral rectitude. God is holy, not *because* he wills the happiness of his creatures, but he wills their happiness, because he is holy; and the Divine will is a proper rule of virtue to us, not *because* he wills the good of his universe, but because his will is the expression of that Perfection which God is, and the love of which is the highest virtue of the creature.

The subject of the ensuing lecture, one of the most valuable of the series, is, 'the identity of morality and religion.' The Author here exhibits Christian Ethics in their true character; demonstrating, that love to God, which is 'obedience in the 'heart, as obedience is love in the life,' is 'the virtue of the Bible,' and the only true morality. In the next lecture, the question is examined, 'how far Disinterestedness is an essential

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'quality in legitimate love to God;' and President Edwards's 'transcendentalism' upon this point is respectfully dissented from, as having in it 'more of the metaphysics of the schools, than of the simplicity of the Bible.' We must make room for the following beautiful passage.

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'How, then, stands the case? What is the view of his character in which God actually becomes the object of love to the converted sinner? To this question I would answer in one word,—it is the view of it in which it is revealed in the cross. There the spiritually enlightened sinner sees "Mercy and Truth meeting together, Righteousness and Peace embracing each other,"—holiness in union with love, justice with grace;—and, under the agency of the regenerating Spirit, he loves God in the unbroken harmony of all his attributes, as displayed in the Redeemer's work,—the harmony of "light" and "love." The light without the love,—the purity of the Divine Nature flashing upon the mind apart from its benevolence, could only drive to despair:—the love without the light, the mere benevolence of God disunited from his essential purity, could engender no feeling but that of a selfish satisfaction in sin. But, light and love together constituting the true character of God as it is manifested in the cross, it is in this view of it that it becomes the object of love to the believing sinner. The very consideration, that the love which springs up in his bosom is love to God *as He is seen in Jesus Christ*, is of itself sufficient to shew, that it must be love to holiness as well as to goodness;—for the love displayed in Christ is *holy love*,—love so blended and incorporated with purity, that in the mind which takes a right view of the Saviour's work, the one cannot be disunited from the other. On the cross, the two inscriptions stand alike conspicuous—"God is light," and "God is love." Both are *seen* together; both are *believed* together; and the love which springs from this faith regards the Divine Being under both aspects,—comprehending at once gratitude to the God of mercy, and delight in the God of holiness. It is thus the same principle with that which rules in the bosoms of creatures that have never fallen. There is in the nature of the Divine Being what is fitted to inspire the very holiest and happiest of creatures with awe, even while they love, delight, and adore. The entire character, in all its parts, is at once the object of "reverence and godly fear," and of the purest, the most fervent, and the most confiding affection; and by the contemplation of it in the cross, both feelings are called forth into exercise, even in angelic bosoms. Were it in our power to separate these views of God;—could we give a guilty creature, in the full consciousness of his guilt, to see one side only of the manifestation,—to see the cross as the exhibition solely of the untainted purity, the undissembling truth, the unbending justice, and the avenging jealousy, of the Being with whom he has to do, the cross itself would become the mightiest instrument of torture to the awakened soul,—subjecting it to the agonies of a spiritual crucifixion,—inflicting on it the horrors of despair. But the cross, whilst it shows the holiness of God in all its purity, the justice of God in all its strictness, and the jealousy of God in all its consuming terrors, holds forth also to view the love of

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God in all its infinitude, the compassions of God in all their tenderness, the mercy of God in all its fulness and freeness:—so that, from the believing view of it there spring up, at the same moment, the emotions of affectionate fear and reverential love,—of complacent delight and thankful joy,—under the combined influence of which the happy spirit relies upon him, serves him, imitates him, enjoys him:—and in ninety-nine cases out of the hundred,—probably in nine hundred and ninety-nine out of the thousand, were the metaphysical question proposed to the simple-hearted subject of divine grace, while charmed and melted and gladdened by the new lights that have come in upon his mind, whether the love of gratitude or the love of complacency had first touched his soul,—he would be at a loss for a reply;—he would be in danger of fretting at the unwelcome interruption thrown into the delightful current of his feelings; and especially if you joined with the inquiry, the puzzle about the order of nature and the order of time:—he could only tell you, that he had seen the love of God in Christ, and that it had won and captivated his heart;—that in Christ he saw God as at once the God of grace and the God of holiness; and that he loved him for both,—for the grace of his holiness, and for the holiness of his grace,—for what He was in himself, and for what He had done for sinners!' pp. 320—323.

The concluding lecture, 'On the Peculiarities of Christian 'Obligation and Duty,' commences with some able strictures on President Edwards's theory of Virtue, which is shewn to be open to very serious and fatal objections; and in a note, Dr. Wardlaw does us the honour to refer to an article in our former Series, in which we had shewn how singularly that profound thinker had failed in the outset of his attempt to construct a moral theory *. The Lecturer then proceeds to illustrate the influence of the Gospel in producing love to God,—shewing the nature and operation of Faith, by which the mind is brought under the habitual control of the motives to trust and to obedience which the Gospel originates. In conclusion, he briefly points out the peculiar bearings of the discoveries of Revelation upon the social duties and affections; apologizing for not entering into the minuter details of Christian morals or questions of casuistry. The design of the Series was, to illustrate and establish *general principles*,—a field of quite sufficient extent; and it was errors in these, that the Author was most anxious to point out. We have already referred incidentally to the Notes and Illustrations, which form a very valuable Appendix to the Lectures.

In conclusion, we cannot refrain from congratulating the founders of the Congregational Lecture upon this highly gratifying

* See Ecl. Rev. 2d Series. Vol. XIX. pp. 99 et seq. In that article, the reader will also find an examination of Bp. Butler's not less defective theory of Virtue. See also E. R. 3d Series. Vol. VI. p. 289. (Oct. 1831.)

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commencement of their Series; and to the much respected Author we tender our warmest thanks for a volume which is adapted to reflect honour upon the denomination of which he is an ornament, and to do good service to the cause of Christian Philosophy.

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Art. III. *Poems, chiefly Religious.* By the Rev. H. F. Lyte, A.M. 12mo. pp. 165. London, 1833.

WE have had occasion to pronounce a more favourable opinion of Mr. Lyte's poetical talents, as displayed in his former productions*, than would be borne out by this volume of miscellaneous poems; and we will not retract it. The Author of the following stanzas, which breathe the soul of poetry, shall enjoy immunity from our criticisms.

'ON A NAVAL OFFICER BURIED IN THE ATLANTIC.

'There is, in the wide, lone sea,
A spot unmarked, but holy;
For there the gallant and the free
In his ocean bed lies lowly.

'Down, down, within the deep,
That oft to triumph bore him,
He sleeps a sound and pleasant sleep,
With the salt waves washing o'er him.

'He sleeps serene, and safe
From tempest or from billow,
Where the storms, that high above him chafe,
Scarce rock his peaceful pillow.

'The sea and him in death
They did not dare to sever:
It was his home while he had breath;
'Tis now his rest for ever.

'Sleep on, thou mighty dead!
A glorious tomb they've found thee—
The broad blue sky above thee spread,
The boundless waters round thee.

'No vulgar foot treads here;
No hand profane shall move thee;
But gallant fleets shall proudly steer,
And warriors shout, above thee.

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* Ecl. Rev. Vol. XVI. p. 143. Art. *Henry Schultze*, a Tale, with other Poems, 1821. Ib. Vol. XXVI. p. 269. Art. Lyte's *Tales in Verse*, 1826.

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'And when the last trump shall sound,
And tombs are asunder riven,
Like the morning sun from the wave thou'lt bound,
To rise and shine in heaven.'

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The most beautiful poem in the volume is one which we hope we may consider as an effort of imagination, and, as such, a happy one, for it has the pathos of reality. It is entitled, 'Sad Thoughts,' —sad indeed, were they real. The thoughts that burn and flash in the following stanzas are such as might almost heal the wound of disappointed love: they seem the genuine inspiration of the mountain breeze and the Alpine landscape.

'THE ALPS.

'The Alps—the Alps—the joyous Alps,
Are all around me heaving high;
I bow me to their snowy scalps,
That rush into the sky.

'Hail, lordly land of storm and strife,
To poetry and wonder dear!
'Tis worth an age of common life,
To feel as I do here.

'To look down on that deep-blue lake;
To look up in that glorious sky;
To feel my soul within me wake,
And ask for wings to fly:

'To bound the airy heights along;
Above the floating clouds to stand;
And meet Creation's God, among
The wonders of His hand.

'Hail, scenes of holy grandeur! hail!
Where mortal sense stands hushed and awed.
O, who could gaze on such, and fail
To think of Thee, my God?

'Alone and dread Thou dwellest here,
The source and soul of all I see.
I look around in joy and fear,
And feel I am with Thee!

'I see Thee on the mountain sit,
At summer's noon, sublime and still;
Or in the giant shadows flit
Along from hill to hill.

'I read thy presence and thy power
In each eternal rock I meet;
I trace thy love in every flower
That blossoms at my feet.

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'Thou speakest from each rolling cloud
That pours its stormy mirth on high,
When cliff to cliff is shouting loud,
Responsive to the sky.

'Thy voice at night is in the sound
Of sinking glaciers, rushing rills,
And avalanches thundering round
Among the startled hills.

'The mountain mists, in all their moods,
The snows by earthly feet untrod,
The fells, the forests, and the floods,
Are all instinct with God.

'O regions wonderful and wild,
Sublimity's inspiring home,
Scenes I have dreamt of since a child,
And longed as now to roam!

'And I am here! and I may range
Your length and breadth without control,
And feel a world all new and strange
Break in upon my soul!

'Hail, mountain monarchs! hail! Again
Before your reverend feet I bow:
How poor is language to explain
The thoughts that fill me now!'

'*Il ne faut pas dédaigner*,' remarks Mde. de Stael, '*dans quelque tristesse qu'on soit plongé, les dons primitifs du Créateur; la vie et la nature. ... L'existence est en elle-même une chose merveilleuse. L'on voit souvent les malades n'invoquer qu'elle. Les sauvages sont heureux seulement de vivre. Les consolations philosophiques ont moins d'empire que les jouissances causées par la spectacle de la terre et du ciel.*' The above stanzas form a beautiful commentary upon these striking sentiments. It is true, that physical consolations, if we may use the expression, are of more virtue than philosophical ones: they are the next best to what are infinitely better, spiritual ones. But when these are superinduced upon the primary gifts of the 'Creator, life and 'nature,' then it is that existence is felt to be indeed 'a marvellous 'thing,' and that the works of God inspire the full emotion they are adapted to produce. How joyous is the sentiment with which the Royal Psalmist dwells upon the spectacle of creation! "O Lord, how manifold are thy works! in wisdom hast Thou made them all: the earth is full of thy riches!" Till, at length, he seems to concentrate his feelings in the vow of gratitude: "I will sing praise to my God while I have my being; my meditation of Him shall be sweet; I will be glad in the Lord." (Psal. civ.)

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Mr. Lyte has announced a volume under the title of "The Spirit of the Psalms." If it shall answer to the *import* of the title, it will be indeed a delightful volume, for how little of the spirit of the Psalms is there in either our psalmody or our poetry! But we should not be much surprised at finding that the Author has caught and given utterance to more of that spirit in some of the poems in this volume, than in the entire result of his attempt at 'condensing' it in his versification of the Psalter.

The more strictly devotional poems in this volume are evidently the unelaborated effusions of piety; but the religious Poet will do well to bear in mind a sentiment of the admirable Philip Henry, who assigned as a reason for bestowing laborious preparation upon sermons designed for the plainest and most unlettered audience, that he would not present to God what had cost him nothing. Some of these poems, though excellent in the quality of the sentiment, have evidently cost little. This would seem to be the case where, in stanzas requiring alternate rhymes, the rhyme is disregarded in the first and third lines. Not only is the ear disappointed, but the mind resents the want of skill or of pains which it indicates. We must also express our conscientious objection against the employment of our Lord's human name, without any adjunct, in either invoking or speaking of him whom his own disciples called "The Lord." No precedents can reconcile to our feelings or judgement such forms of expression as

'Till I find them for ever in Jesus's breast.'

And,

'My soul shall dwell where Jesus is.'

St. Paul's language is: "To depart and be with *Christ*,"—"So shall we ever be with *the Lord*,"—"In the presence of *our Lord Jesus Christ*."

But these are slight flaws, such as only critical eyes, perhaps, would detect or be offended by, in a volume which will delight every reader of taste and piety, and improve all to whom it yields delight. Waiving any further criticism, from which, indeed, we had intended altogether to abstain, we shall close our brief notice with another specimen, which we think will sustain our cordial commendation of the volume.

'EVENING.

'Sweet evening hour! sweet evening hour!
That calms the air, and shuts the flower;
That brings the wild bee to its nest,
The infant to its mother's breast.

'Sweet hour! that bids the labourer cease;
That gives the weary team release,
And leads them home, and crowns them there
With rest and shelter, food and care.

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'O season of soft sounds and hues,
Of twilight walks among the dews,
Of feelings calm, and converse sweet,
And thoughts too shadowy to repeat!

'The weeping eye that loathes the day,
Finds peace beneath thy soothing sway;
And faith and prayer, o'er-mastering grief,
Burst forth, and bring the heart relief.

'Yes, lovely hour! thou art the time
When feelings flow, and wishes climb;
When timid souls begin to dare,
And God receives and answers prayer.

'Then, trembling through the dewy skies,
Look out the stars, like thoughtful eyes
Of angels, calm reclining there,
And gazing on this world of care.

'Then, as the earth recedes from sight,
Heaven seems to ope her fields of light,
And call the fettered soul above,
From sin and grief, to peace and love.

'Sweet hour! for heavenly musing made,
When Isaac walked, and Daniel prayed;
When Abram's offering God did own,
And Jesus loved to be alone.

'Who has not felt that Evening's hour
Draws forth devotion's tenderest power;
That guardian spirits round us stand,
And God himself seems most at hand?

'The very birds cry shame on men,
And chide their selfish silence, then:
The flowers on high their incense send,
And earth and heaven unite and blend.

'Let others hail the rising day;
I praise it when it fades away;
When life assumes a higher tone,
And God and heaven are all my own.'

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Art. IV. 1. *An Address delivered on laying the first Stone of the New King's Weigh-house, a Place of Worship intended for the Use of a Congregational Church.* By T. Binney. 4to., 1*s.* 6*d.* London, 1833.

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2. *The Case of the Dissenters,* in a Letter addressed to the Lord Chancellor. 8vo., pp. 64. Price 1*s.* 6*d.* London, 1833.

3. *Seven Letters on National Religion,* addressed to the Rev. Henry Melvill, A.M., late Fellow and Tutor of St. Peter's College, Cambridge. By Charles Smith, B.D., Fellow and Tutor of St. John's College, Cambridge. 8vo., pp. 304. Price 7*s.* 6*d.* London, 1833.

4. *The Principle of Voluntary Churches, not the Principle of an Establishment, proved to be the real Origin of Romish and Priestly Domination,* an Historical Essay. By James Gibson, A.M., Assistant to the Rev. Dr. Lockhart. 8vo., pp. 96. Price 1*s.* Glasgow, 1833. [Published under the Superintendence of the Glasgow Association for promoting the Interests of the Church of Scotland.]

5. *Considerations on Civil Establishments of Religion;* with an Appendix, containing Remarks on Dr. Inglis's Vindication. By H. Heugh, D.D. Third Edition. 12mo., pp. 98. Price 1*s.* Glasgow, 1833.

6. *On the Causes, Influence, and Prospects of the Secession,* in Connection with the Prospects of the Church of Scotland. By the Rev. William Mackray, A.M., Stirling. 8vo., pp. 47. Glasgow, 1833.

7. *The First Blast of the Trumpet* against the Monstrous Usurpation of Church-Patrons in Scotland. By John Knox, the Younger. 8vo., pp. 44. Price 1*s.* Edinburgh, 1833.

HOW fond soever men have in all ages appeared to be of fighting for abstract principles, points of faith, metaphysical distinctions,—the idols of intellect, the watchwords of party,—yet, it will always be found that the real cause and origin of such polemic or political disputes, lie deeper than the ostensible subject of contention;—that they relate to some actual grievance. Under an excited state of feeling, the mind disdains to be tied down to the palpable and the definite, and *idealises*, if we may so speak, the object of its passionate regard, which then becomes the nucleus of a thousand indefinite associations. Thus it is that people seem to be philosophically quarrelling about general propositions, or fighting for pure abstractions, Orthodoxy, Episcopacy, Independence, Country, Church and State, the Voluntary Principle,—when the truth is, that the real cause of the excitement is something which comes much more closely home to the business and bosoms. It has been justly remarked, that no people were ever found to give trouble to their Rulers, unless under the pressure of extortion or intolerance, or, in more familiar

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phrase, unless pinched either in their pockets or in their consciences. There may be a few turbulent spirits, intriguing politicians, disappointed younger brothers, who shall succeed in doing, perhaps, a little temporary mischief; but the mass of the people are quiet, and are not easily lashed into commotion, except when they are starving, or when their money is taken from them without law or reason, or when their household interests, among which religion ranks as the chief and the safeguard of the rest, are sacrilegiously invaded by intolerance or oppression.

What was it that gave to the question of Parliamentary Reform its all-absorbing interest? Only a small portion of the nation might seem to have had any direct interest in the object; comparatively few had any distinct notion of what they clamoured for; and it might be easy to place in a ridiculous light the intense excitement which the subject occasioned, and the vague and unreasonable expectations it awakened. But, for half a century, the nation had been smothering feelings of growing dissatisfaction against the profligate system of government by patronage and corruption, which had continually added to the public burdens, and perpetuated the most flagrant abuses; and if Reform might seem but an empirical remedy, the evils which prompted the general desire of relief were substantial and great. Well was it for the country, that the full tide of popular feeling, which had long been threatening to burst its bounds, could be turned into this constitutional channel, and directed to the purification, instead of the subversion of our glorious institutions. But Parliamentary Reform was not an imaginary remedy. It let in *hope*, which is itself relief. It recognised the claims of the people to be protected by their representatives. And it has made it the interest both of the present and of future Administrations to consult the popular interests.

Had they been imaginary grievances which prompted the anxiety for the reform of Parliament, that splendid measure of enlightened legislation might have been deemed sufficient redress. But while that measure has given vent to political agitation, and readjusted, as it were, the safety-valve of the Constitution, it has not repaired the wrongs which the nation have been suffering at the hands of the Twin Giant Usurpers, Corruption and Monopoly. Corporation Reform, Law Reform, Church Reform *must* follow;—must, not because the people are strong, but because they are in the right; not because they have numerical force on their side, for that might be dealed with by intellectual superiority and political skill, but because they have reason, justice, and conscience too.

What is it that has excited the national determination in favour of Church Reform, or rather, the prevalent hostility against the Church Establishment? Assuredly no abstract principle or ima-

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ginary grievance. It has not originated with the Dissenters; it has not sprung from Dissent. First, there has been the heavy grievance of the tithe system and all its vexatious accompaniments, pressing with augmented weight upon the diminished profits of industry; and upon the sore feeling thus occasioned has been superinduced the discovery, at which the people of England seem suddenly to have arrived by the simple use of their own eyes, that the Church Establishment is a very costly, ill-administered, and inefficient piece of machinery for its professed purpose, characterized by all the vices of the feudal system, and open to all the objections chargeable upon a corporation monopoly.

The Protestant Dissenters of England, we say, have had little or no share in bringing about that revolution in public feeling which threatens the very foundations of the Establishment. Their opinions were known, by all who cared to know them, to be in opposition alike to the exclusive claims and to the policy of ecclesiastical Establishments; but they excited little attention or regard. The movement in favour of church reform has not proceeded from any class of dissidents. It is quite evident, as remarked by the author of the very able exposition of "The Case of the Dissenters," that they have had no hand in originating it; for 'hitherto, with the exception of Scotland, they have been both 'silent and still.'

'They may have memorialized the Ministers on some particular evil; but they have declined to publish even such memorial to the world. At this moment, their whole case is neither before the Public nor the Government. Many may blame them for not having spoken *earlier;* none can blame them for speaking *now*. It is a crisis they have not made: it is a crisis they must not neglect.'

Had there even been no great body of Dissenters in the kingdom, the standing grievance of the Tithe must have brought on before long the crisis of the Establishment. 'A more *unfor-* 'tunate property,' to cite the language of the late Law Professor of King's College, 'could not have been conferred on the Church; 'not only as it is *a property increasing in value, in modern* 'times, in an undue degree compared with other property; 'but as communicating an amount of power, interference, and 'secular importance, highly hostile to the character of the clergy 'as teachers of religion, and offensive to those over whom it is 'exercised, in right not of private property, but of public function, 'of a nature purporting to be the most opposed to the worldly-'mindedness of lucre and power.' In other words, it is an unfortunate property, because its arbitrary and variable nature stamps it with the character of extortion;—because its augmentation has been not only disproportionate, but unattended by any corresponding increase of benefit to the community;—and be-

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cause the real labourer, the working curate, reaps no advantage from this barbarous and intolerable tax upon productive industry. The scandalous injustice of the curate system has been only rendered the more palpable and striking by the improved respectability of that order of clerical stipendiaries; and in many cases, the piety of the more respectable portion of the church-going population has been offended at once by the rapacity of the incumbent and the pauperism of his substitute and drudge. Pluralities, non-residence, and the tithe-law, especially as administered by the proctor, together compose, in harmonious conjunction, the most odious and iniquitous system that was ever legalised. To pretend that Religion either lends it her sanction, or derives advantage from it, is an insult to Christianity. The Fellow of St. Peter's honestly admits, that the priests of Juggernaut would have as good a right to the tithe, if invested with this national portion 'by an act of the King and the Great Council of the 'realm,' as the clergy have now. 'Even by a Christian,' he says, 'must the same tithes be paid, however he regret that a 'mode of payment ordained by God himself, should be dese-'crated to the service of national idolatry.' So that, should Parliament re-invest the Roman Catholic Church of Ireland with the tithe, it will, according to this Writer, be the duty of Lord Roden and all others 'cheerfully' to pay the same. And their comfort will be, that, 'as an idol is nothing in the world, obedience 'to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, is indeed a most 'solemn thing.' So again, as to Church-rates, a mode of payment quite as much ordained by God as the tithe, Mr. Smith says:

'This payment, one among others in return for civil privileges and national protection, is made, whether the building be the Church of Christ or a temple of Juggernaut, and the principle of rebellion is equally involved in its evasion and resistance.' Only... '*if our Church be part of the Church of Christ*, to rebellion in these matters is added apostacy.' p. 103.

Government have clearly Mr. Smith's own consent to tax him for any thing. But neither his theology nor his law will go down with the British people of the nineteenth century. The question is not what private persons are warranted in withholding, but what Parliament would do right to decree in this matter. The nation may, it is admitted by this Writer, recall its lands and tithes; and in such case, it would be the duty of the clergy, according to his argument, to submit, 'in patience of hope' to the powers that be! Nay, who can doubt the meekness and apostolic charity of this churchman, after reading the following passage?

'If need be, let us *with this joy* (in our calling) betake ourselves at once to the tent-making of the Apostle;—if, haply, by thus appearing

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in the garb familiar to heathen persecution, we may persuade these our weak brethren to discern better the blessedness of the Word and Sacraments as we apostolically administer them.' p. 102.

Risum teneatis amici? A Cambridge fellow betaking himself to tent-making is a good joke. But who would imagine, on reading such a passage as this, that millions of the people of England are cheerfully supporting by their voluntary contributions, their own ministers of the word and sacraments; and that those very ministers who thus appear in the apostolic garb, not of tent-makers, but of preachers of the Gospel living of the Gospel, are looked down upon with contempt because they are not of the tithe-endowed Church? We must, however, transcribe the paragraph which immediately follows the above rhetorical flourish.

'But tithes are *conditionally* assigned, and the nation duly superintends an interchange of labour, manual and spiritual, between those whose labour is of the body and of the mind: *if the interchange be not reciprocal,* if the spiritual sower sow not his spiritual things, and be not occupied therein to the full supply of the spiritual wants committed to his charge, then assuredly the apostolical direction is as applicable to his punishment as to the case of any other indolent member of the body politic: "This we commanded you, that if any would not work, neither should he eat."' p. 101.

Excellently said! And the manner in which the Apostolical direction is enforced in the Church of England, is one of the many proofs of her close resemblance to the primitive Church, and of her peculiar claim to the epithet apostolic. Dissenters who reap none of the spiritual things of the tithe-receivers, would seem, on the above stated principle of reciprocity, to be fairly entitled to claim exemption from supplying of their temporal things. But then, Mr. S. adds, 'the tithe-payer is not the superintendent of this reciprocal supply of spiritual and temporal wants,' but the nation. Granted; and the matter is about to be brought before the great inquest of the nation, where this golden principle of reciprocity, and of making the work and pay correspond, will, we trust, receive the more attention from being thus authoritatively promulgated from the walls of St. Peter's College.

The tithe-system, although long felt as a grievance, would nevertheless have maintained itself in this country, in all probability, for another fifty years, had not the Irish people, wearied out by oppression, assumed at length an attitude of resistance to the exactions of that Church which they regard as at once foreign and heretical. In Ireland, the distinction between a National Religion and a State Religion is broadly illustrated. There, the alliance of Church and State has hitherto been complete, and its fruits have ripened under the golden beams of Protestant ascendancy. The

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Church Establishment has been maintained there, not for the benefit of the nation, for the national church is the Romish, but avowedly for political purposes. Lord Roden is reported to have used these remarkable words in the House of Lords, on presenting a petition against the Government plan of education, on the 20th of March last: 'The Protestants have been *the 'English garrison in Ireland*, since the time of Henry VIII.' The Irish Church Establishment is an integral part of this garrison system. The Protestant clergy are represented by an apologist for that church, the Rev. Mr. Newland, as being, from the reign of William III. up to the Union, confessedly too much engaged in political warfare and secular enterprise. 'They 'were,' he says, 'considered as invaders, living in pitched tents 'in an enemy's country.' Every barrier raised against Popery in Ireland, it has been remarked, has been at the same time a limit to the spread of Protestantism, which has garrisoned the country, but never conquered it. Up to the walls of the churches, 'those melancholy fortresses of the Establishment,' the country has remained in the hands of the enemy. Meanwhile, the wealth of the clergy has gone on augmenting with the decline of Protestantism; and as rents have risen, as tillage has extended, as the population has increased, the peasantry have become more and more depressed, and more and more alienated from the landlord's church, as that church has grown richer and richer, till it has acquired the inglorious pre-eminence of being 'the greatest eccle-'siastical enormity of Europe.' The large extent of the parishes, which had been laid out on a scale suited to a thinly scattered population and to pasture farms, when those pastures were turned into corn-fields, promoted the beneficed clergy into the rank of landholders; raising them to a position in society above the class of small gentry, who lingered in the country, only because their incomes were not sufficient to enable them to quit it. Thus elevated above their proper sphere, the clergy became transformed into a class of magistrates and country gentlemen; and their neglected congregations, separated from them by a still widening interval, gradually fell away, and were incorporated with those of the Romish clergy. The faster, however, the people have fallen off from the Establishment, the more vigorously their rulers have gone on building churches, to adorn the landscape, where they appear as trophies, or rather mausolea of the Protestant faith. Like the Grecian temples, these picturesque edifices are designed to be looked at from without; few enter the sacred precincts, but the priest. 'There have been churches, and resident 'ministers too, in many parishes, time out of mind,' says Mr. O'Driscol, 'where there are yet no Protestants;—churches built 'or building in numerous places, in which there is to be, perhaps 'sometimes a service, but never congregations, and where it has

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'happened that a military force has occasionally been necessary 'to protect the builders from the assaults of the flock. Meek 'flock! happy shepherds!' And so long as funds were to be had out of the First Fruits, and a church-building-rate could be levied on the Catholic peasantry, this propagation of Protestantism by brick and mortar, this ornamental spire-building, went briskly forward. In 1826, there were applications to the Board for grants to build fifty-eight new churches, which were refused only for want of funds! Mr. Newland affirms, that, in the diocese of Armagh alone, there are nearly as many churches now, as there were in the whole island in 1792. And for whose benefit? At whose cost? The Irish Establishment does not embrace within its pale more than a sixteenth of the population. In Ulster, indeed, where, more than in any other part of Ireland, the 'clear-'ance of the Episcopalian clergy had', we are told, 'been effectual 'in the days of the Stuarts', Protestantism has taken root. There, and there alone, it is the religion of the people. But there, the majority of Protestants are Dissenters from the Establishment, and worship in buildings without spires; and their ministers have no participation in that fatal boon, the tithe, which has been the curse and blight of Protestantism in Ireland. By too many advocates of the Church and State system, however, it would be deemed far better that the bulk of the Irish should remain Papists, than become Presbyterian or Independent Dissenters.

Such is the working of the Establishment in Ireland! Now 'the authority of a church establishment', Paley tells us, 'is 'founded on its utility; and whenever', he adds, 'upon this 'principle, we deliberate concerning the form, propriety, or com-'parative excellency of different Establishments, the single view 'under which we ought to consider any of them is, that of *a* '*scheme of instruction*; the single end we ought to propose by 'them, is the *preservation and communication of religious* '*knowledge*. Every other idea, and every other end, that have 'been mixed with this, as the making of the church an engine, 'or even an ally of the State; converting it into the means of 'strengthening or diffusing influence, or regarding it as a support 'of regal, in opposition to popular forms of government; have 'served only to debase the institution, and to introduce into it 'numerous corruptions and abuses.' If this be the only proper view of an Ecclesiastical Establishment, we are warranted in saying, that, in Ireland, the result of the Church Establishment has been an absolute failure. As a scheme of instruction, as an instrument of propagating religious knowledge, it has proved of no utility; not simply inefficient, but mischievous, by having perpetuated degrading and irritating civil distinctions, and by fortifying the Papist in his prejudices against the abhorred faith which

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he has judged of by its fruits—the penal laws, the tithe, and the vestry cess. But if Paley's view of the subject be objected to, and the advocate of Ecclesiastical Establishments prefer the *garrison* hypothesis, which contemplates the Church as an engine of political influence; still, the utility of the Establishment is more than questionable. If it be contended that the Irish clergy, though of a different creed from their parishioners, have been serviceable as a resident gentry, it is obvious that this end would have been far better answered, had the Romish Church been left in possession of her original property. If, with David Hume, another advocate of Ecclesiastical Establishments, it be maintained, that 'the interested diligence of the clergy is what every wise legislator will study to prevent;' and 'that, in reality, the most decent and advantageous composition which the civil magistrate can make with the spiritual guides of the people, is to bribe their indolence by assigning stated salaries to their profession, and rendering it superfluous for them to be further active than merely to prevent their flock from straying in quest of new pastors;'—the experiment must be admitted to have but too fatally succeeded; but, in order to its proving beneficial, the composition ought to have been made with the Popish priests. If, with Adam Smith, it be argued, that 'where there is an established or governing religion, the sovereign can never be secure, unless he has the means of influencing, in a considerable degree, the greater part of the teachers of that religion' *,—the insecurity of the State in Ireland is at once explained by the *political* mistake that has been made in confining the influence of the Crown to the teachers of that religion which, though the governing or Government religion, does not govern the people. If the religion of the majority is that which claims to be established and endowed, then the established religion of Ireland ought to be that of the Romish Church. Can we wonder that the mere secular politician should come to this conclusion? The Earl of Mansfield, in opposing the Irish Church Reform Bill, is reported to have avowed, that 'he would infinitely prefer seeing the Roman Catholic religion established in Ireland, as the Presbyterian was in Scotland, to the passing of that Bill'. That is, he would prefer an Established Church of any religion, to any religion without an Establishment. Doubtless, many noble Lords hold a similar political

* 'In a country where the law favoured the teachers of no one religion more than another', the sovereign, it is admitted, 'would have no occasion to give himself any concern about them, further than to keep the peace among them in the same manner as among the rest of his subjects; that is, to hinder them from persecuting, abusing, or oppressing one another. But *it is quite otherwise where there is an established or governing religion.*' Wealth of Nations, Book V. c. 1.

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faith. Can we be surprised then, that the Irish themselves think that their creed ought to be the established one? According to the theory of an Establishment, it ought to be. We see no escape from the inference, but by denying the expediency or the equity of establishing any. That Protestantism would have spread more and taken deeper root among the people of Ireland, had the Established Church of Ireland, the State religion, been Roman Catholic, we think highly probable. We cannot, however, look at the matter merely as politicians: at all events, we are not politicians of Earl Mansfield's school. We confess that we prefer Religion without an Establishment, under all circumstances, to an Established Church of any religion; more especially, then, of a false religion, or the corruption of the true. We do not deny the power of the Legislature to establish Popery, whether in Ireland or in Canada; or, to borrow Mr. Smith's parallel, its legal competency to endow the priests of Jaggernaut, whether with a pilgrim tax, a *jagheer*, or a Mahratta tithe. But we deny the wisdom, justice, state expediency, or moral utility of such legislation.

In Ireland, the utility of an Ecclesiastical Establishment has been brought to a fair test; and the issue has forced upon the British nation the consideration of the abstract question, which might otherwise have been left to slumber, except as occasionally mooted in the harmless pages of the polemic. The Dissenters of England have not brought on the discussion; nor is it *they* who have, by identifying the Established Church of England with that of Ireland, involved the ultimate fate of both in the political argument. No, it is the advocates of the hierarchy who have, with more heroism than prudence, staked their cause upon this issue. 'It seems somewhat ominous for the cause of Ecclesiasti-'cal Establishments in this country', remarks Dr. Heugh, in his masterly pamphlet, 'that they are so linked with one another.

'Were one so small, relatively to the empire, and so moderately expensive, as the Scottish, and which probably includes a majority of the people in this quarter, alone in question, it might, possibly, be endured for generations. But we have the huge English Establishment, with its bishops sitting where they ought not, and uniting with the most disliked of the Peerage against the people and its own anointed king, and its detested tithes, and its obnoxious clergy, and its dissatisfied and half-revolting people from the Church in which they remain. We have the Irish Establishment, the laughing-stock of Europe, regarded as a morbid incubus by the restless people of the island on which it is placed, and now in the process of being *cognosced* by the British parliament. These all make common cause. The Church of Scotland will not now lift her voice against Episcopacy, as she did in the olden time. Then, it was "abjured prelacy": now, it is "the venerable hierarchy". Nor will she tell the King, sitting in the Assembly by

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his Commissioner, that it is daring presumption to claim to be head of any church on earth, and that, as he values the permanence of his throne, he should renounce a presumption so offensive in the eyes of Him who is King of kings, and Lord of lords. No, this cannot be. These are not times to agitate after this fashion, the friends of Establishments believe and feel. What will be the result of this perilous coalition?'

In Scotland, the predicament of the Established Church is, in one respect, the reverse of that of the Irish: it is no longer the church of the aristocrasy. In Ireland, if the majority of the people are attached to Popery, the wealthier minority profess to adhere to Reformed Episcopacy: in Scotland, Mr. Douglas tells us, 'the wealth of the country has long been Episcopalian'. Yet, notwithstanding the meanness of the dower, the State-alliance has proved not less fatal to the independence and the purity of the Church. 'We have', says Mr. Douglas, 'the bare walls of an 'Established Church, but the living stones are in every sense 'absent. The population of the country have gone elsewhere.' The United Secession Church, which has recently celebrated the completion of its Centenary, now numbers more than 400 congregations within its communion, 'besides the numerous and re-'spectable bodies in Ireland and America, which, originating in 'the labours of Seceders, continue to maintain their principles.'* And while the non-established Churches, Presbyterian and Episcopal, are thus disputing with the Scottish Establishment, pre-eminence in moral and political strength, to say nothing of the Congregational Body in Scotland, who are rapidly rising in respectability,—all supporting, by voluntary contributions, their own ministers,—the better part of those who remain faithful to the Established Church, are beginning to discover, that repairs are needful in the dilapidated structure, in order to render it much longer tenantable, which would probably cost as much as taking it down. In Scotland, as in England, the cry for Church Reform proceeds from *within* the Establishment. There, 'the 'arrogant and domineering usurpation of lay patronage', is deemed 'the crying abomination'. 'At this moment', says Dr. Heugh, 'this evil is denounced by many of the best men in the 'Church of Scotland as unscriptural and sinful.

'But what follows? Is this "sinful and unscriptural thing" renounced at all costs? Is entrance into the pastoral relation, or connexion with the State itself, declined, rather than comply with this invasion of the rights of the Christian people, this "sinful and unscriptural usurpation in the church;"—rather than do this "evil that good may come?" No such thing. What has been, *in practice*, exists

* Speech of the Rev. Dr. Brown. Patriot, Dec. 24.

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in practice as ever. The king, the town council, the private lay patron, repeat the evil as they were accustomed to do; congregations bow to it, ministers of the Gospel coincide with it, in receiving gratefully the patron's grant as the necessary pre-requisite to the call, or the induction; and the church puts herself into the abject condition of a petitioner to the legislature, to redress an evil which she should abolish herself. How much more dignified, how much more scriptural, to sever by one act the connection, from which nothing but evil has resulted, or will result; and thus at once to lay the axe to the root, in place of cropping the twigs, or lopping off some of the branches. In this way alone, it is probable, will the evil ever be cured; for an Established Church without royal or aristocratical patronage, is an anomaly of which history affords no record.' *Heugh*, pp. 65, 6.

The state of things in Scotland, as regards church-patronage, is thus further exposed in a pamphlet, the writer of which is opposed to 'the Voluntary Principle'; professing that he has 'never yet met with any thing at all approximating to a valid 'objection to the expediency of the venerable Establishment of 'that country, or of any other moderately, but competently en-'dowed church.' But he thinks, that it would be expedient to concede to the laity the privilege of nominating their own pastors.

'This privilege, however, lay patronage has wickedly usurped. It takes that matter entirely into its own hands, and impiously decrees, that, till it has inspected and backed his credentials, the ambassador of the Most High shall not enter upon the duties of his benevolent mission, and the perishing sinner shall have no opportunity of listening to the gracious overtures of divine mercy. Quite in keeping, also, with this daring impiety, it further decrees, that the patronage of a parish is a civil right, and may, of course, be held by a civil tenure, and that, accordingly, such patronage may be held by any person entitled to hold civil property; by either a male or a female; a member of the Church of Scotland, or merely one who, without attaching himself to any religious party, approves of the doctrine and discipline of that Church; a Protestant Dissenter or an Independent; an Episcopalian or a Papist; the wildest Sectary, or even an Infidel. And as all these may thus hold the patronage of our Churches, so they may also exercise it. Papists, who were long and jealously excluded from all civil power in this country—and Papists alone—are still excluded from the direct exercise of such patronage: these, however, after all, like the masked assassin, may, through the medium of a commissioner of their own choosing, aim a deadly blow at the liberties of our church.

'One would naturally think that a tame submission to its tyrannical dictates, on the part of the laity, might have very well contented the domineering spirit of lay patronage; such a measure of popular humiliation, however, is not enough for that purpose; the laity are also called upon to hug their spiritual fetters. For this purpose, as often as a new minister has been appointed to a vacant parish, the people are regularly invited to sign a document, called a concurrence,

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expressing not simply acquiescence in, but positive approbation of, the appointment. The egregiousness of this mockery will be more apparent, when we call to mind that, whether any such concurrence should be signed or not, the appointment to which it relates must be completed. In the case of an unacceptable presentee, any available remedy would be of a very partial nature; no doubt, a more acceptable person might be nominated by the Presbytery, or by the people with its permission; still, as the Presbytery could induct its own presentee to the spiritual charge only, and as the civil law would sustain the title of the spiritually-rejected presentee to the living, and as, consequently, there would be no special provision for the real pastor, the people would be under the necessity of providing for both. But from all danger of any such heavy infliction, we are happily saved, by the wisdom and prudence of our Church-courts, which always succeed in their benevolent endeavours to make every living accompany the cure of souls to which it is specially attached.

'When the purest institution may be perverted, one essentially vile must be peculiarly liable to abuse. Accordingly, could any thing possibly aggravate its innate impiety and daring presumption, it would be the way in which lay patronage is, we fear, but too frequently exercised. Nor is there any one form of that arrogant and domineering usurpation of which this may not be affirmed. The Secretary of the Home Department, who has the disposal of the extensive church-patronage vested in the crown, in appointing a pastor to any particular church, pays little regard to clerical merit, and still less, if possible, to popular edification. But, in the eyes of a Cabinet-Minister, what are either, or even both, of these objects, in comparison of gratifying some staunch parliamentary supporter of every government measure. This important personage, again, in his turn, has some political friend to oblige; members of the Lower House, especially, find the gift of a church a convenient mode of rewarding the political services of some influential constituent, who has an unappointed or a poorly-appointed clerical relation or friend. The numerous livings in the proper gift of our leading nobility and gentry, furnish additional means of extending and consolidating their political and local influence. The great have their family-tutors; these must, in every case, be persons of the most accommodating disposition; learning is not always a necessary recommendation, and, as to real and decided piety, none, save old fashioned families, ever think of insisting upon it; but, whatever the tutor may be, the parish manse affords a ready asylum for his old age. Were it not for the occasional detection of some ill-managed case of simony, some persons would think it uncharitable to suppose that any one could be so very wicked as to purchase a living; but, for our own part, we cannot comprehend why patrons should not be permitted to take money for a presentation as well as to barter it for any political or other commodity.

'Church-patronage, besides, like any other property, may be held by distinct proprietors, and, accordingly, in many cases, it is so held. When the patrons are only two in number, such as, for example, the crown and a subject, or two subjects, or a collective body and an individual subject, or two collective bodies, the right of presentation is

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alternately exercised by each, and is, consequently, as liable to abuse as when it is vested in either singly. Town-Councils, by an occasional church appointment, do what they can to sustain their wonted and well-earned reputation for jobbing. Even Heads of Universities are not always so disinterested as to give away a church merely to reward piety or even learning. But the most wildly-luxuriant form of lay patronage is, when it is vested in Incorporations at large, or in the whole of the Heritors of a parish; here its exercise from the rancour and malice it unavoidably calls forth, bears a more striking resemblance to a contested election of the Deacon of some thriving Trade, than to the choice of a spiritual overseer, and for particular instances of this scandalous conduct, we have only to refer to the unfortunate and far-famed parishes of Calder and Rutherglen, both in the presbytery of Glasgow. The present Sir Robert Peel, during his home-Secretary-ship, uniformly presented the clergyman most acceptable to the majority of Heritors in a vacant parish, and, no doubt, thought that in so doing, he was promoting the real interests of our church; but, alas, however creditable to himself such a motive certainly was, he must have known little of heritors' pastoral elections. And here also we may observe, that the greater the number of patrons for any particular church, so also the more aggravated will be the evils resulting from the exercise of their joint patronage. The spirit of party has an unhappy tendency to blunt the sense of moral obligation, and as if the guilt of an offence were capable of being shared amongst the joint perpetrators, men will generally go to greater lengths in iniquity in a social than in an individual capacity.'

'The most comparatively-promising form of lay patronage, is that supported by the "Society for improving the system of Church-Patronage in Scotland"—a Society that has never been popular, and that, of course, has done little, if any, good. Nor is the reason of this far to seek; it courts our notice in the self-contradictory designation of the Society itself, and simple in the extreme, must be the person who does not know that lay patronage is essentially bad, and, consequently, incapable of being at all improved. Improve lay patronage as you will, your labour must always be in vain; the thing after all, will never be any thing but lay patronage. Accordingly, the peculiar plan of the Anti-Patronage Society, as it is usually, but improperly styled, upon a close and unprejudiced examination, will be found altogether unsatisfactory and inexpedient.'

'Such is the monstrous spiritual usurpation which has now too long enthralled this once happy kingdom—such the abject and impious homage which it rigidly exacts from all the clerical, and from all the lay, members of our established church—such the all-grasping domination from which the erection of even Chapels of Ease is unable to rescue us. And if the mere general outline which we have now given of its execrable tyranny, were filled up with more particular delineations, the representation would be still more shockingly-repulsive. Besides, to complete our misery, lay patronage is not a recent usurpation which has not, as yet, had time to extend and consolidate itself; in the far-protracted vista of the authentic history of the past, we dimly descry it sternly endeavouring to enslave our pious and patriotic

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forefathers, and these we also positively discern once and again as sternly defending their spiritual independence, whilst, in the intervening distance, we see the arduous struggle at length terminate in the complete subjugation of our more immediate and more degenerate ancestors. For upwards now of a century, this tyranny has been the desolating scourge and the bitterest curse of our church, and the fruitful source of those flagrant and numerous corruptions which grieve her real friends, and rejoice and increase her enemies. This intolerable grievance under which we have so long groaned, is the most powerful Auxiliary of Voluntary Church Associations. But in such Associations alone are we still to look for refuge? Must we either abandon our spiritual mother in the extremity of her long-protracted distress, or with her be for ever doomed to the most hopeless slavery? Must our filial virtue and devotion be actually tested with such a dreadful alternative? No, thanks be to Heaven, they need not, or if they should, it must be our own personal fault. The magnanimous and invincible spirit of our sires, has long slumbered in inglorious inactivity, but has now at length awakened, and giant-like it will soon shake off the mighty incubus that has so long oppressed it and weighed it down to the dust. That extensive and influential portion of our countrymen, who already are, or who long to become pious members of our venerable establishment, are now fully prepared to assert and to vindicate their religious liberty. They have caught the spirit of the age, and they will never rest till their complete deliverance shall have been achieved, and till their spiritual independence shall have been placed upon such a sure foundation as will defy the fury of every future assault.' *First Blast,* pp. 28—37.

We are told, further on, that nearly all the representatives for Scotland in the House of Commons are positively *pledged* to do all in their power for the entire abolition of lay patronage. Now when it is recollected that those representatives are, for the most part, members of the Established Church of Scotland, many of them pious and patriotic members of that Church, one might conclude that the strong determination in favour of the necessity of a church reform there, will not be easily put down. But this Writer anticipates that every practicable stratagem will be employed to defeat the most energetic endeavours of the reformers. '*That antiquated faction who so long misruled these realms,* yet seems,' he remarks, 'to cling to the hope of recovering its wonted ascendancy.' 'Lay patronage, like every other tyranny, clings to its supremacy.'

'We are told that the present system works well, and so it assuredly does for the worldly views of many church-patrons and clerical drones. But some patrons have made a good use of their power, which possibly they have in certain cases from prudential motives. Worldly men will frequently act from such motives. In populous neighbourhoods, and particularly in large towns, deference to influential friends, or rivalry of dissenters, or the advantage of having the seats of a church well-let, or the view of increasing the poor's funds, by church-door collections,

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or all of these, may influence pastorial appointments. Some of these motives will even weigh in a small country parish. Or the patron may even be a pious person, and, consequently, prefer a meritorious clergyman. Still, however, in all these cases, what was really a matter of positive right, has been conferred as a mere boon. Those who can tamely submit to such degrading vassalage, deserve to remain in perpetual slavery. Away for ever then with the foolery of talking about the good which lay patronage has done; nor even presume to tell us of the good which it has generously permitted to be done. On the contrary, were it here necessary, or even desirable, we could tell you of the good that has been actually done in spite of it, and of the still greater amount of good that, but for the wicked and mischievous interference, might have possibly been done. To say that we have yet a goodly number of pious and learned ministers—men, in some measure, worthy of their important office, and in a tolerably-competent degree qualified to discharge its arduous duties, is saying nothing that can be possibly placed to the credit of lay patronage, it is merely saying, that God has not yet entirely cast off his highly-favoured, though ungrateful people—that he did not, as some of our Seceders uncharitably imagine, actually forsake the Church of Scotland, when they themselves thought fit to leave it.' *First Blast*, &c. pp. 37, 8.

It is important to bear in mind, that this is not the language of Dissenters or Seceders, but of Churchmen; not of the advocates, but of the opponents of the Voluntary Principle. But, if such be the admissions of Churchmen, can we consider that those who have seceded from the Establishment, and who have proved the superior efficiency of the Voluntary Principle for a century, should be prepared to go a little further, and deem that the shortest way of going to work, and the best, would be for the Church to renounce at once State patronage and State support. For, as Dr. Heugh remarks, an Established Church, without royal or aristocratical patronage, is an anomaly. On the other hand, Paley argues, that 'wheresoever this constitution of patron-'age is adopted, a national religion must always necessarily ac-'company it.' In other words, the interference of the State, in determining what form of religion shall be taught, is necessitated by the constitution which deprives the people of the right of choice, as '*a restriction upon the exercise of private patron-'age.*' '*If* it be necessary', says the learned Dean, 'that the 'point be determined for the inhabitants by any other will than 'their own', (that is, the point what religion, or what sort of religious instructor, shall be established in a particular district,) 'it 'is surely better that it should be determined by a deliberate re-'solution of the Legislature, than by the casual inclination of an 'individual by whom the right is purchased, or to whom it de-'volves as a mere secular inheritance.' But, that any party other than the people themselves should have the power of determining this, is the usurpation, the intolerable grievance complained of.

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The only difference of opinion which distinguishes the Seceder from the Dissenter in Scotland,—that is, the Establishment-man from the Voluntary Principle man, is, whether this system of patronage is, or is not, essentially intertwined with the very fabric of the Establishment. Our readers are, we presume, aware, that the Scotch Seceders, like the Wesleyans in this country, have generally disclaimed the name of Dissenters. The founders of the Secession 'stated no controversy with the doctrines, worship, 'discipline, or government of the Church, as laid down in her 'public standards. Neither did they leave her because she was 'an *established* Church.' We have before us, Two Discourses, by a Seceding Minister of the old School, upon the 'Causes, 'Influence, and Prospects of the Secession', in which the reverend Writer deprecates and deplores the silent but rapid progress, within his own body, during the last thirty years, of opinions hostile to all Establishments of religion. 'They are now', he pathetically complains of the larger portion of his brethren, 'Dissenters in the land, and not Seceders.' Yet, the terms in which he contends for the people's right to choose their pastors, would be mistaken by almost any Advocate of Church Establishments in *this* country, as the language of an uncompromising Dissenter.

'Our Seceding forefathers', says Mr. Mackray, 'instead of settling down on the principle of those acts', (the acts of 1649 and 1690, vesting the right of *nomination* in the Session, or with the Elders and Heritors,) 'wisely adopted the broad Scriptural principle of popular right. In doing so, they took their firm station on the institution of Jesus Christ, embodied in the administration of his apostles; and the successful operation of their principle has been apparent to the whole country for a hundred years. I confess, I have often been astonished to find the advocates of Patronage alleging, on behalf of their system, the confusions and contentions of which the popular plan has been productive. It is by no means wonderful, that, in cases of popular choice, occurring in the Established Church at long intervals, there should be occasionally scenes of contention and dispute. At the same time, these are comparatively rare; and if the principle were brought into universal operation, as it has been in the Secession, they would, undoubtedly, become much more so. And, for my own part, I cannot conceive how any candid man, with the history of the Secession before his eyes, could doubt the successful operation of the popular plan. It is no new untried experiment, like the much boasted "voluntary" system of present times. It was tried, in point of fact, in the Church herself during her best days, and the consequences of the trial were most auspicious for the country. It has been tried in the Secession during a hundred years, and her history furnishes irrefragable proof of its beneficial operation. That there have been differences of sentiment among the members of her congregations—that there have been disputes and contentions among them on this point—

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cannot, and needs not, be denied; but they have been comparatively few in number, and their consequences have not been permanently injurious. A *call* in the Secession has been, in the vast majority of instances, from its beginning until now, either altogether or almost *unanimous*. It is idle, however, to dwell on this point. In spite of the declamation of the defenders of Patronage, the people of Scotland are beginning to open their eyes on the respective merits of the two systems. They can contrast, as well as those who desire to lead them, the operation of the one principle in the Church, and of the other in the Secession. They can ascertain for themselves, under which of them it has been, that the respective Churches have been most deeply injured—congregations shattered—and thousands of Christian people driven from their former ecclesiastical communion. And, instructed by the experience of past times, in the unhappy influence of this long-cherished plague of the Church, I do fondly hope, for the welfare of our beloved land in generations yet to come, that they will not cease from their remonstrances against it, till they shall have triumphantly achieved its final extinction.'

Mackray on the Causes, &c. pp. 35, 6.

Again:

'To tell me that I have a right to choose the persons I am to employ in the concerns of this world, but that I have no right to interfere in choosing the man to whom I confide my dearest, my spiritual and everlasting interests, is surely a sentiment deeply insulting to any rational mind. In vain are we told, that the ordinary classes of the people are not qualified to judge respecting the talents and accomplishments of ministers of the Church. If there *are* dark and desolate parishes, respecting which this assertion is true, I hesitate not to say, that they have been brought into this dismal state through the operation of the very principle of which we are presently speaking. But, for my own part, I would repel the idea, as a foul libel on the people of our land. I believe, that, at the period in question, the people of Scotland were infinitely better qualified to judge in this matter, than the great majority of those who claimed the right of presentation. If there *were* religious knowledge and religious principle in the land, they were to be found among the ordinary classes of society.' *Ib.* p. 11.

The period referred to in this last paragraph was the year 1712, when the system of lay patronage, which had been abolished in the second reformation of 1638—1658, but revived at the Restoration, and again abolished at the Revolution of 1688, was once more revived by the Parliament of Queen Anne; to which circumstance, the Secession chiefly owes its origin. The anti-patronage reformers have, therefore, precedents on their side, of no light authority; and historical facts might seem to warrant their position, that Royal or Aristocratical Patronage is *not* essential to the constitution of an Established Church. In Scotland, indeed, the Church was never reduced to such complete vassalage as in this country. 'The Scottish Church,' says Dr. Heugh, 'never 'owned the King as her head,—and may she never!—and never

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'surrendered the independence of her courts and her discipline.' Still, the *authority* of the Civil Magistrate in matters ecclesiastical, is expressly recognized in the Scottish formularies. Besides, wherever there exists a State-provision for the clergy, the State must exercise the assumed right of determining what form of doctrine shall be received into the national code, and enforced by the national sanction. Either some one sect must be selected as the endowed order, and the same legislative restriction be laid upon the popular choice, that is now laid upon the exercise of private patronage; or, the State provision must be indifferently extended to all sects and persuasions. Now it is in this very assumption of *either legislative* or *judicial* authority in matters of conscience on the part of the civil authorities, that the strongest religious objection against the principles of Ecclesiastical Establishments consists. We say, the strongest *religious* objection, because it is doubtless a powerful political objection, as urged by the Author of the pamphlet on the Case of the Dissenters, that the preference of one denomination of religionists before others, by the State, involves injustice, and is a grievance, to Dissenters of every description, to whom, in this point of view, an Establishment must work injuriously. The grievance is thus forcibly stated.

'An Establishment, as it exists in Britain, is the selection of one denomination of Christians from amongst many, to participate in the favour of the State. As an expression of this favour, it is taken into close alliance with the State; it is supported by the property of the State; it has not only a virtual, but a positive and personal representation in the parliament of the State; its discipline is enforced by the power of the State; and it is indulged by the State, with manifold and exclusive privileges. Now it is evident, that such a civil establishment of *religion* is not to be confounded with *religion itself*. It is not a *part* of religion; it is not *co-extensive* with the subjects of true religion, or the members of the true Church. If these favours of the State were transferred to the seceders, it would not make them more a church than they are; and were they withdrawn from the Episcopalians, it could not make them less so. The episcopal portion of the church would still have her bishops, her priests, her deacons, her temples, her congregations, her formularies, and her private endowments. She would only be left, as the dissenting communities now are, to be guided by her own counsels, and to be sustained by her own resources. Whether a body of Christians, then, is the better or the worse for such a *civil* establishment, is fairly open to opinion and discussion. The Churchman, while the distinction is his, may think it beneficial, but he libels his church when he makes it essential to her life and prosperity; and the Dissenter may think it injurious; and in that judgment, while conscientiously opposing all civil establishments of religion, he may be truly seeking to promote the interests of the Church at large, and of the episcopal portion of it in particular.'

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'Partiality has ever been denounced as of the essence of bad government: it is bad in civil affairs; it is intolerable in those of religion. Yet to this evil an Establishment exposes us. The professor of the State religion is, on the mere ground of his profession, placed nearer to Majesty; he is one of a privileged fraternity; he is pointed out to the community as the more correct, the safer, and every way the better man; and exaction, in some form or other, is at hand to uphold his pretensions. As he is exalted, the seceder is necessarily degraded. A cloud stands between him and the face of Royalty: he does not belong to the king's church, and he is hardly thought to be true to the king's person; and he is treated as though he held a "divided allegiance," and was not to be fully trusted; certainly not to be trusted equally with a conformist. It is impossible to say what he has not suffered from this cause in *estate*, in *reputation*, and in *good-fellowship*.

'And can any thing exceed this in exasperation? If it were some one definite evil, to be endured at some one time of one's life, for worshipping according to one's conscience, however great, it might be bravely borne; but when it is an evil pursuing one, in its subtle and malignant influence, through every path and every hour of life; when it gives one a *lower place* in the *settled* opinion of one's fellow citizens; when it dishonours us at the exchange, at the college, in the senate, in the pulpit; when it worms itself into the paradise of home, and breeds discord or indifference between parent and child, brother and sister; who can bear it? It is the continual dropping that wears the stone. The storm might fall on it—the lightning might strike it—it is unhurt; but this continued vexation chafes and corrodes even a stone!

'And it is to be observed, that this evil, the greatest a generous spirit can know, must exist under the *mildest form* of an Establishment. Wherever there is a National Establishment, there must be *Toleration;* and toleration, though the boast of the Churchman, is the abhorrence of the Dissenter. To tolerate a man in a given action is to *permit* him to do it; and to permit him, involves the right to *prevent* him; and when these relate to an act *purely religious*, they are alike odious and execrable. To permit a man, forsooth, to worship God according to his conscience!'

'If it is the tendency of a National Establishment to create irritation, discontent, and resentment on the mind of the separatist; it as certainly leads, on the part of the favoured conformist, to pride, contempt, and intolerance. Sad and abundant proof, that it has worked, *as a system*, most powerfully to such an end, is everywhere to be found. I rejoice to know that there are most charming exceptions; but we have now, not to treat of the exceptions, but of the rule. The Dissenters *as a body*, have uniformly been treated by the endowed Church *as a body*, with scorn, contumely, and hate. No epithets, however low, have been too low, by which to degrade their profession, their pastors, and their institutions: whatever exemptions they have obtained from the cruellest exactions and the most unjust persecutions, they have obtained, not at the christian intercession of the Church, but in the face of her frowning and determined resistance: and had

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the high and true Churchman had his way, not a resting-place would have been left to them on British soil.'

Case of the Dissenters, pp. 22—29.

This is the grievance; but, as we have already remarked, it does not constitute the religious, and therefore the higher, as well as antecedent objection against the principle which makes the civil magistrate an arbiter of religious truth, and attributes to any human legislature authority in matters of faith. The old Seceders held, upon this point, notions tending very strongly to intolerance; and the Westminster Confession certainly holds language which would sanction the most arbitrary and violent proceedings. It is there laid down, that the civil magistrate 'hath authority, and it is his duty, to take order, that unity and 'peace be preserved in the Church; *that the truth of God be* '*kept pure and entire; that all blasphemies and heresies be* '*suppressed, all corruptions and abuses in worship and disci-*'*pline prevented or reformed; and all the ordinances of God* '*duly settled, administered and observed;* for the better effect-'ing whereof he hath power to call synods, to be present at them, 'and to provide that *whatsoever is transacted in them*, be ac-'cording to the mind of God.'* Wherein does this differ from the pretensions of the Man of Sin, except as it places the emperor or king, instead of the infallible priest, on the synodical throne, and makes the civil magistrate, instead of the spiritual power, the judge and persecutor of heresy?

Mr. Mackray, however, considers the expunging of this doctrine from the creed of the Secession Church, as overthrowing 'the fundamental ground of a Secession!!' He waives, in the publication before us, entering fully into the question of 'the 'duty of Christian magistrates, in their official capacity, to coun-'tenance and support the Church of Christ.' 'At present', he continues,

'I shall only say, that it does seem to me a doctrine altogether reasonable and scriptural, that the Christian magistrate, though he may

* Westminster Confession, Ch. xxiii. §. 3. The Scripture proofs, by which, according to the biblical reasoning of the times, this declaration of the civil magistrate's 'duty respecting the Church and 'Religion' is supported, leave no doubt as to the principles maintained by its framers. The passages referred to are those in the Mosaic code which denounce capital punishment upon the blasphemer, false prophet, or idolater; the decree of Artaxerxes authorizing Ezra to inflict death, banishment, or confiscation upon whosoever should not do the law of his God and the law of his king, (a heathen authority!) and the account of the reforms effected by kings Josiah and Jehoshaphat.

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not officially assume any authority *in* the church, ought to befriend her interests, to provide for the maintenance of her institutions throughout his realm, and to protect, by legislative enactments, the sacredness of her Sabbaths and other ordinances; and I regard this interference on the part of the magistrate about the interests of the church, as altogether consistent with the rights of conscience, and the just liberties of mankind. And I cannot refrain, at the same time, from expressing my conviction, in reference to our beloved land, that the bringing into practical operation amongst us principles of another kind—according to which religion would be expunged from our national constitution—all legislation about the interests of religion forbidden—all connexion between the church and the state abolished—all legal support for the maintenance of religious institutions withdrawn—and the very sacredness of God's holy day thrown open to the profanations of the ungodly,—how much soever such a scheme of reformation may by multitudes be now extolled, would be to place us as a nation in the attitude of impious rebellion against God and against his Anointed—to sweep away the most valuable institutions in the land, and to pave the way for the triumph of ignorance, irreligion, and infidelity.' *Mackray*, pp. 40, 41.

We have deemed it worth while to transcribe this *tirade*, as a specimen of the empty fulminations which, for lack of arguments, are hurled upon the heads of those who would deprive the civil magistrate of the sacred and divine prerogative of persecution. There is some method, however, in the Writer's anger, for he has dexterously shuffled together the Sabbath and the tithe, civil protection and fiscal exaction, legislation and magistracy, and then defied us to touch the false jewels that he has mingled with the regalia. We admit that it is a delicate topic; and language has been held by some of the opponents of religious establishments, which is open, at least, to unfavourable construction. Far be it from us to maintain, that the State has nothing to do with religion, or that civil governors or legislatures ought not to concern themselves about the religious interests of their subjects. Our creed as to the duty of the Christian magistrate respecting the Church and religion, is just this; that he is bound to recognize, as in his personal conduct, so in his official capacity, all the obligations of Christian duty,—to protect all classes in the enjoyment of their religious privileges, and in the performance of the duties involved in their notions of religious obedience,—to hinder the religionists of one sect from persecuting, abusing, or oppressing those of another,—to prevent the poor man from being robbed or defrauded of God's holy day;—in short, to give all the countenance, aid, and protection to religion that human laws can give, without assuming a lordship over conscience, that belongs not to Cæsar, and losing sight of the just limits and proper end of civil government,—the protection of personal rights,

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the social welfare of all classes, and the peace and quiet of the community.

'It is objected,' says Dr. Heugh, 'that our doctrine is at war with national schools, a national Sabbath, and, indeed, national religion itself. We deny all these assertions. There may be universal education, as in America, where there is no Established Church; and there may be the want of such education, as in England, where an Established Church has existed for centuries. As an institution essential to the welfare of the nation, the Sabbath may be, and ought to be, set apart from secular labour; but it is not pretended, that law can compel its religious observance.' *Heugh*, p. 73.

The establishment of religion and the establishment of a church, are two things as widely distinct, as are the establishment of social order and the establishment of a standing army. 'A religious Establishment', says Paley, 'is no part of Chris-'tianity: it is only the means of inculcating it.' The question is, Is it the best means? If the affirmative could be proved, then, a religious Establishment that should be adapted to this simple object, would, we do not hesitate to admit, be defensible. The political objection against such an institution, founded upon its incidental operation as a grievance to individuals, would lose at least much of its force. We must confess our opinion that too great prominence has sometimes been given to the political objection founded on the injustice involved in an Establishment. 'It 'would undoubtedly', remarks the Author of the Letter to the Chancellor, 'have been some consolation to the Dissenter, if he 'had found, after all he had suffered on the account of an Es-'tablishment, that it had, in the same proportion, benefited the 'Church. But he is deprived even of this relief; for, to say the 'least, it has been as injurious to the Church herself, as to those 'who withdraw from her communion.' This is the ground on which we would take our stand. We complain of the unjust and injurious operation of an Establishment upon Dissenters, because it is not compensated by any adequate benefit to the community; because it fails to accomplish the professed end of its institution, that end being better accomplished under other circumstances:—for, after all, an Establishment is not, properly speaking, a means of instruction, but only a circumstance, a political circumstance, attaching to the provision. We again cite with pleasure Dr. Heugh.

'What has accomplished, under God, the advantages to the souls of men which have been enjoyed within the Established Churches? Is it any thing else than revealed truth, and the ordinances of Christian worship, the administration of which they enjoy? Surely it is not the legal establishment of these Churches,—it is not tithes, royal ordi-

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nances, and Acts of Parliament, that have instructed, reformed, and comforted the worshippers. The support of Christian teachers by the state, has no more produced those results, than the presentation of these teachers by that *patronage* which is now so generally condemned. Were the funds for the support of the teachers, and the erection of the edifices, derived not from the state, but from the worshippers, the same spiritual processes would be going forward under their ministry. I do not now enquire whether most good is done in dissenting, or in endowed Churches; but it will be conceded at once, that the same sort of results follows the same sort of instruction among dissenters as among churchmen. The good then, is not doing by virtue of the Establishment; but by the truth and ordinances of Christ Jesus, which can be administered without a legal Establishment, as well as under it.—And then, as to eminent men, would intellect lose its lustre, talent its power, goodness its worth, by passing the precincts of the Establishment? Were Bates, Howe, Baxter, Doddridge, less illustrious than Tillotson, Chillingworth, Barrow, or Scott? Or could Hall have been greater in Lambeth than in Bristol?

'It is no reason why the dissenters should receive a legal Establishment, that so much good has been effected by their labours, that talent has been found among their pastors, and so much Christian worth among their people: neither is there any reason why the endowed Churches should continue on similar grounds to hold their exclusive endowments.' *Heugh*, pp. 10, 11.

The fundamental religious objection against the establishment of a Church is, that it does not tend to establish religion, but to fetter and corrupt it. Of this, the sad evidences are to be read in every page of ecclesiastical history. But we need not push back our researches very far. What means the cry of Church Reform? Look at the rank and luxuriant growth of Popery in Ireland, under the dark shadow of the richest Protestant Establishment in Europe. Look at the slow decline and deterioration of the purest Protestant Church in Christendom,—the Scottish. Look at the relative position of the Anglican Church, sinking under the weight of its own wealth, and dealing forth angry invectives against the more active sectaries for doing her own work. There we may see thrice exemplified, under singularly varied circumstances, the unhappy effects of a Church Establishment. The histories of all monopolies, civil or ecclesiastical, speak the same lesson. The *protection* of the State, religion demands. The *patronage* of the State has always proved fatal to her purity and vitality. A Church Establishment is *essentially* a system of patronage, and one that has never succeeded.

This is the essential character of an Establishment, viewed merely as a fixed national provision for the maintenance of an order of public instructors. But, although it may suit the purpose of the modern apologists for Establishments, to take this mild hypothetical view, it cannot be concealed, and must not be for-

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gotten, that the true theory upon which Established Churches are grounded, is the authority of the civil magistrate, or legislature, in matters of faith, including the right and duty of punishing all heretics and schismatics. 'Toleration in every form,' it has been justly remarked, 'is inconsistent with a National Establishment: 'it is, in fact, a toleration to disobedience.' Toleration is a modern innovation introduced by civil governors in opposition to the claims of the Church Established. Establishments know nothing of toleration. The Reformers, for the most part, eschewed it. The Westminster Confession disclaims it. The English Establishment had its foundation laid in penal laws, which punished Nonconformity as a crime, and heresy as high treason. Consistently was the Jewish theocracy held forth as a model; for, under it, toleration was unknown, and religious disobedience was punished with death. The precedent, could it be proved to be binding upon Christian Governments, would not merely sanction an exclusive Establishment, but would forbid toleration. The Jewish polity affords no precedent, indeed, for the compulsive enforcement of an arbitrary tithe, but it *does* for putting to death blasphemers, adulterers, idolaters, and Sabbath-breakers. Either, then, the precedent so partially followed out, is altogether fallacious, or toleration is a crime. It is scarcely possible to estimate the injury to religion that has resulted from the grossly absurd, but once prevalent notion, which made the miraculous dispensation of God with the Jewish nation, a rule of human legislation and government. The pernicious blunder has been at once a stumbling-block and a triumph to the infidel; while Christianity, tried by the Jewish law, has, like her Divine Author, been adjudged guilty of blasphemy, and then handed over to the civil power, as a traitor.

That the National Church of England was designed to correspond to the Jewish model, is clear from the language of its champions. 'Our State,' says Hooker, 'is according to the 'pattern of God's own ancient elect people; which people was not '*part* of them the common wealth, and *part* of them the church 'of God; but the self-same people whole and entire, were both, 'under one chief governor, on whose supreme authority they did 'all depend.'* According to this high authority, the fundamental principle of the Church of Elizabeth was, that 'there is 'not a man of the church of England, but the same man is also 'a member of the commonwealth; nor any member of the com-'monwealth, which is not also of the Church of England.' 'No 'person appertaining to the one could be denied to be also of the 'other.† The law knew nothing of Nonconformists but as

* Eccl. Polity, B. viii. § i. Vol. III. (Hanbury's ed.) p. 262.
† *Ib.* Vol. III. p. 254.

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'criminals, to be dealed with by imprisonment, banishment, and, 'in case of return, death.' A writer in the November No. of the "*British Magazine*," the oracle of the High Church party, after citing the above language of Hooker, transcribes at length the 35 Elizabeth, (A.D. 1592,) containing those atrocious enactments, 'as a proof that Hooker was not trifling with himself, 'in thus identifying the Commonwealth and the Church of 'England.' He then adds:

'This act, it must be admitted, is sufficiently to the point. Persecuting it may be called, unjust and atrocious, if the reader pleases; but it is, at any rate, decisive. It goes straight to the point, and empowers the magistrates and clergy to drive out Dissenters, Roman Catholic or Protestant alike, all who choose to withhold themselves from the worship of the Church of England: in short, if rigorously enforced, it ensures the identity of the Church and the Commonwealth.

'Here, then, we have a formal acknowledgment of the principle on which Hooker justified the then existing relations of Church and State, a ratification of the condition on which he consented to parliamentary interference in matters spiritual.

'Although this act was finally repealed in 1688, still, the principle on which it was founded was allowed to survive it. Three other acts, which had been founded on the same principle, were allowed to continue in force: viz. (1.) An act made in the 13th year of Charles II., "for the well-governing and regulation of corporations." (2.) An act made in the 25th year of Charles II., "for preventing dangers which may happen from Popish recreants." (3.) An act made in the 30th year of Charles II., "for the more effectual preserving of the king's person and government by disabling Papists from sitting in either house of parliament." And till these acts were repealed, the condition on which Hooker insists was not thoroughly cancelled..... His argument was indeed in some respects weakened by act of toleration, in 1688, but still it was not entirely overthrown. From that time the Commonwealth did indeed cease to be identical with the Church; but parliament did not cease, at least did not entirely cease, to represent the Church; it was still, by virtue of the foregoing acts, in some sense at least, a lay synod of the Church. By the 13th of Charles II. the government of all corporations had been consigned into the hands, not merely of churchmen, but of communicants; by the 25th, the crown was protected from all dissenting influences by the exclusion of all except communicants from every office held directly or indirectly by royal appointment; and by the 30th, the most influential body of Dissenters, i. e. the Roman Catholics, were shut out from either house of parliament. And, till the repeal of these acts, it is clear that vigilance on the part of the Church might have secured for itself at least a very strong party in the House of Commons.

'The Church, however, was not vigilant, and two, at least, of these important acts were allowed to fall into disuse. In the 5th year of George I. it was enacted, by a House of Commons in which the Church ought to have retained an ascendancy, "that elections into corporate

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offices shall not be void on account of the person elected having omitted to communicate within a year of the election, unless he shall be removed within six months of the election, or unless a prosecution shall be commenced within that time and be carried on without delay." In the 9th year of George II. a further act was passed, "indemnifying all those who, though not communicants, held offices which were restricted to communicants." And subsequently it became a regular practice to pass an act of "indemnity" every session of parliament. At length, in 1828, men had so completely forgotten the principles on which Church and State were anciently united, that the 13th and 25th of Charles II., viz. the test and corporation acts, were repealed, almost without opposition, and the year following, the Roman Catholics were admitted to seats in parliament. In 1832, the extinction of the Irish Protestant boroughs, and the great power accidentally given to Dissenters, by the reform act, gave a concluding blow to the ancient system. And in 1833, we have witnessed the assembling of a parliament in which few perhaps can detect the traces of a lay synod of the Church of England.

'To revert, then, to the original proposition, it does appear that, according to Hooker, our civil legislature is no longer qualified, as it formerly was, to be our ecclesiastical legislature; that the conditions on which our predecessors consented to parliamentary inteference in matters spiritual are cancelled.'

Such is, briefly, the history of the progress of Toleration in England; of that Toleration which the abhorrent Church has at every stage resisted, and which is admitted by this high-church writer to have subverted the fundamental principle of the boasted alliance between Church and State. The object of his article is manifestly to impugn the legislative sovereignty of the British Parliament; a point which we leave him to argue with the lawyers. He has, however, undesignedly shewn how untenable is Warburton's paradoxical and fallacious theory, which vindicates that Alliance upon opposite principles. 'To punish sectaries in order 'to bring them over to the national religion,' says the Bishop, 'is '*plainly iniquitous.*' 'The civil magistrate, as such, hath no 'right to determine which is the true religion, this power not 'being given him on man's entering into Society. Nor could it 'be given him, because one man cannot empower another to de-'termine for him in matters of religion . . . . Were the magis-'trate a judge of what was true religion, he would yet have no 'right to reward its followers, or to discourage its opposers.' Further, the learned Prelate admits, that 'the clergy's right to 'a public maintenance,' if intended 'for the support of opinions, 'would be contrary to the fundamental laws of society, by making 'men contribute to the maintenance of opinions which they 'reject and think false.' A test-law, on the *common hypothesis*, would, he says, be 'absolutely unjust, directly tending to the

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'destruction of religious liberty,' leading men to 'think hardly 'of an established religion having such a foundation,' and tending 'to the destruction of both.'* Need the Dissenters of this country desire a better expositor of their objections against Ecclesiastical Establishments, than the pen of this Prelate has supplied?

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But Warburton, it seems, did not understand the matter. The Fellow of St. Peter's College tells us, that the Bishop 'clearly 'saw the *alliance*, but he did not see the principle of national 'religion, nor the constitution of a State independent of its repeated *transgression!*' His 'impetuous errors might have been 'avoided . . . . had he seen the meaning of Estate, *symbolically* 'and *actually*, and in what sense the representatives of an estate 'are called the estate itself.' Possibly, our readers may not understand this language. We must therefore indulge them with a further exposition of the Author's views of National Religion.

'But now for the *apostacy* of the cry of "no union between Church and State." National apostacy is simply undoing that, which we have represented as done by Alfred and his council, in this country; for the cry, "no union," sends back again the missionaries of Christianity to the sea-shore, and nationally bids them build huts, or beg for shelter, and speed how they may. But it also sends them back with a grievous charge against Him they call Lord and Master:—that His faith has been nationally tried, and that His Church has been declared incapable of affording national education, and of giving assistance as the third estate of the nation. We then become no longer a Christian nation, whatever number of individual citizens may follow the degraded Clergy to the sea-shore. But far be this, say the raisers of the apostate cry, we wish still to be a Christian nation. The question then is, whose definition of a Christian is to be taken? otherwise the nation may have "a name to live and yet be dead." The Apostolic Church of Christ says, I have a commission to make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things, whatsoever the Divine Head of the Church hath commanded me: and among these commandments is the authorized administration of the communion of His body and blood, without which their is no Christian life. A Christian, therefore, says the Church, is one who is thus baptised *duly*, and thus *duly* sustained. And the Church has no other definition to give;—if she be false to this witness for the sake of keeping her temporalities;—if she become the witness of man's opposition, and Core's gainsaying, rather than of the Lord's commission entrusted to her, "and of the good professions He witnessed before Pontius Pilate:"—if she allow the name of Christian, thus defined, to be taken by any readers of the Scriptures she has translated and circulated;—if she allow any

* Warburton's Alliance, B. iii. c. 4. cited in Conder on Protest. Nonconformity, B. iv.

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water to be called the water of baptism, by virtue of some verses out of these Scriptures being read by any one over it;—if she allow any wine and any bread to be sacramental;—she is the very leader in the apostacy of the last times, and may herself tremble at the question which has a most powerful application to our spiritual, as it had to the legal, dispensation: "When the Son of man cometh shall He find faith upon the earth?"

'Now this apostacy began under William III, and was largely augmented, when "religious liberty," *i. e.* according to modern acceptation *freedom from religion* defined by the Church of Christ, breathed more freely by the repeal of the "Test and Corporation Act." Thank God, however faithless individuals in the Church were on this occasion, and I in my passive ignorance was one, there was a sacred protest made by all the healthy members of the Church, in behalf of the ordained definition of Christian communion.' pp. 193—196.

'As religion *ties together*, or unties things external with motives spiritual, infidelity which unites this union, is the antagonist of religion. Now, every baptized individual consisting of soul and body, is in himself an epitome of the union between Church and State: his spiritual soul, quickened and informed by the Spirit of Chirst, is his *Church*;—his body, regulated by the soul thus sanctified and blessed to the enlightening of the understanding, and the resurrection of the reason, is his *state*. The question is: *may* the soul when highly enlightened, give light to the body, as it is *universally* allowed to do, when *not* highly enlightened, or rather when in sensual darkness,—unless the body be considered as self-moved matter? Again, when many bodies are in one society, may their souls be highly enlightened, or must they necessarily in societies forego that light, which shines upon them as individuals? The body politic must move about as an animal, or as directed by an enlightened soul: is that soul to be enlightened by the best or by inferior light? Is the light of Christ the best light? Is the *matter* of the state to be moved by the Spirit of Christ, or of Antichrist, or by no spirit at all?' p. 185, 6.

Once more: speaking of the '*atheistic*' cry for the expulsion of the Bishops from the House of Lords, Mr. Smith says:

'Now the "ancestral" Church * of this Realm, its third venerable estate, is as much of an estate as that of the Aristocracy and Commons; nay, more solemnly so, inasmuch as it is an estate, which informs and perfects the other two, and leads them with itself to unfading realities, so that we may, indeed, in this sense say, "Nullum tempus occurrit ecclesiæ." Nor was this ancestral Church lost by being perfected in Christ's Church, any more than the Aristocracy and Commons were constitutionally destroyed by becoming Christian; and though but

* This phrase is borrowed from Coleridge, whose 'idea of the National Church,' of which Christianity is 'a blessed *accident*,' is the evident groundwork of Mr. Smith's still more muddy metaphysico-politics. See, for a review of Coleridge's 'Constitution of Church and State,' Ecl. Rev. 3d Ser. Vol. VI. pp. 1—28.

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little represented at present in our great council, yet its Prelates sit there most constitutionally, and any allusion to their being tolerated, or to their inferiority, is an insult, not only to themselves, as the highest order of this third estate, but to all the orders of the estate—*to every citizen*, as he is the citizen of a nation not entirely atheistical. It is a most specious form of national infidelity to confine the deliberations of the Prelates to what any one may be pleased to designate "a *religious* subject," or "the interests of the *Church*." The Prelates ought certainly to be cæteris paribus, our best theologians, but they are not necessarily so, and every *such* subject belongs to councils and synods of the clergy. But they sit in the House of Lords as Barons—as ennobled by their endowed offices in education—as dignitaries of the Ancestral Church—as the constitutional representatives of the third estate. That they are Bishops of Christ's Catholic and Apostolical Church is one *condition* of their thus representing the Ancestral Church and Constitutional Estate, because it has pleased God to make this a Christian nation, and to put it into the heart of "Alfred," (to keep up our figure,) to give up his family to the Baptism of Christ's Church; as it is one condition of the king's accession that he be a Christian, and thus the king himself is an endowed Churchman.'

* * * * * *

'I do consider it a most unconstitutional attack, for a *martial*, or *diplomatic*, or *legal* aristocrat, personally or hereditarily, to address himself to a spiritual aristocrat, as to no real *peer*, but in some degree an inferior. The attack is twofold; and I will not call it savage, for its cowardice protects it from the epithet. As it attacks a prelate of the Ancestral Church, it is unconstitutional and atheistic; as it attacks a bishop of the Church of Christ, it is apostate and infidel. As long as the Constitution lives in the State, and we have an Ancestral Church—be its spiritual tendencies after true education directed by what ministers it may—such attacks should be parried in the spirit of the body politic:—as long as we have the Church of Christ, such attacks should be at once exposed, as directed really against Him. But in either view, a thousand swords would have leaped from the scabbards of the Barons of old and their followers, ere the solemn feelings of the whole community should have been insulted in the persons of their third representative estate. If such chivalry tended to exaggerate unduly the Clergy, and to promote the priesthood of papal antichrist, yet it may be possible to go to the other extreme, and become the standard-bearer of infidel antichrist in his last struggles.'

pp. 220—224.

To combat such vaporous stuff as this with the weapons of serious argument would be like fighting a windmill. We know nothing of the Writer of these Letters but from his volume, which is certainly a curious specimen of Cambridge divinity and politics—the politics of the cloister, the divinity of the Star-chamber. Mystical, dogmatical, arrogant, intolerant, the work exhibits all the characteristic marks of fanaticism of the most virulent description. It is quite natural that its Author should

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be opposed to the Bible Society—should complain of the prevailing 'idolatry of the Bible,' maintaining that 'the *possession* of the Bible is not an essential,' and urging the old Papistical plea, that 'for fifteen centuries it was a rare possession' (p. 274): and that he should have renounced his connexion with the Church Missionary Society, which he had 'ignorantly joined.' That such a person should hold in contempt every Protestant Church but his own, is equally natural, and affords a striking proof of the schismatical tendency of all Establishments. Every page of the volume is adapted to fortify the Nonconformist in his dissent; and happy indeed might he esteem his escape from the yoke and fangs of the Church, if the Author were a fair specimen of its priesthood.

But the time is gone by when such stuff as this could impose upon the people of England. The principle upon which the Ecclesiastical Establishment rests, must come into discussion. What then is that principle? Is it prescription? Is it utility? Is it State policy? Is it the divine right of the magistrate? The *identity* of the Church and the State has been, we have seen, destroyed. The Toleration Act subverted the ecclesiastical polity of Hooker and the Church of Elizabeth. The connexion then became an Alliance. That Alliance was weakened, not to say annulled, by the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. Were these liberal measures righteous and wise, or were they not? If they were, why blame the Dissenter who simply asks, that the remains of exploded intolerance may be blotted out from the statute book, and that the State may take the whole nation, and the religion of the nation, under its equal protection, instead of bestowing its pernicious favouritism upon a mere section of the National Church, the episcopal denomination, to the prejudice of the nonconformist communities? If those measures were impolitic, irreligious, atheistic, 'we must travel back, *if we can*, from our 'present position, which is called a *perfect* toleration, to an *im-* 'perfect toleration; and as quickly as may be, we must make 'our escape from an imperfect toleration to an exclusive Esta- 'blishment, such as it was in the worst days of the worst Stuarts' —or of the Tudors.

The alliance between the Church and the State is a *political alliance*, and *nothing more*. It is this which Dissenters wish to see dissolved, as being injurious to both parties, and, in its very nature, as Mr. Binney* contends, 'anti-Christian;'—con-

* Our friend Mr. Binney, by a somewhat startling ellipsis, speaks of the 'absolute dissolution of Church and State' as a *desideratum*. Every candid reader will perceive his meaning. We wish, he adds, 'the Establishment, as such, terminated; the episcopal community to 'become an episcopal denomination on a perfect (civil) equality with 'every other.'

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trary to the genius of Christianity, and hostile to its free propagation. The *religious* alliance between the Church of Christ and the State, every pious Dissenter, in common with every pious Episcopalian, must wish to see drawn yet closer and closer. But that is an alliance which an Establishment was never yet found adapted to promote. Are Dissenters then to be regarded as inimical to the interests of religion, to be branded with opprobrious epithets, to be accused of making common cause with infidels, because they desire the emancipation of the Established Church from its present debasing vassalage? It is not *they* who have raised the cry of Church Reform, but they have a right to express their opinion that all reform will be delusive and inefficient, which does not separate the Church from State patronage and State support, and destroy its pernicious monopoly.

Dissenters have not merely a right to express their opinion, but they are laid under a sort of necessity to do so, by the calumnies of their enemies. They owe it to their cause and to their country, to make their principles clearly understood. It has been continually alleged, that they are ambitious of supplanting the Episcopal Church in the favour of the State; that they hope to participate in the spoils of the Establishment,—to rise on its downfal. They are thus called upon, in justice to themselves, to avow their objections to any State provision, and the grounds of it. If then, they should be thought to boast somewhat too loudly, in certain quarters, of the Voluntary Principle, let this be their excuse; that they thereby voluntarily exclude themselves from any beneficial participation in the national property. The opposite effect of the two systems is thus forcibly contrasted in the Letter to Lord Brougham.

'The principle of endowment makes a place for the man; the voluntary principle makes a man for the place. The one is a premium to indolence; the other is the reward of service. The one is indiscriminate, and falls alike on the evil and the good; the other is a nice discerner of character, and apportions remuneration to worth. The one is deceptive, and leads you to conclude on religion where it does not exist; the other shows you things as they are with unerring certainty. The one is deadly, it not only has no life, its tendency is to destroy life where it is; while the other is vivacious, where it is, there is life, to that life it imparts additional vigour; it has an expansive power, which prepares it for emergency, and teaches it to gather confidence from difficulty, and life from exertion. This is true with remarkable uniformity. Endowment withers every thing it touches. Endow a Royal Academy, my Lord, and Genius disappears; and commonplace men are drawn together, who wash each other's hands and repeat each other's praises, while the world leaves them to their monopoly and their insignificance. Endow a hospital, and charity seeks some other sphere where she may offer voluntary service and spontaneous sympathy; while her place is filled by perfunctory persons who

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crave the place, not to pity the miserable, but to live in comfort. Endow a church, and religion declines and withers and dies; and formality, worldliness, and ultimately infidelity, take its place; except as this may be prevented by the action of different and extrinsic causes.

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Again, as to the actual efficiency of the two rival systems, the following facts must be allowed to make out a tolerably strong *case* for the Dissenter.

'If by the voluntary principle being not so efficacious as the principle of endowment, it be meant, that it will not so readily provide some 12, 20, or 30,000*l.* per annum, for the bishop or archbishop; that it will not provide for some 4000 clergy without cure of souls; that it will not supply some 300,000*l.* for sinecure allowances, then undoubtedly it is not so efficacious; but if it is meant that it will not so well provide the means of instruction and worship to the people, then we wonder at the boldness which can commit any man to the declaration. The facts, my Lord, are all on one side. In London and its adjacent boroughs we have 459 places of worship; of these, though London is the strong-hold of churches, 265 are dissenting and only 194 are established places. Dissent has spread over the country about 8000 chapels, besides school-houses and preaching-rooms; it has provided for the respectable education and sustenance of a ministry, commensurate with this demand; while it has done this, it has been made to contribute its portion towards the support of an endowed Church; and yet it has, as if refreshed by its exertion, greatly surpassed that Church in its contributions of service and money to those great efforts of christian benevolence which are not of a sectarian but of a general character.

'But it is urged, that the voluntary principle will not work uniformly; that though it should provide for the large towns, it could not carry the means of religion into our small villages and agricultural districts. There is something plausible in this argument, and it rests on many conscientious minds as a real difficulty. A simple question or two is sufficient, however, to rectify the judgment. If, by preference any parts of our country were selected as poor and thinly populated, they would be Cornwall and Wales. Who has carried religion over these unpromising districts, — the endowed or the dissenting teacher? One more question: There are in England and Wales 3000 stations at which the curates who serve them have less than 100*l.* a a year: these are certainly the smallest and poorest in the country; — could the voluntary principle do less for them? is it not certain, if they deserved to hold their stations at all, that it would do much more for them?

'Then it is said, that whatever is allowed in favour of the voluntary principle, it is not sufficiently steady and permanent to be relied on. If by its want of permanence is meant, that it will not continue its support, irrespective of the state, of religion, and of the services and merits of its ministers, then I claim this as a peculiar excellence. It is a faithful indicator, of the presence and power of religion; it fails where it it is not, and shows the true state of the place; and it lives and

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flourishes where it is, and in its turn contributes eminently to its expansion and permanence. To do more than this; to supply the outward form and body of religion, except as true religion is near to sustain and animate it, is to do too much; it is to deceive the eye with the appearances of life, when there is no life; and it is to propagate death age after age. The small portion of the dissenting church which is endowed, is rather like a sepulchre than a sanctuary. Germany has an endowed church, where religion is on the surface, but where neology is beneath. France has an endowed church, where religion is professed, but where infidelity is real; and every where it is found to present the most formidable obstacle to the spread of vital religion.

'After all, the principle has not had fair trial in our land. It has been more fully and extensively tried in America; and although attempts have been made to depreciate the state of religion in that land, I am prepared to say advisedly, *that it is better supplied with the means of religion than any other land under heaven.* One of its small and new towns, for instance, as an ordinary sample, contains 6,000 persons; it has five churches; and half the population attends them. New York has 200,000 inhabitants; it has 101 churches; this will give, at an average attendance of 500 each, a fourth of the population as church-going; and that of London by the same estimate would give only one-seventh. It has 15,000 churches raised amongst a population of 12,000,000; and the average attendance cannot be taken at less than one in four, while that of Grear Britain cannot be taken higher than one in five. And what is remarkable is, that it has achieved this with a population doubling itself in fourteen years; and instead of appealing to the principle of State endowment, as in an emergency, it has announced it as inefficient where it did exist. Thus we have a land, under the greatest disadvantage, without any endowment for the purposes of religious worship, provided with more churches, with a more efficient ministry, and with a better average reward for ministration than we have in our own country, where every advantage has been possessed for ages, and where some three millions a-year are given to uphold an Establishment.' pp. 51—55.

'Blinded by the sectarianism of their institutions', says Mr. Binney, 'the advocates of Establishments shrink from commu-'nion with the rest of God's Church.' This language is severe; but is it not just? Can any thing more strikingly evince the moral blindness of bigotry, than the light in which the political churchman views the astonishing development of the principles of spontaneous exertion and voluntary combination, which has covered the land with religious institutions, and saved the population from relapsing into heathen ignorance? Even the Fellow of St. Peter's, while contemptuously depreciating the sectarian teachers, admits that 'the common people have been constrained to tax themselves towards supplying a substitute for those blessings' which the State Church denied them: all they know of that Church in many places is, 'that they are the objects of *her legalized neglect.*' It has been calculated, that *two-fifths* of the

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public provision for the religious instruction of the nation are supplied by the voluntary contributions of the Dissenters; while of the evangelical instruction provided, the proportion furnished by the institutions of Dissent is still more considerable. Attribute this vast amount of religious zeal—still coming far short of the wants of society—to what principle or motive you will, it is a phenomenon that might arrest the attention of the philosophic statesman, a spectacle to warm the heart of every Christian patriot. Seeing that many Churchmen "glory after the flesh", let it for once be allowed to the Dissenter to glory also. At a recent meeting held in Edinburgh to celebrate the centenary of the Secession Church, a respectful and affectionate reference was made to the evangelical Dissenters of England, in an eloquent speech by A. C. Dick, Esq., Advocate, from which we cannot resist the temptation to make an extract exactly to our present point; and with this we close for the present.

'There are some, who, if you ask them what it is that is wonderful in the religious condition of that great country, will tell you of its ecclesiastical establishment, the elaborate and intricate constitution of its Church, its close intermixture with every institution of the State, of its government by mere half-priests and half-barons, at once bishops and civil legislators, of its luxurious retreats which it offers to the studious, its rich rewards for the learned, and its high bribes to the ambitious. There is, indeed, something in the spectacle which it presents that is interesting, agreeable, and august; but, after all, if you cast your eyes over Europe, you will see everywhere something of the same kind, with this difference only in favour of the ecclesiastical establishment of England, that its creed, its form of words is more sound, and it surpasses all others in riches and splendour. But, like the rest, it has required for its construction little more than the two instruments of political skill and despotic power; like them, it is no true index to the moral condition of the country; but having been created by the force of law, it has been by the same force upheld immovably from age to age; and as acts of Parliament have made it what it is, it now needs little more than an act of Parliament to level it with the dust. Than this huge religious machinery, even when it covers the whole face of the country, and is bedecked with whatever is costly and ornamental, I think you will agree with me, in holding that the smallest Dissenting congregation is a far more interesting sight. For in it you see a body of men drawn together by the natural influence of Christianity, animated with the noble desire of regenerating and elevating their moral nature, and for that purpose placing themselves voluntarily under the laws of Christ, and observing, in their primitive simplicity, the institutions of his appointment. Here you see the unequivocal presence and working of moral power. There is here nothing merely legal, no political device, no work of art, nothing that gives a show of life over spiritual death. Here is something which statesmen had no hand in producing, and which they have as little power to destroy. Sir, it is for her Dissenting establishments chiefly that Eng-

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land may truly boast a moral pre-eminence over the rest of Europe. Let us reflect that religious feeling has given birth, in that country, to no less than eight thousand congregations, of which about six thousand are evangelical, embracing more than one-third of her entire population; a body which, having its apex within or above the middle classes, widens as it descends, till among the lower it takes in, almost without exception, every man whose religious profession will stand a scrutiny—let us reflect on this, and we shall own that we have here a spectacle of no usual grandeur. There are, I believe, some men who pretend to contemn Dissenters as a narrow-minded and bigoted people, as morose and over-scrupulous, because, forsooth, they will not go with them to worship in the temples of the State, nor bow down before the image which Nebuchadnezzar hath set up. Little do they know the motives or the aims of the men whom they presume to stigmatize, otherwise they would form a far different estimate of their character. Sir, the fair realm of England does, indeed, present many scenes which may well make the breast of its Monarch swell with emotion; a broad and fertile country, occupied by an enterprising, free, and generous people, who astonish the world by miracles of art, and are carrying civilized life to its highest pitch of perfection. But from the throne on which he sits, he will discover nothing, truly, half so sublime as five millions of his subjects disowning his, and all human authority in the service of Heaven, and demanding liberty to bear unaided, yet unoppressed, the burden of Christianity. It is in this body of men that we must look for the true conservatives of England. We should certainly expect that they would be cherished by the State of which they are the most valuable subjects. Contemplating their history and their character; recollecting their attachment to order and good government; how they have been the systematic friends of liberty at home, and have at last succeeded in carrying it to our black brethren in the colonies; how they have forwarded the education and sustained the morality of the country; how they have provided a home and shelter for religion, when frozen out of her splendid abodes; and, not content with having the blessing among themselves, have spread it widely abroad; how, in fine, they have vindicated the theology, and adorned the literature of England; we are tempted to ask what rewards have they received from a grateful country—to what honours have they been exalted by the rulers whom they have blessed? Never should we expect that their virtues should have brought upon them disgrace and punishment instead of honour. Yet, true it is, that their first appearance upon the stage in England, was a signal for tyranny and bigotry to let loose a storm of persecution; and that every step of their subsequent progress has been, as it were, up hill, in the face of a tempest of obloquy, contempt, and hatred; and while they were fettered and kept back by restrictive and degrading laws. Even yet, in the light of the nineteenth century, and after the triumph of Reform, they exist, in England, an injured and humiliated caste, and, as religious men, are subjected to some intolerable indignities. I do not speak of the insult of a toleration under which they are still living, neither do I refer to the exclusion of their youth, by sacrilegious tests, from the National Universities, the richest and most famous in the

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world; nor yet to their being taxed for the support of a church, out of which corruptions and errors have driven conscientious men;—grievances these sufficiently enormous and sufficiently irritating. There are others, however, which are even more vexatious, which do not affect merely the general mass, but which single out and sting, so to speak, each individual among them; grievances of which, we Scotsmen, who are happily free from the least vestige of them, can scarcely hear without a thrill of indignation. In England, no sooner is the child of a Dissenter born into the world, than the laws mark him out—innocent and unoffending as he is—as one upon whom to inflict an act of gross injustice. His name will not be placed upon the parochial registers, so as to preserve legal evidence of his descent, unless he be first baptized; but this, although a condition of a civil privilege, which the State has no right to impose, and although it disqualifies a large body of Christians, is not all. The baptism, which will alone procure registration, must be administered by a clergyman of the Established Church. The minister of the parent may not do it, because he is a mere teaching layman in pretended holy orders. His own father, or his own brother, may not perform it, if they are Dissenters, otherwise the child will be deprived of this plain right of citizenship. When, from childhood, he grows up to manhood, and is about to form the holy union of marriage, his religious feelings are again outraged by the tyranny of the laws. At this crisis of a Dissenter's life, he cannot have the presence—he dare not content himself with the blessing of his own Christian minister; he must have recourse to the legalized priesthood; he must observe the contemptible forms, and express the childish sentiments of a Liturgy which he repudiates; otherwise the just and tolerant laws of England will pronounce his wife to be dishonoured, and his children to be illegitimate. But the indignities to which the Dissenters of England are exposed, do not stop here; another is repeated at the close of their lives, or rather over their lifeless remains. When a Dissenter dies, his relations have, indeed, the liberty of carrying him to their private cemeteries or secret vaults, and there depositing his body in the dust with whatever ceremonies, conducted by whatever minister they please. But if they would lay him in the public churchyard, where it may be that the bones of his family or of his ancestors repose, they cannot have the religious ceremonies, which it is the custom in that country to observe at the place of interment, performed by the minister of their choice. This, it seems, is another monopoly of the favoured sect; and if a man wishes to pay the last honours to the deceased; if he wishes to derive to himself some consolation and instruction while standing beside his grave, he can do so only by calling in a man with whom he has no sympathy, and who has no sympathy with him, whom, perhaps, he never saw before, and may never see again, to go over, amidst the tears of the attending friends, the monotonous form which he is paid to rehearse; and, sometimes, when the deceased, perhaps a child, has not obtained Christian baptism, the bigot, whom the law appoints to officiate, will outrage the feelings of the Dissenting parents by refusing to perform the accustomed ceremony, although he is ready to accord it to the grossest profligate, provided only he has been a Churchman. These we must all acknow-

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ledge to be intolerable wrongs. Let us hope that they will be speedily redressed. They are not patiently endured, and in the efforts which are making to put an end to them, all free and generous men are deeply interested. Of their removal, at no distant date, there can be little doubt. The past success of the Dissenters, in ameliorating our persecuting laws, is a pledge and a means of their speedy abrogation. They are a most powerful body—they are nearly free already, and a few strenuous efforts will give them perfect liberty. At present they remind me of the description which Milton gives of the lion in the act of being created, which he represents as rising out of the earth, the head and shoulders and fore part free, and the noble animal pawing to get loose his hinder parts,—

> "Then spring, as broke from bonds,
> And rampant shake his brinded mane."

Thus it is with the Dissenters of England. Let them but use well the freedom which they have, and they will soon gain all the freedom which they want. And when they succeed, as succeed they must, they, and the whole of England with them, will spring forward, like one who breaks from bonds. There will be nothing terrible in their emancipation. It will be no sectarian triumph—it will not be gained at the expense of justice—it will elevate none unduly, nor depress any one. On the contrary, placing every man upon his just level, making religion free, and the state guiltless of oppression, it will prepare the land for the reception of those blessings which ever follow an observance of the laws of Heaven.'*

Such is THE CASE OF THE DISSENTERS.

Art. V.—*Bibliographical Notes on the Book of Jasher.* By Thomas Hartwell Horne, B.D. Prebendary of St. Paul's, &c. pp. 11. London, 1833.

THESE pages are to form part of an Appendix to a new edition of the indefatigable Author's "Introduction to the Critical Study of the Holy Scriptures," now in the press. A small impression of them has been thrown off, with the laudable design of putting the public on their guard against being imposed upon by a reprint of the literary forgery here exposed, which numbers of the clergy have been induced to purchase as an original publication, and a curious, if not authentic work. This Book of Jasher was published by its Author for two shillings and sixpence. The Bristol reprint has been sold at the modest charge of ten shillings, which was subsequently increased to a pound sterling!

The Author of this clumsy forgery was Jacob Ilive, a type-founder and printer, who carried on business in London between

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* Patriot Newspaper. Dec. 24, 1833.

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the years 1730 and 1763, in which last year he died. In Chalmers's Biographical Dictionary, the following notice is given of him. 'Being not perfectly sound in his mind, he produced some strange works. In 1733, he published an Oration, intended to prove the plurality of worlds, and asserting, that this earth is hell, that the souls of men are apostate angels, and that the fire to punish those confined to this world at the day of judgment will be immaterial .... In this strange performance, the Author unveils his deistical principles, and takes no small liberty with the sacred Scriptures, and especially with the character of Moses. Emboldened by this first adventure, he determined to become the public teacher of infidelity. For this purpose, he hired the use of Carpenters' Hall, where, for some time, he delivered his orations, which consisted chiefly of scraps from Tindal, and other similar writers.'

Ilive published the Book of Jasher in 1751, and notice was taken of it in the Monthly Review for December of that year, exposing its contemptible character and deistical design. 'The 'whole', says the Reviewer, in conclusion, 'is so full of blunders, 'inconsistencies, and absurdities, that we think it beneath any 'further notice.' A few specimens of these are given by Mr. Horne. It may be sufficient to mention, that Alcuin, the supposed Translator, is made to refer to the University of Oxford, which was not founded by King Alfred (the earliest date claimed for it), till 82 years after Alcuin's decease;—and to the paper upon which he wrote, 300 years before the art of making paper was introduced into Europe!! Mr. Horne deserves the thanks of the religious public, for the complete exposure which he has furnished of this shameless forgery, by an almost superfluous exercise of learned pains. He has shewn himself a perfect bibliographical ferret, of whom we caution all literary rats to be aware. Joking apart, we are glad to find that the services he has rendered to the cause of Biblical literature, have at length obtained for him respectable church preferment. He has toiled hard, and well earned what we hope he will long live to enjoy.

Art. VI. *A Treatise on Happiness;* consisting of Observations on Health, Property, the Mind and the Passions; with the Virtues and Vices, the Defects and Excellences of Human Life. In two vols. 12mo. London, 1833.

THE reader may judge of the assistance which these volumes are adapted to render him in 'the regulation of human conduct, 'for the purpose of producing enjoyment,' by the following exquisitely philosophical definition of its general subject.

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'Happiness is that sensation of pleasure or delight by which we are satisfied with ourselves and with all around us. It is a tranquillity; a sweet serenity; an assemblage of enchanting imagery, through which the imagination ranges: it is fairer than the visions of Eastern skies, and more delightful than the perennial glories of a Mahometan paradise. But happiness, pure and unalloyed, is seldom to be found. The sun of enjoyment is frequently clouded; the ocean of life is agitated by storms.

Life without happiness is useless: it is a dreary vacuity of good; an accumulation of evil. We were brought into existence for the purpose of enjoyment.'—pp. 1, 2.

This being the case, all that a man has to do, to fulfil the purpose of his existence, is to take care of his health, attend to the main chance, avoid expensive habits, not be righteous over much, eschew bigotry and fanaticism, get rid of all severe, all uncomfortable opinions, take things easy, and 'eat, drink, and be merry, 'for to-morrow we die.' There is nothing new in the art of happiness, as taught in these volumes. The receipt may be thus given: Of Epicureanism, Stoicism, and Christian Deism, take equal parts: add to these the requisite portion of good-health and good-luck, and—*fiat haustus.* If, however, happiness be, as this writer asserts, no doubt from experience, 'that sensation of delight by which we 'are satisfied with ourselves,' self-complacency would seem to be a very material ingredient. The wise man, indeed tells us, that a 'good man is satisfied from himself.' Perhaps this is a mistranslation, and we should read *with* himself. We throw out this merely as a suggestion to the Author; and lest we should run the risk of lessening the sum of *his* happiness by diminishing his satisfaction with himself and those around him, we will say no more about these volumes, than that they are adapted to promote the welfare of the stationer, the printer, and the trunk-maker.

Art. VII. *The Amethyst,* for 1834. 12mo. Edinb. Price 8*s.* in silk.

THE Amethyst maintains its grave, useful, and edifying character; rising among the deciduous Annuals 'an evergreen'—a Scotch fir amid the light-leaved growth of the shrubbery. And the Editors have endeavoured to impart to this 'evergreen', 'the 'fragrance of the Rose of Sharon with the lowly graces of the 'Lily of the Valley.' A vignette is the only embellishment; the attraction of the work consisting in its 'sober exhibition of evan-'gelical truth.' The success which the former volumes have met with, speaks much for the sober-minded taste of the religious readers for whom it is exclusively designed. Among the contributors to this volume, are found, Mr. Montgomery, Bernard Barton, Rev. Dr. Collyer, James Edmeston, J. J. Gurney, Rev.

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Henry Grey, Rev. Dr. Belfrage, Rev. Dr. Raffles, Mrs. Opie, Lady Charlotte Erskine, Lucy Barton, Mrs. Mackay, the Editors, &c. &c. These names will speak for themselves and for the volume. Generally speaking, the prose contributions are the best; but there are some pleasing sonnets and hymns, and Mr. Montgomery has supplied a strain in his loftiest mood, in the stanzas entitled 'At Home in Heaven.'

I.

'"For ever with the Lord!"
Amen; so let it be:
Life from the dead is in that word;
'Tis immortality.

'Here in the body pent,
Absent from Him I roam,
Yet nightly pitch my moving tent
A day's march nearer home.

'My Father's house on high!
Home of my soul! how near,
At times, to Faith's foreseeing eye
Thy golden gates appear.

'Ah! then my spirit faints
To reach the land I love,
The bright inheritance of saints,
Jerusalem above.

II.

'Yet clouds will intervene,
And all my prospect flies;
Like Noah's dove, I flit between
Rough seas and stormy skies.

'Anon the clouds dispart;
The winds and waters cease;
And sweetly o'er my gladdened heart
Expands the bow of peace.

'Beneath its glowing arch,
Along the hallowed ground,
I see cherubic armies march,
A camp of fire around.

'I hear at morn and even,
At noon and midnight hour,
The choral harmonies of Heaven
Earth's Babel tongues o'erpower.

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'Then, then, I feel that He,
(Remembered or forgot,)
The Lord is never far from me,
Though I perceive him not.

'In darkness or in light,
Hidden alike from view,
I wake and sleep within his sight,
Who looks existence through.

'From the dim hour of birth,
Through every changing state
Of mortal pilgrimage on earth,
To its appointed date;—

'All that I am, have been,
All that I yet may be,
He sees as he hath ever seen,
And shall for ever see.

'How can I meet his eyes?
Mine on the cross I cast,
And own my life a Saviour's prize,
Mercy from first to last.

III.

'"For ever with the Lord!"
Father, if 'tis thy will,
The promise of that faithful word,
Even here to me fulfil.

'Be thou at my right hand,
Then can I never fail;
Uphold thou me, and I shall stand;
Fight, and I must prevail.

'So, when my latest breath
Shall rend this veil in twain,
By death I shall escape from death,
And life eternal gain.

'Knowing as I am known,
How shall I love that word,
And oft repeat before the throne,
"For ever with the Lord!"

'There, though the soul enjoy
Communion high and sweet,
While worms this body must destroy,
Both shall in glory meet.

'The trump of final doom,
Will speak the selfsame word,
And Heaven's voice thunder through the tomb,
"For ever with the Lord!"

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'The tomb shall echo deep
That death-awakening sound,
The saints shall hear it in their sleep,
And answer from the ground.

'Then, while they upward fly,
That resurrection-word
Shall be their shout of victory;
"For ever with the Lord!"

'That resurrection-word,
That shout of victory,
Once more,—"For ever with the Lord!"
Amen; so let it be.'

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ART. VIII.—LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

The Curate of Marsden, or Pastoral Conversations between a Minister and his Parishioners, by E. and M. Attersall, Authors of "Thomas Martin", "The Contrast", &c., will very shortly appear.

Preparing for immediate publication, in two handsome volumes 8vo, A luminous Commentary on the Old and New Testament, with Practical Reflections, by the Rev. Joseph Sutcliffe, A.M.

In a few days will be published, The Art of being Happy, from the French of Droz, in a Series of Letters from a Father to his Children: with Observations and Comments, by Timothy Flint, Esq., Author of "The History and Geography of the Mississippi Valley," &c. &c.

The Rev. S. R. Allom is preparing for the press, a Memoir of Richard Hatch, late Student of the Baptist College, Bristol, interspersed with Select Remains.

The Life and Labours of Adam Clarke, LL.D., to which will be added, an Historical Sketch of the Controversy concerning the Sonship of Christ, particularly as connected with the proceedings of the Wesleyan Methodist Conference, is announced for publication during the present month. It is said, that it will be impartial, and that it will contain several letters and parts of letters which have been suppressed.

ART. IX. WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

BIOGRAPHY.

Memoir of James Brainard Taylor, by Drs. J. H. and W. Rice, of New York. 12mo., 5*s.* boards.

BOTANY.

Maund's Botanic Garden. Part IX., boards, large 19*s.* Small 13*s.* Bordered Edition, for 1833, half Turkey Morocco, 1*l.* 15*s.*

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Value of Money. By Mrs. Barwell. 18mo. 2*s.* 6*d.* cloth.

The Teachers' Offering for 1833. 1*s.* 6*d.* half-bound.

THEOLOGY.

Melchizedek. By the Author of Balaam. 12mo. 4*s.*

Sunday Lessons for Little Children, with a Frontispiece. By Mrs. Barwell. 2*s.* 6*d.*

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THE ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR FEBRUARY, 1834.

Art. I.—1. *The Book of the Unveiling:* an Exposition, with Notes. 12mo. pp. 110. Price 4*s*. London, 1833.

2. *A Treatise on the Millennium;* in which the prevailing Theories on that Subject are carefully examined; and the true Scriptural Doctrine attempted to be elicited and established. By George Bush, A.M. Author of Questions and Notes upon Genesis and Exodus. 12mo. pp. 277. New York, 1832.

3. *The Time of the Millennium investigated;* and its Nature determined on Scriptural Grounds. By Frederick Nolan, LL.D. Vicar of Prittlewell, Essex. 8vo. pp. 205. London, 1831.

4. *An Amicable Controversy with a Jewish Rabbi on the Messiah's Coming:* unfolding New Views on Prophecy and the Nature of the Millennium: with an entirely new Exposition of Zechariah, on the Messiah's Kingdom. By J. R. Park, M.D. &c. 8vo. pp. 198. Price 7*s*. London, 1832.

5. *The Time of the End;* being a Series of Lectures on Prophetic Chronology. By the Rev. W. A. Holmes, B.A. Chancellor of Cashel, &c. &c. &c. 8vo. pp. 168. Price 6*s*. London, 1833.

6. *Discourses shewing the Structure and Unity of the Apocalypse;* the Order and Connection of its Prophecies—how far they have yet been fulfilled—what Part of them remains to be accomplished—and the Principal Events which may still be expected, in the Course of Divine Providence, before the Millennium commence. By David Robertson, Minister of the Gospel, Kilmaurs. 3 vols. 12mo. Price 15*s*. Glasgow, 1833.

OF these several publications, the first two are decidedly worth reading, and all of them seem to claim some notice from us; but it is one unhappy effect of the pestilent fanaticism of the would-be prophets and interpreters of prophecy who have at intervals infested the Church, that it breeds a distaste for all inquiries connected with the Scripture prophecies, fulfilled or unfulfilled, and tends to withdraw the minds of pious persons from contemplations which it becomes them to cherish. Now that the

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mania of the Millenarians appears to have subsided into a mild, chronic imbecility, we cannot but feel it to be highly desirable to recal the Biblical critic to the legitimate investigation of the concluding portion of the Canon, and to caution Christians generally against losing their hold upon "the blessed hope, the glorious appearing of the great God and Saviour Jesus Christ."

With this general object in view, we have for some time intended to devote an article to a selection from the numerous works on Prophecy which have been accumulating on our hands. The immediate inducement which has led us to put this intention into effect, is the fair occasion afforded by the first named publication, to take a succinct review of the whole field of inquiry.

There are four distinct subjects of investigation, all relating to the same general topic, which it seems to us important to discriminate. First, the design, character, structure, and import of the Apocalypse itself. Secondly, the specific import of the *unfulfilled* predictions it comprises. Thirdly, the Millenarian hypothesis. Fourthly, the cardinal doctrine which is the Alpha and Omega of the Book of Revelation, but at the same time independent, as to the evidence upon which it rests, of all theories of prophetic interpretation, and even of the testimony of that sacred book. Its truth and certainty would not be affected by the rejection of the Apocalypse itself, although that doctrine affords the true key to its mysteries. The doctrine we refer to, frigidly acknowledged in the formularies of the Established Church, is very distinctly and solemnly recognised by the Orthodox Dissenters in their communion service, by the recitation of the Apostolic direction, which points out a principal design of the Eucharist: "For as oft as ye eat this bread and drink of this cup, ye do shew forth the Lord's death, *till he come*." Thus, the Lord's Supper was intended to serve as a public profession of the believer's hope, as well as of his faith in the great Sacrifice, teaching the Church to connect in the same simple and solemn memorial, the first, with the second Advent of her Lord.

By those members of Christian Churches who are in the practice of devoutly celebrating the Lord's Supper, it is, we conceive, altogether impossible that the Scripture doctrine of the Second Coming of Christ should ever be lost sight of, although it may not in all cases be so distinctly recognised or so habitually realized as it ought to be. We are, indeed, disposed to concede, that it has not occupied its due prominence in the more public ministrations of the pulpit, but has seemed to be treated too much as an esoteric article of the Christian faith. This has given a fatal advantage to those who have perverted the doctrine from its legitimate use, and have made it the basis of fantastical theories and heresies. Modern fanaticism would make it the main business and duty of the Church to 'shew forth' the second coming

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of Christ. The Apostolic declaration above cited shews this to be a palpable error. She is to "shew forth the Lord's *death*—TILL HE COME."

The intelligent Author of the paraphrase of the Apocalypse somewhat quaintly but correctly designated as "The Book of the Unveiling," justly remarks, that 'the grand error of the Church 'in every age' (in these matters) 'has been, an excessive anxiety 'to find, in passing events, explanations of unfulfilled prophecy.'

'Mankind are always disposed to attach an undue importance to their own times, and to transactions which pass within the range of their very limited inspection. Under the influence of this natural exaggeration, students of prophecy are perpetually *going before* the purposes of Him whose ways are from everlasting. This error, the Author has been anxious carefully to avoid.'

It is a most seductive one; and yet, the experience of many centuries might have taught us, that it formed no part of the design for which Prophecy was given to the Christian Church, to enable her to unlock the secrets of the future, or even to determine the precise character of passing events. Every such attempt has uniformly failed, for this reason among others; that no historical events can be seen in their true bearings and relative importance, until they are past. Contemporary observers judge of them by their political prejudices, their interests, or their fears, exaggerating their importance, and mistaking their issue. We smile at the blunders of our predecessors, and fall into the same. What single event of any importance in the history of Europe during the present century, has corresponded to the predictions of the interpreters of prophecy? An amusing jest-book, were the subject not too serious, might be compiled from the works of Faber, Frere, Cunningham, and others, consisting of their blundering prognostications, many of them quite on a par with those of the venerable Francis Moore. What a number of predictive speculations were subverted by the death of Napoleon, and then by that of his son! Listen for a moment to Mr. Frere no longer ago than 1831.

'Having brought the history of the Church to a close with the interpretation of the 14th chapter of the Apocalypse, it remains to be observed, with respect to our present position in prophetic history, and our future expectations, that now, upon the theatre of Italy, is about to be solved that interesting problem, formerly discussed, whether the imperial tyrannical reigns of Rome and Austria will be for any space of time contemporary; that is, whether the young Napoleon, who must shortly be raised to the throne of Rome by the development of the present continental revolution, will be so with the consent of, or in opposition to Austria. The time of the destruction of all the kingdoms of the world is involved in this question; for, as the attack made by the emperors of Austria and Russia upon Antichrist, thus mani-

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fested in his last form, is described in Dan. xi. 40, as almost the immediate precursor of the battle of Armageddon, if there be no intervening period during which he will reign in Rome in friendship with Austria, that final act is even now almost close at hand: and the interval to the year 1847 must be filled up by the unexampled trouble described in Dan. xii. 1, and in preparations for the event, whatever it may be, which will mark the cleansing of the Sanctuary at Jerusalem, at the expiration of the times of the Gentiles.'

'Nor can we suppose that when the young Napoleon shall be raised to the throne of Rome, virtually, by so strong a principle as the revolutionary excitement now pervading the whole Continent, the period of his comparative pupilage, or of the contemporary reigns of Rome and Austria, can, under any circumstances, be of long duration; neither can the harvest of mercy be supposed much to precede the vintage of wrath.' *

In the same pamphlet, this archimage in the school of prophecy affirms, that 'the period of the sixth vial ended in September 1823, by putting down the revolutionary spirit in Spain 'by the French arms; and that the period of the seventh vial then 'commenced, though its *action* did not begin till July 27th, 1830!' Moreover, he cites the *Morning Herald*, in evidence that the French Revolution of 1830 was the *second* political earthquake referred to in Rev. xi. 13 and 19. The same ingenious personage finds in Dan. xi. 30, Lord Nelson's victory at Aboukir Bay, which defeated Bonaparte's projects against Egypt; and the bombardment at Copenhagen, he conceives to be not less distinctly pointed out in Old Testament prophecy! And yet, this Writer's melancholy hallucinations are cited by clergymen of the Church of England with profound deference and homage! Why should not Mehemet Ali be made to serve the purpose of these dreamers of prophecy, as well as Napoleon? Another curious specimen of political astrology is now before us, taken from "The Time of the End," by the reverend the Chancellor of Cashel.

'If the reasonings contained in my former Lecture be true and correct; if I have satisfactorily demonstrated, (as I think I have,) that the kingdom of our blessed Saviour will be established upon its proper basis, at the close of the year 1835, or the beginning of 1836; *this year being far advanced in* 1833, *we are now entered upon the three years and a half here prophesied of by the angel, and announced to St. John, as the end of the times.* And if this be the case, then has the war already been waged; now are the witnesses killed: even at this

* Eight Letters on the Prophecies relating to the Last Times. By James Hartley Frere, Esq. 8vo. London, 1831. The Author has just published "Three Letters," in continuation of these. 8vo. Price 2*s*. 1833.

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moment their dead bodies lie in the street of the great city; and it becomes a question of infinite moment, to what place we are to look for the fulfilment of the prophecy—what events have taken place answerable thereto—and what response do facts and history make, to this most searching and interesting inquiry?

'But I answer, and I answer with confidence, assured of its truth; that all is now exemplified and fulfilled in the united church of these realms, but *chiefly in that of the Irish branch, of which I am an unworthy member;* for we are fallen, we are prostrate, *we* have felt all the fangs of popery, and even now we remain, unpitied and unburied, upon the Plataea, the wide common of deluded popish Ireland.

'This is a weighty and a grave assertion, and it is one which requires not to be lightly touched and adverted to. It must be well cleared and judiciously established.

'In the first place, then, I must show that we are entitled to be called the witnesses; and next that our circumstances accord with the description of the angel.

'It has been well observed by Faber, Jones, and several other commentators, that the first witnesses, who had never compromised the truth of Christianity, and who had existed from the earliest times, a pure and uncorrupted church and ministry, even so far back as the days of Pope Silvester, in the 4th century, were the church and ministry of the Albigenses and Waldenses. Most certain it is that they have continued to bear their testimony in much patience, tribulation, persecution, and affliction down to the present day; and it should never be forgotten, that Peter Valdo and his followers were they who, at the commencement of the beast's decline, in 1169 or 1670, proclaimed Rome to be Babylon, the mother of harlots, and of abominations of the earth. But the office of being witnesses was not confined to them. The Lutheran and Calvinist churches on the continent were such, and the united church of England and Ireland in these realms, the purest and best portion (I must think) of the Reformation itself, and the most uncompromising foe of every principle of popery, in general and in detail—that church, I say, has stood forward with its manful and decided testimony and protest at all times and seasons, and has not ceased to *protest with effect* to this very day.

'And now I am to show, that this latter is the very church against which the war has been carried on. It might be supposed, indeed, that the war against the witnesses should have been a more general one, and that *we*, who are but a small integral part of the whole Reformation, could not merit the name, they being spread over so extensive a platform of Europe. But if the Albigenses and Waldenses, who inhabited the valleys and mountains of Piedmont, and the small congregations dwelling amidst the eternal snows of the Alps and the Apennines, in the earlier times, were witnesses, representing all the purer and more orthodox Christians, scattered throughout the empire; why may not *we* be accounted such at this day, representing, as we may well be supposed to do, the whole Reformation abroad and at home?

'Nor is it necessary that the engagement should have been so extensive, for the battle may be fought, and the fortunes of a nation de-

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cided by a handful of men, in the key or pass of a country, just as Leonidas and his brave ten thousand Spartans stayed the multitudes, the myriads of the Asiatic despot, and, as I may say, conquered them by this act of self-immolation, in the Straights of Thermopylæ. Such has been the destiny of the Irish church, and though her better-protected sister of England has remained comparatively secure, yet even *she* has not failed to feel OUR wound.

'And that Ireland must have been the place where the battle has been raging is evident, not only from the strong facts, but also from the prophetic declarations. The witnesses were to be killed in the Platæa, that is, without the city, without the jurisdiction of Rome and the ancient limits of the Roman empire. And such a place is Ireland. It is true that Ireland is not *now* more than her sister England under the legal jurisdiction of Rome, and so, in this respect, they are both on a par; but England was once a province and parcel of the Roman empire, whereas Ireland never was; *Ireland,* therefore, *is the street, the park, or common,* as the fields of Calvary were to Jerusalem, a broad place or platæa, without the ecclesiastical limits or jurisdiction of Rome, though within the sphere of her influence; and in Ireland have the witnesses been slain, and there their dead bodies now lie.

'And now turn your eyes, and let us look together at these battle-plains—the pomp and circumstance of this inglorious war. About two years since, in 1831, I think it was about the middle of June, the declaration of war was formally announced,—the tocsin was sprung—the trumpet sounded forth, by the popish bishop, Doctor Doyle——.'
pp. 149—153.

And so Mr. Holmes proceeds, with the Newspaper and the Bible before him, raving out the most prodigious assertions and predictions. It has been asked, he says, What has the Irish Church done? Have not its clergy great riches and preferments? He stoutly denies this. The Protestant ministers of Ireland neither are nor ever were rich! He can prove this from the Apocalypse. Have they not been idle? He denies this again, because, though they have had no flocks, they were 'like 'an army sent to garrison a country whose fields, and plains, and 'mountains, and fastnesses are in the possession of a predatory 'foe.' 'For *that* purpose, they were placed in those stations, by 'the call of God—at the command of Christ himself.' They form 'a militant church, expert chiefly at the use of *weapons.*'

'Certain it is,' he continues, 'that the Church of Ireland must not be judged by rules applicable to the sister country. *We are warriors, warriors of God;* and though in a temporal, not a spiritual sense, we are now defeated and prostrate on the field, we shall yet arise and have the victory.'

Mr. Holmes means, have the tithes, and rejoice again in the Protestant ascendancy. 'And is it to human help we look?' he exclaims. 'Oh no; far from it.' From the present Government,

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he expects 'absolutely nothing.' '*It is to Christ, whose coming 'is now at hand, we look for effectual aid.*' Wait only till 1836, and the Established Church of Ireland will call from the dead her extinct bishopries *, resume her robes of state, rejoice in the plenitude of her revenues, and tread the papists under her feet to the tune of 'Croppies lie down.' All this is clearly deduced from the Apocalypse. Besides which, another 'old say-'ing of the fathers, adopted by some of *the old prophets of the* '*English Church*,' is cited in confirmation of this consolatory augury:—

> '*Cum duplicantur lateres, tunc venit Moses.*'
> 'When the bricks are doubled, then comes the deliverer.'

Another prophecy which Mr. Holmes gratuitously bestows upon us, is, that as Belshazzar reigned four years in Babylon, so must Pope Gregory XVI., whose number is four, the square root of his pontifical number, sixteen, come to his end about the conclusion of 1835. For, says this new Nostrodamus:—

> 'Gregory the Sixteenth is a *watcher*. He has been watching, not for the coming of his Lord, but for the ruin of the Protestant Church of Ireland, because he hoped, by its ruin, to uproot the whole Reformation. But still he shall watch, and watch, and watch in vain.
>
> His numbers are sixteen and four,
> And Gregory shall rule no more.'

Let Pope Gregory look to himself, then, towards the close of next year; and let him be especially on his guard against every Englishman of the name of Holmes, since an astrologer of that name has evil designs upon him.

We have seen that this Expounder of Prophecy has demonstrated to his own satisfaction, that 'the Kingdom of our Blessed 'Saviour will be established *on its proper basis* at the beginning 'of 1836.' The question may have suggested itself to some of our readers, What is its proper basis? What must be the proper basis of that kingdom which is not of this world? Mr. Chancellor Holmes is not aware of the light in which his prediction may be viewed, and the turn which may be given to it. A fana-

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* The Chancellor of Cashel expresses his grateful satisfaction, in a note, at learning that 'the spoliation clause' had been expunged from the Irish Church Reform Bill. 'It remains to be seen,' he adds, 'whether the ancient form and discipline of the Irish Church is to be maimed and mutilated by *the suppression of the bishoprics*, and whether the severe retribution which must follow close upon such an act, shall be averted likewise.'

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tical expositor of an opposite school might be led to interpret it of the downfal of all those ecclesiastical despotisms which attempt to establish the spiritual kingdom of Christ upon a secular and worldly basis. We turn from this luminary of the Irish Church to a Scottish Expositor of the Apocalypse,—a northern light: and in his pages, we find a very different reading of the symbols of Prophecy. After noticing the various opinions which have identified the Two-horned Beast with *Lateinos* or the Latin Pope, with *Ludovicus*, that is, the French monarchy, with Napoleon, with George the Third, and with the King of Prussia, Mr. Robertson wisely concludes, that 'every one must judge for 'himself.' 'But, in *our* opinion', he adds, 'people *have only* 'to open their eyes, and they will see the two-horned beast in 'the ecclesiastical system of the Protestant States.' Now Mr. Holmes, and Mr. Frere too, *will* open their eyes at this announcement! As we have given a few specimens of their folly, we must in justice lay before our readers a few paragraphs of Mr. Robertson's saner reasoning.

'Were the Protestant establishments before 1688 more tolerant than the Catholic? Were not both of them enemies of the rights of conscience and the liberties of men, and labouring by fire and sword for the suppression of all voluntary churches and all evangelical worship? What makes a beast in the prophetical sense? It is not infidelity or image-worship: it is the devouring of men, the taking of spoil, and the living on prey. And are not these essential ingredients in the character of a prophetic beast found in the Protestant establishments as well as the Catholic?

'And to prevent mistakes, we add, that we distinguish between the church and the human establishment of it. The latter is the origin of all the injustice, robbery, and persecution with which the system is, and has been chargeable. Without this, the men of one sect are never able, and, I may add, never inclined to rob or murder those of another. And the former shall remain when this is taken away. The great city Babylon is in three parts, ruled by the three great enemies of Christ. And God has many of his people in all the three divisions. But to them the cry is, Come out of her my people. The establishment by the state is what God commands them to leave in haste, like men fleeing for their lives. If they continue there taxing and oppressing their brethren, they must bear her plagues. It is not the church, but the human establishment of the church, which shall be destroyed by the vials. And this change in heaven cannot be effected without terrible shakings of the earth. Evangelical doctrine, and the living stones of which Christ builds his church, shall remain, when the structure of secular power is taken away.

'Under the Old Testament, there was no human establishment of religion. There was a divine establishment by God himself at Mount Sinai. And no human potentate was afterward permitted to add to, or diminish from it. It established both a mode of worship and a

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civil government for his people. And both are now abrogated. The New Testament church also received a complete constitution and a full establishment by Christ and his apostles. And to this establishment all his faithful people adhere, in preference to all the establishments that have since been made by judaizing teachers, who would lead us to the law of Moses for a model of the church of Christ, or by worldly princes who would usurp his place. And in no age has Jehovah given his glory to men, by authorizing them to oppress or slay their brethren who differ from their views, to compel them to worship any image which they set up, or even to exact a compulsory tax for supporting it. The church of Christ civilizes the savage, promotes peace on earth, and brings all men to live as brethren. But what are called by men established churches, promote strife and contention, bloodshed and war. All religious wars (which are universally admitted to be the worst and most cruel of all wars) have originated and been carried on by the established church, or by a church established in the views of its own party, and contending for domination over all others. The insurrections, the robberies, the midnight murders that have disgraced Ireland, and kept her for centuries in misery and barbarism; the late burnings of stack-yards by the agricultural labourers of England, may all be traced to the same cause—the compulsory support of the established church. The heart-burnings occasioned by the established church in Scotland have not yet reached the same height. In the days of John Knox, the tithes or tiends in Scotland were abolished, and continued for ages comparatively light. But Charles I. went far in restoring them, and our presbyterian clergy are now pleading his statutes in the court of tiends, and enjoying the fruits of the system which their forefathers reprobated so much, and resisted unto blood. But if that were all, it might be borne. At the revolution, they got all that Charles I. and Charles II. or his brother James thought necessary to support an episcopal hierarchy in Scotland. But since the revolution, the clergy of our presbyterian hierarchy have been prosecuting their people in the court of tiends for augmentations. Of late multitudes of them have been doing so every year, nay, I may say every day. In general, all these actions are successful. No augmentation is asked without being granted. If the tiends are all exhausted, and the over-burdened parish according to their own system can bear no more, the liberality of the British parliament supplies their clerical greed out of the public purse. But the clergy themselves are *sensible* that every augmentation has the unchristian effect of augmenting the wrath of their parishioners, and the indignation of the public. They are advancing their tithe system rapidly to what it was before the days of John Knox. But the probability is, that ere their iniquity and oppression reach that height, another vial of divine wrath will deprive them of the power of spoiling their neighbours' goods, as those which are past have disabled them from shedding their blood.

'If any think that Scotland is content under her present ecclesiastical system, he is grievously deceived. Scotland was gratified by the downfal of episcopacy, and the triumph of presbytery, at the revolution. But when she found that it was not the presbytery which she had known in the days of John Knox, when the ministers received their principal

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support from the offerings of their people, and little or nothing from the state, (even when they forgot their bibles and the example of the apostles so far as to ask it,) but a presbyterian church resting on the statute of Charles I. and gorging herself with all that he had provided to fatten his bishops and their suffragans, and still with a voracious appetite crying for more; Scotland was sadly disappointed. The Cameronians saw this from the beginning, and many of them, (even though deserted by their ministers,) never joined the presbyterian church under the revolution settlement, which they stigmatized as Erastian. Of the multitude of presbyterians who joined it, in hopes of obtaining some amelioration, very few were ever satisfied. Instead of becoming better, it grew worse. Patronage, which had been condemned by John Knox and the ministers of his day, in the first Book of Discipline, and driven from Scotland with the bishops and their clergy at the revolution, was restored by queen Anne in the year 1711. Those called seceders soon after withdrew from the establishment; those forming the relief church followed them; the Scottish congregationalists and other smaller parties have come out since. Scotland is now groaning under the weight of a tithe-fed church, a church which the majority of the inhabitants abhor as unjust and oppressive, and calmly watching for an opportunity of throwing off the load.' *Robertson*, vol. iii., pp. 145—150.

The only fault we are disposed to find with these paragraphs, is, that they occur in connexion with an Exposition of the Apocalypse. They contain much that is true and important; but we must own that we as little approve of having Apocalyptic thunders launched against the Church of England by a polemical prophet, as of having the same sort of artillery fired off against Papists and Church-Reformers from the ramparts of the Establishment by one of the Protestant garrison.

But we think that Mr. Robertson will obtain the forgiveness of even Mr. Holmes and Lord Roden, for his impiety in making the Irish Church a part of the Two-horned Beast, when they learn the extended term which he assigns to its existence and ascendancy. Why supposing that Mr. Holmes's prediction comes to pass, and the Irish Witnesses recover their feet and their mitres in 1836, there will actually be time, according to Mr. Robertson's prophetical arithmetic, for a little Orange Millennium to elapse before the Satan of church reform becomes loosed again. The Protestant Church Establishments must, in his opinion, fulfil and outlive the mysterious number of 666 years.

'Dissenters will continue to increase, and the injustice and abuses of establishments to become more glaring in the eyes of the public. Many of these abuses may indeed be modified, as the means of lengthening out their detested existence; but their end shall be with that of all tyrannical and antichristian powers at Armageddon. We may date their rise from the liberation and independence of Geneva in 1534, from the treaty of Passau, 1552, by which the Lutherans secured their

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establishment in Germany, from the renunciation of the Pope's authority by Henry VIII. of England, or from the recognition of Dutch independence in 1609. But accuracy in fixing it at present is of little moment. If you add six hundred and sixty-six to the year of their rise, this will bring you down to the year 2200, or beyond it. And if this conjecture be right, the dreadful shock of that mighty earthquake which is to dissolve the whole fabric of European society, with all its governments and constitutions, is not so near as many have imagined. The vials must occupy many centuries. They are not trifling occurrences which may all be got over in thirty years. Jehovah is now in his wrath.' *Ib.* p. 181.

As we are upon the subject of the Two-horned Beast, we shall take this opportunity of adverting to another proposed solution of the enigma of his name, the audacious impiety of which will shock our readers; but it may serve as a warning against forcibly tampering with the wards of a lock which will yield only to the golden key. A pamphlet has been sent to us, printed at Dublin, without a date, but bearing on the title-page the words '*Third* '*Edition*'. We have strong reason for suspecting that it never passed through a first. The title is, "Unitarian Christianity demonstrated from the Bible to be the Religion taught by Christ and his Apostles; with an Enquiry into the Origin of the erroneously supposed Scriptural Doctrine of a Trinity: also, a Scriptural Enquiry, tending to prove the now near Accomplishment of Time for the Second Coming of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, with an Historical and Chronological Summary of the Book of Revelation. By a late Student of the Dublin University." This strange production is almost too absurd for earnest opinion, too dull for burlesque. It is quite below criticism as to either the matter or the style of the composition. Yet, if it be really the genuine product of Unitarian fanaticism, it would deserve to be laid up among other rare psychological curiosities. The blessing of St. Patrick has delivered the Irish soil from venomous reptiles, but still, monstrous productions have their birth there; and Irish Unitarianism speaking Prophecy would really seem to be a *lusus* in the moral world. This Writer has the temerity to contend, that the number and mark of the Beast may be found in the word TRINITY; the two Greek words *Trias-en*, or the Latin *Tria-ens*, (so he writes them,) affording the sum 666 in numerals!—Our readers will not expect us to take any further notice of the contents of such a pamphlet.

So much for different attempts to apply the mysterious intimations of prophecy to political and polemical purposes. We shall next advert to the various theories respecting the Nature and true Era of the Millennium.

Our readers are aware that what is called the doctrine of the Millennium, rests wholly for its Scriptural support upon a dis-

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puted interpretation of a single passage in the Book of Revelation. We say, for its Scriptural support; because the Millenarian hypothesis has its real origin in Jewish tradition. It was a favourite notion of the Talmudical writers, that the world would last seven thousand years, typified by the seven days of the week. As God created the world in six days, and rested on the seventh, so, it was believed, that he would work out the redemption of mankind in six millenniums, (a thousand years being with the Lord as one day,) and that the seventh would be a millennial sabbatism. This allegorical interpretation of the Mosaic record of Creation, which receives no countenance from the Old Testament Scriptures, was so ancient and favourite a tradition, that it passed into the Christian Church, and was generally adopted by the early fathers. Dr. Nolan, indeed, labours to prove that it has the sanction of the inspired writers of the New Testament, 'by whom it has been incorporated in the canonical Scriptures. 'On the authority which it derived from this source', he adds, 'it seems alone possible to account for the universality of its 'adoption by the Primitive Christians.' But this argument loses all its force, when it is perceived, that the early Fathers, instead of appealing to the authority of the New Testament writers, content themselves with referring, in proof of the doctrine, to the Jewish argument drawn from the allegorical view of the Creation,—to the Jewish prophecies of Ezekiel and Isaiah respecting Jerusalem,—and to no other passage in the Christian Scriptures, than that in the Apocalypse, which they interpreted agreeably to Jewish traditions. Dr. Nolan discovers the plainest allusions to the doctrine in the canonical Epistle to the Hebrews; but it is strange that those allusions should not have been understood by the early Millenarians, or, if understood, not referred to as authority. We must transcribe the learned Author's remarks upon this supposed Scripture proof.

'To the millennial state of rest which is to be hereafter enjoyed by the Church, there is the plainest allusion in the Epistle to the Hebrews: on the assumption of its truth, the whole tenor and consistency of the author's reasoning is indeed wholly dependent. In the consciousness under which he wrote, that his readers were not unversed in the subject, we find a sufficient justification of the general terms under which he expresses himself respecting it. In adducing proof from scripture, that "a sabbatism remained to the people of God," no doubt can be long entertained that the author's allusion is to the Great Sabbath, which the Jews commonly understood by the Millennium. On the authority of the Psalmist, who had shewn, that however this rest had been promised, it had never been enjoyed, he undertakes to establish, that it remained to be expected. In the course of his proof, he reasons from the analogy of such a state of rest, and that which had been enjoyed by God at the time of the creation. A doubt has been, indeed, founded upon the inference of the Apostle, whether

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the rest from which God excluded the Israelites under Moses, with an oath, and which they had failed to attain under Joshua, as it remained unenjoyed until the times of David, were analogous to the state of repose which directly succeeded the work of creation. But that the allusion of the author points to a sabbatism of a higher and different kind, will not long remain doubtful, when it is considered that the rest of the sabbath was not only experienced in the wilderness, but that of the jubilee and sabbatical year observed, on the settlement of the Jews in Canaan. And the Apostle, in a subsequent chapter, clearly shews, that the promises of God and expectations of the Patriarchs were directed, from the earthly Canaan, to 'a better country, and heavenly Jerusalem,' in every respect analogous to the abode which is assigned by St. John to the blessed, in his description of the Millennium. But the point seems to be placed beyond ambiguity by an Apostolical Father, to whom the translation of the Epistle to the Hebrews into Greek has been ascribed; and who was not only the companion of St. Paul, but has addressed his Epistle to the same people, and on the same subject, as the great Apostle. St. Barnabas, while he delivers himself more fully respecting it, has established the connexion, which is merely intimated by St. Paul, between 'the sabbath of God,' and 'the sabbatism reserved for his people.' He accordingly shews, that the period of seven days was chosen by the Almighty, who might have at once called the creation into existence, as indicative of the term of seven thousand years, which he had prescribed to the world that he had created. The last day, as he intimates, was appropriated by God to repose from his works; as the last millennium would be consigned to a respite, for his people, from care and labour. And he justifies the analogy on which he reasons, by the authority and language of scripture, to which St. Peter has given a similar application, when apparently delivering himself on the same subject: concluding, that, as 'one day was with the Lord as a thousand years,' the world would be only oppressed with toil and sorrow for so many thousand years as days had been consumed in the work of the creation. With this illustration, the connexion in St. Paul's reasoning becomes obvious and conclusive; which, without it, appears to be inconsequential and paralogistic. 'There remaineth, therefore,' reasons the Apostle, 'a sabbatism to the people of God. For he that is entered into his rest, he also hath ceased from his works, as God did from his.' 'The sabbath,' being allowed, as St. Barnabas assumes, to be the type of 'the sabbatism;' it was necessarily to be inferred, from 'the rest which God entered,' that 'a rest remained to his people.' But this analogy not being pre-supposed, no conclusion can be directly deduced from the rest which the One enjoyed at the foundation of the world, that a rest remained for the other, at any subsequent period.' pp. 8—11.

Dr. Nolan assumes the genuineness of the Epistle of Barnabas, which is doubtful. Waiving this, we must observe, that he fails to shew that that Epistle contains any reference to the passage in the Epistle to the Hebrews. That the Apostle may *allude* to the notion of the Jewish Millenarians, we grant; but what if he

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alludes to it, as he does to many other Jewish notions, for the purpose of confuting their vain expectation? That his 'allusion 'points to a sabbatism of a higher and different kind', than that of Canaan, no one questions: but as little can it be doubted by any intelligent believer, that that sabbatism, that millennial rest, to which faith conducts us, is entered upon by all the "blessed who die in the Lord". The passage supplies, in fact, a tacit refutation of the very notion which Dr. Nolan would employ it to establish.

We are then warranted in repeating the statement, that the only passage in the Canonical Scriptures which affords apparent support to the Jewish doctrine of a Millennium, occurs in Rev. xx. 1—7. Even on the supposition that that doctrine is founded in truth, it does not follow, as Mr. Bush justly remarks, in the work which will now claim our attention, 'that the sabbatical millenary of 'the Judaic tradition is the same with the thousand years of the 'Apocalypse. The identifying them, certainly, is a gratuitous 'assumption.' Allusion has, in this instance, again been mistaken for a confirmation of the doctrine alluded to. In fact, the Millennium of St. John cannot be the same as that of the Jewish tradition, which is the seventh and closing cycle, since it is to be succeeded by *another* period, during which Satan is loosed: an intimation quite irreconcileable with the Rabbinical notion of the Great Sabbath. For any thing that can be adduced to the contrary, the thousand years during which the Dragon is bound, may synchronize with some other chiliad of the series,—with the fifth or the sixth. Had not this passage been interpreted in accommodation to preconceived notions, it could never have suggested the Millenarian doctrine. So little does it harmonize with that hypothesis, that, while some of our Modern Prophets believe that we are on the eve of the Apocalyptic Millennium, if it has not already begun, some have contended that it is near its expiration, and many learned Expositors have maintained that it is long since past! * This last opinion, that of Lightfoot, Brightman, and Usher, of Grotius, the elder Turretin, Maestricht, and Marck, has been recently revived by Professor Lee of Cambridge. Mr. Bush has started a novel view of the Millennium, which he supports with considerable ingenuity. As his volume, being printed in America, is not easily accessible, we shall lay before our readers his exposition of the passage in question.

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* The commencement of the Millennium is dated by Abp. Usher, A.D. 4; by Grotius, &c., A.D. 306; by Brightman, in 1546; by Mede, in 1716; by Frere, in 1793; by Ness and Faber, in 1865; by Hales, in 1880; by Bp. Newton, in 1987; by Sir Isaac Newton, in 2036.

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'In the close of the nineteenth chapter, the final catastrophe of the secular imperial Beast and of the ecclesiastical False Prophet is expressly detailed..... Having thus portrayed by these significant emblems the remediless doom of the Beast, and having consequently no more to say of him, the order of the visions is now reversed, and the prophet is carried back, in the train of supernatural disclosure, to the point where the history of the Dragon had been interrupted to make way for that of his vicegerent the Beast..... The symbolical history remounts to the period of his sending forth upon the territories of Christendom his bestial substitute, and embraces in the present vision all the chronological space between that and the time of his ultimate perdition, when he too is cast into the lake of fire and brimstone, to which the Beast and the False Prophet had been already adjudged. So that, in fact, the vision of the twentieth chapter of the Revelation is to be considered, as far as the events shadowed forth are concerned, as connecting itself immediately with that of the twelfth; and a more important clew to the genuine structure of this wonderful book cannot, we believe, be laid before the student of prophecy.

'In attempting, therefore, to fix the legitimate sense of the symbols here employed, the first position which we assume, and which, if we mistake not, will inevitably draw after it the whole interpretation that follows, is, *the identity of the Dragon which is bound with the Dragon which is cast out of heaven.* Unless this point be conceded in the outset, it will be in vain to hope ever to attain to a satisfactory solution of the prophetic enigmas of this book. If the Dragon or the Devil is to be regarded as a hieroglyphic in one portion of the Apocalypse, we affirm that he is to be so viewed in every other portion; otherwise we are left in the mazes of inextricable confusion in every attempt to unravel the mysteries which it contains*. But that this assumption, instead of resting on mere conjecture, is in fact based upon the unequivocal declarations of the sacred text, will be obvious from the bare inspection of the two following passages ranged in juxtaposition.

Rev. xii. 9.	Rev. xx. 2, 3.
"And the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, called the Devil and Satan, which deceived the whole world."	"And he laid hold on the dragon, that old serpent, which is the Devil and Satan, and bound him a thousand years—that he should deceive the nations no more."

'This must of necessity remove all doubt as to the perfect equivalency of the symbols in the two visions. If then, as we have endeavoured to shew, the term Dragon, Devil, or Satan, as used by John in

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* Mr. Bush cites, in a note, a passage from Mr. Vint's "New Illustrations of Prophecy," in which this natural and simple explanation was first proposed. One is astonished to find that it has not obtained more notice from our own Biblical scholars.

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the Revelation, must be understood, not as the literal appellation of the person of the Tempter, or the Prince of fallen spirits, but as the mystic emblem of *despotism and idolatry united*, the true idea of Paganism, the inference is irresistible, that the binding of the Dragon, or of Satan for the space of a thousand years, must imply something more than the mere restraining of what is usually denominated "Satanic influences." It is, in fact, but *a figurative mode of announcing the suppression of Paganism for a definite term of years*; not, indeed, its *universal* suppression, but its banishment from the bounds of Christendom during the period specified . . . . . If the Dragon be *Paganism personified*, then, his being seized, bound, and incarcerated for a thousand years, must necessarily signify some powerful restraint laid in the providence of God upon this baneful system of error, by which its prevalence, through the above-mentioned period, is vastly weakened, obstructed, and confined to narrow limits.

'The question, therefore, whether this period be already past or yet future, resolves itself into another question purely historical. Has there already occurred, in the annals of the Christian world—for the book of Revelation has mainly to do with the territories of Christendom—an extended tract of time, during which the system of Pagan delusion was suppressed, and the fabric of civil and ecclesiastical oppression represented by the Beast and the False Prophet, prevailed in its stead? But this is a question which the veriest novice in the history of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire, and of those nations which branched out of its dismembered fragments, is at once prepared to answer. No facts in the chronicles of the past are more notorious, than that Paganism, under Constantine and his successors, did, after a desperate struggle, succumb to Christianity in its triumphant progress; and that the religion of the Gospel, after subsisting for one or two centuries posterior to the age of Constantine in a state of comparative purity, did gradually become corrupt in doctrine, carnal and secular in spirit, and arrogant in its claims, till finally it allied itself to the civil power, in a union which gave birth to the ecclesiastico-political dominion of the Roman pontificate, for so many centuries the paramount scourge of Europe. As it is unquestionable, therefore, that the ascendancy of Paganism in the Roman world was succeeded by that of Anti-Christianism, symbolically denoted by the Beast's succeeding the Dragon, so we are led to consider the binding of the Dragon, *i. e.* the suppression of Paganism, as commencing about the time of the rise of the Beast, and nearly coinciding with the first thousand years of his reign.' pp. 140—147.

This, Mr. Bush anticipates, will strike most of his readers as 'a very revolting conclusion'; and we must confess that, accustomed as we have been to meet with all sorts of novel theories, we were startled at the abruptness with which this seemed to snap asunder all the poetic associations connected with the Millennial epoch. In representing the Apocalyptic Millennium, which has always been but another name for the golden age of the Church, as actually synchronizing with the *most calamitous period of her*

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annals, the Author is aware that he is doing violence to the most cherished sentiments respecting that period. But, admitting his premises, the conclusion seems not easily evaded. It is evident that Satan may in some sense be bound, without its importing a period of perfect or extraordinary felicity. Many ancient and some learned modern commentators have supposed that this binding took place at the coming of Christ, or at his resurrection, 'when the strong man was bound by the stronger.' Various texts are cited from the Gospels, (Luke x. 17–20; xi. 20–22. Matt. xii. 28, 29. John xii. 31.) by Professor Lee, in support of the most untenable and, as it seems to us, monstrous hypothesis, that the phrase "a thousand years" is to be understood of the brief period during which miraculous powers were exercised by the Church; a figurative Millennium terminating with the first general persecution! * Lightfoot remarks, that the passage in the Revelation does not contain 'one word of the devil's binding that he should not disturb the Church, but of the devil's 'binding that he should not deceive the nations.' At all events, this circumstance would not of itself denote a reign of purity and happiness. Let us then inquire, whether there are any other parts of the representation, which warrant the assumption that the Apocalyptic Millennium, whether past or future, was to be a golden age of either temporal or spiritual prosperity.

The Prophet, proceeding to describe the circumstances of the church during the thousand years that should elapse between the binding of Satan and his being loosed for a little season, says: "And I saw thrones, and there were some seated upon them, and judgement was committed to them. And I saw the souls of those who had been slaughtered for the testimony of Jesus and for the word of God; and those who had not worshipped the Beast nor his Image, nor had received his mark upon their foreheads and upon their hands. And they lived and reigned with Christ the thousand years. But the rest of the dead did not live till those thousand years were fulfilled. This is the first resurrection. Blessed and holy is he who has part in the first resurrection: Upon these, the second death has no power; but they shall be priests of God and of Christ; and shall reign with him a thousand years."

This is the whole passage which has been supposed to promise to the saints a temporal reign upon earth, a thousand years of secular felicity. By expositors who take this view of it, the forms which St. John beheld occupying the thrones, are assumed to be those of the martyrs. But Witsius long ago pointed out this to be

* Lee's Dissertations, p. 341. See also Lardner's Works, Vol. V. p. 79. for the similar opinion of Andrew, Bishop of Cæsarea, A.D. 500.

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an error. 'John does not affirm, that he saw the souls of them that 'were beheaded, much less that he saw the martyrs themselves 'that were beheaded, sitting upon thrones. He says only that he 'saw thrones, and those who sat upon them, not determining who 'they were; or rather making it sufficiently plain that this is not 'to be understood of the souls.'* Mr. Bush considers the throned rulers as denoting the oppressors of the true Church, who gave judgement against the saints; and their living and reigning with Christ, he interprets of the reward promised to their fidelity and constancy in suffering the effects of the judgements which these despotic 'thrones' had previously inflicted upon them.

'That is, he saw those who worshipped not the Beast, and were suffering under the unrighteous edicts of these "thrones," the organs of papal persecution, as confessors and martyrs in defence of the pure, unadulterated religion of Jesus; the Waldenses and Albigenses in France, the Lollards in Germany and England, and others in other quarters of Europe, who held to kindred views of the truth; as such there were dispersed throughout Christendom during the darkest days of the Church, a holy and blessed band of recusants against the pretensions and claims of the Man of Sin, while the mighty fabric of his power was towering up towards heaven.' p. 184.

The chief difficulty in the way of establishing this natural explanation, arises from its being intimated, that these very martyrs and confessors lived and reigned with Christ during the thousand years, coëtaneously, as it should seem, with the existence of these despotic thrones. Mr. Bush would interpret this of *spiritual* life; but we must confess that this part of his exegesis is far from satisfactory. Yet, may not the very words "*with Christ*" rather imply, that this world was not to be the scene of *their* reign;—that, while their oppressors occupied earthly thrones, they, absent from the body, were to be present with the Lord, "kings and priests unto God?" There is a passage in the *vith* chapter, evidently of equivalent import, to which we are disposed to think the passage under consideration looks back. That they are strictly parallel, will be seen from placing them in juxta-position, as Mr. Bush has done Rev. xii. 9. and xx. 2

Rev. vi. 9—11.	Rev. xx. 4—5.
"And when he had opened the fifth seal, I saw under the altar the souls of them that had been slain for the word of God and for the testimony which they held.	"And I saw the souls of those who had been slain for the testimony of Jesus and for the word of God.

* *Exerc. Sac.* cited by Mr. Bush, p. 195.

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"And they cried with a loud voice saying, How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?

"And white robes were given to every one of them; and it was said unto them, that they should rest yet for a little season, until (the number of) their fellow-servants also, and their brethren, that should be killed as they were, should be fulfilled."

[The number fulfilled.]

"And I saw those who had not worshipped the Beast nor his Image, nor had received his mark, &c. And they lived and reigned with Christ the thousand years. This is the first resurrection."

On comparing these two passages, it would appear, that the souls which St. John saw in the vision recorded in the xxth chapter, were the same that he saw beneath the altar of sacrifice in the vith,—the souls of those who had been slaughtered by pagan persecutors. But here, they are no longer invoking the judgements of God upon their tyrants. Those judgements had been executed. Other thrones now occupy the earth. And with these elder martyrs are now seen associated those confessors under the reign of the Papal Beast, who had not worshipped him or received his mark upon their foreheads. And they reign with Christ, priests in the heavenly temple. They have attained to the first resurrection.

But what is this ἀναστασις ἡ πρώτη, this primitial resurrection? Our view of the passage would preclude its being interpreted in that figurative and mystical sense which most commentators would put upon it, and for which Mr. Bush contends; nor could we ever satisfy ourselves with this interpretation. It has been had recourse to as the only means of getting rid of the Millenarian dream of 'a literal and proper resurrection of martyrs,' prior to the general resurrection, to live *on earth*. But while, on the one hand, there is not a word in the prophetic vision to countenance this chimerical notion, there is, on the other, no necessity to reject the idea which the passage conveys of a literal resurrection. The Author of the Book of the Unveiling, renders the text in this natural sense, adding the following note.

"'The martyrs enjoy the honour of priority in the resurrection of their bodies, not because they were on earth more eminent for holiness than many others who yet were not called to testify their love to Christ at the stake; but *because* they were martyrs. The natural period of their lives being cut short by violence for Christ's sake, they enjoy a priority in the resurrection. It is an honour put upon that very body which was tortured for Christ's sake. These anticipate the final re-

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ward, and will come with Christ to judgement; witnesses, rather than participators in the solemnities of that day.'

This exposition not only obviates every difficulty, but sheds a beautiful light upon the passage, bringing before the mind in all its reality the City of Souls. But does this idea derive any countenance from other parts of Scripture? We think that it does. In the first place, the translation of Enoch and Elijah affords a *precedent*, if we may so speak, for the existence of glorified bodies in the heavenly mansions to which Our Lord has ascended in bodily form. Secondly, we read expressly of a partial resurrection attending that of Our Lord himself. "The graves were opened; and many bodies of the saints which slept arose, and came out of their graves after his resurrection, and went into the holy city, and appeared unto many."—Matt. xxvii. 52, 53. To this, Calvin supposes St. Paul to refer, 1 Cor. xv. 20, in styling Our Lord the *first-fruits* of them that slept—'*quia Christus re-surgens alios ex sepulchris comites secum eduxit. Porrò hoc regno ostensum fuit, eum sibi privatim nec mortuum esse nec re-surrexisse, sed ut vitæ odorem in omnes fideles spiraret.*' * The question, what became of these holy persons, the learned Reformer acknowledges to be difficult, and one which he is not solicitous to determine; but he admits, that the notion of their returning to the dust again bears the stamp of absurdity. If the life with which they were endowed had been mortal, '*solidæ resurrectionis documentum esse non poterat*,' it could not have been an attestation of a real and substantial resurrection. Calvin has been pronounced wise for not undertaking the exposition of the Apocalypse: it indicated at least his caution and his modesty. We cannot but think, however, that the difficulty he found in this part of the sacred narrative, (which is a great stumbling-block to the German neologists,) would have been lessened by his collating it with the discoveries of the Revelation.

There are two or three expressions occurring in the Apostolic Epistles, which are at least susceptible of an interpretation that would make them allusive to a primitial resurrection. That has always been considered as a passage of some difficulty, in which St. Paul, anticipating, apparently, his own martyrdom, says: "Being made conformable to his death, if by any means I might attain unto the resurrection of the dead." Phil. iii. 11. The particle rendered *If by any means*, Calvin remarks, does not imply doubt, but difficulty; and this, if the general resurrection be referred to, is unquestionable. The characteristic modesty of the Apostle is supposed by other commentators to account for the expression. Is it not possible, however, that he

* Harmonia, *in loco.*

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might contemplate a special reward of his sufferings? He tells Timothy, that it was a faithful saying, not only that "if we be dead with Christ, we shall also live with him," (a happiness common to all the regenerate,) but, "if we suffer with him, we shall also *reign with him*;" the specific reward, as it should seem, of those who were called to suffer death for the Gospel.

The same close association of the ideas of resurrection and martyrdom seems to be indicated by a passage which we find in the xith chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews: "Others were tortured, not accepting deliverance, that they might obtain κρειττονος ἀναστασεως, a better resurrection"; that is, better than that which is referred to in the preceding clause—Women received their dead ἐξ ἀναστασεως, by a resurrection. The usual sense put upon the words is, a resurrection to a better life. Without denying this to be a good and proper sense, we may be allowed to suggest, that there may be a reference to some peculiar honour awaiting the martyrs of faith. The 40th verse of this same chapter has been very variously interpreted. These ancient worthies and martyrs are represented as not having fully realised the promised blessing of the better country, the prepared city, but as waiting till those for whom God had provided "some better thing" (the better dispensation) should have finished their course and joined that glorious assembly: "That they without us," says the Apostle, "should not be perfected," *i. e.* be crowned victors; (the expression alludes to the agonistic contest;)—their happiness could not be consummated till the number of their fellow servants also, and of their brethren,—that should be killed as they were, should be fulfilled. Thus explained, the passage is in striking coincidence with the intimations contained in the Apocalypse.

In the following chapter, we meet with another most remarkable expression in the sublime description of the inhabitants of the Celestial Jerusalem, the City of God. As distinct from the assembly of "first-born ones enrolled in heaven," are mentioned "the spirits of the perfected righteous ones." To understand these two expressions of the *same* persons, as most commentators have explained them, is to destroy the propriety and beauty of the whole passage. Stuart more correctly remarks, that the former phrase 'designates the more conspicuous and exalted 'part of the Church invisible, such as patriarchs, prophets, 'apostles, martyrs, &c.; while πνεύμασι δικαίων embraces all 'saints of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation.' He refers to Rev. iv. 4, as adverting to a similar distinction. That the elders there mentioned were of those redeemed from among men, is proved, he remarks, by Rev. v. 8, 9. 'Then 'follows the πνεύματα δικαίων τετελειωμενα in Rev. v. 13. The 'passage in Heb. xii. 23, understood in view of this, is intelli-'gible, and needs none of the varying and endless conjectures

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'which have been made respecting it.' While we acquiesce in these remarks, we venture to suggest, that the expression, πρωτοτόκων ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἀπογεγραμμένων, may denote something more than distinguished eminence: it implies actual admission to the rights of citizenship, as enrolled among the inhabitants of heaven. And these *primogeniti* or elder-born are named in immediate connexion with the convention of angels; so that Storr improperly refers the expression to the angelic inhabitants of the heavenly city. Who, then, are they that are so near and so like to the angels, and yet distinguished from the *spirits* of the happy just? The expression "first-born from the dead," which occurs Col. i. 18, (evidently synonymous with first-fruits, ἀπαρχη, 1 Cor. xv. 20,) suggests the possibility at least, that we are to understand the word in this place as including a similar idea. If so, these are the first-born ones from among the dead, the happy and blessed who have attained to the primitial resurrection.*

We would not venture upon such a subject to express ourselves with unbecoming confidence; but we are quite sure that there is nothing contrary to Scripture or to sound doctrine in the conclusion to which we have found ourselves conducted; and whatever may be thought of the interpretation which we have proposed of the above cited passages from the Apostolic writings, the fact seems to us clearly indicated by the Apocalyptic vision, of which it forms the only natural explanation.

One objection, however, may be started, founded upon what follows: "The rest of the dead lived not till the thousand years were fulfilled." Does this imply that they should live or be raised to life immediately after the expiration of that term? Mr. Bush, though he does not take our view of the passage, but explains the phrases of spiritual life and spiritual death, yet argues from many similar modes of expression in the inspired

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* It is due to the late Mr. Culbertson, one of the most judicious Expositors of the Book of Revelation, to cite from his Lectures the following concurrent remarks upon this part of the Apocalyptic vision. 'In what condition soever their bodies are raised, it would be at the 'expense of a great diminution of their present blessedness, to dwell 'in them upon the earth. Heaven, with the presence of Christ in it, 'is certainly a much more eligible situation than this lower world, with 'the same adorable person dwelling among them in human nature. And 'as we cannot for a moment suppose, that the blessedness of the spirits 'of just men made perfect will ever be diminished, we cannot admit 'that the martyrs will be raised from the grave to live and reign on 'the earth. *If they be raised before the general resurrection, it will 'be in order to their translation, like Enoch and Elias, to the state 'of glory, to be for ever with the Lord.*' Culbertson on the Revelation, vol. iii. p. 425.

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writings, that this is not necessarily implied. 'The drift of 'the spirit of inspiration is merely to intimate, that the latter 'class were distinguished from the former by the fact, that 'those who composed it did *not* live through the memorable 'period of the thousand years, without at all necessitating the 'inference that they did live after the period had expired.' In fact, the sentence is parenthetical, and apparently looks forward to the 12th verse, in which the resurrection of all the dead, small and great, is with sublime brevity described. *That* is, clearly, the second and general Resurrection.

And if the Apocalyptic Millennium be indeed past, as this exposition of the whole passage would compel us to believe, then may that 'day for which all other days were made,' be drawing nearer than those imagine, on the one hand, who would interpose between the expectation of Christians and the day of the Lord, a millennial reign of peace and purity, followed by a post-millennial defection, a battle of Armageddon, and we know not what; or than is supposed, on the other hand, by those anti-millenarians who, with Mr. Vint and Mr. Bush, conceive that an unlimited futurity awaits the Church on earth. This is not, we are fully persuaded, "the glorious hope" of the Apostles. In fact, it seems to us only the Millenarian's dream in a varied form; the Millenarianism of philosophy substituted for that of fanaticism. Mr. Bush says:

'The prosperous and glorious state which we are taught to anticipate for the church on earth, is not, that we can learn, limited or defined by any boundaries of time whatever. An immeasurable lapse of ages stretches before us, offering ample room and verge enough for the physical, intellectual, and moral improvement of the human race. A new and brighter career is yet to be run by the regenerated family of man; nor is the prospect, as we read the revelations of heaven, clouded by those portentous Magellanic shadows which, to the mass of the Christian world, gather round the closing period of the Millennium.' pp. 176, 7.

It is a remarkable circumstance, that, while so ably and, in our judgement, successfully combating the popular notion of a future Millennium, this acute Writer should be found symbolizing with the doctors of the Jewish school in one of their most objectionable opinions. Like them, he cannot bear the idea of having the airy fabric of his vision dissolved amid the flames of the final catastrophe.

'As to the conflagration of Peter,' he says, 'we are compelled *with Mede and others,* to regard it as denoting, not a literal, but a figurative conflagration, adumbrating *the close of a dispensation,* the violent abrogation of a previous order of things, the dissolution and prostration of the entire fabric of Governments, and policies, and systems formerly

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subsisting and essentially at variance with the genius of that new and happier economy which was to be introduced. In describing this new and momentous change as a destruction of the heavens and earth by fire, the Apostle is adopting the lofty and grandiloquent style of the former prophets, who frequently represent great revolutions, whether secular or ecclesiastical, under the imagery of fires, earthquakes, the removal of mountains and islands, the falling of stars, the departing of the heavens as a scroll, and the wreck as it were of the whole terraqueous and planetary system .... If the destruction of Jerusalem be described by terms borrowed from the final consummation of all things, we see not why such a stupendous moral revolution as that which is to precede the new heavens and the new earth may not properly be shadowed out by the elevated diction of the Apostle. The words, therefore, like most other of the prophetical phrases which we have had occasion to consider, denote not a sudden, but a gradual and progressive abolition of the things previously existing.' pp. 272—4.

The great names which may be cited in defence of this loose and perilous mode of interpretation, will not protect it from the just condemnation of all sound critics. What part of the evangelical narrative might not, by a similar process, be turned into allegory. What is there prophetical or poetical in the Epistles of St. Peter? No language can be more sober or literal than his; and the serious purpose of his argument, in combating the objections of the sceptic and scorner, would have rendered the employment of poetic phraseology, or the 'grandiloquent' style of prophecy, absolutely puerile. If the conflagration be an allegory, we must in consistency conclude the deluge to be a fable. It is impossible to take the one to be fact, and the other to be figure. "The then world being overflowed with water, perished: but the present heavens and the earth are by the same word treasured up unto fire, reserved against the day of judgement." Nothing can be more unequivocal than this declaration. But this is not all. The subsequent argument renders it impossible to take it in any other than a literal sense. "Nevertheless," says the Apostle, "we expect new heavens and a new earth." 'Why nevertheless?' remarks Dr. Thomas Burnet, in refuting the allegorical theory. 'That is, notwithstanding the 'dissolution of the present heavens and earth. The Apostle 'foresaw that what he had said might raise a doubt in their 'minds, whether all things would not be at an end; nothing 'more of heaven and earth, or of any habitable world, after the 'conflagration. And to obviate this, he tells them, *notwithstanding* that wonderful desolation that I have described, we 'do, according to God's promises, expect new heavens and a new 'earth, to be a habitation for the righteous. You see, then, 'the new heavens and new earth which the Apostle speaks of, 'are substituted in the place of those that were destroyed at

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'the time of the conflagration; and would you substitute allegorical heavens and earth in the place of material?—shadow for a substance? What an equivocation would it be in the Apostle, when the doubt was about the material heavens and earth, to make an answer about allegorical!.... I know not what bars the Spirit of God can set, to keep us within the compass of a literal sense, if these be not sufficient.'*

We have been so much pleased with Mr. Bush's volume, and feel so much indebted to him for the light which he has thrown upon his main subject, that we regret being unable to bestow upon his work our unqualified approbation. Once or twice, indeed, we have met with a remark that has startled us: as at p. 50, where he speaks of 'the Millenarian error as having been '*winked at* in the earlier ages,' because 'the belief of it was calculated to produce more auspicious results than a *correct* construction of the sacred oracles;' and at p. 193, where he seems to represent the moral imagery of the Apocalyptic vision as adapted and *designed* to operate upon the imagination of the suffering Christians as a beautiful illusion!! This is in the most objectionable style of neological criticism. At length, when we reach the Author's sadly erring conclusion, that 'many of the 'Scriptural representations which are now generally understood 'of the heavenly state, do in reality describe a state of things 'which is yet to ensue on earth,' (a position with which, under certain qualifications, we might not quarrel, but which, taken in connexion with Mr. Bush's 'immeasurable lapse of ages,' removes the heavenly state to a *post-eternal* distance,) we are ready to remonstrate with him in the words of the Apostle, "Having begun in the spirit, are ye now made perfect by the flesh?" Had Mr. Bush, instead of confining his attention to a single point, studied the general design and moral purpose of the Book of Revelation, he would probably have been led to perceive how completely these are in opposition to his anti-scriptural theory.

There is, if we may so speak, an epical unity in this wonderful Book, preserved throughout, from the distinct announcement of the argument in the opening, or what we may venture to call the proëm, to the catastrophe and the closing verses. What are the first words immediately following the Apostolic salutation? "Behold, he cometh with clouds, and every eye shall see him. Even so. Amen!" What is the final announcement, once and again reiterated? "Behold, I come quickly." And in the words immediately preceding the closing benediction which forms the Apostolic seal to the book, "He who testifieth these things,

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* Burnet's "Theory of the Earth." Vol. II. (1759) pp. 365, 6 See Eclec. Rev. 2d Series, Vol. XXX. pp. 199—202.

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says, Surely I come quickly. Amen; even so; come, Lord Jesus!" The whole book, then, from first to last, has for its object, to direct the eye of faith, through the vista of intervening ages, to the coming of Christ,—"the glorious appearing" of the Saviour at his promised return. We venture to assert that it has no other object or purpose, than to point to this great hope of the Christian dispensation, (as the first advent was of the Jewish,) and to sustain the faith and patience of believers under the mysterious delay of his coming, and the apparent 'slackness' or failure of his promise. So contrary to every anticipation that could have been formed by even Apostolic men, was the long servitude of the Church under pagan tyrants, followed by its spiritual declension and apparent desertion of God,—in short, the whole course of events, as well as their protracted duration,—that there was an urgent occasion for some such partial unveiling of the purposes of Divine Providence, in order to prevent, not merely the heart-sickness of hope deferred, but the atrophy of utter despair.

In this respect, the primary design of the Apocalypse would seem to be not dissimilar from that of the other more concise predictions scattered through the New Testament. St. Paul deemed it necessary solemnly to adjure the Macedonian Christians, not to be disturbed by the mistaken notion that the day of Christ was at hand; a notion which has in every age had an unfavourable influence upon the interests of piety,* as being adapted to excite the imagination, rather than to call into exercise the principle of faith. "Let no man deceive you by any means, for there must first take place an apostacy, and that man of sin must be revealed." (2 Thes. ii.) The Revelation is little more than this prophecy written large, for the benefit, in the first instance, of the Asiatic Christians, to whom the cautions and promises in the opening chapters are specifically addressed, with a view to arm their minds against the approaching season of trial. Whether they comprehended the whole of the sublime imagery of the symbolic representations or not, they must have understood that a long succession of events, the general complexion of which was dark and awful, had to elapse before the final triumph of the Church should be consummated. If the symbols were mysterious, the lesson was plain. As our Lord appealed to the Old Testament predictions, in proof that all that had taken place con-

* The fanaticism of the Egyptian Millenarians of the third century, the pilgrimizing mania of the tenth, originating in a persuasion that the end of the world was at hand, the fifth-monarchy madness of later times, and the Millenarianism of our own day, are varied manifestations of the same epidemic phrenzy, and teach the same instructive lesson.

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cerning himself was in accordance with the language of prophecy,—"Ought not the Christ to have suffered these things?"—so, of the prophecies of the New Testament a similar use might be made in the day of darkness and declension, or of fiery trial,—Ought not the Church to suffer these things, and through such tribulation to enter into her glory? 'General notions and assur-'ances,' Dean Woodhouse judiciously remarks, 'are sufficient 'to support our faith, if not to gratify our curiosity.' Nay, such general assurances could alone be understood prior to the event, and were the best adapted to their moral purpose. It was enough if, from the hieroglyphic characters in which the future story of the Church was dimly conveyed, the devout believer could deduce evidence that the untoward and calamitous events that arrested the progress of Christianity, were not unforeseen,—were not at variance with the purpose, or an impeachment of the fidelity of Him who had promised to be with his Church to the end of the world;—that they were permitted in pursuance of the determinate counsel of God, though wrought by wicked agency, and that the final issue would be glorious.

Such we consider to have been the primary design for which the Revelation was vouchsafed to the Christians of the early ages. No advantage could have accrued to the Church from a more distinct disclosure of the agencies to be employed in bringing about the predicted events, or from a knowledge of the precise duration of each symbolic period. The Apocalypse was not intended to reveal "the times and seasons which the Father hath put into his own power," otherwise than *negatively*, by intimating the grand revolutions before which Our Lord's second advent should *not* take place. Obscurity is a necessary ingredient of prophecy; nor is it less salutary than necessary. It is thus, as Mr. Hall remarks, 'God secures the glory of his own 'foreknowledge, at the same time that he leaves undisturbed the 'sphere of human agency. Were future events so distinctly 'predicted as to be clearly foreseen, this would either destroy 'the proof of Divine superintendence and agency, or would re-'quire such a perpetual miraculous control over the exercise of 'human faculties, as would be inconsistent with the state and 'condition of accountable creatures in a world of probation.' 'When, therefore, the Divine Being has been pleased to lift, in 'some degree, the veil which conceals futurity, he has done it 'only so far as to excite a general and indefinite expectation of 'the event, by exhibiting its general character and features, but 'by no means to disclose such circumstances of time, place, and 'instrumentality, as might interfere, in the least degree, with the 'morality of human actions.' *

* Hall's Works. Vol. VI. pp. 59, 61.

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What is absurdly called *prophetic science*, then, so far as employed in speculative interpretations of unfulfilled prophecy, we cannot but regard as little less presumptuous and unlawful than judicial astrology. The Church knows in general what she has to look for. As all the prophecies of the old economy converged to one event, so do those of the new. The Book of Revelation, apart from the commentaries which have darkened its counsel, and obscured what history had already made plain, is wonderfully adapted to impress the mind with the certainty and glory of that event. In the perspective of prophecy, the nearest objects appear in the largest dimensions; and thus, the earliest transactions may appear to take up more time in proportion to their duration. As the Prophetic narrative advances, it becomes more concise and rapid, till it reaches the consummation upon which the inspired Apostle expatiates with evident delight. We have, on a former occasion, compared Prophecy to a veiled figure, whose features are undistinguishable, but her significant attitude and pointing finger speak her meaning; and it is upon the object, not upon herself, that she wishes to fix attention. In the commentary, too frequently, the design is lost sight of, and the details of the figure are all that is regarded. In plain words, the attention becomes fixed upon the subordinate and preliminary circumstances, instead of the main action,—upon the mere machinery, rather than the final issue. All expositions of the Book of Revelation that have this tendency, from their polemical or political character, might, without any loss to the Church, be consigned to the charnel-house of literature.

The time, however, we believe to be at hand, when this wonderful Book will be better understood; and in proportion as light is thrown upon its import, it will be perceived that far less remains to be fulfilled than has been imagined. As the clouds retire, the sun will be seen to have advanced further and higher in the heavens, than our time-pieces had indicated. The darkness which deceives us, is in our atmosphere; but it is clearing away.

The object of the concise and simple Analysis of the Apocalypse to which, in conclusion, we wish to direct the attention of our readers, is, 'by means of paraphrastic exposition, to make 'those portions of the prophecy *which are already fulfilled*, plain 'and profitable to ordinary readers. It does not pretend to look 'into futurity.' The leading peculiarity of the Author's scheme of exposition is, that it 'endeavours to establish a parallelism, 'decisively indicative of the structure of the book.' This parallelism, which is exhibited in a table prefixed to the exposition, runs from chap. vi. to the end of chap. ix. on one side, and from the commencement of chap. xii. to the 16th verse of chap. xvi. on the other. Thus, the first four seals are supposed to synchronize with the visions recorded in chap. xii. and xiii. to

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ver. 8, embracing the history of the Church for the first fifteen centuries*. The present generation is assumed to be living about the close of the period denominated the fifth seal, to which chap. xiii. verses 9—11 correspond; 'this seal or period commencing with the Reformation, and distinguished chiefly by the 'gradual though rapid decay of the papal power.'

'On the same ground, the order of the prophecy, the scheme supposes, that the sixth seal, intimating a great concussion among the nations, and the universal overthrow of idolatry throughout the world, together with the seventh seal, including the seven trumpets, and seven vials parallel thereto, are all in futurity, and therefore (by the express purpose of God, who thus prevents the wilfulness of man from interfering with the accomplishment of his purposes) clothed in language too enigmatical to be as yet satisfactorily expounded. To other generations looking backward instead of forward, they may be perfectly plain. This view of the prophecy leads to a conclusion with regard to the *immediate* prospects of the Church, differing considerably from both of those which at present divide the Christian world. It affords every encouragement to the most persevering efforts in the diffusion of the Scriptures, and in the enlargement of missionary labours, because it anticipates, in connexion with these exertions, the downfall of heathenism, of Mahometanism, and of popery, and the universal *recognition* of Christianity, as of Divine authority, by the whole world. But, on the other hand, it does not support the expectation that *more* than a general profession of Christianity, and a large increase of spiritual Christians, will be the effect of this publication of the gospel "as a testimony to all nations."'

We are strongly inclined to believe that this anticipation is the most in accordance with the view which Scripture and experience would lead us to take of the present economy; although we may not agree with the Writer in the premises from which he deduces his conclusion. The distinguishing merit of his work consists in the sobriety of mind which characterizes it, the entire absence of fanciful speculation, and the modest and devout spirit in which the whole investigation is conducted. His scheme of chronological arrangement we must reject; but the light which the paraphrase throws upon the symbolic language of the prophecy, and the practical observations introduced, give it a value and interest quite independent of the accuracy of the analysis.

That a 'parallelism' of the description which the Author has attempted to establish, really exists,—that is to say, that some of the visionary or symbolical representations synchronize with others,—has been supposed by many commentators. In like manner, it is remarked, the vision in the seventh chapter of the

* Mr. Cuningham makes the first four seals extend down to the latter part of the seventeenth century; Mr. Faber only to A.D. 323!

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Book of Daniel is parallel to the vision in the second; both relating to the same events. Various interpreters, indeed, ancient and modern, have considered the seals and the trumpets as parallel or collateral predictions. Thus, Dean Woodhouse supposes the first four Trumpets to afford 'a general view of the 'warfare which the Christian Religion underwent upon its first 'establishment. The history delivered under the Seals, after a 'solemn pause and silence, begins again. Under the Seals, the 'degeneracy of the Church had been described; under the 'Trumpets, the attacks which she had to sustain from her anti-'Christian foes'. Against this interpretation there lie strong objections. In the present scheme, the Seven Trumpets are considered as synchronizing with the Seven Vials; but both are supposed to refer to *future* events. In the latter respect, the Writer's views are peculiar; but some preceding interpreters have supposed the prophecy of the Vials to synchronize with that of the Trumpets. Mr. Culbertson refers to this opinion, but adopts the 'general admission,' that the first vial does not begin to be poured out till the blast of the seventh trumpet is heard. 'Consistency of interpretation, therefore,' he argues, 'requires 'that the prophecy of the trumpets be explained as describing 'times and events posterior to the seals. The seven vials are 'the contents of the seventh trumpet, in no other way than the 'seven trumpets are the contents of the seventh seal.' Whether the first four trumpets and the first four seals are successive or simultaneous, has been questioned. Again, most commentators agree, that the larger and the little book treat of different subjects. The prevalent opinion makes the former relate to the Roman empire, the latter to the Roman Church; while Dean Woodhouse thinks that the one describes the history of Christianity in the East, the other in the West: if so, they must synchronise. Mr. Bush, we have seen, makes the thousand years of chap. xx. synchronize with the reign of the papal anti-Christ, extending from about A.D. 450 to 1453; and the Gog and Magog of the Apocalypse, he regards as 'the prophetical designation of the Turkish 'power, constituting the woe of the sixth trumpet, the period of 'which coincides with the closing epoch of the Millennium.' This original explication he supports with much ingenuity; and his remarks merit consideration. Neither our limits nor our present design will admit of our entering into the investigation of these various schemes. They agree in recognizing the principle of synchronical interpretation, widely as they differ in the application of it.

No small difficulty appears to us to be involved in the supposition, that parts of the *same prophecy* are synchronical with each other, or that any parallelism is to be found in that which is obviously a connected series of predictions. But the Book of

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Revelation evidently consists of several distinct prophecies; and how far these relate to successive periods, or run parallel with each other, can be ascertained only by a critical examination. The first thing, then, to be clearly ascertained is, by what mark we may determine where a new prophecy begins. Such marks are, in our opinion, to be detected; and they furnish the true basis of a preliminary arrangement of the subject matter.

Another important rule of interpretation is suggested by the present Expositor, in the following directions to his reader.

'The reader is now requested, before proceeding to peruse the exposition, to look through the text, and, by pencil marks in his Bible, to distinguish *what is said* to John *by Christ*, from *that which is seen* by John, while under the guidance of angelic beings. In doing this he will observe, that the first personal and verbal communication of the Saviour with his beloved apostle begins with the first chapter, and is broken off at the end of the third chapter. Leaving him to observe the wondrous visions which were passing before his eyes, the Saviour speaks to him no more until the last verse of the tenth chapter, when, having again appeared under the same symbols as at first, (his face as the sun,—his feet as pillars of fire,) he resumes *verbal* communication with him, which continues to the end of the thirteenth verse of the eleventh chapter, when it again breaks off. A few additional words are found from the fifth to the eighth verse of the twenty-first chapter; and the whole is concluded by directions and warnings, occupying from the tenth to the nineteenth verse of the twenty-second chapter.

'Now it must be borne in mind, that what John *sees*, is always intended to be *in a greater or lesser degree illustrative* of what is *said* to him; they must not therefore be confounded together. The vision always precedes the message; thus, the vision of the golden lamps and stars precedes the message to the churches; the vision of the seven seals and six trumpets precedes the communication or prophecy of the first thirteen verses of the eleventh chapter; and that of the millennium,—the last judgement,—and the new heaven and earth, go before the announcement, "Behold, I make all things new." When all the visions are completed, the last blessing and the awful curse are solemnly affixed.' pp. xvi—xviii.

We have already intimated some other rules of interpretation, which we conceive would be found of use in deciphering the import of this mysterious portion of the inspired Canon. The most important directions, however, are those which relate to the practical uses of the book; and we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of transcribing the judicious and admirable remarks upon this subject, with which the volume concludes.

'"All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, and for instruction in righteousness; that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto every good word and work." The Book of Revelation is *not* an exception to this universal rule. It is profitable—

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'I. FOR THE CONFIRMATION OF FAITH, by the evidence its prophecies afford of the Divine prescience being engaged in its composition. The history of the rise and fall of the papal antichrist is in itself an invaluable addition to the volume of evidence by which the sacred writings are sustained.

'II. IT ILLUSTRATES THE SOVEREIGNTY OF GOD in the disposal of all things in relation to his church. Here the eternal purposes of God are seen moving on undisturbed, without any interference with the free agency of the creature. The pride and passion, the ambitious schemes and execrable atrocities of ten thousand times ten thousand rational but guilty creatures, independent of each other, and freed from compulsory influence, are seen wonderfully harmonizing with the prayers and efforts of the multitude of the redeemed, in bringing about the exact fulfilment of prophecy; all tending, as if by some law more subtile and mysterious than that of gravitation, at the exact hour, to the exact point at which from all eternity JEHOVAH has resolved they should arrive.

'III. IT CONFIRMS THE DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY. In no part of the Bible is the distinction of persons in the Divine nature more frequently or more clearly set forth. To the divinity of the Saviour it bears unceasing testimony. The man Christ Jesus is again and again seen invested with the glory of the Godhead: at one time he appears as the high priest of his people,—at another he is identified with the Alpha and Omega, the King of kings, and the Lord of lords, receiving the prayers and praises of all the intelligent universe.

'IV. IT ASSERTS THE DOCTRINE OF THE ATONEMENT. The slain Lamb,—the atoning sea spread before the throne,—the robes washed white in blood, all indicate the unfailing value of that sacrifice which was once offered for sin, and cry in language which cannot be mistaken, that "without shedding of blood there is no remission."

'V. IT IS A TESTIMONY TO THE IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL. It is a vision of the unseen world. As it lifts the veil which hides the state of separate spirits from our view, and shows us the noble army of martyrs praising God in the prospect of the Redeemer's triumph, it rebukes that materialism which so often cripples our spiritual energies, and forbids us to cherish the gloomy dogma, that the soul sleeps in the grave till the day of the resurrection.

'VI. IT IS A WORD OF WARNING. It opens with the solemn messages of Christ to the Asiatic churches,—equally suited to the church in all ages; it holds up, throughout, all vengeance as proceeding from a rejected Saviour; and in the concluding intimation which it affords of an antichrist yet to come, and a falling away greater than any that has yet desolated the garden of God, it teaches us to mingle with our joy at the near approach of the captivity and death of popery, the overthrow of idolatry, the wasting away of Mahometan delusions, the vanquishing of infidelity, and the universal spread and recognition of the gospel,—a holy fear and jealousy lest there should be in us or in our schemes the hidden germ of that which, in future ages, may develop itself as the deadly enemy of Christ and of his church. We know not how soon the mystery of iniquity may begin to work.

'With these great practical results before us, as reasonably to be

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expected from a careful and prayerful study of the book of Revelations, let us fly the region of political excitement, before we venture to meditate on this splendid prophecy. The newspaper and the annual register, with their imperfect detail of the transactions of a day or a year, are ill fitted to expound the progress of His purposes, with whom one day is as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day.' pp. 105—110.

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As to the supposed intimation of an anti-Christ to come, we question the grounds upon which the opinion rests. The 'Word 'of Warning' which the whole book seems to address to the Christian Church, is the so often repeated announcement, "Behold, I come quickly." Every scheme of interpretation conducts us to the conclusion, that "the night is far spent," the day draws on; while it is not less clearly indicated, that there are "things that must first come to pass, and the end is not immediate." What then should be the attitude of the Church? If she has a Millennium before her, she may even go to sleep, and dream of thrones and a long reign of secular prosperity. But if she is "looking for and hasting towards the day of God," then let her gird on her armour for the final conquest, secure that no other kingdom shall arise to dispute with "Him who is faithful and true," possession of the uttermost parts of the earth. The cheering belief that no future reverse awaits the progress of Christianity, that its conquests shall never again be turned back by pagan violence or by any form of Satanic imposture, is, we think, warranted by the assurances of both Old Testament and New Testament prophecy. But "much land remains to be possessed;" and every thing in the aspect of the times calls upon Christians to advance, in the spirit of faith, to re-occupy the ground which has been lost to superstition and heathenism, and to proclaim throughout the ancient seats of infernal dominion the reign of the Lord. The empire of darkness is giving way on every hand. We need not look into the book of prophecy, to ascertain that every pagan power exists but by the sufferance of the Christian world, every Mohammedan kingdom is wasting away, every form of anti-Christian corruption is losing ground, and new principles of social polity are every where displacing the ancient despotisms which have maintained themselves by war, priestcraft, and oppression. All this we may learn from looking abroad on the present circumstances of the world. But, lest this contemplation should seduce us, by the delightful prospect it opens, into a forgetfulness of our transitory connexion with this sublunary state, and of the transcendent promise addressed to faith, the voice of Prophecy is heard, like a trumpet, sounding above all the din of political commotion, "Behold, he cometh with clouds .... He who testifieth of these things saith, Surely I come quickly."

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O God, whose blessed Son as man appeared
The power and works of Satan to destroy,
That we, enfranchised from his thrall, and cleared
From guilt, might rise to heaven's eternal joy;
Grant that, this hope within our hearts made sure,
We may in life be as our Saviour pure.

That when He shall return, in clouds descending,
Not as at first, in low and humble guise,
But clad in glory, Heaven's bright host attending,
We, changed into his likeness, may arise
To meet him where, O Father, one with Thee,
And Thee, O Holy Ghost, he reigns eternally.

Art. II.—*Olympia Morata, her Times, Life, and Writings*, arranged from Contemporary and other Authorities. By the Author of "Selwyn," &c. 12mo. pp. 383. Price 8*s*. London, 1834.

THIS is a delightful volume, to which the fair Author should have affixed her name, since it is scarcely consistent with correct etiquette, to dedicate to Her Majesty an anonymous production; and it is by this volume, that the elegant and lively Writer, whom we have frequently met with as a contributor to the Annuals under the designation of the "Author of Selwyn," will best deserve to be known.

Olympia Morata (otherwise Moretto) was one of the brightest stars of that constellation of genius, piety, and worth which shed over the Court of Ferrara, in the sixteenth century, a transitory glory, such as rarely irradiates the palaces of dukes or princes. 'The 'little courts of Ferrara and Urbino seemed to emulate those of 'Alexandria and Pergamos, contending for pre-eminence only in 'literature and elegance.' Such is the remark of the accomplished Forsyth, in whose eyes the melancholy city derived its chief attractions from having been 'the retreat of an Ariosto, a Tasso, 'and a Guarini.' The house and monument of Ariosto, and the cell of Tasso, still detain the lover of Italian poetry, hurrying to the south; but few travellers are aware that, in the University of Ferrara, (founded in 1390,) the reformed opinions once found countenance among men whose minds were elevated above the superstitions of the age, and that at the court of Duke Hercules II., the husband of the virtuous and accomplished Renée, a princess of France, the early preachers and friends of the Reformation obtained protection and patronage.

'When the German empire was a mere bloody arena for rival and often unworthy opponents; when France, torn by intestine divisions, could afford the dove of literature no rest for the sole of her foot;

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when England, under the ferocious sway of her eighth Henry, presented a vast scaffold, to whose horrors learning and beauty seemed an equally certain passport, and from which rank and sex afforded no protection; when even pontifical Rome, where the harassed votaries of letters might have anticipated not only shelter, but patronage, was, according to the testimony of an indignant contemporary, a place in which the refugees from Constantinople, the misfortune-hallowed depositaries of all the exiled learning of the East, might have *starved*, but for the munificence of the houses of Medici and of Este,—Ferrara, the seat of the latter, could with justice be described in this glowing though antiquated language, which it would be a pity to weaken by modernising.

'"But the late duke did yet outdo all those who were before him, rendering his court an epitome of whatever was fine or great in France, Germany, or Italy. Princes came long journeys on purpose to see it; and by all their confessions, though some events might be greater, yet none, in other respects, came near to that of Ferrara.

'"Nor was it an empty shew; for, with that noble entertainment such as Italy hath not since seen, for strangers of all qualities, some thousands of poor had their daily maintenance there. The young gentlemen of quality were at such an age received into the number of the duke's pages, and bred up to all manner of exercises, beyond any academy in the world. The happy influence a virtuous court has upon all near it, was here apparent; for the whole city resembled a great university, academies being erected for painting, music, poetry, and mathematics, and the like, in every corner. The very monasteries turned seminaries of virtue; and most citizens, consulting the capacity and genius of their children, spared no charge in breeding them to what one day they hoped might advance their fortunes at such a court."' pp. 15, 16.

The Author of this interesting volume acknowledges her obligations to the 'valuable work of her countryman, Dr. M'Crie,' (the "History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Italy,") from which 'she first gathered, how bright, 'though brief a ray the beacon-light of the blessed Reformation 'once shed over that now universally benighted' region of beauty. A sojourn of some length in that country, tended to deepen the feeling of interest awakened by the perusal of that work, in which Olympia Morata and her works are the subject of repeated reference; and to heighten the sentiment of commiseration for 'the 'deep and palpable darkness which has settled down, after the 'short-lived flash of mental illumination, on the religious cha-'racter of a people who once "heard the truth gladly," and 'whom that truth (not untimely quenched and stifled) would, 'like ourselves, have "made free."' But alas! how precarious is the protection which truth can derive from the fickle patronage of princes and the insecure asylum of courts! Where the Reformation was favoured and fostered by secular patronage, it speedily withered under a change of fortune. It was in the free

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city, under the stable protection of municipal institutions, and in the atmosphere of popular civilization, that it alone took root.

The marriage of the accomplished Renée of France, daughter of Louis XII., with Duke Hercules II., through 'the natural 'deference of a petty sovereign for a wife elevated above him in 'rank, seemed wonderfully designed to enable her to afford at 'her court, that asylum which so many votaries of religion and 'letters were ere long to require from the impending storm of 'persecution.' Fulvio Peregrino Morata, the father of Olympia, was a native of Mantua, and 'a successful teacher of youth in 'various parts of Italy,' who had been tutor to the two younger brothers of Duke Hercules, one of them afterwards the celebrated Cardinal Ippolito, Archbishop of Milan.

'He had acquired the principles of Scriptural truth from Celio Secundo Curio, who, driven from his native country of Piedmont, took refuge at the court of Renée, and under the roof of Morata, whose hospitality he richly repaid by that introduction to the pure faith of the Gospel, which his learned convert has, in two letters, gratefully commemorated.' p. 74.

Olympia Fulvia was born within the precincts of the brilliant court of Ferrara, in the year 1526. Her mother, Lucretia, was a model of matronly and domestic virtue, and testified, by her admirable subsequent conduct in times of trial and persecution, that, in strength of mind and principle, she resembled her accomplished daughter. Olympia, even in her sixth year, had attracted the notice and enjoyed the tuition of a learned canon of the cathedral, her godfather; and at the early age of twelve, she was 'thoroughly instructed, not only in the Greek and Latin 'languages, but also in rhetoric and other learned sciences.' This precocity of genius was set off by a sweetness of disposition and the most engaging modesty.

'But, though the child-like simplicity, amid similar pursuits, of our own Lady Jane Grey, and the graceful simplicity of Olympia herself, seemed to render the acquisition of Greek, even as a learned language, by no means synonymous with pedantry, yet it may not be amiss to remark, that in the beginning of the sixteenth century, it was regarded rather in the light of a fashionable and elegant accomplishment, than of an abstruse and recondite study. We might almost as well accuse of pedantry, those of our countrywomen who availed themselves, for increasing their acquaintance with French literature, of the numerous refugees of that nation whom its revolution forced to take shelter on the shores of Britain,—as those fair daughters of Italy whom hosts of talented exiles from Byzantium inoculated with the knowledge and love of what had been to them the language of a refined and highly civilized court.' pp. 133, 4.

At the age of sixteen, Olympia wrote the most polished Greek

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and Latin letters, and translated much from the Italian into Latin. She wrote observations on Homer, drew up a defence of Cicero, composed dialogues in Greek and Latin in imitation of Plato and Cicero, also, various poems, especially on divine subjects, and 'declaimed from memory, and with excellent pronunciation, her explanation of the paradoxes of Cicero, in the private academy of the Dutchess of Ferrara.' The following testimony is borne to her extraordinary attainments, in a letter from her friend and preceptor, Curio, to a learned person who had questioned him respecting his pupil.

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'"You write to me, that you desire to be informed of our Olympia, because many deem the name and character fictitious. I will do what you ask willingly, and shortly, although I might refer you to George Hermann, who knows her well. Her father was Fulvio Morata, a native of Mantua, a man famous for learning and probity, with whom I was very intimate. I have heard her at court declaiming in Latin, speaking Greek, and answering questions, as well as any of the females among the ancients would have done. Do not feel a doubt respecting the Sapphic ode, written in Greek, in which she celebrates the praises of the Most High. It is, indeed, the work of a *real* Olympia, whom we have known from her infancy, and whose other productions we possess. Nor does it all astonish us. For she is skilled in Greek and Roman literature beyond what any one can credit, and she is also renowned for her knowledge of religion."' p. 14.

That she should have lisped in numbers, remarks the present Biographer, is not to be wondered at, 'considering the poetical 'atmosphere which from childhood she had breathed.'

'Probably, the earliest pageant on which her young eyes gazed, may have been the splendid obsequies of Ariosto, whose death all Italy deplored as a national loss. During her residence in the palace, the post of private secretary to the Duchess was filled by Bernardo Tasso, father to the celebrated Torquato, himself a most elegant Italian poet; while the court physician, Angelo Manzolli, (better known by his assumed name of Palingenius,) her godfather, Calcagnini, and her father himself, as well as her preceptors, the two Sinapii and Paleario, were all more or less celebrated for their excellent Latin verses.' pp. 144, 5.

In literary pursuits, the princess Anne of Este, with whom Olympia had been associated as a companion, was no unworthy rival of her older fellow pupil. She was well versed in Latin, and did not neglect Greek; and all contemporary authorities unite in extolling her virtues, wit, learning, and piety. The last seems to be unquestionable. She married, in 1548, Francis of Lorraine, Duke of Guise; and 'Thuanus relates, that when, 'on occasion of the massacre of St. Barthélémi, the whole female 'court were standing at the windows to behold the spectacle,

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'Anne alone, the wife of Guise, melted into tears, and earnestly 'entreated Catherine, that if she wished well to the king and 'the kingdom, she should command them to desist from the 'murder of the innocent.' She is stated to have preserved many of the intended victims from the fury of the assassins; in particular, the daughter of the Chancellor de l'Hôpital, who expressed her gratitude in a poem extolling her virtues and piety. After the assassination of the Duke, Anne of Este contracted a second union with James of Savoy, Duke of Nemours, general of the French army in Italy. Him too, she survived, and died, surrounded with an illustrious progeny, on the 17th of May, 1707, in the seventy-sixth year of her age.

To return to the heroine of the present memoir. In 1547, a severe persecution instituted against all who professed or were suspected of Lutheranism, occasioned the removal of Olympia from the court of Ferrara. In the following year, she was deprived by death of the protection of her learned and pious father; and accused of heresy, she found herself deserted by even the Dutchess herself. Her conduct at this period is thus described by her biographer Nolten, whose work forms the basis of the present memoir.

'"As a young woman, she now lived piously in private life. After her father's death, her mother's health having also declined, she, as the eldest, took upon her the management of the family, and began to educate in a suitable manner her brothers and sisters. She instructed the latter, of whom she had three, in all the studies, literary and sacred, usually confined to the other sex; and made one of them, Victoria, so excellent a scholar in Latin and polite literature, that in a short time she surpassed most of the illustrious females of Italy. At this time, her private studies were exclusively directed to divine things, to which she entirely devoted herself; occasionally composing Greek poems, and filling up her leisure hours with her elegant epistles.

'"But, even in her retired home, she was not safe. The persecution against the disciples of Calvin and Luther still continued; and Julius III. moved heaven and hell, that he might totally extirpate those pious men who were impugning his authority in divine affairs. Those he had formerly attempted to get into his power by the wiles of the fox, he now attacked with the ferocity of the lion. All who were suspected of Lutheranism were seized, and summoned to abjure their religion. Many preferred the flesh-pots of Egypt to the heavenly manna, and, abjuring the truth, came under the yoke of the Roman see: others, professing the truth, but fearing the persecution, left their country, and, crossing the Alps, sought refuge in Germany, France, and Switzerland; of whom were Isabella-Manricha di Bresegna, a woman to whose merits justice cannot be done, and Olympia Morata herself. Others, suddenly taken, boldly defending the truth, confirmed it by their death."' pp. 165, 6.

Of this number was Faventino Fannio of Faenza, who was for

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two years a prisoner for the truth at Ferrara. He had once purchased his liberty by recantation, on the persuasion of his friends; but, during his subsequent imprisonment, exhibited the most edifying example of firmness and resignation. To the lamentations of his wife and sister, he replied: 'Let it suffice that, for 'your sakes, I once denied the Saviour. Had I then had the 'knowledge which, by the grace of God, I have acquired since 'my fall, I would not have yielded to your entreaties. Go home 'in peace.' Olympia, and her illustrious friend, Lavinia della Rovere, paid frequent visits to their persecuted instructor in Christ in his dungeon, from which he was only released by martyrdom in 1550.

The situation in which Olympia now found herself, was one of anxiety and comparative penury, not unattended with personal peril. From these circumstances, she was happily and unexpectedly extricated by an offer from a young German physician of good family, who had travelled into Italy to improve himself at once in medical and classical studies. Struck with admiration at Olympia's learning and virtues, 'he paid his addresses to her, 'and married her without any other dowry than her understand-'ing.'

The marriage of Olympia to Grundler is stated to have taken place about the middle of the year 1549; but it was not till the following year, that she accompanied her husband to Augsburg, at that time one of the most flourishing cities of Europe, its merchants rivalling, in commercial wealth, those of Genoa or Venice. Through the influence of their steady friend, George Hermann, counsellor to the King of the Romans, Grundler was offered 'the splendid appointment' of chief physician to Ferdinand of Austria; but he declined it, 'because they foresaw that there it 'would not be permitted them to profess Christ openly.' The letter of Olympia to Anthony Hermann, junior, referring to this appointment, will be read with interest.

'"Your father has most kindly written to announce his having obtained for us so excellent an appointment, that you may believe we would most willingly accept it. But there is one difficulty, I should rather say impediment, to our acceptance of it, or which, as it may possibly be in your power to remove it, I have thought proper to consult you, and request your friendly assistance.

'"You are well aware that we are soldiers of Christ, and have taken our solemn oath to his service; so that, if we desert it, we shall be liable to everlasting punishment. And such is the greatness and omnipotence of our heavenly Captain, that not only has he over his soldiers the power of life and death, but can even consign them to eternal condemnation; nor will he suffer them for a single instant to be off their duty. Wherefore we ought to be especially careful, lest, from fear of worldly enemies, we forfeit his protection; or, from love

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of worldly advantages, rush into dangerous situations, in which we may be tempted to commit crimes against his laws. I most earnestly entreat therefore, that, by your own letters, or those of your friends who reside at Lintz, you will inform us if (as we have heard) Antichrist is exerting his cruelty at that place; and if they punish severely those who do not attend mass, and who cultivate the true religion. For our deliberate opinion is, that we are not at liberty to conform to the outward worship of a perverted and impious faith, and at the same time profess to be Christians. If, therefore, as in other places, the inquisitors of Antichrist would there take observation of us, and wish to force us into their style of worship, we *cannot go thither;* for, by so doing, (as I said before,) we should sin against God. I beseech and entreat that you will assist us in this matter, with your information and advice. Farewell."' pp. 189, 190.

Ultimately, they repaired to Schweinfurt, in Franconia, Grundler's native city, at the invitation of its magistrates, 'who, 'on a large Spanish army being sent by the Emperor into winter 'quarters there, strongly urged their townsman, by fixing his 'residence among them, to afford this large body of foreign mer-'cenaries the benefit of his medical skill.' For some months, they enjoyed undisturbed domestic felicity, in the open profession of their faith in Christ; and, during this peaceful interval, Olympia composed some of her 'golden works.' But to these halcyon days succeeded a dreadful storm. The restless spirit of Albert, Marquis of Brandenburg, had long rendered him the scourge of the neighbouring country; and Franconia now became the scene of his ravages.

'Having, on account of its advantageous position, thrown a large portion of his army of outlaws and marauders into the imperial city of Schweinfurt, he was closely besieged there by the Bishops of Bamberg and Wurtzburg, the Elector of Saxony, and the Duke of Brunswick. This siege lasted fourteen months, and, in addition to the already sufficient evil of harbouring within its walls, for so great a length of time, a lawless and mutinous soldiery, and to the perpetual bombardment to which it was exposed from a superior besieging force,—the unhappy city had to sustain the depopulating ravages of pestilence, the severities of famine, and was finally given up to the flames by its professed deliverers; who entered and set fire to it at the moment when the retreat of Albert and his garrison had inspired the wretched inhabitants with delusive hopes of respite from their protracted miseries.' p. 200.

From the frightful epidemic which carried off one half of the inhabitants, Grundler's medical skill was insufficient to protect himself, and he was brought to the gates of death. 'But God,' says his admirable wife, 'taking pity on my grief, restored him 'without the use of medicines, *for indeed there were none re-*'*maining in the place.*' Scarcely had he become convalescent,

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when the violence of the siege compelled them to seek for personal safety, by taking up their abode in a wine-cellar. At length, on the fall of the city, they made their escape, but not till they had been plundered of every thing by the ruthless soldiery, and partially stripped. On reaching Hamelburg, a small village nine miles distant, in this state of utter destitution, they were denied permission, by the terrified inhabitants, to remain there longer than four days. In an episcopal town to which they next fled, they were for some time detained prisoners, the governor having strict orders from his 'most merciful master, the 'Bishop, to *put to death all refugees from Schweinfurt.*' After awaiting in agonies of suspense the result of a reference to the Bishop, the harassed exiles were, by his permission, set at liberty. They first found shelter at the hospitable court of the Count of Rhineck, whose illustrious consort, sister to the Elector Palatine, watched with maternal tenderness over her sick guest, (for Olympia's health had given way under these cruel fatigues and complicated trials,) clothed her from her own wardrobe, and was ever ready at her bed-side to afford her assistance and consolation. After remaining for some time at Furstenburg, the seat of these excellent princes, they were transferred to the court of Erbach, where, treated with similar hospitality and kindness, they remained till summoned thence by the gratifying appointment of Grundler, by the Elector Palatine, to the professorship of medicine in the university of Heidelburg. But trials still awaited them. During the first year of their residence, the plague, which had previously driven the Diet from Spires, broke out at Heidelburg, and all whose circumstances allowed of it, fled the city. Olympia and her husband, weary of wandering, committed themselves to the Divine protection, remained, and were preserved from the pestilence. But the gentle mind of Olympia was fast ripening for immortality; and, under the pressure of increasing bodily indisposition and distressing mental anxiety, she began to look forward to the approach of death as to a 'wished-for haven.' To her dear Lavinia, she thus writes in August 1554: 'Here 'every thing is in a state of warfare, and every where the saints 'are pressed down by many cares. But all these things should 'be to us matter of joy; for they portend that the propitious and 'happy day is at hand, when we shall together commence our 'everlasting life.' In her last letter, dictated almost by her dying lips, she thus pours out her feelings to her 'dearest 'father Celio.'

'"You may conceive how tenderly those who are united by true, that is, by Christian friendship, feel for one another, when I tell you, that the perusal of your letter drew tears from my eyes; for on hearing that you had been rescued from the jaws of the grave, I wept for joy. May God long preserve you to be a blessing to his church! It

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grieves me much to hear of the indisposition of your daughter; but I comfort myself with the hopes you entertain of her recovery.

'"As to myself, my dear Celio, I must tell you that there are no hopes of my surviving long. No medicine gives me any relief; every day, indeed every hour, my friends look for my dissolution. It is probable that this may be the last letter you will receive from me. My body and strength are wasted; my appetite is gone; night and day the cough threatens to suffocate me. The fever is strong and unremitting; and the pains which I feel over the whole of my body, deprive me of sleep. Nothing, therefore, remains but that I breathe out my spirit. But, so long as life continues, I will remember my friends, and the benefits I have received from them.

'"I return the warmest thanks to you for the books you sent me, and to those worthy men who have bestowed upon me such valuable presents. Had I been spared, I would have shewn my gratitude. But it is my opinion that my departure is at hand. I commend the church to your care. Oh! let all you do be directed to its advantage!

'"Farewell, excellent Celio, and do not distress yourself when you hear of my death; for I know that I shall be victorious at the last, and am desirous to depart and be with Christ. Salute your family in my name. I send you such of the poems as I have been able to write out from memory since the destruction at Schweinfurt; all my other writings have perished. I request that you will be my Aristarchus, and polish them. Again, farewell!

'"HEIDELBURG, OCT. 1555."'

The same post that conveyed this affecting letter to Curio, brought with it the tidings of her decease, in a letter from her beloved husband, who seems to have been in all respects worthy of her. The description he gives of her last moments, is very touching.

'"She indeed departed with great eagerness, and, if I may so speak, with a certain *pleasure* in dying, arising from a firm persuasion that she was called away from daily affliction, and from a world of suffering, to eternal happiness. . . . A short time before her death, on awaking from a tranquil sleep into which she had fallen, I observed her smiling very sweetly; and I went near and asked her whence that heavenly smile proceeded. 'I beheld,' said she, 'just now, while lying quiet, a place filled with the clearest and brightest light.' Weakness prevented her saying more. 'Come,' said I, 'be of good cheer, my dearest wife: you are about to dwell in that beautiful light.' She again smiled and nodded to me, and in a little while said, 'I am all gladness.' Nor did she again speak till, her eyes becoming dim, she said, 'I can scarcely know you, but all places appear to me to be full of the fairest flowers.' Not long after, as if fallen into a sweet slumber, she expired."'

Olympia died on the 26th of Oct. 1555, in her 29th year. The same tomb which prematurely closed upon 'as much virtue 'as could die', was re-opened, within the same year, to receive

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the remains of the two objects of her fondest affection;—her husband, who seems not to have been able to survive his loss, and an orphan brother whom she had fostered with maternal care.

The elegies and epitaphs poured forth, in Greek and Latin, to the memory of Olympia Morata, by the learned of Germany and Italy, while they bear testimony to the general admiration inspired by her genius and virtues, were far more sincere tributes of affection than learning is wont to pay to the objects of its pompous celebration. Her saintly piety, the heroic constancy and fortitude with which, in defiance of the papal power, she adhered to the reformed faith, her patience in adversity, and her zeal for the cause of Christ, combined to inspire an enthusiastic regard for her memory, while her classic attainments raised her to 'the chief 'place among those women who have united erudition with true 'religion.' The Romish Church has canonized many a female saint of far less illustrious virtue. The writings of Olympia, edited by Curio, and printed at Basle, went through four editions in the course of twenty-two years. They consist of dialogues and letters in Latin and Italian, and of Greek poems, chiefly paraphrases of the Psalms, in heroic and sapphic verse. The first edition, printed in 1558, was dedicated to the famous Isabella Manricha di Bresegna: those of 1562, 1570, and 1580, were dedicated to Queen Elizabeth of England. A copy of the last edition is in the possession of the present Biographer, who contemplates republishing them. Translated specimens of the letters and other writings comprise he third part of the memoir.

The outline we have given of the life of this accomplished and eminent Confessor, will render our readers desirous of obtaining all the further information respecting both her character and her times, that the volume supplies. So far as regards the matter, the sentiments, and the tendency of the work, we can give it our cordial and unqualified recommendation, as being replete with instruction and interest of the purest kind. We cannot, however, with sincerity praise the overloaded and affected style of the memoir, which is so strikingly different from the lighter compositions of the same writer, that we should never have thought it possible that it could have proceeded from the same pen. Whether the process of translation has cramped her natural hand into stiffness, or whether the attempt at a higher style of composition has seduced her into affectation, we cannot decide; but there is no trace of the easy elegance which we have admired in her contributions to the Annuals. Long, involved sentences, full of parentheses, a diffuse and verbose diction, and occasional affectation of expression, continually deform the pages. Within a few lines we meet with such expressions as these:—'Olympia and her 'husband, anchored by no ties'—'The *fortune which so relent-* '*lessly persecuted* the dethroned sovereigns of Heidelburg, had

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'yet in store a calamity by which to embitter the residence of the 'unoffending Olympia and her husband'—'The mind of Olympia was fast *ripening* in the *furnace* of affliction'—'She spoke 'of its gloomy *precincts* as an *approaching haven*'. Whether these expressions indicate bad taste or carelessness, they are provoking flaws in such a volume; and we could not dismiss it without earnestly conjuring the intelligent and pious Writer to weed her style, and cultivate the true elegance of simplicity. One who can write so well, deserves no mercy from the critic.

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Art. III. *The Text of the English Bible considered.* By Thomas Turton, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge, and Dean of Peterborough. Second Edition, corrected and greatly enlarged. 8vo. pp. 132. 1833.

WE notice this republication of Dr. Turton's Essay, on account of the additions which have been made to it, and the advantages which it will afford, in its improved form, to every reader of the Bible who may wish for information in respect to the state of the Text in the common English Version of the Scriptures. By the arrangement of his materials, the enlarged number of his examples, and the extended criticisms introduced into this edition of his work, the learned Author has rendered a very valuable service to all such persons as derive pleasure from Biblical pursuits, and are desirous of seeing sound learning discreetly and usefully applied in a department of Biblical criticism which has hitherto been but little regarded. The English Bible has long been in the hands of every one, and the Italics which distinguish its readings have been visible in its pages to every reader; but their use, and the reasons of their insertion, have been but little considered. In this Essay, there will be found a more ample account of them, and a more copious discussion of their merits, than has yet been furnished by any writer who has had occasion to notice them. The information which is here communicated is of permanent interest, and, by extending the plan of his work, the learned and judicious Author has introduced a series of useful illustrations in explanation of the structure of the language of the Bible, which will interest the intelligent reader of the Scriptures, and assist his judgement in respect to the merits of the English Translation in common use. In the notice prefixed to the present edition of the Tract, Dr. Turton states, as his deliberate opinion, that the Text of 1611 is, in consequence of its incorrectness, 'quite unworthy to be considered as the Standard of the 'Bibles now printed'; and expresses his conscientious belief, that 'to revert to that Text, as the Standard, would be productive of 'serious evils'.

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Many of the Italics which occur in our English Bibles, relate to the smaller peculiarities of grammatical construction in the Hebrew and Greek Originals; and in the Text of 1611, great irregularity prevails in the use of them as thus employed. In the subsequent editions, commencing with that of 1638, corrections have been introduced for the purpose of securing uniformity. Such amendments are very properly vindicated by the Author, and his illustrative examples shew the propriety of securing the consistency for which he pleads. So, in regard to abbreviated forms of speech, he remarks,—

'In particular instances, it is of little or no consequence, whether the abbreviated forms of the Original be completed in the English, or not; and therefore, so far as such instances are concerned, it cannot be of much importance whether the supplementary words, when it is thought right to give them, are, or are not, marked by Italics. But it is of great moment that whatever is done in this way, should be done in adherence to a principle. Cases will frequently occur in which it is certain that a word is supplied; although people will form very different opinions of its importance. The only security, for having important supplementary words clearly indicated, is to have all words so indicated, when they are supplementary.' p. 46.

Numerous examples are cited of supplementary words properly distinguished in the Text of 1611, and of supplementary words not marked in that Text, at pp. 49—86. On several of these, the learned Author's remarks are given at considerable length. Some of the passages are of great importance; and the manner in which they have been treated by the Translators, ought to be known to all who are familiar with their version. No one questions their integrity, but, that they were free from prejudice, will not be asserted; and the circumstances under which they engaged in their work, are well known to have imposed restraints upon them. That some of their readings, where the question of Italics is suggested by a comparison of those readings with the Original, were adopted from a regard to theological doctrines, rather than on philological grounds, is very apparent. Dr. Turton's copious observations on Heb. x. 38, as given in the Text of 1611, (pp. 78—86,) merit the attention of the reader. We can only refer to them. The following example is of another kind.

'In Rom. v. 18, we find, "Ἄρα οὖν ὡς δι' ἑνὸς παραπτώματος, εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους, εἰς κατάκριμα· οὕτω καὶ δι' ἑνὸς δικαιώματος, εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους, εἰς δικαίωσιν ζωῆς:—which, taking only such words of our Version as correspond to those of the Original, is—"Therefore as by the offence of one—upon all men to condemnation; even so by the righteousness of one—upon all men unto justification of life." With these materials our Translators have produced the following important declaration; which is printed according to the Text of 1611, except that the verb

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"came," although equally supplementary with the other words in Italics, is not there distinguished as an addition:

'"Therefore as by the offence of one, *judgement came* upon all men to condemnation; even so by the righteousness of one, *the free gift came* upon all men unto justification of life."

'Here then are words of great moment introduced, and placed in opposition to each other. Let us endeavour to ascertain on what ground they are introduced. Through the latter part of this chapter, the Apostle is placing in contrast with each other, the evils consequent upon the offence—the disobedience—of Adam, and the benefits resulting from the obedience of Christ. In verse 15, he says, "But not as the offence, so also is the free-gift;" and in verse 16, "And not as *it was* by one that sinned, *so is* the gift: for the judgement was by one to condemnation, but the free-gift is of many offences unto justification." The Apostle, therefore, in verse 18, is summing up the whole matter, which had been previously enlarged upon; and restating his positions, in more general terms. I say, "in more general terms:" for he had not before expressly affirmed that "the free-gift unto justification of life" came upon "all men," as well as "the judgement" which "*was* by one to condemnation."……Lawrence Tomson here follows Beza, and gives the passage thus: "Likewise then as by the offence of one, *the fault came* on all men to condemnation, so by the justifying of one, *the benefit abounded* toward all men to the justification of life."……The passage before us may be taken as a remarkable instance of the necessity of supplementary words; of the care required in their selection; and, I will add, of the duty which devolves upon Translators, to point out the additions that have been made.' pp. 63—65.

There is a number of cases in which the Italics of 1611 have been improperly inserted, and for which, in editions of a later date, the usual letter has been substituted. Dr. Turton refers to a folio Bible printed at Cambridge, by Buck and Daniel, in the year 1638, as containing a Text revised throughout, in which the alterations necessary to remove the errors occasioned by the use of Italics in the Text of 1611, where the ordinary character was required, have been introduced. A specimen or two of this mode of correction follows:

'Ps. xxx. 5. Here the Text of 1611 gives us, "In *his* favour is life."……In the preceding part of the verse we read, "For his anger *endureth* but a moment;" where the pronominal suffix to the word translated "his anger," is precisely the same as that to the word translated "his favour." The inference is, that it was by oversight that the pronoun "his" was printed in Italics; and we think that the editor of the edition of 1638 was fully justified in printing the word in the ordinary character.'

'Passing on to the New Testament, we [illegible] λὰ
ἡμεῖς ἢ ἄγγελος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ εὐαγγελίζηται ὑμῖν [illegible]

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ἔστω: and according to the Text of 1611, "But though we, or an angel from heaven, preach *any other gospel* unto you, than that we have preached unto you, let him be accursed." Here no one would venture to decide at once upon the propriety of printing the words, "any other gospel," in Italics. But when we read, in the very next verse, εἴ τις ὑμᾶς εὐαγγελίζεται παρ' ὃ παρελάβετε, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω: and according to the same Text, "If any man preach any other Gospel unto you, than that ye have received, let him be accursed:"—we naturally inquire why the words "any other Gospel" should be in Italics in the one case, and not in the other. When, besides, it is recollected that the different forms of the word εὐαγγελίζω, in the sense of preaching the Gospel, frequently occur in the New Testament; and that Italics are never applied to the expression, except in the case of Gal. i. 8, we cannot but approve the judgement which directed the application of the ordinary character to those words. In that character we find the expression in the modern editions, as well as the edition of 1638.

'In Eph. ii. 17, the expression, τοῖς μακρὰν, καὶ τοῖς ἐγγύς, is thus given, "*which were* afar off, and to them that were near." Now, why the words, "which were," should be in Italics, any more than the words, "that were," no man can point out. The edition of 1638 gave consistency to the passage, by exhibiting the whole in one character.' pp. 89, 90.

'To say that those who have been brought to the bar of public opinion—whether the learned Editors who effected the alterations in question, or the learned bodies who adopted them—must stand acquitted of all wrong, either in intention or in act—is true indeed, but falls very far short of the whole truth of the matter . . . . The Text of 1611 never seemed to have possessed authority with regard to Italics; in which respect, occasional corrections were from the first applied, as mistakes happened to be detected. As early as the year 1638, the Text of 1611 underwent a systematic revision—the nature of which will be in some degree ascertained, from what has been stated in the foregoing pages. If it should hereafter appear that an earlier revision had taken place, the argument from antiquity will be so much the stronger. The revision, indeed, was a work of great labour; and it cannot be too steadily borne in mind that, two centuries ago, there lived men who possessed learning to discover the anomalies with which the Text of 1611 abounded; formed resolutions to remove them; and had diligence sufficient to carry their purposes into execution. In this way was transmitted to succeeding times a Text which, compared with that of 1611, may be considered as a model of correctness. The Italics of 1638 were speedily adopted. They became part of the established Text; which Text, after having been more than once subjected to the scrutiny of persons well qualified for the undertaking, was revised, for the last time, in the year 1769.'—pp. 91, 92.

In an 'Appendix,' a concise account is given of the origin and progress of the distinctive marks by which Translators of the Scriptures have denoted the supplementary words employed by them; together with a notice of the writers who have opposed the use of Italics in the Bible. The business of a translator

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is too well understood to require any extensive remarks from us in explanation of it. Whatever be the work on which he adventures, we require at his hands a faithful and perspicuous representation of the sense of the original which he is rendering into another language, and so much of the spirit and peculiarities of his author, as its forms may enable him to tranfuse into his version. A translation exactly literal would scarcely ever secure these, and would indeed, in the greater number of instances, be only an unintelligible production. Supplementary words are necessary. But is it necessary to mark these by any peculiar mode of printing them? The practice of translators generally is different. In the closest version of an ancient classic in any modern language, a distinctive mode of marking variations of idiom, or of filling up ellipses, is never employed. Is another method necessary or desirable in respect to modern versions of the Bible? Have the Translators of the English Bible adopted an approveable mode of exhibiting the Text, by the use of a distinguishing type, in those cases in which they have employed supplementary words to complete the sense of passages. The constancy, though not the uniformity of their practice, for they have followed it throughout, shews that they adopted it systematically, and many strong reasons may be urged in support of their plan. The Bible is a book of supreme importance: its sacredness of character, and the transcendent interest of its contents render it indispensable that the means of shewing it in its original state, as much as possible, be furnished to every reader of it. Italics answer this purpose more effectually than any other mode of representing the Text could do. In very many cases, the occurrence of the Italics will be of signal service to a learned reader, as, in arresting his attention, they will suggest to him the inspection of the Originals, and lead him to institute examinations which he might otherwise omit. Dr. Turton has clearly shewn, not only the value of the Italics in reference to the import of passages, but the real necessity of their use, or of marks equivalent to them, for the purpose of preserving the integrity of the Scriptures. The general practice of translators favours the adoption of them.

Dr. Geddes, in his letter to Bishop Lowth, censures the Italics, and describes them as 'a mere modern refinement'—'a silly device.' With this account of them before us, we should be prepared to expect a rigid exclusion of Italics from his New Translation of the Holy Bible, the prospectus of which was published in the year preceding the date of his letter to Lowth; and the first Volume of which appeared in 1732. His Version, however, was not regulated on the principle of discarding the distinctive letters which he had previously denounced. Italics are used by him in very numerous instances. His employment of them is, indeed, as compared with the adoption of them by King James's

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Translators, very sparing, but there is scarcely an occasion of our observing them in their Version, to which the text of Geddes does not present a similar usage. In many cases, we find the practice of the Translators of the Common Version exactly followed by Geddes, the Italics appearing the same in both. Gen. iv. 25, 'For GOD, *said she*, hath appointed me another seed.' 'For GOD, *said she*, hath substituted to me another son.' Geddes. xviii. 28, 'I will not destroy *it*.' 'I will not destroy *it*.' 'And Lot seeing *them*.' xix. 1. So in Geddes. xxiv. 46, 'And let down her pitcher from her *shoulder*.' 'lowered her pitcher from her *shoulder*.' G. xxx. 30, 'Before *I came*,' 'Before *I came*,' G. Exod. xxxiii. 14, 'My presence shall go *with thee*.' 'Mine own presence shall go *with thee*.' G. Deut. xxvii. 6. 'any iron *tool*.' 'an iron *tool*.' G. In numerous other instances, in which Geddes's Version deviates from the rendering of King James's Translators, he has introduced supplementary words, and printed them in Italics. Gen. ii. 10, 'four *heads*,' 'four principal *rivers*,' G. iii. 22, 'of the tree of life,' 'of the *fruit of the* tree of life.' G. iv. 15, 'a mark,' 'a token *of security*.' G. xiv. 14. 'and pursued *them*,' 'and pursued *the enemy*.' G. xxi. 17, 'Where he *is*,' 'Where he *lieth*.' G. xxvii. 13, 'fetch me *them*,' 'fetch me *the kids*,' G. xxxi. 13, 'the pillar,' 'the standing-*stone*,' G. Lev. vii. 20, 'that *pertain* unto the LORD,' '*offered* to the LORD,' G. Josh. vi. 27, 'his fame was *noised*,' 'was *spread*,' G.

Some Translators, instead of using Italics to denote supplementary words, have included within brackets, in the ordinary character, the additions which appeared to them necessary to complete the sense of passages. This is a method of proceeding with regard to the text, which we should certainly not prefer to the other. In Stuart's Version of the Epistle to the Romans, chap. viii. 19—21, is printed in the following manner.

'"For the earnest expectation of the creature is waiting for the manifestation [of this glory] of the children of God. For the creature was made subject to frailty, (not of its own choice, but by him who put it in subjection,) in hope that this same creature may be freed from the bondage of a perishing state, and [brought] into the glorious liberty of the children of God."'

Campbell, who is an opponent of the Italics, admits the principle of distinguishing supplementary words, which he himself occasionally employs, using brackets instead of Italics. Thus we have, "which is easier; to say, 'Thy sins are forgiven;' or to say [with effect], 'Arise and walk.'" Matt. ix. 6. "It is kings' palaces [not deserts] that such frequent," xi. 8. "*Then children were presented to him, that he might lay his hands upon them, and pray* [*for them*]; *but the disciples reproved* [*those who brought*] *them*." He is indeed very sparing in the use of them; and we

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agree with him in opinion, that the Translators of the Common Version have, in the execution of their method, carried it to excess.

The subject to which this Essay is related, and the manner in which it is here treated, are its proper recommendations.

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Art. IV. *Observations on the Neglect of the Hebrew Language*, and on the best Mode of promoting its cultivation among the Clergy. By Thomas Byrth, M.A. F.A.S. Perpetual Curate of St. James's, Latchford, Cheshire. 8vo. pp. 41. 1832.

'*SANE apud nos, quod sciam, vix unus atque alter est, qui non* '*Philologiæ, pariter et Philosophiæ, prope rudis et profanus,* '*ad Theologiam devolet implumis; eam quoque leviter admodum* '*attingere contentus, quantum forte sufficiat conciunculæ quoque* '*modo conglutinandæ, et tanquam tritis aliunde pannis consuendæ;* '*adeo ut verendum sit ne sensim ingruat in Clerum nostrum sacerdo-* '*talis illa superioris sæculi Ignorantia.*' This is the motto which Mr. Byrth has prefixed to the tract before us, as containing sentiments 'not altogether inapplicable to the Clergy of the present 'day;' and for the proof of which, he refers to the limited attainments which the Universities, even in their present improved condition, require for a mere degree, and to the course of preparation generally pursued by candidates for Orders before they present themselves to the Bishop. With these matters, the Author must be much better acquainted than we can be supposed to be, who are excluded from University degrees, and have never witnessed an Episcopal examination of Candidates for Orders. But we much fear that, if any Dissenting Journal or Review had adopted this motto, and given an expanded translation of it, as descriptive of the professional qualifications of the Clergy of the Church of England, they would have been rebuked in no very gentle terms, by some of its members, for their temerity and ignorance. That very few of the Clergy (*vix unus atque alter*) possess even a smattering of philological and philosophical learning, and scarcely know any thing of Divinity, and that there is no little danger of the Church's relapsing into the ignorance of the darkest periods of her history, is a sentence which, in point of severity, (*we* will not say of truth,) goes further, we believe, than Dissenting Writers are accustomed to proceed in their freest remarks upon the clerical body.

The inferiority of the discourses of the English Clergy, the Author states, (p. 8.) is a complaint almost universal in the mouths of intelligent strangers. This inferiority, he ascribes to the neglect of professional clerical education, to which he endeavours to draw the attention of the Rulers of the Church of England, and the Universities.

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'The study of Theology, is the study of the Bible. In that sacred depository the waters of life are contained, and no one can effectually dispense them to his fellow creatures, who has not himself drawn them thence. To depend on the labours of others, on commentaries, systems, treatises, and translations, without an actual acquaintance with their common source, is to be always exposed to the danger of administering the remedy intended for the recovery of fallen man, diluted, and not unfrequently adulterated, with foreign and earthly matter. But it may be affirmed without hesitation, that no man understands these divine records thoroughly, who is unable to read them in their original languages. Ignorant of these, he wants the key which alone can open to him the fountain of life; and although he may borrow from the vessels of others, he is a stranger to all the depth and purity of its saving waters.

'The assertion contained in the last paragraph, may be startling to some readers, and appear extravagant to others. The writer is, therefore, anxious not to be misunderstood. He is far from meaning that, in all cases, to constitute an efficient Evangelist, the condition of ancient learning is indispensable. He acknowledges with gratitude to the sovereign Author of every good and perfect gift, the abundant and successful labours of numbers, who have had but little instruction, except that which was conveyed to their minds by the teaching of the Holy Spirit, through the instrumentality of the translated word. The point for which he would contend is the following. The cases in question were exempt cases; they form the exception, not the rule. In them, the want of opportunity may be well supposed to have been supplied by extraordinary assistance. The position which the writer wishes to occupy is, that in a National Church whose clergy are distinguished, perhaps beyond any other body, for their leisure, their advantages, and for their successful cultivation of almost every other branch of knowledge, a systematic neglect of the language of a great portion of the book which they are set apart to explain, is more than an absurdity.' pp. 11, 12.

Of the importance of a knowledge of the Old Testament writings to a Divine, no one can entertain any doubt. But, if this be an essential part of his mental furniture, it is just as proper to expect that he should obtain it from the Original books, as that his knowledge of the New should be derived from the Greek Testament. The Hebrew language, however, has never been a favoured subject of study in the Universities. On its neglect, the Author expatiates; nor does he omit to notice the evils thence resulting. Is there, he asks, any church but our own, which does not require it in her ministers? Is it not an essential branch of education, in all the dissenting academies in our own country? Mr. Byrth's prospects, however, are not cheerless.

'That the study of the Hebrew tongue has been neglected by us, as a body, no one will be so hardy as to deny. That a new order of things is about to arise, is equally true, and it is hailed by the writer of these remarks with sincere pleasure. The increased attention paid

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to this important branch of learning in both Universities, is a most encouraging sign of improvement. The purchase of the Oppenheimer Library, by the University of Oxford, reflects the greatest credit on that learned body, and places within the reach of its members the most complete collection of Hebrew Literature in the world. The institution of two Hebrew Scholarships, and the numbers who voluntarily attend the lectures of the present Professor, should likewise be mentioned, as satisfactory indications, that the cause advocated in these pages is gaining ground. Nor should the publication, within a comparatively few years, of several excellent Hebrew Grammars in this country, be omitted to be noticed. Until very lately, the difficulty of obtaining any introduction to the study of the Hebrew tongue written in English, or by Englishmen, except one or two most imperfect and superficial manuals, was so great as to betray how little was the interest, with which the pursuit was regarded among us. And even the few scholars who of late days devoted any portion of their time to the important study, seemed either to lose themselves in the mazes of an etymological mysticism, or to rest contented with a very jejune acquaintance with the language.' pp. 24—26.

Nothing can be more injudicious than to describe the knowledge of the Hebrew language as of easy acquisition. Such representations, the Author remarks, are calculated to mislead. And many aspirants after learning have been thus seduced. Examples are by no means wanting to confirm the truth of the observation, that 'There is perhaps no study, which persons enter 'upon with more ardour, and relinquish sooner, than that of 'Hebrew.' Diligence and perseverance are as necessary in this department of study as in any other of laborious occupation. More than common abilities are not wanted for its successful prosecution: with these, method and industry will enable the student to overcome every difficulty.

The remedies proposed by the Author as necessary for the removal of the evil which he exposes, are, to render an examination in Hebrew a qualification for a degree,—and, the examination of Candidates for Orders in the language of the Old Testament. Certainly 'the time has passed away, when it was usual to claim 'for the Church of England the praise of being immaculate;' and they whom it concerns would do well to take counsel in respect to the matter of Hebrew learning, of the present Writer.

Art. V.—*History of Moral Science.* By Robert Blakey, Author of an Essay on Moral Good and Evil. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 732. London, 1833.

A CORRECT and condensed view of the principal theories in Moral Science, has long been felt to be a desideratum by those who have been engaged in prosecuting such inquiries; and we readily acknowledge, therefore, that a debt of gratitude is due to

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Mr. Blakey for the able and interesting work now before us. It is well conceived and admirably executed, displaying an intimate acquaintance with the various opinions which he records; and, what we reckon a peculiar merit of the work, the Author, instead of contenting himself, as most historians of Philosophy have done before him, with a dry detail of the sentiments of others, enters into a careful, and, in some instances, lengthened discussion of the most interesting questions connected with the science. His volumes, therefore, are valuable, not merely to the student, but to the general reader, as introducing him to a familiar acquaintance with the history of opinions, and at the same time guiding him to an accurate judgement as to their probable truth or falsehood. Histories of Philosophy abound more especially on the Continent. It is sufficient to refer to the names of Buhle, and Tennemann, and Morhoff, and Brucker, in Germany; of Formey and Cousin, in France; and of Andrès, and Guicciardini, and Tiraboschi, in Italy. In English literature, we know no other historians of philosophy than Enfield and Stanley; the one limiting himself to an abridgement of Brucker's ponderous tomes, and the other confining himself almost exclusively to the opinions of ancient writers.

In a field thus almost unoccupied, Mr. Blakey has displayed his talents to no small advantage; and, with a gentleness, candour, and unobtrusive modesty well worthy of imitation, he uniformly endeavours, by presenting each system in the most favourable and charitable light in which it could be viewed consistently with truth, to prepossess his readers in favour of the author, rather than to excite the slightest prejudice against him. Even Leviathan Hobbes, with all his truckling servility to the power of the magistrate, meets with the most lenient treatment; and his opinions, obviously erroneous though they be, are represented with as much impartiality and fairness as he himself could have wished. This imperturbable calmness in dealing with such men, if it be a fault in our Author, is one, nevertheless, which 'leans to virtue's side.'

As an instance of this, perhaps excessive, tenderness, we may refer to the following remarks in defence of Mr. Hobbes against that torrent of abuse which has been almost uniformly poured upon him.

'There has no writer on moral philosophy been more severely criticised, and, in my humble opinion, so generally misapprehended, as Mr. Hobbes. I must, for my own part, confess, that for many years I was a slave to the most degrading and unworthy prejudices against his views and sentiments; and he was invariably connected, in my mind, with a gross vilifier of human nature, a subverter of all sound morality and religion, an advocate of civil tyranny and oppression, and one who was to be considered only in the light of an idle but inge-

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nious dealer in empty sophisms and trifling paradoxes. And I have no doubt but this, even now, is the prevailing opinion of nearly nine-tenths of those who have made the speculative principles of morality a leading branch of their general studies. But I feel confident, that a calm and dispassionate perusal of his writings, and a careful attention to his language and principles, particularly in the *Leviathan*, which contains the digested views of his riper years and understanding, will produce a change more favourable to his reputation and character. We will (shall) soon feel interested in his writings, and acknowledge the power he has of fixing the attention, and calling into exercise the reasoning faculties of his reader. We will speedily be convinced of the extensive grasp of his mind, and feel delighted by those extensive and accurate views of human nature presented to our notice, and which have not been obtained from, or delved out by, the written opinions and language of preceding authors, but drawn from the fresh and inexhaustible fountain of his own vigorous and original powers of thought.' Vol. I. pp. 51, 52.

In these remarks, we are sorry to say that we can by no means coincide, and more especially when we reflect that the Leviathan was cordially welcomed at the profligate court of Charles the Second. In justice, however, to Mr. Blakey, we may state, that 'he is by no means prepared to go so far as to maintain that his '(Hobbes's) whole system is true and perfect in all its parts, or 'that he has not advanced principles, and made use of observations 'and arguments which lie fairly open to criticism and censure.' Even this reservation, gratifying as it is, ought surely to have been much stronger, when the moral writings of Hobbes are in question. It is well known, both to our Author and to all who have even cursorily perused the works of the philosopher of Malmesbury, that cold and unredeemed *selfishness* lies at the root of his moral system, and that the will of the magistrate forms, in his opinion, the sole ground of virtuous actions. Such principles are sufficient of themselves to warrant an instant rejection of his theory, as not merely false in itself, but likely, if extensively adopted, to weaken the principles of moral obligation. And this was decidedly the view which was taken of the subject when the Leviathan appeared. Countless hosts of writers started forward to vindicate, on the one hand, the moral law of the Divinity, and on the other, the moral nature of man. The courtiers and immoral aristocrats of the most abandoned period in the history of England, gladly hailed the appearance of a work so completely in accordance with their opinions and conduct; while, from the virtuous and enlightened, one simultaneous cry of righteous indignation was raised against the man who, to cater to the taste of a profane court, could deny to his fellows the possession of a single disinterested motive, and coldly repress the finest affections and sensibilities of our common nature. It is difficult to speak of a Moral Theory founded on principles such

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as these, in any other terms than those which are expressive of the most marked disapprobation; and while we admire, though we cannot imitate, the philosophic calmness with which Mr. Blakey discusses the opinions set forth in the Leviathan, we could have wished that the *selfish system* had been exposed in stronger language, and its principles developed with greater fulness. In the course of the strictures upon the philosophy of Hobbes, we were struck with an incidental remark, which led us to fear that our Author had fallen into an erroneous opinion in reference to the metaphysical system of Locke, of precisely the same nature with that which has prevailed so universally on the Continent. The passage is as follows:—

'The great principle of metaphysical philosophy which Mr. Locke has illustrated at much length in his Essay on the Human Understanding—*that all our ideas are derived through the medium of the senses*, is, in Mr. Hobbes's Leviathan, clearly laid down.'—Vol. I. p. 56.

This view of Locke's opinions has been long current among the French philosophers, and they are in the habit of asserting, that the system of Condillac, who in reality held sensation to be the sole fundamental origin of all our knowledge, was identical with that of Locke, who taught a doctrine widely different. In an after part of the same volume, we find our Author, in treating directly of the Ideal System, giving a more correct account of the matter. 'The principle of Locke's theory is, that all our knowledge is de-'rived from two sources; namely, from the exercise of our bodily 'senses, and from the mind reflecting as it were upon its own 'powers, or upon the simple ideas or sensations which our re-'spective senses furnish.' Such we believe, with a slight modification, to be the true explanation of the origin of our knowledge; and Mr. Blakey will pardon us for stating, that the modification we have in view, is derived from the Kantian philosophy, for which he professes no great respect: we refer to the *à priori* principles of belief which form the ground-work of the Transcendental System. The chapter on the Ideal System, displays considerable metaphysical acuteness; but, in some of the remarks made by our Author, in reply to the arguments of Mr. Stewart, we can scarcely coincide. In his anxiety to get quit of any thing approaching to innate ideas or notions, he seems to doubt whether we have any other notions than those which 'relate to things 'having a resemblance to the qualities either of matter or of mind.' Mr. Stewart had in his eye, we doubt not, the whole series of abstract relations, particularly those of number and quantity, which, surely, Mr. Blakey will himself allow, have no 'resemblance to the 'qualities either of matter or of mind.'

The attempt of Hobbes to introduce the will of the magistrate

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as the leading, if not the sole motive to virtue, naturally led to a minute investigation into the origin of all moral distinctions. Dr. Cudworth regarded them as, in their source, eternal and immutable; Wollaston traced them to the nature, and Dr. Clarke, to the fitness of things. Bishop Cumberland, however, was the only professed answerer of Hobbes, at least the only one who has published a reply of sufficient ability or length to survive the temporary excitement of the period. Our Author's view of his theory is clear, accurate, and perspicuous, and we quite agree with the sentiments contained in the following passage.

'The stability of Bishop Cumberland's virtue is not of that refined and absolute description which has been advocated by other writers; he seems, as far as I have been able to judge, from the general scope of his remarks, to be wishful to steer a kind of middle course. He certainly makes frequent use of the word *eternal* in reference to the nature of moral truth; but he uses it in a modified sense. He maintains that virtue is eternal and unchangeable, in the same sense as the material universe, and the various relations which its parts have to each other, may be said to be eternal. Not that virtue is a thing of such an eternal and absolutely unchangeable a nature, that it must have been coeval with the existence of the Deity himself, and that it is impossible that it ever could or can receive any modification from his power and wisdom.' Vol. I. pp. 112, 113.

The next system to which Mr. Blakey directs our attention, is that of Archbishop King, who traces the origin of virtue to the will of the great Creator and Governor of all. The opinion is fully explained, and the principal objections stated with remarkable candour; which is the more to be admired when we reflect, that this theory is warmly espoused and advocated in an after part of the work. We are not so much disposed as our Author apparently is, to attach importance to the distinction between this system and that of Cudworth, or any other of the antagonists of Hobbes. To admit the existence of a Deity at all, is to acknowledge Him as the origin and source of both the nature and the fitness of things; and of course, the theories are, in one sense, precisely identical. The learned Archbishop rises to a higher link in the chain than many of his predecessors; but, reasoning upon the matter, to the same result must all come at last—the will of Him "of whom are all things, and by whom all things consist." The grand objection, however, to this system is thus stated in the words of our Author.

'It appears to me that the principal cause of the antipathy which has generally been manifested against the doctrine, that morality is founded upon the *will* of God, has been, that, upon this hypothesis, the Almighty is made the author of sin. But allowing, for the sake of argument, that such a position may be fairly deducible from this theory of Archbishop King, yet I should like to know if there ever

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was or can be any moral theory proposed, that completely sets at rest this long-agitated question—the origin of evil. Whatever speculative opinions we may embrace, we will find this question meeting us in the face at every turn; and though some moral theories do more obviously and directly suggest the question on the origin of evil, to the mind, than others, yet this question is involved in all theories, and seems incapable of a solution from any. It is a question to which we can never hope to make even the slightest progress towards affording a satisfactory answer; and we must be content to leave it, where every inquisitive mind has been obliged to leave it—just where it was found.'

Vol. I. pp. 176, 7.

This fine passage shews clearly, that the Author is imbued with the true spirit of philosophic humility, that he is fully aware of the narrow limit within which human reason is confined, and that he considers it as the highest wisdom to stop short at the point where these appointed limits are fixed. The question as to the origin of evil, however, much as it has engrossed the attention of speculative inquirers, is not capable of solution by the unassisted reason of man; and to allege as an objection against any theory, that it leads to the conclusion, that God is the author of evil, is foolish in the extreme, it being palpable as the sun at noon-day, that the same objection might be alleged against every system of morality that has ever been formed. And the great advantage which accrues from the theory of the learned Archbishop is, that it makes way for the discoveries of Divine Revelation as supplementary to the light of nature. According to the systems either of Cudworth or of Clarke, the standard of virtue is dependent upon the varied opinions of men; whereas, in referring it to the Will of God, we adopt a standard invariable and everlasting. To assert that any thing whatever is or can be independent of the will of the Almighty, is to suppose that there was a time when the Supreme Being did not exist. If it be asserted that the laws of Morality are eternal; so, say we, is the existence of God But we may be told, these laws could undergo no change even by the will of the Deity himself. The truth of this assertion we readily concede, tantamount as it evidently is to the declaration, that the Deity is unchangeable in His nature. He cannot lie, neither can He render falsehood and truth convertible terms, precisely for the same reason, that He cannot cease to be God. His nature and His will are alike immutable. Is not this, however, it has been often objected, to render the rules of morality arbitrary and dependent on the will of the Supreme Being? No. The Being on whom they are dependent, if such a term can be used, wills not and cannot will any other than what is right. To make the supposition that he could will a single virtue to be *ceteris paribus* vice, were not merely blasphemous, but absurd and contradictory.

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Instead of expatiating, as might easily be done, on the theories of Wollaston and Mandeville, we content ourselves with extracting the following paragraph in reference to the difficulty of distinguishing the different systems from one another.

'Many of these systems were distinguished from one another only by slight shades of difference in principle; and when it is considered that the illustration must be drawn from the same source—the passions and affections of men—which have been and still are the same in all countries, it will not appear surprising that the marks of distinction amongst those systems should, in many cases, become almost evanescent and imperceptible.' Vol. I. p. 262.

These remarks are decidedly judicious and correct; and so much delighted do we feel with the general views of our Author, that we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of extracting the following admirable observations on the influence which religious principle exerts over our moral nature.

'Nothing can be more destitute of truth', says Mr. Blakey, 'than the assertion of some philosophers, that religious opinions can have no good effect on our moral natures. The history of the world furnishes examples without number, of the salutary influence which sound theological opinions exercise over the private and social virtues. Nor does the history of superstition furnish any considerable objection to what is here advanced. It only proves one thing, and it is this,—that religion is a powerful machine, capable of being turned to dangerous and unworthy, as well as salutary, purposes. It is calculated to engross the whole man, and to become the almost sole moving principle of all his actions. Indeed, though the dark and dreary ages of superstition are now said to have passed away for ever, we may nevertheless see, in our daily intercourse with the world, what a firm hold religion still has upon the human mind. Nor is there any thing, as some conceive, wonderful in the matter. The religious belief of rewards and punishments in some future state of existence, operates in the same manner, and on the same principles, as a belief in the existence and certainty of human laws and punishments. And what moralist has ever contended that human laws and punishments were not necessary as a stimulant to the virtuous principle, and a restraint upon wickedness and crime? Now it may be observed, that the way, and the only way, in which civil punishment acts upon the mind, is by a *belief* of its existence, and the certainty of its invariable application. Those, therefore, who believe in the existence of a state of future retribution, who consider that certain actions are sure of being in a certain manner severely punished hereafter, such people must be allowed to carry about with them some check, at least, to immorality and licentiousness. It is of no question, considered merely in the light of an argumentative one, whether it is rational or philosophical to believe in future rewards and punishments; this does not affect the vital part of the question; for all that we have to consider here is, whether a man who firmly believes that cruelty, malignity, treachery, and every other species of wickedness, will meet with a certain and

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severe punishment in another state of being, will not be more likely to refrain from practising immorality to the same extent as a man who has no such belief? Making every possible allowance for differences on religious topics, still, I think, no one who has the slightest knowledge of human nature, but must confess that the *believer* in future rewards and punishments carries with him a certain degree of security against vicious and immoral behaviour, of which the *unbeliever* is completely destitute.'

The remarks made by our Author upon the passions, in his review of the Theory of Dr. Hutcheson, are very just; but we entertain some doubt as to the accuracy of the opinion, that the Writers who held the doctrine of a moral sense, meant by it nothing more than a susceptibility of moral emotion. Mr. Blakey may be quite correct in thinking that the faculty in question may be so explained; but we strongly suspect that Dr. Hutcheson, Lord Shaftesbury, and others, intended by the very use of the term moral sense, to indicate something more than a mere susceptibility of emotion of whatever kind; and were we required to complete the idea, we should explain it in some such terms as the following—*an intuitive perception of the rightness or wrongness of actions.* That the *substratum*, if we may so speak, of the notion as developed by Dr. Hutcheson, is an emotion, is evident on a mere cursory perusal of his interesting Inquiry into Beauty and Virtue; but the addition of the other elements in the conception to which we have referred, lends a greater force and expressiveness to the word *Sense*, which they have adopted, and is the very circumstance, we conceive, which led to its adoption. But the distinctive characteristic of this theory, lies not so much in the nature of the moral faculty, as in the fact, that there is a separate faculty at all. Dr. Price, it is well known, denies the necessity of referring it to any separate power, resolving it into a mere exercise of the understanding or reasoning powers. The rapidity, however, of the judgements in matters of morality, renders it exceedingly improbable that they are any other than intuitive, and accompanied no doubt with a feeling of approbation or disapprobation, which entitles them to be regarded as emotional. The judgement is followed so closely by the consecutive emotion, that they may almost be considered as co-existent. This doctrine of a moral sense has been maintained by the greater part of ethical enquirers since the time of Bishop Butler; and so general is the belief in a separate faculty, usually denominated conscience, that the few who have viewed it as a simple exercise of reason, may be considered as forming exceptions to the all but universal opinion.

The remarks of Mr. Blakey on Paley's theory are not less judicious. In so far as the learned Dean considered the nature of virtue to consist in obedience to the will of God, we entirely

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coincide with him in sentiment; but when, under the erroneous idea that he was doing service to religion, he resolved this principle of moral obligation into a desire of reward and a dread of punishment, he sapped, as we conceive, the very foundation of all virtuous feeling, and substituted in its stead a cold, selfish, heartless expediency. We quote with much pleasure, the following passage, as shewing that, if our Author thought it necessary to apologize for Hobbes, the originator of the selfish system, he is at all events sufficiently aware of the flagrant evils connected with the theory itself. Hence, the reader will have no difficulty in perceiving that we consider Paley as the supporter of a system of refined selfishness.

'It is maintained, that the doctrine of expediency, or the loving and the performing of virtue, for the sake of the rewards which are attached to it, is destructive of all lofty and elevated conceptions of the nature and perfections of the Deity, and of that worship we ought to pay Him. We do not, upon this hypothesis, love God for holiness and benignity of character, but only as the dispenser of certain benefits, which He has it in his power to bestow upon us. We represent Him as a Being who is possessed of nothing of intrinsic excellence, which we can love and adore for its own sake; but, what homage He receives from us, must every tittle be purchased by a portion of vastly superior benefits and favours. We carry on a species of barter with heaven; and that which we designate by the name of virtue, goodness, or piety, is indeed nothing but the fruits of a traffic infinitely more mercenary and grovelling than any thing visible under the dominion of the most loathsome greediness and avarice. In fact, there can be nothing on which to rest our duty to God, if the leading principles of Paley's expediency be admitted to their utmost extent.'

The objection thus urged to the gross mercantile notions of virtue entertained by Paley, is in perfect accordance with truth; and it is much to be lamented, that such views should pervade the writings of so many theological writers. That the hope of reward and the dread of punishment form auxiliary incentives to the practice of virtue and the avoidance of vice, cannot be denied; but when, from a subordinate, they are transferred to the chief place in exercising a moral effect upon the mind, the system which proceeds upon such a supposition is chargeable with enforcing upon man the necessity of acting from motives directly the reverse of those which are sanctioned both by scripture and reason.

Passing over one or two intervening theorists, we approach one of the most distinguished names in the annals of Philosophy—that of Dugald Stewart. Long will his name be venerated as connected with all that is elegant in literature, chaste and perspicuous, if not profound, in philosophy, liberal and enlarged in political sentiment, and dignified in moral character. We ex-

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tract the following as an exceedingly just estimate of his intellectual characteristics.

'The mind of Mr. Stewart was singularly well constituted. Its merits did not consist so much in any one faculty being possessed in a very remarkable degree of perfection, but in the strength and symmetry of all its parts; and in the architectural beauty, so to speak, which arose from the harmonious combination of all the individual portions of his intellectual structure. The grand and leading feature of his mind was good sense; or, as it sometimes called, common sense; which is by no means so common an acquisition even among philosophers as its name would seem to imply. Accordingly we find, he was no desperate lover of theories,—no dealer in splendid chimeras or dazzling sophisms,—no patron of verbal quibbles or trifling conceits, of startling paradoxes or incomprehensible dogmas; but on every topic he pursued the steady, even tenor of his way, guided by a manly freedom of inquiry and a sound judgement which were always sufficient to preserve him from rash speculations and childish puerilities. When he is led into discussions, in conformity with the prescribed routine of his profession, possessing comparatively little interest, he carefully avoids becoming tedious; and to every question that comes before him, he gives that proper and just share of attention which its intrinsic merits demand. Subjects in their own nature of considerable intricacy and subtilty, were made plain and interesting by the charms of an easy and graceful eloquence of style, which no expounder of mental philosophy who had gone before had ever employed, and which no succeeding writer has been able to surpass.' Vol. II. p. 227—8.

Our Author, we conceive, has scarcely been so happy in his delineation either of the sentiments or of the character of Dr. Thomas Brown. Proceeding on the idea which had been developed in an earlier part of the work, that, by a moral sense, nothing more was intended by Dr. Hutcheson, than a *susceptibility of moral emotion*, Mr. Blakey classes Dr. Brown among the supporters of this doctrine. Now, while we readily grant that this acute metaphysician held the doctrine of a distinct moral faculty, we humbly imagine that he has fallen into an error in which he has been followed by our Author;—an error somewhat analogous to, if not entirely identical with, that into which he fell when animadverting on the doctrine of Mr. Reid in reference to the distinction between sensation and perception. In his anxiety to generalize, which was the prevailing error of his mind, he objected to these two states of mind being regarded as distinct from each other. The same objection he extended to conception and memory; and in his Moral System, he goes so far as to speak only of the moral emotion which is excited on the contemplation of certain actions, while he loses sight, as Mr. Blakey does, of the intuitive perception which passes judgement on the action, which has given rise to the moral emotion. Excessive generalization has

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done much injury to science; and in this respect, the exertions of Dr. Brown in mental philosophy, bear some resemblance to the exertions of Des Cartes in physical science. 'Give me matter 'and motion,' said the latter, 'and I will create a world.' 'Give 'me the associating principle and emotion,' might Dr. Brown have said, 'and I will create a mind, or rather, a philosophy of 'mind.' The views of our Author in reference to the metaphysical system of Dr. Brown, are quite in accordance with our own. He may have apparently changed the whole aspect of mental science, by exploding the separate *faculties*, and substituting separate *states*, but this improvement is nominal rather than real. Not one of his predecessors, we will venture to say, ever conceived of the mind in any other way than as possessed of an essential unity; and while they used the word faculties for the sake of convenience, they intended thereby to express nothing more than classes of different states so similar as to allow of their being ranked under one general name. His moral system is liable to much more serious objections than his metaphysical; and we fear, he has laid himself too obviously open to the charge which Mr. Blakey thinks might be brought against him.

'His system is nearly allied, if not completely identified, with those adopted by several French writers, who have resolved every thing into mere sensation, and who have been, by all our best moral writers in England, considered not very orthodox in their mental and moral creeds.'

The philosophers here alluded to are evidently, Condillac, Diderot, and Helvetius; and we do not deny that Dr. Brown's *emotional hypothesis* (for by no other name can we call it) leads to precisely the same results with the sceptical opinions of these French philosophers. But, while we admit this, we cannot forget that our Author has endeavoured, by, as we suspect, an incorrect explanation of the term moral sense, to identify the system of Dr. Brown with that of Hutcheson, Lord Shaftesbury, and others of the same school. Now, we have endeavoured to shew in an earlier part of this article, that a *susceptibility of moral emotion* is far from being explanatory of the words in the full extent of their meaning; and whatever conclusion, therefore, Mr. Blakey may think legitimately deducible from the opinions of those who maintain the existence of a moral sense, we must by no means be understood as including these writers in the admission we have already made in regard to the tendency of Dr. Brown's opinions. Independently of their adoption of the word *Sense*, which evidently pointed to something more than a mere emotion, we think the whole tenor of the writings both of Dr. Hutcheson and Lord Shaftesbury warrants us in giving it a more extensive meaning.

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The following comparison, or rather contrast between Dr. Brown and Mr. Stewart, is accurate and well-conceived.

'What a striking contrast does he exhibit to his preceptor and tutor, Dugald Stewart! In perusing the writings of the former, our attention is perpetually upon the rack to catch his precise meaning: in the latter, it very rarely happens indeed that we have any trouble to understand the author, or to see the whole drift of his argument. Dr. Brown is always wishful to appear the Professor, and to avoid familiarity of language, as if he considered it fatal to his reputation. Like a thorough-paced courtier, he never likes to be seen except in full dress. . . . Hence it is that, in spite of his rich stores of polite literature and vigorous imaginative powers, it is a perfect herculean task to get through his Lectures; and many a time and oft does the mind, like some weary pilgrim in a sultry climate, sigh for some convenient resting-place, to renovate its exhausted energies, from the overstrained exertions to which it has been subjected.' Vol. II. pp. 249, 50.

Dr. Brown was undoubtedly more acute than Mr. Stewart, in discerning minute points of difference, and hence his philosophy is chiefly founded on distinctions which had perhaps been overlooked by his predecessors in the science of mind; but, in true greatness of mind, in enlarged conception, in vigorous and correct thinking, as well as in elegance and perspicuity of language, he is far inferior to Mr. Stewart.

We confess that we felt somewhat astonished in reading the sweeping charge of absurdity which Mr. Blakey brings against the philosophy of Kant and his followers in Germany; but, on perceiving that the judgement was founded, not on a study of the works of Emanuel Kant, but of some partial views of his system, particularly, we suspect, that of Villiers, our surprise somewhat abated. The Transcendental System has changed the whole aspect of mental science on the Continent; not merely in Germany, but in France; and surely, philosophic reasoners are not so very foolish as to unite with one consent in the adoption, to a greater or less extent, of a mere farrago of nonsense and puerile absurdities. The language of Mr. Stewart, in speaking of the Kantian philosophy, is nearly as contemptuous as that of our Author; but he confesses that he is quite ignorant of the German language, and has received all his knowledge of the system from a Latin translation, which is so barbarously written as to be altogether unintelligible. The fact is, justice will never be done to Kant until he shall be more generally studied in the original; and it will then be seen, that, amid many common-place thoughts veiled in obscure and mystical language, there are not a few points in his system, particularly in that part which is contained in his "Critique of Pure Reason," which are well worth the attention of the philosophic inquirer. It is much to be regretted, that, at a time when German literature and philosophy are be-

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ginning to be studied more generally amongst us, a single remark should have escaped from the pen of our Author, which might discourage the student in his endeavours to become acquainted with the Continental philosophy. More than half a century has elapsed since the system of the sage of Königsberg was first given to the world, and, like Aristotle of old, multitudes have been proud to rank themselves among his disciples and commentators. In England, little, far too little is known of German philosophy; and until we have thoroughly studied the subject in all its bearings, it would be a bare act of justice in us to forbear rashly giving forth our judgement before we are in full possession of all the facts of the case.

In the close of the work, the Author gives a rapid comparative view of the different systems from Hobbes to Dr. Dewar, and, in the course of it, makes the following very judicious remark. 'There are none of these different systems that are not in some 'degree founded on truth; but the great imperfection which runs 'through them all is, that they attempt to generalize too much. 'We cannot resolve all the moral feelings and habits of our na-'ture into one general principle.' It were well for the cause of moral science, if these observations had been present to the mind of all inquirers into this abstruse department of human knowledge. More intent, in most instances, on constructing a theory, than on discovering truth, they have taken a partial view of the questions which it was their object to discuss. The selfish system, for example, though apparently opposed to the benevolent or social system of virtue, is equally with it in accordance with particular views of our moral nature. Both, therefore, are to a certain extent correct; and Mr. Blakey has very properly, both in his view of the systems in the course of his work, and in his summary at the end, taken advantage of this fact, to discriminate what is true, in each, from what is false. Even the very worst systems, those of Hobbes and Mandeville, are not wholly based in error; but, on the contrary, viewing human nature in a peculiar aspect, they are founded on truth. The theory to which Mr. Blakey confesses himself to be partial, is that of Archbishop King —that virtue depends upon the will of God. From the remarks we have already made upon this system, it may be seen that we are not inclined to oppose this view of the subject, though we think it may be made to harmonize to some extent with some of the other theories, both of those which preceded, and those which followed it.

In parting with our Author, we cannot refrain from expressing our high admiration of the fine philosophic tone which pervades these volumes, and our earnest wish that he may continue to prosecute with the same success this interesting branch of human inquiry. His volumes are valuable both to the student and to

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the general reader, and the more so as he has not expatiated at too great length upon ancient and long-exploded systems, but has confined his researches to those which ought to be familiar to every intelligent mind.

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Art. VI.—1. *Ecclesiastical Establishments not inconsistent with Christianity:* with a particular View to some leading Objections of the Modern Dissenters. By William Hull. 8vo. pp. 67. London, 1834.

2. *A Deep Sense of Injury, and the Exposure of Wrongs, not inconsistent with Christian Humility.* A Discourse, preached at Enfield, February 10, 1833. By the Rev. W. Hull. 12mo. pp. 36. London, 1833.

IF we should ever quarrel with the Dissenters, and go over to the Establishment, whether from 'a deep sense of injury not 'inconsistent with Christian humility', or from a distaste for Calvinistic theology and prayer-meetings, or from deeming our talents and services not duly appreciated by our own body,—we give all whom it may concern fair notice, that we have too high a sense of our personal importance to allow of our quietly changing sides, and falling unnoticed and unmissed into the ranks of Conformity. No, indeed; the public shall hear of it; we will go over to the sound of the trumpet. The ungrateful Dissenters shall know the irreparable loss they will have sustained; we will celebrate our conversion in a pamphlet, written, of course, 'not 'in the spirit of vindictive retaliation', but in mere justice to the cause of truth; and we will get Rivington's to publish it,—for of course we shall change our publishers with our coat and our party. We hope our friends will take warning from this honest declaration, and treat us, in future, with all becoming deference and respect; for, though we hope we are not literary coxcombs, we are but men, frail and liable to fall, having doubtless as high an estimate of ourselves as we ought to have, and not being best pleased when brought into contact with undiscerning, vulgar-minded persons who have not so exalted an opinion of us. What is more, we have a tolerably extensive acquaintance with the good and evil, essential or accidental, of Dissenterism; and as evils affect the mind by their proximity and actual contact and pressure, rather than in proportion to their comparative magnitude, we will confess that there have been moments of fretfulness in which we have thought we did well to be angry, upon most reasonable grounds, with Dissenters and their doings, if not with their principles. To an individual not possessed of strong mind or of clearly defined sentiments, such moments are seasons of danger; and we can make very charitable allowance for the man-

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who, while the mood lasts, suffers his temper to triumph over his understanding. Many a poor fellow has run away from home, on similar provocation, and from his best friends, and listed in the king's service, on the promise of being made a gentleman, but has found, alas! too late, that the bounty and the cockade had converted him into a slave.

We will not swear that we shall never desert the principles which we have long professed and advocated,—that the thing is morally impossible in our particular case, more than in that of others,—or that we may not see good reason, like Dr. Southey and other great men, to 'throw off the prejudices of our early 'years.' But this we dare engage for; that, in such an event, we will not seek a mean and miserable justification for our *conversion*, in maligning our old associates. We will leave our bad opinion of them to be inferred from our walking no more with them; but we will not add treachery to desertion, and prove our loyalty to our new friends, by making war upon our old companions. We will not seek to atone for former errors, and parade our penitence, by acting as a literary Jack-ketch to those against whom we shall have turned king's evidence.

This we will promise *not* to do. Good policy as well as good taste, to say nothing of kindly feeling, would forbid it. No; were we satisfied, for instance, that, upon the subject of Establishments, as well as of Congregationalism, Calvinism, and most other points, Dissenters were all in the wrong, we should be very solicitous to explain the process of inquiry by which we had arrived at such a conviction. Our regard for our old associates, concurring with a love of our new opinions, would lead us to employ all the winning arts of persuasion with a view to open their eyes to their errors; and we should strive to convince them that we were not less their friend because we had ceased to hold their erroneous opinions. We should be very anxious not to fortify them in their prejudices by the bitterness of our hostility and the insolence of our deportment, lest we should unwittingly furnish fresh reasons for Dissent by our mode of assailing it.

Mr. William Hull—as he is not yet episcopally ordained, we will not offend against propriety by styling him Reverend—seems so completely estranged from the Dissenters by their ingratitude towards him, and their stupidity in not admiring either his theology or his manners, that he will not even do them the kindness of trying to set them right by the condescension of argument. We opened his present pamphlet with eagerness, expecting to find some display of that ingenuity and reading for which he has credit. The title, indeed, will be seen to bear an *ominous* resemblance to that of a discourse, in which the Writer, attempting in like manner to prove a negative, had singularly failed. If Ecclesiastical Establishments are not *less* 'inconsistent with

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'Christianity' than 'a deep sense of injury,' such as Mr. Hull, both betrays and vindicates, is with Christian humility, their cause is hopeless; and if the Writer's polemical reasoning is no better than his ethics, he cannot be a very formidable antagonist.

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Nevertheless, we imagined that self-respect would have induced this gentleman to take some pains with a pamphlet upon so delicate and important a subject. As he professes to take a *particular view* of some leading objections of the Modern Dissenters, we anticipated that the works of Grahame, Conder, Marshall, and Ballantyne, which treat expressly and argumentatively of the subject, would have received a close examination; or that the more recent publications of Dr. Wardlaw and Mr. James, recommended alike by the popularity of the writers and the amiable spirit which distinguishes their controversial publications, would have received respectful notice. Will it be credited that Mr. William Hull has taken so *particular* a view as not to bestow even a passing mention upon any one of these works? Nay, he has been as careful to avoid combating their arguments as pronouncing their names. He affects an ignorance which we suppose is meant for sovereign contempt. The only Dissenting authorities which he deigns to cite are, '*the words of Mr. Hall as* '*reported in Green's* "*Reminiscences*"', and the publications of the Society for promoting Ecclesiastical Knowledge!! And with a matchless consistency worthy of himself, while citing the 'intemperate and virulent language' of certain anonymous sixpenny tracts, as exhibiting the *leading* objections of Modern Dissenters, he unwittingly proclaims his own unfairness by the very terms in which he describes his authority—'a society whose 'departure from the spirit of Christianity and violation of the 'courtesies which are due to the great mass of their countrymen 'attached to the Church of England, *have offended some of the* '*more respectable but equally decided advocates of nonconformity.*'*

Mr. Hull's choice of antagonists was decided, no doubt, by his choice of weapons. With the writers we have referred to, he must have measured swords; but, with anonymous pamphleteers,

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* The correctness of this allegation (on the part of Mr. Hull a concession) is borne out by the opinion which Mr. James expresses of the publications of this Society in a tract just published. In a note to the 'Pastor's Address,' he recommends No. 19 of the Series, and adds: 'It is to be wished that all the series had been written with the temper and ability of this number. But, after all the hue and cry raised 'against the publications of this Society, some of which *I* could have 'wished had been otherwise, *will they compare for virulence* to some 'of the tracts of the Bartlett's Buildings' Society?'

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he could feel at liberty to shew his skill in the pugilism of words. We supposed ourselves to be summoned to a philosophic debate, and we find ourselves at *the ring*, where hard words, instead of arguments, are dealed about by this champion of the Church, in a style that makes us almost shrink from the affray. To drop our homely metaphor, the pamphlet, instead of being a refutation of the leading objections against Ecclesiastical Establishments, does not grapple with, does not even touch the leading objections. It only abuses the Dissenters for *having* objections against Establishments, which the Writer affects to regard as quite unobjectionable. It is, in fact, little else than an indictment of the modern Dissenters upon counts having very little bearing upon the subject professedly treated of. Mr. Hull nauseates the theology of Dissenters, the institutions of Dissenters, the ill-built meeting-houses of Dissenters, the prayer-meetings of Dissenters, the strictness of their religious discipline, the democratic form of their church government, their puritanism, Calvinism, methodism, and, in short, every thing about them. He is certainly the very man to undertake a philosophical and dispassionate review of the subject of Ecclesiastical Establishments, with a particular view to meet the objections of modern Dissenters.

It is no pleasing task, but we *must* exhibit this unhappy man in the light in which he has voluntarily forced himself upon the notice of the Christian public. Let the Church know her proselyte to be a man who, in a discourse *preached* at Enfield, for the express purpose of vindicating his own haughty and implacable spirit, could abuse the sacred chair by fulminating such language upon his congregation as the following.

'I perfectly understand what is meant by the reference to Arius and Socinus. It is the language of menace and of intimidation. It means, "If you do not preach my Calvinistic doctrines, and in my sound and received phrase, I will denounce you to the religious public by stealthy insinuation or by open accusation as heretical and latitudinarian. You shall be good in *my* prescribed way, or I will do what I can to make you an object of suspicion, and you shall do no good at all!" I am not disposed to under-rate these fulminations of blind and unfeeling bigotry. The process is not a new one, and the reputation and the usefulness of ministers not less eminent than Hall and Toller, have suffered for a time through the insinuations or the clamour of men who were *not worthy to walk in their light.* Still, *I bid defiance* to their brute thunders. *Let the consequences be with those who launch the bolt.* From my first engaging in the Christian ministry, to the present hour, I have never assumed the character of a sectarian minister—never engaged to be the mere advocate of the doctrines of a party—NEVER SUBSCRIBED TO ANY ARTICLES OF FAITH—never suffered any approach to dictation as to what I should preach or what I should abstain from preaching. I have sought for my religion, not in the creeds or schools of sects, but in the Bible, interpreted with those

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aids of meditation and knowledge which Providence has enabled me to bring to bear on the most interesting and responsible of human pursuits. And I am not now going to put myself to school, to sit with servile awe at the feet *of ignorance—of fanaticism—of reptile bigotry.* The most intelligent and beloved friend I have, and whose mind has irradiated my own, shall not interfere with my public services, nor control the functions of my ministry. Much less am I disposed to fall under the domination of those whose caricature exhibitions of the doctrines of grace can only foster conceit and spiritual pride, make ignorance in love with itself, neutralize the influence of the great doctrines of the Gospel, obscure the loveliness and majesty of religion, and propagate discord and division in the Church of God. I allow to others the utmost latitude of Christian freedom. I will resolutely assert my own! I have but one Master, which is Christ, and to Him I stand or fall!'

Of the provocation which dictated this philippic, we know nothing but from Mr. Hull's own publication. From this we learn, that 'the Rev. Mr. Weare,' one of the attendants upon the Author's ministry at Enfield, had presumed to write him a private letter, in consequence of one addressed by Mr. Hull himself to the members of his congregation, containing his reasons for declining to preside at a weekly prayer-meeting * held in the vestry of his meeting-house. The paragraphs in Mr. Weare's letter which Mr. Hull more particularly complains of, we subjoin.

'One word on the doctrines delivered from the pulpit. You say, "I am not aware that they are other than those of Christ and his Apostles." Perhaps not. It is highly probable that no one can charge you with preaching "the doctrines of devils." But need I inform my brother, that there is a style of preaching, respecting which, no one shall say this or that doctrine is false, and yet those fundamental truths which exhibit the glory of IMMANUEL, and the agency of the HOLY SPIRIT in the economy of grace, as inseparably connected with the honour of the divine FATHER, are either kept out of sight, or thrown so far into the back-ground, as to avoid the offence of the cross. My dear brother, you know who has said, "No man can serve two masters, for either he will hate the one and love the other, or else he will hold to the one and despise the other." If you and I faithfully preach "CHRIST crucified," we well know what must of necessity follow. The carnal mind will not receive such doctrine; and that man will find

* We learn from an Appendix, that Mr. Hull objected to these prayer-meetings, because, much as he respected 'the piety and kindness manifested by the Christian friends' who conducted them, he found from the tenor of their prayers, that they 'came under the notion of reforming an erroneous and corrupt church.' The fact is, that the Baker Street meeting-house is one of those decayed Presbyterian churches which an endowment alone has preserved from utter extinction, in the absence alike of life in the pulpit and any religious discipline in the government.

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himself most woefully mistaken, whoever he be, who seeks so to veil the truth of CHRIST under the meretricious garb of worldly philosophy, as to render it palatable to the vitiated taste of the unrenewed heart. So did not our divine Master—so did not his Apostles. Here, my brother, we must make a stand, fearless of the consequences. In this warfare we must be decided, if we would avoid the fearful alternative—"He that is not for me, is against me."

'These remarks are not elicited from hearsay reports, but are the result of my own painful observation. I have listened to you at times with great delight, and at other times have left the place under the mortifying impression that neither Arius nor Socinus would have objected to a single sentiment uttered. Whether such a ministry is in unison with that of "CHRIST and his Apostles," or calculated to render the "society" that sits under it, "rich in knowledge—in faith—in charity," I must leave for those to determine whom it more immediately concerns.'

To this attack, so '*profane* and insulting,' in Mr. Hull's opinion, as to admit of neither explanation nor apology, and to 'preclude the possibility of reconciliation,' this minister of the Gospel of Peace returned the following meek and soft answer.

'SIR,

'YOUR letter more than justifies my having withdrawn from the Friday evening meeting. The charge of preaching to please men, and to avoid the offence of the cross, is one which ought not wantonly to be made by one minister of the Gospel against another. No man, conscious of his own integrity, would advance such a charge, but under an extremely perverted state of mind. Under pretence of attacking "principles," you offer me a personal insult; your conduct is a departure from the courtesy of a gentleman, and the charity of a Christian. I fling back the accusation with the contempt and indignation which it merits; and I have done with you until the judgement of the great day.

'I am, &c.

'W. HULL.'

This answer, Mr. Hull is so well satisfied with himself for having written, that he first reads it from the pulpit for the edification of his refractory flock, and then prints it as a practical illustration of the consistency of a deep sense of injury with Christian humility! Of Mr. Weare we know nothing, but our readers will judge how far his letter exhibits 'ignorance, fanaticism, and reptile bigotry.'

To a gentleman of Mr. Hull's liberal sentiments, who had never subscribed to any articles of faith, nor sought for his religion in creeds, being disposed to allow to others, and resolutely to assert for himself, 'the utmost *latitude of Christian freedom*', —it might have been supposed that the creeds, and articles, and formularies, and restrictions of an Ecclesiastical Establishment would not have presented very strong recommendations.

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But a new light has broken in upon him. Now, the scruples of Dissenters as to the terms of communion in the Established Church appear to him unreasonable and contemptible. We conclude that he is ready to give his *ex animo* assent and consent to all and every thing in the Book of Common Prayer,—to subscribe to three creeds and thirty-nine articles without hesitation. We infer this from the manner in which he now speaks of '*the* '*drivelling scruples* of' those 'who perplex their insect faculties 'with some indifferent ceremony or some doubtful phrase of the 'baptismal or burial services.' The nonconformity of Howe and Owen, of Watts and Doddridge, of Hall and Fuller, is satisfactorily accounted for. 'To the fanatic and the bigot', Mr. Hull observes, in immediate connexion with the above expressions, 'every thing is nought, which falls not within the compass of 'their own littleness.'

It is a remarkable fact, that when Dissenters throw off the prejudices of their early years, and join the Establishment, the considerations which appear to have prevailed with them, are generally the last which would *à priori* have been supposed likely to have much weight; and the features of the system which seem to have the most attraction for them, are not unfrequently those which a candid Episcopalian is ready to acknowledge to be the weakest points. Thus, while even Churchmen themselves, those of them who have insect faculties at least, are anxious that the 'doubtful phrases' in their services should be amended, and while the misapplication of the 'splendid opulence' of the Establishment is exciting an almost universal cry for Church Reform, Mr. Hull sees in the former nothing to be scrupled at, and in the latter a strong recommendation of the system! Being himself a man of proper spirit, he conceives that 'the tendency 'of an Establishment *such as ours* to produce in *its ministers a* '*lofty bearing, not always to be reconciled with the humility* '*becoming their profession*', is a circumstance much in its favour, since it thereby 'affords *signal opportunity for the dis-* '*play of the meek and lowly virtues.*' The advantage which the clergy of the Establishment have, in this respect, over the fishermen of Galilee, and the pastors and teachers of apostolic times, is manifest. How is it possible that a poor Dissenting minister, or even a poor curate, can display the meek and lowly virtues in the beautiful and graceful manner that a wealthy dignitary of the Establishment has the opportunity of doing? How much more condescension and humility the Prince Bishop of Durham, or his Grace of Lambeth Palace, has it in his power to render illustrious, than even Thomas Scott or Richard Cecil!

'Moreover', argues Mr. Hull, 'what is sometimes taken for 'the *pride* of the clergy, is only a manly independence, fostered 'by the consciousness of knowledge and of virtue, the self-respect

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'of men who do their duty without laying themselves out for a 'mean popularity. This manliness of carriage can belong but 'to few of the ministers of the Dissenting community.' We are glad that he admits that it can belong to any. The consciousness of knowledge and of virtue, it might be thought, would inspire even a poor Dissenting minister with self-respect and manly feeling. Not so, says Mr. Hull, unless he is also conscious of an endowment. This is the *sine qua non* with ministers who would combine a 'lofty bearing' and that virtue which is miscalled pride, with the utmost latitude in their doctrinal views, and a contempt for popularity. Nothing can be more deplorable than the predicament of our Dissenting ministers, if Mr. Hull could but persuade them to think so. *Infortunati nimium sua si mala norint!* The following is the picture he draws of the miserable condition of these servants of servants.

'Dependent for his election to office on the suffrages of persons who are proud of a power which they are seldom qualified to exercise with wisdom; dependent for his daily bread on the voluntary contributions of those, who, while they are accustomed to sit in judgement on the preacher, boast that they can, at any time, cashier and reject the man of their choice; dependent for a favourable reception of his public services on a series of private attentions, which, under the imposing name of pastoral visits, are for the most part only the sacrifice of time to frivolous gossip and idle calls; the pastor of an Independent Church is of all men the *most dependent;* and therefore, to maintain his standing with a plebeian constituency, must be of all men the most servile. This servility is inculcated by the dignitaries of dissent, under the abused name of Christian humility; and to cut and shuffle and creep, is perversely denominated becoming "all things to all men." But he has his revenge; he stoops to conquer. He maintains his ascendancy by arts of fanaticism, or by cherishing the passions of sectarian bigotry and hate; and surrounds himself finally with the factitious dignity and questionable influence of a partizan. The evils which result are incalculable. One, not perhaps of its greatest, is the spirit of interminable warfare against the Church; since a principle means of commanding influence within their own connection is to exasperate the malignity of faction, by feeding in vulgar minds an ignorant contempt of the clergy. The charge of being "*useless,*" proceeds with an ill grace from men whose lives are spent in efforts to frustrate the labours of the clergy by calumniating their characters. But the apology of the dissenting minister is to be found in his system, if indeed any apology can be offered for the man who consoles himself for conscious servility to his own party, by a corresponding insolence and ferocity towards others.'

Happy, happy man, to have made his escape from Baker Street meeting, and Mr. Weare, and all the evils of Dissenterism! This 'counter statement,' as it is termed, Mr. Hull as-

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sures us, (and who will doubt it after reading the history of the Enfield business?) 'is given, more in sorrow than in anger,—'not in the spirit of *vindictive retaliation*, but in mere justice 'to the calumniated ministers of the truth.' For 'after all,' adds Mr. Hull, with ineffable candour,—and we particularly request that the Standard, the Record, and the John Bull, in copying out the above delicious portraiture of Independency, will not omit to do justice to this proof of the Writer's impartiality and kindliness of feeling—'*after all, dissenting ministers generally are* '*good men*, although placed in circumstances unfavourable to 'the culture of manly independence.' Servile, shuffling, fanatical, sectarian, factious, calumniating, insolent, and ferocious though they be,—they are 'generally *good men*.' Some of them prove it by dying martyrs to the system which they conscientiously uphold! 'They err in reasoning, but their hearts are in 'the right place.' Would to God that we could return the compliment to him who offers it—but not in the spirit of insult in which it is tendered. This malignant caricature will be copied, and re-copied, with inexpressible delight;—it will be believed by many who have no opportunity of judging of its truth, and, by many who will be aware of its falsehood, it will be not less eagerly circulated. There is no help for it. Dissenters have no other mode of refuting such vile detraction, which reasoning cannot touch, than by the practical argument of an adherence to the system which is alleged to be the root of all their unhappiness, yet, which they are at liberty to abandon as soon as a more excellent one can be pointed out to them.

But our readers may be curious to know, what other arguments Mr. Hull has adduced in defence of Establishments, besides their tendency to produce in its ministers a lofty bearing and an amiable pride. Does he, it may be asked, take his stand with Hooker, in defending the polity of the Church of England?—or, with Dean Balguy, or with Bishop Warburton, does he philosophically apologize for the alliance of Church and State?—or, with Paley, does he applaud the Establishment, as a scheme of instruction, on the general ground of expediency? He does not let us know which theory he embraces, but, by taking negative ground, and confining himself to an examination of objections against *the* principle of a Religious Establishment, without stating what that principle is, he ingeniously contrives to secure for himself a latitude congenial with his expansive mind, and to involve the whole subject in intricacy and vagueness. The four objections which he undertakes to combat, are thus stated or implied in the contents.

'§ 1. On the supposed inconsistency of an Ecclesiastical establishment with the spirituality of the kingdom of Christ. § 2. An Esta-

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blishment not necessarily opposed to the right of private judgement. § 3. Departure from the model of the Apostolic Churches, not a valid objection to an Establishment. § 4. The alleged inutility, inefficiency, and dangerous tendency of an Establishment.'

It is under the first head only, that we meet with any thing like substantial argument; but our readers will not be led to expect any very cogent reasoning upon the subject, when they learn that Mr. Hull would paraphrase our Lord's reply to Pilate thus:

'It is not clear that the phrase "*not of this world*" was designed by our Lord to bear a meaning so comprehensive as to include more than the Judæan territory and government. The word rendered "*world*" is given by Schleusner as sometimes used with an equally limited construction. All, therefore, that our Lord designed to say might be simply this—"My kingdom is not the political sovereignty of Judæa,"—an interpretation strongly countenanced by what immediately follows, "If my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight;" that is, "If my ambition had been directed to political power, I should have levied forces, armed my followers, adopted the measures of a political chieftain, and thus secured myself from the malice of the Jews, my accusers, instead of voluntarily submitting to stand before this tribunal, a solitary and deserted captive. My presence here is my vindication; it proves that my dominion does not rest on the suffrages or martial prowess of this people. It is not the political sovereignty of *my country*, but a kingdom, which, however mysterious it may seem, is not inconsistent with the humiliation and the sorrows of the victim who stands before you."'

After this specimen of Mr. Hull's felicitous Biblical criticism and exegesis, our readers will not be surprised at his asserting that, 'in point of fact, Churchmen would seem to have 'more exalted conceptions of the spirituality of religion than 'Dissenters'! It is not the advocates of baptismal regeneration or of confirmation, Mr. Hull thinks, but the Dissenters, who are really chargeable with 'making the external modes and forms 'an integral portion of religion, confounding them with what is 'inward and spiritual.' And how is this shewn?

'Hence, to be a member of a Dissenting Church, is now identified with making a profession of "*religion*"; and to fall in with the peculiarities of a sect, setting a useful example of zeal and precision in the prescribed routine of duties, is to secure the reputation of "*eminent piety*". To be an avowed member of the Church of England, it seems, is to make *no* "profession of religion!" The liberality and the spirituality of Dissenters appear, in this instance, in remarkable accordance with each other.'

So it seems, and so it may be made to appear; but upon what authority does this seeming rest? We know not with what sort of Dissenters Mr. Hull may have come into contact, either at Norwich, at Hitchin, or at Enfield; but, from his exclusive and

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repulsive habits, and his contempt for pastoral visiting, we suspect that he can have had little opportunity of learning much of the views and phraseology of Dissenters, except from hearsay. We will not, therefore, charge him with *falsehood* in attributing to the Dissenters, the illiberal sentiment, that 'to be an avowed 'member of the Church of England, is to make *no* profession of 'religion'. He may not be aware of the fact, that pious members of the Church of England are, as such, admitted to communion in many Independent Churches; a fact within our personal knowledge. He may never have read Mr. Hall's "Terms of Communion", in which principles combining liberality and spirituality are so eloquently advocated. He may be ignorant of the sentiments of Dissenters to a degree which could hardly have been deemed possible. But, as his intention obviously was to malign and to insult, he cannot be supposed to be over scrupulous as to facts. In the above passage, at all events, he has misrepresented the principles and the practice of the Dissenters to an extent which admits of no palliation. If it is not wilful, it is malignant.

Robert Hall, however, is a name of little authority or attraction in the estimation of Mr. Hull. He refers to him repeatedly, but it is only to nibble at a reported remark, or, with equal flippancy and insolence, to characterize his more deliberate sentiments as sheer nonsense or atrocious calumny. Once he speaks of his 'mighty mind,' but it is only to give point to the language of depreciation. For that mighty mind, he had no reverence, because with the holy character of that mind he had no sympathy. The terms of communion which Mr. Hall advocated, were not latitudinarian enough to please the ex-minister of Enfield. To demand in a communicant the evidences of personal religion is, in his opinion, intolerance and persecution. The form of government which Dissenters condemn as corrupt, he glories in as *liberal*. The right of private judgement, he finds only within the pale of the Church of England, because there no questions are asked, no invidious discipline is maintained.

'The right of private judgement,' he remarks, 'embraces the liberty of *individuals* to form and express their own opinions, without forfeiture of Christian fellowship, if they chance to differ from the majority. It forbids the many to decide for the few in "controversies of faith," and to excommunicate as reprobate the man who dares to think for himself. *This liberty Dissenters refuse: it is inconsistent with their pure communion.*'.....'Ignorant of their own principles, and in their own case mistaking words for things, it is not marvellous that they misapprehend, and then calumniate, the Church, *whose theory of freedom may be more imperfect,* but within whose pale there is more practical independence than is granted by the most liberal of her adversaries.' pp. 31, 32.

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Will the Church accept this eulogy? Will she consent to be complimented on recognising this unbounded right of private judgement in individuals, and on embracing within her communion, unreproved, all shades of opinion; her ancient authority in controversies of faith being held in abeyance, her power of excommunication an idle name? Will the Church receive this Apostle of liberalism into her bosom? She is welcome to him. "He went forth from us, but he was never of us." Every Dissenting congregation over which he has presided, has withered under his frigid oratory and comfortless divinity. 'The Church 'of England,' says Mr. Hull, 'compels no one to come in.' Times are altered, we admit, in this respect: does Mr. Hull mean to insinuate that Dissenters compel any one to join them. Did they compel *him?* Nor does the Church, he adds, 'bar 'the door on her worshippers to prevent their retreat, if they like 'not her rites and ceremonies.' This is not quite true; but *n'importe:* are not Dissenters equally accommodating? Who wished to bar the door of Baker Street on Mr. Hull? We would have let him retreat without a word of reproach, if he had not thus basely turned round upon a whole community, and vented his sense of private injury in sweeping, bitter, and arrogant invectives.

We cannot spare time or room to follow the Writer through the remaining sections, which contain assertions that absolutely startled us by their temerity. His impeachment of the loyalty of the Dissenters to the law, and to the constitution, is in the true spirit of theological hatred, which is never satisfied till it has denounced the object of its jealousy as an enemy to Cæsar. The attempt to implicate whole sections of the religious community in the indiscreet or violent acts of a few individuals here and there, indicates only the eagerness of the calumniator. From Radicalism, we know ourselves to be as widely removed as Mr. Hull; and we detest it as much as we do a traitorous sycophancy that would affect loyalty for the purposes of vindictive mischief. But we will say no more. There *was* a time, even this consistent gentleman admits, when to dissent was noble, because it was 'a point of honour'! The Repeal of the Test Act, it seems, has annihilated this reason; and therefore those with whom it was never a point of conscience, will do right to conform. We must transcribe the passage containing, by implication, this sentiment. At the Restoration, Mr. H. says,

'The best and wisest men of every Protestant party regarded each other with sentiments of charity, did justice to each other's integrity of principle, and aimed to bring about a comprehension by reciprocal concessions. Other counsels prevailed. The violence of party attached a stigma to all dissenters, whose separation from the Church

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was rendered inevitable, and then punished by civil disabilities. Their loyalty was supposed to be tainted. They were treated as persons unworthy to serve their country in offices of trust or power under the Crown. In this state of things, it was manly, it was noble, to dissent. There was no alternative for an honourable man. It was the straight forward way of protesting against the abuse of power, and of claiming the right of British subjects to obey conscience in things sacred, without forfeiture of civil privileges, without the loss of caste, or exposure to public dishonour. The Revolution of 1688 left the dissenters a stigmatized body. Many persons of opulence and rank, who cared little for the theological question, worshipped with them as a point of duty and a protest against insolent tyranny. They became, for a time, political dissenters. They had no quarrel with the Church but on the ground of her supposed intolerance, which in reality was that of the state; and as high-minded men, they calmly submitted to the reproach of non-conformity, that they might fight the more openly and effectually the battle of religious liberty. They have won the day.

'The relative position of the parties is now essentially changed. It is no longer the point of honour to dissent. The non-conformist aristocracy have resumed their position within the pale of the Church!

'Manners with fortunes—humours turn with climes,
Tenets with books—and principles with times.'

Admirable apology alike for political weathercocks and ecclesiastical latitudinarians!

Art. VII. 1. *The Dissenters' Appeal:* a Letter to the Rt. Hon. Earl Grey. By Vox Clamantis. 8vo. pp. 52. London. 1834.

2. *A Pastor's Address to his People, on the Principles of Dissent, and the Duties of Dissenters.* By John Angell James. 12mo. pp. 61. London. 1834.

THE Dissenters' Appeal is a somewhat unpolished, plain-spoken statement of facts, put forth by a man evidently of extensive practical knowledge and shrewd observation. Criticism is disarmed, and becomes impertinent, when there is no attempt at the graces or niceties of composition, and the matter in hand is serious business. We shall content ourselves with extracting a few pithy paragraphs.

'If your Lordship wished for a specimen of *actual* uniformity (effected too in the absence of all human coercion, and in the face of the bitterest persecution), you see it in the history of the independent Dissenters of this kingdom. Well versed, as your Lordship doubtless is, in that history, it must have struck a mind so acutely formed, as no ordinary spectacle; nor need I, I am sure, remind your Lordship, that almost all the political and religious enactments of the last five, but especially of the last two, years, have been tributary to the truth and force of those principles which we and our ancestors have ever professed, and in the main acted upon. The world is fast beginning

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to do us justice. The obloquy that has attached to us in darker periods, has been dispersed by the rising beams of knowledge. Our principles, in proportion as they are understood, are admitted to be correct. The common sense of mankind decides in our favour; and if the first indications of the refluent ebb be disregarded, we are sure that "the great tide of public opinion gathers strength with every breaker."

'It may be possibly supposed by your Lordship, that these statements are only the splenetic effusions of an individual, who, like the fox, disparages the clustered delicacies which he has been unsuccessfully endeavouring to appropriate, and who is still looking on them with a longing eye.

'My Lord, it is not so with me; when in the ardour of one-and-twenty, I felt strongly inclined to enter the Church of England. My inducements were of no ordinary character. A gratuitous Oxford education was kindly offered by an individual, now one of the brightest ornaments of the Episcopal bench; and a living was promised me at the close of my studies, superior in value to the average income of Dissenting Ministers: had I accepted it, and been, what I think it is probable I *might* have been, a decided partisan, my zeal and energy might have obtained for me a small cluster of the "goodly vine" of the Establishment. But, my Lord, tempting as the prospect was, on mature deliberation, I dared not pay the penalty; I have never regretted the decision, and am therefore entitled at least to the appellation of a disinterested Protestant Dissenter.

'Taking my stand then, my Lord, on the basis of the unchangeable word of God, and abandoning the low and accidental ground I occupy as a Protestant Dissenter, (for Dissent is a mere accident,) I solemnly, but respectfully call on you, as the Prime Minister of a mighty nation, to hear and redress grievances which are an outrage on *Christianity* itself.

'"Give me a possession of a burying-place with you, that I may bury my dead out of my sight,"—was the pathetic request of the princely patriarch to the hospitable sons of Heth. Hear, my Lord, the courteous reply! "In the choice of our sepulchres bury thy dead; none of us shall withhold from thee his sepulchre, but that thou mayest bury thy dead." I will not trouble you with the sequel. The stranger was accommodated with the last narrow house, in which he might deposit the ashes of her whom he loved, by persons, in all probability, of *very* different religious views from herself. We hear nothing of their compelling him to submit to an arbitray ritual, imposed by the laws of the land, nor of his deep and silent grief being disturbed by the intrusion of a native, an authorized, but to *him* an *alien*, priest.

'But how stands it in England, my Lord, in an overwhelming majority of instances? "The mourners go along the streets, because man goeth to his long home." They assemble around the open tomb. The full heart longs to hear the *well-known voice* that has hitherto assuaged its griefs, and poured the balm of religious consolation into its wounded recesses; but the luxury is denied. A *stranger* priest appears, an act-of-parliament ritual is recited, perhaps with professional *sang-*

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froid, the mortuary fee is demanded and paid, and the compulsory connexion ceases—till death again renews the offensive intercourse. I well remember one instance where two interments were to take place at the same time. The characters of the deceased were as opposite as the poles. One had been the pest of society—an incarnation of vice. "He died, and made no sign." The other "was not, for God took him;" his dying chamber was "privileged beyond the common walks of virtuous life." The tear of holy gratitude almost chased away the bitter drops that nature shed o'er his ashes, and the relatives could even triumph at the tomb. The priest stood midway between the sepulchres, and the *form did for both*. My Lord, it were an insult to your understanding and principles to ask, Is this imposition justifiable? —is it decent? You well know the form and the rigour with which it is enforced; and that a clergyman *must* read, as well as believe all and every thing, on pain of being convicted (by his own conscience, at least,) of perjury. My object, however, is not to expose with malicious pleasure the unscriptural formularies of the Church; she may retain or expunge what she chooses. All we ask on this point is, common justice. If a new or enlarged cemetery is wanted, we reply, "I will give thee money for the field; take it of me, and *I* will (not *you* shall) bring my dead there." We only ask at the hands of a christian government that indulgence, or rather that regard to justice, which Abraham received from the (perhaps idolatrous) sons of Heth. If by a *parochial* rate ground has been purchased for the purpose of interment, we *claim a right* in its conveniences. Who believes that after Abraham had paid for the land, the priests intruded themselves among the mourners, or vexatiously demanded mortuary fees?' pp. 12—16.

After going over some other grievances, the Writer proceeds.

'It would tire your Lordship's patience, were I to dwell on those offensive points that remain at any length; I shall, therefore, only glance at them in a cursory manner. If any of them are deemed trifling, like that last referred to, let it be remembered that *on us* they reflect a painful, an unmerited degradation. They are, indeed, some of them, pitiful and contemptible, but they prove the disposition of their abettors, and their trifling character stamps additional disgrace on any government which perpetuates such puny persecution.

'If Clergymen be proper persons to fill the magisterial bench, why are our Clergy publicly told, by their exclusion, that they are not fit to be entrusted with the administration of the laws? We have men of property and intelligence; why, at least, is not the offer made to them? If, however, such a station be incompatible with the clerical character (and who doubts it?) why are any tolerated there? Why are not our Clergy invited to become grand-jurymen for counties? Why the invidious distinction, we ask? Again, why are they perpetually reminded of their helotism, by being excluded from the chaplaincy, not only of our factories, our garrisons, our ships of war, our regiments, our colonies, and our grammar-schools, but even of our workhouses, our hospitals, and our prisons? Why are they pursued to the convicts' hulk, and even to the penal settlement? Why are the *very felons* told that we preach "another gospel," and that none

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but authorized ministers can reconcile those wretched outcasts to the offended Majesty of heaven. Why are they told that teachers, who have evangelized Otaheite, are not to be tolerated among the exiled criminals of Port Jackson? Why are our laity insulted by advertisements, of frequent occurrence, for a master or mistress of a workhouse, in which we are told that *no Dissenter need apply*? Why are the portals of our alms-houses (not always founded by *Churchmen*, nor exclusive by deed) for the most part closed against the humble sectarian? Why are we subject to the petty exaction of Easter offerings? Why is the Archbishop of Canterbury the only name in the kingdom to which we must pay our testamentary obeisance? and why is the Prerogative Court (a daughter of the Establishment) the only tribunal where we can obtain redress in some matters purely secular? Why are we, in distant counties, obliged to go to an hybrid officer (a strange compound of law and gospel), called a registrar, who, in the name of the Archdeacon, grants probates, copies of wills, issues administrations, and who, strange to say, grants licenses for houses in which the *Supreme Being may be worshipped*?—thus perpetually reminding us that the Church is our secular (we will not concede, our spiritual) superior. Why are the "tintinnabular appendages" to the steeple, which are generally provided at the parish expense, mute or vocal, just as the whim or caprice of an irresponsible individual dictates? Why are we, in these and many other instances, so insultingly told, "that we have no portion in David, nor inheritance in the Son of Jesse?" Why is the fountain of inspired truth, the Bible itself, placed under the lock and key of our monopolizing Universities? Why are we, with reference to all meetings on parochial business, told, that all proceedings are illegal, unless conducted, or incipiently so, within consecrated walls? Why is a Dissenting minister's right of voting so equivocal?

'The vexatious obstacles which have been thrown in the way to prevent our Clergy from exercising the elective franchise, demands your Lordship's most serious attention. I have known A. registered in one district without opposition, and B., with precisely the same qualification, rejected in another. Every ordained minister, enjoying beneficial proceeds to the amount of ten pounds from a chapel, and having been in possession a twelvemonth, ought to have his vote as well as the licensed curate. Your Lordship need not be afraid of *their* clerical influence. We trust this will be satisfactorily settled ere another session is past.' pp. 35—38.

Mr. James's Address, we can only cordially and strongly recommend to the perusal of our readers. We may have future occasion to advert to it.

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Art. VIII.—LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

In the press, and speedily will be published, in one volume, 8vo. Lectures on the Philosophy of the Mind. By the late John Young, LL.D. Professor of Moral Philosophy in the College of Belfast. Edited by William Cairns, A.M. Professor of Logic and Belles Lettres in Belfast College. To which will be prefixed a Memoir of Dr. Young.

In the press, Part I. of A Commentary on the Holy Scriptures, without the Text. By Joseph Sutcliffe, A.M.

Shortly will appear, in one volume, foolscap octavo, a volume commemorative of the Abolition of Colonial Slavery; consisting of Original Pieces, by some of the most eminent Writers of the day, on subjects connected with the evils of Slavery, or the prospects of the Emancipated Negroes.

Shortly will be published, in three volumes post octavo, A New Work of Fiction, describing the Grand and Romantic Scenery of Southern Africa and the Indian Ocean. It includes the extraordinary History of the Prophet Chieftain Makanna, who, as will be recollected by those conversant with the Cape, gained supreme influence by the assumption of supernatural agency. The work is named after the hero, "Makanna; or, the Land of the Savage."

Illustrations to the Bible.—Westall, the Royal Academician, and Martin, the distinguished painter of Belshazzar's Feast, have been for some time engaged in illustrating the most striking and interesting scenes of the Old and New Testaments, in a series of paintings, from which it is intended to make engravings for a new and splendid monthly publication. These engravings are to be issued without any text, at so low a price (eight for one shilling!) as will allow of their being bought by almost every one who possesses the Bible, with any edition of which they can be bound up, from the largest quarto down to the smallest diamond size. The first number is to comprise, in chronological order, the following subjects:—the Creation, the Temptation and Judgement, by Martin; the Expulsion, the Sacrifice of Cain and Abel, by Westall; the Death of Abel, the Deluge, by Martin; and the Assuaging of the Waters, by Westall.

In the press, Counsels to Old Age; or, a Companion for the Evening of Life. By John Morison, D.D.

Nearly ready, a new work on Ancient and Modern Egypt, entitled, Egypt and Mohammed Ali; or, Travels in the Valley of the Nile:—containing a description of all the remarkable ruins, and other monuments of antiquity, in Egypt and Nubia, from the Mediterranean to the Second Cataract, with a Comparison between the Greek and Egyptian Schools of Art: together with an account of the government and personal character of the Pasha—his harems, palaces, gardens, baths, &c.;—Sketches of Native Manners;—Dancing-girls—Story-tellers—Serpent-charmers—Slave-markets;—Bazārs—Madhouse of Cairo—Pilgrim Caravan—Schools—Colleges—Manufactories—Excursion to the beautiful Nome of Arsinoë and Lake Mœris—History of the War in Syria, &c. &c. By James Augustus St. John.

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The admirers of the science of Physiognomy will be gratified by the publication of a beautifully illustrated volume, entitled "Physiognomy Founded on Physiology," and applied to various Countries, Characters, Professions, and Individuals, by Mr. Walker, formerly Lecturer on Anatomy and Physiology in Edinburgh.

The author of "Selwyn," "Tales of the Moors," &c. has just completed a new Work entitled "Olympia Morata, her Times, Life, and Writings;" arranged from contemporary and other authorities; and very neatly illustrated.

Lieutenant Jervis has just completed a highly interesting Narrative of his recent Journey to the Falls of the Cavery, combined with an Historical and Descriptive Account of the Neilgherry Hills. The Work is illustrated by Views of the Majestic Scenery met with in this portion of our Eastern territories.

The first volume of Sir Thomas Dick Lauder's splendid new Work, "The Miscellany of Natural History," is completed. It is devoted to that interesting class, *Parrots*, and the thirty-six elegantly coloured plates which adorn the volume, carry a more complete idea of the whole tribe, than can be found in any Work of ten times its expense. The whole of the Drawings have been executed by J. B. Kidd, Esq., Member of the Academy of Painting, assisted by that celebrated Naturalist, Captain Brown, who is also connected with this valuable National Work.

The Editor of the Law Magazine after announcing the death of M. Feuerbach at Frankfort, a few months ago, adds: "Feuerbach's last work, we believe, was the well-known History or Mystery of the late Caspar Haüser, which is now in a fair way of elucidation. It seems that Caspar Haüser was the product of an illicit amour; that a priest, the reputed father, took charge of the child from the moment of its birth, and finally inclosed it in a subterraneous hole or vault in a convent where he was residing; that thus imprisoned and shut out from all human intercourse, the unhappy being passed his existence until within a day or two of his being found as related in the tale, when the priest, being compelled to quit the convent, and having no other place of concealment at hand, released and left the boy to his fate. The chain of circumstantial evidence by which thus much of the story has been made out, is so well put together as to leave little doubt that the true elucidation has been hit upon. The above outline was communicated to the writer, in conversation a few weeks ago, by M. Klüber, the celebrated writer on Public Law, who first discovered, and is still following the clue. When he has thoroughly sifted the matter, he will probably favour the public with a memoir on the subject. None of the explanatory particulars have yet appeared in print."

The eleventh edition of Butler's Etymological Spelling Book and Expositor, now in the press, will be enlarged by an Appendix, including Observations on Derivation and Terminations, Greek and Latin Nouns, with their original Plurals, Latin and French Words and Phrases, and Abbreviations.

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In the press, A Dictionary of Geography, ancient and modern. By Josiah Conder, Author of "The Modern Traveller," &c. One volume, 12mo.

Speedily will be published, A General and Comparative View of the Systems of National Education existing in the several German States; with Notes and Observations on the applicability of such Systems to England; and a Report of what has been done in the principal States of Europe for the promotion and encouragement of Instructive Literature.

Medica Sacra; or, Short Expositions of the more important Diseases mentioned in the Sacred Writings. By Thomas Shapter, M.D. One volume, post 8vo., nearly ready.

Preparing for publication, Elements of Medical Police; or, the Principles and Practice of Legislating for the Public Health. By Bisset Hawkins, M.D. One volume, 8vo.

In the press, and will be published in February, A Vocabulary of the English, German, and French Languages; intended chiefly as an easy Introduction for Englishmen to learn the German Language. By J. F. Reymann, Author of German and English Dialogues.

Shortly will be published, a second edition of Abbreviated Discourses. By the Rev. J. Leifchild.

In a few days will be published, Rowbotham's new and easy Method of learning the French Genders in a few hours.

In the press, A Series of Sermons, on Good Principle and Good Breeding. By the Ettrick Shepherd. Respectfully inscribed to Dr. William Dunlop.

In the press, The Geography of Sacred History considered, &c. By Charles T. Beke, Esq. In two volumes, 8vo.

Preparing for immediate publication, Poems on Sacred Subjects. By Maria Grace Saffery. In one volume, post 8vo.

The elegant and philosophic essay on the Literature of France, during the 18th century, by M. De Barante, has just been translated from the fourth French edition, under the title of "A Tableau of French Literature," and is very judiciously augmented by a Nomenclature of the Authors, chronologically arranged.

A Second Series of "Pictures of Private Life," by Miss Sarah Stickney, is nearly ready for publication.

A cheap and useful publication has just arrived from Hobart Town, entitled "An Account of Van Diemen's Land, and Guide to Emigrants;" drawn up with great judgment and labour, by the Editor of the Van Diemen's Land Almanack, and supplying every variety of information likely to be required by emigrants, or their friends in this country.

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In a few days will be published, The Housekeeper's Guide; or, a Plain and Practical System of Domestic Cookery. By the Author of "Cottage Comforts."

Preparing for publication, by subscription, The Ornithological Gleaner; or Notices and Anecdotes of Birds, collected from travellers and the first authorities; with Moral Reflections. Designed as a Supplement to more scientific works. By Joseph D'Arcy Sirr, A.M., M.R.I.A., Rector of Kilcoleman, Diocese of Tuam. The above work is to be published in two volumes 8vo, price 24*s*., and will be printed as soon as a sufficient number of Subscribers' Names shall have been obtained.

Nearly ready, Taxation and Financial Reform, by R. Torrens, Esq. M.P. F.R.S. 1 vol. 8vo.

Art. IX. WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

BIOGRAPHY.

The Life and Poems of the Rev. George Crabbe. Vol. I. 12mo. 5*s*.

Forty Years' Residence in America; or, the Doctrines of a Particular Providence exemplified in the Life of Grant Thorburn, Seedsman, of New York. Written by Himself; with an Introduction by John Galt, Esq. In one small volume, illustrated with a Portrait of the Author. 12mo. 6*s*.

FINE ARTS.

Views in India, China, and on the Shores of the Red Sea. From Sketches by Captain Robert Elliot, R.N. Part I. of a New Monthly Series, containing four Engravings. Price 2*s*.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Reform: being "The Member" and "The Radical." By John Galt. In one volume.

POETRY.

The Bard. A Selection of Poetry. 32mo. 3*s*.

THEOLOGY.

Essays and Letters on important Theological Subjects: comprising an Inqui into the Extent of the Divine Decrees; t Atonement of Christ; the Duty of Ma and the Ability of Man to perform Duty. By the Rev. James Hargrea 8vo. 12*s*.

Wilberforce's Practical View of Ch tianity; with a Memoir. By the P Thomas Price. 18mo. Large type; bou in cloth. 3*s*.

On the Extent of the Atonement i relation to God and the Universe. J. W. Jenkyn. 12mo. 7*s*.

TRAVELS.

Narrative of a Tour in North Am comprising Mexico, the Mines of Real Monte, the United States, and British lonies; with an Excursion to the Isl Cuba. In a Series of Letters writt in the Years 1831-2. By Henry T Esq. Barrister-at-Law. In one vo 8vo. 21*s*.

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THE ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR MARCH, 1834.

Art. I. 1. *Thoughts on the Separation of Church and State.* By the Rev. Edward Burton, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford, and Canon of Christ Church. 8vo. pp. 87. London. 1834.

2. *A Letter to the Members of Both Houses of Parliament, on the Dissenters' Petitions, and on Church Grievances.* By a late Fellow of All-Souls College, Oxford. 8vo. pp. 56. London. 1834.

3. *Church and State in America.* Inscribed to the Bishop of London. By C. Colton. 8vo. pp. 64. London. 1834.

DR. BURTON is a man of war; the Goliath of Oxford. He speared Mr. Bulteel, and did fierce battle against Lord Henley. He is the chosen champion of the Church against the Reformers within her pale, and now he comes forward to defy all enemies without the gates. But, disdaining to fight with pigmies, he passes by the Dissenters with brief and haughty notice, and, advancing to the threshold of the senate, there sounds his challenge in the ears of the British Parliament, telling the Commons of England at their peril to meddle with the Church. 'Par-'liament', says the Regius Professor of Oxford, 'has now no 'constitutional right to legislate for the Church of England.' The union between Church and State, on which that right was founded, has been dissolved!

'If the House of Commons should undertake to alter the Liturgy, and if a Prayer-book thus made for the use of the Church of England should be sanctioned by an Act of Parliament, I state candidly and openly, that I shall not use it, unless my Diocesan should order me. *There is no power in the State to make me use it.* The Act itself would be null, a mere piece of waste paper. And if all members bring forward the motions for which they have given notice, the next session will perhaps produce many such sheets of waste paper, printed at the expense of the country. Thus Mr. Faithful, who is a Dissenter, and who is not reported to have blushed when he said, "I hate the Establishment", has given notice of two motions; one, for a Bill to regu-

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late and render more equal the *incomes* of the Bishops; the other, to do the same for the Clergy. *If these* Bills should in the slightest degree affect the spiritual duties of the Bishops, *Parliament, as at present constituted, has no power to pass them.* Neither are the incomes of the Bishops under the control of the *present* parliament, (though they may have been so formerly,) unless the principle is established, that the incomes of all ministers of religion are under the control of Parliament. I wholly deny that the Church of England has any prescriptive or exclusive right to be pillaged.' pp. 63, 4.

This is magnificent blustering. But let us suppose the case, (a case we admit to be neither very probable nor desirable,) that a new Prayer-book, prepared by a Parliamentary Commission, should be, by Act of Parliament, appointed to be read in churches, such Act having obtained the royal assent; and suppose that Dr. Burton's diocesan *should* order him to use it: what then? Of course, he would obey his diocesan, and there would be an end of the matter. But what if his diocesan should refuse to give effect to an act of the Legislature, sanctioned by the Head of the Church? There *have been* deprivations, and those were in the palmy days of the Church. Dr. Burton will recollect the admonitory remark of the Virgin Queen: 'The power that made, can unmake.' We might then have, again, bishops and *ex*-bishops, as in the days of the non-jurors. Will Dr. Burton say, that, even if a time-serving diocesan, some Whig or liberal bishop, should order him to use the new liturgy, still he would not use it? Then, indeed, we should honour the fearless consistency of this bold churchman. But in what predicament would he then find himself? Just where two thousand clergymen found themselves on St. Bartholomew's Day, 1662!—He would be a Nonconformist, a Dissenter.

We did not expect to be furnished by the Oxford Regius Professor with so direct a defence of nonconformity. It is true, that he carries his notions of obedience to his diocesan further than did those good clergymen who were ejected by the Act of Uniformity; but the principle of conscientious resistance to illegal usurpation is the same, whether the usurping power be temporal or spiritual, a convocation or a parliament. We can scarcely imagine that there is more virtue in resisting an Act of Parliament, than in disobeying a canon or a rubric. Dr. Burton takes higher ground than the Nonconformists ventured to do. He calls in question the validity of a decision of the Legislature, till endorsed by the Church. He must consult his diocesan before he can determine whether he is to obey those other powers that be, the King, Lords, and Commons of the realm. This is a noble height of clerical independence, worthy of the times when a cardinal was a match for a king; *Ego et rex meus.* Actuated by the same noble spirit, when the English Prayer-book was first

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substituted by authority for the Latin Mass-book, there were many Dr. Burtons who said, '*I shall not use it:* there is no 'power in the State to make me use it.' And so they kept to their paternoster, but lost their benefices. The State could not make Dr. Burton use a new Prayer-book; but it could determine who should be Canon of Christ Church.

No such trial of faith and consistency, we trust, awaits the learned Professor. We should be very sorry, were Parliament to meddle with the Prayer-book at all. It seems, however, that Parliament have lost the power, since the repeal of the Test-Act, of regulating any ecclesiastical matters. 'The only principle on 'which Parliament could legislate at all for the Church of 'England, was', Dr. B. contends, 'because the lay members of 'that Church were represented in Parliament: but this principle 'can only be allowed, when the persons who vote upon such 'questions in Parliament, are also members of the Church of 'England.' Surely, however, this is a very palpable *non sequitur*. Dr. Burton meant perhaps to say, only when *all* the persons who vote are also members of the Church of England. But did this condition ever exist in fact? Were there not always members sitting in the House of Commons, who were not members of the Church of England,—either Roman Catholics or Protestant Dissenters? What was Alderman Love, who, in the name of the Dissenters, gave his concurrence in passing the Test Act, to avert the apprehended danger from the Popish party? It is notorious that Dissenters have always sat in Parliament; and the lay members of the Church are just as much represented there as they ever were. If the principle for which he contends, was ever a warrant for such legislation, it is valid still. The Scottish Union let in a number of Presbyterians of the Established Church of Scotland; but we heard nothing of Parliament's becoming thereby incapacitated for any of its previous functions. The number of Roman Catholic and Dissenting members may have been increased by the Reform Bill; but this can make no difference in the *principle*, as it regards the constitutional powers of Parliament. It were indeed passing strange that the British Parliament should thus unwittingly have abdicated its legislative sovereignty,—should have unconsciously deprived itself of the power to legislate for a portion of the nation, because it had come to represent the whole. Yet, such is the discovery of Dr. Burton! Parliament never intended to part with its power, but a thing called a principle has stolen it away, and transferred it to the Church. Such a thievish principle as this must be a very bad principle; and if the Church is the receiver of stolen powers, she must be adjudged *particeps criminis*.

But Dr. Burton would probably take a distinction between the power *de jure* and the power *de facto*. The present House

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of Commons have shewn that they had the power to pass a bill for consolidating certain of the Irish bishoprics; and the House of Lords, after a little ado, passed the same bill; and the royal assent being thereto given, the said bill became law. Still, Dr. Burton would say, that King, Lords, and Commons had no power to do this, because it was against *his* principle. That is to say, 'the clergy, almost to a man, were opposed to the aboli-'tion.' The will of parliament is only the power *de facto*, while the will of the clergy is the power *de jure; ergo*, the Parliament is a usurper. This will appear the more clear, when it is considered, how spiritual a thing a bishopric is.

'Is it not the office of a bishop to watch over the souls of men? *And may not souls be lost by a bishop not being able to attend to his spiritual concerns?* The question, therefore, *of the number of bishops which are necessary to watch over the souls of men, is entirely and absolutely a spiritual question.*'

Very true; and only think of the dreadful consequences of calling away these holy watchmen from their spiritual concerns, to attend levees, and mingle in the strife of political faction. How can the Bishop of Exeter be watching over souls in Devonshire, while he is heading a parliamentary diversion in favour of Don Miguel in London? Or how can Dr. Carey be keeping his sheep on the Welsh mountains, while watching for other things in Westminster? If souls may be lost through reducing the number of bishops, they must be endangered equally by the non-residence of bishops, since *de non apparentibus et non existentibus eadem est ratio.* But the subject is too grave, too awful for badinage; and we feel to have been betrayed by Dr. Burton's lamentably inapposite use of Scripture, into a levity bordering upon profaneness. The office of a bishop to watch over souls! Such is, indeed, the office of a Christian pastor, who feeds his sheep as well as partakes of the fleece; who preaches the word, and visits the poor and the afflicted, and acts as a spiritual overseer of his charge. And we nonconformists think that such a pastor is a true scriptural bishop. But a diocesan cannot be such a bishop, nor can a lord-bishop be such a pastor. Applied to such a dignitary, the apostolic designation sounds like irony or sarcasm; and to speak of souls being lost through the suppression of a decayed see without a population, might be mistaken for what Dr. Burton would shudder at—gross impiety.

Spiritual as is the office of a bishop, so that even his barony is a spiritual thing, and his votes in parliament are all spiritual, still, the revenue of an episcopal see, Dr. Burton admits to be of a temporal nature. With this, therefore, Parliament might be thought competent to deal. Not so, contends this champion of the Church.

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'The amount of their incomes may be called a temporal question, though that is intimately mixed up with the discharge of their spiritual duties: and when bishops receive nothing from the country, but possess estates which were originally bequeathed voluntarily by the owners, the amount of their incomes is a question of internal arrangement in the Church itself. Would Roman Catholics allow the number of Roman Catholic Bishops to be settled by Parliament? Would Wesleyans and Independents allow the number of their Ministers to be settled by Parliament? These cases are precisely the same with that of the Church of England. The Wesleyans and Independents have never consented that members of the Church of England should legislate for their body: neither has the Church of England ever consented that Wesleyans and Independents, or Roman Catholics, or Unitarians, should legislate for the Church of England. Why is an illegal usurpation tolerated in one case, which would not be tolerated in the others?

'I contend, that the Irish Church was not bound to comply with the provisions of this unrighteous Bill. If the Clergy of the diocese of Waterford had elected a Bishop according to the forms of the primitive Church, and if the Primate of Ireland had thought fitto consecrate him, he would have been as much a Bishop of the United Church of England and Ireland, as any of the Bishops appointed by the Crown. But Roman Catholics and Dissenters have decided it to be convenient, that the Irish Church should henceforth have fewer Bishops: and thus the Church, in the language of Mr. Binney, is "bound and fettered and enslaved." But will she not burst her bonds? Will not her clergy rise from one end of the country to the other, and tell the Legislature, in a voice which cannot be mistaken, that they will not allow Dissenters from her creed, to dictate to her in matters of religion? How long shall our modern Uzzahs be allowed to lay their unhallowed hands upon the ark of our Zion? It is time to assert our rights. It is time to act upon the principles which Dissenters have so ably vindicated, to demand a liberty of conscience, and the power of legislating for ourselves.' pp. 61, 62.

The time to act upon these principles will come; but we do not think, with Dr. Burton, that it is come just at present. That the clergy have not the liberty of conscience which they ought to have, we freely concede; and we should be rejoiced to see the Church placed in that independent position which would enable her members to decide for themselves, whether they should have four and twenty or four score bishops, and to choose who those bishops should be, without a *congè d'élire*. But things are not, as yet, ripe for the emancipation of the Church. The case of the Wesleyans and Independents, and that of the Church of England, are not at present precisely the same. The ministers of Dissenting communities are chosen by the people, because the people support them; and their number is not settled by Parliament, because they sustain no civil capacity which connects them with the State. If the Church of England should be pleased to mul-

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tiply the number of its bishops in Scotland, we do not think that Parliament would interfere to prevent it; but episcopal baronies dependent on royal nomination, must, we submit, remain among the things which belong to Cæsar. They concern the crown; and what concerns the crown has, in modern days, been deemed fit subject for parliamentary regulation. Roman Catholics have been obliged, indeed, to allow the number of their bishops to be settled by other than ecclesiastical authorities in many instances; for Catholic sovereigns have never shewn any remarkable tenderness of conscience on this score. And long before Earl Grey's ministry, the Protestant Church of Ireland meekly submitted to have her sees united by Parliament, without a word of complaint or a sign of displeasure.

But when Dr. Burton affirms, that the Wesleyans and Independents have never consented that members of the Church of England should legislate for their body, he forgets himself most prodigiously. It is true, that their consent was not asked by those churchmen who undertook to legislate for them; but he cannot mean to avail himself of a quibble. Parliament, in those days of its ecclesiastical purity, when it most truly represented the Church, took the shortest way of settling for Dissenters the number of their ministers, by determining that they should have none. All who presumed to act in that capacity were sent to gaol. We are indebted to the Church of England legislation for the Pilgrim's Progress, for it was written in prison; and there also the admirable Baxter found leisure to compose some of his voluminous works. But, not to dwell on those days, Parliament, having at length consented that the sectaries should be allowed to have their ministers, if they would be so absurd as to maintain them, deemed it necessary to settle what they should teach; and therefore bound them in thirty-six articles and a half and sundry declarations, to keep the unity of the faith, before they were entrusted with a parliamentary license to preach the Gospel in certain duly registered places of assembly. Now all this appears to us precisely that sort of legislating for Dissenters which Dr. Burton very properly styles 'illegal usurpation.' With gratitude to God we acknowledge that much of this pernicious and intolerant legislation has been done away; and there is no portion of religious liberty enjoyed by Wesleyans or Independents, which we do not wish to see equally enjoyed by the members of the Episcopal Church. Dr. Burton contends that the Church of England has lost its liberty, and that she can never recover it while in such close alliance with the state. 'I could never,' he frankly says, 'defend the union of Church and State, merely because it 'gives to my Church exclusive privileges, but because I be-'lieve it to be a means of upholding religion, and of extending 'Christ's kingdom upon earth.' If we believed this, we can assure

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the learned Canon, that we should be found amongst its most zealous advocates. 'If,' he proceeds to say, 'the Church is crippled in its energies by being united to the State'; (and he has been admitting that it is so crippled;) 'if the Legislature, instead of advancing religion, should retard it;' (e. g. by calling away bishops from their spiritual concerns;) 'if the Church is forced against her will to submit to regulations which she knows to be bad; not only has she a right, but it is her duty to assert her independence, and to act for herself.' . . . 'If I could feel certain, that the only consequence of a separation of Church and State would be, *our getting rid of the interference of the House of Commons*, I could hardly, as a friend to the Church and to Religion, continue to wish for their union.'

If we thought that Earl Grey read the Eclectic Review, we should respectfully appeal to his Lordship, whether, after such an avowal as that, from the Oxford Regius Professor of Divinity, Protestant Dissenters can be justly chargeable with fanaticism or radicalism, in desiring to see the alliance dissolved, which seems to be becoming almost as unpalatable to both parties as that between Holland and Belgium. For Dissenters to insist upon such a separation in the language of demand, were indeed absurd and insolent. It is a national, not a Dissenting question; a complicated, profound, and delicate question, not to be approached with flippant levity or coxcombical ignorance. We offer no apology for those individuals who have in this spirit obtruded their crude notions upon the Cabinet or the public. But the opinion itself, that the separation would be beneficial, is not confined to Dissenters. Dr. Burton says, that he has 'met with persons who are called "extremely high-church", who denounce the present connexion between Church and State as an unholy union, and who feel it a solemn duty to pray for their separation.' 'When extremes are thus seen to meet,' he remarks, 'we may suspect that the two parties, though using the same terms, do not really mean the same thing; or that, at least, they desire the same object from very different motives, and with very different expectations.' There is certainly room for such a suspicion; and as Dr. Burton, after favouring us with his own views of what is meant by a separation of the Church from the State, calls upon the Dissenters (at p. 16) to assist him in the discussion, we cheerfully comply with his courteous invitation, and will tell him, as distinctly as we can, what *we* mean by the phrase, and what are our motives and expectations in desiring what the too equivocal phrase is intended to express.

We must commence with defining our terms. What is the Church? What is the State? And what is the Church-and-State? Many persons, Dr. Burton justly remarks, speak of the union of Church and State without attaching any very definite

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ideas to the words. 'The term *Church* certainly does not mean 'merely the clergy, though this is one of its senses,' (and a Popish sense it is,) 'and though,' adds Dr. B., 'Lord Henley and 'other writers upon Church Reform, have run into this fallacy. 'The Church (as we apply the term in this country) means all 'those persons, lay and clerical, who call themselves members of 'the Church of England, and who profess to receive her Articles 'and Liturgy.' It is singular enough that Dr. Burton should, in the very attempt to expose a fallacy, afford a specimen of it, employing the word Church in two different senses in the same sentence. The Church means, he says, the whole body of those who receive *her* Articles. Here, then, is a Church collective and a Church abstractive; and the question arises, Of whom is the latter composed? 'The Church hath power to decree rites and 'ceremonies and authority in matters of faith.' Does this mean that such a power is vested in, or derived from, all those persons who call themselves members of the Church? Assuredly not. The Church political, with which alone we have to do in the present reference, must be understood to mean the Government of the Church, how improper soever such a use of the word may be; precisely as the term State, which properly implies the realm, including the whole population, more ordinarily denotes the Government of the State. In England, Dr. Burton says, 'the State may 'be said to mean the King and his Parliament.' Then why has he tried to mystify the subject, by using the word State in the sense of kingdom, and then talking of the union between the Church and the State as consisting in this; that every member of the State (community) was also held to be a member of the Church (Christian body)? This did not constitute the union; it was the result of it. 'The King and his Parliament, in legislating for 'the Church of England, considered every person in the kingdom 'to belong to that Church.' And why did they so consider? Was it a mere opinion, an innocent theory that was thus assumed? No; they decreed that so it should be. Every individual member of the commonwealth was compelled by law to profess himself to be of the religion of the State, that is, to hold the same creed as his Sovereign, on pain of being treated as a heretic and traitor. His belief was made part of his allegiance, and nonconformity was rebellion. Dr. Burton calls upon the Dissenters to point out the Act or Acts which united the Church with the State, and to mark the time at which they became united. Why should he ask them to do what he has done so explicitly for them?

'The earliest interferences of Parliament in matters of religion, without the consent of the clergy, were to check the encroachments of the see of Rome. . . At a somewhat later period, the Church of Rome was itself the cause of the civil power interfering in matters of religion. When heretical opinions, as they were called, began to increase, the

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spiritual arm was not strong enough to suppress them without calling in the secular. Hence statutes were passed for the burning of heretics; and from this time we may certainly say, that one form of religion was supported by the State to the exclusion of every other.'—p. 16.

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The origin of the Church and State system, and the true principle of the alliance, could not be more succinctly and correctly described: and thus we see that (Dr. Burton himself being witness) it had its cause and origin in Popery, and its object was religious persecution. In fact, it sprang up in the same way as the other horns of the seven-headed beast. The 'spiritual arm,' or rather the arm of spiritual usurpation, called in the sword of the secular arm; just as the Jewish Church called in the arm of the Roman power to put to death Our Saviour. But the Church, having once conjured up the demon, named 'the secular arm,' found herself unable to dismiss him at pleasure; and the servant soon became too strong for its master. Thus it came to pass that Henry VIII. 'exercised powers, as head of the Church, which,' Dr. Burton thinks, 'he had no right to assume.' But his daughters exercised the same powers; and the 1 Eliz. c. 2, the 35th Eliz. c. 1., and similar statutes, upon which the Church Establishment of this country is founded, are as atrocious in principle as the Six Article Act itself.

The struggle at first, however, Dr. Burton remarks, 'was 'maintained between rival doctrines, not between rival churches.' A sentence not very intelligible, since doctrines can neither persecute nor be burned; but we gather the learned Writer's meaning from the sentence which follows. 'The leaders of the Reform-'ation in this country never thought of separating from the 'Church of England.' How should they, unless they resolved to leave the country, since the Church and the whole community of the nation were, we have seen, identical, and the government of Church and of State were also identified? But they separated from the Church of Rome; and from that time, the Church of Rome in England existed as a separate Church. 'The Roman 'Catholics were from that time dissenters,' says Dr. Burton, 'but they were not acknowledged as such.' No; another *name* was given to them. But, recognised or not, they retained the essential characteristics of a church; nor can we understand what the learned Professor means by denying that the struggle was between rival churches. Whether Popish or Protestant, the Church of England, he contends, was still the Church of England: although the doctrines were changed, the sees and temporalities remained; and so did the penal statutes. It would be more correct, however, to say, that the Church establishment remained the same; not the Church established; else we must discard the notion that Symbols, Articles, and a Ritual, form an essential part of the constitu-

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tion of a Church, and so resolve the idea into a simple affair of political government.

This is, certainly, the idea attached to the word, when we speak of Church and State. What we thereby understand is a complex system of government resulting from an interference on the part of the secular power in matters of religion, with a view to crush and extirpate, or at least to discountenance, every form of religion but that of the sect in alliance with the State. The primary object of such alliance is, to suppress erroneous opinions, and to punish their abettors. Every ecclesiastical establishment has been based upon the Divine right of intolerance. The support of the State to 'the church by law established,' has always been given in the shape of penal statutes, designed to force the creeds and rites of the Church upon the community as a matter of political duty. Dissenters 'sometimes speak,' Dr. Burton complains, 'as if the Church had been united to the State by an 'Act or Acts of Parliament: and if this were so, the Acts might 'be repealed, and the separation would ensue. But unfor-'tunately, we may search all the volumes of the Statutes at large, 'and no such acts will be found.' And yet, this same Dr. Burton tells us, that, from the time that statutes were passed for the burning of heretics, we may certainly say, that 'one form of re-'ligion was supported by the State to the exclusion of every 'other.' What is this but the very union of which we are speaking?—a union, the history of which is contained in the penal legislation of the Tudors and the Stuarts in matters of religion. When the burning of heretics went out of fashion, the hanging of covenanters, and the incarceration of puritans, and the fining of nonconformists, were the means by which the Church and State sought to support one form of religion to the exclusion of every other. The Toleration Act introduced a further mitigation of the penal statutes against nonconformity, leaving the spirit of persecution to work only by the milder instrumentality of civil disabilities. So essentially does the existing union between Church and State consist in the perpetuation of these milder penalties, that the repeal of the Test-act was deprecated by Churchmen themselves as tantamount to the dissolution of the cherished alliance,—as cutting asunder almost the last tie that held Church and State together. Dr. Burton seems inclined to take this view of the matter; and he asks, whether the union of Church and State can be said to exist, when every member of the State is no longer of necessity a member of the Church, and 'when the clergy and parliament together have not the power of 'binding the whole community in spiritual matters.'

'The Dissenters,' he proceeds to say, 'seem to think that the union does still continue, for they are louder than ever in their demands that Church and State should be separated: and it is this which leads me

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to call upon them to state explicitly, what they mean by the union of Church and State, and to point out the process by which the separation can be effected. I am aware, that the Dissenters are not the only persons who consider the Church and the State to be still united, and who contemplate their separation. Mr. Wilks, the member for Boston, has published a letter to the Bristol Dissenters, in which he assures them, that "the opinion of *the Government*" is, that "any immediate and urgent attempt at the severance of Church and State would utterly fail." My question is therefore likely to be answered, if not by the Government, at least by the Member for Boston in the present session.' pp. 69, 70.

What answer the Member for Boston would give, we have not the means of divining; but the Government have spoken for themselves. We transcribe from the public journals the following extract from the speech of Earl Grey, in the debate on the Address to the Throne, on the 5th ult.

'The last and the most important topic to which it would be his duty to refer, was the situation of the established church. The noble duke (Wellington) had spoken much on the subject of caution in any measures which ministers might think it their duty to advise his Majesty to adopt respecting the church. He agreed with the noble duke—he approved his advice—he had already acted upon it. With the noble duke he (Earl Grey) deprecated any attempt at rash innovation; nor did he wish anything like a general change in the establishment of the church . . . . . If the noble duke was really anxious that he should make a confession of faith, he would not decline doing it; for he had not an opinion that he would not boldly avow, or that he was ashamed to acknowledge. And he would therefore tell the noble duke, that he was a sincere adherent, a devoted friend to the Church of England, that he had ever been a zealous supporter of it, and that he had never lent himself, and never would lend himself to those theories—under whatever specious name of separating Church and State they might be designated, which, wild and extravagant in themselves, could not be otherwise than dangerous in their results. He had never concealed these opinions—in that house, in every situation of life he had ever maintained and defended them; and in his various interviews at different times with members of the dissenting body, he had stated them distinctly. He was anxious that real grievances should be redressed, that unmerited disabilities should be removed; (and he believed that many enlightened heads of the church shared this wish in common with him;)—that relief should be given from all those restrictions which reason denounced and necessity did not justify. But, if there was any attempt to be made to go further—any effort to separate the Church from the State, because, as some persons idly said, the connexion was unchristian—if this was the end to be aimed at, then he (Earl Grey) knew his course; his duty was plain and clear—he knew where and how to take his stand, and he would take it—to all such attempts he would offer the most determined, the most unflinching resistance; and those who led the assault should not merely find he was

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no supporter of such doctrines—that in his breast they found no sympathy; but that at all risks, and under all circumstances, he would be their most uncompromising opponent. But he did think, for the sake of the church itself—and this opinion he knew he held in common with many other warm friends of the establishment—that its state should be carefully looked into, and that there were many things that might be beneficially altered, so that complaints might be removed. He thought they ought to look most thoroughly into the subject, in the conviction that measures truly conservative might be adopted—not employing the word conservative in its much abused sense, but according to its right and proper meaning—conservative of the really useful and good, and so as greatly to strengthen and support the foundations of the church.'

To what wild and extravagant theories veiled under the specious name of separating Church and State, Earl Grey might allude, it is of course impossible for us to say. His Lordship might possibly refer to reformers *within* the Church, who, like Lord Henley, wish to alienate all church patronage from the Crown, and to discharge the bishops from their baronial duties, with a view to 'sever the unnatural alliance between the Church 'and the world.' Or, he might allude to certain political Dissenters without, whose theories and declamations would seem to go to the extent of destroying the Church, instead of merely separating it from the State, extinguishing it even as a corporate body, and not leaving to the State any specifically Protestant character. Against the latter class of theorists, we beg permission to join in his Lordship's emphatic protest. But, in expressing his anxiety that the real grievances of Dissenters should be redressed, and all unmerited disabilities and unreasonable restrictions removed, the Premier not only conceded all that Dissenters make the subject-matter of their claims: whether consciously or not, he has pledged his assent to the virtual, though not the formal dissolution of the alliance between the secular and the spiritual arm, upon which the whole structure of the Establishment rests. When the last penal disqualification and unjust restriction shall be abolished, the Church will remain in all her spiritual integrity, but the Establishment will be abrogated.

We agree with Dr. Burton, that the union between Church and State is already more than three fourths dissolved; and as no evil has resulted from this, but much good, we cannot deem the apprehensions very reasonable, of any injury that might arise to the constitution from doing away with the other fourth. If he wishes to know in what consists that union which still continues, and which Dissenters wish to see terminated, we beg leave to refer him to an article which recently appeared in a weekly journal that is understood to possess the confidence and to speak the sentiments of the Evangelical Dissenters. The Times news-

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paper had expressed a wish that the opposers of the Church would define their terms more accurately, and had put the same question to the Dissenters, that Dr. Burton has done—'What is the 'Union between Church and State?' The "Patriot" meets this question, by first pointing out what the union, in its original perfection, included; reciting the various penal statutes enacted against Nonconformists down to the 12 Anne, c. 7., which prohibited Dissenters from educating their own children, requiring them to be put into the hands of Conformists; and the article then proceeds as follows.

'This is Church and State, or what an able French writer styles, *le système féodale et hiératique*. This is what some people call National Religion; others, the Alliance between Religion and good Government; but which Dissenters are so unreasonable as to deem bad legislation and anti-Christian policy. Against this system they have had to struggle; and, by slow and painful degrees, these Pariars of the State have won concessions from the Legislature, in spite of *Brahminical* intolerance. They obtained, first, toleration, i. e. permission to worship God, to keep schools, to educate their own children, &c.; then, protection and legal recognition; then, a few much grudged marks of royal favour; at length, the formal repeal of the annually suspended Test Act, excluding them from Parliament. And now what would they have more? They complain of being still viewed as a caste, not, as formerly, proscribed, but lying under humiliating disqualifications of the most unjust description, and exposed to both insult and serious inconvenience from the extant remains of the Church and State despotism. What these are, shall now be stated.

'1. The system of Parochial Registration, the absurdity and vexatious injustice of which are so ably exposed in the article cited from *The Times* in our last paper. This is an integral part of the Church and State system; so that one of the clerical witnesses examined by the Committee objected, that to admit Dissenters to the benefit of a civil registration would *further legalize the existence of Dissent!* "It is rather late in the day," remarks *The Globe*, "for such an objection." But some people wake very late, and do not trouble themselves about the time of day. "Dissent is already legal," remarks our contemporary. It is so, hence the absurdity of treating it as illegal.

'2. What the *Times* styles, "the barbarous restraint imposed upon Dissenters in the non-celebration of their marriages according to their own religious rites." This is intimately connected both with the sacerdotal theory adopted from Rome, and with the Church and State polity. It is a relic of compulsive conformity. And with this we may connect, as part and parcel of the same system, the exclusion of the bodies of Dissenters from the consecrated burial-ground. Upon this point, there has not been a little quibbling. All persons buried in the parochial cemetery must be buried according to the rites of the Church, except suicides and persons unbaptized. But numbers of Dissenters die unbaptized, and the validity of their baptism has been in numerous cases questioned. The clergyman may then refuse to

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bury, and, by so doing, exclude from interment. Can anything be more insulting or oppressive? But this is the *système féodale et hiératique.*

'3. The tithe system, civil and ecclesiastical. We speak not now of the fiscal exaction, so much as the *principle* of the system. The tithe is not like any other civil claim, which may be enforced in the common-law courts; but tithe causes fall under the cognizance of ecclesiastical courts and courts of equity. The former are the remains of the barbarous legislation of feudal ages, and loudly call for searching reform. The tithe itself, as now shared between the feudal nobility and the sacerdotal order, affords a beautiful specimen of the Church and State union. There was a time when the clergy possessed above half the military fees, that is, of the landed property of the kingdom. The hierarchy has, in later days, been spoiled and reduced to subserviency by the aristocracy; and hence the present anomalous state of the complex tithe system.

'4. The baronial privileges and duties of the prelates.

'5. The exercise of temporal jurisdiction by persons in holy orders, as magistrates, perpetual chairmen of vestries, &c., by which the Church and State system is brought to bear upon the labouring classes; parish benefactions and adequate parochial relief being in numberless cases withheld from the chapel-going poor. As a minister of religion, the Dissenting pastor may possibly be far superior in character to the episcopal clergyman; why is he to be degraded to a civil inferiority? Because such is the alliance system.

'6. Compulsory payments levied on the members of all unendowed churches in support of the endowed Church.

'7. Exclusion from the national seminaries of education, from the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge down to the charity schools and so called national schools. The system of exclusion, be it remembered, is connected with laws rendering a University education a pre-requisite for civil advancement, and with the systematic denial of literary honours to Dissenters, however eminent in science or learning. "Every department of tuition being prohibited to Protestant Dissenters by various statutes and canons, it is only on condition of qualifying specially, that they are now permitted, under a remedial statute, (19 Geo. III. c. 44, s. 2,) to exercise these professions with impunity." This is of course no grievance! A mere stigma left after the yoke has been removed! Dissenters, however, will not and ought not to be satisfied, till the whole system of national instruction shall be placed on a sounder foundation than the Church and State system of priestly domination, and till the last remains of that yoke be removed from their necks, which "neither our fathers nor we have been able to bear." This is what they mean by a dissolution of the alliance or union between Church and State.' *Patriot, Jan.* 15, 1834.

The only constituent part of the union, mentioned in the above analysis, that does not partake of a penal character, is that which relates to the parliamentary power exercised by the bishops as 'lords spiritual.' Dissenters have suffered so much in former

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times from the political power of the prelates, that they ought to be pardoned, if they think that they are not safe, so long as this sign and relic of the alliance between the spiritual and the secular arms remains. But we agree with the able Editor of the Times, that this is 'an *adjunct* to our Church establishment,' rather than an essential part of it. 'We ourselves,' he says, 'see no 'necessity at least for such an adjunct; and on its expediency, 'we do not very much differ from those who feel that the proper 'sphere for a bishop is his diocese.' The Church of Scotland is united to the State, to a certain extent; and yet, it has no mitred representatives in Parliament. Dr. Burton seems to dispute that the ejection of the bishops from the House of Lords would be an immediate or necessary consequence of the separation of Church and State, or that they sit there in consequence of the union of Church and State. Coleridge, in his 'Idea of the Constitution,' tells us, that the Bishops sit in the House of Peers 'by virtue of 'the baronies which, much against the will of those haughty pre-'lates, our kings forced upon them.' However this may be, we concede that the right of the king to summon spiritual as well as temporal peers to Parliament, is a distinct constitutional question; and that what we understand by the union of Church and State, namely, the establishment of a particular sect or form of religion by penal laws intended to suppress or discountenance all other sects,—does not consist in bishops sitting in Parliament, but in the union of spiritual and secular power; of which an extremely small portion is now left in the hands of the prelates. With the political objections that have been urged against their retaining their seats in parliament, we do not concern ourselves. For the honour of religion, we may wish that their title of spiritual peers had been better supported by a distinguishing patriotic resistance against every form of corruption, by a uniform and consistent advocacy of the claims of freedom, humanity, and religion, by an independency worthy of the episcopal office, and by a superiority to the spirit of intrigue and faction. But these considerations must be excluded from the present discussion. The Bishops sat in Parliament, as did the abbots, before the House of Commons had an existence; and they are recognized by the Constitution as forming, with the great body of the clergy, a distinct estate of the realm. But the baronial privilege does not necessarily attach to the Episcopal office, since, of the Irish Bishops, four only sit as peers; and the royal summons is still deemed a necessary formality in order to entitle any peer, temporal or spiritual, to take his seat. We are disposed to think that the separation of Church and State might be effected without touching the parliamentary privileges of the Bishops; and although we agree with many pious members of the Established Church in the opinion, that their Lordships ought to be relieved

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from the burden of duties incompatible with their proper functions, we regard the matter as more a national than a Dissenting grievance.

Dr. Burton has adverted to two or three other consequences which, he thinks, would result from the separation proposed. We should be sorry to blink one of the real difficulties that may be connected with this delicate subject; but we cannot regard any of his 'questions' as presenting a very formidable problem. Some of them are as irrelevant as they are insidious, and a very brief answer will dispose of them. For instance: What is to be done, he asks, with the patronage in the gift of the Crown? We refer him to Lord Henley. Who is to issue the *congé d'élire?* Let the clergy have leave to elect their own bishops. What is to become of those Acts of Parliament which give to the King the adjudication of all causes, spiritual as well as temporal, within his dominions? These will not be in the slightest degree affected by the separation. What is to be done with the Coronation Oath? It may stand as it does, although Dr. Burton seems to think that it is of little use, since the Church cannot make use of it as a bugbear. But the most serious difficulty of all remains to be noticed. Hitherto, in all acts of parliament, 'the terms, spiritual person, or person in holy orders, or parson, or priest, or clergy,' Dr. B. remarks, 'have had a fixed 'and definite meaning, being restricted to persons episcopally 'ordained according to the forms of the Church of England. 'When that Church becomes merely the Episcopal denomination, and on a level with other denominations, it must 'be settled by Act of Parliament, that every preacher of the 'Gospel is a spiritual person.' What a blessed Act of Parliament would that be, that should so settle matters, as that this should indeed be the fact! Every preacher of the Gospel *ought* to be 'a spiritual person'; but, even after the separation of Church and State, we should fear that there would be too many persons in holy orders, or pretended holy orders, that would ill deserve to be so designated. But surely Dr. Burton would not grudge to Dissenting Ministers *benefit of clergy!* The term *priest*, they have no wish to appropriate: *that* might remain, therefore, as a term of distinction, Dissenting pastors being styled ministers of religion, and Episcopal clergymen, priests. The difficulty would not be, as Dr. B. imagines, in hitting upon a definition sufficiently comprehensive to include all preachers, but in selecting one sufficiently specific to designate the parties whom the purposes of the law might require to be distinguished. This difficulty, however, he will be happy to learn, has already been got over, in various recent Acts of Parliament, without giving umbrage to any of the parties concerned.

We trust that we have now explained to Dr. Burton's satisfac-

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tion, what we mean by a union of Church and State, and what is the process by which we wish to see the separation consummated. When he comes to understand our sentiments, we are not without sanguine hopes that he will own that Dissenters are in the right. The liberality which he has shewn in some parts of his present pamphlet, warrants this expectation; and still more the enlightened discrimination displayed in the following passage, which we transcribe with much pleasure.

'The union of Church and State is not the same thing with the union of Religion and the State, though the two expressions are often confounded. Religion and the State may be said to be united, when the State encourages Religion, and enforces it by laws: and where the Christian Religion is the one thus supported, the Church and the State may in one sense be said to be united; for the term *Church*, in its widest sense, means the universal Church, or whole body of believers in Christ. But this would be an equivocal meaning, and is not what is generally implied by the union of Church and State, which means that the State supports by its laws one particular Church, or one form of Christianity to the exclusion of others.'—p. 68.

These admirable remarks place in a striking light the *anti-Catholic* spirit and tendency of that union of Church and State which disunites the Church, by severing the particular Church or favoured sect from every other communion. Thus, not only does the union of Church and State in this country prevent the Episcopal Church from holding religious communion with the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, or with any of the Dissenting sections of the Church of Christ in England, but it equally forbids all connexion with the Protestant Churches of France, Switzerland, Prussia, and Germany. This has resulted, it is true, partly from the unbending character and pretensions of the Episcopal polity itself; but the Episcopacy of the Church of England would long since have become much nearer what Usher, and Leighton, and Burnet desired to see it—a much more moderate, and reasonable, and catholic, and apostolic system,—had it not been for the fatal alliance that has deprived the Church of her own liberty, and rendered her the oppressor of all who dissent from her. The penal laws intended for her support, have fortified her in unsocial bigotry.

The union of Religion and the State, too often confounded, as Dr. Burton remarks, with the union of Church and State, we ardently desire to see better understood and more effectively realised. Religion and the State may be said to be united, we are told by the learned Professor, 'when the State *encourages* Re-'ligion, and so *enforces* it by laws', and thus '*supports* it.' But to encourage, to enforce, and to support, are phrases conveying very distinct and different ideas. Understanding by the term *State*, the Government or Legislature, we should prefer to say, that Re-

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ligion and the State are most happily united, where the State *protects* Religion, and *recognises* Religion, and *enforces* it by public homage and example. This includes nearly all, we apprehend, that Christianity requires of the State, or can be advantaged by receiving from it. Such appears to be the Church and State system of the United States of America. In that country, according to the highest judicial authorities, Christianity is established and supported to this extent; and the Church and State may therefore, as Dr. Burton admits, in one sense, be said to be united. 'The people of the United States have retained the Christian 'religion as the foundation of their civil, legal, and political insti- 'tutions, while they have refused to continue a legal preference of 'any one of its forms over another.' Such is the correct statement of a writer in the Christian Observer, who is anxious, however, to make it appear that the only difference between *this* system and the English Church and State system, is one of *degree;* and that the proper degree to which things ought to be carried, is 'far more wisely and Scripturally determined in Great 'Britain than in the United States.' Upon this complacent conclusion, Mr. Colton remarks as follows:

'And is there, then, no difference, except of *degree,* between a Catholic recognition of Christianity by the State, as is done in America, and the enforcement of one particular form of it upon the community, as is done by an Establishment? The Americans will suffer *any* degree but the last; and that they think involves a *principle* which they do not tolerate; viz. the right of one man, or any body of men, to choose a religion for others, or to impose it upon them.

'If the Christian Observer has been surprised to find the Americans so orthodox in *kind,* and defective only in *degree;* and if any others in England are to be surprised by his disclosure; it only proves the truth of his own assertion: that "it is not generally understood in England, what are the real *facts* of the case" in America.

'Whatever, therefore, the Christian Observer may have proved, he has certainly failed to find an American advocate of a State Religious Establishment, in the sense of giving one sect a pre-eminence by law. Whatever else, and whatever less than this, he has proved, of the kind which he has seemed to be in pursuit of, we like it all the better, because he has also proved, that a nation may be a Christian nation without an Establishment; and because he has proved what may go to convince our English friends, that Americans are not such radicals as they have been represented; that they are not bigots; and that a man may freely express his opinions there, and yet retain his influence. We shall expect to rise in the esteem of such persons as the Christian Observer, as they come to know us better.

'Certainly, the Christian Observer did not mean, that the American authorities, on which he relied to prove the orthodoxy or semi-orthodoxy of American opinions, were either open or secret advocates of an Establishment; nor will it be pretended, that they did not understand themselves—that they were teaching a doctrine which they never in-

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tended. That would be singular, indeed; and would prove sufficiently, that neither the Christian Observer, nor any body else, would have a right to it, as coming from them. I cannot, therefore, easily see what the Christian Observer has been aiming at in these articles, nor what he has gained, as an advocate of Establishments. We, certainly, are much obliged to him for having done a work which would not perhaps have had the same influence, if undertaken by us; but of which, having been brought to our hands from such a quarter, we may fairly avail ourselves: That the American community is not slightly leavened with Christianity.' p. 35.

In a trial for blasphemy, before the Supreme Court of New York in 1811, the Chief Justice, Chancellor Kent, in delivering his opinion, used the following language, which will indicate the sense and extent in which Christianity is recognised in America, as 'part and parcel of the law of the land.'

'"The authorities shew that blasphemy against God, and contumelious reproaches and profane ridicule of Christ, or the Holy Scriptures, (which are equally treated as blasphemy,) are offences punishable at common law, whether uttered by words or writings. The consequences may be less extensively pernicious in the one case than in the other; but in both instances the reviling is still an offence, because it tends to corrupt the morals of the people, and to destroy good order. Such offences have always been considered independent of any Religious Establishment or the Rights of the Church. There is nothing in our manners and institutions which has prevented the application or the necessity of this point of the common law. We stand equally in need now as formerly, of all that moral discipline, and of those principles of virtue, which help to bind society together. The people of this State, in common with the people of this country, profess the general doctrines of Christianity, as the rule of their faith and practice; and to scandalize the Author of these doctrines is not only, in a religious point of view, extremely impious, but, even in respect to the obligations due to society, is a gross violation of decency and good order. Nothing could be more offensive to the virtuous part of the community, or more injurious to the tender morals of the young, than to declare such profanity lawful. It would go to confound all distinction between things sacred and profane; for, to use the words of one of the greatest oracles of human wisdom, (Lord Bacon,) 'Profane scoffing doth by little and little deface the reverence for religion:' and who adds, in another place, 'Two principal causes have I ever known of Atheism,—curious controversies and profane scoffing.' The very idea of jurisprudence, with the ancient lawgivers and philosophers, embraced the religion of the country: *Jurisprudentia est divinarum atque humanarum rerum notitia.* And though the Constitution has discarded Religious Establishments, it does not forbid judicial cognizance of those offences against religion and morality which have no reference to any such Establishment, or to any particular form of government, but are punishable, because they strike at the root of moral obligation, and weaken the security of the social ties. The legislative exposition of the Constitution is con-

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formable to this view of it. Christianity, in its enlarged sense, as a religion revealed and taught in the Bible, is not unknown to our law. The Statute for preventing immorality consecrates the first day of the week as holy time, and considers the violation of it immoral. The act concerning oaths, re-organizes the common-law mode of administering an oath, by laying the hand on and kissing the Gospels. Surely, then, we are bound to conclude, that wicked and malicious words, writings, and actions, which go to vilify those Gospels, continue, as at common law, to be an offence against public peace and safety. They are inconsistent with the reverence due to the administration of an oath; and, among other evil consequences, they tend to lessen in the public mind its religious sanction.'' pp. 45, 6.

So much for the nature of that union of Religion and the State which subsists in America without an Establishment. Now as to the results. Very industrious, but not very fair and candid attempts have lately been made to prove, that the past and present condition of religion and morality in the United States, is such as to afford an unanswerable argument for the necessity of Establishments. These representations, Mr. Colton has shewn to be alike disingenuous and unfounded. It would lead us too far, to go minutely into his statements: the following extracts will be sufficient for our present purpose, and we strongly recommend our readers to obtain a copy of the pamphlet from which they are taken.

'By the last census of 1830, the population of the United States was 12,866,020. Allowing 300 Roman Catholic priests, we shall have, of all denominations, as may be seen, full *one* minister for every *thousand souls* by the last estimate of the last census. Deducting the Roman Catholics and those not esteemed Orthodox, all of which, in their own connexions, doubtless have their own influence in promoting morality and securing the good order of society, we shall still have 11,138 ministers, whose Christianity is generally sound, whose qualifications are for the most part fitted for the several classes of society among which their labours are distributed, and a very great proportion of whom would not suffer by comparison in piety and professional learning with any set of men of the same class in the Christian world, when viewed *en masse*, and in their ordinary relations to society.

'Thus much, to show, that, rapidly as the population of the United States has increased, the virtue of the Christian public there, having been roused by information and suitable appeals, has not only kept pace with this march in supplying a proportionate number of the ministers of religion, but has actually gained upon it, and bids fair, in these provisions for the spiritual wants of the people, soon to attain the limits of its aspirations.' p. 9.

Speaking of the average qualifications of these ministers, Mr. Colton says:

'The Presbyterians and Congregationalists in America, (about 3000,) have unquestionably more solid learning, than all of the other deno-

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minations put together. A minister cannot move in their ranks and be respected, without having had a liberal education, unless the redeeming powers of superior talents shall raise him above contempt. The Episcopalians, the Dutch and German Reformed, the German Lutherans and Calvinists, ramifications of Scotch churches, and some others, perhaps, all being of the smaller denominations, are upon the same level with Presbyterians and Congregationalists. They are "workmen that need not to be ashamed." As men of learning, the Unitarians of Massachusetts will not suffer in comparison with any other; but alas! they have let go the Head.

'The clergy of America, my Lord, with a few exceptions, are all *working men*; and they are becoming more and more so. It is the fashion—it is the spirit of the times. They generally appreciate the spiritual wants of the nation, and feel their responsibility. This is a part of their education. And a great and effectual door is open to them in the hearts of the people. The people are not jealous of them —how can they be? And they are not jealous of each other, as being of different sects; as all sects, in all parts of the land, have at last been reduced to a common level, as to relative rights between themselves, and between the State and them. Their only chance of superior influence is by superior virtue.'* pp. 10, 11.

'It is not enough, in the consideration of this subject, to look merely at the comparative number of ministers actually at work, and to estimate the amount of their labours, and the degrees of their influence; but the peculiar difficulties under which America has laboured, as a new country, and with a population doubling every twenty-five years, are also to be taken into the account. And yet, with all these disadvantages to struggle with, it would appear, not only that she is far better supplied than England, in proportion to the population; but her supply of ministers has gained and still gains upon the increase of population, while that of England is going backwards, the Establishment alone being taken into the account. Your Lordship's own evidence

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* A curious instance of blundering misrepresentation is exposed by Mr. Colton, which occurs in a shallow, flippant publication, entitled, "Essays on the Church." To prove the inefficiency of the voluntary system, it is remarked, that, in Massachusetts and Connecticut, where Christianity was established by law, the Presbyterian ministers supported and settled were in the proportion of 1 to every 1364 inhabitants, while, in the states where there was no establishment, the proportion of the same class was 1 to every 19,300. This comparative statement overlooks entirely the existence of other denominations, two of them (the Baptists and Methodists) by far the most numerous in the United States; and does not even recognize the Episcopalians, who have always been in Virginia the dominant sect, and are numerous in the more southern States. Dr. Dwight, the authority for the comparative statement, was giving an account of the number only of *Presbyterian* ministers; and this Writer makes it serve as that of the ministers of all denominations! Otherwise, his argument falls to the ground. Yet this grossly fallacious statement has been swallowed with eager avidity.

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decides this question:—"I conceive, that *little* or *no provision* has been made for the wants of the population which has arisen since the last two censuses."

'London and its adjacent boroughs contain 194 places of worship belonging to the Establishment, with a population of 1,500,000. Your Lordship has given in evidence, that "*not one-tenth*" of the people are provided for. And how *much* less than one-tenth? New York has a population of 220,000, and 101 churches—*one* church to 1,200 souls. Boston has 50 churches to 60,000; and other large cities in America are equally well supplied; many of them better.

'There are in the United States, excluding the Roman Catholics and all other sects not commonly esteemed orthodox, 1,601,088 communicants at the Lord's table, by the latest authentic reports I have been able to obtain, some of which are two and three years old, and none less than one year. There are also some orthodox denominations not reported. I have observed, that the annual increase of communicants in American churches of late, taking into view the different sects, ranges from one-fourth to one-tenth of the gross amount; and that the greatest proportionate increase is in the most numerous denominations. Taking these facts into consideration, I have supposed the present number of communicants in the American orthodox churches cannot be less than 1,800,000. In those denominations, comprehending the great bulk of these communicants, the terms of admission to the Lord's supper are, a strict examination, as to personal piety, and a public profession of religion. Generally, so far as I have been able to observe, the terms of admittance to this ordinance in America, are much more strict, than in the corresponding denominations in Great Britain. In the Church of England, if I do not mistake, all are admitted to this sacrament, who are of respectable character. And yet it appears by a sufficient amount of evidence from a high quarter of the Church of England, that the number of communicants throughout the English Establishment, does not exceed 350,000. Taking the population of England at 12,000,000, there is about *one* communicant in the Church to every 34 of the gross population. Deducting 800,000 for the Roman Catholics in America, and taking the remainder of the population at 12,000,000, the same as in England, the number of communicants at the Lord's table will be nearer *one* of every 5, than of every 6 individuals. I confess, that I am altogether surprised at this result; and yet I do not know how to make it different. . . . . .

'Your Lordship, and, as it would seem, many others connected with the Church of England, have appeared inclined to recommend an Establishment for America; at least to say, the Americans have made a great mistake in dispensing with it. Now, my Lord, we are of course to understand, doubtless, that the English Establishment is the most perfect model; and its history and working are to be looked to for our encouragement? But the voice of the nation in Parliament has pronounced, that the Irish branch has worked badly, and the reforming hand has already been applied to it. Where will it stop? Shall we not wait and see? The voice of the nation is clamorous against what are declared to be the enormities of the English

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Establishment; and a majority of the Church itself will probably unite with the Government in the application of a reforming influence there. Shall we not wait and see the end of that? And if it seems so intolerable to the British nation, how, my Lord, think you, must it appear unto us?' pp. 57—59.

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And now to return to Dr. Burton. It is singular enough, that a pamphlet written with a view to expose the unreasonableness of the claims of the Dissenters, should commence with attributing to them, as their 'first and most comprehensive demand,' what has not even been put forward at all as a demand, in any of their memorials, petitions, or other documents, with one or two regretted exceptions. Dissenters have never ceased to protest against the union of Church and State; but that, we submit, is quite a different thing from *demanding* that it shall be put an end to. We are very glad, however, that Dr. Burton has been induced to disclose his "Thoughts upon the Separation;" and we have not shrunk from giving ours. But we must now advert as briefly as possible to the notice which he has bestowed upon the practical grievances, the removal of which is expressly sought for in the language, not of demand, but of remonstrance and petition. Why Dr. Burton has chosen to take his statement of those grievances from what he calls 'two documents,' but which are, in fact, merely two ill-written paragraphs, one from a country paper, the other from a London weekly journal of no consideration and small respectability,—in preference to the authentic documents to which he might easily have had access,—we are at a loss to conjecture. It is curious enough, however, that these two identical newspapers are also the selected authority of the Late Fellow of All Souls' College. There must be a great dearth of newspapers at Oxford. We beg to inform these reverend and learned persons, that, in almost all the memorials and petitions which have been presented to Government or the Legislature, the grievances complained of have been enumerated in the following terms and order:

1. The want of a legal Registration of Births, Marriages, and Deaths.

2. Compulsory Conformity to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Established Church in the celebration of Marriage.

3. The denial to Dissenters of the right of Burial by their own Ministers in the Parochial Cemeteries.

4. The exclusion of Dissenters from the privileges of the Universities.

5. The liability of Dissenters to the payment of Church Rates and other Ecclesiastical demands.

With regard to the first of these, we had flattered ourselves that there existed but one opinion among well-informed persons, as to the want of a better system of registration for the nation

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generally, and the undeniable claim of the Dissenters to some redress of the peculiar hardship and inconvenience to which they are liable. But we were mistaken. The Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford is so utterly ignorant of the notorious state of the fact, as to assert, that 'the *parochial registers give perfect* 'satisfaction to the country'!! He seems quite astonished at discovering that 'Dissenters are not satisfied with having their 'children baptized by the parochial clergy,' who would regenerate them into the bargain; forgetting (for he cannot be ignorant of *this* fact) that there is a denomination of Protestants, known under the name of Baptists, who practice only adult baptism. 'If Dissenters complain of any grievance in the article of re-'gistration,' we are told, 'they have brought it upon themselves, 'and themselves must find the remedy.' The extreme illiberality of this arrogant conclusion is quite unworthy of Dr. Burton.

The *ex*-Fellow of All Souls 'does not feel ashamed to ex-'press himself incompetent to give an opinion' upon the practical bearing of this question.

As to the second grievance, Dr. Burton says: 'Let Dis-'senters obtain an Act of Parliament to regulate their own 'marriages.' They intend to do so; they have not waited for either advice or permission from the Canon of Christ Church. The remarks of the other learned Oxonian deserve transcription.

'The next point to be insisted upon in the petitions is, the right of marriage without the Church service or the payment of fees to a clergyman. I speak as an individual when I express my hope, that, as far as the clergy of the Church are concerned, the petitioners will meet with no hinderance from us in this matter; nay more, that they will have our best wishes for the attainment of what they require. If they have conscientous scruples against the use of our marriage service, or our ministry, however mistaken we may think them to be, we cannot but in charity wish that their scruples should be respected, and that some other mode should be devised, by which the right descent of property, and the sacredness of the marriage tie, might be secured, without violating their consciences. Such an alteration would be a relief, not to them only, or to them chiefly, but at least as much to the ministers of the Church, who, as the law now stands, are sometimes placed in very difficult circumstances. For persons occasionally present themselves to claim the ministration of the clergyman in the marriage service, openly avowing their disbelief in the doctrine of the Trinity. No one can deny, that to perform offices of religion for such, especially to bless them in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, which is part of the marriage service, is at least a questionable exercise of the ministerial office; yet, if the clergyman refuses, he is liable to an action; so that timid men, through fear of being brought before public notice, and poor men, through fear of the inconveniences which their families would experience from the costs of an action, are

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tempted to gulp the profanation. Surely, my Lords and Gentlemen, if, by an alteration in this matter, you can satisfy the reasonable desires of the respectable Dissenters, and afford relief to the ministers of your own Church, that alteration should be made.'

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Letter to the Members, &c., pp. 25—27.

With regard to the third point, there prevails a most extraordinary degree of misapprehension. 'If the Dissenter argues 'that he has no interest in the parish church,' says Dr. Burton, 'it seems to follow necessarily that he has no interest in the 'churchyard.' This, whether meant for wit or for logic, is sorry trifling. Has a man no interest in what he has purchased? and is not a vault, or grave, which a man has purchased, his own freehold? If a Dissenter has bought a vault or a portion of the churchyard, we apprehend that his title to hold it is just as good as that of a churchman. A legal question has been raised, and learned opinions taken upon it, to whom the churchyard belongs, whether to the parish or to the parson. So far as respects the right of common, the grass on the surface, the right of the parson is, we suppose, generally admitted; and his claim to a fee for disturbing the surface may be maintained upon this ground. But, in whomsoever the original proprietary right may vest, the ground, so far as appropriated, unquestionably belongs to those who have purchased it. Dissenters have never contended, we believe, for the equal right of using the national burying grounds without purchase or payment; but they complain of not being allowed the free use of what they have acquired a right to consider as their own.

But we are met with another objection. 'If, in the conscien-'tious opinion of the Dissenters,' says the Ex-Fellow of All Souls, 'we are so sunk in error and superstition, that they will 'not worship with us in our Father's house, nor feed with us at 'our Lord's table, why should they seek to defile their immacu-'late dead by the contagion of such ill company?' For the same reason that the members of the reformed and apostolic Church Episcopal did not refuse to bury their dead in churchyards defiled by the bodies of rank Papists. Such writing as this indicates only the sore and angry feeling of a narrow mind. Dissenters may wish to bury their dead in the parochial cemetery, either because there is no other burial-ground in the vicinity*, or because it is 'the place of their fathers' sepulchres,' or because they have already a grave or vault there belonging to them. It matters not *why* they wish it: the only proper question is, On what conditions ought they to be at liberty to bury there? It

* 'They suffer no grievance; they are not *compelled* to bring their dead to be buried by us,' says the Ex-Fellow of All Souls. This is, in many cases, contrary to fact.

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may be that the family of the deceased, though Dissenters, have no objection to the burial service, and are quite willing that the parish minister should officiate; but he refuses, on the ground that the deceased was not baptized, taking that opportunity of offering an insult to the rites and ministry of Dissenters, in a manner the most adapted to wound the feelings of the bereaved family. It is true, the validity of Dissenting baptism has been judicially sanctioned by the highest authority; yet, still we find it vexatiously litigated. Or it may be that the deceased belonged to a denomination practising only adult baptism; and that he had deferred conforming to the rite, through some conscientious scruple, possibly from some doubt as to the binding nature or perpetuity of the obligation, or through unavoidable delay. Well, the clergyman refuses to perform the service: will he not then allow the Dissenting minister to officiate? No, a stern and insulting refusal is returned. The grave may be opened, and the dead may be interred, provided the charges and fees are paid; but the churchyard belongs to the Episcopal sect, and for any minister of another communion to pronounce a prayer over a grave in that consecrated spot, would be a daring infringement upon the rights of the clergy; nay, Dr. Burton says, it would be a glaring violation of the liberty of conscience!! 'Burial,' remarks the Ex-Fellow of All Souls, 'is the right of common 'humanity; *Christian* burial can only be claimed by those 'whom the Church has agreed to consider worthy of it.'* Nevertheless, it *is* claimed, and the Church dares not refuse it, on behalf of the most profligate and profane. We do not wonder that this writer should think that the clergy have more cause than the Dissenters, to complain in this matter; being 'placed, 'by the law as it now stands, in respect to burials, as they are 'in respect to marriages, under the most painful and distressing 'circumstances.'

'It falls to my lot to have had experience on this point. For, having refused to perform the burial service in a case where every feeling of religion revolted from such a profanation, I was threatened with actions in the Ecclesiastical Court: and though I have letters of approbation from not less than four bishops before whom I laid the case, in which my conduct is styled correct, conscientious, and canonical, my counsel

* The framers of the burial service, it is maintained, 'intended it only 'for *communicants* in the Church, who alone, up to that period, were 'entitled to the honours of Christian burial.' Now the Dissenters not only are *not* communicants, but 'the Church, in her Canons, plainly 'declares them to be, as long as they continue Dissenters, excommu-'nicated persons.' (p. 7.) No Dissenter, therefore, can be considered by the Church as 'entitled to the honours of Christian burial.'

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in that Court seemed to entertain no doubt, that if the cause had come to trial, which, but for the mismanagement of the other side, it would have done, sentence would have been given against me; and for my strict fulfilment of the intention of the Church, and adherence to the letter of her rules and instructions, and conscientious discharge of the solemn engagement which I was compelled to enter into when I became a minister, I should have been disgraced by sentence of condemnation; and, if a poor man, inconvenienced, if not ruined for life, by the heavy expenses to which I should have been put. . . . Bestow not, then, my Lords and Gentlemen, all your compassion upon the Dissenters who, for want of greater cause of complaint, are straining at a gnat; but *have some for the ministers of the Church, who are compelled to swallow a camel.*' pp. 30—32.

But, if the clergy choose to swallow camels, whom have they to thank but themselves? This ground of just complaint is but one of the blessed fruits of the union of church and state, the alliance of the spiritual and secular arm, the so-called National Establishment. We wish with all our hearts that the clergy were relieved; but they are not taking the proper course to obtain redress, by withstanding the claims and making light of the grievances of the Dissenters.

The claim of admission to the privileges of the national seminaries, this Writer seems to think the most unreasonable of all. Like Dr. Burton, he can neither understand the ground on which Dissenters rest their claim, nor the process by which they expect to gain admission. Both writers deny that they are national seminaries: they are just as private as any Dissenting academy! 'It 'is idle, and worse than idle,' says the Canon of Christ Church, 'to talk of Parliament interfering to throw the Universities open 'to Dissenters.' 'The Colleges will set Parliament at defiance, 'and laugh to scorn the impotent attempt at persecution'!! There is no arguing with men in this fiery mood, and we shall therefore defer till another opportunity what we have to say in this matter.

We now come to the last grievance,—liability to the payment of church-rates and ecclesiastical demands. Upon this point, the Ex-Fellow of All Souls starts a curious difficulty, which he gets over, however, quite to his own satisfaction. Were these payments *voluntary* on the part of the Dissenters, it would be quite incorrect for the Church to receive them!!

'If the payment of Church-rates by Dissenters could be looked upon in the light of an *offering* to the Church from those who refuse to communicate in it, I conceive the objection in the matter ought to come from the Church, as the primitive discipline forbade the clergy to receive into the treasury of God's House the offerings of excommunicate persons, which our Church in her canons plainly declares the Dissenters, as long as they continue such, to be.

'An *offering* from the Dissenters it clearly is not; as they only pay

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it upon compulsion. In what light then is it to be regarded? Simply, I conceive, as an offering from the king, who is a communicant, or from the nation, of whom about nine-tenths profess to worship God according to the true religion, as taught by that branch of the Apostolic Church which has been thus far established among us. This consideration may serve, at once, to remove all scruples. All that *we* need look to, is the character of the offerer; and as long as the king is a communicant in the Church, and the vast majority of the nation profess to adhere to it, so long, in the strictest accordance with the primitive discipline, we may continue to accept the offering; and when this ceases to be the case, it is not probable that our self-denial will be put to the proof. On the other hand, all that the Dissenters have to look to, is the character of those who demand the money from them, who are the civil governors of the country, who, according to God's Word, which the Dissenters profess to receive equally with ourselves, have authority to take custom and tribute.' pp. 7—10.

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This is too amusing to excite any angry feeling; nor is it worth while to bestow a word upon the Writer's blundering assumptions, that might ruffle his serene self-complacency. Dr. Burton meets this 'demand' of the Dissenters in a much more liberal spirit.

'If allusion is intended to the payment of church-rates, I am very much disposed to think that the demand is just. If a person is not a member of the Church of England, I can hardly think it right to make him pay for the repair of the fabric, or for any of the appendages of a worship in which he takes no part. I am aware, that there is a practical difficulty in admitting this doctrine: because, when the churchwarden goes to collect the rate, it holds out a pecuniary inducement to every person to say that he is not a member of the Church of England; and thus not only will many parish churches go without repair, but hundreds and thousands of persons may be tempted to tell a falsehood in a matter of religion: it will in fact be a man's interest (in a worldly sense) to attend no place of public worship.

'I have sometimes thought, that the legislature might reasonably call upon every person in the country, who is now liable to be rated to church and poor, to pay a small annual rate (and it need be but very small) to the maintenance of some place of public worship. It would hardly be intolerant in a Christian legislature to require that every person in the country should declare himself to belong to some form of Christianity. In parishes where there are no Dissenters, the whole of this rate would be expended, as now, for the repair of the parish church, or for uses connected with the ritual of the Church of England. In parishes where there are several sects, the money would be divided in proportion to the relative members belonging to each sect: and it might be made imperative upon each sect, as upon the Church of England, to appoint some responsible officer, who should account publicly for the expenditure of the money. If it should happen, that the Church of England or any of those sects did not want that exact sum in any particular year, I can see no objection to its being put by as a

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fund in case of need: but the rate should be collected every year, and thus no pecuniary inducement given to any person to declare himself a member of the cheapest church. There may be difficulties in the plan, of which I am not aware; and I only put it forward to be considered by others: but at all events the payment of church-rates by Dissenters ought to be abolished. If they feel the payment to be a grievance, it is one.' *Burton*, pp. 25—27.

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The Dissenters, however, must weigh well, Dr. Burton says, what they are doing, in seeking an exemption from church-rates. They must not thenceforward act as churchwardens; they will, moreover, forfeit their pews at church, if they have any; and we do not know what else beside. We think we can answer for them, that they will bear with becoming fortitude all the legitimate consequences. We will say no more, wishing to take our leave of Dr. Burton and the subject in no worse spirit than he has himself displayed in the closing paragraph of his pamphlet, which we must transcribe both in justice to the writer, and because it requires, from us, in conclusion, one word of comment.

'Whether the Church of England is left to legislate for herself, or whether she is still forced to submit to Acts of Parliament, her Ministers have one plain course before them, which is, to watch for the souls of men, as they who must give an account. If their great object is to spread the Kingdom of Christ, they will be as far from gaining that object by intolerance and violence, as by indolence and neglect. They will sometimes meet with Dissenters whose hearts are still untouched by the charity of the Gospel, and whose conversion is not to be effected by human means. But even such cases are not hopeless, if Christians will unite in prayer: and my knowledge of Dissenters leads me to say with confidence, that, for one instance of such deep and bitter hostility, we may meet with hundreds of persons who differ from the Church of England, but who feel towards her no ill-will, and would sincerely lament her destruction. The common object in which we are embarked, can never be injured by our being ready to give the right hand of fellowship to all who differ from us. The great principles of Gospel truth must not be compromised. The doctrines of Justification by Faith, and of Sanctification by the Spirit, must not be explained away, or reduced to a name: but while I think that the Church of England is most likely, by the blessing of God, to plant these doctrines in the hearts of men, I am not insensible that the Master may have admitted other labourers into His vineyard, to stimulate our exertions and reanimate our zeal. Churchmen and Dissenters may soon have to unite against the common enemy. We may soon have to answer the question, Who is on the Lord's side? And if my clerical brethren, who chance to read these pages, should remember any portion of them, I hope it will be the sentence with which I shall conclude; that if we wish our Church to prosper, we must be at peace among ourselves, and in charity with those who are without.'

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We have taken the liberty of omitting the names of two individuals, which are very offensively introduced into this otherwise liberal paragraph. One is that of Mr. Faithful, the other that of Mr. Binney, who seems to be the especial object of Dr. Burton's splenetic aversion. Without descending to the blackguardism of the rabid Curate of Pudsey, who, at the name of 'the person 'Binney,' foams at the mouth, Dr. Burton is thrown by the same name into an agitation in which he loses the temper of a gentleman. We will not defend every sentiment or expression in the publication which has stirred up this bilious wrath. We will not conceal our regret that Mr. Binney should not have done justice to himself, by explaining more fully his meaning, and by guarding against those gross misapprehensions of his sentiments, which have led persons who have not the pleasure of his acquaintance to mistake altogether his spirit and character. We are persuaded that Dr. Burton would, as a Christian and a gentleman, feel ashamed of having so treated a faithful, laborious minister of Christ's Gospel, amiable and exemplary in all the relations of life, and far removed, in his taste and habits, from political contention or polemical strife. To the doctrines and formularies of the Episcopal Church, Mr. Binney is understood to have no peculiar antipathies, but, on the contrary, to dissent from them less decidedly than many of his brethren. And yet, he has recorded his solemn conviction, that the National Establishment, by confounding civil with religious obedience,—by encouraging a reliance for salvation upon a ritual regeneration, a sacerdotal absolution, and a Christian name,—by perpetuating those errors of Romanism so ably and fearlessly exposed by Archbishop Whately as still extant in Protestant creeds,—by obstructing and discountenancing an evangelical ministry, and by investing with the character and authority of public instructors, thousands of erroneous and unconverted ministers,—in short, by the shackles it has imposed upon the faithful ministers of the Church, and the unhappy secular influence with which it has armed the unfaithful,—has contributed more to ruin, than to save the souls of men. This may be a mistaken, an exaggerated estimate of the evils resulting from the system; but, if it be an honest one, and one that assuredly has *some* foundation, why is it to expose the person who gives expression to the opinion, to a torrent of obloquy such as might seem due only to a man who had been guilty of some glaring outrage or monstrous impiety? It is difficult to believe that those parties who now can do no worse than vent their wrath on 'the person Binney,' in words of contempt or bitterness, would not, had they the power of calling in the secular arm to aid the weakness of the spiritual, consign the Minister of the Weigh-house to the stake, the pillory, or the dungeon.

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Art. II. *Europe during the Middle Ages.* Vols. I. and II. pp. 320, 354. London, 1833. [Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia.]

THE present state and prospects of European society can be understood only by one who has studied its incipient elements as developed in the history of the Middle Ages. Amid their darkness was fostered that giant superstition which cast the crowns of the monarchs of Europe at the feet of an Italian priest. The same portion of time witnessed the rise and growth of that political structure on whose ruins are based the several fabrics of European Government; and that historic night was vocal with the lays of those errant minstrels whose harps arrested the spirit of poesy in her flight from the uncongenial atmosphere of the barbaric court, or the cowled consistory. The consequences, too, of the irruption of the Scythic hordes upon the enervated subjects of a decaying empire, present a remarkable chapter in the natural history of man. The politician will draw lessons from the rise or fall of states and powers; the philologist will trace the formation of rude dialects into the polished tongues of modern times; and the philanthropist will rejoice as he watches the withdrawment of the veil of superstitious ignorance that so long overspread the nations of Europe, and the gradual dawning of the light of truth. So many and such different fields of study are afforded by the history of the Middle Ages, that to comprise the whole within the limits of two small volumes, seems a bold, if not a rash attempt. The extent of territory might not be so great an obstacle as would at first appear, since the research would commence by seizing the different points as they emerged from the inundation which had simultaneously overspread the whole. But while this would much simplify the undertaking, yet, when the several heads of religious, literary, and political history came to be divided and dilated on, the attempt would seem formidable indeed.

Formidable, however, as it may be, it is made in the volumes before us; and if the execution is in any respect unsatisfactory, great allowance must be made on account of the magnitude of the undertaking, and the nature and limits of the work. While we are aware that the size of a cabinet history must have fettered the author, we cannot but observe that he has increased his trammels, and contracted his field, by the divisions he has adopted. The space afforded to the different sections of the work, is often by no means commensurate with their relative importance. Thus, while 'Florence, Sienna, &c.' are despatched in less than nine pages, and Venice in thirteen, the Popes, ranked under the head of the 'religious and intellectual state' of Italy, occupy thirty-three; and the state of the Italian church, consisting almost entirely of the exploits of a list of Saints, extends to upwards of fifty. Of the entertaining nature of these miracles, there can be no doubt;

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but, that the biographies of these canonized worthies should be entered into so minutely, while four of the first restorers of European literature are dismissed with a line a piece, is, we submit, just cause for complaint. Half of the second volume, devoted to the religious and intellectual state of France and Germany, is little else than a series of amusing biographies. All this is rather incongruous with the plan of an author who not unfrequently reminds us, that the 'vast range' under consideration 'must be 'passed over with incredible despatch.' To crown all, our attention is directed to the fact, that in this, the fourth part of the whole work, exclusively devoted to the 'religious and intellectual 'state' of the two countries, the author has 'not even incident-'ally treated on the literature of Germany.' And, consequently, the omission is supplied by a 'lay' and a fairy tale extracted from 'Taylor's historic survey of German Poetry.' This is not what we should have expected from a writer of ability, possessing competent knowledge of his subject; and that the present author is such, the work affords ample evidence.

Nor is the corresponding portion of the history better performed, which describes the state of Italy. What can compensate for the Writer's neglect of her 'vernacular authors' who have a European reputation? Dante, for example, of whom M. Sismondi thus speaks:—'No poet had yet arisen, gifted with absolute power over 'the empire of the soul; no philosopher had yet pierced into the 'depths of learning and thought; when Dante, the greatest name 'of Italy, and the father of her poetry, appeared, and demonstrated 'the mightiness of his genius, by availing himself of the rude and 'imperfect materials within his reach, to construct an edifice re-'sembling, in magnificence, that universe whose image it reflects. 'Instead of amatory effusions, addressed to an imaginary beauty; 'instead of madrigals, full of sprightly insipidity, sonnets la-'boured into harmony, and strained or discordant allegories, the 'only models, in any modern language, which presented them-'selves to the notice of Dante; that great genius conceived, in his 'vast imagination, the mysteries of the invisible creation, and un-'veiled them to the eyes of the astonished world.'*

To this regenerator of literature is afforded in the present volumes only the scanty notice:—'the sublime and terrific Dante, 'the greatest poet since the days of Homer!' The Author should have borne in mind that he was not writing for those who can peruse in the original the *Divina Commedia*, and who know that the genius of Dante trod other paths than those of poetry; but for those who would search, and vainly, in his narrative, for an account of that great man on whose death 'all Italy appeared 'to go into mourning.' Who would not value an account of these

* Sismondi's Literature of the South of Europe, Vol. i. p. 366.

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immortal 'vernacular authors,' (for Ariosto, Petrarch, '*and* '*others*,' are as unceremoniously dismissed,) above the prodigies recorded of St. Nilus or St. Peter Damian? Why should St. Catherine of Sienna have two pages and a half devoted to her, while Petrarch is passed over as having 'nothing but his versification to recommend him'? Why, in short, should the 'limits 'and disposition' of the Historian lead him to omit the vernacular literature of Italy and of Germany, while he loads and contaminates his pages with the worthless legends of monkish lore?

But that part of the work before us which lies most open to animadversion, is the fierce attack on the Albigenses. Those early dissidents from the Romish Communion, the Author characterises as 'sectaries who, under the general names of Vaudois and Albi-'genses, differed in some points essentially from each other, and 'had nothing in common beyond contempt for the superstition of 'the dominant church.'

'The former,' he proceeds to say, 'the Vallenses, (corrupted into Vaudois,) were so called from their residence in the mountains of Savoy, probably from time immemorial; the latter took their name from Albi, in the vicinity of which they flourished in most number. Of the Vaudois, with whom we have no present concern, it may be sufficient to say, that their tenets do not appear to have materially varied from those of modern protestants. Not so the Albigenses, who certainly held some at variance with scripture and reason; some, the tendency of which was to subvert the fundamental principles of human society. It may indeed, and with much appearance of reason, be urged in their defence, that the only account we hear of their opinions is furnished by their ruthless enemies. To understand the weight of this objection, let us hear the words of a contemporary, Peter, monk of Vaulx-Cornay; of one who was present among them, and who is the first chronicler that condescends to acquaint us with what we are so much interested in knowing.'

Well as we may understand the weight of the objection, we confess that we cannot understand the logic of the last sentence. To ascertain the degree of credit due to the Monkish writers, we are to appeal to those writers themselves. Ask my brother if I be a thief. Are we to believe the assertions of Petrus Monachus on the authority of the papal bull which asserted that the heretical Albigeois worshipped the evil spirit in the form of a huge toad? 'That the preceding description is in many points inaccurate,' we are told, 'is exceedingly probable, but the basis is too true.' Equivocal admission! Inaccuracy can scarcely be attributed to one who knew as much of the Albigenses as did (we are told) the Monk of Vaulx-Cornay. We must not be guided by referring to the ordinary rules of war, in a case where the assailant of schism is a minister of that church whose maxim it is to hold no faith with heretics. But even were the charges of the Monk indisput-

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able, they would not bear out the assertions of the present Historian. Petrus Monachus intimates that there were several sects of the Albigenses. To how many of these does his description apply? Omitting what is evidently the head and front of the offending of these 'dissidents from the Romish Communion,' their identifying that corrupt church with the scarlet lady of the Revelations, and the setting at nought her sacraments, one might suppose that a covert satire was intended on those orders which were the pillars of the papacy. Is it not strangely inconsistent in a monk, to condemn the *abstinence* of 'the black-garbed prefect'? It strikes us too, that the silly anecdote related at p. 294, of the 'believer,' who received the *viaticum* from an Albigensian *consoler*, but died before he could recite the paternoster, is paralleled by the profane anecdote regarding a drowned monk, which is related at great length, and with no expressions of horror, at pp. 216, 7, 8, of vol. iv. of the History of Spain and Portugal, by the same author; not to mention numerous equally edifying facts in which that work abounds. Absolution was quite as readily accorded by the Romish *confessarius* as by the Albigensic '*consoler*;' while the merits dispensed cost the former nothing, and the shriven penitent was none the worse off for the sin, prior or subsequent, of his ghostly father.

That the Albigenses may not have entirely escaped the corruption of morals and of doctrine that has in almost every age broken out in some form and in some part of the Christian Church, is by no means improbable. The Paulicians had, by the middle of the eleventh century, settled in the north of Italy; many of them had entered France and Germany; and it is very likely that they were the first who were known by the name of Albigenses. But this affords no ground for the summary condemnation of all the heretics who ranked under that name. Mosheim*, who derives the appellation from the circumstance that the heresy was condemned in the council of Albi, says: 'There were several Paulicians 'among the various sects of dissenters from the Church of Rome, 'that inhabited the country about Albi; and it is also true, that 'the title of Albigenses is usually extended to all heretics, of 'whatever sect or denomination they were, who dwelt in those 'parts.'

The same able and impartial historian, after enumerating the chief tenets of the Paulicians, thus sums up:—'When we consi-'der the corrupt state of religion in this century, and particularly 'the superstitious notions that were generally adopted in relation 'to outward ceremonies, the efficacy of penance, and the sanctity 'of churches, relics, and images, it will not appear surprising that 'many persons of good sense and solid piety, running from one

* Ecclesiastical History, Vol. ii. p. 523, note.

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'extreme to another, fell into the opinions of these Mystics, in 'which, among several absurdities, there were many things plau- 'sible and specious, and some highly rational.'*

It would thus appear, not only that the Paulician heresy itself was by no means the system of impiety and immorality described by the Monk of Vaulx-Cornay, with whom, in the main, the present Historian appears to agree; but that the charge against the Albigenses in general, of entertaining Manichæan doctrines, is by no means warranted by fact. How far then, let our readers judge, is the Writer of the history before us justified in indulging in such a tirade as the following?

'Such were the Albigenses. That they were not Christians, that they were worse than Mohammedans, that they rejected not only what is common to Roman Catholics and Protestants, but even what the Arabian impostor himself sanctioned,' (what?) 'must be evident to every man who is diligent enough to seek for truth, and honest enough to confess it. * * * * * Let us not forget, that if they assailed the superstitions, they also rejected the essentials of Christianity,—every thing which, if we believe in the scriptures, we *must* consider holy; that they were blasphemers, perhaps even idolaters. Whether their morals were as low as their doctrines were abominable, we do not wish to decide; but we may observe that morality could scarcely exist with such opinions. However this be, one thing is unquestionable; that it was the duty of the civil powers to put them down, not by fire and sword, but by persuasion—by the arguments of the clergy; and if those failed, they might have been banished into some Mohammedan country. * * * * * It is lamentable to see with what pertinacity even men from whom greater sobriety of judgment might be expected,—a Sharon Turner or a Gilly, incline to a sect which has no claim on our favour beyond that of pity. That the church of England should contain within her bosom so many admirers of fanatics who denounced not only the hierarchy, but the sacraments and institution of priests; that any Christians should advocate the cause of men hostile to Christianity itself, may, (might?) indeed, surprise us, if we did not know that it is easier to utter preconceived opinions than to wade through hundreds of ponderous folios. * * * * * He who sincerely endeavours to dissipate, however vainly, long continued error, has some claim to indulgence, even when he forsakes, for a moment, his proper path of investigation." Vol. i. pp. 300, 1.

By no means. The opinions of an author lose all value the moment they cease to be supported by calm and dispassionate investigation. The doctrine of religious persecution is distinctly countenanced in this passage, which plainly indicates to what ecclesiastical school the Writer belongs.

It is with pleasure we turn from the fiery polemics and monastic legends which occupy the religious and intellectual departments

* Mosheim, Eccl. Hist. Vol. ii. pp. 527, 8.

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of the narrative before us, to those parts of the work which are devoted to the civil and political history of Europe during the Middle Ages. In these, the Author displays both skill and research, and has given us the result of fair investigation. Hallam has, perhaps, been drawn upon somewhat more largely than is distinctly acknowledged; but there is no deficiency of original manipulation.

One of the chief objects of interest in that part of European history which is comprised within the limits of the middle ages, is the cause of the different proportions in which political power was shared between king and nobles, in France and Germany. Reared by the same great hand into one empire, these two countries had no sooner fallen to other rulers, than the causes began to operate, which rendered the German dependent on his peers for his elevation to the throne of the Cæsars, and enabled the *Dei gratiâ* monarch of France to dispense with any such assistance in regulating the affairs of his kingdom. In the latter country, the name of royalty was nearly all that remained to be usurped by Hugh Capet. The sceptre of Charlemagne had dwindled to a shadow. The frequent partition of the royal power and domain, the imbecility and debauchery of the greater number of the kings of the Carlovingian and Merovingian dynasties, had made the way easy for the encroachments of the vassals. A few great nobles, among whom the Sire de Couci displayed on his banners the proud disclaimer of royalty *, had parted out the kingdom between them. This high noblesse looked on with more indifference than indignation, when the Count of Paris united the crown to his hereditary fiefs, rather than the fiefs to the crown. Nominal recognition was the utmost accorded to the first of that line of kings who occupied the throne of France till shaken from it by the revolution; and, in the south of France, even nominal recognition was denied. There, the style of charters ran, instead of in the king's name, *Deo regnante, rege expectante*, or, *absente rege terrena* †. The throne gained little accession of power until the time of Philip Augustus. His politic and wary intellect seized on a happy conjuncture of circumstances, and the result was the commencement of the ascendancy of the crown over the aristocracy. The very contest which gave to England Magna Charta, helped to raise the throne of Louis XIV. Far-fetched or paradoxical as this may seem, it is nevertheless fact. The struggles between John and his barons, made Normandy an easy prey to the French king. The example thus made of a royal vassal, not less than the actual importance of the forfeiture of this ducal fief, strengthened, in no ordinary degree,

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* '*Je ne suis roi, ni prince aussi.*
Je suis le Sire de Couci.'

† Vaissette, quoted by Hallam.

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the hands of Philip, and laid the foundations for that continued aggrandisement of the crown, which, at last, degraded the nobles into the mere intriguers of the palace. The royal power, thus raised from the dust, scarcely paused in its career, till a date beyond the termination of the middle ages beheld it reach its zenith, decline, and fall.

The Germans commenced their separate history by the deposition of their 'royal log', Charles the Fat, in 887, and the election, in his room, of Arnulf, Duke of Carinthia, a natural shoot from the Carlovingian stock. On his election, the Author observes,

'the great feudatories of the empire were, the Dukes of Saxony, Thuringia, Lorraine, Swabia, and Bavaria, besides numerous counts and lords of the marches. Dependent on it, also, were not only the Kings of Burgundy and Provence, but even that of Moravia, a prince who, like his subjects, was of Slavonic descent and language. Hence the empire was almost as extensive in the ninth century as at any subsequent period. If the eastern frontier, Moravia and Silesia, were occupied by a different people, and if several tribes were virtually independent, its extension into France must be admitted nearly to counterbalance that disadvantage. Of those tribes, by far the most formidable was that of the Obotrites, who inhabited Mecklenburg, and against whom Arnulf had little success. To secure the friendship of Zwentibold, King of Moravia, Arnulf gave him the ducal fief of Bohemia, which was also inhabited by Slaves; but this policy had an effect opposite to that which he intended. Zwentibold, thus strengthened, revolted. In revenge, Arnulf had recourse to an expedient still more censurable,—that of allying himself with the Huns, whom he drew into Germany, and with whom he marched against the Slaves. If he triumphed over the enemy, he had the mortification to see a great part of Moravia joined to a part of Dacian Thrace, and made to form the new kingdom of Hungary. This savage and warlike people were much more to be dreaded than the Slaves, whose power had been thus injudiciously weakened. But if Arnulf was thus unfortunate in his policy, his reign was not without glory: he was the first Christian prince that triumphed over the Scandinavian pirates; a people who, under the denomination of Northmen, or Normans, were laying waste the maritime regions of western Europe, and the interior of France. Like his Carlovingian predecessors, he received the imperial crown from the hands of the Pope: but his connexion with Italy was unfortunate; for, though he was acknowledged by a portion of Lombardy, he lost both blood and treasure in acquiring a vain honour.'

Vol. II. pp. 92, 3.

This sketch of Germany at the election of Arnulf, exhibits powers vested in the Emperor that he was not long suffered to wield. At this time, and during the ascendancy of the House of Saxony, the right of lineal succession appears to have been recognized; and, though a formal sanction seems to have been judged necessary, the crown was, where circumstances allowed

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it, as strictly hereditary as that of France or England. The coronation of our kings, and the election of a Germanic emperor, have their origin in the same principle of recognition by the States. The power, moreover, displayed by Arnulf in his disposition of fiefs, was very much greater in degree than that enjoyed by subsequent monarchs. How soon the imperial prerogative was curtailed, we learn from our Author.

'Before the close of the eleventh century, we read that the emperor could no longer confer a ducal fief, or elevate a count to the dignity of prince, without the sanction of a diet. Without the same consent, he could not pardon condemned nobles, nor enjoy their confiscated property, nor alienate any portion of the imperial domains. His judicial authority was no less circumscribed, since the ecclesiastical dignitaries exercised the high and low jurisdiction with the same plenitude of power as the secular feudatories. But we find that, if his power was decreased, his title gained in dignity. Previously to his recognition by the pope, he did not assume the imperial title: on his election, he was styled *king of the Franks*, sometimes *king of the Lombards*, often *king* only. Henry II. appears to have been the first to assume the more magnificent style of *king of the Romans*: this, added to the still more splendid appellation of the *holy Roman empire*, shews the anxiety with which the emperors wished to be regarded as the successors of Augustus. Three royal vassals, the kings of Denmark, Poland, and Bohemia, might well nourish their pride: if one of these happened to be present, he bore before the sovereign the imperial sword of Charlemagne, with which every royal investiture was made.'

Vol. II. p. 105.

We are inclined to agree with our Author, in attributing the continued diminution of the power of the Germanic sceptre to 'the concessions of the emperors themselves, who, when anti-'Cæsars were in the field, (and this, during the latter part of the 'twelfth, and the beginning of the thirteenth centuries, was gene-'rally the case,) never hesitated to concede what was demanded 'of them.'

In attempting to account for the advance or retrogression of the royal power, we must bear in mind, that the king and the noble are, in this early state of society, alone to be regarded. The people were not to be thought of. The serfs or *ingenui* of the feudal ages could never interfere in the quarrels of their lords, either with each other or with the paramount. Obedience was the duty of the vassal; and it appears to have been a point contested by the sovereign, that his person should be sacred from the attacks of his feudatories. At the time of the height of the feudal system in France, this point was not ceded. A law of Frederic Barbarossa, and the custom of some parts, declared that to follow the immediate lord in war against the king, was not part of the allegiance due from a vassal.

But there is, perhaps, hardly enough light thrown upon the subject, to allow the comparison between the two branches of the

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empire of Charlemagne to be pursued as it deserves. To endeavour to trace from the eighth and ninth centuries the evanescent empire of Napoleon, and the yet existing one of Francis, might be thought too bold, or too fanciful.

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The extracts we have given, we consider as a fair sample of the style and character of the work. It is not free from faults and inaccuracies of expression, but they appear in some degree the consequence of haste. In taking leave of our Author, and recommending his volumes, we must advise him, when he again ventures into the field of history, to take more time, and put less faith in his monkish authorities. It is but justice to him to say, that the original portions of his work are those to which most frequent reference will be made, while the adventures of the saints will serve only to amuse an idle hour.

Art. III. *Narrative of a Tour in North America;* comprising Mexico, the Mines of Real del Monte, the United States, and the British Colonies: with an Excursion to the Island of Cuba. In a Series of Letters, written in the Years 1831-2. By Henry Tudor, Esq., Barrister at Law. In Two Volumes, small 8vo. Price 1*l.* 1*s.* London. 1834.

MR. TUDOR tells us, that he undertook the voyage across the Atlantic 'for the purpose of re-establishing a state of 'health somewhat impaired, as also of visiting the only quarter 'of the globe which he had not seen.' In former times, a man who had seen the four quarters of the globe, would have been deemed a traveller of no ordinary enterprise; but, thanks to steam and other modern discoveries, it is now a mere excursion of pleasure, to make the tour of the Mediterranean, or to perform the over-land trip from our Eastern possessions, taking Egypt and Greece in the way home. It is difficult for an Englishman to strike out any route, indeed, in which he shall not find himself forestalled or overtaken by his countrymen. The Alps are overrun by English tourists; and those who wish to be exclusive, must betake themselves to the Himalaya. Every body goes up the Nile: in order to make discoveries, an adventurer must take Ethiopia in the rear, and make for the Mountains of the Moon; or ascend the Shary, and try to reach Lake Fittre. A fortunate person is Lieutenant Barnes, who has been the first to explore the valley of the Oxus. China, before long, will open practicable routes to enterprise; and then, our travellers will be ready to wish, with Alexander, for another world to conquer.

A tour in North America cannot promise much novelty. Judging, indeed, from the reports of our travellers, North America, as a country, presents little that is worth visiting or describing; for their narratives are almost uniformly filled with statistics,

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political discussions, anecdotes of men and manners, comparisons between the old and the new country, advice to emigrants, &c., &c. :—all very good in their way, but not the picturesque and agreeable sort of information which we look for in travels. We should exceedingly like to see a volume of travels in the United States, in which there should be neither praise nor blame of the Americans and their institutions; nothing about Auburn Prison, or the Erie Canal, or the Capitol, or New Lebanon—nothing about camp-meetings, or even slavery; but simply an account of what there is to be seen in the works of the Creator, in the phenomena of the material universe. Surely there must be something worth crossing the Atlantic to visit, besides Niagara and the Natural Bridge. The Americans themselves, Mr. Tudor agrees with Captain Basil Hall in stating, are by no means such lovers of nature as the English; and it would seem as if most of their visiters catch the mercantile, matter of fact, political spirit of the people.

Mr. Tudor, however, appears to have made, as he says, '*la belle nature* the object of his search'; and he parted company with an amiable family with whom he was pursuing the high route from New York to New Orleans, in order to visit the Weyer's Cave, distant about twenty miles out of the road; his fellow-travellers being content, for the sake of saving two days, to leave all the wonders of Virginia to the admiration of the stranger. We shall reward Mr. Tudor, and gratify our readers, by extracting his description of this magnificent cavern.

'The morning was fine and warm, though now the middle of November. My road lay for seven miles through the depths of an extensive forest, where the majesty of the trees, the ever-changing objects of the continually meandering path, and, in addition, the deep solitude, unbroken by the song of a single bird, or the appearance of a single human being or human habitation, conspired to raise an interesting excitement of mind. Every thing was silent as the grave—a desert wilderness reigned around, with a hushed and mysterious solemnity. And yet the same Spirit, I could not help ejaculating to myself, that "moved on the face of the waters," breathes o'er the pines of this forest, and rustles through its falling leaves—

> '"Since God is ever present, ever felt—
> In the void waste as in the city full—
> And where He vital breathes there must be joy."

'Emerging thence, I came in sight of a long and waving line of the mountain-ridge which I had so lately passed, and that forms such a prominent and untiring object in the landscape. The features of the country were altogether changed from what I had hitherto observed. I was now in what is called the Valley of Virginia, and found the land to be as fertile and well cultivated as it had previously been the reverse. Rich and smiling farms were scattered about on all sides,

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displaying at once the bounty of nature and the diligent care of the provident husbandman. This luxuriant tract continues, with but few intervals of inferior soil, throughout the entire length of the valley, extending a considerable number of miles, as far as the romantic junction of the Shenandoah and Potomac, at Harper's Ferry.

'The Weyer's Cave presents the most extraordinary, splendid, and beautiful subterranean exhibition that is perhaps to be seen in any part of the world. The countless myriads of stalactites and petrifactions, of every size, form, and colour, from the purest white to the darkest green and brightest vermillion, and from the dimensions of an organ to those of an icicle, exceed all that can be imagined. Many of the numberless chambers contained in it, of which one or two appear nearly as spacious as Westminster Hall, are literally hung round with these glittering spars, presenting, in various places, the most picturesque and fanciful drapery of petrified and transparent substances, and reminding me, from their gorgeous appearance, and the situation in which they were beheld, of the magical halls of an Arabian enchanter.

'Having procured a guide, and a nnmber of boys to carry torches, I entered this fairy palace just as the moon was softly brightening over the blue mountains, which might now have well changed their denomination from blue to silver, as the former was absorbed altogether in the flood of radiant light that was poured down upon them. The entrance to this laboratory of Nature, where she works in silence and secrecy, producing the most enchanting forms and devices, lies on the precipitous side of a hill. It is excavated by an unknown and inartificial process into a thousand chambers and galleries, extending to a length of upwards of half a mile, and of very considerable breadth. Indeed, many of its caverns and recesses have never yet been explored; and those which are known require a conducting thread to guide the adventurer, as much as did the celebrated Cretan labyrinth of ancient story.

'The chamber which is first entered is called the "vestibule,"—being bound, as a faithful narrator, to attend to the classical nomenclature of the place,—and whence you proceed, through a rock of petrifaction, to the "Dragon's Room." Here are perceived numberless and varied formations of stalactites, and a huge, outlandish figure of the same material, emblematical of the poetical personage that gives to the apartment its designation. Winding along a narrow gallery, the exploring visitor descends, by a steep ladder at its extremity, into what is denominated "Solomon's Temple," where is beheld a sublime and extraordinary sight, worthy of the illustrious title by which it is named. On one side is exhibited an immense, wave-like incrustation of the most beautifully white and transparent petrifaction, extending from the ceiling to the floor, representing a cascade falling over a precipice, and appearing to have conglaciated in the very act of descent. This is fancifully termed the "Falls of Niagara;" and, associated as it is with the hidden depths of the subterranean world, and lighted up alone by the flickering and lurid glare of torches, impresses the imagination with a sentiment of wonder and superstitious awe. The effect was truly magical and full of interest. Turning to another side

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of this marvellous cavern, is seen "Solomon's Throne," elevated to a height, and thrown into a shape, well becoming the imaginary chair of state of a sovereign prince, and forming one entire mass of glittering crystals. Near to it stands "Solomon's Pillar;" while in an apartment adjoining are beheld ten thousand stalactites suspended from the roof, of various spiral forms, and of a perfectly white colour, called by the anti-poetical name of the "Radish Room."

'Proceeding onward, through a long and winding passage, you ascend, by another ladder, to what has received the name of the "Tambourine, or Drum Room;" decorated with a splendid drapery of crystal workmanship, and semipellucid curtains of different hues, spread over the walls like the embellishments of a lady's drawing-room. These were truly admirable; some of them forming, in the loveliest white spar, the appearance of canopies, and others falling in ample sweep from the ceiling to the floor, and exhibiting as graceful and softly flowing shapes as so many folds of silk. Here are displayed immense sheets of congelations, called the "drums," which, on being struck, emit a sound resembling that of a gong. On leaving these instruments of unearthly melody, threading other galleries, and surmounting "Jacob's Ladder," you pass through the "Senate Chamber," and the "Music Gallery"—each presenting a diversified array of gorgeous gems of superhuman fabric—into "Washington's Hall," the most splendid and extensive chamber of the cave. The dimensions of it are very considerable, being ninety yards in length, twenty wide, and fifty in height. The spars and crystal formations of this room, if so it may be called, are particularly brilliant, the roof being apparently supported by musical columns ranged along its sides, and which, by passing a stick rapidly over their surface, produce a profusion of singular intonations like a ring of bells. "The Father of his Country" is here mounted on a superb pedestal of the same transparent mineral, exceeding in brightness the lustre of Parian marble, and might be supposed a second Rhadamanthus, descended to the shades below, to administer the impartial justice which he taught and executed in the world above. It struck me that these hints of popular feeling, addressed to the memory of the great hero of the Revolution, might act as a gentle reminiscence to the senators of a country that he formed, and over which he presided with such devoted patriotism, that the vote which was passed in congress two years ago, to raise a monument at Washington in honour of its first and most illustrious president, remains to this day a dead letter on the journals of their proceedings.'

'Out of respect to the late President's wife, I must not omit to mention what is called "*Lady* Washington's Drawing-room," in which is displayed a variety of the most fantastical and beautiful drapery, of a bright green colour, edged with white, and hanging in the form of curtains. At a short distance from this, with very appropriate coincidence, lies the "Diamond Room," well deserving its title from the extreme brilliancy of its spars, and their close resemblance to those costly ornaments. Continuing my researches, I now passed successively the "Pyramids," "Pompey's Pillar," and the "Falls of the Ganges;" and came, at length, to one of the most gorgeous specimens

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of petrifaction in the whole cave, standing in "Jefferson's Hall." It is formed of a massive body of spar that would probably weigh many hundred tons, and is decorated with the most graceful and regular flutings, covering its entire surface. This is denominated the "Tower of Babell," and is, without the slightest exaggeration, a truly magnificent piece of natural crystal workmanship.

'Passing a very fine incrustation of a silvery brightness, resembling the new moon,—being elevated towards the ceiling, and producing an optical delusion highly interesting,—I now scaled the rugged and slippery rocks of the "Giant's Causeway." The object that I proposed to myself, as the reward of my toil, was to see the "Statue of Buonaparte," beheld by very few in consequence of its difficult access. This circumstance has operated greatly in its favour, since, by being seldom touched, or tarnished by the smoke of torches, it preserves all its original splendour of colour, and presents a snowy whiteness and brilliancy of spar exceeding all the rest. In this respect, it was a matchless specimen of the purest and most beautiful crystallisation.

'But it is high time to pause in my description, though I have not given you more than a tithe of the wonders of this gorgeous cave, and which infinitely surpasses every thing of a similar nature that I have ever seen elsewhere. In point of interest, though not similarity, it forcibly recalls to my remembrance the superb caves of Ellora, on the plains of Hindostan, in which India's ten thousand gods are enshrined in colossal stature. You may imagine the absorbing delight that I took in this subterranean research when I inform you, that I remained gazing and exploring for five hours, to the no small surprise of my guide, who told me that few remained so long or penetrated so far. I entered the cave about seven in the evening, after riding twenty miles, just as the lovely moon was throwing her "silver mantle" over the sombre screen of the blue mountains; and when I came out, her glittering orb had passed the zenith and was fast declining to the western hills. The only apprehension I entertained, during my visit to these darksome regions, was the fear of our lights going out; a circumstance that was nearly occurring two or three times, when it would have been, I think, physically impossible to have extricated ourselves from the endless galleries, traversing each other, in which we were involved —more intricate, I should imagine, than even the celebrated labyrinth of Dædalus.' Vol. I. pp. 457—465.

The Natural Bridge has been often described; but we must insert the Author's account of a singular phenomenon in the heart of the Alleghanies, and of the magnificent scenery with which this part of the 'backbone of the United States' abounds; the only drawbacks upon which are, the villanous roads, and the Kentuckian bipeds, in comparison with whom, Mr. Tudor says, 'a wild Indian, a good, honest Hottentot, or a plumed savage of 'Otaheite, would be gentlemanly society.'

'The "*beau morceau*" of this romantic mountain-chain was, the White Cliffs on the River Kenhawa, that flows, for a number of

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miles, through a profound and most picturesque ravine, bounded by tremendous precipices, and beautifully wooded banks, till it reaches the Falls to which it gives name. Hence it is precipitated over a foaming cataract, and, winding along, is lost amid the defiles of the mountains. This is, perhaps, the most imposing landscape of the whole of the kingdom-like state of Virginia. Here, as throughout these Alpine regions, all was wildness—woody wilderness—sterility—and silence, broken, alone, at the latter place, by the noise of the rushing waters.

'Having passed a number of salt-manufactories, established on the Kenhawa, we arrived at what is called the "Burning Spring," the surface of which, several yards in diameter, was agitated by a continual bubbling, occasioned by unremitting exhalations of gas. Alighting from our vehicle, we beheld the singular effect of its inflammatory nature. A cottage girl, living close by, having brought a piece of lighted paper, applied it to the surface of the water, which put it, instantaneously, into a state of ignition. The flaming gas spread in every direction, like burning brandy, and presented the extraordinary appearance of the water itself being on fire. The exhibition was highly curious and interesting; for though I had seen in Italy burning spires of the same subtle element, issuing from crevices in the earth, yet I had never before witnessed the effect of its illuminating qualities produced through an aqueous medium.

'Our route, for the last twenty-eight miles, lay principally through the depths of extensive forests, crowded with a gigantic growth of trees, of enormous size and girth, that had withstood the shock of a thousand wintry storms, and appeared to defy the power of the uplifted axe to dissever their mighty stems. Our road, if so it could be called, was a continual meander through the accidental interstices of this woody labyrinth. At one time we were jolting over huge roots of trees that threw their fantastic ramifications across our path—and, at another, wading a river, on which it was almost doubtful whether the coach was floating or still rolling onward. At last, after a hundred hair-breadth escapes from being overturned, we reached the lovely banks of the Ohio; having been two long weary days and a half in passing over 160 miles of ground, of the very worst description, in many parts, that was ever trodden by horse or man. I need hardly inform you with what delight I hailed the termination of my journey, and my deliverance from the human Pandemonium of evil and lawless spirits in which I had been "hard bound in misery," if not "in iron." I had now gratified to the full, and for ever, my unlucky desire of seeing a specimen of the "*half-horse and half-alligator;*" and felt quite satisfied that the *original* animal would have proved a much more bearable companion than the copy I had just seen."

Vol. II. pp. 19—21.

Let no man say, however, that he has seen the worst of human nature. Kentuckian manners cannot, perhaps, be exceeded in gross vulgarity; but our Traveller had to learn from painful experience, that there are social evils worse than the *ne plus ultra* of gross manners. From New Orleans, he proceeded to Havanah,

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where a residence of upwards of a month convinced him of the utterly demoralized state of the laws and institutions of that colony.

'You will think it incredible, when I tell you, that the very forms of justice—so called by a misnomer—actually encourage, instead of checking, the commission of crime, by offering impunity to offenders, to the precise extent in which witnesses are deterred from coming forward to give evidence against them. Can you conceive any thing so destructive of justice, and so confounding of the distinctions of right and wrong, as that the *witness* and the *felon*, the *violator* of the laws and the *supporter* of them, should be *both* sent to the *same common prison, to await there the day of trial, as if both were equally guilty?* And yet, I have been repeatedly assured by the most creditable persons—merchants and others—that such is positively the fact. What is the motive for this extraordinary practice I could never learn; but the consequence is but too obvious and alarming; namely, that no one, with the tender mercies of a jail before his eyes, will acknowledge that he knows any thing whatever of an offence committed, though it took place before his very face. The hair-dresser who performed his office upon me the second or third day after my arrival, (modestly charging me a dollar, or four shillings and sixpence, for his condescension,) frankly confessed to me, that if, on leaving his house, he should see me on the point of being robbed or *murdered*, on the very threshold, he should *instantly close the door, and leave me to my fate;* in order to prevent the certainty of his being *imprisoned*, as a *future witness* against the robber or assassin who was taking my purse or my life. A similar unhappy and desolating policy prevails throughout—at home or abroad. Should the case occur while passing along the streets, the startled eye-witness of a deed of blood, instead of rushing to the assistance of the wretched victim, with the feelings of humanity common to the savage as to the civilised man, would turn aside his view, and hurry along, for the purpose of escaping that incarceration which would be the penalty of his kindness.

'Turning our consideration from the corporal penalty to the pecuniary one, in the case of a prosecution for robbery, or otherwise, the same corrupt and outrageous system prevails, and compels the sufferer, though fully acquainted with the offenders, and possessed of overwhelming evidence for their conviction, to forego what in other countries would prove a remedy, but in this would only occasion an additional misfortune. To give you a single instance: it was declared to me, by a respectable gentleman, that a merchant of the city had, on one occasion, his "store" or warehouse broken open in the night, and various articles of merchandize stolen from it, to the amount of two thousand dollars. The fact coming to the knowledge of the police, the property was traced, and the thieves apprehended. The officers came to his warehouse, bringing with them a portion of the goods they had seized, and which the owner immediately recognized as his own, but as positively denied that they belonged to him. The policemen asserted his ignorance to be impossible, as the robbers had confessed that they had taken the articles from his premises. The merchant, however, stoutly persisted in his denial of the stolen property, and de-

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sired them to take it away, and dispose of it as they chose, inasmuch as it formed no part of what he had lost; and thus terminated the affair. The wily, but sensible tradesman knew full well that, though large the amount which he was doomed to suffer, the *first* loss was the *least*—much less than what the harpy hand of the law would have imposed upon him—being aware that, in prosecuting for the recovery of his two thousand dollars' worth of merchandise, he might have expended in addition *two thousand more*. Thus much for the law of Havana!

'In civil, as in criminal suits, the same principle—or, I should rather have said, the want of it—leads to similar results. The bringing of an action frequently entails ruin; inevitably, I understand, where the resources are small, and but too frequently where they are considerable. The length of the cause is made to depend on that of the purse; for when the one becomes *empty*, the other is speedily *terminated*. The consequence, therefore, is, that to avoid the necessity and danger of bringing an action, and for the sake of preserving his purse from the gripe of the law, the merchant gives no credit beyond three or four days, or a week. A general distrust pervades the various orders of society. *Not a single banker* is to be found throughout the whole of this highly commercial city; into the harbour of which enter, annually, between one and two thousand trading vessels, and where exists a population, including the suburbs and transient residents, of nearly 150,000 inhabitants. How the immense traffic is conducted, which is evidently carried on at Havana, is best understood by those concerned in it. Every merchant is, of course, obliged to be his own banker; and, at a considerable risk, and with much anxiety, to keep in his counting-house a larger or smaller amount of cash, in proportion to the extent of his dealings. It appears to me, that the yellow fever, bad as it is, may be considered less prejudicial to the interests of the town than the weakness and imbecility of those who sanction or permit the continuance of a system so utterly subversive of law, morality, and religion.'

'That I had remained sufficiently long in Havana, you will readily admit, when I assure you, that, three or four nights prior to my departure, *fourteen assassinations* were committed in various parts of the city; one of the murdered persons, a Frenchman, being the friend of a gentleman living in the same lodging-house with me at the time it occurred. Though most of these miserable victims were, I believe, Spaniards, and natives of the island, yet one of my own countrymen, Mr. John Davidson, of London, had a narrow escape with his life, in consequence of neglecting the wholesome advice of the Spanish consul at New Orleans—not to walk in the streets after dark. It appears that my compatriot, with whom I have the pleasure of being acquainted, was amusing himself, while sauntering along the streets in the dark, by smoking a cigar, when he was abruptly accosted by a Spaniard, of athletic and suspicious appearance, with a request to lend him his cigar with which to light his own. During the operation, which was unusually long, the stranger produced as vivid a glow as he possibly could, while, at the same time, his eyes were directed with a scrutinising glance on the features of his supposed victim. When he

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had thus made his observation he returned the cigar, accompanied by this rather startling remark—" You may now pass on, sir—*your cigar has saved your life—you are not the person I am looking for!*" It is needless to say that the shuddering traveller did pass on, and rather more quickly than he had advanced; and was happy to find himself once more in safety, within his apartments at the hotel, where he could enjoy his amusement without the disagreeable addition of having six inches of cold steel plunged in his bosom.'

Vol. II. pp. 107—11; 146, 7.

From Cuba, our Traveller proceeded to Vera Cruz, at that time the head-quarters of General Sant' Anna; and thence, not without hazard, ascended to the table-land of Mexico. Nothing can more strikingly indicate the moral state of the country, than the fact, that for seventy miles, between Vera Cruz and Xalapa, on the high road from the principal port to the capital, not a field in a state of cultivation is to be seen! The state of the laws and of society in Mexico, is not much better than at Havana itself; and the curiosity of our Traveller was somewhat dearly paid for, by an inconvenient detention, from which he with difficulty obtained his release. We must pass over his description of the Mexican capital, to make room for his account of the pyramids of Teotihuacan, nine leagues from the city. They disappointed him.

'Expecting to find something of resemblance of those I had seen in Egypt, I was so far deceived, in this respect, that it required a particular position whence to behold them, united with some little *faith*, in order to discover the pyramidal form at all. They bear not the slightest similarity to those of Africa; and though declared to be artificially formed by the Aztecs, whereon to erect their altars and perform their religious services, yet the immense bulk of the hills, as such in fact they appeared to be, as well as the aspect of them altogether, seemed to destroy the belief that they were of human formation. It is true, that on many parts of the ascent masses of stone and other materials, strongly cemented together, announce the devices and workmanship of man; but on penetrating this exterior coating nothing further was perceptible than a natural structure of earth, similar to that of hills in general, plentifully scattered over with loose stones. The idea that struck most of the party, and was afterwards confirmed by an American engineer, who had made extensive experiments in excavation on each of them, was, that advantage had been taken by the original natives of naturally formed eminences, ready prepared for their fanatical purposes, which they had cut into a square shape, and had faced in part, or perhaps wholly, with a covering of stone-work. On this point Baron Humboldt expresses a doubt as to whether they were entirely constructed by the hand of man, or whether the Toultecs took advantage of some natural elevation, which they covered over with stone and lime.

'That these mounds, or *soi-disant* pyramids, were appropriated to the ceremonies of religion, and to superstitious worship by the Aztecs,

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there can be no doubt, from historical details which have been given of them, as well as from the ruins of what may be considered temples existing on their summits. The largest of them, called Tonatiuh Ytzaqual, signifying, in the Indian language, the " House of the Sun," was consecrated to the honour and worship of that luminary; having a base, according to Dr. Oteyza, a Mexican gentleman who measured it, of 682 feet, and a height of 180; though certainly appearing at least double the altitude of his statement. The other, which is much smaller, is named Metzli Ytzaqual, or " House of the Moon," and rises to a perpendicular height of only 137 feet. In passing, as well as in ascending them, with the exception of the partial stone-work alluded to, you would suppose them to be what I believe they actually are—common natural hills, on which have been raised artificial structures of paved terraces, staircases, temples, and altars. To these has been given a square form, dignified by the name of pyramid, and which can only be distinguished from certain points of the compass. The two principal pyramids are surrounded by a number of smaller ones, dedicated, according to tradition, to the worship of the stars, but which are supposed to have served as tombs for the dead; the entire plan having been designated, in the Aztec language, by the name of Micaotl, or " road of the dead."

' The prospect from each is, however, truly beautiful and magnificent, and whence are beheld the extensive plains of Ottumba, to which, as previously mentioned, Cortez retreated after the memorable *noche triste*; and where, surrounded by a host of exasperated enemies, he fought the desperate battle that at length terminated in his favour, by his boldly seizing in person and carrying off the royal standard. The country presented a most interesting landscape of haciendas, churches, cultivated fields, and a richer embellishment of trees than I had witnessed in any other portion of the valley; while the towering giants of the Andes, girding the plains in circular phalanx, seemed like so many protecting genii of its security and peace. During our ascent and descent of these pyramidal hills, we were encompassed by a crowd of Indians, offering for purchase numbers of grotesque idols, which they had dug out of the smaller mounds.' Vol. II. pp. 277–80.

How Mr. Tudor found his way back to the coast, and effected his escape; and how he reached New Orleans, and thence steamed it up the Mississippi and the ' pure and crystal course of the lovely Ohio', to Cincinnati, where Mrs. Trollope set up a bazaar, which failed, and put her out of temper with the Americans; and how he proceeded thence to Washington, and heard some of the orators of Congress declaim on the Tariff question; and then, returning to New York, made an excursion to Massachusetts, and finally left New York for England;—the reader will learn from Mr. Tudor's agreeable volumes, of which he has sufficient specimens to induce him, probably, to wish to see more. We cannot, however, resist the temptation to transcribe the portrait of President Jackson.

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'We were still more surprised with the appearance of our illustrious host on entering the apartment. The general rose very graciously from between his two friends to receive us, with *a little tobacco-pipe stuck in his mouth*, about four inches in length, which, with all the unaffected simplicity of a second Cincinnatus, he was smoking, in order, perchance, to drive away the cares of state, or at least to lighten their weight. Though perfectly aware of the unostentatious character of republican manners, we were somewhat staggered at the sight of so truly humble and unpretending an instrument between the lips of the political head of the confederation. Had it been an Indian hookah, a Turkish or German pipe, or a roll of pure Havana in the shape of a cigar, our surprise would have been perhaps but slightly called forth, knowing the tobacco-loving propensities of the worthy citizens in general; but its quality and remarkable shortness, united with the person, place, and dignity, excited considerably our admiration. The pipe was, however, instantly removed, and placed on the mantel-piece to fume itself out at leisure, while we were politely invited to be seated.

'There is something imposing in the figure and aspect of the president, who is of lofty stature, and exhibits a form attenuated to an extreme degree of thinness. His visage is long, covered with wrinkles, expressing a gravity and sedateness almost approaching to melancholy, and bearing the strongest marks of hard service and wasting care to which the vicissitudes of his active life have exposed him. In point of personal demeanour, his address is courteous and dignified; and I could not but feel a sincere respect for this veteran champion of his country's rights and independence, who had equally signalised his bravery and martial skill on various occasions requiring the greatest presence of mind, unflinching fortitude, military tact, promptness to plan, and daring resolution to execute.' Vol. II. pp. 468—470.

The popularity of this personage is, after all, to us a little inexplicable. He is the creature of party, of a party that wanted a daring, pertinaciously resolute leader; but he owes his elevation and success to circumstances, more, we apprehend, than to his personal qualifications.

Art. IV. 1. *Christ Crucified.* An Epic Poem, in Twelve Books. By William Ellis Wall, M.A. of Trinity College, Oxford. 8vo., pp. xvi. 515. Oxford, 1833.

Messiah's Kingdom. A Poem, in Twelve Books. By Agnes Bul-er. 12mo., pp. 486. London, 1833.

ve taken up these volumes with the inten- rselves to give judgement upon their rage has failed us at the sight of the which opened before us. Twelve

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Books! To think of a master of arts (the art of poetry does not rank among them) or a female votary of the Nine, setting about an epic poem in twelve books at this time of day! Can it be the successful daring of Robert Pollok that has emboldened the authors of these productions to try their hand and tempt their fate? If so, *we* have perhaps something to answer for. But poetry is not just now in season. These are not the piping times of peace. Polemic warfare is raging; political interests that come home to every man's business and bosom, engross all the attention that can be spared from the immediate concerns of daily life; and it is well if the Bible itself be not pushed aside for the newspaper. Under such circumstances, poetry is apt to seem, to the majority of persons, little better than elaborate trifling. Or, if her 'soul-'subduing voice is heard,' like that of 'gentle Pity,' in the intervals of stormy passion, it must be in familiar and favourite strains, that waken old associations, requiring no mental effort, but soothing the intellectual power with their music.

If any new poetry could hope to please, and to please permanently in the present day, it would certainly be religious poetry; for we are not among the number of those who deem sacred themes unsusceptible of poetic embellishment or of the eloquence of verse. When the poet's lyre is the poet's heart, and a high moral purpose is the inspiring impulse, religious subjects and feelings are above all others the fittest materials for almost every form of poetry—except *epics*. The time for epics is long, long gone by.

It may be so, perhaps we shall be told, with the undiscriminating, vulgarised many; but epic poets, especially those trained in classic bowers, write only for the discerning few. Mr. Wall has evidently aimed at no middle flight, but has aspired to revive a species of composition that we had supposed to have shared the fate of Bucolics and Idylls, Masques and Mysteries. In his preface, he remarks, with reference to the machinery introduced, that 'the spirit of the Epopœia is breathed into it by supernatural 'agents, and our mortal productions are by these means animated 'with Promethean fire.'

'An epic poem without machinery, would be merely a versified history; a frigid body devoid of an inspiring soul; and, like the snow-formed effigy of the false Florimel, or the waxen image of witchcraft, must fade and dissolve, when placed in contrast with the ancient narrative muse, glowing with the full heat and brightness of her divine light. That machinery, therefore, has been adopted, which forms a part of Christian theology, has been consecrated by the successive and uniform usage of the Christian poets, and is in strict conformity with the principles of the Epopœia.'

The 'uniform usage of the Christian poets' resolves itself, we apprehend, into the examples of Tasso, Milton, and Klopstock,

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and their imitators. Referring to the first two, Mr. Wall remarks, that 'the modern supernatural mechanism of the Christian 'epic has been in some measure adumbrated from its Pagan pro-'totype.' This is true; and the impropriety is akin to that which has embodied so much of paganism in the ceremonial and pageantry of the Romish Church, and canonized under other names the demons of the old Pantheon. But the machinery of the Christian epic, Mr. Wall remarks, 'actually forms a very 'considerable and important part of the Scriptures; and it is, 'therefore, to those sacred sources that the obligations of all the 'Christian epic poets are principally due.' He flatters himself, moreover, that he will be found, 'on *Scriptural* authority, to 'have carried this supernatural agency into poetic operation fur-'ther than has hitherto been done,' and 'to have presented it in 'new points of view.' He refers, of course, to the ministration of angelic beings. Now, we must at once say, that no usage, no poetic authority, not even the glorious sin of our own Prometheus, never to be successfully repeated, not even by himself,—can, in our judgement, sanction or warrant the *pagan* use of Christian machinery, or, in other words, the fictitious introduction of supernatural agency as mere machinery. If an epic poem cannot be constructed without this unhallowed blending of truth and falsehood, then a Christian Epic is a contradiction in terms. It would be easy to shew, that Paradise Lost, though not unexceptionable in this respect, is still taken out of any general rule by the predominant character as well as surpassing excellence and sublimity of the poem; and yet, that its machinery is, in many parts, its great flaw. But, passing by this grand exception, we must maintain, that so to confound and mix up the objects of faith with the creations of fancy, is to impair the very foundations of rational belief, and, in the same way as idolatrous representations operate, to substitute the religion of imagination for that principle which alone connects the heart with the things that are unseen and eternal. The distinguishing character of Christian belief is, that it relates to pure truth, and rests upon certain evidence. The belief of classic heathenism was not even professedly founded upon any species of evidence, nor was truth an object even of inquiry. Their poetry and their religion were derived from the same source, and made of the same materials; and they bowed down before the creatures of their own imagination, as they worshipped the more palpable work of their own hands. But imagination is excluded from the religion of faith. To believe with the heart, and to worship with the spirit, are operations of mind not only distinct from that of re-embodying the conceptions derived from sensible things by an effort of imagination, but incompatible with it. The spiritual act cannot be assisted by the fancy; and not only so, it is interrupted and

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precluded by it, so that where superstition, the religion of imagination begins, faith, the religion of the heart terminates.

These remarks are intended to be of general application, but they seemed to be called for by the Author's defence of his machinery, apart from the manner in which he has employed it. Of this, we shall now proceed to give a specimen.

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'Image of God on high! created once
In brightest dignity, and fram'd to shine
Insufferable splendour; now, though fall'n,
Intensely keen, intolerably bright.
At his right hand sate Death, and on his left,
His best belov'd, pale Sin her treach'rous form,
Mincing her gait, uprais'd; whereat all, mov'd
To love and dalliance, sigh'd their am'rous vows.
Light breathing aspiration, as the soft
Whispers of zephyr, heighten'd to a blast
At length; or voice of many waters, heard
Falling down hills, and babbling to the rocks—
'He waved the silence sign! The streams of Hell
Forget to roll; Cocytus instant checks
His lamentations; Phlegethon her flames
Enwraps within her bed; the Stygian waves
Smooth o'er their pitchy face; th' infernal winds
Forget to roar, or blow their blast around,
And softly slow in solemn sighs expire.
Then, hush'd all Hell, her horrid Chief began—
"Angels! immortal denizens of Hell!"'—p. 27.

The imitation is palpable enough: it was perhaps inevitable. In the second book, Satan is represented, agreeably to 'the ma-'chinery' of the book of Job, as presenting himself in heaven on 'the great anniversary' of the first day of creation.

'Now tow'rds the mount of Heav'n, supernal throne,
The holy hill, and tabernacle, he bow'd;
Sorrow himself, where all around was joy!
Here God's immediate presence pours above
A double day; a radiance that outshines
Earth's sun; as he in his meridian blaze
Surpasses Phœbe's light; from sky to sky
Roll nobler orbs, reflective through these climes
His emanative light, essential day:
The radiant Deity himself the Sun
Of this supernal universe of joy!
Here clouds on clouds roll awful, and around
Veil the excess of light; which else intense,
(For light is but the shade of Deity,)
So brilliant and pure, might kindle Heaven
With its own rays, and blind e'en seraphs' eyes.
Behind it, pointed beams, intensely keen,

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Diverging, silver each contiguous cloud;
So bright, that not the eye of seraphim
The splendour can endure, but screen their orbs
With their celestial wings, and friendly mists
Oft interpose. Seven rainbows painted round
The clouds of light; seven mystic cressets burnt,
Blazing like suns at noon, before the throne,
The seven spirits of God. A sea of glass
Like unto crystal, purest stream of life,
Fronting reflects their rays; whose gleaming banks
Shadow'd the tree of life, which bare its fruits,
Twelve species wondrous, monthly; and its leaves
Teem'd with the healing pow'r of life to man.
'At awful distance, round about the throne,
Sate four and twenty elders, rob'd in white
Vestments, resplendent; bleach'd so wondrous fair,
As fuller ne'er could white them; on their heads
Bright crowns of gold they wore: cherubic shapes
Give adoration; and the holy quire
Mystic, unanimous their voices raise,
In never-ending melody, that rest
Nor day nor night; "Hail! holy, holy Lord
"Almighty! past, and present, and to come,
"Worthy all glory, honour, thanks, and power,
"For ever and for ever living life!
"Thou hast created all things; and for thy
"Pleasure, benevolent to created being,
"Thou all things mad'st, Jehovah ever blest!"
Then cast their crowns of gold before the throne,
Submissive kneeling; and with holy lips
Worship th' Eternal Parent of all being.
'Myriads of sainted spirits stood around,
Lower gradation, in the second Heav'n;
With num'rous golden lyres, that aid the hymns
Of the seraphic throng. With horror thrill'd,
Satan approach'd, nor near presum'd t' advene,
For nought could now his fading form endure
Light so intolerable; the gleaming throngs
Backward withdraw, and shun th' approach of ill.
'Now paus'd the golden lyres, and ceas'd the hymns
That ravish'd Heav'n, when from th' excess of light,
The tabernacle of glory, forth proceeds
The voice of God, in gnarring thunders breath'd,
"Satan! whence comest thou? From errand bad
"Doubtless; for ever versant in all ill?"
To whom the Pow'r of Evil thus replied,
Standing abash'd in presence of his God:
"From walking to and fro in Earth I come,
"Observant of thy votaries and mine,
"Reviewing life in all its chequer'd scenes,
"And evil I discern without my care." ' pp. 61—64.

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Here, again, we more than question the legitimacy of this epical license; and we consider its tendency as positively injurious. The use which is made of the hieroglyphic language of the Apocalypse in the above passage, shews, too, the absurdity of attempting to present as pictures, those symbolic representations which, like those of heraldry, or like the figures of arithmetic, are addressed purely to the understanding, and are essentially *unimaginable*. For example, the four living creatures which are referred to under the term 'cherubic shapes,' are clearly symbols of the general church,—mystic insignia as intelligible to the understanding, and as unintelligible to the fancy, as the sphinx, the minotaur, or the hydra of antiquity, or the griffin, the red lion, or the bicipitous eagle of modern heraldry. Now the whole of the scenic and symbolic 'machinery' of the Apocalypse is of this peculiar character. That is to say, taken literally, it is absurd; and it is designed to be thus incapable of a literal meaning. The scenes and objects are such as could not possibly have been described to the imagination, and they are therefore so described as to keep the fancy in abeyance, and to defy the power of conception. Thus it is remarkable that the personal appearance of Christ is described in terms that could not be rendered into the sensible language of picture. Transfer it to the canvas, and every one would perceive, that the robed form with hair white as wool, eyes of fire, feet of brass, a sword proceeding from his mouth, and seven stars in his right hand, was a representation of high significance, but which the imagination could not possibly deal with. To transfer, then, such representations to poetry, and to convert hieroglyphics into machinery, is a palpable blunder, and, considering the sacred nature of the subject, a most unhappy one.

In the tenth book, we are introduced to epical embellishments of a different character, but not more consonant with scriptural truth. The supposed visit of our Lord to the spirits in prison, a notion originating in a misunderstanding of 1 Peter iii. 19, is thus narrated:

> 'Along the verge of Fate's terrific gulf,
> On Hell's dread side, extensive climes expand
> Darksome; where spirits of the Gentiles dwell,
> In prison-house of ignorance and grief!
> Remov'd from vales of punishment, as far
> As northern regions from the southern pole.
> Around the clime circles a triple zone
> Of brass, of iron, and of granite rock;
> In mural pride the barriers of the plains,
> Crown'd with cherubic scintillating fire.
> 'On adamantine posts the valves of steel
> Are hung; and brasen bars and tortur'd iron
> Close the dread gates. So vast their strength and pow'r,
> Not all the force of fire, storms, tempests, winds,

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Nor Heaven's ordnance, if discharg'd from cloud
Electric, could burst ope the solid doors.
The bolts infrangible their station keep,
With instinct fraught; shapes tutelar the gates
Blazon'd; with fierce and writhen brands involv'd
That need not fiery food nor breath of winds
To wake their flame. Fears and vindictive wrath,
And winged blasts, the spacious entrance guard.
'In front a vast portcullis, of the weight
Of worlds, prevents approach or near access
Tow'rds the grim gates: cherubic forms stand by,
The watchful guardians of this prison-house.
Here absence from harsh suff'ring, but no bliss
Is found: here reason, ever-doubting, walks
In darkness, and in shadows of Heav'n's truth!
Here in strict equity (for infinite
Justice must equitably act) the lots
Of purer heathen spirits were dispos'd,
Till the joy'd advent of the Virgin Seed.
Here heathen souls just measure now receiv'd,
To necessary penal pains foredoom'd
Never; but, weigh'd th' allotments of their light,
And how on Earth they liv'd; not yet what faith
Profess'd, when faith was not, and truth unknown
The natural adorers of Heav'n's God,
Prime Cause of Causes, Jove, or Jehovah, call'd!
But mercy shewn and just allowance made
For ignorance not wilful; prais'd th' attempt,
Though misdirected, t' honour Heaven's great Sire.
Here too the savage (who the law ne'er knew
Of God, and could not err against a law
He knew not) found admittance, when his deeds
On Earth conform'd to what to him was law;
The justice and religion which they held,
The gods they worshipp'd, and the rites they paid.
Thus, in these prison regions of the dead,
The pious pagans here an entrance find
To ease comparative; though far remov'd
From bliss of Israel's sons, who kept their law;
Nor ampler fields to range permitted yet.
'Here in superior order'd honours dwelt,
Sages of Greece and Rome, philosophers;
Improvers of life by arts, and countless tribes
Of virtuous legislators; bards divine,
Who taught and sang of virtue to their means
Of knowledge: just as reason's lamp (supplied
Not yet with revelation) shot its beams
Faint through the moral darkness of the world.
Thales, the key-stone of th' Ionic sect,
Who, ere the rule of Christ shone bright in gold,
" To act tow'rds others as ourselves would wish

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"Responsive deeds tow'rds us;" its negative,
Abjuring wrong to others, found and taught,
Five circling centuries ere Christ was born.
And he who near to Christ's morality
Drew, and for virtue's sake the hemlock bowl
Of death drank off, as quaffing endless life,
Wise Socrates! who taught that God was pure,
Omniscient, and from crimes and vices free,
That stain'd the pagan deities; his care
Over created being, pleas'd with good;
That wrong would wrong not justify, and Conscience,
The dæmon of the soul, ill deeds reprove.
And Plato, whose excursive mind divine
Soar'd, ere his death, to distant spheres and climes
Of spirits good and evil, to unfold
Worlds now invisible to human ken.
With those, who rein'd men's lives by useful laws;
Draco severe, whose code was writ in blood;
Rigid Lycurgus, sapient Solon found,
By Lydia's king, wise sceptic of inconstant
Fortune; with judges great and good, who laws
Administer'd with even-handed justice.'

* * * * * * *

'Soon as approach'd Messiah, th' orient rays,
Shot from his form divine, blaz'd through the dark,
T' illumine with its beams of truth the clime:
The mists dissolving fly, and, thinner grown,
Darkness to light refines, soon as it felt
The rays of truth. So from the vexing furnace
The molten silver leaves its dross-dim ore,
And pure emerges from the finer's fire.
'Now to the gates the shadowy squadrons press'd
In thick'ning throngs, a wretched captive crew;
Long patient, long expecting the approach
Of the Redeemer; whose long rumour'd fame
Had with the rays of hope their souls illum'd.
Enraptur'd at the beatific sight,
With suppliant palms they pray'd, and tears of joy.'

* * * * * * *

'So spake the Man Divine with voice of God,
Loud as the thunder and the rushing winds;
Hell felt the word, and, from her death-gorg'd depths,
Bellow'd her wrath, and stirs up all her dead!
Chieftains of Earth and Gentiles' glorious kings!
Innocent babes! Life old and young appears!
The clouds of night melt off, in silver day,
With lightning concussion, and such vollied roar,
That Hades, to her deepest abyss, shook.
Then ev'ry massive bar spontaneous flies
Open; they feel arriv'd the fated hour,

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And straight release the gates! that bright, as th' orb
Solar, th' eclipse slowly passing off his disk,
Unfold, and liberate the sun-clad dead!
'The guiltless shining myriads come forth,
As stars in number, and like brilliancy,
When o'er the wintry sky of night they glow.
Then impious deaths, that die beyond the grave,
And all their cruel ministers, appall'd,
Sudden withdrew, and down to deepest Hell
Rush'd headlong, to pernicious night below.
While loud the grateful throng of glitt'ring saints,
As satellites around their monarch orb,
Circling Messiah, thus his goodness laud.

* * * * * *

Now from the shores of Hell Messiah leads
The souls redeem'd. They, as the silver train
Of Vesper light, accompany their Lord,
And o'er the hideous vacancy they fly.' pp. 416—423.

Our readers will now be able to judge for themselves, both of the merits of those parts of the Author's epic upon which he appears most to plume himself, and of the general structure and execution of his versification. We purposely refrain from verbal criticism, feeling unable to bestow our approbation upon the plan of the poem, and the embellishments grafted upon the evangelical narrative. Even the facts recorded by the evangelists, become strangely betinseled in the poetic commentary. We shall give a single instance.

'Now with harsh agony convuls'd, his lips
Parch'd with the drought of death, he cries, "I thirst!"
Swift at the word obedient they repair
To th' urn that stood contiguous, and replete
With water, and acetous harshest sours.
Plac'd near the cross to quench the cruel thirst
By pain induc'd, and by approaching death:
Some in this acid potion sponges soak
Bibulous; which balanced upon hyssop reed,
And rais'd aloft they to his lips apply.
That hour the sacred oracle fulfill'd
Once sung on th' holy lyre of Jesse's son,
"How they with vinegar Christ's thirst should cool!"'
pp. 384, 5.

This is certainly not easy and harmonious versification, nor is it adapted, we fear, to please in other respects. Mr. Wall's intention appears to have been pious; his talents, though not epical, may enable him to distinguish himself in other fields; and we can assure him that we should have been happy to be

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able to greet this his first performance with the encomiums he has so laboriously endeavoured to deserve.

Miss Bulmer's poem is *not* an epic. Her twelve books consist of an alternation of narrative and didactic, in heroic couplets, with lyrical interludes. The copious argument occupies ten pages, but may be thus summarily analysed. Book I. begins at the beginning—at the creation and the fall, and rapidly traces the history of our race to the call of Abraham and the trial of his faith. The next four books carry on the narrative to the Fall of Babylon. The advent, life, passion, and resurrection of Our Saviour, are the subject of Book VI. The next describes the nature, progress, and results of the Apostolic ministry. Book VIII. is occupied with the fall of Jerusalem and subjects connected with it. Books IX. X. and XI. take a review of Church history. The concluding book is devoted to the prospects of the Church.

The plan of the poem is so inartificial, that nothing more can be necessary than to present to our readers a few specimens of the diversified style, to enable them to judge for themselves of the merits of the execution. The lyrical episodes are, for the most part, somewhat too pindaric for modern taste; they would have pleased better in the days of Cowley. We prefer the simpler flow of such stanzas as the following.

'By the Spirit borne on high,
Brought to Salem's trembling towers,
Prophet, pour the piteous cry.
Lo, the insatiate sword devours!
Lo, the fire of wrath Divine
Kindles Heaven's deserted shrine!

'From the infant's moaning cries,
From the mother's anguish, wild,
O, avert thy weeping eyes!
Judah sinks in dust defiled,
Jacob's star in darkness sets,
God his chosen race forgets.

'Yet amidst this dreary night,
Lo, a fairer vision waits!
Zion's temple rises bright,
Wide expands its spacious gates,
To his consecrated shrine
Mild returns the Guest Divine.

'On the altar's hallow'd pile
Fires, by heaven enkindled, glow;
Gushing springs of life, the while,
From the sanctuary flow;
Higher rise, and broader sweep,
Pour their fulness to the deep.

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'Ocean, through its vast expanse,
Feels the vital influence spread;
Where the swelling floods advance,
Life and health their waters shed;
All within those depths that move
Glad their quickening virtue prove.

'Planted by Jehovah's hand,
Fringing that immortal flood,
Trees their beauteous boughs expand.
Such in Eden, erst there stood,
Guarded by the seraph's sword,
Now, for health, for life restored.

'Now restored to all mankind,
Stranger tribes with Israel come,
Claim the lot by Heaven assign'd,
Seek in Canaan's bounds their home;
Seek the covenant-blessing there,
Seek in Abraham's grace to share.

'Strangers come; those courts Divine
Open for all nations stand;
Offerings at Jehovah's shrine,
Borne from every Gentile land,
Fragrant, as from Israel rise,
Grateful, to the opening skies.

'Prophet! though thy favour'd eyes
Gaze on scenes of distant years,
Dim in vision'd mysteries
Though Messiah's march appears,
Yet his course is onward still,
Grace and nature work his will.

'Borean trumpets hurtling loud,
Lightnings in their fiery flight,
Cherub hosts, or spirits proud,
Mortal or immortal might,
Urge the wheels at his command,
Curb'd, confess his strong right hand.

'Earth, convulsed, in pangs shall reel,
Heaven before his presence flee,
Death the grasp of Vengeance feel,
Hell its Judge in terror see;
Steadfast shall his truth remain,
Changeless his eternal reign.' pp. 127—129.

As a specimen of the narrative portions, we take, almost at random, the account of the Transfiguration.

'His hour, his bitter hour of grief, drew nigh;
His straiten'd soul, in prayerful agony,

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Perceived its dread approach. Full oft he chose
The hours by nature given to soft repose
For solemn vigil on the mountain's height,
Where deep, unbroken Silence, and dim Night,
Witness'd, alone, his fervours. Now, to share
Their Master's glory, and to bend in prayer
With him before the Eternal, he invites
The favour'd three in whom his soul delights.
Pensive, yet pleas'd to share his grace, they climb
Rude Tabor's rocky height, and there, sublime,
Gaze on the ample heavens, whose concave bright
Glows, a pure canopy of circling light.
They gaze, adore; their willing souls would rise,
But sleep steals softly o'er their closing eyes,
Exhausted nature asks the kind release,
And sweet he slumbers on whose soul is peace.
Not so the Master; he, nor sleep, nor rest
Entices; prostrate on the mountain's breast
He lies, in pleading prayer; his soul, intense,
Breathes thoughts unutter'd forth. Omnipotence,
In its eternal altitude, till now,
Such supplication heard not. On his brow
Hangs the cold damp of midnight; and his tears
Mingle with drops wrung out by griefs and fears
From the sad spirit's shrine. O mournful sight!
Ye stars! ye angels! on your thrones of light,
Veil your bright orbs in shade!
Lo, sudden streams,
Of purer lustre than intensest beams
Shot from the central sun, transpierce his frame.
His glistering raiment, his pure eye of flame,
Bespeak his pristine Majesty. Again
He looks triumphant down on grief and pain.

Heaven strengthens for its conflicts, not removes;
The Eternal Father owns the Son he loves:
Celestial visitants descend to cheer,
Yet hold discourse on death and suffering near;
And Moses and Elijah, from the skies,
Anticipate the accomplish'd Sacrifice;
To Him surrender every sacred claim,
Absorb their glories in Messiah's name,
Acknowledge Law and Prophecy complete
In Him their end, their fount of radiance, meet;
The servants to the Son their rule resign,
And, reverent, hail the holier Light Divine.' pp. 197—199.

We take our last specimen from the twelfth book.

'Earth, bound to sense and time, no wreath bestows
On hallow'd enterprise, whose ardour knows

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No conflict but with adverse powers unseen ;
She spurns its toils, accounts its triumphs mean,
And, deep immersed in transitory cares,
No sympathy with man, immortal, shares ;
No lofty scenes attract her downcast eyes,
No thought expands o'er human destinies
Link'd with eternal life, or endless woe.
Soldier of Christ ! her worthless crown forego !
'Tis thine to bear the cross with Him who bled
On its rude height ; who bow'd his suffering head,
A Man of Sacrifice. 'Tis thine to share
The martyr-spirit that transfixed him there ;
Like him thyself for others to forego,
Detach'd from earth, and dead to things below ;
Awake to Heaven's inspiring call alone,
Blind but to splendours from the' Eternal Throne ;
Purged from terrestrial dross, and prompt to rise
In holy converse to the bending skies ;
To catch from seraph-flames the glow of love,
Swift, duteous zeal from angel-powers above ;
Like them employ'd, bless'd minister of grace,
On Mercy's errands to the wandering race.'

* * * * * *

'Soldiers of Christ ! ye holy men of prayer,
Ye men of sacrifice, who noble dare
The dangers of the field ! 'tis yours to see
The present pledge of future victory ;
In barbarous lands the primal spoils to win,
From hell's dread empire, and the hydra sin ;
Sweet sounds of peace through desert lands to spread ;
To show the king of terrors captive led ;
To bear triumphant from the monster's sting,
Myriads of spirits thrall'd. 'Tis yours to bring
The trophied shield, the conquering banner crown'd
With earliest laurels, from the well-fought ground.'

'Won from the wastes of rude barbarian night,
Such scenes of moral beauty bless the sight.
Sin's deadliest haunts the gospel power assails,
And, lo, the talisman of truth prevails !
Detested demons quit their trembling prey ;
In dust defiled deserted idols lay ;
Man, grovelling, brutal, feels a sacred flame
Inspire his kindling spirit ; generous shame
For acts and thoughts of evil leads his soul
To higher purpose, and the just control
Of opening reason ; while the living light,
Direct from heaven pour'd on his wondering sight,
Discovers depths of guilt, and heights of grace,
The destinies of Adam's deathless race ;

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> Transforms the slave of passion, vice, and crime,
> To bear, erect, the godlike port sublime;
> To feel the high prerogative of mind;
> To live a man, a blessing to his kind.' pp. 439—446.

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If this is not poetry of the very highest order, it is poetry that will please, and instruct by pleasing. We like the lyrical parts of the poem, upon the whole, the least; and should moreover have recommended Miss Bulmer to reduce her twelve books to six, by a mental process analogous to that familiar operation which reduces the quantity of a preparation, and at the same time increases its nutritive quality;—every lady will understand our figure. The Author apparently possesses a dangerous facility of composition, which is sometimes a great bar to the attainment of high excellence. Nevertheless, how inferior soever in machinery and all the requisites of the Epopœia, her poem contains so much that is admirable in sentiment, and often happy in expression, so much that will come home to the best class of readers, that we do not scruple to pronounce it worth a score of second-rate Epics.

Art. V. *Public Expenditure apart from Taxation;* or Remarks on the inadequate and excessive Pay of Public Servants. By Daniel Wakefield, Jun., Esq. 8vo. pp. xii. 281. Price 8*s*. London, 1834.

THE professed object of this volume is, to establish and illustrate the very important distinction between economy and retrenchment, and to shew the importance of a *due* proportion between pay and service, as a means to good government. '*Starved* 'service, whether its cost be great or little in proportion to the 'national wealth, is sure to be badly performed'; while extravagant pay furnishes the strongest temptations to incompetent persons to undertake duties which they cannot perform, and to the most competent persons to neglect the duties they have undertaken. Bad law-making is the result of extravagant pay; and the value of the golden mean in public expenditure appears when it is viewed, not as the effect, but the cause of good government. Such are the Author's principles; and in dedicating his book to Joseph Hume, he compliments that 'never failing advocate of 'retrenchment', in language that might be mistaken for irony, upon his enlarged and philosophical views of fiscal questions. Those who accuse the Honourable Member of taking 'a low, 'mean, shopkeeper like, two-pence halfpenny line in politics and 'legislation'—cannot understand that he should 'look upon 'cheapness as a means to goodness in government'. Mr. Wakefield has endeavoured to point out some of the evils resulting

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from too small an expenditure; which, he trusts, will obtain attention from those who, 'irritated by the profusion of our Go-'vernment, think that every saving must needs be good in pro-'portion to its amount'. 'Economy, properly speaking, signifies 'a due expenditure, neither too much nor too little'. Granted; but who shall determine what is too much or too little? After going through all Mr. Wakefield's economical dissertations, his readers will find themselves at a loss, we suspect, not as to the truth of his axioms, which are as true as truisms can be, but as to the main difficulty in all such matters,—the *application* of right principles.

For instance, in illustrating the evil effects of underpaid service, in his first chapter, Mr. Wakefield contends, that the pay of soldiers and sailors is too low. Were their pay sufficiently raised, a different class of men would, he thinks, be attracted to the army, and the ranks would not be filled with the scum of society, as at present. Corporal punishment and impressment might then be dispensed with; and all sorts of improvements would follow. In cases of emergency, almost every private would then be capable of performing the duties of an officer, as in the French army. But what that pay should be, which is to have this wonderful effect, we are not told, nor the principle by which its rate should be regulated. We should have supposed that the first step towards raising the character of the soldiery would be, to promote a better system of national education; for to suppose that *any* pay would tempt a higher class in society to list into the ranks, or to volunteer into the sea service, is quite chimerical. Mr. Wakefield talks of 'the armies of countries superior to us in 'their mode of choosing and managing soldiers'. To what country does he allude? To the Conscription of Napoleon, to the military despotism of Prussia, or to the beautiful management of a Russian army? We take leave to question the correctness of his premises. The British soldier is not more absolutely 'a 'mere machine' than the soldier of other nations.

Another class of underpaid servants is, the inferior clergy. Upon this subject, which is glanced at in the first chapter, and afterwards resumed more in detail, we find a great deal of undeniable truth, mingled with the same sort of sweeping conclusions, often based on mere assumptions, as those we have already adverted to. In comparing the English, Scotch, and Welsh clergy, Mr. Wakefield remarks, that 'the state of Scot-'land, where the clergy are moderately paid, has been pointed 'out with admiration by those *excellent men*', David Hume and Adam Smith; to whose testimony may be added that of Mr. (now Lord) Brougham, whose speech as an advocate, *it is to be hoped*, expressed his then sentiments as a statesman. Here is his

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'testimony', if such the clever and facetious remarks of the learned Counsel may be deemed.

'Strange as it may seem, and to many who hear me, incredible, from one end of the kingdom (Scotland) to the other, a traveller will see no such thing as a bishop—not such a thing is to be found from the Tweed to John-o'-Groat's—not a mitre, no, nor so much as a minor canon, or even a rural dean—and in all the land not a single curate—so entirely rude and barbarous are they in Scotland—in such utter darkness do they sit, that they support no cathedrals, maintain no pluralists, suffer no non-residence; nay, the poor benighted creatures are ignorant even of tithes! Not a sheaf, or a lamb, or a pig, or the value of a plough-penny, do the hopeless mortals render from year's end to year's end! Piteous as their lot is, what renders it infinitely more touching is, to witness the return of good for evil, in the demeanour of this wretched race. Under all this cruel neglect of their spiritual concerns, they are actually the most loyal, contented, moral, and religious people any where, perhaps, to be found in the world.' *

To call this testimony or evidence, is ridiculous; and if it were all admitted, 'it by no means follows,' we are told, 'that the clergy 'ought not to have ample remuneration.' Then what is 'ample remuneration', and what is the principle by which it should be regulated? Scotland, we are told, 'furnishes a bright picture of 'contentment and happiness from not being cursed with the 'abominations of a bloated hierarchy'; but this bright picture is a little too highly coloured. Wales, however, on the other hand, 'shews that parsimony in church affairs is nearly as bad as ex-'travagance.'

'From the poverty of the Welsh curates, this conclusion may also be drawn; that the high pay of the great dignitaries of the church renders them more deaf to the voice of moral equity, and more reckless of public scorn, than men of the same class in England, where the inferior clergy are comparatively better paid. All who have observed must have admired the patience, unwearied industry and strenuous efforts of many Welsh clergymen, with stipends not so large as those of gamekeepers, in striving to perform the duties of their calling. If they do not perform them perfectly, the fault is not theirs. They do not perform them only because they cannot perform them. Whilst the range of their duties is very wide, and their parishioners are very numerous, their pay is only just sufficient to keep body and soul together. Nevertheless they labour, they strive and overwork themselves, whilst the fat and lazy bishop lolls his time away, or the thin and bilious one writes pamphlets, or makes speeches, in defence of every intolerant and uncharitable institution that may be threatened with improvement. Let us compare the position, character, and conduct of well endowed English

* Trial of John Ambrose Williams for a libel on the clergy of Durham, Aug. 16, 1822.

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clergymen generally with that of a Scotch minister or a Welsh curate. An English parson is a person with little more than a show of education; for he who possesses only a smattering of classical knowledge, and a small admixture of mathematics, joined to total ignorance of every thing else, cannot be called well informed. Again, even the little that such a man knows, is rarely or never used for the benefit of his flock. Why should a clergyman exert his abilities, or display his knowledge in the composition of sermons, when they are to be bought at the price of waste paper? The delivery of these sermons is almost the only communication that takes place between an English rector or vicar and his parishioners. Here and there, indeed, a rare man of a different stamp may be found; but, of course, the conduct of the mass, not that of individuals, must be looked at on the present occasion. The reason why the English clergy have little or no communication with their parishioners is plain enough. The non-communication is caused by the absence of sympathy between the parties in question. This cause produces the same effect in other classes of society; for when does intimacy subsist between men of a thousand or fifteen hundred, and those who have only a hundred per annum. Those who employ fashionable tailors, wear scented cambric, and ride on a hunter worth two hundred guineas, never have lived, and never can live, upon sociable, which means, equal terms, with the majority of mankind. If this be true of laymen, what is there in a parson's conduct to make those below him in respect of property, forget the difference between them? Nothing; but on the contrary, as the gorgeous clergyman calls himself the apostle of a self-denying religion, any man with a little common-sense, a brainless clodhopper, is struck with the contrast between precept and practice. Moreover, the practice is daily and hourly observed, whilst the precepts are delivered at intervals, few and far between. Once a week, perhaps, the clergyman delivers *ore rotundo* from the pulpit, a string of nicely balanced sentences on the duties of abstinence, charity, and constant prayer; but, during every day of the week, and during almost every hour of every day, he presents himself a living proof of the neglect of all these duties. The morning ride or drive, with the well-groomed and highly-fed horses, the sumptuous table and peculiar claret, with a little quiet gaming, either at cards or billiards, in the evening, are frequent exhibitions in every parish in England, where there is a rich incumbent. How can poor people, or even people living in a moderate way, approach men who live thus?"

'What a contrast is presented in the position, and therefore in the conduct of a minister of the Scotch church! His house is not better, if so good, as the majority of those in his parish; and his income, although enough to support him in decency, is so small as to forbid the slightset attempt at luxury or ostentation. Moreover, he is a man of sound and general information, and in many cases of rare acquirements and profound learning; for unlike English parsons, instead of forgetting, he has added to what he learnt at college, not having had the means of wasting the best years of his life at Newmarket or on the Continent. His life is regular, sober, and cheerful; and the equality of fortune with that of his parishioners, produces and maintains frank and cordial intercourse between them, such as is no where to be found

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between the Land's End and the Tweed. Instead of going hunting, shooting, dining, or begging for preferment from a neighbouring lord or squire, a Scotch minister is assiduously employed in giving information, advice, and consolation to all who need his services. These are so useful, and are rendered in such abundance, that not a murmur or a cavil, on the subject of money, is heard from year's end to year's end. It would, indeed, be difficult to dispute on this head; since no man can deny a right to a comfortable subsistence to another who earns it by the sweat of his brow.'—pp. 226, 230.

This representation overlooks entirely the actual condition of a majority of the English Clergy, the poorer incumbents and the half-starved curates referred to in a former chapter. Why compare the English parson with the Scotch minister or the Welsh curate, when such extreme inequalities may be found between the overpaid and underpaid of the same diocese? The condition of numbers of the inferior clergy is thus depicted in the first chapter.

'There are many clergymen ready to run the risk of want, and undergo any labour rather than lead a single life. Those seek out an employment by which something may be added to their incomes, and when they think they have found one, marry. Whether their position be preferable to that of single wretchedness, is in some respects doubtful; for nothing can be more pitiable than the state in which a married clergyman with a large family is too commonly placed. Born, perhaps, but always brought up as a gentleman, and anxious to bring up his family in the same way as people of his own rank, he is forced by poverty to resort to schemes and contrivances, generally ending by humiliating in public him whom they had previously humbled in his own opinion. The expence of feeding, clothing, and teaching five or six children, and of keeping up an appearance that will introduce them to the world in a manner becoming their station, is such as to make it difficult to conceive that all this can be done with an income of perhaps not £300 a year. Yet parish after parish in England and Wales, contains a minister of the established church who does it, albeit in order to succeed he is obliged to pass through what must be very painful to the mind of an honourable man. The worst part of the sufferings of clergymen in this position, perhaps, is caused by their neighbours, the rural aristocracy, whose profound respect for the established church as a body seems to be in the inverse ratio of their regard for needy clergymen as individuals. Indeed, if the story of the slights, the contumely, the affronts, and the persecution, endured by the vicar of Wakefield because he would not bow down before the lord of the manor, were properly studied by every father intending to make his son a clergyman, all who valued the happiness of their children would be deterred from the step. But the circumstances described by the genius of Goldsmith, so as to make one of the most affecting tales ever written, are rife enough now. A poor parson's children are contemptuously treated by lords and squires, and their daughters noticed, too often, only to be seduced, as they were in the time of Dr. Primrose. Indeed, the reality surpasses the

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fiction, because, from the change of the scheme of society, and from the progress and diffusion of education, the degradation of a clergyman from following menial occupations, and his sufferings from seeing his children degraded, are infinitely greater than they were formerly. Married clergymen occupied by business are more incapable than unmarried men of efficiently performing the services for which they are paid. A married clergyman with several children, who engages in trading as a schoolmaster, or as a writer in magazines, or as a horse-dealer, farmer, or jobber, is so engrossed by the one idea of making "the two ends meet," that he can rarely find time for attention to his duties as a Christian pastor. This is clearly proved by the conduct of laymen obliged to live by the same species of exertion. Seldom indeed are they found with either leisure or inclination for any thing above the business of keeping their expenditure within their income. There are exceptions, in cases of men of extraordinary activity, who, by skilful management, may procure intervals of relaxation from such occupation; but even when a clergyman can accomplish this, is it natural that he should devote such intervals to the service of religion? On the contrary, it would be a miracle if he were inclined to do so, because the other portions of his time have been passed in a manner too repugnant to the doctrines and principles of his creed. Scribblers about party politics, keepers of boarding-houses for young gentlemen, constantly engaged in the higgling and bargaining of the market-place, and borrowers of money on annuity, cannot be expected to further the spiritual interests of the church, either by example or precept. They illustrate in their own persons the truth, that a man "cannot serve both God and mammon." Although some clergymen are able to increase their means of living by engaging in various undertakings incompatible with their profession, they are not always successful in them. Indeed, being unfitted from education and habits to compete with those who have been brought up to dealing, clergymen are at first losers, until practice has furnished them with experience in the art and mystery of truck and barter. A great number are ruined without gaining the necessary experience. The schedules of clergymen who have taken the benefit of the Insolvent Act, contain clear proofs on this subject. They exhibit the names of a large number of underpaid clergymen, who have been induced to engage in avocations that must have rendered them wholly unfit to perform their functions—that have turned divines into speculators and stock-brokers—and at last brought them to the bar of a court of justice. These schedules are excellent commentaries on the conclusion, "that underpaid service is very apt to suffer from the meanness and incapacity of the greater part of those who are employed in it."' pp. 49—52.

We do not dispute the justness of this conclusion. We conceive it to be a great evil, that efficient labourers, who are worthy of their hire, should be underpaid. But, in addition to the difficulty of determining upon the golden mean, the question arises, By what system may we best guard against the two opposite evils? This is a point which Mr. Wakefield has not attempted to discuss,

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and which, in reference to ecclesiastical pay, he merely glances at in the following sentences.

'Without discussing the policy of maintaining a church for the purpose of upholding a particular creed, it may be remarked, that if the people provided their own religious teachers and preachers, as in America, they would probably be found more efficient than those belonging to an establishment forming part of the government. A political church, besides being a cause of jealousy, envy, and religious animosity of various kinds, presents obstacles to the adoption of a good mode of remuneration to its ministers which are almost insurmountable.' p. 43.

Here the root of the evil is struck at. So long as an Establishment exists, with the system of patronage which is inseparable from it, the mischiefs of excessive pay without service, and the injustice of inadequate pay for excessive service, will be perpetuated in disgraceful combination.

Mr. Wakefield's *principle* is, however, little more than a peg on which to hang his political opinions, which are those of a radical reformer of the Westminster Review school. He does not disguise his utter contempt for King, Lords, and Commons. An American President is 'a useful public servant' in his opinion, but 'the excessive pay of an English King causes him to 'be—any thing you please.' The Chamber of Peers is represented as useless, and worse than useless. And the House of Commons is characterized in the following terms.

'Our mode of doing legislative business, however, must be a subject of pity or indignation, rather than of wonder, to those who reflect on the wide difference of character between the makers of English laws, and those for whom the laws are made. No intelligent man can feel surprised that the majority of the house of commons does not sympathize, for instance, with the men of Manchester, Birmingham, Liverpool, or Leeds. These latter are men of business, active, industrious, persevering, watchful, determined pursuers of profit; not given to idle speculations, nor distracted by attending to various subjects, but filled full of one idea—that of employing capital so as to obtain the greatest possible return for it. The former, the men of the house of commons, are fanciful theorists, or wild Irish, or dandies, or prodigals harassed by debts, or Nimrods, or clod-hopping persons, without even one idea, mixed up with some clever men who would make excellent jugglers—but how many are practical and safe men? That such an assembly should mismanage business, so as to inflict all kinds of injury on the country, is not surprising. Except in cases where corruption makes them act in a particular way, they treat the affairs of the nation just as they treat their own affairs. The industry, knowledge, and capability which they bring to the consideration of their own concerns, being very little, and they being incapable of bringing more than they possess of these qualities to the consider-

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ation of public concerns, it cannot be a matter of wonder that they behave as they do. But why do such persons become legislators? Because there is an extravagant expenditure. The systematized profusion of the government holds out temptations to men of all kinds to inflict their presence upon the great council of the nation, with almost a certainty of benefit to themselves, and with an absolute certainty of injury to every body else. The prodigality then, the dearness of the government, is the mother of all the evils springing from careless, ignorant, and venal legislation. Who can describe or even number them? The millions who suffer from antiquated institutions may answer, if they can. The agricultural labourer, who has become half peasant and half slave, from the operation of the corn and the poor-laws, can show his wasted body. The over-worked and underfed artizan in manufacturing towns, has often told his tale of wretchedness. The voice of barbarous Ireland, hungry in the midst of plenty, has long ago been choked in blood. The struggle is vain, and the fight is hopeless, whilst the base lucre of gain is a loadstone to the house of commons, attracting all who have sense enough to know that having something is better than having nothing.

'The correctness of this estimate of the lower house of parliament, will be proved by a cursory review of the proceedings, during the session which has just ended. During that period, the great defect of the reformed house, already noticed, its not being a deliberative assembly, has been prominent on every occasion. The only rule of action has been confidence, blind confidence in the ministry. Proofs of the existence of this principle were seen in the general tone and behaviour of our reformed legislators, in every measure decided upon, and in the mass of business postponed in compliance with the desires of the government. During the whole of the session, a disinclination even to hear any but ministerial speakers, was remarkable; to which was added, an extraordinary readiness to believe in the promises of the ministers, at all times and upon all subjects.'

'The parliament, then, placing implicit faith in the government, represents not the nation, but the cabinet. To determine the character of the house, it is only necessary to observe that of the ministry. By what tenure does the ministry hold office? Not by the good-will of the people—on that side they are safe; placed in safety by the blind confidence of the commons—not by the pleasure of the king; for it is well understood that they would have resigned, more than once, without the forbearance of the tory house of lords—but by adopting measures not too unpleasing to this same tory house of lords. The ministers hold office during pleasure—whose pleasure? that of the house of lords. The measures of the government must be suited to the atmosphere of the chamber of peers, or the hold of the whigs on office could not be retained for a month. The guiding principle of the cabinet, therefore is, not to offend the house of lords over-much; not to displease those who were the proprietors of rotten boroughs. Thus the chief pressure on the ministry comes from the tory faction, so that if this state of things were to last, we should have a tory government, notwithstanding reform. Facts are not wanting to show, that we have such a government now. The ministry have turned a deaf

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ear to the general demand for effectual law reform, and for the removal of impediments to the diffusion of knowledge. A cry for cheap and speedy justice, by means of local courts, and for unstamped papers, that must have obtained its object at the hands of a ministry acting in the sense of the people, has been raised in vain. Viewing the subject in this light, it would appear better to have a cabinet composed of tories. They could retain power by only one method, by not displeasing the nation; so that in that case, we might have a government liberal in reality, though illiberal in name; in that case the house of commons would assert its power; would really govern, no matter by what instruments. At present the government is composed of liberal instruments, moved by a tory power. The wheels of the state-machine are whig—the steam is tory. Thus, blind confidence in the whigs has ended in submission to the tories. Reversing this order of cause and effect, we see that the tory faction, in the house of peers, still possesses the power to turn out a cabinet, and therefore the cabinet must conciliate the tories. We must have a government suffered by an oligarchy, from whose dominion reform was meant to have set us free, or be without a government. In order not to be without a government, the house of commons places confidence in the ministry, and, through them, submits to the tories. But what is the original cause of this series of immediate causes producing a tory government in spite of reform? It is that great public purse into which the tories yet hope to put their hands once more; it is the motives to resistance to all improvement furnished to the tories by the vast expenditure, which they long to administer, and which they cannot but see, would become less and less worth administering, as real reform should proceed.' pp. 208—217.

And then follows an attack upon Lord Grey, in the spirit of the Black Book and the True Sun. There is no mistaking the spirit and the drift of all this invective; and its tendency is only to strengthen a feeling which the Author represents as procuring supporters for the ministry,—'fear of the ignorant or bad men 'who set up for leaders of the people, of Cobbett and such like.' We cannot consider Mr. Wakefield as an ignorant man, although the volume shews him to be more knowing than wise; nor have we any right or wish to impugn his motives. But we cannot understand upon what grounds he affects to hold himself so far aloof from 'Cobbett and others of the same stamp,' as being so immeasureably their superior in illumination and political principle. We should have supposed him to be a politician very much of their '*stamp*.'

That there is a good deal of truth in the Author's political satire, is indisputable: still it *is* satire, and not a fair representation of the fact. That the present House of Commons has shewn any disposition to be meanly subservient to Ministers, is at utter variance with fact. The true explanation of any apparent vacillation or facile compliance, is very different from this.

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No doubt, the dread of bringing back the Tories, has had its influence on the minds of many members; and with others, an equal disgust with the Radicals may repel in a contrary direction. And really, nothing can be more disgusting than to see the Radical party coalescing with the Tories on all occasions, echoing their slanders of the Whigs, and joining in their contemptuous abuse of a Reformed Parliament. This is, obviously, in many instances, the vindictive language of disappointed ambition or mortified vanity. There is, however, so much left that demands reform, in our institutions and in the doings of our legislators, that such publications as the present are not to be contemned; for truth, let it come in what shape and from what quarter it may, will always revenge itself on those by whom it is despised. Radicalism will never become formidable till reform stops, and till the people, finding themselves betrayed by their guardians, become mad enough to avenge upon themselves the crimes and follies of their rulers.

Art. VI.—*A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Winchester*, in October, 1833. By Charles Richard Sumner, D.D., Bishop of Winchester, Prelate of the most noble Order of the Garter. 8vo. pp. 84. London, 1834.

THAT will be a happy state of things which shall present no temptation to one sect of Protestants to contemn the ministry, or to seek to underrate the numbers and importance of another. A singular controversy has recently sprung up between Episcopalians of the Establishment and Dissenters, of a purely statistical character. The latter have been charged with exaggerating their numerical force: whereas the truth is, that they had not been aware of it, and their attention was first directed to the subject by their political enemies. When they heard it continually iterated, that the Reform-bill, the abolition of slavery, and other great national measures had been carried chiefly by the Dissenters, that to the Dissenters the present Administration owed much of their strength, that the Dissenters were become so formidable a party,—and all these things were said by their opponents, with a view to alarm and rouse the Tory party into more strenuous hostility to reform in Church and State,—it was inevitable that Dissenters should begin to awake to a consciousness of their numerical importance, as well as of their moral strength. Hitherto, the returns they have obtained, have far exceeded all their previous calculations; and when these shall be completed, they will prove that never was there a title more inapplicable than that which is assumed by the endowed Episcopal order, of 'the National Church'.

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'The theory of our National Church supposes', says the Bishop of Winchester, in his present Charge, 'that all who have 'the desire should be admitted to worship, and that provision 'should be made for their religious instruction, public as well as 'private, within her pale.

'Such at least is the *ideal system* on which this part of our ecclesiastical constitution is based; and I scruple not to say, that a system more beautifully adapted for producing the greatest amount of practical good, the wit of man never devised, or the blessing of God ratified with the Divine sanction. How much, however, under the present circumstances of our thickly peopled community, facts are at variance with the theoretical principle, unhappily needs no demonstration.' p. 16.

The adaptation of an ideal system to produce practical good, seems to us somewhat hypothetical; but the Bishop virtually admits, that the theoretical principle of the Established Church *has failed*. Its beautiful adaptation has then been disproved. Facts have demonstrated that the ecclesiastical constitution founded upon such ideal system, was *not* adapted to provide for the wants of the population. And why has it failed? First, because in no country has an order of secular clergy, maintained by endowments, been found to answer to the character, and adequately to discharge the functions of *popular* instructors. Accordingly, in Roman Catholic countries, the efficient instructors of the people have been the regular orders; and when the Reformation extinguished these, it left a chasm between the Church and the people, which was never supplied till it was filled up by the Dissenters. The curate system might have come in aid, if its direct tendency were not to convert the superior clergy into pluralists and sinecurists.

But secondly, the 'ideal system' failed, because, either through ignorance or improvidence, it made no provision for the increase of the population. The parochial system was framed with such exclusive reference to the emoluments of the incumbent and the prerogatives of the patron, as to place the greatest difficulties in the way of increasing the provision for the religious instruction of the people. Then, again, it failed, because it expressly prohibited the people from making any provision for their own spiritual wants. And finally, because the Church has always proudly and intolerantly declined the aid of all voluntary labourers of other Protestant communions, whose services she might have found valuable as those of allies, if she had not preferred to treat them as insurgents and traitors.

Such is the *beautiful* system which the Bishop considers so happily adapted, in theory, to produce benefits which have never been realized. Its beauty is assuredly that of architecture, not that of mechanism;—of form, not of life. It is like the costly

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beauty of a pompous aqueduct, which looks well in the landscape, even in decay, but which owes its erection to ignorance of the first principles of hydraulics. Such is the Church Establishment! Its admirers are now looking up with profound reverence to its Gothic arches, and trying to repair its broken cisterns, while Dissenters have been laying on their pipes, and unobtrusively conveying the living water, at small expense, to every part of the land.

Nothing can more strikingly shew the opposite character of the two systems, than the fact, that the very increase of the population, from which the institutions of voluntary piety and benevolence derive their vigour, is to the Establishment a source of weakness and a subject of alarm. A source of political weakness at the same time that it has been a cause of pecuniary aggrandizement; for the increasing wealth of the Church has only separated it more and more widely from the growing population. The state of many large parishes, for which the Establishment *theoretically* provides, and for *which it has forbidden any other provision to be made*, is thus depicted by the pious Bishop.

'The parish presents the melancholy picture of a moral waste, instead of a Christian brotherhood. There is no sympathy or bond of holy union between pastor and people; the very relationship is despised and disowned; motives are suspected, confidence is withdrawn, respect is violated, and alienation and enmity take the place of veneration and love. These, indeed, are trite complaints; but they must be reiterated without ceasing, until a remedy be applied to alleviate so pernicious an evil. Daily experience manifests but too plainly, that *it is sapping, with fearful certainty, the foundations of our national temple.* And though the recent Act of Parliament (1 and 2 Will. IV. c. 38) has removed some of the obstructions which have so long impeded the erection of additional churches, and the planting of new ministries, throughout the length and breadth of the country, there needs a greater effort than has yet been made, to meet the emergency.' p. 18.

But are not these very obstructions part and parcel of the 'beautiful system'? The more enlightened friends of the Establishment may regret that 'temporal and peculiar rights should 'have been allowed to exist over parishes;' and may try to father the evil upon Pope Innocent. But it matters not where it originated; it has existed ever since the Protestant Church as by law established has had an existence, and will continue to exist so long as it is an Establishment. It is an integral part of the system. The Church has created the very obstructions of which she complains; and now she is pettishly blaming the people for breeding faster than it has suited her to provide for them spiritual (i. e. ecclesiastical) accommodation.

The state of things within the Bishop's own jurisdiction is thus given. The counties of Southampton and Surrey, comprised in the diocese of Winchester, (exclusive of 11 parishes in the latter

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county belonging to the peculiar jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Canterbury,) contain a population, according to the census of 1831, of 728,077 souls, viz.

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		Places of worship belonging to the Establishment.
In Hampshire.....	314,313	327
Surrey.....	413,764 *	159
	728,077	486

In Hampshire, the population has increased 11 per cent. within the preceding ten years; and in Surrey, 22 per cent. The places of Episcopal worship are 25 more than reported at the last visitation. Of these 486, only 231 are endowed with great tithes, either in whole or in part; so that, remarks his Lordship, 'the ministries 'of more than half the clergy in the diocese are without that ancient 'right of provision, on which the *temporal* foundations of our 'ecclesiastical house may be said to have been laid.' Of the impropriations, 137 belong to laymen, and the remainder are the property of colleges or of clerical corporations. Of the 327 places of worship in Hampshire, 5, and of 159 in Surrey, 12, are proprietary chapels. The ecclesiastical patronage of the two counties is thus distributed:—

In the gift of the Crown	34
——— Bishops and other ecclesiastics ...	114
——— Laymen	248
——— Ecclesiastical Corporations.....	34
——— Lay Corporations	3
Colleges	53
	486

Of the officiating ministers, 323 are incumbents, of whom 42 are pluralists; and 204 are curates, 11 of whom are pluralists of a different kind, not as holding more than one *living*, but as having each the charge of two churches. The number of parishes without resident clergy 'either incumbents or curates', is 70; but 41 of these are chapelries where the clergy of the mother churches are resident. The number of parishes *without resident incumbents is not stated*. The total number of officiating ministers is 527, which gives an average of 1 to about 1,380 souls, on the aggregate population. But so unequally is this provision distributed, that the Southwark parishes, which cover about 600 acres, have a population of about 91,500, and only 9 parochial ministers; Lambeth, with about 90,000 inhabitants, has 11 clergy with cure of souls; and Portsea has 42,000, with 4 parochial clergy. Deducting the population of these three places

* Total population of Surrey, including the 11 peculiars, 486,326.

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from the aggregate population of the diocese, we have 505,000 souls with 503 officiating clergy, while, for a population of 223,000, the Establishment provides only 24 ministers. This assuredly presents a fresh illustration of the beautiful system! According to this statement, in the excepted parishes, the average provision is 1 to every 9000; in the rest of the diocese, 1 to 1000!

Of the aggregate population, his Lordship thinks, that 'less 'than *three-fourteenths*, on an average, may probably be calcu- 'lated as Dissenters'. That is, not a fourth of the population! Let us then see what provision the Dissenters have made for the wants of the population. In the two counties, the number of Dissenting and Roman Catholic places of worship was estimated in 1829 as follows *:—

	Roman Catholic.	Protestant.	Total.
Hampshire.....	11	117	128
Surrey	4	97	101
	15	214	229

Since 1829, the number has been considerably increased; so that, according to his Lordship's shewing, *three-fourteenths of the population provide nearly or quite one-half as many places of worship as the Establishment itself.*

Again, taking the population of the two counties at 800,640, three-fourteenths will be 171,560. We may perhaps strike off 3,560 as Roman Catholics, which will leave 168,000 Dissenters with 214 places of worship; that is, 1 to every 785 of the Dissenting population, spontaneously provided and supported at the cost of the worshippers; while the Establishment, with all its tithes, glebes, and patronage, provides for the other eleven-fourteenths only 486 places of worship, and in some places only 1 minister to every 9,000 souls. Is it then just, is it decent, that the three-fourteenths who provide a third of the total number of places of worship, with their ministers, at their own cost, should be rated and taxed for the support of the places provided for the other eleven-fourteenths? The smaller the number of Dissenters, the more palpable is the injustice. Only consider what must be the elastic energy of Dissent, or, if the Churchman pleases, the steam power of schism, to rear and maintain a place of worship for every 785 of its population; that is, to about every 157 families. Taking the stipend of the minister, the expenses of the place, and the money raised for schools, missionary societies, &c., at each place of Dissenting worship, at an average of only 200*l.*, this would be a tolerable sum to be raised by 157 families, of whom, if we may trust to the representations of Churchmen,

* Congregational Magazine, Vol. XII. p. 689.

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the far greater part are little better than paupers. But the calculation is absurd; and although Hampshire and Surrey are not counties in which the Dissenters are so numerous as in most others, the Bishop, in taking them at less than three-fourteenths, only betrays the deficiency of his information, or the strength of his prejudices. At all events, if 214 places of Dissenting worship are supposed to represent only a population of 168,000; 486 churches and chapels cannot be reasonably taken as representing more than some 400,000 souls, or seven-fourteenths; which would make the Establishment to contain actually within its pale not more than half of the population. In the rural districts, this may be even below the truth; but in the thickly-populated districts where the Establishment has provided only 1 minister to every 9,000 of the population, to speak of the Church as having even a third of the people, is absurd. The fact is, that the Establishment often crowds the agricultural districts with gentlemen-parsons, and leaves the town population very much to the sectaries. Dissenting ministers are most numerous where there is the largest population. Clergymen, on the contrary, are the most numerous where the livings are rich enough to support resident incumbents with their curates, without reference to the wants of the population. Such is the difference between the 'ideal system' of the Establishment, and the practical system which springs up wherever religion has taken root among the people!

So much for the statistics of this Episcopal Charge, to which his Lordship attaches great importance, as disclosing the true number of those over whom the influence of the clergy for good extends. They are, he adds, 'the register of our moral power.' But the value of a register depends upon its fidelity; and the accuracy of the returns upon which some of his Lordship's calculations are founded, is, we think, open to suspicion. Dissenters, however, are beginning to turn their attention to this register of their moral power; and we shall, before long, be enabled to come to more certain conclusions as to the points at issue.

'To depreciate the amount of good', says the Bishop, 'is one 'of the features of the present era'. We admit it; and may we be allowed to remark, that this feature cannot be more strikingly manifested, than in the attempts to depreciate the amount of good produced by the evangelical ministry of Dissenting pastors and teachers. To the Bishop of Winchester we impute no such illiberality; and although we should have been glad to find a more explicit recognition of the national importance and value of the exertions of the orthodox Nonconformists, we meet with no expressions of an offensive character. On the contrary, when his Lordship dismisses his statistics, he adopts a strain of exhortation

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to his clergy worthy of a Christian bishop, and quite in harmony with what we believe to be the exemplary character of his personal conduct. It is refreshing to read, in an Episcopal Charge, such plain words of sound doctrine and faithful admonition as the following. The reader will overlook the apostolical succession.

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'We are doubtless ready to abide by the apostle's conclusion,—"With us it is a very small thing that we should be judged of man's judgement." At the same time it is permitted us to seek to approve ourselves also in the world's sight, and to render our ministries acceptable in the true spirit of our message, as ministers of reconciliation and peace,—not by the preaching of an equivocal gospel—not by ministering fuel to the passions of corrupt nature—not by compromising faithfulness, or retrenching one iota from the whole counsel of truth,—but by letting our light shine brightly in the candlestick of the church—by our evident aptness to teach—by our unquestionable devotedness to every department of the ministerial work. This involves a strict scrutiny into the efficiency of our pastoral offices in promoting vital religion. Is the character of our ministrations persuasive? Are we wise to win souls? Is our net cast so as to include the greatest multitude of fishes? Has no word of intercessory prayer been wanting? Have we thought it not grievous to repeat precept upon precept, and line upon line? Have we striven to select from our quiver an arrow suited to our purpose, and been faithful in the use of every pastoral argument required by the infinite variety of cases which we are called to treat? Have we had recourse by turns to instruction, invitation, exhortation, expostulation, rebuke? Does it appear, on an honest review, that nothing has been omitted which might have made our portion of the Lord's heritage more productive? Have the public services of our churches been so regulated, as regards their number, the convenience of hours, the administration of the sacraments, the orderly and impressive performance of all parts of the several offices, as to promote edification, and to open the channels of grace to as many of our parishioners as is practicable? Have we been careful to give a salutary direction to all those aggressive movements, by which, as experience shows, a strong influence may be brought to bear upon the character of the people? Have we tried any of those expedients of District Visiting Societies, and Bible Classes, and Adult Teachings, and Cottage Readings, which are often found effective in breaking up the fallow ground, where the harvest might be plenteous were not the labourers so few? Can we take up the language of scripture, and say, "What could have been done more to my vineyard, that I have not done in it?" Or are there wild grapes, because we have not pruned and digged it? Has the enemy sown his tares among our wheat, because we have slept?

'It sometimes happens that, unawares, we raise obstacles ourselves which impede our usefulness. Respect and influence have now little source in prespective claims, but depend chiefly upon the formation of character. Reverence is less often paid to the man for his order's sake, than to his order for the sake of the man. While, therefore, we assert our apostolic commission, and vindicate, as need requires, and

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opportunity is given, our transmitted claim, taking our stand upon that broad platform, so judiciously provided by the Church in her 23rd Article, we must be careful how we present to the world the spectacle of a personal inconsistency which defeats the weight of our argument, and practically contradicts our own pretensions. To rest upon our abstract title, however legitimate, is to mistake the temper and the requirements of the age in which we live. To little purpose shall we trace our genealogy in its lineal descent, unless it be also written 'in fleshy tables'—on the hearts of our people. Our hereditary succession must stand manifest before the world in incontrovertible evidence, to be read of all men whether friends or gainsayers —in our apostolical wisdom — our apostolical prudence — our apostolical meekness—our apostolical zeal and love.' pp. 28—31.

We must make room for the concluding paragraphs, which are truly admirable.

'I advert, lastly, and very briefly, to that which, after all, is the crowning point in the history of ministerial usefulness, that FAITHFUL PREACHING OF THE GOSPEL WHICH SETS FORTH AND MAGNIFIES CHRIST THE LORD. 'I, if I be lifted up,' said our Lord . . . . . 'will draw all men unto me.'—'Necessity is laid upon me,' echoed the apostle; 'yea, woe is unto me, if I preach not the gospel.' In fact, all pastoral experience tends to prove the utter inefficiency of a ministry, which is not faithful in exhibiting the vital truths of the gospel. The experiment has been often tried—it has been tried upon individuals—it has been tried upon parishes—it has been tried upon whole countries, and many a conscientious pen has been constrained to write the record of its utter failure. How indeed could it be otherwise? There can be no efficacy in what has been made palatable only by adulteration. God will not honour what is not his own. He will not set his seal to a message which gives no adequate representation of his revealed will, no convincing statement of man's necessities, or of divine love It is on the word that goes forth out of the pastor's mouth, pure and sincere, as out of the mouth of God himself, that the promised blessing rests—"It shall not return unto me void, but it shall accomplish that which I please. and it shall prosper in the thing whereto I sent it."

'The preacher, therefore, must not be wise at the expense of his faithfulness. Essential and fundamental doctrine must not be sacrificed, to accommodate the taste, or indulge the prejudices of our people. Imperfect or clouded views of truth must not be put forth under the pretence of ministerial discretion. If the trumpet give an uncertain sound, it will not effectually warn the wicked, arouse the careless, or instruct the ignorant. Scripture must be preached scripturally. "The gospel is a mighty engine, but only mighty when God has the working of it." The affecting details of our Lord's matchless condescension and grace must be represented to the heart in all their necessary relations to the salvation of man, before the soul will he melted into repentance or quickened into love. It is only in proportion as the true word of the Lord is prophesied upon the dry bones, that "a noise" and a "shaking" are heard among them. "God, in his provi-

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dence, seems to make but little account of the measures and contrivances of men, in accomplishing his designs." All our best arguments are good for nothing, unless they are founded upon the distinguished doctrines of the cross, and honour the Saviour by a faithful exhibition of his grace and love. But when Christ is exalted, and the gospel preached in its integrity and simplicity, in the spirit of a sound mind, Satan falls, 'like lightning from heaven,' and is dethroned effectually from his empire in man's heart.

Let me commend these suggestions, my reverend brethren, to your thoughtful consideration. Examine them in the balance of your own experience; and give them such weight as may fairly seem to be their due. And may "Almighty God, who has built his church upon the foundations of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone," pour down upon you "his heavenly blessing, that you may be clothed with righteousness, and that the word spoken by your mouths may have such success that it may never be spoken in vain." And may he inspire continually the universal church with the spirit of truth, unity, and concord, that we may be made an holy temple, acceptable unto him, through Jesus Christ our Lord.' pp. 39—42.

Art. VII.—1. *The Sword unsheathed:* the Polity of the Church of England, the Polity enforced by St. Paul, Romans xiii. 1—8. By J. A. Stephenson, M.A., Rector of Lympsham. 8vo. pp. 30. London, 1834.

2. *Speeches of the Rev. Joseph Coltman, M.A., Incumbent of Beverley Minster, the Rev. John Scott, Vicar of North Ferriby, and Incumbent of St. Mary's, Hull, and the Rev. John King, M.A., Incumbent of Christ's Church, Sculcoates,* at a Meeting of Clergy of the Archdeaconry of the East Riding, held at Beverley, Jan. 16, 1834. With the Addresses to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, there agreed on, and other Documents. 8vo. pp. 44. Price 1*s.* 6*d.* London, 1834.

THESE pamphlets have just come to our hand, and they deserve prompt but brief notice, as indicating the spirit of the times.

Mr. Stephenson comes forward with a sword unsheathed in one hand, and a new revelation in the other, to slay all Dissenters and put down all reformers as resisters of God's ordinance, worthy only of being mulcted in this world and damned in the next. He has discovered that St. Paul, in the xiiith chapter of his Epistle to the Romans, 'directed his readers immediately and exclusively 'to *ecclesiastical* politics,' and that all commentators, who have hitherto supposed him to refer to civil authorities, are blockheads. St. Paul only meant, Be subordinate to your Bishop. Thus interpreted, he says,

'The passage presents not a new or diversified, it merely presents a concentrated and unrefracted light; it is only a lens, though a lens of

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crystal, collecting to a focus rays every where dispersed; a sword, but a polished one, of which the glittering surface displays the errors it pierces, and illumines the truth it defends. A sword indeed! A sword of the Lord! deposited and hid in the sanctuary for 1700 years; for during this long interval, it has not been the text, but merely the commentary wrought scabbard, that has been kept in use; it now presents itself to view, an aboriginal—but to all practical intents and purposes a New Revelation from heaven, reserved for the crisis at which it was most needed.'

* * * * * *

'Painful as the conclusion may be, in reference to individuals, it undeniably appears that every Congregationalist, resident in a country in which the providence of God has established superior church authorities, and a system of church union with and through them, is, according to God's sentence, a resister of God's ordinance.

'The polity of the text is no less at variance with modern Presbyterianism. The principle of Presbyterianism is spiritual aristocracy—the government of the church by co-equal presbyters, to the exclusion of individual authority, and the consequent disparagement of those possessed of it, and of Him who confers and acts by it. The principle of St. Paul is individual authority graduated and systematized—the superior dependant on the higher, the higher on the highest, the highest on the Most High. Let every soul, even the powers immediately sustained by God himself, be nevertheless subordinated to whatever powers are higher.

'The painful but inevitable conclusion is, that every Presbyterian, resident in a country in which the providence of God has established a graduated series of individual authorities in the church, is, according to God's sentence, a resister of God's ordinance.' pp. 20—23.

We offer no comment. The fanatical insolence of this perverter of God's word, is a frightful specimen of the malignity which can veil itself under the mask of religious zeal. The Establishment that should harbour many such firebrands, could not stand: for they would soon pull it down.

We ought perhaps to apologize to Mr. Scott and his brethren for placing him in such odious company; but the fault is not ours. These Speeches may be considered as forming, together with Mr. Scott's preface, an indirect reply to the 'coarse and violent assault' made upon the Reform party within the Church, in the last Quarterly Review. With this controversy we have nothing to do, but only to admire the peace and unity which an establishment never fails to secure among its votaries. The Reviewer and the Rector of Lympsham seem a pair; except that the former displays more cleverness and less fanaticism. The verbal reforms for which Mr. Scott and his friends contend are moderate enough; but in an Appendix, bolder ground is taken. Let them follow out the spirit of that paper, and we will give

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them credit for acting as becomes the preachers of those doctrines which the Nonconformists were ejected for maintaining.

The following is the paper alluded to.

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'ASSENT AND CONSENT.

' "AMIDST all the discussions of Church Reform, there is one point which I have not seen touched, but in which, as it stands perfectly isolated and alone, it appears to me that reform might be safely and easily effected, and in which it would be far indeed from unimportant. I refer to the demand which has been made upon every clergyman holding or taking any ecclesiastical preferment since the celebrated St. Bartholomew's Day, in the year 1662, publicly to declare his "unfeigned assent and consent to all and every thing contained and prescribed in and by the Book of Common Prayer," &c. The imposing of this declaration, we know, turned 2000 clergymen out of their livings in the first instance—many of them men of the highest character; inconceivably strengthened the hands of dissent; and inflicted a blow on the Church, which she has never to this day recovered. It has subsequently kept many worthy men, who might have been ornaments and blessings to the establishment, from entering her ministry; and some who have entered it, from ever proceeding beyond the station of curates: to my knowledge, it has been very burdensome to the consciences of many who have yet, upon the whole, thought themselves warranted in complying with it: and it is a constant subject of taunt and reproach against us in the mouths of our adversaries, who represent us as *sworn* to the *full approval*, as well as consenting to the *use*, of "all and every thing contained and prescribed in and by" any part of the Book of Common Prayer.

' "And where is the *necessity*, I would ask, and what is the *benefit*, of requiring such a sweeping declaration as this? We did without it from the Reformation to the Restoration; and, if all other securities failed of preventing the convulsion of "the great rebellion" which intervened, no one, surely, will pretend that this additional engagement on the part of the clergy, had it existed, would have averted that catastrophe.—Independently of this declaration, we subscribe, both at ordination and on admission to a benefice, the three articles contained in the thirty-sixth canon, one of which declares, "that the Book of Common Prayer . . . . containeth in it nothing contrary to the Word of God, and that it may be lawfully used, and that we will use it:" and, on the latter occasion, both before the bishop, and in the church to the congregation, we promise that we "will conform to the Liturgy of the Church of England as it is now by law established." Surely all this is sufficient without the form in question; which is so drawn as if designedly to embarrass the conscience, and to expose us to the attacks of our enemies. In fact, whoever will read the account of its imposition in Burnet, (anno 1662, in two distinct places,) must feel the conviction forced upon him, that the whole proceeding was extremely harsh and unwarrantable: and the only ground on which compliance with the form was, or I think can be justified, is, that, contrary to the apparent meaning of the words, the Act itself explains it to be a declaration of "assent

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and consent to the USE," rather than to the *approval* of "all things." To demand this entire APPROBATION of "all and every thing" contained in a volume of no inconsiderable size, comprising matters ritual, liturgical, doctrinal, and we might add, political also, would be (if I may coin such a word) a very *unprotestant* proceeding indeed: and even with the explanation thus given, (which I believe to be good and valid as far as it goes,) the exaction is such as Elizabeth, in all the plenitude of her power, never, that I am aware, thought of: we owe it entirely to the reign of Charles II.—Let us be restored, in this respect, to the state in which things were in the days of our Jewels, and Hookers, and Halls, and a great relief will be given to many individuals, and no inconsiderable advantage conferred on our Church, in this her day of conflict."'

ART. VIII.—LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

An Attempt to discriminate the Styles of Architecture in England; with Notices of above Three Thousand Edifices. By Thomas Rickman, Architect, F.S. A. Fourth Edition,

Preparing for immediate publication, in one volume post 8vo., Poems on Sacred Subjects. By Maria Grace Saffery, of Salisbury.

Education Reform; or the Necessity and Practicability of a Comprehensive System of National Education. By Thomas Wyse, jun. Esq., late M.P. for the County of Tipperary.

The Rev. J. B. Innes, of Norwich, is preparing, and will speedily publish, a Reply to the Rev. William Hull's Pamphlet on "Ecclesiastical Establishments."

In the press, A New Edition, with Corrections and Additions, of Italy. By Josiah Conder. In three volumes.

Nearly ready for the press, A Memoir of the Life, Character, and Writings of Sir Matthew Hale, knt., Lord Chief Justice of England. By J. B. Williams, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A.

It is not generally known that Mrs. Siddons left by will to Thomas Campbell (Author of the Pleasures of Hope) all her Diaries and Memoranda, for the express purpose of writing her Life, upon which the Poet has been engaged ever since her decease. He has just completed his interesting task, and the work may be expected to be through the press in the course of the ensuing month.

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In the press, The Short-hand Standard, attempted by an Analysis of the Circle. By Thomas Moat. 8vo.

In a few days will be published, "Religion essential to the National Welfare," a Sermon preached at Silver Street Chapel, Feb. 6, 1834, before the Monthly Association of Congregational Ministers and Churches. By John Pye Smith, D.D.

The First Monthly Part of a new and important work on Natural History, by Henry Woods, F.Z.S. A.L.S., which has been nearly seven years in preparation, is announced to appear on the 31st of March. It will combine scientific arrangement with copious detail, and form a complete concentration of all that is at present known of the entire class *Mammalia*, embracing the latest discoveries, and including an accurate account of the physiology, habits, locality, &c. of every recognized existing species, including the fossils. The illustrations, which are chiefly portraits of the animals themselves, drawn from nature, expressly for the work, by Harvey, will exceed 500 in number, besides a great variety of osteological and fossil figures, from the drawings of the author; and the entire work will be completed in thirty Monthly Parts.

The Rev. Dr. J. S. Memes, of Edinburgh, has just completed a Life of Cowper, to which will be added the whole of Cowper's Poems and Letters, thus rendering it the most complete edition that has ever appeared. The whole to be comprised in three vols. post 8vo., to be published monthly, and embellished with portraits.

Mr. Holman, the celebrated Blind Traveller, has nearly ready for publication the first volume of his Voyage round the World, including Travels in Africa, Asia, Australasia, America, &c. &c. The first portion of the work will contain Madeira, Teneriffe, St. Jago, Sierra Leone, Cape Coast, Accra, Fernando Po, Bonny, Calabar and other Rivers in the Bight of Biafra, Princes Island, Ascension, Rio Janeiro, and Journey to the Gold Mines.

Mr. Sillery, the Author of "Vallery, or the Citadel of the Lake," &c. has just completed his new Work, entitled The Royal Mariner, giving an Historical Sketch of the Naval Scenes in which his present Majesty bore an honourable and conspicuous part. The volume is embellished with a Portrait of the King, and a very beautiful vignette view of the Battle off Cape St. Vincent.

The third Fasciculus of the New Journal of Medico-Chirurgical Knowledge, has just arrived from Paris, and will be published on the 5th instant. This Number contains a beautifully finished plate of the Fold of the Arm, with valuable Contributions by several of the most eminent Professors of Medicine on the Continent.

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The numerous interesting Plates intended to illustrate Mr. Walker's valuable new Work—"Physiognomy founded on Physiology," being now completed, the volume will be published early in March. It will afford amusement as well as instruction in the critical examination of physiognomical and national character—placing the subject on a far more satisfactory basis than has ever yet been attained: the Phrenologists as well as the Antiquarians, will be interested in reading an appended paper on the sculls of Ancient Britons and Romans at Hythe.

A volume, containing vivid portraitures of the more prominent personages who figured in the first struggles of the Reformers, more especially at the French Court, will shortly appear, under the title of Catherine de Medicis, or the Rival Faiths.

Sir Thomas Dick Lauder has just completed the second volume of his excellent Miscellany of Natural History, containing thirty-six beautifully coloured plates of the Feline Species, from the Noble Lion to the Domestic Cat, the whole drawn by Mr. A. Forbes, A.S.A., and engraved by Mr. Kidd, S.A., with descriptive letter-press by William Rhind, Esq., M.R.C.S., &c., enriched with a great variety of highly interesting Anecdotes, and a more complete account of this singular Species than has ever before been given to the public.

Art. IX. WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

HISTORY.

The Cabinet Annual Register, and Historical, Political, Biographical, and Miscellaneous Chronicle of 1833. Price 7*s.* 6*d.* cloth, or 10*s.* 6*d.* morocco.

THEOLOGY.

The Unity of the Church; a Sermon delivered before the Monthly Association of Congregational Ministers and Churches. By Rev. J. Robinson. 8vo., 1*s.* 6*d.*

Hall's (Robert) Sermon on Modern Infidelity. 32mo., 1*s.* 6*d.* boards, or 2*s.* 6*d.* silk.

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THE ECLECTIC REVIEW,

For APRIL, 1834.

Art. I. *The Poetical Works of the Rev. George Crabbe:* with his Letters and Journals, and his Life, by his Son. In 8 vols. fcap. 8vo. Vols. I. and II. London, 1834.

CRABBE and Scott had each the rare good fortune to enjoy two distinct leases of reputation in their life-time. But there was this difference between them. Sir Walter acquired his reputation in two distinct characters; and his poetical fame was on the wane, when he commenced his brilliant and successful career as the anonymous Author of Waverley. Crabbe came before the public only as the poet; and as such, he received the plaudits of two distinct contemporary generations; first, as the young friend and *protegé* of Burke and Johnson, and then, on his re-appearance as from the dead, as the author of "The Parish Register." "The Village" was first published in 1783; "The Parish Register", in 1807, four and twenty years after! The public taste had in the interim undergone considerable changes; old favourites had been deserted for new ones; Cowper had been succeeded by the Lake School; and the veteran Bard re-appeared in the midst of many powerful younger competitors. Yet, room was made for him to advance and take his proper station among English poets, almost as readily and reverently as although Goldsmith or Collins had re-appeared in his proper person. Criticism indeed found employment in the characteristic blemishes of his poetry, in which beauties and defects are so nicely balanced, or so singularly intertwined, that, in each successive publication, both were considered as being more strongly marked. There was more vigour with more mannerism. Upon this circumstance, his Biographer offers a just remark. Speaking of the opinion of the critics respecting "The Borough", that it had 'greater beauties and greater defects' than its predecessor, "The Parish Register", he says: 'With such a decision an author 'may always be well pleased; for he is sure to take his rank with 'posterity by his beauties: defects, where there are great and

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'real excellencies, serve but to fill critical dissertations.' There are beauties enough in Crabbe's poetry to embalm all its defects, (like the insects which share the honours of mummification,)—beauties enough to ensure its continuing to form part and parcel of English literature, as long as the dialect of Englishmen of the nineteenth century shall be a living tongue; which is duration long enough for any earthly immortality.

We have mentioned one circumstance in common between the literary careers of Crabbe and the great Wizard of the North. In a letter from the latter to his brother poet, which appears in the present volume, another singular coincidence is mentioned. 'It is curious enough', writes Scott, 'that you should have 'republished "The Village" for the purpose of sending your 'young men to college, and I should have written the "Lay of 'the Last Minstrel" for the purpose of buying a new horse for 'the Volunteer Cavalry.' Very different objects certainly; but it *is* curious, that to motives like these the public should be indebted for the choicest productions of genius. Johnson wrote Rasselas to obtain money to pay the expenses of his mother's funeral!

It is pleasing to find men of genius appreciating each other's merits with the cordiality displayed in Scott's Letter to Crabbe. Between these two poets, however, the points of contrast might seem to be far more prominent and striking than any coincidences in their pursuits and history. Of Crabbe, his Biographer reports, that he was remarkably indifferent to all the proper objects of taste.

'He had no real love for painting, or music, or architecture, or for what a painter's eye considers as the beauty of landscape. But he had a passion for science—the science of the human mind, first;—then, that of human nature in general; and, lastly, that of abstract quantities. His powerful intellect did not seem to require the ideas of sense to move it to enjoyment, but he could at all times find luxury in the most dry and forbidding calculations.'

Mr. Crabbe was devoted to botanical and entomological studies; and there was, indeed, scarcely a department of natural history, to which he did not, at some time or other, turn with peculiar ardour.

'But generally speaking,' continues his Biographer, 'I should be inclined to say, that those more usually considered as the least inviting had the highest attractions for him. In botany, grasses, the most useful, but the least ornamental, were his favourites; in minerals, the earths and sands; in entomology, the minuter insects. His devotion to these pursuits appeared to proceed purely from the love of science and the increase of knowledge. At all events, he never seemed to be captivated with the mere beauty of natural objects, or even to catch any taste for the arrangement of his own specimens. Within the house was a kind of scientific confusion: in the garden, the usual showy foreigners gave

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lace to the most scarce flowers, and especially to the rarer weeds of ritain; and these were scattered here and there only for preservation. n fact, he neither loved order for its own sake, nor had any very high pinion of that passion in others.' p. 164.

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In this intellectual portrait, it might seem difficult to recognize he lineaments of the poetical character. A poet without a love f beauty, seems as great a solecism as a botanist without a love of rrangement; but Mr. Crabbe's character was composed of apparent ncompatibilities. That he possessed a powerful imagination and usceptible fancy, is unquestionable; yet he seldom appears to de-ght in the imaginative. He was a lover of nature, but it was ith the passion, not of the painter, but of the anatomist. He ould recreate himself with abstract quantities, and yet find plea-ure in grasses! He was a mathematician, and yet—wrote novels!

'During one or two of his winters in Suffolk, he gave most of his vening hours to the writing of *Novels;* and he brought no less than hree such works to a conclusion. The first was entitled, "The Wi-low Grey;" but I recollect nothing of it, except that the principal cha-acter was a benevolent humorist, a Dr. Allison. The next was called, 'Reginald Glanshaw, or the Man who commanded Success;" a por-rait of an assuming, overbearing, ambitious mind, rendered interesting y some generous virtues, and gradually wearing down into idiotism. I annot help thinking that this Glanshaw was drawn with very extra-rdinary power; but the story was not well managed in the detail. I orget the title of his third novel; but I clearly remember that it opened vith a description of a wretched room similar to some that are present-d in his poetry; and that, on my mother's telling him frankly, that he thought the effect very inferior to that of the corresponding pieces n verse, he paused in his reading, and, after some reflection, said, 'Your remark is just." The result was, a leisurely examination of ll these manuscript volumes, and another of those grand incremations [cremations] which, at an earlier period, had been sport to his children. The prefaces and dedications to his poems have been commended for imple elegance of language; nor was it in point of diction, I believe, hat his novels would have been found defective, but rather in that want of skill and taste for order and arrangement which I have before noticed as displayed even in his physiological pursuits.' p. 167.

One would like to have heard at least a chapter of one of these novels; but we admire the magnanimity, or, shall we say? the surgical coolness of determination, with which the author performed the crematory operation here described. It would be a subject for Wilkie,—Crabbe burning his novels. We have little doubt, however, that his wife was right, for two reasons: first, because, in such cases, intelligent women are the best critics, and she who could appreciate her husband's poetry must have been well qualified to estimate his success in prose composition: secondly, because we can easily conceive that Crabbe's favourite subjects, and

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his mode of treating them, would have been almost intolerable in naked prose. In his poetry, he perpetually treads upon the borders of the unpleasing; sometimes, indeed, he oversteps them; still, the terseness of his couplets, the rough melody of his energetic versification, and the vivid touches of descriptive beauty and pathos which relieve his darkest pictures, render the predominant effect pleasing. The qualities which would inspire disgust, are neutralized or sheathed in those which waken the pleasurable emotions of taste. But the same terseness could not be transferred to prose composition: there, the author would be tempted, and in a manner necessitated, to dilate, until the minuteness and vividness of his description became tedious or repulsive, and the homeliness of his stories would be likely to degenerate, in narrative, into insipidity. The keen wit of Swift, the humour of Fielding, or the dramatic skill of Scott, could alone redeem such subjects, in plain prose, from utter disagreableness. Crabbe has been happily styled, the 'Hogarth of song.' Like Hogarth, he triumphed by his genius in spite of his themes; but fancy Hogarth's subjects treated with inferior skill, truth, and purity of satire, and the effect would be not much unlike that of Crabbe's Registers vulgarized by translation into prosaic narrative.

We have spoken of the apparently incompatible elements which composed Mr. Crabbe's intellectual character. It was this singular combination, the result in part of the physical constitution of his mind, (surely hereditary talents and predilections warrant the use of such an expression,) in part of the shape and bias given to his mind by the circumstances of his early years, that stamped originality on his character as well as on his compositions. The rough etching we have traced by way of portrait, will serve as a frontispiece to a brief outline of the circumstances detailed in this extremely interesting piece of literary biography.

George Crabbe was born at Aldborough, in Suffolk, on Christmas eve, 1754. His grandfather was a burgess of that town, and collector of the Customs; and his father, after acting for many years as warehouse-keeper and deputy collector, rose to be collector of the salt-duties or salt-master. His mother is described as a woman of the most amiable disposition, mild, patient, affectionate, and deeply religious in her turn of mind. From her, Crabbe appears to have inherited all the kindly and softer attributes of his character. Was there ever an instance of an illustrious man who did not owe the best features of his mind to the example or the early instructions of his mother?

George Crabbe was the eldest of six children. His next brother, Robert, who was bred to the business of a glazier, is now living in retirement at Southwold. The third son entered the navy, became captain of a Liverpool slave-ship, and perished at sea, by an insurrection of the slaves! The fourth brother, Wil-

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liam, also took to a sea-faring life; and his history, so far as known, afforded foundation for the story of Allen Booth in "The Parting Hour."

'Being made prisoner by the Spaniards, he was carried to Mexico, where he became a silversmith, married, and prospered, until his increasing riches attracted a charge of Protestantism*; the consequence of which was much persecution. He at last was obliged to abandon Mexico, his property, and his family; and was discovered in the year 1803, by an Aldborough sailor, on the coast of Honduras, where again he seems to have found some success in business. This sailor was the only person he had seen for many a year who could tell him any thing of Aldborough and his family; and great was his perplexity when he was informed that his eldest brother, George, was a clergyman. "This cannot be *our* George", said the Wanderer—"he was a *doctor!*" This was the first, and it was also the last tidings that ever reached my father of his brother William.' p. 6.

The other two children were daughters: one died in infancy; the other became the wife of a builder in her native town, where she died in 1827. The elder girl was the favourite of her father. He was passionately devoted to her; and her untimely death, we are told, 'drew from him those gloomy and savage tokens of 'misery, which haunted, fifty years after, the memory of his 'gentler son'. Grief, in some stubborn and inflexible natures, puts on a frightful form of savage moroseness, and, instead of softening the heart, hardens it, partaking less of tenderness than of anger; and sometimes it seems as if the strength of the affections, morbidly concentrated upon one object, and that object rendered still dearer by suffering or peril, is exhausted and destroyed by the violence of the emotion occasioned by bereavement. Something of this kind would appear to have taken place in the mind of Crabbe's father, whose 'imperious temper and vio-'lent passions' thenceforward displayed themselves with less restraint. Altogether, the family story has a tragic cast, which harmonizes with the sombre character of Crabbe's poetry. The scenes of his early years were not adapted to minister either to cheerful or to poetic feelings. The house in which he was born and passed his boyhood, was an old house in a range of buildings

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* '"Whilst I was poor", said Allen, "none would care
What my poor notions of religion were;
I preached no foreign doctrine to my wife,
And never mentioned Luther in my life;
Their forms I followed, whether well or sick,
And was a most obedient Catholic.
But I had money, and those pastors found
My notions vague, heretical, unsound."'

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which the encroaching sea has now almost demolished. The chambers projected far over the ground floor; and the small windows with diamond panes, were almost impervious to the light. The surrounding scenery is thus graphically described by his Biographer.

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'Aldborough was, in those days, a poor and wretched place, with nothing of the elegance and gayety which have since sprung up about it, in consequence of the resort of watering parties. The town lies between a low hill or cliff, on which only the old church and a few better houses were then situated, and the beach of the German Ocean. It consisted of two parallel and unpaved streets, running between mean and scrambling houses, the abodes of sea-faring men, pilots, and fishers. The range of houses nearest to the sea had suffered so much from repeated invasions of the waves, that only a few scattered tenements appeared erect among the desolation. I have often heard my father describe a tremendous spring tide of, I think, the 1st of January, 1779, when eleven houses here were at once demolished; and he saw the breakers dash over the roofs, curl round the walls, and crush all to ruin. The beach consists of successive ridges—large rolled stones, then loose shingle, and, at the fall of the tide, a stripe of fine hard sand. Vessels of all sorts, from the large heavy troll-boat to the yawl and prame, drawn up along the shore—fishermen preparing their tackle, or sorting their spoil—and, nearer the gloomy old town hall, (the only indication of municipal dignity,) a few groupes of mariners, chiefly pilots, taking their quick, short walk backwards and forwards, every eye watchful of a signal from the offing—such was the squalid scene that first opened on the Author of "The Village".'

'Nor was the landscape in the vicinity of a more engaging aspect:—open commons and sterile farms, the soil poor and sandy, the herbage bare and rushy, the trees "few and far between", and withered and stunted by the bleak breezes of the sea. The opening picture of "The Village" was copied, in every touch, from the scene of the Poet's nativity and boyish days:—

> "Lo! where the heath, with withering brake grown o'er,
> Lends the light turf that warms the neighbouring poor;
> From thence a length of burning sand appears,
> Where the thin harvest waves its withered ears;
> Rank weeds, that every art and care defy,
> Reign o'er the land, and rob the blighted rye;
> There thistles spread their prickly arms afar,
> And to the ragged infants threaten war."

'The "broad river," called the Ald, approaches the sea close to Aldborough, within a few hundred yards, and then, turning abruptly, continues to run for about ten miles parallel to the beach,—from which, for the most part, a dreary stripe of marsh and waste alone divides it,—until it at length finds its embouchure at Orford. The scenery of this river has been celebrated as lovely and delightful in a poem called "Slaughden Vale," written by Mr. James Bird, a friend

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of my father's; and old Camden talks of "the beautiful vale of Slaughden." I confess, however, that, though I have ever found an indescribable charm in the very weeds of the place, I never could perceive its claims to beauty. Such as it is, it has furnished Mr. Crabbe with many of his happiest and most graphical descriptions; and the same may be said of the whole line of coast from Orford to Dunwich, every feature of which has somewhere or other been reproduced in his writings. The quay of Slaughden, in particular, has been painted with all the minuteness of a Dutch landscape:—

> "Here samphire banks and saltwort bound the flood,
> There stakes and sea-weeds withering on the mud;
> And higher up, a ridge of all things base,
> Which some strong tide has rolled upon the place . . . . .
> Yon is our quay! those smaller boys from town,
> Its various wares for country use bring down." &c. &c.

'The powerful effect with which Mr. Crabbe has depicted the ocean itself, both in its calm and its tempestuous aspects, may lead many to infer that, had he been born and educated in a region of mountains and forests, he might have represented them also as happily as he has done the slimy marshes and withered commons of the coast of Suffolk: but it is certain that he visited, and even resided in, some of the finest parts of our island in after-life, without appearing to take much delight in the grander features of inland scenery; and it may be doubted whether, under any circumstances, his mind would ever have found much of the excitement of delight elsewhere than in the study of human beings. And certainly, for one destined to distinction as a portrayer of character, few scenes could have been more favourable than that of his infancy and boyhood. He was cradled among the rough sons of the ocean,—a daily witness of unbridled passions, and of manners remote from the sameness and artificial smoothness of polished society. At home, as has already been hinted, he was subject to the caprices of a stern and imperious, though not unkindly nature; and, probably, few whom he could familiarly approach, but had passed through some of those dark domestic tragedies in which his future strength was to be exhibited. The common people of Aldborough in those days are described as—

> —— "a wild, amphibious race,
> With sullen woe display'd in every face;
> Who far from civil arts and social fly,
> And scowl at strangers with suspicious eye."

'Nor, although the family in which he was born happened to be somewhat above the mass in point of situation, was the remove so great as to be marked with any considerable difference in point of refinement. Masculine and robust frames, rude manners, stormy passions, laborious days, and, occasionally boisterous nights of merriment,—among such accompaniments was born and reared the Poet of the Poor.' pp. 9—12.

In what soil will not the seeds of genius germinate? It will

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draw its nourishment, like the lichen, from the bare rock, and flourish, like the palm of the desert, where all around is an arid waste. But how came genius to spring up, like a chance-sown seed wafted by the winds from other climes, in this individual instance? How shall we account for its originating in the person of the Salt-master's son? From whom did he inherit it, or how came it to be developed under circumstances so ungenial? These are questions which we leave those to resolve, who deny that there is a mystery and a sovereignty in the dispensation of those mental endowments which distinguish one individual from another, independently of all the modifying effects of early circumstance and education. If Crabbe inherited genius from either parent, it must have been, apparently, from his mother. His father seems, indeed, to have been a man of robust mind, not without some relish for literature. He had been, in early life, the keeper of a parochial school in the porch of the church at Orford; and subsequently united the humble offices of schoolmaster and parish clerk at the village of Norton near Loddon. He used occasionally to read aloud to his family, in the evenings, passages from Milton, Young, or some other of our graver classics, with (as his son thought long afterwards) remarkable judgement and powerful effect. But his chosen intellectual pursuit was mathematical calculation; and with these tastes, he mingled not a little of the sea-faring habits and propensities of the place.

'The Salt-master often took his boys a-fishing with him; and sorely was his patience tried with the awkwardness of the eldest. "That boy," he would say, "must be a *fool*. John, and Bob, and Will are all of some use about a boat; but what will that *thing* ever be good for?" This, however, was only the passion of the moment; for Mr. Crabbe perceived early the natural talents of his eldest son, and, as that son ever gratefully remembered, was at more expense with his education than his worldly circumstances could well afford.

'My father was, indeed, in a great measure, self-educated. After he could read at all—and he was a great favourite with the old dame who taught him—he was unwearied in reading; and he devoured, without restraint, whatever came into his hands, but especially works of fiction—those little stories and ballads about ghosts, witches, and fairies, *which were then almost exclusively the literature of youth*, and which, whatever else might be thought of them, served, no doubt, to strike out the first sparks of imagination in the mind of many a youthful poet. Mr. Crabbe retained, to the close of life, a strong partiality for marvellous tales of even this humble class. In verse he delighted, from the earliest time that he could read. His father took in a periodical work, called "Martin's Philosophical Magazine," which contained, at the end of each number, a sheet of "occasional poetry." The salt-master irreverently cut out these sheets, when he sent his magazines to be bound up at the end of the year; and the "Poet's Corner" became the property of George, who read its contents until

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he had most of them by heart. 'The boy ere long tried to imitate the pieces which he thus studied.' pp. 14, 15.

This is the usual process through which thousands pass in their intellectual development, up to a certain point, but there they stop. Some fail in imitating what has inspired them with delight; others never get beyond imitation; only the few possess the finer organization which is requisite to re-produce in other forms what the mind has made its own. The poetry which struck and delighted Crabbe's childish fancy was, for the most part, of the humblest description; and how often, in after life, the man inspects with incredulous astonishment, the trash which the child devoured with a vividness of delight never afterwards to be derived from the finest productions of genius! But so it is, that the power of poetry to please and excite, depends far less upon its intrinsic qualities than upon the poetical susceptibility of the reader. Nay, the rudest productions vie in this respect, in their power of exciting a susceptible imagination, with the most finished works of art; just as the statue which wakens the raptures of the connoisseur, is found to yield in potency of effect and sanctity, to the consecrated daub or ill-carved block which attracts thousands of pilgrim worshippers.

Observing the bookish turn of his son, the Salt-master resolved to give him the advantage of passing some time in a school at Bungay; from which, in his eleventh or twelfth year, he was removed to one of somewhat superior character at Stowmarket, kept by Mr. Haddon, a skilful mathematician. Here, inheriting his father's talent and predilection for mathematical science, George made considerable progress in such pursuits. The Salt-master used often to send difficult questions to Mr. Haddon, and, to his great delight, the solution came not unfrequently from his son. Here, also, he laid the foundations of a fair classical education. Some girls used to come to the school in the evenings to learn writing; and 'the tradition is, that Mr. Crabbe's first essay 'in verse was a stanza of doggrel, cautioning one of these little 'damsels against being too much elevated about a new set of blue 'ribands to her straw bonnet.'

It had now been determined that George should be bred to the medical profession; but some time elapsed, after his leaving school, before a situation as surgeon's apprentice could be found for him. The manner in which this interval was passed, is described by his own pen in the following beautiful lines of his "Richard."

> ———'I to the ocean gave
> My mind, and thoughts as restless as the wave.
> Where crowds assembled I was sure to run,
> Hear what was said, and muse on what was done.

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To me the wives of seamen loved to tell
What storms endangered men esteemed so well.
No ships were wrecked upon that fatal beach,
But I could give the luckless tale of each.
In fact, I lived for many an idle year
In fond pursuit of agitations dear.
For ever seeking, ever pleased to find
The food I sought, I thought not of its kind.

'I loved to walk where none had walked before,
About the rocks that ran along the shore;
Or far beyond the sight of man to stray,
And take my pleasure when I lost my way:
For then 'twas mine to trace the hilly heath,
And all the mossy moor that lies beneath.
Here had I favourite stations, where I stood
And heard the murmurs of the ocean flood,
With not a sound beside, except when flew
Aloft the lapwing, or the grey curlew....
When I no more my fancy could employ,
I left in haste what I could not enjoy,
And was my gentle mother's welcome boy.'

All his hours were not spent, however, in so agreeable a manner. His father employed him in the warehouse on the quay at Slaughden, in labours which he abhorred, such as piling up butter and cheese; and long afterwards, he confessed that 'he remembered with 'regret the fretfulness and indignation wherewith he submitted to 'these drudgeries, in which the Salt-master himself often shared.' But not 'many an idle year'—not many months could have passed in this alternation of ignoble drudgery and luxurious idleness, since he was only in his fourteenth year when, in 1768, he was placed as an apprentice with a medical practitioner at Wickham Brook. Here he was subjected to new hardships, being often employed by his master, who had more occupations than one, in the drudgery of the farm, and made the bed-fellow and companion of the plough-boy. 'How astonished would he 'have been,' remarks his Son, 'when carrying medicines on foot 'to Cheveley, (a village at a considerable distance,) could he 'have foreseen that, in a very few years, he should take his daily 'station in that same place at a duke's table!'

Whether Crabbe's father complained of 'the large portion of 'agricultural tuition he received gratis,' his Biographer is unable to inform us; but it is rendered probable by the removal of George, in 1771, to a more eligible situation; and he concluded his apprenticeship with Mr. Page, a surgeon at Woodbridge. He there met with companions more to his taste; and although he never became fond of the profession to which he was destined, he now began to apply to it in earnest. Poetry, however, disputed

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with medicine the possession of his heart. Before he quitted Wickham Brook, he had filled a drawer with verses; and at Woodbridge, he not only wrote odes in the style of Cowley, imitations of Spenser and Raleigh, and a profusion of lyrics to Mira, but found courage and means to print and publish at Ipswich, a short satirical piece entitled, "Inebriety, a Poem, in three Parts." Price, one shilling and sixpence. Under the name of Mira, it pleased him to celebrate Miss Sarah Elmy, a young lady domesticated in the village of Parham, near Framlingham, under the roof of her uncle, Mr. Tovell, to whom he had gained introduction under the following circumstances. A young surgeon at Woodbridge, who was paying his addresses to a friend of Miss Elmy's, one day said carelessly to Crabbe: "George, you shall go with me to Parham; there is a young lady there that would just suit you." Accordingly, Crabbe accompanied his friend on his next 'lover's journey,' was introduced to the two ladies, and 'spent in their society a day which decided his matrimonial lot in life.' He was then in his eighteenth year, the very age of poetry and love; and his Mira, by her approbation of his verses, encouraged him in both.

About the end of 1775, having completed his term of apprenticeship, Crabbe returned to Aldborough, hoping to find the means of repairing to the metropolis, to complete his professional education. But the Salt-master's affairs were not in a sufficiently prosperous state to enable him to gratify his son's inclination in this respect; and the young man, now accustomed to far different pursuits and habits, was arbitrarily required to resume the labours of the warehouse on Slaughden Quay. This led, as might be expected, to violent quarrels between him and his father, whose habits had undergone, during his son's absence from home, an unhappy deterioration. His meek-spirited wife, in declining health, pined under the loss of domestic comfort; and George was the chief support, the physician and dutiful comforter of his afflicted mother. At length, his father made an effort to send him to London; and George embarked in one of the trading sloops, ostensibly to walk the hospitals, but with a purse too slenderly provided to enable him to go through the customary course. After residing in London for eight or ten months, his small resources were exhausted, and he was compelled to return to Suffolk, his scanty stock of professional knowledge not much increased by the desultory instruction that had alone been within his reach. He now engaged himself as an assistant in the shop of a Mr. Maskill, who had recently commenced practice at Aldborough; a stern, imperious man, who assumed an authority which his assistant could ill brook. Yet, conscious how imperfectly he was grounded in the commonest details of his profession, Crabbe felt himself obliged to submit in

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silence to a new series of galling vexations. 'Nor was his situa-
'tion at all improved, when, at the end of some miserable
'months, Mr. Maskill transferred his practice to another town,
'and he was encouraged to set up for himself at Aldborough.'
We must again employ, in continuation, the language of his
Biographer.

'He dearly loved liberty, and he was now his own master; and, above all, he could now more frequently visit Miss Elmy, at Parham. But the sense of a new responsibility pressed sorely and continually upon his mind; and he never awoke without shuddering at the thought, that some operation of real difficulty might be thrown in his way before night. Ready sharpness of mind and mechanical cleverness of hand are the first essentials in a surgeon; and he wanted them both, and knew his deficiencies far better than any one else did. He had, moreover, a clever and active opponent in the late Mr. Raymond; and the practice which fell to his share was the poorest the place afforded. His very passion for botany was injurious to him; for his ignorant patients, seeing him return from his walks with handfuls of weeds, decided that, as Dr. Crabbe got his medicines in the ditches, he could have little claim for payment. On the other hand, he had many poor relations; and some of these, old women, were daily visiters, to request "something comfortable from Cousin George"; that is to say, doses of the most expensive tonics he had in his possession. Add to all this, that the poor leech was a lover, separated from his mistress, and that his heart was in the land of imagination—for he had now resumed his pen—and it is not wonderful that he soon began to despair altogether of succeeding in his profession.' pp. 33, 4.

Yet, there was a short gleam of smiling fortune. In the summer of 1778, the Warwickshire militia were quartered at Aldborough, and his professional emoluments were considerably improved in consequence. He had also the pleasure of finding his society highly estimated by the officers. The following winter, the Warwick militia were replaced by the Norfolk; and Mr. Crabbe had the good fortune to be for a time their medical attendant also. But the consciousness of deficient qualification for his profession, together with the small chance of his obtaining a competent livelihood at Aldborough, led him finally to resolve on abandoning medicine and his native town for pursuits still more precarious, and prospects only less gloomy because more uncertain; for, with uncertainty, hope is always blended.

'He deliberated often and long,—"resolved and re-resolved,"—and again doubted; but, well aware as he was of the hazard he was about to encounter, he at last made up his mind. One gloomy day, towards the close of the year 1779, he had strolled to a bleak and cheerless part of the cliff above Aldborough, called "the Marsh Hill," brooding, as he went, over the humiliating necessities of his condition, and plucking every now and then, I have no doubt, the hundredth speci-

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men of some common weed. He stopped opposite a shallow, muddy piece of water, as desolate and gloomy as his own mind, called the Leech-pond; and "it was while I gazed on it,"—he said to my brother and me, one happy morning,—"that I determined to go to London, and venture all."

'When his father was at length informed that he felt it to be of no use to struggle longer against the difficulties of his situation, the old man severely reproached him with the expenses the family had incurred, in order to afford him an opening into a walk of life higher than their own. But when he, in return, candidly explained how imperfectly he had ever been prepared for the exercise of his profession, the Salt-master in part admitted the validity of his representation, and no further opposed his resolution.

'But the means of carrying this resolution into effect, were still to seek. His friends were all as poor as himself; and he knew not where to apply for assistance. In this dilemma, he at length addressed a letter to the late Mr. Dudley North, brother to the candidate for Aldborough, requesting the loan of a small sum; "and a very extraordinary letter it was," said Mr. North to his petitioner some years afterwards. "I did not hesitate for a moment." The sum advanced by Mr. North, in compliance with his request, was *five pounds;* and, after settling his affairs at Aldborough, and embarking himself and his whole worldly substance on board a sloop at Slaughden, to seek his fortune in the Great City, he found himself master of a box of clothes, a small case of surgical instruments, and three pounds in money. During the voyage, he lived with the sailors of the vessel, and partook of their fare.' pp. 42—45.

Mr. Crabbe always maintained, that it was necessity that drove him to be an author; an assertion in which his son could never, he says, coincide. But can it be alleged, that his love of literature seduced him from his proper path, or was the cause of his want of success in his profession? Surely not. Although the medical profession might not have been in all respects the best suited to his taste and habits, yet, had he been enabled to complete a proper course of study, there is no reason to doubt that he would have attained to a degree of proficiency which would have inspired him with self-confidence, have overcome his natural distaste, and commanded a respectable degree of success. But no man can take complacency in a species of employment for which he feels never to have been allowed the means and opportunity of becoming qualified, and in which success is denied to him by circumstances beyond his control. Crabbe was thrown upon literature, first as a solace, but at last as his only resource. With more knowledge of the world, he would have seen it to be a desperate one; and, could he have foreseen all the sorrows and disappointments that awaited the literary adventurer, he would either, as his Biographer remarks, have remained in his native place, or, if he had gone to London at all, engaged himself to beat the mortar in some dispensary. 'Happily, his hopes ulti-

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'mately prevailed over his fears. His Sarah cheered him by her 'approbation of his bold adventure; and his mind soared and 'exulted, when he suddenly felt himself freed from the drudgery 'and anxieties of his hated profession.'

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The attachment which he had formed to Miss Elmy, appears to have had the happiest influence in fixing his principles, and in sustaining his mind under depressing circumstances. Mr. Crabbe had imbibed early religious impressions from the precepts and example of his pious mother; and the seriousness and purity of these impressions, though smothered for a season, were never obliterated. But they did not altogether preserve him, we are told, from the snares that beset with peculiar strength young men early removed from the paternal roof. The following lines, taken from one of his early note-books, ascribe to his acquaintance with his Mira, the first check to the thoughtless career of folly upon which he was entering; and affliction fixed the convictions which friendship had awakened.

Aldborough, 1777.

'A wanton chaos in my breast raged high,
A wanton transport darted in mine eye;
False pleasure urged, and every eager care
That swell the soul to guilt and to despair.
My Mira came! be ever blest the hour
That drew my thoughts half way from folly's power!
She first my soul with loftier notions fired;
I saw their truth, and as I saw admired.
With greater force returning reason moved,
And, as returning reason urged, I loved;
Till pain, reflection, hope, and love allied
My bliss precarious to a surer guide—
To Him who gives pain, reason, hope, and love,
Each for that end that angels must approve.
One beam of light He gave my mind to see,
And gave that light, my heavenly fair, by thee.
That beam shall raise my thoughts, and mend my strain,
Nor shall my vows, nor prayers, nor verse be vain.'

Vol. II. p. 308.

We have transcribed these verses, not as possessing any superlative poetical merit, but as being evidently the record of real feelings, and serving to illustrate the moral history of the Writer. A severe illness which befel him not long after he had commenced practice as a surgeon at Aldborough, and to which these lines apparently allude, is represented by his Biographer to have had a powerful effect in reviving and confirming his early religious impressions, so as to produce 'a strong and a permanent 'change.' It was not, then, without compass or pole-star that the young adventurer launched his frail bark upon the ocean of society. If his religious knowledge was imperfect, his principles

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had become sufficiently fixed to arm him against the temptations that beset a youth on plunging into the vortex of the metropolis, and to sustain his confidence in Divine Providence amid circumstances adapted to produce a despondency under which others have sunk. In one of his early note-books, under the date of Dec. 31, 1779, is found the following entry.

'A thousand years, most adored Creator, are, in thy sight, as one day. So contract, in my sight, my calamities!

'The year of sorrow and care, of poverty and disgrace, of disappointment and wrong, is now passing on to join the Eternal. Now, O Lord! let, I beseech thee, my afflictions and prayers be remembered;—let my faults and follies be forgotten!

'O Thou who art the fountain of Happiness, give me better submission to thy decrees; better disposition to correct my flattering hopes; better courage to bear up under my state of depression.

'The year past, O my God! let it not be to me again a torment—the year coming, if it is thy will, be it never such. Nevertheless, not as I will, but as thou wilt. Whether I live, or whether I die, whether I be poor or whether I be prosperous, O my Saviour! may I be thine! Amen.' Vol. I. pp. 42, 3.

Still more striking is the devout spirit exhibited in some private Prayers and Meditations written during his residence in the metropolis, from which some extracts are given. We cannot refrain from transcribing a specimen.

'Amid the errors of the best, how shall my soul find safety? Even by thee, O Lord! Where is unlettered Hope to cast her anchor? Even in thy blessed Gospel! Serious examination, deep humility, earnest prayer, will obtain certainty.

'God is good. Christ is our only Mediator and Advocate. He suffered for our sins. By his stripes we are healed. As in Adam all die, so in Christ all are made alive. Whoso believeth shall be saved. But faith without works is dead. Yet it is the grace of God that worketh in us. Every good and every perfect work cometh from above. Man can do nothing of himself; but Christ is all in all; and, Whatsoever things ye shall ask in the name of Jesus shall be granted. This is sufficient; this is plain. I ask no philosophic researches, no learned definitions; I want not to dispute, but to be saved, Lord! save me, or I perish. I only know my own vileness; I only know thy sufficiency; these are enough; witness Heaven and Earth, my trust is in God's mercy, through Jesus Christ, my blessed Redeemer. Amen!' Vol. I. p. 88.

On his arrival in London, Mr. Crabbe took lodgings in the house of Mr. Vickery, a hair-dresser, near the Royal Exchange, where he sedulously applied himself to the pursuits for which he had sacrificed every other prospect. Mr. Vickery still survives, a respectable octogenarian, and 'laments that his memory retains 'little' of his lodger, except that he was 'a quiet, amiable, gen-

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'teel young man, much esteemed by the family for the regularity 'of his conduct.' When he had completed some short pieces in verse, he offered them for publication, but they were rejected. He took more pains, tried new subjects, and, while preparing a more elaborate work, hazarded the publication of an anonymous performance, entitled, "The Candidate, a Poetical Epistle to the Authors of the Monthly Review". It was published in 4to (pp. 34), early in 1780, by H. Payne; and its Author 'had the satis-'faction of hearing, in due time, that something (not much, in-'deed, but a something was much,) would arise from it; but, 'while he gathered encouragement, and looked forward to more 'than mere encouragement from this essay, the publisher failed, 'and his hope of profit was as transitory as the fame of his name-'less production!' The failure of Mr. Payne plunged the young Poet into the utmost perplexity. He was absolutely under the necessity of seeking some pecuniary aid; and he was now driven to try the effect of applying to those who had the reputation of being liberal patrons of literature. He applied to Lord North, then premier,—in vain; to Lord Shelburne, with no better success; to Lord Chancellor Thurlow, and met with a cold repulse. His circumstances became fearfully critical; absolute want stared him in the face; and the best he could hope for, was, dismissing all his dreams of literary distinction, to find the means of earning his daily bread as a druggist's assistant. The struggles of hope and fear, the alternations of buoyant feeling and despondency, which he endured for the first three months of the miserable year that he spent in the city, are vividly painted in a journal which Mr. Crabbe kept during this distressing period for the perusal of his affianced wife. At one time, we find him confessing that, having got to the end of his money, he had pawned his watch, was in debt to his landlord, and was 'finally at some loss how to 'eat a week longer'. In another part of the journal, it is pleasing to find an abstract of a sermon preached by his 'favourite 'clergyman' at St. Dunstan's. It is evident that his mind derived strength and fortitude from his religious principles. Thrice repulsed as he had been in his applications to the great, he resolved, in the extremity of his distress, to make one effort more; and 'impelled by some propitious influence', in a happy moment, he fixed upon Edmund Burke.

'Mr. Burke was, at this period (1781), engaged in the hottest turmoils of parliamentary opposition, and his own pecuniary circumstances were by no means very affluent: yet, he gave instant attention to this letter and the verses which it enclosed. He immediately appointed an hour for my father to call upon him at his house in London; and the short interview that ensued, entirely and for ever changed the nature of his worldly fortunes. He was, in the common phrase, "a made man" from that hour. He went into Mr. Burke's room, a poor

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young adventurer, spurned by the opulent, and rejected by the publishers, his last shilling gone, and all but his last hope with it: he came out virtually secure of almost all the good fortune that, in successive steps, afterwards fell to his lot,—his genius acknowledged by one whose verdict could not be questioned—his character and manners appreciated and approved by a noble and capacious heart, whose benevolence knew no limits but its power,—that of a giant in intellect, who was, in feeling, an unsophisticated child,—a bright example of the close affinity between superlative talents and the warmth of the generous affections. Mr. Crabbe had afterwards many other friends, kind, liberal, and powerful, who assisted him in his professional career; but it was one hand alone that rescued him when he was *sinking*.'

pp. 93, 4.

It affords honourable evidence of Mr. Burke's penetration into character, not less than of his warm benevolence, that he formed so strong an interest in the welfare of the young poet as to invite him to take shelter under his own roof, where he treated him with the affection of a father, rather than the condescension of a patron. Under his auspices, "The Library" was selected from Mr. Crabbe's manuscripts, and published by Dodsley; and the success of that publication, which brought some reputation to the author, encouraged him to put forth his second poem, "The Village", which was partly written under the eye of his generous protector. At the seat of Mr. Burke, near Beaconsfield, Mr. Crabbe was supplied with books for his information and amusement, and treated as a member of the family. But the kindness of his Mecænas did not stop here. Having drawn from Mr. Crabbe, in the course of one of their walks, the avowal of a strong inclination to enter the church, Mr. Burke not only encouraged the idea, but exerted himself to procure the assent of the then Bishop of Norwich to his obtaining ordination; and in this, he was eventually successful. In the mean time, his *protegé* was introduced to the society of Mr. Fox, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Dr. Johnson, and other illustrious characters of the day; and the 'stern and formidable Thurlow' himself shewed an anxiety to atone for his previous neglect of the now rising young poet. At a time when his pecuniary means had been reduced to so low an ebb as to occasion him, amid all this honour, the most painful perplexity, Mr. Crabbe received a note from the Lord Chancellor, politely inviting him to breakfast. He was received with more than courtesy, and his Lordship condescended to say: 'The first poem you sent me, Sir, I ought to 'have noticed—and I heartily forgive the second': in this, the Poet had addressed to the Chancellor some strong, though not disrespectful lines, intimating that, in former times, the encouragement of literature had been considered as a duty appertaining to the illustrious station he held. At parting, Lord Thurlow put into Mr. Crabbe's hand a sealed paper, saying,

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'Accept this trifle, Sir, in the mean time, and rely on my em-'bracing an early opportunity to serve you more substantially 'when I hear that you are in orders.' On opening the letter, as soon as he had left the house, to his joyful surprise, he found it to contain a hundred-pound bank-note; a supply which effectually relieved him from all his present difficulties. The trait of character mentioned by his Biographer in connexion with this circumstance, must not be omitted.

'I am enabled to state—though the information never came from my father—that the first use he made of this good fortune was, to seek out and relieve some objects of real indigence—poor scholars like himself, whom he had known when sharing their wretchedness in the city. And I must add, that, whenever he visited London in later years, he made it his business to inquire after similar objects of charity, supposed to be of respectable personal character, and to do by them as, in his own hour of distress, he would have been done by..... It was his first thought, on finding himself in possession of even a very slender fund, to testify his thankfulness to that Being who had rescued him from the extreme of destitution, and to begin as early as possible to pay the debt he owed to misfortune.' p. 102.

Having passed a very creditable examination, Mr. Crabbe was admitted to deacon's orders, in London, on the 21st of December, by the Bishop of Norwich; who ordained him a priest, in August of the year following, in his own cathedral. Being licensed as curate to the rector of Aldborough, he immediately bade a grateful adieu to his illustrious patron and his other eminent benefactors, and once more returned to his native place, with feelings which may easily be imagined. He had left it, a deserter from his profession, under the imputation of disgraceful failure, with the character of 'a lubber' and a visionary: he returned, a successful and patronised author, and a clergyman with every prospect of preferment.

'His father had the candour to admit, that he had under-rated his poetical abilities, and that he had acted judiciously in trusting to the bent of nature, rather than persevering in an occupation for which he was, from the outset, peculiarly disqualified. The old man now gloried in the boldness of his adventure, and was proud of its success: he fondly transcribed "The Library" with his own hand; and, in short, reaped the reward of his own early exertions to give his son a better education than his circumstances could well afford.' pp. 103, 4.

The only individual in whose esteem he was scarcely raised by his success, was his ever-encouraging and confiding Mira; and exquisite must have been the feelings with which the young clergyman now revisited Parham. One melancholy circumstance detracted from the joy of this triumphant return to his native scenes. That affectionate parent who would have lost all sense of sickness

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and suffering, had she witnessed his success, was no more; having sunk under disease, during his absence. Mr. Crabbe was also pained at finding himself received by his fellow-townsmen with coldness, suspicion, and envy; such as proverbially attach to a prophet in his own country. When he entered the pulpit for the first time, the sight of the unfriendly countenances about him, awakened, he confessed, a degree of indignation, mingled with better feelings, which made him care little what they thought of him or of his sermon. Had there been nothing to operate as an antidote to vanity, the circumstances of his altered position might have induced a vain-glorious self-esteem. He continued to hold the curacy of Aldborough, however, only a few months. The unwearied kindness of Mr. Burke still followed his *protegé*, and procured for him the honourable appointment of domestic chaplain at Belvoir Castle. The offered situation, Mr. Crabbe did not of course hesitate to accept; but it proved one that little accorded with his independent feelings; and the painful circumstances attendant upon what most persons would have deemed enviable advancement, 'were productive, in his mind, of some of the acutest sen-'sations of wounded pride that have ever been traced by any 'pen.' While residing at Belvoir, he completed, and (in May, 1783) published, "The Village," the success of which exceeded the author's utmost expectations. The sale was rapid and extensive, and established his literary reputation on the high ground which it has ever since maintained. In the same year, the Lord Chancellor presented him to the small livings of Frome St. Quintin and Evershot in Dorsetshire; and, that he might be entitled to hold this preferment, the Archbishop of Canterbury conferred upon him the degree of LL.B. On his return to Suffolk with the Rutland family, Mr. Crabbe hastened to claim the long-pledged hand of Miss Elmy, who had prudently resisted every proposal of immediate marriage till her lover should have attained some position less precarious than that of a curate. They were married in December, 1783, and shortly afterwards took up their residence in apartments allotted to their use in Belvoir Castle, the noble owner of which had been appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and the family were consequently absent. Strict orders had been given, that their convenience should be consulted in every possible manner by the servants; but it was found to be a disagreeable thing to be attended by the domestics of an absent family; and Mr. Crabbe, before a year and a half had elapsed, took the neighbouring curacy of Strathern, and transferred himself to the humble parsonage of that village. The four years which he passed in this obscure retreat, he often spoke of as the happiest in his life. His Mira and he could now ramble at pleasure amid the rich woods of Belvoir. At home, a garden afforded him healthful exercise and unfailing amusement; he also cultivated

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botany and entomology with insatiable ardour; and he continued to practise his original profession among such poor people as chose to solicit his aid. 'He grudged no personal fatigue to attend the 'sick-bed of the peasant, in the double capacity of physician and 'priest;' on some occasions, he was obliged to act even as accoucheur; and his gratuitous services were claimed by some above the poorer orders.

'Never,' says his Biographer, 'was any man more fitted for domestic life than my father; and, but for circumstances not under his control, —especially the delicate state of health into which my mother ere long declined,—I am sure no man would have enjoyed a larger share of every sort of domestic happiness. His attachment to his family was boundless; but his contentment under a long temporary oblivion may also, in great part, be accounted for, by the unwearied activity of his mind. As the chief characteristic of his heart was benevolence, so, that of his mind was a buoyant exuberance of thought and perpetual exercise of intellect. Thus, he had an inexhaustible resource within himself, and never for a moment suffered under that *ennui* which drives so many from solitude to the busy search for notoriety. Out of doors he had always some object in view,—a flower, a pebble, or his note-book in his hand; and in the house, if he was not writing, he was reading. He read aloud very often, even when walking, or seated by the side of his wife in the huge, old-fashioned one-horse chaise, heavier than a modern chariot, in which they usually were conveyed in their little excursions, and the conduct of which he, from awkwardness and absence of mind, prudently relinquished to my mother on all occasions. . . . Though he for so many years made no fresh appeal to the public voice, he was all that time busily engaged in composition. Numberless were the manuscripts which he completed; and not a few of them were destined never to see the light. I can well remember more than one grand incremation [cremation],—not in the chimney, for the bulk of paper to be consumed would have endangered the house,—but in the open air; and with what glee his children vied in assisting him, stirring up the fire, and bringing him fresh loads of the fuel as fast as their little legs would enable them.' pp. 133, 4.

Among the various works thus destroyed, was an unfinished Essay on Botany, which was laid aside, we are told, in consequence of the remonstrances of a learned Academic, who 'could 'not stomach the notion of degrading such a science by treating 'of it in'—English!!

In 1785, Mr. Crabbe published his poem entitled "The Newspaper," which was well received by the critics and by the public. His next poetical publication, "The Parish Register," did not appear till after an interval of twenty-two years!

'From his thirty-first year to his fifty-second, he buried himself completely in the obscurity of domestic and village life, hardly catching, from time to time, a glimpse of the brilliant society in which he

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had for a season been welcomed, and gradually forgotten as a *living* author by the public, who only, generally speaking, continued to be acquainted with the name of Crabbe from the extended circulation of certain striking passages in his early poems, through their admission into "The Elegant Extracts." p. 131.

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We must pass rapidly over the biographical details relating to the interval, though not destitute of interest, and hasten to complete the portrait of this estimable man, by tracing a few additional traits of character. Mr. Crabbe had been, in 1789, presented to the livings of Muston in Leicestershire, and Allington in Lincolnshire; and he resided for some time in the parsonage at Muston; but subsequently placed a curate there, and returned to Suffolk, where he undertook the duties of two small parishes near Parham. Of his characteristics as a preacher, we have the following description.

'During the whole time my father officiated in Suffolk, he was a popular preacher, and had always large congregations. For, notwithstanding that he adopted not what are called evangelical principles, yet was he deemed a Gospel preacher; but this term, as it was applied then and there, fell short of the meaning it now conveys. It signified simply a minister who urges his flock to virtuous conduct, by placing a future reward ever full in their view, instead of dwelling on the temporal motives rendered so prominent at that time by many of his brethren.

'His style of reading in the desk was easy and natural—at any rate, natural to him, though a fastidious ear might find in it a species of affectation, something a little like assumed authority; but there was no tone, nothing of sing-song. He read too rapidly, it is true... In the pulpit, he was entirely unaffected,—read his sermon with earnestness, and in a voice and manner, on some occasions, peculiarly affecting; but he made no attempt at extempore preaching, and utterly disregarded all the mechanism of oratory.... He was always, like his own author-rector in the Parish Register, "careless of hood and band," &c.' pp. 162, 3.

For a Suffolk clergyman of those days, Mr. Crabbe might be deemed an exemplary and—speaking *comparatively*—an evangelical minister; but it is impossible to forget the highly objectionable tendency of some of his tales, and the angry dislike which he manifests towards sectaries and dissenters. His Son, with much delicacy, accounts for these feelings, without attempting to vindicate them. During the twelve years of his non-residence at Muston, 'a Wesleyan missionary had formed a thriving establishment there;' and, on his resuming the charge of his own parish, Mr. Crabbe was much annoyed at finding the congregations at church no longer such as they had been of old. 'The warmth with which he began to preach against dissent,' remarks his Bio-

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grapher, 'only irritated himself and others, without bringing 'back disciples to the fold.'

'But the progress of the Wesleyans was, after all, a slight vexation, compared to what he underwent from witnessing the much more limited success of a disciple of Huntington in spreading in the same neighbourhood the pernicious fanaticism of his half-crazy master. The *social* and *moral* effects of that new mission were well calculated to excite not only regret, but indignation; and, among other distressing incidents, was the departure from his own household of two servants, a woman and a man, one of whom had been employed by him for twenty years. This man, a conceited ploughman, set up for an Huntingtonian preacher himself; and the woman, whose moral character had been sadly deteriorated since her adoption of the new lights, was at last obliged to be dismissed, in consequence of intolerable insolence. I mention these things, because they may throw light on some passages in my father's later poetry.' p. 182.

The preface to "The Borough," first published in 1810, betrays how much the Author's mind was engrossed and irritated, at the time, by the circumstances above-mentioned. His next publication, "Tales in Verse," published in 1812, is characterized by his Biographer as a work equally striking and 'far *less* objection-'able than its predecessor; for here, no flimsy connexion is at-'tempted between subjects naturally separate; nor consequently 'was there any such temptation to compel into verse matters es-'sentially prosaic.' His last work, "Tales of the Hall," for which he obtained from Mr. Murray the munificent sum of 3000*l.*, appeared in June, 1819. These Tales, equal in interest and merit, perhaps, to any of the Author's earlier productions, are unhappily disfigured by passages of an objectionable tendency; and, indeed, some of the tales are altogether exceptionable. The sternest critic, however, after reading these Memoirs, will be disposed to forgive, although he cannot but deeply regret, the prejudice and error of judgement betrayed in these portions of the Author's writings. Mr. Crabbe was no bigot; but he came into collision with Dissent and Methodism under circumstances which could not fail to produce a strong revulsion against every thing associated with those forms of religious profession. His theological knowledge was, we suspect, extremely imperfect; which, considering the circumstances of his earlier years, is not to be wondered at. Possibly, the ingenuous and fervent piety which characterizes the extracts from his private journal, written during his struggle with poverty and disappointment, did not maintain itself unimpaired under that blaze of patronage and literary celebrity to which it was subsequently exposed. The polished circles to which Mr. Crabbe was admitted, the tables of the great at which he was a favoured guest, the princely mansion of which he

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became an inmate, were far from being favourable to the cultivation of personal religion. That he entered the church with a sincere intention to devote himself to the duties of the sacred office, cannot be doubted. His early note-books contain proofs that he was in the practice of composing sermons 'in imitation of Tillot-'son,' long before he could have had the least surmise that he was ever to be a preacher. But what could he learn in the school of Tillotson, but a meagre, sapless divinity? It is pleasing to find that, as he advanced in years, his religious views became more distinct and more consonant with Scriptural truth.

'I am bound to add,' says his Biographer, 'that, in a later period of life, and more especially during the last ten years of it, he became more conscious of the importance of dwelling on the doctrines as well as the practice of Christianity, than he had been when he first took orders; and when a selection of his Sermons is placed before the public, it will be seen that he had gradually approached, in substantial matters, though not exactly in certain peculiar ways of expression, to that respected body usually denominated Evangelical Christians of the Church of England; with whom, nevertheless, he was never classed by others, nor, indeed, by himself.' p. 108.

We need scarcely point out the filial delicacy with which the Biographer has touched these weaker parts of his father's character, and intimated those foibles which a regard to truth forbade him wholly to conceal, without bringing them into full display. In 1814, Mr. Crabbe was presented by the Duke of Rutland to the living of Trowbridge in Wiltshire. A few months before, death had released his beloved partner from the bodily infirmities which had for a long period impaired her mind. He was therefore the more inclined to a change of residence; and the disaffection of his parishioners, arising from 'diversity of religious senti-'ment,' is admitted to have contributed to decide him on leaving Muston. This coolness he 'felt the more painfully, because, 'whatever might be their difference of opinion, he was ever ready 'to help and oblige them all, by medical and other aid, to the ut-'most extent of his power.' So far did they carry this unkind feeling, as to ring the bells for his successor, before he had himself left the residence. At Trowbridge, he was not much better liked during the first years of his residence. His immediate predecessor was a curate whose zeal and powerful talent for preaching had endeared him to the inhabitants; so much so, that the town petitioned the Duke of Rutland to give him the living; and his Grace's refusal had irritated many even of those who took little interest in the qualifications of their pastor. Mr. Crabbe was, moreover, represented to be a dissipated man; and he gave colour to these injurious reports by occasional violations of clerical decorum. He might be seen now and then at a concert, a ball, or

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even a play. What Suffolk parson of the old school would have scrupled to frequent them? Then, again, he imprudently espoused the cause of a candidate for the county representation, (Mr. Benett of Pyt House,) to whom the manufacturing interest, the prevalent one in his parish, was extremely hostile.

'Lastly,' continues his Biographer, 'to conclude this long list, Mr. Crabbe, in a town remarkable for diversity of sects and warmth of discussion, adhered for a season, unchanged, to the same view of scriptural doctrines which had latterly found little favour even at simple Muston. As he has told us of his own Rector, in The Tales of the Hall:—

> '"A moral teacher! some contemptuous cried;
> He smiled, but nothing of the fact denied;
> Nor, save by his fair life, to charge so strong replied.
> Still, tho' he bade them not on aught rely
> That was their own, but all their worth deny,
> They call'd his pure advice his cold morality.
> Heathens, they said, can tell us right from wrong,
> But to a Christian higher points belong."

'But, while these things were against him, there were two or three traits in his character, which wrought slowly, but steadily in his favour. One was his boldness and uncompromising perseverance in the midst of opposition and reproach. . . . . But mildness was as natural to him as his fortitude; and this, of course, had a tendency to appease enmity, even at its height. A benevolent, gentle heart was seen in his manner and countenance, and no occasional hastiness of temper could conceal it. And then it soon became known that no one left his house unrelieved. But, above all, the liberality of his conduct with respect to dissenters, brought a counter current in his favour. Though he was warmly attached to the Established Church, he held that

> "A man's opinion was his own, his due
> And just possession, whether false or true."

And, in all his intercourse with his much-divided parishioners, he acted upon this principle, visiting and dealing indiscriminately, and joining the ministers of the various denominations in every good work. In the course of a few years, therefore, not only all opposition died away, but he became generally and cordially esteemed.' pp. 219—222.

Mr. Crabbe was extremely moderate in the exaction of tithes. His charity was so well known, that he was besieged by mendicants of all grades. He was of course often imposed upon: on discovering that he had been, he would say, 'God forgive them,—'I do.' As he grew older, we are informed, he became not less careful, but increasingly bountiful and charitable. He lived scrupulously within the limits of his income, augmented by the produce of his literary exertions, but freely gave away all that he

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did not want for current expenses. He was anxious for the education of the humbler classes; and the Sunday School was to him a favourite place of resort. When listening to the children, he has been heard to observe; 'I love to hear the little dears; and 'now old age has made me a fit companion for them.' He was a subscriber to most of our great charitable institutions; and as a member of the British and Foreign Society, presided at meetings of the Auxiliary Society at Trowbridge. Regular in the discharge of his clerical duties, for nearly forty years, he did not omit the duty on one Sunday; and he continued to officiate till the two last Sabbaths before his decease, in spite of paroxysms of pain and the growing infirmities of age, of which he was not unconscious. In his private devotions, he is represented to have been exemplary and earnest; and 'the most important of all 'considerations' had perceptibly an *increasing* influence on his mind.

A severe cold was the immediate occasion of somewhat hastening his death, in the seventy-eighth year of his age, and the nineteenth of his residence at Trowbridge, on Feb. 3, 1832. The shutters of the shops in the town were half closed, as soon as his death was known. On the day of his funeral, ninety-two of the principal inhabitants, including all the dissenting ministers, assembling of their own accord in the school-room, followed his remains to the grave. And a monument, erected by his parishioners, records their veneration for their friend and minister, in a chaste and elegant inscription, in which he is described, in the language of 'a great contemporary', as

'Nature's sternest painter, yet her best.'

We have suffered ourselves to dwell upon this moral portraiture, from the strong interest which it cannot fail to waken. It is the history of no ordinary life; and in its long and varied course are mirrored the times through which it passed. The Life of Crabbe forms a link between the times of Johnson, Reynolds, and Burke, and the literary men and literary tastes of the day. But it is not interesting merely in this point of view. The incidental illustrations which it furnishes of the moral progress that has been going forward in society, would supply matter for instructive comment. Those who imagine that the state of national manners was purer or happier fifty years ago, who prattle of the 'good old 'times' of rural prosperity or village innocence, would do well to study the faithful chronicle of those times in the poetry of Crabbe, together with the illustrations furnished by these Memoirs, of the working of the old church and state system. Mr. Crabbe was an impartial and competent witness. He was one of the old school, and loved to talk of early days, but he knew that the new were better; and preserving the freshness of his youthful feelings

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even in green old age, he did not disdain to assimilate himself in some degree to the spirit of the better times which he had survived to witness. Early life presented to him no golden age. Suffolk, to his memory or imagination, was no Arcadia. The rude and gross manners of its rural population, the prevailing religious ignorance, the low degree of civilization which characterized its parsons and its squires, are faithfully mirrored in the scenes and characters of the 'Hogarth of song.' Poverty more squalid, crime more daring and brutal, do not now exist, than disgraced society in those days. Reality requires no darker colouring than it assumes in the pages of our poetical moralist. But the Author afforded a striking proof in his own character, that the sternest estimates of men and things are compatible with the warmest benevolence. Altogether, this is a volume replete with instruction to every thinking mind and feeling heart; and it may fairly be pronounced one of the most delightful pieces of biography in the language.

Art. II. *Historical Memoirs of the House of Russell;* from the Time of the Norman Conquest. By J. H. Wiffen, M.R.S.L., &c., &c., 8vo. 2 Vols. pp. xx, 563, 604. London, 1833.

THE biographical province of history is that which will always prove the most attractive to the general reader. The attention is excited and sustained by the adventures of a hero, which would flag over the dry narration of facts and dates. We think of Troy and of Carthage as the cities of Hector and Hannibal; and it is as such that we are interested in their fate. Thus, in those portions of our history which have been touched by the magic hand of Shakspeare, we find a charm which we might vainly expect in less favoured chapters of the annals of England. We feel at home the moment Harry the Fifth or the proud and wily Cardinal appears on the mental stage: and we venture to say, that a more distinct acquaintance with the question as to the respective rights of the rival Roses has been gained by the majority of readers from the speech of York in Henry VI. *, than from all the histories of England, prose, verse, or catechetical, that have been compiled. The antiquary and the jurist alone find attractions in the eras of Druidical and Anglo-Saxon domination: with Hereward, with Harold, with Alfred, we are familiar from our cradle. The Constitutions of Clarendon would be unknown, except as part of legal history, but for the contest of Henry with his quondam favourite; and even with

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* Henry VI., Pt. II., act 2, scene 2.

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regard to Magna Charta, the tyranny of John and the spirited resistance of his barons engage our attention more than the abstract rights and condition of king, peer, and serf. As the record of events become more ample, and the principal characters more developed, our interest increases; and in the feuds and factions of the court of Elizabeth, and of the Stuarts, we are as conversant as with the politics of our day.

The annals of the House of Russell afford a fair subject for that middle species between history and biography which, after the French, we call Memoirs. The early origin ascribed by their historiographer to this noble line, affords 'ample scope and verge 'enough,' as far as regards the period embraced by the chronicle; while the diplomatic employments, or brilliant atchievements, of many of the name, shed a lustre over the authentic family records. In the prosecution of his design, entertained for nearly nine years, of 'collecting together all the records he could find, con-'nected with the Russell family, in Normandy and England,' and of 'embodying in a systematic narrative the most memorable 'actions of the family, from the earliest known period, that could 'now be gathered from the keep of time,' Mr. Wiffen has been very fortunate. Our public libraries, the archives of the Tower and Somerset House, the 'muniment room of the prefecture at 'Caen, and the tower of Matignon at St. Loo,' have yielded their contents to his unwearied pursuit. The letters, among many others, of the two first earls, gleaned from the British Museum, the Exchequer Record, and State-paper offices, convey valuable and curious information respecting the diplomacy of the day; and the portraits and delineation of men and manners do credit to the research, taste, and ability of the Historian.

The deduction of the 'first race' of the Russell or Du Rozel family from no less a personage than 'Olaf the sharp-eyed, King of Rerik,' the only part of the memoirs which is at all likely to be deemed apocryphal, is printed separately, though uniformly with the volumes before us. It is, therefore, little more than alluded to, and the reader will doubtless be satisfied with tracing the line of pedigree to a brother of Rollo, first Duke of Normandy. This personage, Drogo by name, assumed the appellation of Turstain, in token of his descent from Thor, (which descent Mr. W. seems to consider as somewhat doubtful,) and was invested by his brother with the northern district of La Manche. The barony of Briquebec, as his territory was called, descended to William, who took the surname of Bertrand. Hugh Bertrand, the first recorded Lord of Le Rozel, is supposed to have been a younger son of the said William; and with him commences as well the name as the undoubted pedigree of the illustrious house of Russell.

The Lord of Le Rozel, soon after the battle of Hastings, in

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which he took an active part, retired to the monastery of St. Stephen at Caen, which he had endowed with lands in Normandy shortly before his assumption of the cowl. His name, therefore, does not occur in Domesday Book, though there is evidence in other ancient records, that members of his family enjoyed lands in Dorset. His son, Hugh Lord of Rozel near Caen, (not of Le Rozel and Barneville,) engaged with his elder brother Roger in the holy war, in which the latter fell before Antioch. This Hugh, who continued the English line, is supposed to have witnessed the accession of five Kings of England. Records on both sides of the Channel, in which his name occurs, are considered by Mr. Wiffen as sufficient to authenticate the traditional account of his extreme longevity. The names of his daughter and five sons occur frequently in deeds. The former ' was

' doubtless interred, agreeably to her provision, in the sanctuary of the abbey of Ardenne, which was highly venerated, says the Abbé de la Rue, on account of the regular lives of its inmates, and their hospitality to the poor. The abbey sustained many disasters by pillage in the wars with England, and by ravage of the Protestants in the sixteenth century; but it survived through all, down to the French Revolution. Then its altars were desecrated, its cloisters overthrown, and the tombs of its benefactors sacrilegiously destroyed. The stranger who now visits the spot, may still pace the aisle of the abbey church, and survey a wide extent of country from its summit; but instead of "the chaunted hymn and tapered rite," that were wont of yore to consecrate its precincts, he will hear only the hum of rustic labour, the murmur of a dove, or the simple sound of a solitary flail. In the staircase of the tower whence the sacristan used to ring the chime for matins, the owl nurses her brood; and spiders weave their webs along the columns that encompassed marbles, sacred to the memory of the Lords of Hermanville and the generous Lady of Rozel.' vol. I. pp. 81, 82.

The spirit which urged the early Du Rozels to the war of the croises, had not faded in the reign of Edward III. We then find Sir John Russell embarking in an enterprise against the Saracens of Barbary. On the landing of the expedition at the *town* of Africa, the barbarians were naturally anxious to learn what motive had caused the appearance of so formidable an armament, and were informed, that the object in view was to retaliate on them the misdeeds of their ancestors, who were no other than the crucifiers of our Lord. The fact of these malefactors not being Jews, produced no effect on the champions of the Virgin; but the strength of the Moorish fortifications proved an insuperable argument. It is hard to decide, whether we should most admire the historical knowledge or the logical inference of these Christian knights.

A violent tempest, which drove three foreign vessels into the

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port of Weymouth, proved the means of introducing John, afterwards first Earl of Bedford, to the notice of King Henry the VIIth. On board one of these ships were the Archduke Philip, and his bride, the unfortunate Joanna. The royal party were entertained at Wolverton by Sir Thomas Trenchard, who invited Mr. Russell, lately returned from the continent, to assist in entertaining the royal pair. The talents and intelligence of Mr. Russell, as well as his services as interpreter, induced Philip to request his attendance to Windsor, and to mention him to the English monarch.

'"Russell was accordingly introduced, and found himself in the presence of a slender but comely personage, with a reverend countenance a little like a churchman, which, as it was not very winning or pleasing, so neither was it strange nor dark,—the face as of a well disposed person, but one which would have been to the disadvantage of a painter, for it had the best expression when he spoke."' Vol. I. pp. 181, 182.

The first result of this introduction was the appointment of Mr. Russell to the privy chamber.

An exploit in France, during the war carried on under the personal auspices of the young king Henry VIII., strikingly resembles, in the despatch with which it was accomplished, the mission which gained Wolsey the favour of his royal master. Mr. Russell was entrusted with a company to prevent the relief of Therouenne in Picardy, and, on his return to the presence, was received with marks of anger and impatience. 'Eh, eh! Russell,' said the King, 'whilst we are fooling, the town is relieved.' 'So it is, indeed,' replied he; 'for I have sent them two thousand carcasses, and they have spared me twelve hundred waggons of provisions.' 'Aye, but,' said the King; 'I sent after you to cut off the bridge Dreban.' 'That,' said Mr. Russell, 'was the first thing I did; wherefore I am upon my knees for your Majesty's grace and pardon.' 'Nay, then,' said the King, 'by 'r Lady, thou hast not only my pardon, but my favour too.'*

Having been knighted by the Earl of Surrey for his gallantry in a descent on the coast of Brittany, Sir John Russell entered, in 1522, on his diplomatic career. The Emperor Charles and the English monarch, or rather the Cardinal Minister, had concerted a league against France; and to the Constable Bourbon, then on the point of open rupture with his sovereign, Sir John was despatched as the envoy of Wolsey. It was a post of no ordinary importance, and the agent passed through Flanders in disguise. His instructions were, to offer the advance of a hundred thousand crowns on the part of the English sovereign, with the erection of Provence and Burgundy into a kingdom for

* Cited from Lloyd's State Worthies, Vol. I. p. 322.

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the Constable, who was required to attack Burgundy, and to acknowledge the right of Henry to the throne of France. The wily policy of Wolsey urged as an argument, that Bourbon would still preserve his fidelity to the *crown*, while he avenged his personal wrongs on Francis.

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'Sir John prevailed on him to sign all the conditions of the treaty he presented, received the duke's solemn oath that he would assuredly observe its articles, and returned upon his sovereign's part the like ratification. The secret but mighty influence which that interchange was to have upon the future condition and religious prospects of mankind, was what neither party could at that period imagine or foresee. Had Bourbon stood aloof, one necessary link would have been wanting to the chain of events which afterwards stretched the Roman Pontiff in the dust, and dispelled in England the dark credulity of ages.' Vol. I. p. 204.

The thrilling and hair's-breadth escapes of Bourbon in his flight from Chantilly, fall within the notice of Mr. Wiffen, as do the whole of those proceedings which terminated in his death, before the walls of Rome. During the whole of this eventful period, Sir John Russell ably sustained his confidential diplomatic labours: his advices, illustrative of the state of affairs, serve to heighten the interest of this very delightful part of the Memoirs. We must make room for the vivid description of the battle of Pavia.

'The King, conspicuous to all his chivalry by his tall person, flowing plume, and rich surcoat of silver worn over his armour, cheered on by his voice, and still more by his actions, the knights and soldiers which surrounded him. By his own heroic bearing, and the prowess of his legions, the issue of the fight was still suspended; but it was only for a season. The furious charge of Lannoy and the Basque cross-bows of Pescara, who, issuing from and retiring at their pleasure to the ranks of the trained pike-men, selected with their quarrels the most distinguished of the foe, threw the gens-d'armerie into confusion. La Tremouille received two of their bolts at the same time; the one passed through his head, and the other pierced his heart. Their disorder, and the well-timed incursions of De Guasto, threw the Swiss into a panic; they fled precipitately from the field; and Diespach, their general, unable to reclaim them, threw away his life upon the lance-knights in a fit of indignation and despair. The black bands (of De Medici) and the White Rose (Pole) fought wildly in their room, till this was sorely wounded, and those were cut to pieces, mown down in ranks, and lying on the plain like shocks of corn beneath the scythe or sickle. The defection of the Swiss, and the slaughter of these heroes, dispirited the Duc D'Alençon; the battle was concentering round the place where Francis fought; La Palisse, who on his side had twice beaten back Castaldo, the second in command to Pescara, had his horse shot under him, and was

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captured: all depended on the conduct of d'Alençon. Instead, however, of yielding the prompt succour which the exigence demanded, by bringing up his horse to a second rescue, he suffered his mind to be overpowered by the peril of the crisis, and ignobly retreated from the field. The King's battle was still galled by the cross-bows of the Basques. His *grand écuyer*, St. Severin, whose duty it was to guard his person, marked out by his crest and pennon, fell. Guillaume du Bellay ran to his assistance; but the dying warrior said that he could do him no more service, and bade him rather guard the royal person. To the like loyal duty hastened, too, all such as marked with execration the flight of the Duc d'Alençon,—La Roche du Maine, the Duke's lieutenant; Clement de Marot, France's poet, who was in the Duc d'Alençon's retinue; and the gallant De Fleuranges, who had vainly striven to change his purpose. These and others of the French King's gentlemen closed around his person, and renewed the struggle. The lance-knights were repulsed, the bow-men beaten down; Pescara was wounded and unhorsed: Lannoy, eager for his safety, was charged and beaten back; when the other imperial leaders hastened to the spot with their divisions, De Guasto, and Castaldo, and De Leyva from Pavia. ..... No alternative remained to the high-spirited monarch, but to sell his life as dearly as possible.. Surrounded as he was by the concourse of the enemy, he slew six of the assailants who adventured to attack bim. He got out of the press, but was followed by four Spanish musqueteers, who, attracted by his dress and collar, called upon him to surrender. The King could not endure the idea of yielding to the common soldiers; he returned no answer, but sought to pass along. One of them struck his horse with the butt-end of his musquet, and the king fell, insensible for a while, beneath the dying animal.' Vol. I. pp. 241—3.

The accidental arrival of an officer saved the life of Francis; and the first who recognized the royal prize, was de Pomperant, the friend of Bourbon, who had accompanied him in his perilous flight from Chantilly, when the Constable passed as his valet. Francis naturally refused to yield his sword to his revolted subject, and Pomperant summoned to the spot Lannoy, viceroy of Naples, who received it on his knees. The Constable soon arrived, his sword yet dripping with French blood; and when his request to kiss the hand of the king was denied, moved to tears, he is said to have exclaimed, 'Alas, sir, if my counsel had been followed, neither should you have been in this estate, nor had so much blood of the French nobility been shed as stains the fields of Italy.' 'I must have patience,' said the king, casting his eyes up to heaven, 'since fortune has deserted me!'

After this memorable and disastrous battle, Sir John Russell, on the departure of Bourbon from Genoa, commenced his return to England. While in Bologna, through which city he directed his route, a plot was formed to seize and send him prisoner to

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Paris: the attempt was happily detected and frustrated by the address of Thomas Cromwell, who held the rank of an inferior officer in the army of the Constable. Under colour of persuading a quiet submission to arrest, Cromwell induced Sir John hastily to change garments with a menial, and thus, undiscovered, they reached Mantua. Gratitude induced the knight to present his deliverer to Wolsey, and from being the steward of the cardinal, he rose to fame and a peerage.

A second and a third mission proved the satisfactory manner in which Sir John Russell had discharged the duties of his first. On the restoration of Francis to liberty, the Bed of Justice he immediately assembled, backed by the voice of his nobles and people, rejected the stipulations that had been made the price, and declared that, as extorted, they were not binding, even *in foro conscientiæ*. The English minister, disappointed in his expectations from Charles, was ready to throw his influence into the other scale. The Pope, the cause of the renewal of the war, conferred on the alliance of Rome, England, France, Milan, and Venice, the high-sounding title of 'the Holy League of Italy'; that league which was destined to bring the sword of Bourbon on the patrimony of St. Peter, and to consign the Eternal City to rapine more unsparing than the worst fury of the Goths.

'Under pagan Rome,' says Mr. Wiffen, 'the cause of this impending attack, similar in its fury and subsequent atrocity to those savage inroads of the Goths and Huns, which broke down its gigantic fabric, would naturally have been termed Necessity, the goddess, and, as Euripides always represents her, the omnipotent controller of all human destiny. But under Papal Rome, whose frame, in the person of its mitred hierarch, received thereby a shock which it has never since recovered, the agency by which it was produced deserves a name more truly consistent with the representations of our sacred faith. The gathered tempest already hung upon the Apennines. If considered in its course as the minister of chastisement to the crimes, the luxuries, the fearful blasphemies, and persecutions of a hundred pontiffs, it will be regarded, certainly with curiosity and interest, but with none of that sacred pity which often attaches to the desolation and the woes of suffering states.' Vol. I. p. 292.

During these events, Sir John was active in Italy; and his efforts to infuse vigour into the vacillating policy of Pope Clement were such, that, we are told, on his quitting the papal court, he 'left behind him in the minds of the Italians, equal 'estimation and regret.' His letters to Wolsey express the wish of the Romans, that the tiara were already on the brows of the ambitious priest: had such been the case, the sack of Rome would hardly have occurred. The minister of Henry the Eighth would not have spent the very moments of the storm in 'pros-

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trate prayer,' or rather abject fear before the high altar of St. Peter.

The fall of the great cardinal produced no check in the tide of honour flowing towards Sir John Russell, now comptroller of the household. Cromwell, his deliverer at Bologna, in the year 1531, was knighted, and sworn of the privy council; and Mr. Wiffen remarks, that the honours of Sir John, his earliest patron, kept pace with his own preferment. In the abrogation of the Pope's supremacy, and the consequent visitation of the abbeys, the latter was the principal counsellor and agent. The Author of the Memoirs ably vindicates Sir John from the charges brought against him, by Burke, of greedy plunder of church property, based on the simple fact of his subsequent enjoyment of monastic lands. The only abbey, on the contrary, that was completely spared, that, namely of Peterborough, which was converted into a bishopric, we find under the protection of Sir John Russell.

This truly great man was subsequently elevated to the peerage under the titles of Baron Russell of Chenies, and Earl of Bedford. For the sequel of his history, we must refer our readers to the volumes before us. Of this veteran statesman, 'by the an-'nalists of his time emphatically termed the Gentle and the 'Good,' it is stated that, besides being a great encourager of literature, 'he wrote two Latin treatises himself, which prove 'his attainments in Divine truth, viz. one volume on the Rights 'due to the Civil and Ecclesiastical Authorities, and another of '*Comments on the Canticles!*' His remains were deposited in the private chapel attached to the parish church of Chenies in Buckinghamshire, 'which had received the dust of many 'knights and warriors of the Cheney family, and which yet 'contains some of their antique and mutilated effigies.' The manor of Chenies had been the property of that family ever since the sixth of Edward I. It came to the Earl of Bedford by his marriage with the heiress, and was formerly conveyed to their son by the heir male of its ancient proprietor. The village of Chenies is one of the most picturesque in the kingdom, and a degree of romance still lingers about the remains of 'the Great 'House,' the millenarian oak, and the 'proud chappelle.' Strange stories are whispered among the villagers, of the sounds that have been heard in untenanted rooms, of the mailed figure that has been seen guarding the last repose of the ancient earls, and the shadows which yet flit around the aged tree. The age of intellect laughs to scorn the nocturnal terrors of the olden time. The drudging goblin has departed from the homesteads of England, and the last Halloween has resounded with the elfin mirth of northern fays. But local superstition of a milder and less irrational character blends with the indefinite feelings produced

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by the domestic architecture of other days,—those legends in brick or stone; a superstition to which the imagination loves to surrender itself, and which reason finds it sometimes difficult to resist. The sylvan beauties of Chenies are well adapted to cherish these feelings. The present exemplary Rector, Lord Wriothesley Russell, the eldest son of His Grace of Bedford by his present Dutchess, now occupies the elegant modern parsonage which confronts the venerable remains of the long deserted Hall of the Cheneys. We know not whether he will have nerve enough to maintain his residence there so near the slumbering relics of his ancestry; but if so, he may perhaps succeed in discharging the functions of an exorcist.

The golden age of Queen Elizabeth witnessed the elevation of Sir William Russell to the post of Lord Deputy of Ireland. The fame of his military talent preceded his appointment; and we are told that the choice gave great annoyance to the court of Spain, which anticipated in consequence a speedy check to the Irish tumults. Ireland, never totally subdued, and divided, within the pale, by the feuds of its English lords, had been drained of the greater part of these hated proprietors by the wars of the Roses. The native chieftains, who had been driven to the mountains, seized the opportunity, and descended, at the head of their warlike septs, to regain the inheritance of their ancestors. Some of the settlers were expelled; others were brought into subjection to the Irish; and others became identified with them, and took part in their revolts. The frequent change of governor caused a constant vacillation in Irish policy, and the result was the increase of the disorders.

Hugh, baron of Dungannon, for the services he had rendered the English, was rewarded with the title and estates of the attainted Earl of Tyrone. 'But,' says Mr. Wiffen, 'his heart in 'every fortune remained wholly Irish: he was no sooner possessed 'of this dominion, than he abandoned his imagination to the same 'bright but fatal visions of kingly independence which had roused 'his haughty ancestry to arms. In the words of Spencer, "the 'frozen Snake, warmed by these compassions, soon began to hiss, 'and threaten danger to his benefactress."' He assumed the proscribed but magic title of O'Neale, and induced the other native chieftains of Ulster to join him in a confederation to preserve inviolate their religious and civil liberty. But, though his plans were laid, he by no means thought it expedient to throw off at once the mask; and the English Government was long the dupe of his dissimulation. In pursuance of this wily policy, Tyrone appeared among the English troops on the premature insurrection of Macguire of Fermanagh, and then, withdrawing from the camp as though in consequence of a wound he had received, sent secretly his brother Cormac with assistance to the confederates. Such was the character of Tyrone, who, on the

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landing of Sir William Russell, repaired to the new Deputy with all due professions of loyalty, and attributed his late disaffection to the injustice of the former governor. Sir William's vote for the detention of the formidable earl was over-ruled in the council, and Tyrone was accordingly dismissed, much to the displeasure of the Queen. To a letter of reprimand to the council, Elizabeth added with her own hand the postscript:—

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"'" Good Will,—

Let not others' neglect of what they should, make you for company do what is not fit; and, above all things, hold up the dignity of a king's rule, which more consists in awe than liberty, which honours more a prince than fears a traitor. God bless you and send you mend what hath been amiss."' Vol. II. p. 24.

Besides this indomitable rebel and his Ulster confederates, the English pale was harassed by Pheagh M'Hugh, a kind of free-booting chieftain, between a robber and a nobleman, against whom Sir William made an expedition in the January succeeding his arrival, under colour of a hunting journey.

'As he entered the defile of Glendaloch, he must have been forcibly impressed with the wild and savage nature of the spot. The valley was shut in, as has been said, by mountains, whose vast perpendicular height threw it into gloom, and whose very summits, being covered either with brown heath or sable peat, reflected but a pale disastrous light, even when the sunshine streamed the brightest on them. On his left, russet with coppices of oak, rose Lagduff and Derrybawn; between which a swoln cataract descended, filling the region with its roar, as, in concert with many others, it leaped from crag to crag to meet the Glendala, a mountain stream, which, after feeding one of the two loughs which give the glen its name, becomes, on its junction with the Glendasan, the more spacious Avonmore, its waters spanned by a bridge of three arches. These loughs, Superstition had in earlier ages peopled with evil spirits and fierce serpents; but the holy anchorite, St. Kevin, fixing his abode beside it, had long since exorcised them by his prayers and miracles. In the gorge of the glen, to the height of ninety feet, soared one of those mysterious round towers for which Ireland is remarkable; and up and down the valley were the ivied ruins of oratories, churches, richly sculptured shrines, and abbeys, that had been the sepulchres of ancient kings,—melancholy relics of those Seven Churches which rendered Glendaloch so famous, when the peopled city in its bosom was in flourishing existence, and the faithful from all parts of the island crowded to its *Teampall na Skellig*, for shrift, for penance, or devotion. In the face of a precipice, formerly horrid with a wilderness of wood, which overhung the deep waters of the lake, the eye might still recognise the cavern which the saint had scooped out with his own hands for his oratory and dormitory during the austerities of Lent. But the fisher of Lochnahanlan had long ceased to listen to the "chanted hymn," and to be amused during the solitary hours of darkness with "the tapered rites" that had once

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cheered the piles within its precincts. The glory of the saint had vanished, when the apparition of the Anglo-Norman came; and the sanctuary of Glendaloch had now for centuries been known only as the haunt of outlaws, and the scene where more outrages and murders were perpetrated than in any other spot of Irish land.'

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Vol. II., pp. 24—26.

The expedition was unsuccessful; but a second captured the brothers, and a third, the wife and sister, of the daring M'Hugh. Tyrone at length unveiled his designs in the North; and the request of the Deputy for the assistance of an experienced officer, procured him a rival in Sir John Norris. This officer was inclined to a milder line of proceedings than experience had led Sir William Russell to adopt; and his representations, influencing the English court, which in consequence did not send the supplies requisite for carrying on the war with vigour, induced the Deputy to solicit his recall. Elizabeth, after his resignation, saw too late the advantage lost. A sense of the correctness of his views 'was 'forced upon her by each fresh despatch from Ireland, where 'Tyrone broke loose from every treaty by which he had been 'bound, and rejected every proposal for accommodation.' Sir John Norris was deprived of his command, and never recovered the blow.

We are in danger of being tempted to extend this article more than our limits will allow, by the high interest of parts of these volumes; particularly by that portion of the narrative which brings before us the closing career of the great Lord Russell. Of him, the House of Commons recorded its opinion, that he was 'wrongfully attainted and convicted;' and Mr. Wiffen quotes the words of Mr. Fox, that when his 'memory shall cease 'to be an object of respect and veneration, it requires no spirit 'of prophesy to foretell that English liberty will be fast ap-'proaching to its final consummation.'

These Memoirs of the House of Russell will entitle Mr. Wiffen to the character, as well of a pains-taking antiquary, as of an elegant scholar. The latter distinction he had already attained; and the extracts we have given would be sufficient to shew that he is worthy of his reputation. As regards his antiquarian researches, we have already alluded to his own modest account of his labours. The aid both of the artist and of the herald has been called in, with an occasional strain from the lyre of the Translator of Tasso. It is but justice to Mr. Wiffen to add, that he has avoided one fault so frequent in biographical narrations. He has not bored us with the Russells. He does not make Rome fall, in order that the English *chargé d'affaires* may have an opportunity of displaying his diplomatic talent. A man of real rank and standing can afford to dispense with that petty pride which is necessary to support the dignity of a *parvenu*. The name of Russell is so

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connected with the annals, and with the glorious pages of the annals, of England, that there is no need to force it on the reader's attention. Nor has Mr. W., with one exception we think, the conduct of Admiral Russell with regard to James II. and the Prince of Orange, been misled into forming too high an opinion of the characters touched on in his memoir. The process of writing the life of any individual has a tendency to blind or bias the judgement. Every thing is looked at in one aspect, that of its bearing on the personal interests of the hero of the narrative; and this must have the effect of increasing his imaginary importance. Then the feelings become insensibly engaged; opponents are looked on as enemies, enemies as persecutors; crimes as misfortunes, misfortunes as the result of persecution; till the personage comes forth from his biographer's alembic with a character, genius, and reputation that neither himself nor his friends could for a moment have attributed to him. Mr. Wiffen has, we think, satisfactorily avoided this species of exaggeration, and his representations are biassed as little as possible by political opinion or party spirit; although his attachment is not concealed to the principles of civil and religious liberty, of which it is the noblest distinction of the noble family of Russell to have been the steady, hereditary friends and powerful supporters.

Art. III. *A New Translation of the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Romans, with a Commentary,* and an Appendix of various Dissertations. By the Rev. Moses Stuart, M.A. Professor of Sacred Literature in the Theological Seminary at Andover, in the State of Massachusetts. Republished, by appointment of the Author, with Prefaces and an Index, under the care of John Pye Smith, D.D., and E. Henderson, Doct. Philos. 8vo. pp. xxiv. 563. London, 1833.

THE Epistle of Paul to the Romans, the first in order in the arrangement of the printed editions and manuscripts of the New Testament, and, on the whole, the most important of his writings, is, in respect to some particulars of its critical history, attended with less of difficulty than most of the Epistles which follow it. The time and place in which it was written, may be fixed with a high degree of probability. The latter, indeed, can scarcely be said to be doubtful, since, from a comparison of passages, it may be determined as satisfactorily as points of this kind are capable of being settled, that it was sent to the Christians at Rome, from Corinth. Its date is generally fixed to the year A.D. 57, when the Apostle quitted Corinth for the last time, being about to visit Jerusalem, with the contributions which had been made in Macedonia and Achaia for the relief of the poor

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converts in Judea. But if, in respect to date and place, this Epistle is more free from difficulties than other portions of the Apostle's writings, there are other circumstances, in regard to which we have less information, and more contracted means of forming a judgement, than we obtain in our study of the other epistles which bear his name. These were, for the most part, addressed to Christian communities with which the Apostle had had personal intercourse, either as their founder, or as having exercised his ministry among them. In writing to the churches of Galatia, to the Christian converts at Corinth and Ephesus, and to the Thessalonians, and the believers at Colosse, he was communicating with societies with whose circumstances he was well acquainted, and to whom he sustained a direct relation as a spiritual instructor. From the details which are furnished in the epistles themselves as sent to these Christian bodies, and from the Apostolic History of Luke, the companion of Paul through many scenes of his travels and ministry, we obtain available means of learning the state of the different communities, the circumstances in which they originated, and the individuals by whose exertions they were constituted. And these particulars are of no inconsiderable utility in assisting us to obtain explanation of many passages in the epistles, which might otherwise be left in obscurity. In respect, however, to the Epistle to the Romans, the external and collateral aids which, in some of the other cases, are so abundant, as sources of instruction, fail us. Of the state of Christianity at Rome, we have no early historical accounts. In the Acts of the Apostles, no record appears of transactions relating to the Christians in the city of the Cæsars. The Apostle himself, at the date of his Epistle to the Romans, had not been amongst them; and nothing occurs in any part of it, from which we might arrive at any satisfactory conclusions in respect to the introduction of the religion of Christ among them.

There is a strange account in Eusebius (Eccles. His. Lib. ii. 14.), of Simon Magus coming to Rome after his discomfiture by the Apostle Peter in Judea, and succeeding by demoniacal agency in gaining the admiration of the inhabitants of the city, who worshipped him as a god, till Peter arrived. That Apostle, by the power of his preaching, vanquished the impostor a second time, who immediately destroyed himself. The reign of Claudius is assigned as the time when these transactions occurred; and the whole purport of it conveys the notion, that Peter's residence at Rome as a preacher was of some duration. It suits the pretensions of the Romanists to make the best of every traditionary and legendary report; and the account of Peter's coming to Rome, which Eusebius has inserted in the second book of his history, is not more extraordinary than are some

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other of his details. But the account is entitled to no credit. It bears throughout a fabulous complexion, and has been rejected by almost all sober critics. It would, however, in our opinion, be difficult to shew why this narrative should be expunged from the pages of Eusebius, or rejected as spurious, and some others of his representations retained as true ones. Peter was not, it would fully seem, the founder of the Church at Rome. It was in a flourishing state before the time of Paul's arrival. No one of the Apostles had probably ever visited it previously to that period. But of its rise, and the first promulgation of the Christian doctrine to its inhabitants, we can only frame conjectures.

It is scarcely to be supposed, that the knowledge of the new doctrine by which the regeneration of the world is to be accomplished, could remain concealed from the inhabitants of Rome. Intercourse with the provinces was constant; and the changes which were perpetually occurring, as commerce, and civil and military calls were regarded, would necessarily bring many of the Roman people into acquaintance with the teachers and disciples of the Christian faith. Many, on their return from the provinces, would continue to profess the faith which they had received. Among the attendants who heard Peter's discourse (Acts ii.) at the Pentecostal festival, were strangers of Rome, Jews and proselytes. This was in A. D. 33, from which time to the period of Paul's first arrival at Rome, more than twenty years had elapsed; and in this time there was ample space for a considerable enlargement of the Christian community in the imperial city. There is nothing certainly of a decisive nature, from which we can deduce as fact, that the Christian Roman converts to whom Paul's epistle is addressed, were very numerous. Their faith, indeed, was spoken of everywhere; but a small society may become distinguished for their principles and practice. The very numerous salutations, however, in the close of the Epistle would seem to afford a presumption, that where so many of the community of believers at Rome were known to the Apostle, the society was of considerable extent; and no other evidence is necessary to shew its importance, than the epistle which he addressed to them.

Many suppositions have been ventured by expositors, who have been anxious to discover the occasion and reasons of the Apostle's writing to the Romans, which it would be tedious to repeat, and from the best of which nothing of real moment could be obtained for the elucidation of the contents of his Epistle inscribed to them. We know that the community of Christians at Rome was composed of Jews and Gentiles; but whether any particular circumstances were in the Apostle's view, when he introduced those discourses which constitute the peculiarity of this book, we are not able to decide. Differences of opinion and grounds of dis-

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sension no doubt existed in the church at Rome, as they did in the churches of Galatia, and elsewhere, in consequence of the mixed profession of Jewish and Heathen converts. But the very remarkable portions of the Epistle to which we have referred, cannot be accounted for by any assignable variations in principle or in practice, which distinguished the Christians at Rome from their brethren in other countries.

The materials usually considered as proper for an Introduction (*Prolegomena*) are, in respect to this Epistle, very scanty. Its genuineness has been almost universally acknowledged. The few who opposed it in the early times, rejected it much for the same reason that Luther discarded the Epistle of James, namely, dislike of its doctrines. In recent times, objections have been adduced against the last two chapters; and the German critics have employed themselves in constructing some very curious hypotheses to account for them. A sufficient notice of these will be found in the Introduction to the present volume.

There are hosts of expositors who have treated in the way of commentary, both critical and practical, of the Epistle to the Romans; but the works are not very numerous to which a well-informed and judicious instructor would direct the inquiring who would wish to avail themselves of the most eligible means of studying its contents. Chrysostom has thirty-two homilies on this Epistle, replete with passages of great beauty. Calvin will not fail to be used and recommended by those who are acquainted with his acuteness and judiciousness as a commentator, though they may not be prepared to call him 'master.'* Whitby and Macknight require a careful reader, but they are valuable to a student who knows how to make use of them with discrimination.

Of this very important but difficult book, the Translation and Exposition before us will not fail of being welcomed by every theological scholar who is desirous of being supplied with the best critical aids in his study of the New Testament; and the high reputation of the learned Author will prepare him fully to appreciate its value. From the instructions and suggestions contained in these pages, a person must be already thoroughly furnished as a divine, and complete in all the accomplishments of a philologist, who does not derive advantage for which he will feel grateful to the Author. Mr. Stuart has evidently bestowed, as

* We are happy to notice a new translation of Calvin's Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, by Francis Sibson, A.B., which has just issued from the press. We shall take an early opportunity of reporting respecting its execution. The neglect which, hitherto, Calvin's expository writings have met with, is not creditable to English divines.

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he professes to have done, much patient labour in his examination of the book which he has attempted to illustrate in this 'Commentary;' and he has not sent it forth without enabling every reader to pronounce from the materials before him, on his qualifications for an undertaking of this nature, and on the ability and fidelity with which he has executed his task. Of the Author's deep interest in the subjects which he has discussed, no one can fail to perceive the proofs, in the minute and careful attention which every passage of importance has received at his hands. His anxiety to preserve others from error and misapprehension is evinced by the cautious spirit with which, as a guide to truth, he advances towards his conclusions, and in the reasonings by which, as so many way-marks, we are enabled to trace and follow him in his progress. That those who should follow him would always be conducted to the desirable verity, is more than we are disposed either to presume or to report; but, as he never makes demands of submission or deference to authority, the cases which suggest doubt and hesitation, are always to be perceived. If we do not find that our resting-place is truth, we obtain, at every pause, the means of renewing, with advantage, our inquiries after it. Mr. Stuart is not a theological dogmatist or sectarian. He does not, at the commencement of his remarks, declare himself in favour of an adopted system, and then labour, at all hazards, to maintain it. There is probably no system, numerous and various as systems are, with which his opinions would be found constantly in agreement. His modes of thinking and his declarations of sentiment are those of an independent mind.

The present edition of Mr. Stuart's work is printed under the care of the English publishers, in conformity with the express appointment of the Author, and is introduced to the notice of the religious public of this country, by Drs. J. P. Smith and E. Henderson, from whose preface we extract the following recommendatory paragraphs.

'I shall be excused for taking upon me to say, that this volume will be found especially useful to students for the Christian ministry, and to young ministers. Besides the more obvious qualities of a valuable book, it furnishes a course of practical lessons, and is itself an ample illustration, upon the indispensable rule of solid exposition, that we should possess our minds with a clear conception of the general design of an argumentative work, and of the scope of the larger parts which compose the whole, and are subordinate to its ultimate end; and that the resolution of sentences, and the interpretation of the clauses and terms which form them, must proceed under the direction of that comprehensive and commanding view. Should it be objected that we have no means of acquiring that total comprehension, except through the investigation of the component parts, we reply, that such investigation needs not to be, in the first instance, anxiously

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minute, and that a rapid yet closely attentive reading through of a single and brief composition will put us into possession of this general view. As, in the entire domain of nature and providence, there is an action and a re-action which accompany each other, so in the example of this Commentary, the reader will see the process in both ways, and will find that both the analysis and the synthesis, in the work of exposition, elucidate and prove each other.' *J. P. Smith.*

'The exquisite tact which the author displays, in exhibiting the finer shades of difference which exist in the phraseology characteristic of the classic and sacred writers, especially of Paul; his discriminating judgement in reference to the significations of the prepositions, in certain connexions, and governing the different cases of nouns; the minute accuracy with which he weighs and adjusts the force of the numerous particles employed for the purposes of illustration, confirmation, transition, &c., on the right construction of which so much depends; and the close and rigid attention which he pays to the course of thought, the management of the argument, the scope, connexion, historical and other circumstances, clearly evince him to be a master in this department of sacred science. To some he may appear to expend himself too largely in critical and philological research, and to furnish comparatively little in the way of general comment, or theological discussion; but this, in my opinion, constitutes his peculiar excellence. He clears the ground, and presents his readers with the necessary exegetical materials, or the approved results of their application, and leaves it to each, according to his ability and the exigency of his circumstances, to rear his own superstructure. On some of the *loci vexati*, he has entered into more lengthened remarks, and added several important excursus; which display at once his extensive acquaintance with the controversies which have so long and so warmly agitated the Christian world; and that clearness, vigour, and independence of thought, combined with candour and freedom from dogmatism, which are of such essential moment, both in the pursuit and the communication of truth.' *E. Henderson.*

We cordially unite with these learned friends of the Author, in their recommendation of his present work as an important accession to our Biblical literature. Dr. Smith has recorded his dissent from some of the positions maintained in the Commentary; nor was it to be expected that the approbation of a work of this kind, how warmly soever expressed, should include the sanction of every statement and of every interpretation which may be found in it. Every judicious critic may not qualify his general commendation of the labours of Mr. Stuart in the present instance, in the same manner; but the claims which they seem to convey, in the results before us, to very exalted praise, will be somewhat abated in our examination of them. Commonly received interpretations are sometimes exhibited with the formality of original explanation. Rhetorical and logical technicalities are much used by the Author, and give a pedantic appearance to his work. His criticisms are generally managed with ability where

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important points are under discussion; but they are sometimes almost unnecessarily introduced, and are occasionally more diffuse and minute than their application required. It must be remembered, however, by the readers of this work, that the matter of the Commentary was originally delivered in the form of academical lectures in the Theological Seminary at Andover (U. S.), and that it is published for the use of '*beginners* in the study of 'interpretation.'

We shall extract a specimen of the translation, accompanied with some portions of the corresponding Commentary, and adding such remarks as they have suggested to us in our perusal of them.

1. 'PAUL, a servant of Jesus Christ, a chosen apostle, set apart for
2. the gospel of God, which he formerly published by his prophets in
3. the holy scriptures, concerning his Son, (who was of the seed of
4. David as to the flesh, [and] was constituted the Son of God with
power as to his holy spiritual nature, after his resurrection from
5. the dead), Jesus Christ our Lord, (by whom we have received
grace and the office of an apostle, in order to promote the obedience
6. of faith among all nations, for his name's sake, among whom are
7. ye also, called of Jesus Christ,) to all who are at Rome, beloved of
God, chosen saints; grace be unto you, and peace from God our
Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ.
8. 'First, I thank my God, through Jesus Christ, on account of
9. you all, that your faith is spoken of in all the world. For God is
my witness, whom I truly serve in the gospel of his Son, how
10. unceasingly I make remembrance of you, always asking in my
prayers, that at some time or other, if possible before long, I may
11. (God willing) make a prosperous journey, and come to you. For
I am desirous to see you, in order to bestow on you some spiritual
12. favour, so that you may be confirmed. This is also [my desire],
to be comforted among you by the mutual faith both of you and
me.
13. 'Moreover I would not have you ignorant, brethren, that I have
often purposed to come unto you, (but have been hindered until
now,) that I might have some fruit among you, as also among
14. other Gentiles. I am a debtor to both Greeks and barbarians, to
15. both the learned and the unlearned: such being the case, I am
ready, according to my ability, to preach the gospel even to you
who are at Rome.

['Subjects of consideration proposed, which constitute the distinguishing traits of the gospel.]

16. 'For I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, since it is the
power of God unto the salvation of every one that believeth; to
17. the Jew first, and then to the Greek. For the justification which
is of God, is revealed by it, [justification] by faith, in order that
18. we may believe, as it is written: "The just shall live by faith."
Moreover the wrath of God from heaven is revealed against all

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ungodliness, and unrighteousness of men who hinder the truth by unrighteousness.

'Κλητός, lit. *called*, but the meaning here is, *chosen, invited*, viz., chosen to take upon him the office of an apostle; see Acts xxvi. 17, where the κλητός here is expressed by ἐξαιρούμενος σε, *I have taken thee out of, I have selected thee from.* The word κλητός sometimes has the sense merely of *invited, bidden;* e. g. Matt. xx. 16, xxii. 14. But in the writings of Paul, it is not used in the sense merely of *invited*, but always in the sense of *efficient calling*, as we say; i. e., it means not only that the person designated has been *invited* or *selected*, but that *he has accepted the invitation;* 1 Cor. i. 1, 2; 1 Cor. i. 24; Rom. i. 6, 7; viii. 28; with which collate Gal. i. 15; Jude, ver. 1; Heb. iii. 1; Rom. xi. 29; Eph. iv. 1.

'Αφωρισμένος . . . . Θεοῦ, lit. *separated* or *set apart for the gospel of God*, i. e, chosen or selected in order to proclaim or preach the gospel of God, viz., that gospel of which God is the author, Θεοῦ being the *Genitivus auctoris.* The word ἀφωρισμένος *seems intended to be* epexegetical of κλητός, i. e., it expresses the same idea in different language. Hesychius explains ἀφωρισμένος by ἐκλελεγμένος, *chosen*, διακεκριμένος, *selected.* In the same sense ἀφορίσατε occurs in Acts xiii. 2. See the same sentiment in Gal. i. 15, Jer. i. 5. The meaning is, that God, who foreknows all things, did set him apart, choose, select him for the work of the gospel, even from the earliest period of his life, Gal. i. 15. So it is said of Jeremiah, that he was set apart, selected, for the prophetic office even before he was formed in his mother's womb; by all which expressions is meant, that God knows all persons and events before they exist or take place, and that he has a definite object in view which he intends to accomplish by them.'

The term κλητός, *called*, receives no elucidation from the expression ἐξαιρουμενος σε, in Acts xxvi. 17, which is rendered by Mr. Stuart,—'I *have taken thee out of*'—I *have selected thee from*,' —very improperly, in our judgement, though he is not the first by whom such a meaning has been put upon the words. In what manner are we to apprehend the sentiment, that the Apostle was selected from the people of the Jews and from the Gentiles? Chosen, selected from mankind, taken out of the Jewish nation, are intelligible phrases; but the specific mention of the people of the Jews and the Gentiles, in such a connection, is as unmeaning as it is contrary to usage. No doubt can be entertained by any one who fairly reads the passage, of the import of the terms, which are correctly given in the Common Version, 'Delivering 'thee from the people and from the Gentiles.' So Calvin (*in loc.*): '*Eripiens te a populo. Hic armatur contra omnes* '*metus, qui eum manebunt; et simul præparatur ad crucis* '*tolerantiam.*' All the ancient Versions read 'delivering from.' In the New Testament, the verb εξαιρεω is never used in the sense of '*to choose.*' In the Septuagint, the participle, ἐξαιρουμενος

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is of frequent occurrence, but always as meaning to extricate from, 'to deliver from.'

The word ἀφωρισμένος seems intended, Mr. Stuart remarks, to be epexegetical of κλητός; it expresses the same idea in 'different language.' If, however, κλητός denotes 'chosen to take 'upon him the office of an Apostle,' and the meaning of it be, not only that the person designated has been invited or selected, but that he has *accepted* the invitation, the notion that God, who foreknows all things, did set apart the Apostle, did choose and select him for the work of the gospel, even from the earliest period of his life, cannot be conveyed by the term κλητός. Mr. Stuart's previous definition of it refers the calling which it imports, to the precise time of the Apostle's actual appointment to the apostolic office. The Apostle could not accept an invitation before he existed. Κλητός and ἀφωρισμένος, therefore, as respectively explained by Mr. Stuart, do not express the same idea in different language; they express different ideas, and refer to different times. There is, perhaps, too much refinement in the Author's remarks; and the 'calling' and the 'separation' may with more probability be referred to the time of the Apostle's conversion and appointment to the evangelic ministry, of which he has himself given so interesting an account in his address before Agrippa, Acts xxvi. 15—18.

—'*Which he formerly published by his prophets in the holy scriptures.*' Our English Version, Mr. Stuart remarks, does not give the proper meaning of the original word, προεπηγγείλατο, *promised afore.* We see no reason for adopting either Mr. Stuart's opinion of the English Version, or the reading which he has given instead of it. The word is correctly rendered "*promised afore.*" With this, the Vulgate and the Versions agree, *ante promiserat*, and the modern translators read in accordance with the ancient. Επεγγείλατο is always, in the New Testament, used in the manner in which the Common Version in the instance before us represents its meaning, *he promised;* and the preposition προ, only refers to one time as compared with another: the English Version, therefore, is correct in rendering "he had promised afore." Many intimations were given, many predictions were uttered by the prophets in the holy Scriptures, in reference to the dispensation of grace which the Messiah was to introduce and establish, and to these the Apostle unquestionably alludes in the present passage; but the gospel was not, in any true and proper sense, 'published' before his coming. The compound word can be understood only of a previous announcement in respect to some object afterwards to be fully disclosed.

'Ορισθέντος is rendered by Mr. Stuart, '*constituted*'; and he is at much pains in his notes to support this translation, though he enumerates the other senses in which the word in its present

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connection has been explained. To constitute, is to give formal existence to an object; to make it what it was not previously. But our Lord Jesus Christ was not constituted the Son of God after his resurrection: he was so before. Mr. Stuart, however, endeavours to obviate this objection, by alleging that our Lord was not the Son of God with power, until after his resurrection. 'He was 'not the Son of God ἐν δυνάμει, in the sense here meant, until 'after his ascension to the right hand of the Majesty on high.' But, if ἐν δυνάμει be taken to qualify υἱοῦ θεοῦ, the meaning of the expression ὁρισθέντος, so explained, will then refer to Christ as being constituted the Son of God. As τοῦ γενομένου is connected with ἐκ σπέρματος Δαβιδ, so is του ὁρισθέντος with υἱοῦ Θεοῦ. Unless, then, our Lord was Son of God only subsequently to his resurrection, the rendering 'constituted' would seem to be inadmissible. We do not deny that ἐν δυνάμει is, in its position, an expression of some difficulty; nor do we consider the whole passage otherwise than as one of intricacy and trial to a critic; but our objections to Mr. Stuart's version and explanation are not diminished as we proceed with his commentary.

'If we should construe the phrase thus, as some do; "Declared to be the Son of God with power, by the Holy Spirit, on account of (by) his resurrection from the dead"; one might then ask: How could the *resurrection* declare, in any special manner, that Christ was the Son of God? Was not Lazarus raised from the dead? Were not others raised from the dead, by Christ, by the Apostles, by Elijah, and by the bones of Elisha? And yet was their resurrection proof, that they were the Sons of God? God did indeed prepare the way for universal dominion to be given to Christ, by raising him from the dead. To the like purpose is the apostle's assertion in Acts xvii. 31. But how an event common to him, to Lazarus, and to many others, could of itself demonstrate him to be the Son of God ἐν δυνάμει—remains yet to be shewn.'

Mr. Stuart regards these as very forcible questions: to us, they appear to be very extraordinary ones, involving very serious consequences, and indicating a very slight consideration of the subject to which they relate. Lazarus was raised from the dead. The widow's son of Nain was restored to life. Dorcas was brought back to life, by Peter; Eutychus, by Paul. The widow of Zarephath received her son raised to life by Elijah. But are we to describe these miraculous changes as being on a parity with our Lord's resurrection? There is no propriety in comparing the former with the latter. What did the resurrection of Lazarus prove in respect to himself? Nothing. It was his restoration to an earthly existence, but it furnished no confirmation of either his sayings or his actions. It was a demonstration of both the human affection and the Divine power of Christ. It was an

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event of great importance as illustrating the glory of the Messiah; but it is without relations of high and solemn interest in reference to the character of its subject. He rose at the command and by the agency of another. But our Lord's resurrection was altogether of a different kind. It was without the interposition of a visible agent. No testimony was borne by it to the truth of another's pretensions. Lazarus, and Dorcas, and the others obtained only a temporary release from the power of death; they returned again to the dominion of the king of terrors. But "Christ being raised from the dead, dieth no more: death hath no more dominion over him". Our Lord's resurrection was predicted; he himself foretold it,—"the third day he shall rise again"; it was, therefore, necessary to complete the proofs of his Divine mission, and to establish the truth of his doctrines. He was the Son of God previously to his crucifixion. This title he claimed, and received the acknowledgement of it, before he suffered. His resurrection, therefore, confirming all his declarations, being the great and essential proof of their truth, confirmed this, that he was the Son of God. "With great power the Apostles gave witness of the resurrection of the Lord Jesus". They declared: "God hath raised up Jesus again; as it is also written in the second psalm, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee." If, then, before his resurrection he was the Son of God, his resurrection added to the force of all the previous demonstrations which established his claim to this title of eminence and dignity, and was a new and original testimony of its truth. "He was declared to be the Son of God with power by his resurrection from the dead."

To the circumstances of this illustrious event, to which the New Testament is replete with direct references and allusions, there is nothing similar in the raising to life of Lazarus, or of other men, recalled for a time to existence in the world. Their resurrection certainly was no proof that they were the Sons of God, because, in the sense intended, the title never belonged to them; and because their being raised was altogether distinct and apart from any considerations of truth or power, in them, as the attributes of a prophetical character, or the demonstrations of a Divine mission. In raising the widow's son at Zarephath, Elijah's action was such as shewed him to be a prophet of the Lord. The body of the child quickened and resuming the functions of vitality, was a testimony in direct relation to the character of the man of God; but proved nothing in regard to the resuscitated subject of the miracle. No ultimate purpose was included, as no antecedent circumstances were implicated, in the restoration of the child to life. If the child had not been raised from the state of death, the whole of the previous incidents in its life had remained unaffected. Not one of them was to be estimated by the

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event. So, in respect to Lazarus, whether he remained in the grave, or was recalled from its oblivious sleep, was of no consequence whatever, in connection with his reputation or his pretensions. But how entirely different was the case of our Lord! "If Christ be not risen, our faith is vain." How then did he rise? Not as Lazarus, nor as any other who was raised from the dead in a similar manner. Whatever were our Lord's distinguishing claims and superiority over all others, in nature and in character, they were all confirmed by his resurrection. That event is constantly represented in the New Testament in this exclusive and transcendently glorious connection.

—"As to his holy spiritual nature."—We object to this as a rendering of the phrase, *κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιωσυνης*, which the common version very properly exhibits in the most literal form, 'according to 'the spirit of holiness.' Macknight adopts the reading, 'With re-'spect to his holy spiritual nature,' in his commentary; but, in his 'translation he retains the common reading, 'With respect to the 'spirit of holiness.' Whatever may be the import of the original expression, no translation of it can be admissible which deviates so much from the literal signification of its terms as the form in which Mr. Stuart's page presents it. Every such passage as this should be literally exhibited by a translator; and almost all translators have, in this instance, adhered to their professed obligation to make their version a transcript of the original text. The vulgate reads *secundum spiritum sanctificationis*, with which the early English versions accord—'after the spirit that sanctifieth.' Beza has, '*Spiritum Sanctitatis*.' The phrase is altogether a remarkable one: it occurs only in this place, and is of difficult explanation. It is, however, the business of an expositor, not of a translator, to determine its meaning; and Mr. Stuart's exegetical note will be more favourably received than his version by those who, like ourselves, may object to his translation, but wish to see a fair statement of the difficulties attending the criticism of the text.

'Κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης—like every other expression in this verse, is contested. Some translate, *by the Holy Spirit*; and some, *by a holy spirit*, i. e. divine and miraculous power. A third party construe πνεῦμα here, as designating the higher nature or condition of Christ, i. e. his *pneumatic* nature or condition, if I may so express it.

'Schleusner, Flatt, Bengel, and others, find in ἁγιωσύνη a meaning designedly different from that of ἁγιότης or ἁγιασμός. Thus Bengel: "ἁγιότης *sanctitas*, ἁγιασμὸς *sanctificatio*, ἁγιωσύνη *sanctimonia*." But this seems to be imaginary; for even in Latin, *sanctimonia* and *sanctitas* differ only in form, not in sense. In Greek, as there is no difference between ἀγαθωσύνη and ἀγαθότης, so there appears to be none between ἁγιωσύνη, and ἁγιότης. The seventy use ἁγιωσύνη for עֹז, *strength*, in Ps. xcvi. 6 (xcv. 6); for קֹדֶשׁ in Ps. xcvii. 12 (xcvi. 12);

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and for הוֹד in Ps. cxlv. 5 (cxliv. 5.) But as πνεῦμα, so often called πνεῦμα ἅγιον, is here joined with ἁγιωσύνης, I cannot doubt that the word ἁγιωσύνης is here employed in the place of the adjective ἅγιον (like קֹדֶשׁ in הַר קָדְשִׁי, i. e. *my holy mountain*). So the genitive case of nouns is employed, in almost innumerable instances. If we may conjecture a reason why the apostle here preferred ἁγιωσύνης to ἅγιον, we might say, that it was because he wished to avoid the dubious meaning which ἅγιον would seem to give to the passage, as the reader would more naturally refer this epithet to divine influence, or to the Holy Spirit.

'But why should not one of the two first-named senses of ἁγιωσύνης be adopted? I answer: Because there is contra-distinction (not *antithesis* in the strict sense of the word, for it is *climax* here instead of antithesis) between κατὰ σάρκα and κατὰ πνεῦμα. Christ, κατὰ σάρκα, was a king of David's race; Christ, κατὰ πνεῦμα, was king in glory above, at the right hand of God. Such being the obvious meaning of the passage, I must reject the two first interpretations of ἁγιωσύνης, just mentioned. Those meanings are liable to serious objections; for if you say, that κατὰ πνεῦμα means *divine miraculous power;* then how, I ask, could this demonstrate that Christ was the Son of God, when he himself declares, that his disciples, after his death, shall do *greater* miracles than he had done? If you say that it means the Holy Spirit, as raising Christ from the dead (ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν), then this is contrary to the analogy of the Scripture, which represents God the Father as raising up Christ from the dead, Rom. vi. 4. viii. 11. Acts ii. 24. 2 Cor. xiii. 4. Besides, how could the being raised from the dead be proof, as Flatt intimates, of the divine nature of Christ, since Lazarus and many others had also been raised from the dead? But what is more than all, the evident *contra-distinction* between κατὰ σάρκα and κατὰ πνεῦμα is wholly laid aside, by either of those methods of interpretation; which of itself is adequate reason for rejecting them.

'We come then to the third position, viz. that πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης designates Christ in his higher or *pneumatic* state or condition. But is this analogical? Is πνεῦμα elsewhere applied to Christ in the like way?

'That πνεῦμα is applied directly to Christ, seems clear from 2 Cor. iii. 17., ὁ κυριος [Χριστὸς] τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστι· and in verse 18, κυριου πνευματος. The appellation πνεῦμα is probably applied to Christ here, as the bestower of πνεῦμα. Again, in Heb. ix. 14., Christ is said to have offered himself, in the heavenly temple, a spotless victim to God διὰ πνεύματος αἰωνίου, *in his everlasting pneumatic* or glorified state. This passage does not seem fairly susceptible of any other meaning, when one compares it with verses 11, 12, which precede, and with the analogy of Scripture; διὰ here being διὰ *condilionis*.

'In 1 Peter iii. 18, the apostle speaking of Christ says, that he was θανατωθεὶς μὲν σαρκὶ, ζωοποιηθεὶς δὲ πνευματι· where he apparently uses the very same *contra*-distinction which Paul makes use of in the verse before us. What can be the meaning of πνεῦμα, then, in such examples, if it be not the *pneumatic state* or *condition* or *nature* of the Saviour, i. e. his exalted and glorious state or nature? The word ζωοποιηθεὶς, as here used, seems not to indicate *restored to life,* (for in what

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sense can this be literally applied to the πνεῦμα of Christ, even if πνεῦμα mean nothing more than his human soul?) but *rendered happy, exalted to a state of glory;* Com. Ch. iv. 1, where παθόντος is put for θανατωθεὶς in iii. 18, and is the antithesis of ζωοποιηθεὶς, used in the sense just explained.

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'If I rightly comprehend the meaning of these expressions as applied to Christ, the sense of the whole clause on which I have been commenting, is:—"Of royal descent, even of David's lineage, as to his *incarnate state* (λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο): the Son of God clothed with supreme dominion, in his *pneumatic*, i. e. exalted and glorified state."

'That both clauses, *viz.* that which describes his state κατὰ σάρκα, and that which describes his state κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης, are designed to describe the *dignity* of the Saviour, seems altogether clear. Not *antithesis* then, but *climax*, seems to be here intended. So, with Tholuck, I understand the passage; and I have interpreted it accordingly. I do not say that an ingenious critic can raise no difficulties with respect to this interpretation; but I cannot help thinking, that they are much less than attend any other method of exegesis which has yet been adopted.' pp. 67—69.

These criticisms must, we apprehend, be pronounced to be more elaborate than substantial. They are an attempt to explain a difficult passage, by illustrations derived from passages which are themselves of difficult interpretation. We do not claim to be considered as ingenious critics, but we think that the objections which have suggested themselves to us in accompanying Mr. Stuart through the preceding exegesis, are not of less moment than are those which attend some other modes of considering the text under discussion. We cannot think that κατὰ σάρκα and κατὰ πνεῦμα are there put in contra-distinction; the former, as denoting 'a King of David's race,' the latter, a 'King of Glory above, 'at the right hand of God.' As of David's race, our Lord never was a king. We can never understand the Scriptures which speak of Christ's kingly character and power, in any other than a spiritual sense. Κατὰ σάρκα we are not able to explain as designed to describe the dignity of the Saviour: it relates not to his exaltation, but his humiliation. Our Lord's declaration shews us that he was not a king, as of David's race, "My Kingdom is not of this world." Luke i. 32,—"The Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David, And he shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever, and of his kingdom there shall be no end,"—must be explained of a spiritual, not of a temporal sovereignty; of a heavenly, not of an earthly dominion. So, in Acts ii. 30.—"David being a prophet, and knowing that God had sworn with an oath to him, that of the fruit of his loins according to the flesh (κατὰ σάρκα), he would raise up Christ to sit upon his throne. He seeing this before spake of the resurrection of Christ." So, Chap. xiii. 22, "He raised up unto them David to be their king—of this man's seed hath

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God, according to his promise, raised unto Israel a Saviour Jesus." What our Lord was κατὰ σάρκα, he was not in any respect κατὰ πνεῦμα. By the one, he was ἐκ σπέρματος Δαβὶδ; by the other, he was υἱος θεοῦ. Being 'a king' is not at all included in the meaning of κατὰ σάρκα. The only sense in which *that* can be predicated of our Lord, is as he is 'king in glory 'above.'

Mr. Stuart asks, how κατὰ πνεῦμα, in the sense of *divine miraculous power*, can demonstrate that Christ was the Son of God, when he himself declares, that his disciples, after his death, shall do *greater* miracles than he had done? But, in answer to this, it may properly be replied, that our Lord's resurrection was a demonstration of divine, miraculous power *sui generis*. In the passage, John xiv. 12, "He that believeth on me, the works that I do shall he do also, and greater works than these shall he do, because I go unto my Father,"—the reference is to the miracles wrought by Christ, which in kind, generally, were renewed in the ministry of the Apostles, and to the effects following the donation of the Holy Spirit after his ascension. These last were the greater works. But the resurrection of our Lord had no reference either to his own miracles, or to those of his Apostles. He does not declare that any greater event than his own resurrection should take place in the acts or within the knowledge of his Apostles, in the period subsequent to his going unto his Father. If, then, κατὰ πνεῦμα be explained in the sense of *divine miraculous power* employed in Christ's resurrection, he might be thus demonstrated to be the Son of God, though the miracles wrought by his disciples were greater than those which distinguished our Lord's ministry.

(*To be continued.*)

Art. IV. *The Designs of the Dissenters.*—A Letter to the King. By a Protestant Dissenter. 8vo. pp. 48. London, 1834.

'THE King,' says the Author of this very able Pamphlet, 'cannot but feel concerned to know, and ought to be informed, 'what are the designs of so large and important a portion of his 'subjects.' The Protestant Dissenters of Great Britain, we can venture to add, are not only willing, but anxious that his Majesty should be put in full possession of all their views and projects. They are neither plotters against the dignity of the Crown, nor vexatious disturbers of the public tranquillity. They have every thing to hope, and nothing to fear from publicity. Whenever their claims come to be fairly investigated, their grievances will be quickly redressed. It will then only be matter of surprise, that

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they should so long and so patiently have submitted to disabilities and restrictions, which are at the best but 'the relics of an ex-'ploded legislation, the evil bequest of deceased bigotry.'

The object of the Pamphlet now under notice, is chiefly to vindicate the Dissenters from those ungenerous imputations by which misjudging alarmists and hostile partizans have endeavoured to prejudice their cause. In attempting this important service, the Writer undertakes, in the first instance, to state what are *not* the designs of the Dissenters, and afterwards to disclose the actual nature and extent of the changes they wish to effect in the present constitution of Church and State. Some of these we shall simply enumerate; others are of sufficient importance to demand a more extended notice. The first disclaimer is one which can never be too frequently urged, viz., 'that *Dissenters do not seek* '*the destruction of the Episcopal Church.*' On this subject, the Pamphlet shall speak for itself.

'Such a project as this, it would not have been necessary to disclaim, had they not been charged with the most injurious and violent designs. Having so much in common with the Episcopal Church as regards her Protestant testimony, her avowed creed, her standard theology, is it conceivable that Protestants of another communion should wish to see that Church of the Reformation destroyed, from the bosom of which they have sprung, and to whose brightest ornaments they look back as to their common ancestry? The Church may, it is true, be viewed under very different aspects,—as a religious society, as an order of clergy, as a corporate political body, as an estate of the realm, or again, as a mere State provision for the instruction of the people, irrespective of any form of ecclesiastical polity. Language which might sound hostile to the Church under some of these aspects, would not necessarily imply any wish to injure her essential interests. The Church has, like the British Constitution, survived the destruction of much that was once thought to belong to her vitality, but which has proved to have been a mere parasitical appendage, a picturesque mischief. The Church of England, as an estate or corporate body, has sustained a very material abridgement of her substantive legislative power, and of her original prerogatives; yet, no evil has resulted from the change. As a distinct estate of the realm, the Church can scarcely be said to retain any thing but the shadow of political existence, since its convocations have been deprived of their legislative functions; for the prelates do not sit in the House of Peers as representatives of the clergy, but as their rulers, invested with baronial dignity. The Toleration Act has destroyed the corporate monopoly of the Church, which was once thought essential to its existence; and there are churchmen who contend that the repeal of the Sacramental test has destroyed the very principle of the alliance between the Church and the State. It is evident, however, that the only alliance destroyed by that measure, was of an illicit character, since it was opposed to sound notions of religious liberty and political justice. And if the interests of religion, and the true interests of the

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Church itself, are thought to demand a total separation between things civil and things sacred, in the political constitution of the Church, those who hold the opinion that such a separation would be beneficial to both the Church and the State, ought not to be suspected of aiming at the destruction of either.'

'Language may have been used by individuals in reference to the Church as a political opponent, which was never meant to apply to the Church as a religious institution. The religion of the Church is the religion of the Dissenters. They desire to see destroyed nothing that is religious in the Church; nothing that they believe to be conducive to its religious efficiency. Nay, so long as an Ecclesiastical Establishment exists in this country, they have no wish to see any other Church substituted as the dominant one for the Church of England. They would moreover deprecate as strongly as her most zealous and devoted members, any scheme of reform or comprehension that should lower the doctrinal standard of her faith, or render equivocal her testimony in favour of the cardinal Articles of the Reformation. They have no sympathy with the spurious liberality that would confound all creeds, or merge in vague generalities all that is distinguishing in Christianity. Whatever the Church of England may have to fear in this respect from other quarters, she is exposed to no peril from the main body of Protestant Dissenters, whose objections against the Establishment are mitigated only by their concurrence in the fundamental doctrines which the Church Established maintains and proclaims. They regard the Church, though not the Establishment, as a bulwark of the national faith. They distinguish between the institution and what they regard as its political predicament. If to abolish the Establishment were to destroy the Church, the accusations of their adversaries might be more plausible. But, if that which seems to support the Church, can be made to appear not a buttress, but only a superincumbent weight upon the edifice,—if, in fact, it be the Church that supports the Establishment, not the Establishment the Church,—if the alliance that unites it with the State be that of bondage, rather than of protection,—then may Dissenters continue to hold their present opinions without being chargeable with seeking the destruction of the Church.' pp. 9—14.

We believe this to be a fair exposition of the views and feelings of the main body of Protestant Nonconformists. Without presuming to speak in the name of the millions of Dissenters, the Writer lays claim to an intimate acquaintance with their avowed opinions and prevailing sentiments; and on the strength of this, ventures to lay down the following propositions, the truth of which we presume no one acquainted with facts will attempt to dispute. We shall state them consecutively.

'Dissenters, whatever their opinions may be, do not aim to 'accomplish by any violent measures those changes which appear 'to them desirable.'

'Dissenters do not design, do not desire, to obtain admission 'into the Church.'

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'Dissenters do not design or wish to interfere in the Reform 'of the Church.'

'Dissenters have abstained, as a body, from mixing up with 'their grievances the question relating to Church Property.'

'Dissenters are not opposed to the legitimate connexion be- 'tween Religion and the State.'

The first of these positions seems scarcely to admit of being sustained by grave argument. The man who pretends to believe that the Dissenters are careless about the preservation of social order, is too absurd to be reasoned with. Of all classes, they are perhaps most interested in its maintenance;—they, above all others, would suffer most deeply by its being disturbed. But where is the danger of any such calamity? 'The British mo- 'narchy' (as the Writer of the pamphlet before us very justly observes)

'experienced no shock, nor suffered any diminution of its substantial power, when the title of King of France, which had for ages been claimed by the Kings of England, was laid aside. Nor would the Constitutional Sovereignty of the Crown be shorn of any of its prerogatives, if the empty title of Defender of the Faith were discarded as unsuitable to a Protestant King, and that of Head of the Church were resigned to Him who is Head over all, the King of Kings, the Sovereign Ruler of Princes.'

The amount of *gain* (or rather of loss) which would accrue to Dissenters from any scheme of comprehension, even if such were practicable, is very well put.

'What has the Church to offer to the Dissenters but a yoke, which neither they nor their fathers have been able to bear? The chances of splendid preferment, or the secular consideration attaching to the office of a clergyman, may present powerful temptations to conformity in the case of unworthy individuals; but what inducements can be held forth to Dissenting ministers as a body? What provision can be offered them more ample or secure than they now enjoy, when the Establishment is unable to provide for her own curates a stipend equal to the average salary of the humbler classes of Dissenting teachers? What prospect of increased usefulness would present itself within the pale of the Establishment, when a majority of the population remain without its walls? Or how could they hope to escape from the dissentions and divisions which some persons represent to be attendant upon the congregational polity, by taking shelter within a Church which is, at this moment, at once the object of assault and the arena of contention; the cry for reform being heard from within, the demand for redress from without! The Church shut out the Dissenters when they were comparatively few: if she would admit them now, they are too many. She could not make room for them. They would embarrass her by their return; they would overwhelm her with their support; and the notions and habits which these active sectaries would bring back with

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them, accustomed as they long have been to the free use of their consciences and their bibles, would tend to revolutionize the Church. No; Dissenters have no wish to re-enter the Church; and the Church will find them more valuable as friendly allies, than she could do as subjects, were it even possible to constrain or to win their admission.'

pp. 18—20.

With regard to the connexion which ought to exist between Religion and the State, Dissenters, it is urged, do not in the main differ from pious members of Established Churches. The differences, whatever they may be, relate to the means, rather than the end.

'They conceive that the Catholic recognition of Christianity by the State is a duty of paramount obligation, but that this is incompatible with the enforcement of one particular form of Church polity upon the community, or with a preference, on the part of the State, of a particular sect. They refer to the example of the nation of the United States, who have retained the Christian religion as the foundation of their civil, legal, and political union, while they have refused to continue a legislative preference of any particular sect, and have, after trial in many of the States, entirely abolished a State provision as injurious to the interests it was designed to foster. Dissenters have arrived at their convictions upon these points, by no process of hypothetical reasoning, but by experience and deduction from fact. They behold religion flourishing in America without an Establishment, to an extent which admits of no comparison with any country under heaven except their own; while, in the sister kingdom, the wealthiest Ecclesiastical Establishment in Europe is seen co-existing with the most frightful degree of popular ignorance and social disorder. Nothing, therefore, can be more remote from their designs, than the weakening of the legitimate ties between Religion and Government; and to class them with the enemies of the Christian faith, who may from opposite motives be hostile to religious establishments, is to commit as gross an offence against truth and charity as the first persecutors of Christianity were guilty of, in confounding the disciples of Christ with ringleaders of sedition and atheists, and in imputing to them the disturbance of the State and the burning of Rome.'—pp. 23, 24.

Having thus disposed of the 'clanging brass and tinkling cymbals' with which certain periodicals have of late made such sweet music, the Author undertakes to declare what are the actual designs of the parties referred to. He says:—'They embrace 'the following distinct objects, upon the attainment of which 'Dissenters are fully bent.'

'First—to obtain the full and entire establishment of their right to be placed on a civil equality with all classes of their fellow subjects in the eye of the Law and of the State.

'Secondly—to obtain a catholic recognition of the validity of their

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ministry, and their equal claims to the protection of the Legislature in respect to all their ecclesiastical institutions.

'Thirdly—to obtain the establishment of a national system of education on a broad and catholic basis.

'Fourthly—to be allowed to prosecute their plans for propagating the Christian faith throughout the world upon the same scriptural principles.'—pp. 24, 25.

We can only make room for another extract or two, taken at random. Our readers must buy the pamphlet. It will be a shilling well laid out.

'Can the Dissenters be expected to endure it patiently, that, when the Legislature has proclaimed their emancipation from every unrighteous restriction, the Church should jealously blockade every avenue to advancement, and monopolize the favour of the State? The Constitutional rights of the Dissenters are equal to those of the Conformists; in the eye of the Law they are now equal; they sit as legislators in the same chamber; their religion is, not less than that of the Episcopalian churchmen, part and parcel of the law of the land; their Protestantism is as Protestant as that of the Established Church; their political principles are not less British; their loyalty is as unimpeachable. What, then, hinders their being in all respects on a par with their fellow-subjects who worship in the churches of the Establishment? It is this; that the distinctions of Ecclesiastical caste have survived the abolition of intolerant statutes, and that these are perpetuated by the monopoly of privilege still unjustly continued to the members of the Episcopal communion.

'"If," says the Regius Divinity Professor of Oxford, "Dissenters, when they call for a formal and legislative separation between the Church and the State, mean that they are not now on a level with the Church of England, I am afraid that it is beyond the power of Parliament to give them relief." They *do* mean this; and they are fully aware that Parliament cannot give them immediate and complete relief; and therefore they have confined their petitions to those measures of relief which it falls within the competency of Parliament at once to grant.'.....

'They *do* aspire to be placed on a political level with the Church of England. The time is not long gone by, when a Dissenter might be a legislator, but not an exciseman or a schoolmaster. They look forward to the period as rapidly approaching, when a Dissenter may even be admitted a member of the College of Physicians, or a King's Counsel. Time was, when no Nonconformist could be a member of a borough corporation: they are so ambitious as to desire that their sovereign might even be empowered to summon them to his council or his cabinet. Hitherto, all literary honours have been denied, in the ancient seats of learning, to the man of science who was sufficiently in earnest about religion to attach himself to a Dissenting sect. Oxford has conferred her diplomas upon generals and princes, but has withheld them from those "whose praise is in all the churches" save those

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of the Establishment. Learned Dissenters have obtained merited marks of honour from the Universities of Scotland, and of America, and have been enrolled among the honorary members of foreign academies. But, in their own country, they have in vain sought to win even barren laurels from Sacerdotal intolerance. They have been made to feel that they belong to a caste, excommunicated by the Church, though tolerated by the State; and that they were, in the national seats of learning, foreigners who had no lot in Israel. Dissenters now look forward to a happier state of things, which will admit of their competing with their brethren of the Episcopal Church in the open lists of literary distinction, and of their receiving the generous homage of those who may worship at other altars. They are aware that Parliament cannot at once dissolve the cruel and barbarous prejudices which have become fixed in the habits of mind transmitted, like the gown and the cowl, from feudal times to the present. Parliament cannot compel bigots to be tolerant, or cloistered priests to be liberal. But Parliament can promote those reforms which will tend to break down these unsocial distinctions. It can deprive corporations of an unjust and abused monopoly. It can, by shewing equal favour to all parties, and by encouraging institutions of a more liberal and popular character, teach those who dream that they are living in the seventeenth century, that the reign of caste and ecclesiastical prerogative is past.'

'The social equality for which they contend, is such as should place the Conformist peasant on a level with the Dissenting peasant, the Conformist peer on a level with the Dissenting peer,—preserving the gradation of rank, annihilating the gradation of sect. Nay more, feeling as they do the interests of religion to be involved in their asserting an absolute equality with their fellow-subjects of the Established Church, in every spiritual relation arising out of their common faith, they cannot cease more especially to desire, that the Constitutional provision which excludes the ministers of religion from the Commons' House, should be made applicable to the House of Peers. It was once deemed conducive to the interests of the Church and the State, that Prelates should be entrusted with the seals, should hold the helm of government, and preside in the seat of judicature; and in days not very remote, martial prelates have been found at the head of armies. Posterity will not deem it more incongruous, that bishops, entrusted with the spiritual oversight of an extensive diocese, should have been distinguished as leaders of parliamentary factions, caballing against an administration, and warring against the claims of the people.'

'There is nothing which, as religious men, conscientiously attached to the form of worship and discipline transmitted to them by their fathers, Dissenters more poignantly feel, than the haughty contempt which is often expressed for the persons and functions of their spiritual pastors and guides. In no respect is the operation of the Establishment more galling. To veil the palpable injustice of exalting by artificial distinctions the ministers of one sect so far above those of another, recourse is had to an artifice which aggravates the injury: It is pretended that the Dissenting Ministers, as a body, owe their posi-

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tion in society to their inferior attainments, competency, or moral respectability. A reason is sought for the political stigma in a vulgar calumny. In theological studies, in all that belongs to the qualifications for their spiritual function, Dissenting Ministers are, upon the average, far better furnished than the episcopal clergy; more attention being paid, in their academic education, to those branches of study which bear immediately on the business of the Christian ministry. Sacred oratory, banished from the pulpits of the Establishment, has been cultivated with success almost exclusively by Dissenting teachers. Yet, because they derive their support from their flocks, not from the State, and their commission from the orders of the Divine Master to whose service they have devoted themselves, not from a fictitious pedigree, they are to be treated with scorn by the priests of the hierarchy.'

'The Ministers of Christ's Gospel among the Dissenters willingly relinquish to the priests of the Established hierarchy a sacerdotal title foreign from the institutions and spirit of Christianity, as well as the corporate title of parson, and the obsolete distinction of clerk; they decline to style themselves spiritual persons, nor do they rank orders among their sacraments. But a definition may possibly be found, without a stretch of invention or of charity, that shall at once comprehend and distinguish, without offence to other denominations, the regularly appointed teachers of religion who, from year to year, labour among the people recognizing them as their ministers, and by whom they are deemed not unworthy of their hire.'

'If the spirit of Dissenterism were manifesting itself merely in an attachment to the principles of civil and religious liberty, invaluable as those principles are justly deemed;—if Dissenters were found expending all their energies in polemical warfare, or in the pursuit of political objects, however honourable;—then, indeed, although their claims would not be less just, their conduct might be liable to the imputation of being prompted by secular aims and sordid motives. But the spirit which revolts against Ecclesiastical Establishments at home, is the same spirit that has gone forth with all the winds of heaven, to plant the standard of the Cross on every shore, and to make the "saving health" of Revelation "known unto all nations." The spirit which has given birth to and which sustains Dissenting institutions, is identical with the Missionary Spirit which is the glorious phenomenon of the age.'

'Before the rulers to whom Divine Providence has consigned the destinies of the teeming millions of India had decided that it was safe or expedient to divulge to their heathen subjects the dangerous secret of Christianity, a small band of self-denying Missionaries had planted themselves, under the protection of a foreign monarch, on the polluted shores of the Ganges, and had commenced those Biblical translations which have excited the astonishment of all the oriental scholars of Europe. To Dissenting Missionaries, India is indebted for the first translation of the Holy Scriptures into her sacred language, as well as for subsequent versions into her vernacular dialects. Two distinct translations of the Bible into the enigmatic language of China have, by collation, afforded one more perfect than either, which may be re-

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garded as one of the most extraordinary achievements in oriental literature. The members of the Episcopal Church have since been roused to similar enterprises, and have sent forth Missionaries whose fervent piety and zeal Protestant Dissenters have been forward to acknowledge; but upon these spontaneous exertions, though originating within the pale of the Church, the rulers of the Establishment have for the most part frowned, or looked with coldness and suspicion. Attempts have been made, under the influence of that sectarian bigotry which is fostered by exclusive privileges, to chase the Missionary from the scene of his labours, or at least to fetter his exertions, to misrepresent his proceedings, and to supplant him by an exportation of episcopacy.'

'These circumstances have served only to deepen, in the minds of Dissenters, a conviction of the value of the principles upon which they take their stand, as those which alone can secure the free propagation of the Gospel, and the final triumph of the kingdom of Christ. The equality which they claim for their ministers at home, they feel to be still more important in the case of those who have gone forth to labour in the distant provinces of the British empire. There, the interference of a State Establishment cannot fail to be productive of evils incalculable, by sowing division and jealousy among a small and feeble band of Christian soldiers, in the face of the adverse millions of the kingdom of darkness. Pledged to this great enterprise, Dissenters, therefore, can never recede an inch from their claims, which involve interests far more sacred than their political rights. Regarding the principles and policy of Ecclesiastical Establishments as necessarily at variance with those of Missionary operations, they must abandon the latter before they can be reconciled to the former. In the prosecution of these sacred engagements, they can have no sinister, no sectarian views. Their object is, to propagate the common faith of the Church of Christ. Nor do their agents find any obstruction to a cordial co-operation on the part of Protestant missionaries of every communion and of every nation, with the single exception of the Established Church of their own country. By the Episcopal clergy alone, are their ministers stigmatized as irregular, and contemned as schismatics. It is this anti-catholic spirit generated by an Establishment, that, in the eyes of pious Dissenters, stamps it with the broad marks of an anti-Christian institution. James the Second was sarcastically derided by his most Christian brother of France, for sacrificing three kingdoms for an old mass book. And are there, in the nineteenth century, men who would hazard the interests of the kingdom of Christ, for the sake of a prayer-book and a mitre?' pp. 28—46.

These extracts will speak more for the Pamphlet than any commendation of ours. It does not need praise. We shall be much surprised, nay, disappointed, if the subject does not obtain for it an extensive and immediate circulation.

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Art. V. *The Mysteries of Time;* or Banwell Cave. A Poem. In six Cantos. 8vo. pp. viii. 199. Price 8*s.* 6*d.* London, 1833.

THIS is a mysterious and imposing title, which seems to promise nothing short of a metrical legend full of romantic adventure,—a cave of bandits, of course, and a plot of mystery, of which Time effects the denouement. It would serve exceedingly well for the title of a new melo-dramatic spectacle. And the volume opens with an Introduction which commences much in the style of a tale by the Author of Waverley.

'Banwell Cave, or, rather, the Banwell Caves, for there are two in number, are situated in Somersetshire, at the western extremity of Banwell Hill, a lofty eminence that rises immediately above the beautiful and picturesque village of the same name, and overlooks the waters of the Bristol Channel. From the summit of this hill, the prospect is most extensive, and commands an expanse of scenery peculiarly interesting and varied. Hill and dale, heath and woodland, with hamlets and villages interspersed, mingle around in harmonious confusion; while the dark masses of the Mendip chain on the one side, the ocean and the dim line of mountains beyond the Severn on the other, present a magnificent termination to the whole. Indeed, the universal air of peacefulness that breathes around,—the far-spread and luxuriant valley at the foot of the hill, entirely covered with gardens, orchards, and well cultivated enclosures,—the quiet and repose of the numerous villages in the distance, with their modest spires gleaming through the trees, as half secluded from the noise and tumult of every day life, but still pointing to Heaven,—all these, and a thousand other pleasing associations, cannot fail to recall to the mind'——

If we finish the sentence, we shall break the charm. We defy the ingenuity of conjecture to anticipate what follows. What can all these objects recall, but dreams of Arcadian delight, the pleasures of memory, or the tales of the poet? Who can suppose that such a scene would recall to the mind of any one ideas of an opposite character,—the inconceivable contrast that must have been presented by 'the desolate aspect of that same region, 'when man as yet had not found a dwelling within its precincts, 'but the wild beasts of the forest were its sole inhabitants'!! But the reader is not yet in possession of the key to these associations, apparently so unnatural. He is not aware that, standing on the spot described, he has in immediate view an antediluvian cavern! To continue the description,—

'Both caverns, as great natural curiosities, are highly interesting; but to the smaller one, as being possessed of the remains of a former world, having afforded a common sepulchre to numerous tribes of animals, many of which have long since disappeared from our island, and some even from the face of creation,—a more serious attention is due.

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This cavern was accidentally discovered, about ten years ago, in an attempt that was made to improve the access to the larger one: it was then choked up with an accumulation of sand, mud, and fragments of rock; and all these were intermingled with an innumerable quantity of bones. The loose stones and rubble have been since cleared away, and the bones piled up around the natural walls of the cavern in such a manner, that its present appearance resembles that of a huge and ancient charnel-house.'

On entering this mountainous recess, the first question that suggests itself, the Writer proceeds to remark, is, 'How come 'these bones here?' The solution of this question involves us in the deep problems of geology. 'Are they the remains of 'animals who occupied it in their life-time as their den, and 'afterwards returned thither to die at home and with their kin-'dred? Or are they the remains of animals who inhabited 'distant shores, and whose carcases, after weltering for a while 'on the waves of the ocean, were finally deposited here by the 'waters of the Deluge?' The Writer embraces the former as the more probable solution. It is difficult, he remarks, to account for the cave's being so completely choked up, except by some violent incursions of the sea; and its elevated position 'would 'seem most distinctly to deny that any deluge less than that 'described in Holy Writ could have reached so inaccessible a 'summit.'

The reader will perceive that this is no tale of romance; and his ideas will, perhaps, undergo a transition somewhat analogous to the effect of passing from a sunny landscape to the cold gloom of a cavern. He may now be anticipating a long geological dissertation, and not feel inclined to pursue any further our account of the volume. We hasten, therefore, to inform him, that Barnwell Cave is but the fountain-head of a copious volume of verse; which soon escaping from its birth-place, flows on through six cantos, till it reaches the point at which the mysteries of time and the poem terminate together. The Author states, that, having occasion to visit the cave a few summers since, he felt himself roused by the contemplation of so many wonders round him, and penned a few stanzas which, from time to time, insensibly increased until they at length attained their present magnitude. Of a poem originating under such circumstances, and for the most part of a didactic character, the argument must of course be too desultory and multifarious to admit of analysis. The first canto is chiefly occupied with reflections relating to the Deluge: and we shall transcribe a few stanzas as a specimen of the construction and execution of the poem.

'And wilder than the wild floods headlong dashed
Beyond the written limit of the land;

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Glar'd the red lightnings as their splendours flash'd
A farewell ray upon that fatal strand:
The earthquakes bellowed and the mountains crashed,
Reeling with deep convulsions,—while the wand
Of Desolation, above all o'erspread,
Shook the dim, baseless globe, and mocked its glories fled.

'And then was finished that tremendous doom
Whose stroke was so almighty. In the mirth
And joy of all her creatures, in the bloom
And flower of her first loveliness, the Earth
Was turned unto destruction; the bright womb
Of being shut abortive, and the birth
Of all that beautified her sight before,
Gone to the lone dark tomb, to rise and smile no more.

'And wide then o'er the earth with chilling power
There came a gloom so awful and profound,
Not Polar deserts, in their darkest hour,
E'er felt such horror as the heaving ground
Of waters at that moment, when the lower
Of triple tempests seem'd all spread around,
As Heaven in wrath would utterly erase
The world, and blot its ruins from the realms of space.'

We do not think that the Author has been judicious in his choice of a stanza, which, though a beautiful one, is almost identified with serio-comic poetry, and requires very skilful management, such as only long practice united to great pains could enable a writer to maintain through a long poem. It affords too much room for a single thought, so that there is great danger that some of the lines should be mere make-weight. Besides which, the ingenuity of rhyme, which is pleasing in a burlesque poem, assumes a trivial and unpleasing prominence when the sentiment is grave and important. We cannot say that the Author has succeeded in triumphing over the self-imposed difficulties of his versification. We are continually made to feel that the stanza has a supernumerary couplet that makes it drag on heavily;—like a bird with three legs, which can use only two and has to carry the third. Moreover, a diffuseness of style is the inevitable result, and the Author is not, apparently, an adept in that branch of the art of poetry which is more difficult than skill in versification,—the art of blotting. Several of the stanzas of this first canto, we should have cancelled; and some of them have an obscurity which we cannot penetrate. We pass on, however, to the next. 'The visible world being now destroyed, the 'invisible world is brought before the imagination.' Here the Author soars beyond the flaming bounds of air and space, with Miltonic presumption; but to imitate that glorious offender is to fail. We cannot reconcile ourselves to ascribing words to the

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Eternal; and on the general grounds stated in a recent article on Christian Epics*, we must object against a considerable part of this canto, although the design is unexceptionable, and a pious feeling is evinced throughout. Our objection is one of religious taste. Towards the close of the canto, the Poet reverts to his original theme,—the evidence which the earth contains of its former destruction in the remains of antediluvian animals; and we again catch sight of Barnwell Cave.

'And does not Earth, too, treasure in her womb
Remembrance of her ruin—and the wrath
Of him who wrought her sufferings—in the doom
Of myriads, whom no fire from heaven did scathe,
But quench'd in like destruction—in the gloom
That scar'd the wild beasts from their forest path,
And drove them, howling, to their Mother's breast,
Where yet they slumber still—and holy be their rest.

'Enough—we have beheld them—and they speak
With accents louder than the Egyptian's lore,
"We have been, but we are not"—Rocks shall break,
The Mountains be forgotten—Ocean roar
His mightiest, and the Earth for terror shake;
But there be things upon the rifted shore
The hungry sea will gorge not—and the Cave
Of Death doth guard them well from the impetuous wave.

'And ever and anon, the bursting tide
Rolls long and heavy on the troubled strand,
The tall cliffs tremble for their ancient pride,
The thundering Deep repeats the dire command,
And down the big rocks tumble. Hence aside
Vain Sceptist! and behold, as from the wand
Of some Magician, monsters start to life,
Tho' cold their aspect now, and who shall wake their strife?

'This is the Treasury of Nature!—these,
The archives of her greatness!—on this stone
The Almighty hath enrolled his high decrees,
And everlasting judgments!—not a bone
That moulders, where the rock-born waters freeze,
But from its solitary ruin'd throne,
Utters a voice that e'en the cold rock hears,
And piteous doth repay with sympathetic tears.' pp. 43, 4.

That is, *stalactitic* tears; and the dazzling conceit is pursued through another stanza, but turns out to be a will o' the wisp.

Canto the third is 'a lament over the past,' and over the false glory pursued by the world's heroes. The following stanzas will,

* See p. of this volume.

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if we mistake not, please the reader better than the preceding specimens, shewing that the poem improves as it proceeds.

'And there the Cæsars held imperial sway,
The lords of nations that they never knew;
They gave their voice—to hear was to obey,
And forth to victory their eagles flew.
All kingdoms bow'd beneath them—for a day
They deem'd themselves immortal—till Earth grew
Pale, as she watch'd their spirits wrathful lower,
And trembled at th' abominations of their power.

'But they are gone—like shadows of the night—
Phantoms, once vanish'd, that return no more;
The dream of things that have been—where's the might
That knew no rival, and the crowns they wore?
Th' Imperial Purple mocks not now the light,
Their palaces are crumbling on the shore,
The stranger's foot is on the Capitol,
Nor through their marble streets doth golden Tyber roll.

'But, like a stream that hath forgot its course,
Flows sad and silent through the dreary waste,
Monarch of Rivers! hast thou lost thy source,
Or dost thou stagnate at remembrance past?
How oft thy glad waves rang with echoes hoarse,
When wealth was on thine ample bosom cast;
Or danc'd around the tall ship's glittering prow,
The bright sun o'er thy head, and all storms hush'd below!

'But Fortune since a different blast hath blown,
And scatter'd whirlwinds with exulting hate,
Time too his mightiest trophies hath o'erthrown,
And left the Roman's glory desolate!
Lo! where yon crush'd arch mourns the mouldering stone,
Too proudly conscious of its fallen fate;
A thousand years have o'er those ruins shone—
A thousand years unborn shall find them not unknown.'

pp. 58, 59.

We have corrected the obvious, but most provoking misprint in the penultimate line of the second stanza, which would make roll echo to Capital. The Poet would certainly obtain a verdict against the printer for damages in this instance. In the ensuing canto, the historical review is resumed; we must not say continued, because it goes back to Babylon, Tyre, and Egypt. To the latter, indeed, is ascribed an antemundane glory, —Egypt

'Who was an empire when the world begun.'

We are not aware that the discoveries of Champollion carry back the annals of Egypt quite so far. Canto the fifth is devoted to a

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particular theme,—'England, her greatness and majesty among 'the modern nations of the earth.' It would be injustice to withhold the stanzas in which the Author has given vent to the ardour of his patriotism.

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'For Ocean is thy bulwark—and thy Power
Is o'er the far dominion of the deep!
And whether hurricanes around thee lower,
Or fondling breakers round thy footstool creep,
Thou, from thine height of rocks, as from a tower,
Dost mark alike the surges swell, or sleep,
Heedless alike dost hear the tempest rave,
Or sink with fitful ire into his Ocean grave!'

'Nor less for thee hath Nature done her part,
Nature—Earth's earliest minister from heaven,
How hath she blest thee in the fulness of her heart!
How all good things unto her lov'd one given!
Thou hast no joy that life doth not impart,
Thine the glad song of morn! thine the rich hues of ev'n!
E'en Twilight self doth holier come to thee,
Land of the brave and good! land of sweet liberty!

'And ah! how beautiful thy vales expand!
With field, copse, hamlet, all besprinkl'd o'er,
Where Peace strews blessings with benignant hand,
And Ceres revels in her golden store!
Thy cities rise, the beacons of the land,
Thy ports, thy harbours, well defend the shore,
For thee the Isles their spicy treasures bring,
For thee, their Ocean Queen—the green-hair'd Mermaids sing!

'Stern, dark, majestic, lo! thy mountains rise,
Not coldly proud—nor desolately bare,
But cloth'd with living forests to the skies,
Whose oaks swing blackening in the midway air,
And there full many a Giant greets the eyes,
That nurs'd in storm and thunder yet shall bear
Britannia's thunders on the stormier deep,
And battle with the floods while round them tempests sweep.

'And who hath children, Albion! like to thee?
So fair in feature, yet so firm in soul;
So brave, so proud, so gentle, yet so free.
Whose passions with such generous fervor roll,
Their very foes forget hostility.
Go, roam the furthest India to the Pole,
And who that Friend so true above the rest?
He boasts the northern clime—he bears a Briton's crest.'
pp. 106—8.

The last canto is occupied with desultory reflections of a pious

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character, concluding with anticipations of the Redeemer's second Advent.

Some of the happiest and most striking stanzas in the whole poem are contained in this canto; but here, where the Author displays most poetic vigour, he discovers most the incorrectness of an immature taste; and, from the very sacredness and sublimity of the theme, minor faults become more prominent. Speaking, of course, without any personal knowledge, we take for granted that this poem is the first production of a young aspirant; and, if he lives, as we hope he will, to execute better things, he will thank us for criticisms which may now seem fastidious or severe. If he is satisfied with his present performance, we can have no hope of him: the flatteries of his friends will then compensate for the niggard praises of reviewers. But mental indolence alone will prevent his attaining to higher excellence, if he will sedulously cultivate his powers. Such at least is our opinion, or we should not have bestowed so much attention upon the volume. Some persons will be disposed to think that the piety of the sentiments ought to secure a more indulgent criticism; but this is a principle we cannot admit. The best themes are worthy of the best pains. We shall, however, allow the Author the benefit of an appeal from our qualified praise, to the feelings of the devout reader, in the following stanzas.

'He comes—he comes—but not as once he came,
The humble messenger of peace to earth,
Sprung from a parentage unknown to fame,
And Shepherds only watch'd around his birth.
Not as that wanderer, who did once exclaim—
To him denied the blessings of a hearth—
"The foxes have their holes—the birds their nests,
But I have not one place, my weary head to rest."

'He comes—he comes—but not as once he came,
The man of sorrows, that were all his own,
No tongue to bless him on his path of shame,
Or soothe the anguish of his spirit's groan.
The scoff'd, the scourged Jesus—'tis the same,
Who wept, and wander'd on the mountains lone,
And made the desert conscious of his prayer,
When none save He alone, when none save God was there!'

'He comes—he comes upon the clouds of heaven,
With storm, and whirlwind, and consuming fire,
By living Thunder is his chariot driven,
And Tempests are the heralds of his ire.'

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'And every eye shall see him—even they
Who pierc'd him—every living tongue confess
The brightness of his coming, and th' array
Of Seraphs, and of Saints in righteousness
Made perfect through his suffering—all obey
Him, whom the Father honors and doth bless,
And every knee bow down to, and adore,
Him who doth live and reign a King for evermore!'

pp. 157—161.

Art. VI. 1. *The Necessity of Religion to the Well-being of a Nation:* a Sermon preached at the Rev. Dr. Bennett's Chapel, Silver-street, London, on Feb. 6, 1834, before the Monthly Association of Congregational Churches and Pastors; With an Appendix on the Subjects at present agitated between Churchmen and Dissenters. By John Pye Smith, D.D. 8vo., pp. 46. Price 1*s.* London, 1834.

2. *Political Christianity.* State Patronage and Government Support, in National Establishments of Religion, not only ineffective as a means of Propagating Divine Truth, but pernicious to the Nation, and obstructive to the progress of Scriptural Religion: illustrated in the Political, Ecclesiastical, and Educational Statistics of Ireland. 8vo., pp. 136. London, 1834.

3. *The Might and Mastery of the Established Church laid low.* A Review and Refutation of the principal Arguments of the Rev. Drs. Inglis and Chalmers, in Vindication of Ecclesiastical Establishments. By various Voluntary Assailants. 8vo. pp. 93. Edinburgh, 1834.

4. *A Reply to the Vindication of Ecclesiastical Establishments, by the late Rev. John Inglis, D.D., one of the Ministers of Edinburgh:* in a Series of Letters. By Andrew Marshall. 8vo., pp. 372. Price 6*s.* Glasgow, 1834.

5. *The Moral and Spiritual Influence of the Church of England.* (Library of Ecclesiastical Knowledge, No. 51.) 12mo. Price 6*d.* London, 1834.

6. *A Letter to the Rt. Hon. Earl Grey, Premier,* containing a Vindication of the Established Church, and Remarks on the Claims of the Dissenters. By a Dissenting Minister. 8vo., pp. 39. Price 1*s.* 6*d.* London, 1834.

7. *A Letter to the Rt. Hon. Earl Grey, on the subject of Church Rates.* By George D'Oyly, D.D., Rector of Lambeth. 8vo., pp. 23. London, 1834.

8. *An Answer to a Letter addressed to the Lord Chancellor, on the*

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Case of the Dissenters. In a Letter to the same. By a Clergyman. 8vo., pp. 139. Price 5*s*. London, 1834.

THE revolution which has taken place in the public mind within the last few years, nay, within the last few months, upon the subjects to which these publications relate, is unexampled in its suddenness and rapidity. Those who, only a short time back, found themselves stemming a tide of prejudice and unpopularity, against which they seemed to make no way, are, by this sudden turn of opinion, carried forward with a rapidity which surprises themselves. Those who were foremost in the polemic fight, now overtaken by a whole army of voluntaries, are reproached for caution and that most hated of all virtues, moderation. The controversy of two centuries between the Church of the Aristocracy and the Church of the people, is at length brought to a fair issue in open court; and the prosecutor finds himself, to his utter indignation, arraigned as a defendant. We call that the Church of the people—and challenge any opponent to convict us of impropriety—which the people have provided for themselves, which they shew that they prefer by voluntarily supporting it, and to the doctrines of which they adhere, from conviction, without either the compulsion of statutes, or the bribery of secular advantages. This would deserve to be called the Church of the people, whether it comprised a larger or a smaller portion of the nation within its communion. But when it is found that, of those who frequent any place of worship whatever, the majority are found worshipping in the chapels of Protestant Dissent, the claim to that designation becomes still more undeniable. We call that the Church of the Aristocracy, which is a political institution framed altogether upon aristocratical principles, governed by barons spiritual, allied by blood or interest to the nobility, subjected, by the system of patronage, to the power and will of the aristocracy, a co-partner with the landed interest, and looked to as a means of provision for the younger sons of the church-proprietors. These are the two systems which have now been fairly brought into contrast. It is not Episcopacy *versus* Presbyterianism or Independency; for Established Episcopacy and Established Presbyterianism are now sworn friends and dear sisters; and there is not much to choose between them. The pending debate is not creed against creed, or liturgy against an extemporaneous service, or Geneva cloaks against white surplices. The war is one of principles, not of forms;—the principle of religious freedom against spiritual usurpation,—of free labour against corporate monopoly,—of voluntary contribution against inequitable taxation for purposes foreign from the legitimate purposes of civil government.

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'Although it is in the shape of specific grievances that the subject comes before the Legislature, it is found impossible to discuss any one of the points to which the claims or complaints of the Dissenters relate, without its involving the fundamental principle of Ecclesiastical Establishments.' This has been strikingly evinced in the recent protracted and most interesting debate in the House of Commons, occasioned by a petition from sixty-two enlightened members of the University of Cambridge, praying for the legislative abrogation of the religious tests exacted from the members before they proceed to degrees. In the speeches on both sides, the very principle of the Church monopoly was brought out into discussion. In the same manner, the perpetuation of the grievance of the Church-rate is stoutly contended for, because to abolish it would be to give up the very principle of an Establishment. Thus, we find Dr. D'Oyly alleging the following reasons why 'it would be very unsuitable 'and unwise to make such a concession.'

'In the first place, I apprehend that a great mistake is generally made in judging of the principle on which the legislature has proceeded, when it has provided for the maintenance of an established religion, and of the means of public worship, from the public resources of the community. The legislature has so provided, for the great purpose of making the nation a religious nation; of upholding that influence, on which the happiness of individuals and the good order of states so largely depend; namely, the influence of Christian principles on the minds of the community at large. It has judged, and the judgment is rightly formed on a knowledge of the human heart, and the experience of all ages, that, if the maintenance of religious worship be left entirely to the voluntary efforts of individuals, a decay of religious feeling will be the certain consequence. Many districts will be left wholly destitute of all public ministrations; religion will entirely become matter of private speculation; the wildest opinions will be propagated for the purpose of pandering to the taste, and exciting the passions of individuals; and the poor will be deprived of all the consolations of religion, unless it should chance that they are supplied by private zeal in each immediate neighbourhood. Thus then, when a person, not a member of the Established Church, complains that, in paying his contribution to the Church, he pays for that from which he derives no benefit, he proceeds on a false and erroneous view of the subject. In contributing to the support of the Established Church, he contributes to the general sustentation of religious and moral feeling in the nation at large; and from this he derives his share of the common advantage, in the improved habits and dispositions of the great mass of the people.' *D'Oyly*, pp. 10-12.

The reverend Writer proceeds to state his belief, that 'many 'of the more sincere and respectable Dissenters see the question 'entirely in this light.' It is a pity that he had not referred us to some of the writings of the Dissenters, or to some public ex-

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pressions of opinion on the part of sincere and respectable Dissenters, which might have shewn this belief to be not wholly gratuitous. Dissenters may 'feel the value even to themselves of 'the Established Church with which they do not communicate', without feeling the value of its being an Established Church. Dissenters of the Congregational denomination 'feel the value 'even to themselves' of the exertions of the Wesleyan Methodists; without whose exertions 'many districts would be left 'wholly destitute of all public ministrations', and 'the poor 'would be deprived of the consolations of religion', in spite of the existence of an Establishment; and yet, they would not be pleased to see Wesleyanism established or endowed by the State, or to be compelled to pay either church-rate or land-tax towards its maintenance. But Dr. D'Oyly is aware that his argument, if good for any thing as enforcing the payment of a church-rate, fails altogether as a reason for restricting the proceeds to the support of Episcopal Churches. He adverts to the plan which has been proposed, to require all persons to pay a contribution to a church-rate, but to leave it optional with them, whether their payment should be made to the Established Church or to any particular Dissenting chapel. 'This plan would certainly', he says, 'have one advantage; that of maintaining the great prin-'ciple of requiring every person to contribute to the support of 'at least some public profession of religion in the State. But 'still it would be found, in *practice*, liable to most serious diffi-'culties and objections.' The *most* serious difficulty, however, would not be found 'in practice', but in the principle; and Dr. D'Oyly seems to be of this opinion, since he adds: 'In the first 'place, it would seem to imply an acknowledgement that all reli-'gious professions deserve to be placed on an equal footing of 'support from the State, and that every new sect, however its 'tenets may be grounded in the wildest enthusiasm or the lowest 'ignorance, is still entitled to some share of public support.' We submit that this is not a practical difficulty, but wholly a speculative one; and the acknowledgement which he deprecates, is what the whole country is becoming prepared to embrace as the only sound political doctrine. All religious professions *have* an equitable claim to be placed on an equal footing of protection from the State, and, if support be necessary and expedient, of support also; unless such professions can be shewn to be detrimental to the State. This is the very principle for which we, as Dissenters, contend. We deny that the Episcopal Church deserves, on any ground, to be placed on a higher footing in England, or the Presbyterian Church to be placed on a higher footing in Scotland, or the Roman Catholic Church in Canada, or the Hindoo Church in the South of India, than any other religious profession, *in the eye of the State*. We do not concede that the

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State is a proper judge of what religious profession is best deserving of support. Rulers and legislators are very apt to make great mistakes in these matters. Dissenters regard Protestant Christianity as 'the blessed accident' (to use Coleridge's phrase) of the Established Church of this country; but they do not regard its being established by State patronage as a blessed accident to the Church, but, on the contrary, as a hurtful one. Dissenters maintain, in their practice, the great principle of requiring every person to contribute to the support of some public profession of religion; but they think that this is a moral, not a political obligation; to be enforced by the authority of Scripture, not by compulsory statutes. Forced contributions for the support of Religion, Religion herself abhors; and to tax irreligious men for the maintenance of public worship, infidels for the support of Christian ordinances, Papists for the building of Protestant churches, or Quakers for the support of a hierarchy, is to dishonour and discredit Christianity, and, to say the least, is a blunder in legislation.

In the Number of the Quarterly Review just published, there is an article on the Life of Adam Clarke, in which the question of the Alliance between Church and State is introduced; and an attempt is made to shew, that neither Tithes nor Church Rates involve any grievance to the Dissenter. Not Tithes, because they 'are a rent-charge upon land; and of the land-owners, not 'one in a hundred is a Dissenter.' To which assertion we reply, that tithes are *not* a rent-charge upon land,—that they are not levied upon land, but upon industry, as well as upon houses, &c., and that Dissenting land-owners, as well as Dissenting land-occupiers, are more numerous than the Reviewer thinks. But then Church Rates,—the Reviewer proceeds: 'Is there not a hard-'ship here, that men should be made to contribute to the main-'tenance of a fabric which they never enter? No greater hard-'ship than a thousand others which a state of society involves. 'Individuals are constantly compelled to support institutions in 'which they have no direct interest themselves, but which the 'public good is understood to require. We pay our quota to the 'county rate, for the erection of a mad-house which we shall 'never occupy, or of a bridge which we shall never pass; we are 'taxed for the maintenance of the soldier, though we have serious 'scruples as to the lawfulness of the profession of arms, or poli-'tical objections to a standing army.' The Reviewer might have proved in the same manner, it is well remarked by an able Journalist *, that the inns on the roads ought to be kept by a tax, though we never enter them, or that we ought all to pay for the support of fifty thousand fiddlers, though we may dislike music.

* Morning Chronicle, March 28th.

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It is doubly unjust, that the Dissenter should pay for the support of a form of worship which he does not adopt, because he pays voluntarily for the support of that which he does adopt. The Churchman overlooks this in his argument; or, he thinks it a sufficient answer, to say, that the Dissenter need not pay for what he is so perverse to prefer;—that it is mere whim and bad manners in any one to reject what the State provides, and that he brings the additional expense upon himself. This style of reasoning might pass current in other days; but it will not now serve the purpose. The form of worship which the Dissenter voluntarily contributes to support, is maintained for the public good, as much as the State provision; and his voluntary contribution ought, therefore, to be a merit in the eye of the State. Instead of this, it has been viewed almost as a crime. 'We pay our quota for the erection 'of a bridge which we shall never pass,' and in which, therefore, we have no direct interest; and this the Reviewer argues, is deemed no hardship. But suppose that the bridge to which we are called to pay our quota, is of use only to the squire and a few of his tenants, and that a bridge which better serves the use of the parish has been built by voluntary subscription,—would it be no hardship to be obliged to pay for keeping the other in repair, and to pay toll, though we never used that road? Or would it lessen the grievance, to be told, that we ought to be thankful for the liberty of taking our own road, instead of being compelled to go over the squire's bridge, to which we were now only required to contribute our quota?

It is admitted, however, that, 'in every well regulated State, 'roads and bridges, mad-houses, maintenance of poor, and other 'matters of police, ought to be deemed of general obligation. 'The question is not, whether certain duties ought or ought not 'to be of general obligation, but *what* are the duties which are to 'be deemed of general obligation, and what ought to be left to 'individuals.' Or, again, 'the question is not, whether individuals 'may be left to themselves for certain acts, but *where the line is to* '*be drawn*, between the duties which, for the safety and well-'being of the State, must not be left to individuals, and those 'which may best be left to them.'

Now we are disposed to admit—although some of our keen friends in the North will be disposed to frown at the concession—that it would be extremely difficult, by any *à priori* reasoning, to draw this line with accuracy. And we would here remark by the way, that the chief difference between our way of treating the question of Ecclesiastical Establishments in the South, and that which alone passes for orthodox among the Voluntaries of the

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* Morning Chronicle.

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North, turns upon this; that we argue against the expediency of establishments *à posteriori*, while they denounce their unlawfulness *à priori*: theirs is the theological, ours the practical argument. Not that we would for a moment deny the unlawfulness of the principles upon which Ecclesiastical Establishments have uniformly been founded—involving as they do the assumption of an authority to determine what is to be believed, and a right to persecute all who think otherwise: these principles we reject with abhorrence as palpably anti-christian. They enter into the objections *à posteriori* against the whole system. But we think it not quite so easy to demonstrate *à priori*, that all ecclesiastical establishments must necessarily and under all circumstances be unholy and unlawful. 'What Christian Governments can and lawfully 'may do to serve the Church of Christ,' is, as Dr. Smith remarks, 'a far-extending question.' The *proposed* object of a State provision for the religious instruction of the people is good; and if the means were the best adapted to promote the end, it would be difficult to prove their illegitimacy. If establishments could not be shewn to have worked badly as regards the interests of religion, —to have desecrated the Church more than they 'consecrated 'the nation,'—small weight would attach to any objection founded on their abstract unlawfulness. Why then desert the stronger and more practical ground of argument, which admits of a direct appeal to *fact?*

On the other hand, it may be asked, why do we seem to object against calling in the aid of theological argumentation, the soundness of which we must substantially admit? Our answer is, first, that, even as managed by the acutest writers, it involves some very disputable positions, which, though they do not affect the accuracy of the main conclusions, lessen the validity of the argument *; and secondly, that *other* questions, besides that of Establishments, are implicated in such general reasonings,—questions relating to National Education, the Sabbath, and other topics, which it is not convenient to discuss, or so easy to dispose of, in such incidental manner.

'We admit', says the able Writer in the Morning Chronicle

* That we may not be misunderstood, we will refer, as an instance, to the argument founded on John xviii. 36, in respect to which Dr. Smith has the following valuable note. 'I doubt not the legitimacy of inferential arguments from this passage, upon the *nature* or essential constitution of the system which Our Lord established, (that it differs from civil politics on the kind of its requirements, its authority, its sanctions, and its final objects,) but the form of the expression, and the concluding article of the avowal, make it evident that he is directly speaking of the *originating principle* of his religion.' *"Necessity of Religion,"* &c. p. 22.

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already cited, 'that the question, how far the State ought to 'interfere, to secure the moral improvement of individuals, is a 'question of some delicacy. The most difficult part of the ques- 'tion, however, is not that which regards the grown man, but 'that which regards the individual in the progress of his develop- 'ment. Men may be sunk so low as to be unable to discern the 'advantages of mental cultivation. M. de Bonstetten, in an ex- 'cellent volume published in French in 1815, speaking of France, 'observes, that it is one of the worst consequences of poverty, 'that it leads to the neglect of education.' But it is a remarkable fact,—this Writer terms it '*curious*',—that in England there has been *no* establishment for the communication of elementary instruction, while there is a rich establishment for the purpose of providing what men who are instructed will always provide for themselves, religious worship. 'The advocates for the union 'between Church and State say nothing about *this* part of the 'question, but they are inexhaustible on the subject of the priest- 'hood.' The *soi-disant* National Schools rest altogether upon the voluntary principle.

But we hasten to notice more particularly the contents of the publications before us. Dr. Pye Smith's sermon is characterized by the candour, caution, and piety which distinguish the learned Writer; and it will serve to shew that Protestant Dissenters are at all events not insensible of the necessity of religion to the well-being of a nation. It contains some sentiments which will be thought by many too strongly *conservative*, and would afford a good text for extended discussions, into which we cannot now enter.

The pamphlet entitled, in allusion to a phrase used by Dr. Chalmers, "The Might and Mastery of the Established Church laid low," is a very able and spirited production. The part taken by that very eloquent, philanthropic, and wrong-headed enemy of poor-law establishments and advocate of church establishments, is exposed with a severity to which he has justly laid himself open, and of which he has no right to complain.

'We can,' says the Writer, 'we think, fully appreciate his varied excellencies, his splendid intellectual endowments, and his great moral worth. We still remember, and wish never to forget, the admiration, and even the affection with which we regarded him at what we considered as the commencement of his Christian, and also, we may say, of his ministerial career. We know the obligations under which he has laid the whole reading public, by his powerful defence of the *outworks* of our common Christianity. We have heard with rapture, or perused with delight, his eloquent arguments for the emancipation of one class of dissenters in the United Kingdom, which, if followed out to their legitimate consequences, would lead equally to the emancipation of all the rest; nor are we ignorant of the vast improvements he

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has introduced into the Theological Chair, which in our Metropolitan University he now fills with so much honour to himself, and with such great and unprecedented advantage to those who are prosecuting their studies with a view to the ministry in the Church of Scotland. But, admitting all this, we feel even the more indignant at the sentiments which he has broached in reference to Ecclesiastical Establishments, and we can hardly speak with patience of the style in which he has given them expression.

'Although the dispute respecting Church Establishments has become keen in this country only of late, it has already produced "the refreshing spectacle," as he calls it, of several armed Champions of the Church, coming forth in full equipment against their enemies from their retreats, which, although "high," have not "sheltered" them from some annoyance.

'Of these, however, he himself is not one. He has been abroad before, and is old in the field. In the course of his public career, he has ever and anon amused himself with an occasional spur against the ranks of dissent; and there is not a foot soldier among them who is not now perfectly familiar both with his manner of onset, and with the vast flourish of trumpets which precedes, accompanies, and follows it.

'One of the latest, and perhaps the most remarkable of his assaults, is the speech he delivered in the last General Assembly in support of his motion respecting Calls; a speech of great eloquence, but which met with the singular reception of rapturous applause from his Tory opponents, and a sort of silent dismay from his orthodox friends.

'In that speech he declaimed against the innovating spirit of the age, in the style of my Lord Eldon, and yet he concluded with ministering to that spirit by himself proposing an innovation. He warned his orthodox friends not to look for the advancement of religion to what he called mechanism, in terms which seemed to imply that he rated all systems of rule as of equal value, and yet he concluded by proposing a change in the mechanism of his own church as a good and useful thing. He spoke as if he preferred patronage to popular election, because the patron was only a single piece of corrupt matter, whereas the people were many pieces of corrupt matter, and the chances of error would be multiplied by increasing the mass of corruption; and yet he concluded by proposing to admit to the business of election both patron and people, or rather, he laid his hands upon all the pieces of corruption within his reach, and combined into one the Presbytery, the patron, and the people, attempting to cover his inconsistency under a rhetorical flourish, respecting "antagonist forces in nature," which possibly might satisfy those of his hearers, whose minds dwelt in the clouds. Against the people he directed his most vehement abuse: they were gullible, they were factious, they followed demagogues, and headsmen of parishes, as sheep follow a leader; and yet, his chief trust for the right guidance both of patrons and of ecclesiastical assemblies in the exercise of their respective functions was in public opinion; as if public opinion were not merely the expressed will and sentiments of that very class of men chiefly, against which he had directed his uncompromising censure. Upon these and

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other points the reverend gentleman took liberties with reason and common sense, which we suppose we are bound to reverence as examples of the noble daring of genius.' pp. 9—12.

'If he is not unimpeachable in his arguments, he is still less scrupulous respecting his facts. In the speech to which we have already referred, lately delivered by him in the General Assembly, he made two or three blunders, in which ignorance and art seemed to have an equal share. In disparagement of popular election, he referred that House to several examples where it had not preserved religion from degenerating.

'He mentioned the Presbyterian Dissenters of England, who had declined first into Arianism, and then into Socinianism; in total ignorance that those Churches were endowed, and that the power of election rested, not with the people, but with the trustees who held the endowments.

'He referred, again, to Presbyterianism in Ireland, which had exhibited a similar declension from orthodoxy to Arianism; concealing the fact, which, if he knew, he should have mentioned, that the Churches there are pensioned, and to that extent are anti-popular and unscriptural. The two instances in question, so far as they prove any thing, prove only this, that the members of the Church must have an influence which does not terminate with the election of the minister, and that the mere privilege of giving their votes for a preacher, is of no practical utility. The law of voluntary support must be combined with it, to make the system at once agreeable to Scripture and happy in its results. To return to the illustrations of the reverend Doctor. The third instance to which he alluded, impeached his candour more than his knowledge. It was that of the Presbyterian Dissenters in Scotland. Here, for a hundred years, orthodoxy had been united with popular election. The fact was undeniable, and therefore he commenced with admitting, that in those Churches the "form of sound words" remained. The example was therefore about to fail him, and upset his argument. In his emergency he had recourse to his invention, which readily came to his aid, and got him over the difficulty by supplying him with a calumny. It was true that in those Churches the "form of sound words remained," but it was in union with "spiritual death;" and if any fire still remained, it was "the fierce and unhallowed fire of earthly politics." Pretty words, truly, from a man whose mouth, from the time he rose till the moment he uttered them, had been emitting one continued blaze of high church politics! from a man who was standing in the representative assembly of a Church, which, for a hundred years, had been dead as a stone, and which, if it had in recent times made some small show of warmth, had assumed it mainly from a base fear of the Dissenters, who, having sheltered the religion of the country when ejected from the Establishment, had been only too prosperous; from a man who had spent some of the most active years of his life on a spot where those Dissenters have been the mainspring of every religious enterprise, and where, to have uttered the same accusation, would have required a courage which he does not possess, and would have drawn upon him the common indignation and indelible disgrace.

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'This was, however, the first occasion, so far as known to us, on which Dr. Chalmers had ventured to express any thing like deadly hatred, or to bring a foul and most calumnious charge against his dissenting brethren. *We* have known him to express himself in terms of very different import. And every body knows that he was once wont to hail Dissenters as "private adventurers," whose efforts might achieve much, in conjunction, of course, with "the might and the mastery of an Establishment." But to be supporters of voluntary churches, is with him, it seems, a mortal offence, and those chargeable with it, though they may "retain the form of sound words," can neither have sound heads nor sound hearts, but must, *horribile dictu*, be "spiritually dead"!' pp. 17—19.

Adverting to Dr. Inglis's representation, that the enemies of ecclesiastical establishments are very naturally taking advantage of the present state of the public mind, for the purpose of accomplishing the subversion of institutions which they disapprove,—this Writer remarks, that the question of ecclesiastical establishments 'had been agitated with great keenness and with transcendent ability, long before these "enemies" could dream of "taking advantage." of any such state of the public mind.'

'Not to speak of Milton, Howe, and Owen, of a former age; or of Archibald Hall, William Graham, and Robert Hall, of modern times,—of whose writings on the subject Dr. Inglis seems profoundly ignorant,—Conder and Ballantyne had published their celebrated works; while as yet the political "institutions" of our country, now so happily "changed or modified," founded, as they were supposed to be, on the same principles of ancient and unerring wisdom as the ecclesiastical institutions "coeval with them," seemed still to retain all the stability and glory for which they had been famed for ages. Even Marshall's first publication appeared before the present Ministry had astonished and delighted the right thinking part of the community, by the proposal of those very bold, but truly wise measures of reform, which have since, to the utter amazement and horror of all conservatives in church and state, been triumphantly carried, so as now to constitute part of the law of the country. It may be added here, and will be more particularly adverted to afterwards, that the Secession Church, in both its branches, as existing at that time, had virtually settled the question of ecclesiastical establishments, in as far as *their* creed was concerned, nearly forty years before it could have entered the imagination of any man, however sanguine, that the views they then adopted, as to the magistrate's power in the church, were at all likely to receive any countenance from such changes as have recently taken place, and are still "in the course" of occurring in the institutions, "whether civil or religious," in our country.'

Mr. Marshall himself adverts to the same disingenuous attempt to represent the opponents of church establishments 'as 'little better than a band of political agitators called into action, 'if not into existence, by the present ferment in our public af-

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'fairs.' In an 'introductory statement,' he repels this charge with manly indignation, and traces the origin of the controversy now rife in that part of the kingdom, to the excitement produced by the Catholic Relief Bill.

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'As to our taking advantage of the present state of the public mind, for the purpose of subverting ecclesiastical establishments, the charge may, perhaps, be admitted in its full extent. With the views we entertain of the sinful nature, and the pernicious consequences of these establishments, how can we do less, and do our duty? Can we, with a good conscience, sit quietly down, and allow the temple of our God to be polluted by such foul abominations, when providence, in its kindness, is supplying means, and offering an opportunity to have them removed? You allow that our conduct is *very natural*; and we thank you for the concession. We ourselves think, that were we acting otherwise in such circumstances, our conduct would not only be *un*natural, but disgraceful; such as we could not justify either to God, or to our fellow-men. The curse of Meroz, we conceive, would be due to us, with all the other curses pronounced in the scriptures against those who "bear them that are evil." If, however, it be of any consequence to bring into notice the real origin of the present controversy, I must tell you what I believe the public has been told before, that the immediate motive from which it sprung, was not so much a wish to subvert the church establishments, for which the public mind was not then so ripe, but rather a wish to calm the fears of some well-meaning people, who contemplated with unnecessary alarm, the mischief that might be wrought by the religion of Rome, provided the abettors of that faith were, in common with their fellow-citizens, declared eligible to offices of civil trust. The Catholic Relief Bill was then before Parliament, the country was much agitated by means of it, and not a few of the worthiest, though certainly not the most enlightened among us, were nearly frightened out of their proprieties, as they knew only one method of guarding against popery, the ancient and approved method of penal laws. At such a crisis, it seemed a duty to call the public attention to the fact, that the only circumstance which could render a false religion formidable, was its connection with the state; its being armed with secular power; and that if all state-endowments of religion were abolished, all state-churches put down, all ecclesiastical property, which is the property of the nation, converted to civil uses, and Christianity left, as it ought to be, to support itself from its own resources—that if this most expedient and most necessary reform, which justice, and policy, and true piety required, were carried into effect, the terrors of popery would be at an end, the horns would be plucked from the seven heads of the beast, it would be reduced to a powerless and loathsome mass of superstition, which would soon fade away before the light of truth; or which, if it continued to exist, would offer no molestation to the other forms of Christianity. Sentiments of this kind, some of us thought proper at that time to make public; and we are still as firmly convinced, as we were then, that this is the true way to deal with popery, whether we wish to prevent its spreading, or whether, in case it do spread, to ren-

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der it harmless. Let the monster be as fierce as it ever was—let it be as much disposed as it ever was, to obey the impulse of its savage nature, what hurt can it do when it is stript of its fangs? Pull the teeth of it, cut the claws of it, turn it at large, and if it be not inclined to lie down with the lamb or the kid, the lamb or the kid may safely enough lie down with it.

'You, Sir, however, and your friends, at least those who have the management of our affairs, have chosen to treat the Roman Catholics upon a different plan. After giving them the most palpable proof of their own strength, and of your weakness, by the grant of emancipation, you have continued to gall them by a Protestant tithe law, and are now driving them to madness by your measures of coercion. What hopes they are cherishing, or what plans they are meditating, I have no means of knowing; but by all accounts, they are rapidly increasing, both in Ireland and in Great Britain: and should the day ever arrive that they regain the ascendancy, wo be to your church, and to all similar churches! They imagine that they have wrongs to avenge—recent wrongs, and wrongs of more ancient date. They believe firmly, and you are doing all you can to establish them in the belief, that the patrimony of the church is their patrimony; that they have been deprived of it by an act of national sacrilege, and that they are kept out of it by a race of nefarious plunderers, who, at the same time that they deserve the gibbet for their rapine, also deserve the flames for their heresy. I therefore say again, that should they ever obtain the ascendancy, it will be sad times for your church, and for the two sister establishments. That much-loved patrimony, dear as the apple of your eye, for which you are contending, *vi et armis*, will be resumed by the original proprietors; nor will they resume it in all probability, without at the same time, exacting something by way of *solatium*, for their undergoing so deep and so long-continued an injury. You may smile, perhaps, at such a supposition, yet amidst the fluctuation of human things, the event is not impossible; and should it come to be actually realized, the only resource will be, to recur, after all, to our principles. The nation will be constrained to rise, and to do itself justice, to take the patrimony both from you and your opponents, and to establish peace, by making our principles triumphant.' *Marshall*, pp. 17—22.

In this volume, which to those acquainted with Mr. Marshall's former writings, will need neither praise nor recommendation from us, the Author takes leave of the controversy, in a passage which we cannot resist transcribing for the beauty of the writing and the fine spirit which it breathes, as well as for the monitory instruction which it addresses to all who are engaged in polemic warfare. The death of the Rev. Dr. Inglis took place while both these Replies were passing through the press.

'In conclusion, the Author would say, that he trusts this is the last time he shall have occasion to appear before the public in this controversy. It is a controversy of which he never was fond for its own sake; and of late, that, on the one side, it has become so ruthless and unprincipled, his liking to it has not increased. It was a sense of duty alone

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that induced him to engage in it at first, and now that he considers the obligation discharged, he feels inclined to bid it adieu. It has pleased the great Disposer of events, to make the year which is just closing, the saddest to him he has ever spent, and to bring him into a practical acquaintance with the saying of Solomon, "Heaviness in the heart of man maketh it stoop." He has written these pages solely because he conceived himself to be compelled by circumstances, not because he had any relish for the employment, and this, much more than any other cause, accounts for the lateness of their appearance. Besides, he is reminded, somewhat impressively, of the first part of his motto, that the controversy is one *opimum casibus*. The two individuals with whom he has had most to do in it—the two great leaders in the Scottish Church—that is, of the opposite factions in the church—each extolled by his own party as the first of mankind—each, like Themistocles, allowed by the other party to be second only to their chief—these two highly gifted individuals have both been snatched unexpectedly away, when the strife, in which they had mingled, was daily waxing hotter, and the eyes of their friends were fixed on them, with an intense and growing interest. To whom does the voice proclaim more loudly, "Be ye also ready," than to those who have happened, *through whatever train of circumstances*, to meet these distinguished men in the character of opponents? And, although there is, perhaps, no attitude in which a Christian could be more willing to be found of the Son of Man, than in showing a zeal for the purity of his Father's house; yet, as matters stand, there is a certain uneasiness—if it may not rather be called a certain acrimony of feeling—connected with an *open* appearance in the strife, which, to say the least, is not much conducive to one's comfort, nor much in harmony with devout and solemn thought. The Author mentions this in the way of intimating to his friends—the friends of the voluntary church cause—not that he means to desert that cause, or to feel coldly towards it, which it is impossible he can do while he feels at all—but that, whatever interest he may take in it for the future, or whatever aid he may endeavour to give it, as his circumstances or ability may permit, *no ordinary provocation* will tempt him to come forth again from that privacy in which alone he finds pleasure.' pp. vii, viii.

'Political Christianity' is the title of a pamphlet which we can now only recommend to all who wish to see the case and condition of Ireland, 'political, ecclesiastical, and educational,' fully stated in all its historical details and moral bearings. We cannot attempt to do justice to it in the present article, but shall have occasion to avail ourselves of its contents hereafter. In Ireland, the Writer remarks, 'the virtuous efficacy of an establishment has been as fairly brought to the test of experience as in any country; and the candid investigator will find the conclusions as palpable as he could desire.'

'Properly speaking, there have been none, at least but few, evangelical dissenters to interfere in the experiment, either to help or retard the operation. The Presbyterians have had their support on

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a special compromise of the principle of national establishments, national faith, and national service. Here, too, the very extreme dissentients from the "*Thirty-nine Articles*" and Scottish "*Confession of Faith*," have participated in the revenues arising from the alliance of church and state. There has been a rich prelatic establishment throughout the country; and, as a willing handmaid, the Scottish church has chiefly occupied the division of Ulster, and sent out her branches into other provinces. Ireland has therefore been the scene of an experiment, both for riches and poverty, in connexion with national religion. It must interest the political philanthropist, as well as the philosophical student of church history, to be able to determine with what success the plan has been pursued, and whether it may serve as a model for other unenlightened regions of the earth. In this country, too, national resources have been profusely lavished, ostensibly for promoting education and moral improvement; while secular emoluments and literary honours have been almost exclusively conferred on the professed conformists with the legalized creed. What profit has there been to the state from all these sectarian privileges? and what advantage has religion derived from this monopoly? English Dissenters have declared their grievances, and summed up, among the chief, *their liability* to the payment of church-rates, and other ecclesiastical demands; and their *exclusion* from the privileges of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. An illustration of the unmitigated effects of a similar system will be found in Irish history: and to all the wise men of Parliament we would say, "Judge ye."' pp. 4, 5.

That our readers may have a general idea of the valuable body of information comprised in the present pamphlet, or rather volume, we subjoin the table of Contents.

'I. The Case stated. II. Disputants and Controversy. III. Irish Politics. IV. The Anglo-Hibernian Church as it is. V. The Roman Catholic Church in Ireland as it is. VI. Some passages in the History of Presbyterianism in Ireland. VII. Brief Notices of Eminent Persons connected with, or calling themselves, the Independents or Congregational Churches in Ireland. VIII. Short Sketches of other and minor Sects, calling themselves Christians, in Ireland. IX. A chapter of Conclusions in Tabular form, and for sober consideration. X. *Chartered Spoliation and National Extravagance, under the guise of Educational Zeal.* XI. The beginning of a better system. XII. Education conducted by benevolent Associations for religious purposes. XIII. Education from charitable funds calculated to sustain moral character?'

The present state of the Anglo-Hibernian Church would seem to be in every respect deplorable; nor less disgraceful to those wealthy lords of the soil who have suffered their own most distinguished clergy, under their difficulties, to make humiliating application to the benevolence and compassion of English churchmen,—'aye, and English Dissenters too.'

'Individuals in Ireland have, doubtless, rendered contribution to

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such a fund; but no effort of the community, no liberality of the flock, no return of carnal things to those who have ministered in spiritual things, has marked the recent distresses of the suffering churchmen. Will the lovers of a national establishment never open their eyes? Is not the workman worthy of his hire? "Who goeth a warfare at his own charges; who planteth a vineyard and eateth not of the fruit thereof?" Shall we conclude that the church establishment is no soil for a vineyard? Shall we say that legalized episcopacy is no generous warfare, and that the workmen of the Church of England do not carry their labour to an open market?

'Some scenes have indeed been exhibited, of a most anomalous character, in recent struggles. If we were to read, in the Acts of the Apostles, that for three whole months Silas or Timotheus remained at Ephesus, or at Corinth, endeavouring to perform the service, the military daily under arms, prepared to be called out for his protection, while upon "the reading desk, beside the prayer-books, a pair of loaded pistols" lay ready for use, during the hours appointed for devotion, we should find something like a precedent for the precautionary measures deemed necessary for protecting the clergy of the established church in certain parts of Ireland which could be named, not long ago. If, again, we should read that Titus, "the son of the Very Reverend the Dean of L—," had received the appointment, first of a Curacy, then of a Living, under the auspices of his father, in Crete; that he found the tithes not well paid, but had, with a determination to enforce them, taken very summary measures, under the advice of Paul, the Archbishop of that Province,—that, in consequence, he could not go through any of the villages except accompanied by a *posse comitatus* of prætorian police, armed and mounted,—that he protected his house by loaded fire-arms in every room,—that the door of his green-house, leading into his parlour or drawing-room, was secured by spring bolts, concealed behind sliding bricks in the wall,—and that in consequence of his rigour, he had received the public thanks of his Arch-Diocesan, and acquired for himself the enjoyment of the next presentation, which his father, the Very Reverend the Dean, could exchange with the said Bishop,—we should find apostolic authority for such measures, as, not many months since, marked the career of an aspiring ecclesiastic not a hundred miles out of the county of Kildare, or fifty miles from the city of Dublin.

'During the month of April, yearly, there is a gathering together of the clergy interested in benevolent and religious institutions, and who thereby acquire a supposed title to the designation "evangelical." Within the last thirty years this class has greatly increased, compared with their numbers before that period. Perhaps in all the country they may amount to four hundred such clergymen; the greater proportion consists of young men, and few of them have attained to any rank higher than Curates; there are two or three Deans, and two or three Archdeacons, a few beneficed clergy, an Archbishop, and four or five of the Fellows of T. C. D. The evangelical doctrines are professedly held, but not very clearly understood, and very defectively expounded, by most of these men. We would except a Singer and an O'Brien, a Roe and a Lloyd. Many of them are ultra-millenarians,

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and not a few of them have drunk deeply into the spirit of *The Morning Watch*, and even the fanaticism of Irving, concerning the person of Christ, the doctrines of redemption, and the personal reign. There is not much vigour of intellect, or depth of theological learning, or very extensive erudition among them, nor does their ministration seem calculated to enlarge the minds of their hearers, to elevate the tone of religious sentiments, or liberalize the affections of the people towards those who differ from them in politics or religion. While it is a fact, that the most independent and useful ministers of that church have found a refuge and a resting-place in institutional chaplaincies, and these independently of episcopal patronage.

'The character of the church laity, apart from politics or the establishment, is exhibited in profusion, benevolence, and equipage—a hospitable, light-hearted, and superficial race. The proportion of the people, adherents to the Church of England in Ireland, has decidedly decreased in the census taken from time to time. Any success that has followed evangelical effort has been reaped, not in consequence of clerical labours or parochial ministrations, but rather the result of uncanonical and interdicted exertions, or of the various apparatus independent of the law church. So apparent is the stationary or retrogressive aspect of Protestanism in the country, and so weak or unsuccessful have been the efforts for extension, that even good churchmen are not merely expressing their disappointment and chagrin, but are beginning to suspect that there exist somewhere impediments or obstructions which are to the dishonour of their system: they remember the Roman adage, *Magna est veritas et prevalebit*, but they do not perceive that the system to which they belong prevails—the triumph is all on the opposite side. Let them examine the matter more closely; perhaps they may discover something in state connexion and the control possessed by secular authority over the appointment of clerical functionaries—the world determining and providing for the church.'

pp. 41—43.

The subject of the *Regium Donum* has recently attracted, and is likely still more to attract, public attention. The 'passage in 'the history of Presbyterianism in Ireland,' relating to it, will be found to contain some instructive disclosures.

'In the commotions which convulsed Ireland towards the close of the 18th century, not a few of the Presbyterian ministers were implicated, and this occasioned great searchings of heart among the Synods—the Regium Donum was in danger; by it many of them had their living; others of them were doubtless excited by higher motives. However, in more recent times, the royal bounty, which had been dispensed in a sum-total yearly, and left to their own division among the ministers of the Synod, became the subject of grave consideration; and Lord Castlereagh, and the ministry under whom he acted, somewhat altered the channel in which the contribution of the State should flow to the Presbyterians. In 1803, it was determined, in order that the administration of the grant might have a check upon the clergy, (is not this the object in all State bounties bestowed upon ecclesiastical function-

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aries?) that each minister should receive, as for himself, while the gift should be granted according to the congregation; that the disloyal ecclesiastic should be deprived by the decree of the Secretary of State, but that the Regium Donum should continue to be drawn, even where the minister was deceased, or deprived; and the benefit of such revenue should be appropriated to a widows' fund. The congregations under the care of the Synods and Presbytery of Antrim were arranged in three classes, according to the number of families and stipend of each. Agreeably to this classification is the allowance of the ministers—some only 50*l.*, some at the higher rate of 75*l.*, and the highest 100*l.* per annum; while the congregations add to the sum, and increase the ministers' salary, according to their respective liberality, by subscriptions or seat-rents. "It is an ill wind that blows in nobody's barn door:" these new arrangements were made the reason and pretext for imploring and obtaining increased help from the national treasury, to support "the Presbyterian Synod of Ireland," called Seceders. Their ministers are also the continued stipendiaries of the State—the hired pulpit servants of "the powers that be." Their allowances are on a smaller scale, but graduating also according to locality, and other circumstances. Their classes are 70*l.*, 50*l.*, and 40*l.* per annum. Are these the principles of their brethren of the "voluntary churches" in Scotland?

'The discussions which ended in the formation of the Presbytery of Antrim began, and were conducted with more or less ardour, between 1705 and 1724; and some of the most distinguished and talented of the Presbyterian ministers of Ireland, Dr. Boyse and Mr. Abernethy, were involved in the controversy. It appears that Mr. Nevin disclaimed being an Arian, yet scrupled and refused to make subscription to any human form of opinion or belief. Notwithstanding, from the general suspicion which prevailed among the Synod, from the warmth and extent of the debates, and from the fact that Arianism did raise its head among the Presbyterians, both in the north and south of Ireland, it may not be a harsh or hasty conclusion, that that form of church government, and the patronage of the State, are not sufficient to guard against heterodoxy, or the appropriation of the national bounty to propagate a system of opinions directly obnoxious to written standards, and hostile to established creeds and confessions of faith. Let the devout advocate of national establishments of religion, of state patronage, or territorial endowments for the advancement of christianity, ponder well the palpable fact, that up to this day thousands of pounds yearly are devoted to maintain in Ireland Arian and Socinian ministers, as well as some who labour neither for one creed nor another, but whose only concern is, what they shall eat, or what they shall drink, or wherewithal they shall be clothed. It is desirable that the English public should further know, what the effect is of that, which, improperly is denominated Royal Bounty, but may more correctly be designated government improvidence, parliamentary extravagance, and national robbery. At the close of the session of parliament for 1833, nearly 24,500*l.* were voted for the support of Presbyterian ministers in Ireland. By the appropriation of such grants in former years, the several bodies of Presbyterians in Ireland have been able to proceed, not merely in the mainte-

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nance of existing congregations, at least of ministers for such congregations, but also to encrease their number of clerical stipendiaries throughout the country. The usual process for the consolidation of a new interest, in such parts of the country as are known to us, may be thus briefly described. A certain number of adult persons, supposed to be, or designated as heads of families residing in a vicinity, subscribe a document declaring themselves to be Presbyterians, and desiring the settlement among them, as a congregation, of a minister whom they approve of. This document is forwarded to the Presbytery, and having received the sanction of their competent ecclesiastical authorities, the congregation and minister are enrolled, having been duly organized, &c., are returned as people and minister of that communion, and become eligible to the enjoyment of Regium Donum. A memorial, attested by the Moderator of the Synod and their lay agent, is then presented by the minister of the congregation to the Lord Lieutenant, soliciting the bounty usually granted to the ministers of that body; and as a security for his dutiful obedience, and a proof of his acceptableness, the oath of allegiance is subscribed, and the attestation of two magistrates is added, to witness that he has duly taken the oath, and pledged his loyalty as the *quid pro quo*. Not infrequently it occurs, that persons have subscribed themselves as members of such congregation who do not feel under the moral obligation of contributing to the support of their minister, or who are well satisfied by the appropriation of a most miserable pittance, to eke out the salary of their recognised pastor; they calculate on the government allowance, and neither cherish in themselves, nor in the members of their families, any sense of individual responsibility, or the obligation to make personal effort, for the advancement of religion. The minister receives his 50*l.* or 70*l.* yearly; but the sum is inadequate for the support of a family, or for their elevation in society. Consequently, the man who should be wholly given to sacred things, and the cultivation of the religious improvement of his people, is induced to turn his thoughts to other pursuits, and to occupy his time with secular engagements. In many instances the Regium Donum is applied as the rent of a farm—the minister becomes a farming gentleman; or, holding from the head landlord, he sub-lets portions of his lease, at rack-rents, to the neighbouring peasantry for potatoe fields. It is not an uncommon sight, in country towns, in fairs and markets, to witness the Presbyterian minister selling his pigs, his corn, or his sheep; and, it may be, completing his bargain in the public-house, or over the whisky bottle, on a Saturday afternoon, or at other times nearly approaching to religious service. The advocates of Temperance Societies tell some strange stories regarding the north. The clerical character is lowered by such exposure; the tone of mind in the victim of such a system is vitiated; his official engagements are not distinguished by the exertion of intellect or the researches of study; and he fails to effect that good, or to command that moral and spiritual influence, which would render him a benefit to his flock. His people fail to acquire an enlarged and comprehensive benevolence, or active and vigorous minds; generous principles do not exalt them; liberality of sentiment or of charity lies beyond their attainment; and they take

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no interest in diffusing the knowledge of their own religion, or the advantages of a free and enlightened constitution, in their own neighbourhoods, or among their fellow men in remoter districts. Even where a desire to do good has actuated some of them, their designs are selfish, their liberality is penurious, and their efforts are feeble or abortive. The influence of a system so replete with evil may serve to account for the inefficiency of Presbyterianism itself in Ireland; and the obstructions which other modes of doing good in the country must herein have to encounter, will sufficiently explain the cause of their slow or partial success. Let the patriotic statesman, the Christian citizen, and the philosophic and candid enquirer after truth, as also the student of ecclesiastical history, survey the sad and dreary effects of the paralyzing conjunction of church and state, in a country which requires all the energies of a vigorous and healthy christianity, and all the resources of a wise and benevolent government to redeem its population from civil discord and superstitious and ruinous priestcraft.'

pp. 65—68.

These specimens will preclude the necessity of our adding a word to induce our readers to make themselves masters of the information for which the public are indebted to the writer of these pages.

We have left ourselves scarcely room to notice the other publications on our list. The Clergyman's Answer to the "Case of the Dissenters," is a prosing, feeble, repetition of refuted arguments and blundering statements; written, very probably, by a good man of the *Christian Guardian* school. The Writer thinks, that the Church cannot be justly blamed for any of its abuses, till 'the *clergy assembled in convocation* shall have *refused* to 'effect those reforms in their ecclesiastical polity which may be 'pointed out to them.' As if reforms ever had proceeded from, or were likely to originate with, convocations of clergy! He is, '*upon the whole*, by no means disposed to deny that many of the 'Dissenting clergy are true ministers of the Church of Christ—'because he believes, that Christ himself works by them to the 'salvation of many souls, which is *the best testimony to such a* '*commission*, and without which regular ordination avails nothing 'to invest a man, with such a character, except in name, to those 'who cannot *know the heart*." This is the best sentence in the pamphlet; and there is so much good sense and right feeling in it, that we are, upon the whole, by no means disposed to deny that the Writer is a well meaning, literally disposed person, but cramped and muddled by the prejudices of Episcopacy. As if he had conceded too much, he goes on to say:—'Yet, he humbly 'conceives, that, to say *the least*, there is an *irregularity* in their 'orders, in more than one respect, from which those of the Church 'of England are free.' When will the Protestant clergy be weaned from these Romish puerilities?

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The Dissenting Minister's Letter to Earl Grey is a strange performance. We confess ourselves unable to perceive the Writer's drift, or to conjecture either his aim or his motive. By his own account, he is utterly unacquainted with the sentiments, as he has no sympathy with the feelings of the body to which he professes to belong. 'Whether the Dissenters generally approve 'of the course to be pursued by His Majesty's Government, as 'officially notified, I *cannot determine.* With them, the con-'nexion between Church and State is *a mere problem in theo-'logical casuistry.*' These two sentences, occurring in immediate sequence, will, probably, satisfy our readers as to what class of Dissenting Ministers this Letter-writer must belong. The former sentence betrays either an utter want of information, or an affected ignorance as to matters of public notoriety: the latter is an assertion ridiculously incorrect, and which every consistent Dissenter would repudiate as a gross misrepresentation. The Writer lets us know that he is not an Independent Minister; and moreover that he does not even know the acceptation of the term. Speaking of the Dissenting community generally, this pseudo Dissenting Minister has the audacity to say:

'That which forms the first principle in their constitution, their boast and glory, in another view exhibits a most prominent feature of deformity, a source of shame and degradation; I mean, "the independency of the churches," a term that is strikingly descriptive of the torn and shattered aspect of some congregations, the enfeebled and blighted condition of others, that are left unpitied and unassisted by the stronger and wealthier to whom they claim an affinity.'

Every one who knows any thing about Independency, with its system of mutual association, its funds for the relief of poorer ministers and churches, and the amount of assistance annually afforded by the wealthy to those who claim their benevolence, will be aware that this passage is a tissue of calumny. In the next paragraph the Writer proceeds to contrast with the energy of the Americans, the '*torpidity* which now, as always, distin-'guishes the Dissenters of this country; thus furnishing incon-'testible proof that they are incapable of any sublime and extended 'effort.' They may possess *means*, but they want disposition, 'and that is a fatal effect.' Further on, he speaks of 'the vast 'amount of noxious and degrading qualities exhibited in their 'system, if that can be called system which nothing binds, the 'parts of which are so many uncongenial elements that are inca-'pable of combination.' Really, if the Writer were himself a specimen of any *class* of Dissenting Ministers, there must be some truth in this; for he has given us an exemplification of the noxious qualities and uncongenial elements existing under the

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name of Dissent, but which are, after all, but the morbid accidents of the system. But, as he has well observed, 'the human 'mind is a monstrous anomaly.'

The Tract on 'the Moral and Spiritual Influence of the 'Church of England,' contains some strong assertions, and some striking remarks. The former, however, stands in need of proof, although we believe them to be for the most part in accordance with fact. For instance:

'I. Estimating the clergy at three times the number of nonconformist ministers, there should be three holy, intelligent, active, self-denying and efficient preachers in the church, for every one dissenting pastor of the like description out of it; but what is the real fact of the case? We have no hesitation in avowing our settled conviction, that there are, at least, three pious, zealous, evangelical ministers out of the establishment, for every one that is in it; and that the ministerial and pastoral labours performed by a single congregational or by a Wesleyan preacher is, on an average, equal to what is effected by three pious conforming clergymen.

'II. Supposing, also, that there may be, in England and Wales, two lay church people for every one lay dissenter, there ought, then, to be two devout, virtuous, godly, and consistent members of the establishment for every one devout, virtuous, godly, and consistent nonconformist. But this is so far from the fact, that we venture to affirm, that there are ten truly religious seceders for one truly religious churchman in the country; and that the voluntary contributions of dissenters for the extension of piety in the land, and the unpaid exertions which they make for the salvation and happiness of their fellow-creatures and countrymen, are ten times more than those made by the lay members of the hierarchy; and all this, too, in addition to the forced contributions of immense sums every year towards sustaining the walls, glory, and worship of the church of England; from which, in return, they seldom receive a shilling, and very often contempt.

'III. It is with equal advice and confidence we state our belief in the following calculations:—That where there is one Protestant Dissenter in our jails, there are one hundred Episcopalians; and that this ratio will equally apply to persons transported beyond the seas, or who forfeit their lives on the gallows. That of all the burglars, incendiaries, pickpockets, shoplifters, and the like, ninety-nine out of every hundred appertain to the prelatical communion—and that not one per cent. of the infidelity, ignorance of true religion, and hostility against it, which abound in the land, is discoverable in the ranks of dissenters. Of the thousands upon thousands of drunkards, swearers, sabbath-breakers, liars, debauchees, rakes, spendthrifts and vagabonds, which are a disgrace and curse to our country, not more than one in a hundred is a dissenter. And that of all the periodical and other publications which minister to the lusts, and promote the ruin of our youth; which instil into the minds of the ignorant and unsuspecting, notions

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adverse to the doctrines of Christianity, and opposed to loyalty and patriotism; which are laid as snares in almost every pot-house throughout the kingdom, and by which thousands are entangled and destroyed; nearly the whole emanate from the brains, are written by the pens, and are circulated by the industry of persons who would, perhaps, knock any one down for calling them dissenters, or for questioning their allegiance to old mother church.

'Many orthodox members of the establishment, who can see nothing good out of the church, and nothing bad in it, will be surprised and indignant at these astounding statements, and at our temerity and wickedness in venturing them. But, alas! we believe them to be too correct—to the dishonour of the parliamentary religion; and, in the eyes of infidels—to the discredit of our common Christianity. The ignorance, apathy, unbelief, and impiety, of most church people, can hardly be credited, if announced through the medium of a second-hand authority. There are thousands of parishes in which can scarcely be found one truly pious episcopalian. While most who statedly or occasionally attend the legal parish meeting-house, respond to its services, and kneel before its altar, seem never to imagine that they are seriously professing the Christian religion, or involving themselves in any sacred responsibilities. They no sooner leave their pews, than they totally discard all devotional expressions; resort to scenes of indolence, folly, and vice; argue against the doctrines, precepts, and claims of the Scriptures; and ridicule the scruples and preciseness of dissenters.'

We cannot commend the style of the pamphlet. Such a mode of expression as 'God is not likely to give his especial blessings 'to the Church of England', 'God dislikes her', &c., putting aside the boldness of the assertions, savours of an unhallowed freedom. We do exceedingly regret to be unable to speak more favourably of the 'Library of Ecclesiastical Knowledge.'

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ART. VIII.—LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Preparing for publication, A Popular Introduction to the Modern Classification of Insects, serving also as a Sequel to the "Introduction to Entomology" of the Rev. W. Kirby and W. Spence, Esq.; comprising an Account of the Habits and Transformations of the different Families; and a Synopsis of the British, and a Notice of the more remarkable Exotic Genera. Illustrated with several Hundred Figures, some of them coloured after Nature. By J. O. Westwood, F.L.S., &c.

A Series of "Lives of Celebrated Naturalists" has been a considerable time in preparation for the Edinburgh Cabinet Library. The first Volume will speedily appear, containing Lives of Eminent Zoologists, from Aristotle to Linnæus inclusive, with an Introductory View of the Study of Natural History and the Progress of Zoology. The Second Volume will be devoted to the more remarkable Writers in the same department, from Pallas, Brisson, and Buffon, down to Cuvier, and will conclude with Remarks on the present state of the Science. It is intended to offer to the Public similar Memoirs of the principal Cultivators of Botany, Mineralogy, and Geology; so that the Series will form a useful Introduction to the study of those branches of knowledge; while the biographical narratives, independently of their scientific details, will embody a fund of general information which cannot fail to prove extremely interesting to all classes of readers.

In the press, An Address to the Nobility and Landed Proprietors of Great Britain and Ireland, on the Distressed State of the Agricultural Population, and the Baneful Effects of Absenteeism; in which are displayed the Benefits arising from small Allotments of Land. By a London Merchant.

In the press, Analysis of the Defective State of Turnpike Roads and Turnpike Securities; with Suggestions for their Improvement. By Francis Philips, Esq.

In the press, Necessity of a Commutation of Tithes, and the Means of rendering the Soil of the British Islands capable of abundantly supporting twice the amount of their present Population. Addressed to the Right Hon. Viscount Althorp, Chancellor of the Exchequer, &c. &c. By T. A. Knight, Esq. F.R.S. and F.L.S. and President of the Horticultural Society of London.

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Just ready, Parts I., II., and III., of a Commentary on the Holy Scriptures, without the Text. By Joseph Sutcliffe, A.M.

Preparing for publication early in May, the Correspondence of John Jebb, D.D., F.R.S., Bishop of Limerick, with Alexander Knox, Esq. from 1799 to 1831.

Just ready, Sixteen Discourses on the Liturgical Services of the Church of England. By the Rev. Thomas Bowdler, M.A. 1 Vol. 12mo.

Dr. Croly has a volume in the press on the General Government of the World by the Deity.

Just ready for the press, Wesleyan Takings; or Sketches of Ministerial Character, containing Notices of a series of eminent Preachers, with remarks on their distinctive peculiarities and excellencies, in matter, style, and manner; the whole designed to furnish useful hints to *young ministers*.

Nearly ready, the Physiology, Pathology, and Treatment of Asphyxia: including Suspended Animation in new born Children—and from Hanging—Drowning—Wounds of the Chest—Mechanical Obstructions of the Air Passages—Respiration of Gases—Death from Cold, &c., &c. By James Phillips Kay, M.D.

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Art. VIII. WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

BIOGRAPHY.

The Life of Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore, K.B. By his Brother, James Carrick Moore, Author of "A Narrative of the Campaigns of the British Army in Spain." 2 Vols. 8vo., with Portrait, 1*l.* 1*s.*

The Life and Poems of the Rev. George Crabbe. Vol. I. 5*s.*

The Life of the Rev. Rowland Hill, M.A., compiled from Authentic Documents. By the Rev. Edwin Lidney, M.A., of St. John's College, Cambridge. 8vo., with a fine Portrait, 14*s.*

MISCELLANEOUS.

Helen. By Maria Edgeworth. 3 Vols. post 8vo.

POLITICAL.

Influence of the Public Debt over the Prosperity of the Country. By M. B. 8vo. 1*s.* 6*d.*

Observations on the China Trade, and on the importance and advantages of removing it from Canton to some other part of the coast of that Empire. By Sir James Brabazon Urmston, late President of the Hon. East India Company's Factory at China. 8vo. 3*s.*

Great Britain for the Last Forty Years; being an Historical and Analytical account of its Finances, Economy, and general Condition during that period. By Thomas Hopkins. 12mo. 6*s.*

Considerations on the Law of Libel, as relating to Publications on the subject of Religion. By John Search. 2*s.*

THEOLOGY.

A Popular View of the Correspondency between the Mosaic Ritual and the Facts and Doctrines of the Christian Religion. In nine Discourses. By the Rev. William Greswell, M.A., Fellow of Baliol College, Oxford, and Officiating Curate of Disley, Cheshire. 8vo. 6*s.* 6*d.*

A New Volume, being the Third, of Sermons. By the Rev. Charles Webb le Bas, M.A. 8vo. 12*s.*

TRAVELS.

Journey to the North of India, overland from England; through Russia, Persia, and Affghaunistaun. By Lieut. Arthur Conolly. 2 Vols. 8vo., with a Map and Plates.

Excursions in the Holy Land, Egypt, Nubia, Syria, &c. By John Madox, Esq. 2 Vols. 8vo., with numerous Engravings on Copper and Wood.

Journal of two Voyages along the Coast of China in 1831-2. With Notices of Siam Corea, the Loo Choo Islands, &c. By Charles Gutzlaff. With an Introduction by the Rev. W. Ellis, Author of "Polynesian Researches", &c. Post 8vo., with a Map, &c.

Journal of a West India Proprietor, kept during a Residence in the Island of Jamaica. By the late Matthew Gregory Lewis, Author of "The Monk", "Castle Spectre", &c. 8vo.

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THE

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ECLECTIC REVIEW,

For MAY, 1834.

Art. I. *An Attempt to explain and establish the Doctrine of Justification by Faith only,* in Ten Sermons upon the Nature and the Effects of Faith, preached in the Chapel of Trinity College, Dublin. By James Thomas O'Brien, D.D., Fellow of Trinity College, and Archbishop King's Lecturer in Divinity. 8vo. pp. xvi. 412. London, 1833.

WE are pleased to learn that this valuable work is already out of print, although the circumstance may seem to reproach our tardiness in bringing it under the notice of our readers. The circulation of such a volume cannot fail to produce important benefit, especially in Ireland, where too large a proportion of Protestants are but slenderly acquainted with the distinguishing articles of the Protestant creed, and are guarded by political prejudices more than by sound religious knowledge against the seductions of popery. These sermons, learned without being scholastic, and argumentative without being polemical, marked by experimental piety still more than by theological acumen, and teaching not only the doctrine, but the use of it,—form altogether one of the best expositions of this cardinal article of the Reformed Faith that have fallen under our notice in the compass of modern theology. Those to whom the Author is known, will not, we believe, deem this too high an encomium.

As Justification itself is the beginning of a Christian course, so, a knowledge of the true way of justification as revealed in the Scriptures, is the master-key to all sound theology. That which chiefly distinguishes the Christian faith from every form of superstition, theistic or polytheistic, is the doctrine of gratuitous mercy on the simple terms of repentance and faith, in virtue of a propitiation of the Divine justice antecedent to any act on the part of the transgressor. This doctrine, designated under various theological phrases,—justification by faith, salvation by grace, salvation through Christ, free redemption, the atonement,—is in fact *the Gospel.* It does not include the whole of the Christian religion;

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it does not comprehend the whole of saving truth or of scriptural theology; but it is emphatically the revealed good tidings, on the sincere reception of which hangs salvation, because the faith which embraces it, saves: "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved." Those who so believe, are saved, whether they understand the method by which they are saved, or not. Doubtless, millions have been justified through faith in Christ, who had no clear notion of the doctrine of justification by faith. '*Malo sentire quam scire.*' We may be able to define saving faith, without possessing it. On the other hand, no man can be considered as intelligently holding the Christian faith in its purity, or as qualified to teach to others the way of salvation, who does not apprehend this first principle of the oracles of God—"Being justified by faith, we have reconciliation with God, through our Lord Jesus Christ."

'I never met with a Christian in the East,' says Mr. Hartley, the much-respected Missionary, 'who appeared experimentally 'to understand the Apostle's language' (in this text). To how large a proportion of nominal Christians in the West would the same remark be applicable! But, in the Oriental Churches, although the language of orthodoxy has been perpetuated in the creeds and formularies, so far as regards the object of worship and the doctrine of mediation, the faith which brings peace into the heart, while it leads to purity of life, is an unknown doctrine. May we not well deem that truth to be the vital spirit of Christianity, which is the first to escape when the process of corruption begins, and the abstraction of which from the creed leaves a religion without faith, or a belief without experience or comfort?

It is an historical fact capable of the clearest attestation, that, in the absence of the Holy Scriptures, or where these are not made the source and instrument of religious instruction, the doctrine of justification by faith is uniformly found to be defaced or wholly lost; while the constant result of the free circulation of the Scriptures is, to re-produce that doctrine, as at the Reformation. This fact affords the strongest presumption that the doctrine is really taught in the Holy Scriptures; and not only so, but that it is peculiar to them; that it has its origin in the inspired communications of the Apostles, and is foreign to the human mind. The most enlightened reason, in the absence of Revelation, never approached to the discovery of this true and only possible mode of salvation: on the contrary, every other religion in the world proceeds upon opposite principles—principles accordant, indeed, with the natural suggestions of conscience and the deductions of reason, but which rise no higher than their source, and are as powerless as they are fallacious. A doctrine which is from heaven must needs be original, and its originality will be one mark of its truth. And if we find it to be held by

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none but those who have been taught of God, we have the strongest reason to conclude that it is truly not of man, but of Divine origin.

Now such is the characteristic originality of the cardinal article in question. To those who have been familiarized with the terms in which the doctrine of Justification is ordinarily conveyed, its extreme and absolute peculiarity may not be so evident. Its perfect simplicity renders it easily intelligible to the humblest capacity; and yet, it has to encounter a degree of resistance on the part of the unbeliever or the mere ritualist, which no other doctrine meets with. It is the most difficult doctrine to be believed in the whole compass of theology, because it must be believed purely on the ground of its being revealed, and at the sacrifice of the pride of reason, and the pride of fancied virtue. It is the reverse of every other scheme of salvation, and yet is not perceived to be so. In thousands by whom the Christian system is professedly acknowledged, the religion which untaught nature clings to, is so deeply rooted as to refuse to give place to the faith of the Gospel. Nature teaches man to propitiate his offended Maker, by penance, gifts, rites, prayers, meritorious deeds—anything or every thing. How strange, and startling, and incredible the doctrine, that all these avail absolutely nothing,—that God is incapable of being propitiated by sinful man,—yet, that He *is* propitiated, and that the sinner has but to believe this, and return to his allegiance to his reconciled Maker! This is a true saying, and worthy of all acceptation; but who ever accepted it as true, till he was made wise by Divine teaching?

'A longing to be saved, without understanding the true way 'how,' remarks Hooker in his admirable sermon on justification, 'hath been the cause of all the superstitions in the world.' An intense longing to be saved is not religion, but it creates a necessity for religion as a want of the heart; and where the true religion is unknown, or ill understood, it will shape for itself a spurious creed, one of which fear, not faith, is the animating principle. Widely as the creeds of human invention differ in other respects, in this they all agree. The Pagan, the Mohammedan, and the blind Papist, in their varied worship of one God or many, have alike in view, to avert the displeasure or to propitiate the favour of the powers they dread, but by whom they are conscious of not being loved. 'True religion,' Pascal remarks, 'consists in loving God; yet, no religion but that of the Bible 'ever taught this.' No other religion shews how a sinner may be assured of the love of God, without which it is impossible to love Him. No other has ever taught men to ask of God the *power* to love and serve Him.

'I am accountable to my Maker, and I have sinned against 'Him':—this is the dictate of conscience, the language of nature;

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and hence the countless inventions of superstition. 'I love Him 'to whom I must give account, for He has pardoned me that I 'may love Him':—this is faith, this is grace. And yet, how few Christians, comparatively, are thoroughly aware that this is the Christian religion! How few are so entirely delivered from the religion of superstition, by faith in Christ, that they have peace with God as those who have "received the reconciliation"!

Among the many corruptions of the Christian doctrine, that which assigns to faith itself, as including obedience, the *propitiatory* virtue which false religions attribute to rites, penances, or good works, is, perhaps, the most insidious and the most remarkable, as shewing the tenacity with which the human mind adheres to its anti-evangelical prejudices. This is, in fact, to destroy the gratuitous nature of the Divine mercy, and to change the very nature as well as office of faith, from that of trust to service, from the spirit of adoption to the spirit of bondage. The Object of this spurious faith is a God not reconciled; whereas the faith which is the instrument of justification, by embracing the gratuitous mercy of God, regards God as already reconciled by the death of his Son. The distinction and difference must needs be of infinite significance, since they relate, not merely to the mode and ground of acceptance with God, but to the object of worship. Hence, the immense importance of ascertaining the true nature of the principle of faith, and its place in the Scripture plan of salvation. 'To regard as purely speculative any errors 'which tend to alter our apprehensions of the Object of our 'adoration, of our relationship to Him, and of His dealings with 'us, betrays', Dr. O'Brien justly remarks, 'a strange ignorance 'of the design and mode of operation of all religion.'

With great propriety, therefore, the Author commences his Attempt to explain and establish the Gospel doctrine, by ascertaining the Scriptural meaning of Faith,—'how the principle is 'wrought in the mind, and what is the whole preceding or ac-'companying change of mind which is essential to the existence 'of genuine faith.' This is the subject of the first two sermons. In opposition to those *pseudo*-Protestants, on the one hand, who, in some way or other, 'make obedience to God's law a part of 'the notion for which faith stands', and to those theologians of the Sandemanian school, on the other hand, who 'represent faith 'as a process purely intellectual';—'the one modifying the re-'presentations of Scripture from an apprehension of licentious-'ness, and the other from a fear of self-righteousness';—Dr. O'Brien contends, that the true notion of Faith is, 'trust in 'Christ, or in God through Christ',—an 'entire and unreserved 'confidence in the efficacy of what Christ has done and suffered 'for us; a full reliance upon Him and upon His work.' The

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exercise of this principle, he remarks, differs from that faith in God, of which, in the eleventh chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, we have both the true notion defined and the exemplification,—'only in the grounds upon which it rests, and the 'object about which it is exercised; not at all, manifestly, in the 'state of mind which the words are intended to express.'

'The distinction is, that the benefit hoped for from God is salvation; and the foundation of the hope, the merits and the sufferings of Christ. It includes,—as every other case of faith in God (or, I may add, in any being) does,—desire of something to be received from Him, and trust that we shall receive it. And to this confidence in Him who is to bestow the benefit upon us, it adds confidence in Him who has earned it for us. It is grounded upon the testimony of God's word, and requires, of course, a belief in that testimony; but it is manifestly distinct from such belief. It leads, we learn, to obedience to God's will, but it is even more manifestly distinct from such obedience.

'Of the two misrepresentations of the meaning of faith, which this account of its nature thus equally overthrows, that which makes it mere belief in the testimony of the Bible is the one against which I felt, and feel, especially solicitous to guard you. The opposite error, in which obedience to God's will is made a part of the notion for which *faith* stands, is easily exposed; even independently of any exact knowledge of the true meaning of the term. But against this more dangerous error there is, I think, no effectual security, except in clear views of the true nature of the principle which it misrepresents. I call it more dangerous, not because I regard it as more injurious in its effects, or in itself more opposed to divine truth. On the contrary, though I cannot avoid ascribing to it, much of what is to be condemned in the heartless and paralysing religious system of which it forms a part, I am sure that it is much less at war with the principles of the gospel than the other. But it is far more dangerous, as far more likely to mislead. In fact, the other, as I said, rests exclusively upon doctrinal views, which assume generally the form of such gross and palpable misrepresentations of Scripture as can deceive, only so long as a spirit of party, deference to authority, or utter carelessness about the matter, prevent men from bringing them to the test of God's word. And even in their best form, when their opposition to it is most carefully softened down and best concealed, a moderately diligent examination of the Bible, under the direction of moderate honesty, can hardly, I think, fail to provide any inquirer with a satisfactory refutation of them. And further study will certainly only serve to shew more clearly, how entirely irreconcilable they are to the fundamental principles of the scheme of mercy which it is the object of the Bible to reveal.

'But the error which makes faith stand for belief in testimony, does not admit of this direct refutation from the first principles of the gospel; it seems, on the contrary, to assert these principles in their fullest extent. It seems, too, to exhibit the characteristic simplicity of the gospel no less than the truer statement; and, under favour of

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the ambiguities of language, seems sometimes to have the support of express texts of Holy Scripture. All these advantages it owes to the fact to which I before adverted—of its erring *in defect*. So long as a misstatement of the nature of faith makes no addition to the real constituents of that principle, it is plain that it cannot oppose the freeness or the simplicity of the gospel. And it requires but a little consideration to see how such a system is likely to secure the other advantage also. Supposing our account of the principle correct, you could not, upon reflection, be surprised to find *faith* sometimes employed to express a belief in testimony, or a belief in testimony sometimes used for *faith*. For you must be aware that this occurs constantly, with respect to our complex ideas, in all writings whatsoever. Where but a part of the notion is wanted, the word which expresses the entire is sometimes used for that part; when the whole is required, it may be occasionally conveyed, too, by expressing an important part, and implying the rest. And this, as every one knows, occurs familiarly, in writings far more artificial and exact than the books of the New Testament, and without giving rise to uncertainty or mistake.

'But the instances in the Bible, to which we are called upon to apply this fair and obvious reflection, are of a kind that makes the application peculiarly easy. They are cases in which belief in God's testimony concerning his Son is used as equivalent to saving faith. Now this testimony comprehends all the promises which form the foundation of all our hopes; and that belief in these promises should be employed for trust in Him who has promised, though it furnishes an occasion to apply this reflection, seems among the simplest cases that could offer themselves for the application of it. And, on the whole, when you have once fixed the true sense of the term, by completing the scriptural investigation of which I gave you an outline; I think that if you apply discreetly the reflection which I have just made, and remember too the fair rule of interpretation—to explain the parts which are doubtful by those which are clear—I think that there is in the Bible no latitude in the use of this term which can create any considerable or permanent embarrassment.' pp. 32—36.

The source of half the confusion and disputation in which the subject has been involved, is the attempt to define faith, as a mental operation, apart from its object,—and to define it by phrases requiring definition not less than the simple term they are employed to explain. The only approach to a definition of faith in the Scriptures, describes it by its effects, as giving substance to things hoped for, visibility to things unseen, and as working by love. The nature of the principle is determined by its object. It is the same with the principle of hope. To hope for an object, and to hope in a person, are phrases of very different meaning. But to hope in God, to trust in God, to believe in God, to confide in God, whatever metaphysical distinctions may be made between hope, trust, belief, and faith, are but varied expressions of equivalent import. Faith in Christ is grounded upon the testimony of God respecting his Son, and it involves

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faith in that testimony; the term faith being used with equal propriety in either reference. But the faith which "cometh by hearing," and by which truth is introduced into the mind, is distinguishable from the principle of faith in Christ which is the production of truth believed; just as the first conception of hope by a man wakened to imminent danger, is distinguishable from the exercise of hope fixed on a guide or deliverer. All words are ambiguous apart from the connexion which fixes their meaning; but, in the scriptural use of the term faith, there is no approach to ambiguity.

Dr. O'Brien proceeds to remark, that, with regard to the *source* of this important principle, 'all who profess submission to the 'authority of God's word must agree in representing it as the 'gift of God.' This statement seems to refer to Eph. ii. 8.; but both the grammatical construction and the sense shew that it is not faith that is there spoken of as the gift of God, but salvation. So Theophylact explains it, and Calvin himself: *Pro eo quod dixerat, salutem eorum esse ex gratiâ, nunc asserit esse donum Dei.* That spiritual life is, from its earliest commencement, the production of the Holy Spirit,—that those only who are taught of God come to Christ, those to whom "it is given to believe,"—all who abide by the Scriptures must admit; but we do not see the propriety of describing faith itself as a donation from God. There is, in this part of the Author's discourse, a refinement far removed indeed from dogmatism or metaphysical casuistry, but still, in our judgement, hyper-scriptural and superfluous. The assertion, that from the Gospel message 'man naturally recoils 'with an aversion proportioned to the degree in which he under-'stands it,'—is far from being universally true. If it were so, even the *adaptation* of the Gospel to its moral purpose would be questionable. Again, if belief in the Divine testimony be 'a 'part of faith,' it seems dangerous to admit that Divine influence is not necessary to produce this *part*, but only to produce the trust that arises out of it. In treating this point of the controversy, Dr. O'Brien does not exhibit his usual acumen; and his reasoning at p. 43, that belief in the testimony of God cannot be the faith of St. Paul, because, according to him, faith 'is the 'confident expectation of things *hoped for*,' and hope implies desire,—is really little better than trifling opposed to trifling. His aim is to expose the Sandemanian error; but he does not take the most direct or excellent way. The following remarks, however, are truly admirable.

'Faith, as we have said, is trust in the Redeemer and in his work. But that this trust be genuine, it is plainly necessary that we should feel truly our need of redemption, and truly desire it; as well as truly believe that Christ died to redeem us. Faith, then, is not the act of one careless about the interests of his immortal soul, and therefore con-

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senting easily to confide any where or in any one a charge in which he feels but little concern, but of one alive to the soul's infinite value, and to the momentous importance of eternity. It is not the act of one at ease about the safety of his soul, with little sense of guilt and little fear of punishment; but of one that feels himself condemned by God's righteous law, and, by its sentence, a sinner in thought, and word, and deed; and who feels, too, the certainty of his danger as well as the reality of his guilt; and who seeks relief from this terror and remorse in none of those refuges of lies by which such salutary alarm is so often mitigated and finally extinguished; but who, feeling the nothingness of them all, and renouncing them all, has, under this sense of sin, and danger, and helplessness, come in sincerity to Christ for every thing, —for safety, and innocence, and strength. It is plain, I say, that it is idle in this case to talk of trust being reposed in the Redeemer, unless by one who feels thus that he is lost, and that he has no power of himself to help himself. A serious impression, therefore, of the importance of eternity and its interests—a real conviction of sin and of its exceeding sinfulness—a heartfelt sense of our own guilt and depravity—a heartfelt sense, too, of our helplessness, of our weakness, and our wants—must be felt by all who can be truly said to trust in Christ; as knowing in whom they trust, and knowing, also, what they are confiding to his care.

'This part of repentance, therefore, is implied in faith rightly understood, and is, strictly speaking, essential to it. And this reply to the question, in its more important sense, offers a sufficient answer to it in what is perhaps its more common meaning, in which repentance is used in the more confined signification of sorrow for sin. It is plain that, by all who feel truly the state to which sin has brought them, sorrow for sin must be felt; and, though the predominant feeling is likely to be that sorrow which an apprehension of punishment produces, yet no one who knows any thing of the human mind can imagine that this is the only sorrow which, under such circumstances, is experienced. They who know that a part of man has survived the general degradation of his nature in the fall, and the further depravation of it by his own iniquity, which is still able to condemn his corruptions, however powerless it be to restrain them, must be aware that the conviction of sin which I have described as a part of what is essential to genuine faith, cannot exist in the human mind without the painful emotion of remorse which conscience has still the power of producing under such convictions. This sorrow for sin, therefore, must also be felt by all whom the Spirit brings, through these convictions, to faith. But there is a sorrow for sin which is the portion of God's children, and which is not felt by the unreconciled. Sorrow for sin as rebellion against the rightful Lord of our hearts, as ingratitude to our gracious Saviour, as displeasing to our reconciled Father, as shaming the profession of the gospel, and grieving the Spirit of grace—this is manifestly the feeling of those who have received from Him, by faith, the Spirit of adoption, and is to be looked for only in those hearts in which the *love of God has been shed abroad by the power of the Holy Ghost*. The graces of filial love, and of that filial fear which is its inseparable companion, from whence spring a genuine desire to obey, and genuine sorrow at

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all our failures in obedience, are themselves (as will, I trust, hereafter more distinctly appear) wrought by the Spirit of God mainly through the instrumentality of the faith which he has bestowed, and under that sense of entire reconciliation with God which faith supplies. And to describe the possession of these graces as essential to the genuineness of faith, is to mistake the nature of faith, to misrepresent the order of the Spirit's gifts, and, in its direct tendency, to frustrate all the effects of faith, and the whole design of the gospel.

'In what ways the Spirit of God, in bestowing faith, scatters, too, the seeds of all those graces which by faith he afterwards brings to maturity, we cannot without great presumption determine; and any attempt to fix strictly the order in which they appear, the relative rapidity of their advancement, and their relative strength as constituents of the Christian character, is not only a presumptuous limitation of the free Spirit by whom they are wrought, but a weak forgetfulness of those wide diversities of natural character and disposition by which all the effects of religion upon men are so extensively modified. The first operations of the Spirit upon the heart, with which alone I have at present any concern, are of course exposed to be considerably affected by such differences in the subjects of His operation. In one mind, alarm at the divine threatenings, in another, desire of the promises, may strikingly predominate over all the accompanying feelings; in another, the leading feature may be remorse, while another may be penetrated and melted down at once by the unmerited love and generous compassion which the gospel displays. And in all the statements that I have made of the change of mind which is essential to faith, I desire to be understood to speak, not only with a full allowance for such variations as these in the work of the Holy Spirit upon man; but also with a reservation for all further variations which, in the perfect freedom of his ways, that Omniscient Agent may see fit to introduce. Such reservations being made, however, I think this question has been truly answered, and that our knowledge of the human mind allows us, with great confidence, to say, that the trust in the Redeemer for which *faith* stands, may be felt by any heart which the Spirit of God has, by the word of God, brought to a true sense of its lost state before Him; and in which the same Spirit has also wrought a real desire of deliverance from the destruction which it dreads. There is in such convictions, and in such desire, plainly a sufficient foundation for genuine trust in the Redeemer—a reliance upon Him, not blind or careless, but intelligent and cordial; and, wherever such confidence is felt, there is genuine faith.

'When such questions are raised by man's perverse or contentious spirit, it seems necessary to settle them; but the preaching of the truth, which takes the word of God for its example, will not often have a tendency to engage the mind in such inquiries. The Bible does little to lead a sinner from a contemplation of that work which is the proper foundation of faith, to a scrutiny into the state of his own mind in repenting and believing. It calls upon all to repent and to believe; and brings to act upon all, forces fitted to move in all remorse and alarm; but it treats our sorrow and fear not as modes of propitiating

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an offended Deity, but as the course through which sinners are to be brought to confide in a reconciled God.'—pp. 45—49.

In the third Sermon, the Author treats on the Nature and Grounds of Justification. The proper import of that term is defined to be, 'a judicial declaration of the innocence of the person justified.' And his statement of the doctrine is, that, 'in the matter of justification before God, faith is, by His gracious appointment, counted for obedience;—that it restores us to that state of favour and acceptance with Him, in which the perfect righteousness of His law would have sustained us, had we been able to have attained to that righteousness, and to have preserved it.' Our being justified is, '*the effect of faith upon our state before God.*' It is needless for us to say, that in this view of justification by faith we entirely agree, as regards the matter of doctrine. The phraseology, however, is not strictly Scriptural. No such phrase as 'counted for obedience' occurs in the New Testament; nor do we see how such a sense can be imputed to the phrase — ελογίσθη αὐτῶ εἰς δικαιοσυνην, without countenancing the erroneous notion, that faith is accepted as the meritorious ground of justification. To impute righteousness, in the Pauline phraseology, is to justify: the two phrases are synonymous *. To impute a righteousness without works, is to justify irrespective of works. To impute believing in God for righteousness, must then imply, to impute believing for justification, or, to justify on account of believing. According to the true sense of the idiom, that which is the matter of

* —'*Notemus, eos quibus justitia imputatur, justificari: quando hæc duo à Paulo tanquam synonyma ponuntur.*'—Calvin. In a note, Dr. O'Brien examines at some length the phrase, 'to impute righteousness;' which, he admits, has been singularly mystified by theologians. No stress can be laid, as he shews, upon the verb employed, which implies simply to account or reckon; and its specific import must be determined by the words with which it is connected. The learned Author has not, however, pursued his critical inquiry into the meaning of the entire phrase, which, if forensic, must mean, to reckon as justified or innocent, to reckon in justification, or to reckon innocence to the party arraigned. Simple approbation, indeed, seems to be intended by the phrase as it is used, Psal. cvi. 31. It was 'counted to the honour' of Phinehas, 'unto all generations,' that he stood forward to execute judgement. And so, to justify sometimes means to applaud; as Calvin remarks on 1 Tim. iii. 16. '*Justificari Deum, pro eo quod est laudem justitiæ ejus conspicuam reddi. Sic, cum dicit Christus justificatam esse sapientiam à filiis suis, intelligit honorem illi suum exhibitum. Ita Lucas, cap. vii. 29, cum publicanos justificasse Deum commemorat, intelligit debita reverentia et gratitudine prosecutos esse Dei gratiam quam in Christo cernebant.*'

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imputation is, not faith, nor righteousness, nor obedience, but justification. All the artificial divisions which our Author refers to at p. 77, would have been obviated, had our Translators rendered the word δικαιοσύνη conformably to the Greek idiom and to the sense which the connexion obviously requires.

In Sermon IV., the connexion between Faith and Justification is illustrated, and the Scripture doctrine vindicated. 'You will 'often hear it asked,' remarks the Author, 'what is the peculiar 'excellence of faith, which secures to it this pre-eminence over 'the other graces of the believer, of being, to the exclusion of 'all of them, the instrument of his justification?' To this question, in whatever spirit proposed, the answer, Dr. O'Brien remarks, is easy.

'I trust there are many who hear me, who would be able and ready to reply to such an inquiry, that if by *peculiar excellence* be meant *peculiar merit, virtue,* or *deserving,* faith has none. It can neither under the law which God gave to his Jewish people, nor under that larger code which he has written on the hearts of all his intelligent creation, claim the merit or the rewards of virtue, and in this sense has no peculiar excellence either natural or conventional; nor ought it to have any. If it had, the Apostle's distinction, between justification by faith, and justification by works, would seem to have less foundation; and boasting to be no more excluded by the law of faith, than by the law of works. The question has, in fact, in this sense, no application to any true statement of the doctrine; though to loose notions about it, or loose statements of it, it may seem to apply; for the true view of this doctrine does not, as the question supposes, represent that faith justifies us, as it is a virtue in ourselves, but as it unites us to Him who is the fountain of all virtue, and gives us, by God's appointment, a title to all that He has earned.

'But if by *peculiar excellence* be meant, peculiar fitness for its office, then I think we can see in faith—what no doubt is in it, whether we can see it or not—a fitness for this its office of justifying the Believer, which belongs to no other part of his character.—God having, in his infinite wisdom and mercy, appointed that we should be pardoned and rewarded for the sufferings and for the merits of another, seems most fitly to have appointed too, that our voluntary acceptance of this His mode of freely forgiving and receiving us, should necessarily precede our full participation of all the benefits of this gracious scheme, and that nothing else should. I designedly, according to my plan, avoid speaking here of the effects of faith in forming the Believer's character. But, altogether independently of any reasons for the selection of it, which these may seem to offer, does not the fitness of the choice sufficiently appear from what I have said? If for our justification it be essential, and sufficient, that we be found in Christ, does not the act whereby we take him for our defence against that wrath which we feel that we have earned,—whereby, abjuring all self-dependence, we cast ourselves unreservedly upon God's free mercies in the Redeemer, with a full sense of our guilt and our danger, but in a

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full reliance upon the efficacy of all that He has wrought and endured; —does not this act, whereby we cleave to Him, and, as far as in us lies, become one with him, seem the fit act whereunto to annex the full enjoyment of all those inestimable benefits, which, however dearly purchased they were by Him who bought them, were designed to be, with respect to us upon whom they are bestowed, emphatically free? —With less than this, our part in the procedure could not have been —what it was manifestly designed to be—intelligent and voluntary. With more, it might seem to be meritorious. Whereas faith unites all the advantages that we ought to look for in the instrument whereby we were to lay hold on the blessings thus freely offered to us; it makes us voluntary recipients of them, and yet does not seem to leave, even to the deceitfulness of our own deceitful hearts, the power of ascribing to ourselves any meritorious share in procuring them.

'It is very true that it may be said, that it is not at all uncommon to find this latter object frustrated: that among those who are most zealous for this doctrine of justification by faith only, we find not a few, who are really resting their confidence upon their faith, and manifestly regarding it as a personal quality, entitling them, by its proper worth, to God's favour and their own approbation.

'And this is no doubt the case. Among the various devices of human folly and pride, for making void the Cross of Christ, this strange one has certainly a place. But is this any objection to what has been stated? A drowning man rescued from destruction by the heroic self-devotion of a friend, may claim a part of the merit of his own preservation, because he clung to the hand of his preserver. One restored from a deadly distemper by the benevolence and skill of another, may urge, in abatement of the claims upon his gratitude, that had he obstinately rejected the remedies provided for him, no benevolence or skill could have availed to his recovery. There seem, absolutely, no limits whatever to the wayward perversions of the natural feelings of the human heart; but these feelings are, notwithstanding, real; it is upon them, and not upon the perversions of them, that we calculate in all our dealings with each other,—in our reasonings, in our threatenings, in our promises. In plans for the improvement of man, in laws to regulate his conduct, in any human system designed for human nature, common sense confines us to the sober aim of influencing profitably the natural principles of the human mind,—exciting or restraining its natural movements; and forbids the chimerical attempt of calculating and combating its monstrous anomalies. Is it strange to find a religion designed for man framed upon the same rational and practical principles?' pp. 105-8.

We must very briefly advert to the remaining contents of the volume. Sermon V. treats of the corruptions of the doctrine of Justification by faith only; Sermon VI. examines the objections against the doctrine; and the last four Sermons treat of the Moral Effects of Faith. To the preceding extracts we cannot refrain from adding the following very striking remarks upon the natural operation of Faith in the Redeemer, in extirpating the 'master-vice' of human nature,—pride.

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'What obstinate resistance this master-vice makes before it surrenders, and how often it renews the struggle, none can require to be reminded who have ever sustained the conflict. Even where the criminality of our conduct is too clear to be denied, we continually look for some consolatory palliations of it; some peculiarity in our constitution, or circumstances, or in the temptations to which we have been exposed, which, though it may not take away entirely our sense of guilt, abates in no small degree the severity of our self-condemnation. But if we reluctantly condemn our known vices, how much more slowly and reluctantly do we yield to the conviction, that the very acts upon which we most pride ourselves partake of the same ungodly character; that, far from being able to secure forgiveness for our acknowledged offences, they need pardon themselves at the hands of our All-seeing Judge! And even after we are convinced that if we would stand before Jehovah, it must be in the righteousness of another, not our own; that we must, before Him, withdraw all plea of merit for our works; how often are we found preposterously substituting for this the merit of our faith! And, driven from this more absurd form of pride, still clinging to the notion of some merit in the humility with which we renounce all merit, both of faith and works; and even when we discern the folly of all such pretensions clearly, far from being secure from a worse form of self-dependence, a reliance upon the clearness of our religious views, and the soundness of our religious principles. Whatever place our language may give to the Redeemer, still in our inmost thoughts recurring to ourselves—still looking for something in ourselves which may be united to the merits of our blessed Lord, something to be joined to that which we readily in words confess to be above all fellowship in the work of a sinner's justification: insomuch that you will often find men who have passed a great part of their lives in maintaining the doctrine of justification by faith only, as much strangers to this simple exclusive trust in the Redeemer's work, as those who have been their life-long opposing it. Men are, from various natural causes, brought to take up, to maintain, and defend the doctrine in terms; but a cordial acquiescence in God's humbling plan, of saving us by the obedience and sufferings of his only begotten Son, is only to be wrought by the Spirit whom He sends. It is only through that Spirit, that a man is ever brought to come to Christ simply as a blind and needy sinner; to cast down himself and all that he prides himself upon—his works, his faith, his humility, his knowledge—all at the foot of the cross of the Redeemer—glorying only in it, desiring in life, and death, and judgment, to be found in Him that suffered upon it, and in Him to find every thing—wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption. Now this, and nothing short of this, is faith in the Redeemer; and if you only consider what a fruitful source of error, since the beginning of the world, self-dependence has been; and what the natural consequence of substituting for it a sense of dependence upon God must be, you cannot, I think, fail to see in faith a powerful restraining principle.

'It must be apparent, I think, that this frame of mind,—this lowly estimate of ourselves, and just sense of the extent of our dependence upon God,—is not merely right and suitable in itself, but that it must

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be most salutary also in its effects; that its direct tendency is not merely under every perplexity to turn us to the true source of wisdom for direction, in every difficulty to lead us to the true source of strength for support, but to regulate steadily the ordinary course of our lives by the rule of conduct which He has given us; and that while it does so, this healthful state of mind is, from our mental constitution, itself nurtured, strengthened, and perfected by exercise; and our hearts elevated and purified by the free communion with God which it warrants and promotes. And all this in the way of natural consequence.

'Nor can it be said that these salutary effects are likely to be lessened by a belief in the free and unreserved forgiveness of our offences, which is the foundation of this reconciliation,—that it is calculated to weaken the principle of obedience, to diminish the awe with which we regard God, and the dread with which we should view sin. This I say, however often it is maintained, cannot be maintained fairly. I of course do not mean that a scheme of free forgiveness must necessarily be secure from such consequences. On the contrary, though lenity to sinners could never, under any circumstances, have the effect that seems sometimes ascribed to it, of producing a spirit of disaffection and disobedience; and though its natural tendency is to excite feelings which should promote a conformity to God's will; yet it must be admitted, that it might be so administered as to take away some of the most powerful restraints upon human corruption, by lowering our natural apprehensions of the guilt of sin, and of the holiness of God. This is certainly to be admitted. But to say that God's mercy in his Son, through which we trust in Him as a reconciled Father, does not do this, is to say nothing. It not only does not impair our apprehensions of the purity of God's nature, and of the strictness of His law, but raises them to a height to which nothing else can raise them, and makes inexhaustible provision for continued augmentation of them. This is not the language of common-place exaggeration, but of truth and soberness. There are some subjects, no doubt, upon which the liveliness of our emotions far outstrips the strength of our convictions; but this is one of those on which we can generally reason much further than we can feel. We can see,—to whatever extent we are ourselves affected by the humiliation and death of the Redeemer,—we can see that they furnish a measure of the enormity of sin, and evidence of the essential opposition of the divine nature to sin, which are fitted to raise our apprehensions of both to a height constantly increasing with renewed contemplation of this unfathomable mystery; and that this increase ought to be progressive, not to the last hour of our mortal existence merely, but through the countless ages of eternity.

'Those, I say, who feel ever so inadequately, can see clearly, that this is but a plain statement of a fair collection of our reason. For when we learn that to reconcile the Most High to sinners, the humiliation and the sufferings of His only begotten Son were essential; that for this atonement it was essential that He who was in the beginning, who was with God, and who was God—God over all blessed for ever,—should come in the likeness of sinful flesh, should humble himself, and be obedient to death, even the death of the Cross; when we

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learn, that this cup could not pass from Him unless he drank it; do we not learn that nothing short of an infinite sacrifice for sin is an adequate declaration of the infinite abhorrence with which sin is regarded by a Being of infinite purity; of which all former demonstrations of His wrath against it were but comparatively faint indications? And if this be so, is it not plain,—not merely how our conceptions of God's abhorrence of sin are impeded by our slow hearts and blunted moral sensibilities here, and how they will be augmented when this body of sin is laid down, and, with minds enlarged and purified, we shall know, even as we are known,—but that they must be continually advancing, as our knowledge of the worth and dignity of the sacrifice in which this hatred was embodied, is augmented; and that this knowledge—the whole height, and length, and breadth, and depth of which passes all finite capacity—must be receiving unceasing additions through the progress of the infinite duration that awaits us?

'This must be so. Nor can we doubt that those higher spirits that stand before God's throne, and enjoy that vision which is promised to the pure in heart; who have lived in the light of God's purity since the first dawn of created being, and have witnessed or executed all the awful manifestations of His wrath against sin, since it first appeared among the works of His hands,—we cannot doubt, I say, that they find in His last judgment against it,—when He awoke the sword against the man that is His fellow, and was pleased to bruise and to put to grief the Son of His love,—new evidence of the holiness before which they veil their faces while they adore it; that they turn from all other monuments of his anger—from the burning cities of the plain—from a deluged world—from the immitigable and unending torments of rebellious angels—to Calvary—to the spectacle of their Creator, the Creator of all worlds, visible and invisible, in mortal agony for sin; and find in the contemplation matter to deepen all their apprehensions of the infinite malignity of sin, of God's holy hatred of it, and His righteous determination to punish it.

'This seems but the legitimate and natural effect of a contemplation of this surpassing mystery, when all obstacles to its effects are done away. And it is only necessary to remember, that upon it is our faith grounded,—that this stupendous sacrifice for sin is itself the foundation of the sinner's trust,—to see in some measure the wisdom of that scheme, which, while it rests our hopes upon the Rock of Ages, gives just the same stability to the enlarged and elevated apprehensions which it supplies, of the holiness of the God in whom we confide.' pp. 184-190.

We shall offer no comment upon this truly eloquent passage, nor need we apologize for the length of the extract. Appended to the Sermons are a series of learned Notes, critical, documentary, and polemical. Dr. O'Brien has given a series of extracts from Protestant symbols and the writings of reformed divines, relative to the meaning of the terms Faith and Justification, &c.; which, though of small weight as authorities—for the only Protestant authority is the Bible,—are valuable, as shewing the general consent of the Protestant Church to the Evangelical doctrine. With

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regard to his explanation of James ii., in which he takes a different view from Tindal and other reformers, we must say, that his ingenious reasoning has not satisfied us. We cannot but adhere to the opinion, that St. James employs the term justify, not in its forensic sense, but in that of to vindicate or approve, as it occurs, Matt. xi. 19., and 1 Tim. iv. 16.* There is a valuable note 'upon the Gospel doctrine of reward;'—'a doctrine liable,' the Author remarks, 'to be misconceived and abused by all who 'are ignorant of the Gospel,' and 'likely to startle and offend 'many real Christians'; but, finding it clearly taught in God's word, he did not feel warranted in holding it back. How beautifully does the great reformer Fox (to whom we are indebted for the ablest defence of the Protestant doctrine of justification) point out the true place which the doctrine of reward holds in the Christian system. 'See of how great concern it is, that a person 'should first be reconciled to God. For, unless he be received 'into God's favour, it is not possible that his works should please 'Him at any time. As, in civil and political affairs, *it is of no 'small importance whether a son or a servant acts upon the 'account of a reward*; in like manner, in the heavenly generation, there is a great difference between sons and servants, the 'heirs of God and mercenaries. . . . It belongs to servants to be 'compelled by fear; but they that are sons are drawn by love. '. . . . They that serve, go about their business only for reward, 'and it is given to them no otherwise than according to their 'merits: who, when they have done all, remain nothing but 'servants, and unprofitable; they never do any thing worthy of 'an inheritance. On the contrary, they who are heirs and sons, 'though they shew themselves no less obedient, and observe the 'will of their father, yet they do not obey that they be made 'heirs by works, but, because they are heirs, therefore they 'work.'†

Yet, to thy children, bounteous Lord,
Thy promise speaks of high reward;
Of toils requited, thanks received
For service done;
Plaudits and palms for deeds achieved
And victories won.

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* So Calvin (*in loco*). '*Notanda est hæc amphibologia: justificandi verbum, Paulo esse gratuitam justitiæ imputationem apud Dei tribunal; Jacobo autem esse demonstrationem justitiæ ab effectis, idque apud homines; quemadmodum ex superioribus versis colligere licet, Ostende mihi fidem tuam, &c. Hoc sensu fatemur sine controversiâ justificari hominem operibus . . . Non justificatur homo sola fide; hoc est, nuda et inani cognitione Dei. Justificatur operibus; hoc est, ex fructibus cognoscitur et approbatur ejus justitia.*'

† Fox's Works. Tract Society Edition, p. 160.

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By mercy saved, yet may I dare
Aspire the victor's wreath to wear?
Lord, in thy strength I'll strive to earn
The heavenly crown;
Then at thy feet, in glad return,
Will cast it down.

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We shall take this opportunity of noticing two Sermons by the same Author, of which we give the full title below*. The heresy which they are designed to combat, has been confined to a very narrow and peculiar circle on this side of the Channel. But, apart from all controversy, the subject is one upon which indistinct ideas are almost as undesirable as erroneous ones; and many readers in this country will, we think, be glad to have the Scripture doctrine so clearly and satisfactorily expounded. The first sermon is occupied with the Scripture evidence for the reality and extent of Our Lord's participation in human nature, and with remarks upon the *uses* to which the fact itself, and the mode of establishing it, are made subservient by the inspired writers. In the second, the learned Author proceeds to shew, that to vindicate the strength of the Apostolic assertion in the text, 'it is by no 'means necessary to suppose that he assumed the corruption 'which was added to our nature by Adam's crime.'

It is plainly the direct purpose of the evangelical narratives, Dr. O'Brien remarks, to convey to us the most distinct apprehensions of "THE WORD manifest in the flesh," as really man in all that is essential to our common nature. The effect of the copious and minute details is, to familiarize to the mind the conviction that our Lord's assumption of our nature was real; a truth which we know to have been denied by some very early corrupters of the faith, but a belief in which is essential to the ultimate purposes which the Gospels are intended to accomplish. One of the most obvious of those ends is, that the life of the Blessed Lord in his humiliation, was designed to afford an *example* to believers, that they might follow his steps; and the efficiency of that exhibition, as well as its impressiveness, absolutely depends upon the belief, that 'it is really the actings and sufferings of our own frail 'nature in union with the perfect nature of the Most High, that 'we are called upon to behold.' But another purpose, not less important, which these details are designed to answer, is that of

* Two Sermons upon Hebrews iv. 15. Preached in the Chapel of Trinity College, Dublin. Being an Attempt to prove that the Blessed Lord might have been truly tempted, and tempted like as we are, though he assumed and bore our Nature, free from the Corruption in which we receive and bear it. By James Thomas O'Brien, D.D. &c. 8vo. pp. xii. 73.

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raising man's fallen nature, by bringing back to their proper object all his alienated affections. Upon the common principles of our nature, it is shewn, that such details are exquisitely adapted to promote this great consummation of Christ's reconciling work, by shewing us God in Christ reconciling the world to himself. The following passage places this in a striking point of view.

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'The first important effect (of these details), then, in reference to this great end of revelation, is in providing us with a distinct and familiar object of thought; round which our affections grow up and entwine themselves, according to what we have seen to be their natural course. That, according to the account just given of their progress, they do require such an object, cannot be doubted; and as little can it be questioned, that to provide them such an object is the actual effect of such details. They have, in fact, probably rendered the Lord a more distinct and familiar object of thought to every one who hears me, than any object of conception which has not entered their minds through the channel of their senses; and far more distinct and familiar than thousands which have obtained an entrance in that way. But this is not their only effect. You have only to consider for a moment the quality of these details, to see, that while they are thus individualising our conceptions of the Lord, and familiarising Him gradually to the mind, they are throughout this process giving rise to grateful, tender, affectionate, and reverential feelings; all of them associating themselves with this one object; and so forming, developing, and confirming our love for Him, in strict conformity with what we have seen to be the natural progress of affection in the human mind.

'The end which is promoted by every part of the Lord's life that is made known to us, is in a peculiar way furthered by the varied sufferings which He underwent. Not merely because these sufferings furnish our reason with the most resistless evidence of the strength of the Divine love, and disclose to our apprehensions most of its unfathomable depths; but because they do this in a way which produces distinct emotions in us, in a way which naturally moves our liveliest and tenderest feelings; and which therefore must, according to the principles already glanced at, most powerfully conduce to the feeling of love with which we regard the gracious being who endured them.

'His temptations, rightly viewed, would manifestly have the same tendency, and in the same way. They are a part,—in some respects a mysterious, but still an undoubted part of His sufferings; and are therefore capable of being employed, as all His sufferings are in Holy Scripture actually employed, to assure us of his love: while it is manifest that they might in another way be made profitable to us, by furnishing us with an impressive example of how temptation should be borne and improved.

'Both are most important uses of this mysterious part of the Redeemer's humiliation; but the Apostle, in my text and elsewhere, makes a somewhat different use of it. He does not here point to these temptations, you see, as edifying examples; or even as proofs of the love of Him who descended so low as for our sakes to become capable

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of sustaining temptation, and actually to sustain it. But he calls upon us to rely upon His sympathy with us under temptation, because He has Himself felt its power; because He was in all points tempted like as we are:—for, as he elsewhere says, in that He Himself suffered being tempted, He is able to succour them that are tempted.

'He does not, you see, here seek to move us merely through our reason; but addresses directly an universal principle of our nature,—how far instinctive, how far habitual, is unimportant,—but certainly an universal principle of human nature, which leads us, under every form of suffering, to rely most implicitly upon those who have suffered most in the same way. It is only a new instance of the wise adaptation of the means employed to the nature on which they have to act, of which we have seen already so many.'

* * * * * *

'When the Apostle reminds us that the infinite Being who assigns to us our temptations, deigned himself to undergo the like temptations; and asks us, whether we can refuse to confide in the sympathies—the human sympathies—with which He thus descended to invest himself? whether we can believe that He who for us consented to learn by experience, the strength of temptation, the weakness of human nature under it, and its need of higher aid in the hour of trial,—whether we can believe that He will allow us to be tried by one superfluous pang, or to want one needful succour?—every one must, I think, feel that, however resistless, as reasoning, such language is, it is at the same time something more, and, for the purpose, something better; that it is a direct address to a powerful and pervading principle of our nature, which is sure promptly to answer the appeal.' pp. 17—22.

Such a use of Our Lord's temptations manifestly supposes an intimate conviction of their *reality;* and the only rational foundation of such conviction is, a belief in the correspondence of his human nature to ours, in all respects but that which the Apostle expressly cautions us against overlooking—"yet without sin." It has never been felt by humble believers, the Author remarks, that this qualification impairs the force of the persuasive passage to which it is subjoined. But bold attempts have been made to set aside this qualification, by vain and shallow reasonings which assume, that a sinless being could not suffer from temptation; and that, as the severity of *our* temptations mainly springs from the corruption of our natures, in this corruption He must have shared in order to be "tempted like as we are."

The fallacy of this perverse argument is shewn, first, by its arbitrarily stopping short of the conclusion to which the reasoning would consistently lead. The severity of our temptation springs, not simply from the corruption introduced by the Fall into man's nature generally, but from those 'additional depravations' which enter into the character of individuals. The sting of temptation

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lies in some corruption peculiar to the individual,—in the tyranny of some evil habit, in the importunity of some appetite long indulged, in the violence of some passion unaccustomed to control. If, therefore, the purpose and argument of the Apostle required that believers should be assured that, in the human nature of Our Lord, there is found what constitutes the strength of their temptations, they must be assured that He shared in the additional corruptions springing from actual sin. An argument may truly be said to prove too much, which, if fairly pursued, conducts to blasphemy.

Dr. O'Brien next proceeds to shew the fallacy of the reasoning he is combating, by analysing the first of those particular temptations which the Lord is recorded to have sustained, and by shewing that its force arose from elementary principles of the human constitution, such as must have existed in a state of primeval innocence;—'that Our Lord was tempted like as Adam 'would have been before his fall, had He then suffered the same want, with none but forbidden means of relieving it.' In a valuable note, the Author shews, further, that no degree of strength which can be ascribed to the higher parts of our nature, destroys the reality of temptations springing from those essential parts of the animal constitution which existed antecedently to the Fall. In the following remarks, there is much sound and important discrimination. It is frequently asserted by theologians, that the holiness of Our Lord's nature only rendered his temptations the more severe. This, Dr. O'Brien shews, is true in one sense, but not in all respects.

'Temptations may be regarded in two points of view—as afflictions, and as trials; as causing pain, and as causing danger; as hard to be contentedly endured, and hard to be virtuously resisted. Now, considered only in the former point of view, there can be no doubt that the holiness of the Lord must have greatly augmented the severity of His temptations: that all instigations to evil must pain most the mind to which evil is most abhorrent, is abundantly plain. But there seems just as little doubt, that by the Lord's holiness, their severity, in the other way of viewing them, was diminished, and it may be added, diminished just in the same degree. That the rejection of that which is accompanied by moral evil, or leads to it, is easier to a mind to which such evil is odious, than to one by which it is regarded with comparatively light aversion, is too obvious to need argument. And this is the very point. We are tempted to an act which brings some physical good (suppose), or removes some physical evil, and which in the abstract is indifferent in its moral nature, but which from its concomitants or consequents, or from circumstances of the individual, brings with it moral evil: we may be able to resist the temptation by calling to mind the future good which we must forego, and which infinitely outweighs the present enjoyment that we desire to procure, or the future suffering which we shall have to endure, and which infi-

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nitely exceeds our present pain, of which we desire to be relieved. And a conflict thus arises in our mind between a distant good and a present good, a distant evil and a present evil, which, however it ends, might manifestly be carried on, though we had no love of God,—no love for what He loves, and no hatred for what He hates. But it is evident that our conflict will be easier if we have a real desire to please Him, and a real hatred of what displeases Him. The physical good might have just the same attractions as before, but its accompanying evil would give a character to the act which would have a tendency to make it distasteful to us. In whatever degree this existed, it would render it easier for the prudential motives which the apprehended consequences of the act call into operation, to prevail over the incitements to commit it: and it might manifestly rise to such a degree, as would supersede altogether the necessity of the operation of such motives. The physical good, however, though an inferior, is still a real good; and what is more, the pain of wanting it, may from our constitution be a real evil: and from this the temptation to even a holy nature would arise. But it is manifestly confounding the two views of temptation to say, that in the sense of trial—requiring, that is, resolution, self-denial, virtuous habits, and such like, to resist and subdue it,—any temptation can be so severe to a holy nature as to an unholy. The man by whom a given temptation would be most felt as an affliction, would least feel it as a trial; and the man who felt no disposition to regard it as an affliction at all, is the man whom it would most easily subdue. I am sure, therefore, that however true it be, rightly explained, "that the Lord's holiness added to the severity of His temptations," it is constantly asserted with very incorrect notions of the sense in which it is true. And I notice it, partly to remove this confusion; partly because it affords an opportunity of stating what is calculated to set the whole subject in a clearer light; but chiefly from its connexion with the point which I have been discussing. With this point, the first view of temptations has not much to do. It is as trials, putting us in danger, and making succour needful, that the comfort of the text is addressed to us in our temptations. The comfort is, that the Lord endured the like temptations: and I have taken some pains to shew that the likeness consisted in this,—that what is natural good to us, was natural good to Him; that what is natural evil to us, was natural evil to Him. But it is manifest that natural good, combined with moral evil, or only to be procured by it, could not affect His mind in the same way that it does ours—that is, could not be so strong a temptation,—unless He thought as lightly of moral evil as we do: and that therefore, when we require that His temptations should be as severe in this way as ours, we do not know what we are demanding. All that we can require is, that the physical good should have been as great to him; and,—which is more important, as forming a more formidable temptation,—that the physical evil of which he was tempted to relieve himself, should have been as severe. And what I have said of this particular trial, may serve to shew, that we have here much more than an equality; and I have no doubt that an examination of all the other temptations would lead to the same

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conclusion. Indeed, with respect to some of those near the close of His life, it is too evident to need pointing out.' pp. 61—63.

In a subsequent note, Dr. O'Brien offers some remarks upon the third temptation as recorded by St. Matthew, which seem deserving of consideration, although what the Author modestly proposes as a conjecture, we cannot regard as any thing more than hypothesis, and an hypothesis embarrassed by obvious objections.

'When Our Lord was offered His own rightful authority, he was presented with the image of a sway under which all misery and vice would be banished from the earth, and the happiness of man and the glory of God take the place of all the disorders by which His creation is now deformed. Here was the source of a temptation addressing itself to still higher principles of His nature. . . . . It seems hard to avoid concluding, that there was something more in this offer than we have yet found in it, and that Satan really proposed to surrender voluntarily that dominion which the Lord had come to wrest from him; that he purposed at once, and without a struggle, to yield Him what he was to win by that extremity of suffering to which we know He looked with anguish and fear. This seems the probable meaning of the offer; and if it be, the strength of the temptation then would be to be measured by the intensity of the agonies of Gethsemane and Calvary.' p. 68.

It is true, that the great purpose for which our Lord came in the flesh was, to destroy the dominion of the Potentate of death; but He knew that, in order to take away the sins of the world, it was necessary that he should offer the propitiatory sacrifice of his own body, suffering, the Just for the Unjust; and that no offer of surrender on the part of Satan could supersede the necessity of his accomplishing this part of the commission he had received from the Father. This consideration seems to us to militate against the above view of the temptation. We have always been inclined to understand 2 Cor. xi. 14, as alluding to this temptation; and if so, the offer could not have been made by the Tempter in his undisguised person.

In conclusion, Dr. O'Brien shews, that the pernicious error he is combating, with regard to the human nature of Christ, is directly fitted to lead to Socinian error concerning 'the work which 'he came to do in the flesh;' since his assumption of a corrupt nature would have unfitted him to be an expiatory sacrifice for sin. Socinianism begins, not with denying the deity of the Saviour's person, but with questioning the necessity of salvation by atonement. The former article of the Christian faith is no stumbling-block to those who have been led to feel their need of a Saviour. Nor is there any danger of our dwelling too much on the humanity of Christ; for, the more vividly we realize all that he is as man, the more constrained shall we feel to recognize, that

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in that Man dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily. '*Quare*,' says Calvin, '*ut fides nostra ad æternam Christi di-*
'*vinitatem perveniat, initium fieri oportet ab ea notitia quæ*
'*propior est et magis facilis. Ita vere à quibusdam dictum*
'*est, à Christo homine nos deduci ad Christum Deum.*'* It is by intellectual converse and contact, so to speak, with the risen Saviour, on beholding his pierced hands, and obtaining palpable evidence of his real humanity, that the doubting are led to exclaim, My Lord and my God.

That this is the natural result, conformably to the common laws of our mental constitution, may be inferred from the effect of those mistaken methods of exciting devotional feeling by sensible representations which have been adopted by the Romish Church and other foreign communions. The more intelligent Romanist denies that he worships the image or the crucifix, but he uses it as a means of assisting his faith, and of exciting his affections, like the portrait of a deceased friend. Protestants have good reasons for strongly objecting to all such unhallowed expedients, which, putting aside their liability to the grossest abuse, are adapted only to act upon the imagination, and through that upon the sensible part of our nature, and are hostile, rather than favourable, to genuine faith and spirituality of mind. Still, that undoubting faith in the deity of Our Lord which is found blended with this idolatrous mode of worship, affords a proof that the most vivid apprehensions of the personality of the Saviour as man, are closely connected with the deepest convictions of his true divinity as One with the Father. We Protestants have our crucifix—it is the New Testament; and it is by gazing on that lively portrait of the Man Christ Jesus, that believers are led to recognize his glory as that of the only begotten of the Father. And the manner in which the affecting details of the Gospels are adapted to operate upon the heart of the true Christian, and the tendency of affection so awakened towards the object of implicit trust as well as gratitude, to what would be idolatry, if the Son were not to be worshipped even as we honour the Father, would supply a strong argument, on the Unitarian hypothesis, against the Divine inspiration of the Scriptures, as necessarily leading to error. If Christ be not God, the Christian faith is idolatry; and the New Testament is chargeable with producing and necessitating such idolatry in all who believe it. The Gospel holds up to our faith, THE IMAGE OF THE INVISIBLE GOD, "the express image of the Father's person"; and, by that same law of our nature from the perversion of which idolatry springs, as certainly as the material image of wood or stone presented to the eye, becomes to the *imagination* the sign of the invisible presence it repre-

* Calvin on John xx. 28.

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sents, so does the Moral Image of Deity made visible to faith, become *to the heart* the sign of the fullness of the Godhead,—the brightness of the Father's glory; for he who has seen *Him*, "has seen the Father."

Of the Unitarian system, love to Christ, even as man, forms no element. There may be a complacent, complimentary admiration of his pure example, such as has been expressed by many of that school towards Socrates and Mohammed as well as Christ. But love to Christ in his character as a Redeemer and Saviour, in the relation in which the Gospel exhibits him to our faith, cannot be separated from those religious feelings which constitute the essence of worship. The heart rejects all metaphysical subtilties, and knows no difference between believing in Christ, and adoring him as Lord and God.

We have been induced to dwell a little longer upon this topic, by having recently become acquainted with several very interesting cases of the conversion of Unitarians to the Roman Catholic faith. Nothing might seem more unlikely, on the first view of the subject, than so extreme a transition as this; and one might dismiss a solitary instance of the kind as a simple anomaly, to be accounted for by the peculiar constitution of the individual, or some accidental influence. But it so happens, that the cases we refer to have occurred under widely different circumstances, and in three different countries; and in one instance of the three, several members of the family, highly intelligent persons, have, from the sincerest conviction, passed at once from the frigid region of scepticism to that of implicit faith, and profess themselves truly happy in the exchange they have made. Nor do we doubt that, as regards their comfort, they have made an exchange for the better. Unitarianism offers no cordial to the conscience, and satisfies no want of the heart. It *is* 'a cold negation.' It blocks up the only way of access to the Father,—blots out the only image of God,—and leaves in the very humanity of Christ nothing for faith to embrace, or for the heart to worship. A superstition which appeals to the imagination, like the Romish, and which at the same time meets, in some degree, the 'longing to be saved,' although it does not clearly shew the true way, must then possess an immense superiority of adaptation to human nature over the no-creed of the rationalist. Unitarianism, it is true, like Deism, has flourished within the pale, and under the shade of Popery, for it is the natural creed of those who have no conscience of guilt, and no sense of the invisible. But, on the other hand, it cannot, as a system, stand against Popery, for superstition is mightier than infidelity. In the Unitarian city of Boston, the Roman Catholic religion is said to be gaining ground and multiplying its converts. We need not be surprised at this. What is Protestantism worth, if deprived of that doctrine which constitutes

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its vital energy, Justification through the blood of "the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sins of the world"?

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Art. II. 1. *Journal of Three Voyages along the Coast of China, in* 1831, 1832, and 1833, with Notices of Siam, Corea, and the Loo Choo Islands. By Charles Gutzlaff. To which is prefixed, an Introductory Essay on the Policy, Religion, &c. of China, by the Rev. W. Ellis, Author of "Polynesian Researches," &c. 12mo. pp. xciv, 450. Price 12*s*. London, 1834.

2. *China. An Outline of its Government, Laws, and Policy:* and of the British and Foreign Embassies to, and Intercourse with that Empire. By Peter Auber, Secretary to the Hon. the Court of Directors of the E. India Company. 8vo. pp. 419. Price 10*s*. 6*d*. London, 1834.

OUR readers are already well acquainted with the name of Mr. Gutzlaff, to whose evangelical labours in Siam, and still more adventurous coasting voyage along the shores of the Chinese Sea, reference was made in reviews of Low's Siamese Grammar, and the Voyage of The Amherst*. We shall first notice such few additional particulars contained in the present publication as relate to Siam, and then those which relate to the Celestial Empire.

Siam, Mr. Gutzlaff remarks, has never received, so much as it ought, the attention of European philanthropists and merchants. It is one of the most fertile countries of Asia, and, under a good government, might be superior to Bengal. Whatever be its intrinsic claims to interest, however, the actual contact into which the progressive expansion of our eastern empire has brought us with the Siamese territory and nation, supplies a stronger motive for wishing to know more about both. Up to the time of the Burmese war, the Siamese, forming their ideas of Europeans from the degraded mongrel race of Portuguese half-castes, regarded even the British power with contempt; and our first envoy to Bangkok was treated with distrust and indignity. When the English had taken Rangoon, it was not believed by the king until he had sent a trustworthy person to ascertain the fact; and it was with no satisfaction that they heard of the victories of 'their British allies', although they were by that means protected from the ravages of the Burmese, who would otherwise have certainly turned the sword against them. Now, however, the childish national vanity of the Siamese, which had led them to deem themselves superior to all nations except the

* Ecl. Rev. 3rd Series. Vol. VIII. p. 197. Vol. X. p. 326.

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Chinese and Burmese, has vanished, and the ascendancy of western civilization is beginning to make itself felt.

'His majesty has decked a few straggling wretches in the uniform of sepoys, and considers them as brave and well-disciplined as their patterns. Chow-fa-nooi, desirous of imitating foreigners, has built a ship on a small scale, and intends to construct a larger one as soon as his funds will permit. English as well as Americans are disencumbered in their intercourse, and enjoy at present privileges of which even the favoured Chinese cannot boast.' p. 34.

The Chinese form a very considerable portion of the population of Siam. According to Mr. Tomlin, seven-eighths of the inhabitants of the capital, in the year 1828, were Chinese paying tax, or descendants of Chinese; the Siamese natives being only 8000 out of 401,300. Mr. Crawford makes the total population of the empire 2,800,000, of whom the Siamese, or T'hai race, are 1,260,000, and the Chinese 440,000; the remainder, Laos, Peguans, Malays, &c. To this vague estimate, little credit can be attached; and from the following account, it would seem to be not easy to discriminate very accurately between the two *races*, although the Siamese aristocrasy may preserve their political distinctness as a caste.

'The natives of China come in great numbers from Chaou-chow-foo, the most eastern part of Canton Province. They are mostly agriculturists; while another Canton tribe, called the Kih or Ka, consists chiefly of artisans. Emigrants from Tang-an (or Tung-an) district, in Fuh-keen province, are few; mostly sailors or merchants. Those from Hai-nan are chiefly pedlars and fishermen, and form perhaps the poorest, yet the most cheerful class. Language, as well as customs, derived from the Chaou-chow Chinese, are prevalent throughout the country. They delight to live in wretchedness and filth, and are very anxious to conform to the vile habits of the Siamese. In some cases when they enter into matrimonial alliances with these latter, they even throw away their jackets and trowsers, and become Siamese in their very dress. As the lax, indifferent religious principles of the Chinese do not differ essentially from those of the Siamese, the former are very prone to conform entirely to the religious rites of the latter. And if they have children, these frequently cut off their queues, and become for a certain time Siamese priests. Within two or three generations, all the distinguishing marks of the Chinese character dwindle entirely away; and a nation which adheres so obstinately to its national customs becomes wholly changed to Siamese. These people usually neglect their own literature, and apply themselves to the Siamese. To them nothing is so welcome as the being presented by the king with an honorary title; and this generally takes place when they have acquired great riches, or have betrayed some of their own countrymen. From that moment they become slaves of the king; the more so if they are made his officers. No service is then so menial, so expensive, so difficult, but they are forced to perform it. And in

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case of disobedience, they are severely punished, and perhaps put into chains for their whole lives. Nothing, therefore, exceeds the fear of the Chinese,—they pay the highest respect to their oppressors, and cringe when addressed by them.

'Notwithstanding the heavy taxes laid upon their industry, they labour patiently from morning to night, to feed their insolent and indolent tyrants, who think it below their dignity to gain their daily bread by their own exertions. With the exception of the Hwuy-Hwuy, or Triad society, implicit obedience is paid to their most exorbitant demands by every Chinese settler.

'Some years back, this society formed a conspiracy, seized upon some native craft at Bamplasoi, a place near the mouth of the Meinam, and began to revenge themselves upon their tyrants; but falling short of provisions, they were forced to put to sea. Followed by a small Siamese squadron, they were compelled to flee, till contrary winds, and utter want of the necessaries of life, obliged them to surrender. The ringleader escaped to Cochin China, but most of his followers were either massacred, or sent to prison for life. From that time, all hope of recovering the nation from abject bondage disappeared; though there are a great many individuals who trust that the English (according to their own expression) will extend their benevolent government as far as Siam. Every arrival of a ship enlivens their expectation,—every departure damps their joy.' pp. 34-6.

Great numbers of the agriculturists in Siam are of the Peguan or Moan nation, who formerly possessed the whole delta of the Irrawaddy. They are described as robust, industrious, frank, and cheerful; an interesting people, superior, in some respects, to either their Burmese or Siamese conquerors. In their dress, the men conform to their masters; but the females let their hair grow, and dress differently from the Siamese women. The Malays, who are numerous either as slaves, or as tenants of large tracts of land, which they cultivate with great care, generally lose in Siam, like the Chinese, their national character, and conform to Siamese customs. With the exception of a few *hadjies*, they have no *moollahs*; but these few exercise an uncontrolled sway over their votaries, and 'know the art of enriching themselves without injury to their character as saints.' They professedly teach the Koran, and have generally a good many scholars. The greater part of the Malays, however, Mr. Gutzlaff says, yield so far to Paganism as even to throw off the turban. There are also some Moors resident in the country, who are styled emphatically by the Siamese, *kah*, strangers: they are mostly country-born.

'Their chief, and his son Rasitty, enjoy the highest honours with his majesty; the former being the medium of speech whereby persons of inferior rank convey their ideas to the royal ear. As it is considered below the dignity of so high a potentate as his Siamese majesty to speak the same language as his subjects have adopted, the

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above-mentioned Moor-man's office consists in moulding the simplest expression into nonsensical bombast, in order that the speech addressed to so mighty a ruler may be equal to the eulogiums bestowed upon Budha. Yet, by being made the medium of speech, the Moor has it in his power to represent matters according to his own interest, and he never fails to make ample use of this prerogative. Hence no individual is so much hated or feared by the nobles, and scarcely any one wields so imperious a sway over the royal resolutions. Being averse to an extensive trade with Europeans, he avails himself of every opportunity to shackle it, and to promote intercourse with his own countrymen, whom he nevertheless squeezes whenever it is in his power. All the other Moor-men are either his vassals or in his immediate employ, and may be said to be an organized body of wily constituents. They do not wear the turban, and they dispense with the wide Oriental dress; nor do they scruple even to attend at pagan festivals and rites, merely to conciliate the favour of their masters, and to indulge in the unrestrained habits of the Siamese.' pp. 39, 40.

In the double capacity of missionary and physician, Mr. Gutzlaff came in contact with the people known under the name of Laos 'or Chans', a nation scarcely known to Europeans. They occupy, he says, great part of the eastern (or Indo-Chinese) peninsula, from the northern frontiers of Siam, along Camboja and Cochin China on the one side, and Burmah on the other, up to the borders of China and Tong-kin. They are divided into White Laos (*Lau-pung-kau*), and Black Laos (*Lau-pung-dam*), 'owing partly to the colour of their skin.'* Their language, which Mr. G. learned, he describes as soft and melodious, and very similar to the Siamese: it differs from it, in fact, as Captain Low informs us, only as a dialect, although the written character more closely resembles the Moan or Peguan. Their religious books, in the Pali language, are very little understood by their priests, who differ from the Siamese priests only in their stupidity. Although their country may be considered as the cradle of Budhism in these parts, 'most of the vestiges of Somono 'Kodam † being met with in their precincts,' yet, the temples in honour of Budha are by no means equal to those in Siam, nor are the Laos as superstitious as their neighbours. They are further characterised as 'dirty in their habits, sportful in their 'temper, careless in their actions, and lovers of music and danc-'ing in their diversions.'

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* If so, the latter might be supposed to be allied to the Hindoo, the former to the Chinese family.

† Erroneously printed, Samo Nakodum. Kodam is the same word that is otherwise written Godama, Guadma, Guadama, and Kodama, the appellation of the Fourth Budha; and the prefix is an honorary title signifying holy.

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'Their organ, made of reeds in a peculiar manner, is among the sweetest instruments to be met with in Asia. Under the hand of a European master, it would become one of the most perfect instruments in existence. Every noble maintains a number of dancing boys, who amuse their masters with the most awkward gestures, while music is playing in accordance with their twistings and turnings.'

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The southern districts of the Laos country, we are told, carry on a very brisk trade with Siam, whither the natives come in long, narrow boats covered with grass, bringing ivory, gold, tiger-skins, aromatics, &c., which they exchange for European and Indian manufactures and some articles of Siamese industry. Our readers may recollect that, in Mr. Tomlin's Journal, mention is made of an expedition which the Siamese monarch had sent against the Laos, and of the barbarous treatment to which their captive king was subjected. Mr. Gutzlaff gives a more detailed account of this war, which had its origin in an insurrection occasioned by the exorbitant exactions of the Siamese governor on the frontier. The Laos 'king' was only one of the many petty princes or tributary chiefs, among whom the country is divided. Chow-vin-chan,* the prince referred to, had formerly stood so high in favour with the Siamese monarch as to be received, on visiting Bangkok, in a gilded boat, and carried in a gilded sedan chair. The enormous duties levied by the governor had proved so injurious to the trade of his people and to his own revenues, that he had repeatedly applied for redress, but in vain; he at length took up arms, not to wage war against the king, for which he was wholly unprepared, but to punish the governor. The whole force of the Siamese, however, was employed to overwhelm him, and his country was made the scene of the most barbarous devastation.

'Paya-meh-tap, the Siamese commander-in-chief, not only endeavoured to enrich himself with immense spoils, but committed the most horrible acts of cruelty, butchering all, without regard to sex or age. And whenever this was found too tedious, he shut up a number of victims together, and then either set fire to the house, or blew it up with gunpowder. The number of captives was very great. They were brought down the Mei-nam on rafts, and were so short of provisions, that the major part died from starvation: the remainder were distributed among the nobles as slaves, and were treated more inhumanly than the most inveterate enemies. Forsaken by all his subjects, Chow-vin-Chan fled with his family to one of the neighbouring Laos chiefs. In the meantime, the Cochin-Chinese sent an envoy to interpose with the Siamese commander-in-chief on his behalf. The envoy was treacherously murdered by the Siamese, together with his whole retinue, consisting of one hundred men, of whom only one was suffered to return to give an account of the tragedy. Enraged at such a breach of the law of nations, but feeling themselves too weak to revenge cruelty by

* Chow, properly Chaw, is an honorary prefix answering to Prince. Chan, Mr. Gutzlaff says, is the national appellative of the Laos.

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cruelty, the Cochin-Chinese then sent an ambassador to Bankok, demanding that the author of the murder should be delivered up, and at the same time declaring Cochin-China the mother of the Laos people, while to Siam was given the title of father. Nothing could be more conciliatory than the letter addressed on the occasion to the king of Siam; but the latter, refusing to give any decisive answer to this and other messages repeatedly sent to him, despatched a wily politician to Hué, (the capital of Cochin-China,) who, however, was plainly refused admittance, and given to understand, that the kings of Siam and Cochin-China ceased henceforth to be friends. The king of Siam, rather intimidated by such a blunt reply, ordered his principal nobles and Chinese subjects to build some hundred war boats, after the model made by the governor of Ligore. But while those war boats, or, as they might more appropriately be called, pleasure boats, were building, Chow-vin-Chan, with his whole family, was betrayed into the hands of the Siamese. Being confined in cages, within sight of the instruments of torture, the old man, worn out by fatigue and hard treatment, died. His son and heir to the crown* effected his escape. Great rewards were offered for his apprehension, and he was found out, and would instantly have been murdered, had he not climbed up to the roof of a pagoda, where he remained till all means of escape failed, when he threw himself down upon a rock, and perished. The royal race of this Laos tribe, Chan-Pung-dam (black Laos), is now extinct; the country is laid waste; the peasants, to the number of 100,000, have been dispersed over different parts of Siam; and the whole country has been brought, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the court of Hué, under the immediate control of the Siamese, who are anxious to have it peopled by other tribes.'

pp. 43—45.

In an account like this, gathered chiefly from the reports of the natives in their own language, and relating to territories so imperfectly defined, we must expect to find much that is vague and some mixture of mistake. We wish that Mr. Gutzlaff had ascertained the true import of the word Lau or Laos, which appears properly to be the name, not of a country, but of a tribe or dialect. *Chan* seems to be an appellation given to a district or territory, and is, perhaps, the same word as occurs in the name of the frontier province of China, Yun-Shan. The Laos are a Siamese people; or, we might say with equal propriety, the T'hai race, whom we call Siamese, are a Laos tribe; for the terms are convertible, and Laos is a part of what geographers arbitrarily call Siam. This latter word is said to be Burmese, and is written and pronounced, Sham. Assam is the same term differently pronounced, or with a prefix. It will most likely prove, that Siam, Assam, Sham, Chan, Shan, if not identical, have the same root, and are of generic, not specific import. The same language, disguised under various dialects, is spread over the whole peninsula,

* What crown? Chow-vin-chan was 'only one of the tributary chiefs' of the Laos. How many imaginary kingdoms have been built on the loose phraseology of travellers!

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from the great valley of the Brahmapootra to the Straits of Malacca.

We have seen that Mr. Gutzlaff speaks of two races of Laos, the black and the white; and Captain Low mentions a remarkable national distinction between the Lau who puncture and paint their bodies, like most of the Indo-Chinese nations, except the Siamese, and those who do not follow the practice. We have, in a former article, hazarded the suggestion, that the latter may be a T'hai (or Siamese) tribe, while the former may be more closely related to the Moan or Peguan family, or perhaps, to the Cambojan. The latter, Capt. Low affirms to be a distinct people from the Lau, but belonging to the same family. Mr. Gutzlaff says, that the language of the Cambojans differs materially from the Siamese (the T'hai), and is at the same time more harsh, but more copious. 'Their literature,' he adds, 'is very extensive, and their books are written in a character called *Khom*, 'which is used by the Siamese only in writing their sacred Bali 'books.' There must be some mistake here, as Khom (or Khàm) would seem to be the name of the Cambojan dialect; and the only T'hai or Siamese alphabet now in use, is itself derived from the Pali. The Cambojans, by Mr. Gutzlaff called *Kamehs*, by Capt. Low, *Khàmen*, are found mixed with the other races in what we call Siam; but their proper country is watered by the great river Mei-kong, which Mr. Gutzlaff calls 'the Meinam-'kom.' Perhaps it is so called to distinguish it from the Siamese Meinam *; and if so, the common name may account for the supposition that the Cambojan is a branch of the same river.

'Camboja,' says Mr. G., 'was very long ruled by its own princes; but lately, disunion induced two brothers to take up arms against each other. Cochin-China and Siam both profited by this discord, and divided the country between themselves, while one of the princes fled to Cochin-China, and three to Siam. I was acquainted with two of the latter, the third having died. The Cambojans are a cringing, coarse people, narrow-minded, insolent, and officious, as circumstances require. They are, however, open to conviction, and capable of improvement. The males are many of them well formed, but the females are very vulgar in their appearance. They are on an equality with their neighbours in regard to filth and wretchedness, and are by no means inferior to them in laziness. They carry on scarcely any trade, except in silk stuffs, which they fabricate themselves, although to do so is contrary to the institutes of Budha, because the life of the silk-worm is endangered during the process. To spend hours before their nobles in the posture of crouching dogs, to chew betel-nut, and to converse in their harsh language, are the most agreeable amusements of this people.' pp. 48, 49.

* Literally, mother of waters.

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Camboja has been the cause and subject of much hostile contention between the Siamese and the Anamese. Even so late as 1818, Mr. Gutzlaff says, an Anamese squadron was collected at Luknooi (Saigon), to defend the Cambojan coast against an expected descent of the Siamese; while the Cambojans themselves are anxious to regain their liberty by expelling the Cochin-Chinese, their oppressors. With regard to the latter people, Mr. G. says, that if their characters were not deteriorated by bad government, they would hold a superior rank in the scale of nations. They are lively, inquisitive, intelligent, and docile, though indolent and uncleanly, and pay great regard to persons acquainted with Chinese literature. Their written language differs materially from their oral: the latter resembles the Khàm or Cambojan; the former is like the dialect spoken on the island of Hainan. Cochin-China is said to have been originally inhabited by Laos tribes, who retired or were driven into the mountains of Tsiampa before the present intrusive possessors,—fugitives or emigrants from Tongkin or Anam Proper. The Anamese language, like the Siamese, differs from the Chinese, in employing the sounds of the consonants b, d, and r, which the Chinese are incapable of pronouncing. There is little reason to doubt, therefore, that the Anamese, the Laos, the Khàm, and the T'hai are cognate dialects.

From these dry details, we now turn to the far more interesting narrative of Mr. Gutzlaff's three voyages along the coast of China. Long before leaving Siam, with a view to qualify himself for his apostolic enterprise, he had become a naturalized subject of the Celestial Empire, 'by adoption into the clan or family of Kwo, 'from the Tung-an district of Fuh-keen.' He also took the name of Shih-lee, wore occasionally the Chinese dress, and was recognized by those among whom he lived 'as a member of the great 'nation.' But now, in committing himself to a Chinese junk, he had to conform more entirely to the national customs, and to submit to sacrifices and annoyances which only the noble object upon which his heart was set could have enabled him to despise. The junk was about 250 tons burden, loaded with sapan-wood, sugar, pepper, feathers, calicoes, &c., and manned by about 50 sailors. His accommodations and company are described in the following terms.

'When I got on board, my cabin in the steerage was pointed out to me. It was a hole only large enough for a person to lie down in, and to receive a small box. I had six fellow passengers. One of them, a captain sixty years of age, was obliged to become a passenger, because his own junk was not sea-worthy, having sprung a leak whilst moored in the Meinam. He was my declared enemy; a monster in opium-smoking (using the drug to the amount of about one dollar per day); a man thoroughly versed in all sorts of villainy, and averse to the in-

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struction of his countrymen; though, at the same time, he was well aware of the superiority of the Europeans, and knew the value of their arts. His son was an insolent youth, well trained for mercantile transactions, and anxious to amass wealth: he became my friend and neighbour. My mercantile friend already mentioned, had a cabin beneath mine. He was remarkable for deceitfulness, loquacity, childish pride, and abominable licentiousness. His companion in trade was wealthy, self-sufficient, and debauched, but polite. In the practice of wickedness and deceit, no one was superior to Captain Fó, another of my fellow passengers. This man had formerly been in command of a Siamese junk, bearing tribute to China, and was shipwrecked on the coast of Pulo Way. On his release from that island, he returned to Bankok. Being skilful in various sorts of workmanship, especially in painting and mechanics, he at length gained so much property, that he was able, this year, to put some hundred *peculs* of goods on board a junk, and to proceed to China, where he had two wives still living. He was devoted to opium, and prone to lying; but, according to his own declaration, my best friend.

'Our captain, Sin-shun, was a friendly man, well versed in the art of Chinese navigation; but, unhappily, long habituated to opium-smoking. His younger brother shewed himself to be a man of truth: he was my private friend and associate in every sort of trouble. One of the captain's brothers-in-law was the clerk; he denominated himself (from the moment I stepped on board) my younger brother; paid attention to the instructions of the Gospel, and abstained from every sort of idolatry. The pilot claimed cousinship with me, being (as he said) of the same clan. He was little versed in the art of navigation, but had never been so unlucky as to sail his junk on shore. He was a man of a peaceful temper, a yielding disposition, and a constant object of raillery to the sailors. To all his good qualities, he added that of opium-smoking, in which art he had made considerable proficiency. His assistant was quarrelsome, but more attentive to the navigation than any other individual on board; and he also, as is the case with almost all the pilots, was trained up to the use of the drug. After having inspired the delicious fumes, he would often, against his inclination, sleep at his watch. All the principal persons, on whom depended the management of the vessel, partook freely of this intoxicating luxury, by which they were alternately, and sometimes simultaneously, rendered unfit for service.

'When I embarked, though in a very feeble state of body, I cherished the hope that God, in his mercy, would restore me again to health, if it were His good pleasure to employ in His service, a being so unworthy as myself—the least, doubtless, of all my fellow-labourers in the Chinese mission. I took with me a large quantity of Christian books, and a small stock of medicines,—the remnant of a large remittance, made, not long before, by some kind English friends. I was also provided with some charts, a quadrant, and other instruments to be used in case of emergency.' pp. 68—71.

For some days after Mr. Gutzlaff embarked, his debility was so great that he could scarcely walk, and was unable to take any

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solid food. His wish to depart this life was fervent: the strong desire of becoming subservient to the cause of the Redeemer among the Chinese, alone induced him to pray for the prolongation of his life. In descending 'the serpentine Meinam' from Bankok, they suffered greatly from the swarms of mosquitoes, which are, he says, 'a better defence to the country than the miserable forts built at 'the mouth of the river.' On the bar, there is very little depth of water; and the passage is effected not without difficulty. On the 18th of June, they finally got under-weigh for the Celestial Empire, but continued to move very slowly along the coast, attempting to sail only when the tide was in their favour. Such is Chinese navigation. After passing Cape Liant, 'which, in most charts,' we are told, 'is placed too far west by *two degrees*,' they approached Chantibun (Chantibond), 'a *place* of considerable trade': the name, in fact, is that of a province, one of the richest and most valuable in Siam, formerly a part of Camboja, and annexed to the Siamese empire by Pe-ya-tac. With the utmost difficulty they arrived at the mouth of the Kang-kau river in Camboja, where there is a city which carries on a considerable trade with Singapore, principally in rice and mats. Its name is not mentioned; it must be a place not far, we presume, from Camboja Point. On the 4th of July, they reached Pulo Condore, called by the Chinese Kwun-lun; an island inhabited by Cochin-Chinese fishermen. The coast of Tsiompa is picturesque; the country is overgrown with jungle, and thinly inhabited by the Aborigines and by Cochin-Chinese and Malays. The Chinese do not often trade thither. In five days from Pulo Condore, the wind being favourable, they passed the coast of Cochin-China, the islands and promontories of which have a very romantic appearance: and on the 10th, came in sight of Teen-fung, a high, rugged rock, three or four leagues from Hainan, which was hailed by the sailors as the first object within their native country. The island of Hainan presents on every side a mountainous aspect: but the interior contains some level districts, where rice and the sugar-cane are cultivated by the descendants of settlers from Fuhkeen, who are described in very favourable terms.

'They are a most friendly people, always cheerful, always kind. In their habits they are industrious, clean, and very persevering. To a naturally inquisitive mind, they join a love of truth, which, however, they are slow in understanding. The Roman Catholic missionaries very early perceived the amiableness of this people, and were successful in their endeavours to convert them; and to this day many of the people profess to be Christians, and seem anxious to prove themselves such.

'Hainan is on the whole a barren country; and, with the exception of timber, rice, and sugar, (the latter of which is principally carried to the north of China,) there are no articles of export. The inhabit-

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ants carry on some trade abroad; they visit Tonquin, Cochin-China, Siam, and also Singapore. On their voyages to Siam, they cut timber along the coasts of Tsiompa and Camboja; and when they arrive at Bankok, buy an additional quantity, with which they build junks. In two months a junk is finished—the sails, ropes, anchor, and all the other work, being done by their own hands. These junks are then loaded with cargoes, saleable at Canton or on their native island; and both junks and cargoes being sold, the benefits are divided among the builders. Other junks, laden with rice, and with bones for manure, are usually despatched for Hainan.

'During my residence in Siam, I had an extensive intercourse with this people. They took a particular delight in perusing Christian books, and conversing on the precepts of the gospel.... And almost all of those who came annually to Bankok took away books, as valuable presents, to their friends at home. Others spoke of the good effects produced by the books, and invited me to visit their country. Humbly trusting in the mercies of our God and Redeemer, that He will accomplish, in His own time, the good work which has been commenced, I would invite some of my brethren to make this island the sphere of their exertions, and to bring the joyful tidings of the gospel to a people anxious to receive its precious contents.' pp. 82, 3.

On the 17th of July, the junk anchored in the harbour of Namoh, so named from a rocky island composed of two mountains connected by a narrow isthmus, in lat. 26° 28′ N., long. 116° 39′ E. It is a military station, having a fort, and is a place of considerable trade between the people of Fuhkeen and Canton. Near Namoh is Soakah, or Shan-keo, at the mouth of the Jaouping river, in the district of Chaou-chow-foo, the most eastern department of Canton province, bordering on Fuk-keen. The sailors were natives of this district, which is very populous. More than 5000 of the inhabitants, urged by necessity to leave their native soil, go every year to the various settlements of the Indian archipelago, to Cochin-China, and to Hainan, or gain their livelihood as sailors. Rice being very cheap in Siam, every sailor had provided a bag or two, as a present to his family.

'In fact,' says Mr. G., 'the chief thing they wish and work for, is rice; their domestic accounts are regulated by the quantity of rice consumed; their meals according to the number of bowls of it boiled; and their exertions, according to the quantity wanted. Every substitute for this delicious food is considered meagre, and indicative of the greatest wretchedness. When they cannot obtain a sufficient quantity to satisfy their appetites, they supply the deficiency of rice with an equal weight of water. Inquiring whether the western barbarians eat rice, and finding me slow to give them an answer, they exclaimed: "O the sterile regions of barbarians, which produce not the necessaries of life! Strange, that the inhabitants have not long ago died of hunger!" I endeavoured to shew them that we had substitutes for rice, which were equal, if not superior, to it. But all

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to no purpose; and they still maintained, that it is only rice which can properly sustain the life of a human being.

'When most of the sailors had left the junk, I was led to reflect on their miserable condition. Almost entirely destitute of clothes and money, they return home, and in a few days hurry away—again to encounter new dangers and new perils. But, however wretched their present condition may be, their prospects for eternity are far more deplorable. Reprobates in this life, they tremble to enter into eternity, of which they have very confused ideas. They defy God, who rules over the seas; they curse their parents, who gave them life; they are enemies to each other; and seem entirely regardless of the future; they glory in their shame; and do not startle when convicted of being the servants of Satan.' pp. 85-7.

In the department of Chaou-chow-foo, as also in the neighbouring province, the pressure of famine during the preceding few months, had driven numbers to have recourse to piracy, or to join the secret associations of banditti which infest the southern provinces of China. Mr. Gutzlaff saw many natives famishing for want of food, who were thankful for the smallest quantities of rice thrown out to them.

On the 30th of July, they passed Amoy, the principal emporium of Fuhkeen, and the residence of numerous merchants, who are the owners of more than 300 large junks, carrying on an extensive commerce, not only to all the ports of China, but to many also in the Indian archipelago.

'Notwithstanding the heavy duties levied on exports and imports, these merchants maintain their trade, and baffle the efforts of the mandarins. *They would hail with joy an opportunity of opening a trade with Europeans*, and would doubtless improve upon that of Canton.' p. 92.

On the following day, favourable winds continued till they reached the channel of Tea-wan, known to Europeans under the name of Formosa.

'This island has flourished greatly since it has been in the possession of the Chinese, who go thither, generally, from Tung-an, in Fuhkeen, as colonists, and who gain a livelihood by trade, and the cultivation of rice, sugar, and camphor. The trade is carried on in small junks belonging to Amoy; they go to all the western parts of the island, and either return loaded with rice, or go up to the north of China with sugar. The rapidity with which this island has been colonized, and the advantages it affords for the colonists to throw off their allegiance, have induced the Chinese government to adopt restrictive measures, and no person can now emigrate without a permit. The colonists are wealthy and unruly; and hence there are numerous revolts, which are repressed with great difficulty, because the leaders, withdrawing to the mountains, stand out against the government to the very uttermost. In no part of China are executions so frequent

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as they are here; and in no place do they produce a less salutary influence. The literati are very successful; and people in Fuhkeen sometimes send their sons to Formosa, to obtain literary degrees.'

pp. 93, 4.

'The island at present forms the granary of Fuhkeen. It produces immense quantities of rice, and furnishes many cargoes of sugar. The Formosan camphor is exported to all parts of Europe. Though the greater part of the island has been subjected to China, the eastern portion, lying beyond the range of hills which passes through the island, is still in possession of the aborigines. They are described as a harmless race, when not provoked, but relentless, when once enraged.' p. 202.

The soil of the island, Mr. Gutzlaff represents as entirely alluvial. The sea recedes so rapidly, that many harbours, once good, are now inaccessible, even for small junks; and large shoals have become visible all along the coast, the approach to which is consequently very dangerous.

Unfavourable weather, during which the junk was exposed to the greatest danger of being dashed on the rocky coast, detained them for some time in this channel; and, in addition to perils from the elements, Mr. Gutzlaff had nearly fallen victim to the villany of the sailors. We pass over the interesting details, which our readers will be best pleased with as they occur in the simple and affecting narrative. At length they came in sight of the Chusan (or Chow-shan) islands. The city of Chow-shan, situated in lat. 30° 26′, has fallen into decay, its harbour being now the rendezvous only of a few native junks. A short distance to the westward, is Ning-po, the principal emporium of Che-Keang province, which was visited by the Author in his second voyage. About the 20th of August, they reached the mouth of the Yang-tse-kiang. On the river Woo-sung, which communicates with it, stands Shang-hae, the emporium of Nanking and the province of Keang-nan, and next to Canton in importance. This city also Mr. Gutzlaff visited in the Amherst *. On the 23d, the junk anchored in the harbour of Letaou, in the bay of Sang-kow, where they remained several days. On the 2d of Sept., they again anchored in the deep and spacious harbour of Ke-shan-so.

'The town from which this harbour takes its name, is pleasantly situated, and its environs are well cultivated. The people were polite and industrious; they manufacture a sort of cloth, which consists partly of cotton and partly of silk; it is very strong, and finds a ready sale in every part of China. They are wealthy, and trade to a considerable extent with the junks which touch here on their way to Teen-tsin. Many junks were in the harbour at the same time with ours, and trade was very brisk. On shore, refreshments of every description

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* See Ecl. Rev. Vol. X. p. 333.

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were cheap. The people seemed fond of horsemanship; and while we were there, ladies had horse-races, in which they greatly excelled. The fame of the English men-of-war had spread consternation and awe among the people here; and I endeavoured, so far as was in my power, to correct the erroneous opinions which they entertained.' pp. 109—110.

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Near Ke-shan-so, is Kan-chow, one of the chief ports of Shantung (Shang-tong). The people of this province are stated to be in general far more honest than those of the southern parts, though the latter treat them as greatly their inferiors. On the 9th, the junk anchored near the mouth of the Pei-ho or White River. The country on its banks is most dreary.

'The entrance of the Pei-ho presents nothing but scenes of wretchedness; and the whole adjacent country seemed to be as dreary as a desert. While the southern winds blow, the coast is often overflowed to a considerable extent; and the country more inland affords very little to attract attention, being diversified only by stacks of salt, and by numerous *tumuli*, which mark the abodes of the dead. The forts are nearly square, and are surrounded by single walls. They evince very little advance in the act of fortification. The people told me, that when the vessels of the last English embassy were anchored off the Pei-ho, a detachment of soldiers—infantry and cavalry—was sent hither to ward off any attack that might be made. The impression made on the minds of the people by the appearance of those ships is still very perceptible. I frequently heard unrestrained remarks concerning barbarian fierceness and thirst after conquest, mixed with eulogiums on the equitable government of the English at Singapore. The people wondered how a few barbarians, without the transforming influence of the Celestial Empire, could arrive at a state of civilisation very little inferior to that of "the middle kingdom." They rejoiced that the war at the bar of the Pei-ho was too shallow to afford a passage for men-of-war; (which, however, is not the case; when the south wind prevails, there is water enough for ships of the largest class;) and that its course was too rapid to allow the English vessels to ascend the river. While these things were mentioned with exultation, it was remarked by one who was present, that the barbarians had "fire-ships," which could proceed up the river without the aid of trackers; this remark greatly astonished them, and excited their fears: which, however, were quieted when I assured them that those barbarians, as they called them, though valiant, would never make an attack unless provoked, and that, if the Celestial Empire never provoked them, there would not be the least cause for fear.

'Though our visitors here were numerous, they cared very little about me, and treated me in the same manner as they did the other passengers. Most of the inhabitants, who reside near the shore, are poor fishermen; their food consists, almost exclusively, of Barbadoes millet, boiled like rice, and mixed with water in various proportions, according to the circumstances of the individuals;—if they are rich, the quantity of water is small; if poor, as is usually the case, the quantity is large. They eat with astonishing rapidity, cramming

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their mouths full of millet and vegetables, if they are fortunate enough to obtain any of the latter. Most of the inhabitants live in this way; and only a few persons who are wealthy, and the settlers from Keang-nan, Fuhkeen, and Canton provinces, enjoy the luxury of rice. In a district so sterile as this, the poor inhabitants labour hard and to little purpose, in trying to obtain from the productions of the soil the means of subsistence.

'The village of Ta-koo, near which we anchored, is a fair specimen of the architecture along the banks of the Pei-ho; and it is only on the banks of the river, throughout these dreary regions, that the people fix their dwellings. The houses are generally low and square, with high walls towards the streets; they are well adapted to keep out the piercing cold of winter, but are constructed with little regard to convenience. The houses of all the inhabitants, however rich, are built of mud, excepting only those of the mandarins, which are of brick. The hovels of the poor have but one room, which is, at the same time, their dormitory, kitchen, and parlour. In these mean abodes, which, to keep them warm, are stopped up at all points, the people pass the dreary days of winter; and often with no other prospect than that of starving. Their chief enjoyment is the pipe. Rich individuals, to relieve the pressing wants of the populace, sometimes give them small quantities of warm millet; and the emperor, to protect them against the inclemency of the season, compassionately bestows on them a few jackets. I had much conversation with these people, who seemed to be rude but hardy, poor but cheerful, and lively but quarrelsome. The number of these wretched beings is very great, and many, it is said, perish annually by the cold of winter. On account of this overflowing population, wages are low, and provisions dear; most of the articles for domestic consumption are brought from other districts and provinces; hence many of the necessaries of life, even such as fuel, are sold at an enormous price. It is happy for this barren region, that it is situated in the vicinity of the capital; and that large quantities of silver, the chief article of exportation, are constantly flowing thither from the other parts of the empire.'

pp. 113—117.

'The large and numerous stacks of salt along the river, especially at Teen-tsin, cannot fail to arrest the attention of strangers. The quantity is very great, and seems sufficient to supply the whole empire; it has been accumulating during the reign of five emperors; and it still continues to accumulate. This salt is formed in vats near the sea shore; from thence it is transported to the neighbourhood of Ta-koo, where it is compactly piled up on hillocks of mud, and covered with bamboo mattings; in this situation it remains for some time, when it is finally put into bags and carried to Teen-tsin, and kept for a great number of years, before it can be sold. More than eight hundred boats are constantly employed in transporting this article; and thousands of persons gain a livelihood by it, some of whom become very rich: the principal salt merchants, it is said, are the richest persons in the empire.

'Along the banks of the Pei-ho are many villages and hamlets, and all are built of the same material and in the same style as at Ta-koo.

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Large fields of Barbadoes millet, pulse, and turnips were seen in the neighbourhood; these were carefully cultivated and watered by women, who seem to enjoy more liberty here than in the southern provinces. Even the very poorest of them were well dressed; but their feet were much cramped, which gave them a hobbling gait, and compelled them to use sticks when they walked. The young and rising population seemed to be very great. The ass, here rather a small and meagre animal, is the principal beast employed in the cultivation of the soil. The implements of husbandry are very simple, and even rude. Though this country has been inhabited for a great many centuries, the roads for their miserable carriages are few, and in some places even a foot-path for a lonely traveller can scarcely be found.'

pp. 119, 120.

Teen-tsin, which is only two days from Peking, is the port of the capital, and has a very extensive trade. More than 500 junks arrive annually from the southern ports of China, and from Cochin-China and Siam. The river was here thronged with junks, and the mercantile transactions gave life and motion to the scene. In no other port of China is trade so lucrative, but nowhere else are so many dangers to be encountered by the native shipping. Hence, the average profits realized are small. Teen-tsin, however, the Author says, would open a fine field for foreign enterprise. There is a great demand for European woollens; only the high prices which they bear, prevent the inhabitants from making extensive purchases. Silver is so plentiful, that a regular trade in it is carried on by many individuals. The features of the inhabitants struck Mr. G. as resembling the European physiognomy more than those of any Asiatics he had seen; and in their character and manners there is a nearer approach to the European. Their dialect abounds with gutturals, and for roughness is not unlike the Swiss. Though it bears considerable resemblance to the mandarin, it contains so many local phrases and corruptions of that dialect, as to be almost unintelligible to those acquainted only with the mandarin tongue.

Mr. Gutzlaff, to his great surprise, found himself recognized here by some of his old friends, who had a long time before received medicines and books from him in Siam; and his skill as a physician was soon put in requisition.

'They lauded my noble conduct in leaving off barbarian customs, and in escaping from the land of barbarians, to come under the shield of the "son of heaven." They approved of my design in not only benefiting some straggling rascals (according to their own expression) in the out-ports of China, but in coming also a great distance, to assist the faithful subjects of the Celestial Empire. They knew even that *seensang neang*, "the lady teacher," (my late wife,) had died; and condoled with me on account of my irreparable loss.

'It very soon appeared that I was known here as a missionary, as well as in Siam; and hence I thought it my duty to act boldly, but

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at the same time with prudence. Some captains and pilots, afflicted either with diseased eyes or with rheumatism, were my first patients. They lived in a miserable hovel near the banks of the river, and were preparing to smoke the "delicious drug," when I entered, and upbraided them sharply for their licentiousness. From my severe remarks on their conduct, they concluded that I had some remedy for the use of the drug, and intimated their opinion to others. The success of my first practice gained me the esteem and friendship of a whole clan or tribe of the Chinese, who never ceased to importune me to cure their natural or imaginary physical defects. The diseases of the poorer classes, here, seemed as numerous as in any part of India. They generally complained of the unskilfulness of their doctors, whose blunders I had frequently to correct. Chinese doctors are, usually, unsuccessful literati, or persons fond of study. They claim the title of doctor as soon as they have read a number of books on the subject of medicine, without showing by practice that they are entitled to the appellation. Their minute examination of the pulse, which is frequently very correct, gives them some claim to the title of able practitioners. Anatomy, a correct knowledge of which must be gained from dissection, the Chinese regard as founded on metaphysical speculations, and not in truth. Their materia medica is confined chiefly to herbs, which are the principal ingredients of their prescriptions. They have some very excellent plants, but injure and weaken their effect, by mixing them up, as they do, often sixty or seventy in one dose. They generally foretel the precise time of the patient's restoration, but are often found mistaken. To stand against men of this description, who are so very wise in their own imagination, was not an easy task; but I always convinced them, by facts, that our theories, when reduced to practice, would have the most salutary effect.'

'The town, which stretches several miles along the banks of the river, equals Canton in the bustle of its busy population, and surpasses it in the importance of its native trade. The streets are unpaved; and the houses are built of mud: but within they are well furnished, with accommodations in the best Chinese style. A great many of the shop-keepers, and some of the most wealthy people of the place, are from Fuhkeen; and the native merchants, though well trained to their business, or outdone by the superior skill of the traders from the south.

'Kam-sea's house is situated in the middle of the city, and is well furnished; he received me cordially, and offered me a commodious room. The crowd of people at his house was great, and many questions were asked by them concerning me; but as the Fuhkeen men acknowledged me to be their fellow-citizen, these questions were easily set at rest. A mandarin of high rank, who heard of my arrival, said —"This man, though a stranger, is a true Chinese; and, as several persons seem anxious to prevent his going up to the capital, I will give him a passport, for it would be wrong, that, after having come all the way from Siam, he should not see the "*dragon's face.*"

'The curiosity to me was, during several days, very great; and the captain's anxiety much increased, when he saw that I attracted the attention of so many individuals. There were some, who even mut-

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tered that I had come to make a map of the country, in order to become the leader in a premeditated assault on the empire. Yet all these objections were soon silenced, when I opened my medicine chest, and with a liberal hand supplied every applicant. God, in his mercy, bestowed a blessing on these exertions, and gave me favour in the eyes of the people. Several persons of rank and influence paid me frequent visits, and held long conversations with me. They were polite and even servile in their manners. Their inquiries, most of them trivial, were principally directed to Siam; and their remarks concerning Europe were exceedingly childish. The concourse of people became so great, at length, that I was obliged to hide myself. A gentleman, who lived opposite to the house where I resided, wishing to purchase me from the captain, with a view to attract customers by my presence, offered to pay for me the sum of 2000 taels of silver (about 2700 dollars). My patients had now become so numerous as to engross all my attention; from very early in the morning till late at night, I was constantly beset by them, and often severely tried. Yet I had frequent opportunities of making known to them the doctrines of the gospel, and of pointing out the way of eternal life.'

pp. 129—133.

It was Mr. G.'s intention to proceed to the capital; but the season was so far advanced, that it was found necessary to shorten their stay, lest the Pei-ho, by freezing up, should detain them over the winter. On the 17th of October, therefore, they began to move slowly down the river. Before leaving Teen-tsin, he received numerous presents, accompanied with many wishes for his welfare. A great many persons came to take an affectionate leave of him on his departure; and he was constrained by their urgent request to promise that, if God should permit, he would return the next year. On the 28th of October, the junk got finally under weigh, and after a voyage attended by not a few hardships, and the tedious delays and perils of Chinese navigation, on the 13th of December he reached Macao, and found himself under the hospitable roof of Christian missionaries.

The Second Voyage performed by Mr. Gutzlaff, was in the Lord Amherst, of which we have already given an outline in reviewing Captain Lindsay's Narrative. Some additional particulars will be found in our Author's Journal; but for these we must refer our readers to the volume itself.

The Third Voyage is very briefly detailed. Mr. Gutzlaff embarked, in Oct. 20th, 1832, in the Sylph, a fast-sailing vessel, bound for Teen-tsin and Mantchoo Tartary. In the course of this voyage, he revisited Shang-hae, where Admiral Kwang made kind enquiries after the supercargo of the Amherst, and the people appeared even more friendly and eager to obtain books than before. On leaving this port, they shaped their course for Cha-poo, on the coast of Che-keang, in latitude 30° 37′, the

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only place whence the imperial monopoly with Japan is carried on. This place is described as extremely picturesque.

'Together with its suburbs, the town is perhaps five miles in circuit, built in a square, and intersected by numerous canals, which are connected with the Hang-chow river. Nothing can exceed the beautiful and picturesque appearance of the surrounding region. We may say, that as far as the eye can range, all is one village interspersed with towering pagodas, romantic mausoleums, and numerous temples. The adjacent country is called the Chinese Arcadia; and surely if any territory in China is entitled to this name, it is the tract around Hang-chow and Cha-poo. It seems that the natives also are sensible of their prerogative in inhabiting this romantic spot. They have tried to improve upon nature, and have embellished the scenery with canals, neat roads, plantations, and conspicuous buildings. We found nowhere so much openness and kindness as among them. Their intelligent inquiries respecting our country were endless, and they seemed never satiated with our company.

'When we first landed, an armed force was drawn up along the shore. The soldiers had match-locks and burning matches ready for a charge. A Tartar general had placed himself in a temple to superintend the operations. Being accustomed to the fire of Chinese batteries, which seldom do hurt, and knowing that their match-locks cannot hit, we passed the line of their defence in peace. The soldiers retreated, and the crowds of people in the rear being very dense, a great part of the camp was overrun and pressed down by the people, so that the tents fell to the ground. After this outset, nothing disagreeable occurred; we were at full liberty to walk abroad and converse with the people, and were only occasionally troubled with the clamorous entreaties of some officers. But after an interview with a messenger from the Lieutenant Governor at Hang-chow, (a very sensible, courteous officer,) and several other mandarins, we came to an understanding.

'In one of our excursions I took a box of books with me. We had visited a temple upon a high hill which overlooks all this populous region. The temples might be called *elegant* by the Chinese, if the abominations of idolatry did not render such an epithet inapplicable. When I took the books out of the boat, and handed a copy to a man of respectable appearance, he read aloud the title, and all at once the crowd rushed upon me, hundreds stretching out their hands to receive the same gift. Within a few minutes the store was exhausted, but the news spread with great rapidity. We saw the people sitting for six hours together on the brow of a hill opposite to which our vessel was lying at anchor. As soon as they saw us approaching near to the shore, they ran down the hill with great velocity, grasped the books from my hands, and sped towards their friends in the surrounding villages. If ever our christian books have been read with attention, it was here at this time. We took a wide range in the adjacent country, and were really astonished at the general knowledge which these silent preachers had spread.—Let us not boast of such an extraordinary instance of the diffusion of knowledge, nor deny to curiosity her full share in this stir; yet after all this, the gospel must be said to have

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flown here on eagles' wings. We leave the result to God, and wish to revisit those places, not to exult selfishly in the great changes which may have taken place, but to praise our Redeemer, that he has given to these millions the means of knowing the way of eternal life.'

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pp. 429–432.

The most interesting feature of this voyage was the visit to Poo-to, an island of the Chusan groupe, in lat. 30° 3′, long. 121°, which they reached on the 4th of Feb. on their homeward course. Upon this island there is a very famous Buddhic establishment, which communicates to it a peculiar sanctity. At a distance, it appeared barren and scarcely habitable; but, on a nearer approach, some prominent buildings and large glittering domes, gave promise of the extraordinary scene which awaited the visiters.

'A temple built on a projecting rock, beneath which the foaming sea dashed, gave us some idea of the genius of its inhabitants, in thus selecting the most attractive spot to celebrate the orgies of idolatry. We were quite engaged in viewing a large building situated in a grove, when we observed some priests of Budha walking along the shore, attracted by the novel sight of a ship. Scarcely had we landed when another party of priests, in common garbs and very filthy, hastened down to us, chanting hymns. When some books were offered them, they exclaimed, "Praise be to Budha," and eagerly took every volume which I had. We then ascended to a large temple surrounded by trees and bamboo. An elegant portal and magnificent gate brought us into a large court, which was surrounded with a long row of buildings—not unlike barracks,—but the dwellings of the priests. On entering it, the huge images of Budha and his disciples, the representations of Kwan-yin, the goddess of mercy, and other deformed idols, with the spacious and well adorned halls, exhibit an imposing sight to the foreign spectator. With what feelings ought a missionary to be impressed when he sees so great a nation under the abject control of disgusting idolatry? Whilst walking here, I was strongly reminded of Paul in Athens, when he was passing among their temples, and saw an altar dedicated "To the unknown God." For here we also found both a small hall and an altar covered with white cloth, allotted to the same purpose. I addressed the priests, who followed us in crowds, for several hundreds belong to this temple; they gave the assent of indifference to my sayings, and fixed their whole attention upon the examination of our clothes. It was satisfactory, however, to see that the major and intelligent part of them were so eagerly reading our books, that they could not find a few moments even to look at us. The treatise which pleased them most, was a dialogue between *Chang* and *Yuen*, the one a Christian and the other an ignorant heathen. This work of the late much-lamented Dr. Milne, contains very pointed and just remarks, and has always been a favourite book among the Chinese readers.

'The high priest requested an interview. . He was an old deaf man, who seemed to have very little authority, and his remarks were common-place enough. Though the people seemed to be greatly em-

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barrassed at our unexpected appearance, their apprehensions gradually subsided; meanwhile we had the pleasure of seeing our ship coming to anchor in the roads. Having therefore renewed my stock of books with a larger store, I went again on shore. At this time the demand was much greater, and I was almost overwhelmed by the numbers of priests who ran down upon us, earnestly begging at least a short tract, of which I had taken great quantities with me; I was very soon stripped of all, and had to refuse numerous applications.

'We afterwards followed a paved road, discovering several other small temples, till we came to some large rocks, on which we found several inscriptions hewn in very large letters. One of them stated that China has sages! The excavations were filled with small gilt idols and superscriptions. On a sudden we came in sight of a still larger temple, with yellow tiles, by which we immediately recognized it as imperial. A bridge, very tastefully built over an artificial tank, led to an extensive area paved with quarried stones. Though the same architecture reigned in the structure of this larger building as in the others, we could distinguish a superior taste and a higher finish. The idols were the same, but their votaries were far more numerous; indeed this is the largest temple I have ever seen. The halls being arranged with all the tinsel of idolatry, presented numerous specimens of Chinese art.

'These colossal images were made of clay, and tolerably well gilt. There were great drums and large bells in the temple. We were present at the vespers of the priests, which they chanted in the Pali language, not unlike the Latin service of the Romish church. They held their rosaries in their hands, which rested folded upon their breasts; one of them had a small bell, by the tinkling of which their service was regulated; and they occasionally beat the drum and large bell to rouse Budha to attend to their prayers. The same words were a hundred times repeated. None of the officiating personages showed any interest in the ceremonies, for some were looking around, laughing and joking, whilst others muttered their prayers. The few people who were present, not to attend the worship but merely to gaze at us, did not seem in the least degree to feel the solemnity of the service. Though we were in a dark hall, standing before the largest image of Budha, there was nothing impressive; even our English sailors were disgusted with the scene. Several times I raised my voice to invite all to adore God in spirit and in truth, but the minds of the priests seemed callous, and a mere assent was all which this exhortation produced. Though the government sometimes decries Budhism as a dangerous doctrine, we saw papers stuck up, wherein the people were exhorted to repair to these temples in order to propitiate heaven to grant a fertile spring; and these exhortations were issued by the emperor himself. What inconsistency!' pp. 438—442.

This temple is stated to have been built during the time of the Leang dynasty, upwards of twelve centuries ago: but it has undergone great repairs. Under both the last and the present dynasty, it has enjoyed the imperial patronage. On the island, which has an area of not more than 12 square miles, are two large

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and sixty small temples, all built in the same style; and the establishment consists of about 2000 priests! No females are allowed to live on the island, nor any laymen, except those in the service of the priests.

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'To maintain this numerous train of idlers, lands on the opposite island have been allotted for their use, which they farm out; but as this is still inadequate, they go upon begging expeditions not only into the surrounding provinces, but even as far as Siam. From its being a place of pilgrimage also, the priests derive great profits. Many rich persons, and especially successful captains, repair thither to express their gratitude and spend their money in this delightful spot. For this reason the priests have large halls and keep a regular establishment, though they themselves live on a very sparing diet. We never saw them use any meat; few are decently dressed; and the greater part are very ignorant, even respecting their own tenets. We saw many young fine-looking children, whom they had bought to initiate them early into the mysteries of Budhism. They complained bitterly of the utter decay of their establishment, and were anxious to obtain from us some gift. To every person who visits this island, it appears at first like a fairy land, so romantic is every thing which meets the eye. Those large inscriptions hewn in solid granite, the many temples which appear in every direction, the highly picturesque scenery itself, with its many-peaked, riven, and detached rocks, and above all, a stately mausoleum, the largest which I have ever seen, containing the bones and ashes of thousands of priests, quite bewilder the imagination.

'In order to satisfy my mind respecting founding a depository for Scriptures and tracts in one of the temples, I took my station in the great hall which leads into the large temple. At this time I had taken the precaution of guarding my back by the wall, that I might not be thrown down by the crowd. Within a few minutes the priests thronged around me. Though they were urgent, they behaved politely, and begged, almost with tears, that I would give them a few tracts. How joyfully did they retire with the books under their arms!

'Thus we passed many days here, and the demand for the word of God, not indeed *as such*, but as being a new doctrine, increased daily more and more. We afterwards visited several other islands belonging to the Chusan group, which teemed with inhabitants. There are less obstacles here to the promotion of the gospel than in many islands in the Pacific. They are far more populous, and their inhabitants are very thriving people, noways deficient in natural understanding. English vessels visited them occasionally, during the last century, but they have never been accurately known by any European navigator; therefore we took the trouble to explore them as far as circumstances would permit. The great Chusan has high towering hills, and splendid fertile valleys, some of which are alluvial ground. There are, perhaps, one million of inhabitants.' pp. 443—446.

After a voyage of six months and nine days, the Author once more, on the 29th of April, reached Macao.

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These voyages sufficiently prove that China is *not* inaccessible to the operations of Protestant missionaries. If Nestorian missionaries in former times, and Romish emissaries in our own day, could gain access to the very recesses of the empire, what reason could there be, indeed, to doubt the success of similar enterprises on the part of the teachers of a purer faith? But let the 'door 'to China' once be opened, and what an overwhelming field of operation will present itself! 'Should the changes in our trade 'facilitate more direct intercourse with the people,' Mr. Ellis remarks, 'China will be one of the most imposing and commanding 'objects ever presented to the attention of Christian nations.'* While the commercial world is all activity and enterprise, in the expectation of securing splendid advantages from the opening of the trade, how incumbent is it upon the churches of Christendom, to emulate that spirit for more important ends! What pompous and costly embassies, what mercantile intercourse and commercial treaties have failed to effect, it is probably reserved for the humble and noiseless labours of the self-denying Missionary to accomplish.

'China,' remarks the estimable Secretary to the London Missionary Society, 'still proclaims her proud and inapproachable supremacy, and disdainfully rejects all pretensions, in any other nation to be considered as her equal. This feeling of contemptible vanity Christianity alone will, in all probability, be able to destroy. Where other means have failed, the Gospel will triumph. This will fraternize the Chinese with the rest of mankind, and will teach them, that, while there is one true God, God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on the face of the earth. The Gospel, while it will unfold to them that they are one in circumstances, and in destiny, will link them in sympathy with other portions of their species, and thus add to the triumphs it has achieved, and the glory of Him who is its author and its end.' p. xci.

Mr. Auber's volume is a mere collection of historical memoranda, relating to the trade with China, which may be useful for the purpose of reference. The impression which the perusal is adapted to leave is, we think, very opposite to that which the Writer apparently wishes to produce; since it is extremely unfavourable as regards the wisdom of the 'corporate body' who have so long controlled the intercourse between this country and China,

* Mr. Ellis cites from the "Companion to the Anglo-Chinese Calendar" for 1832, a census of the Chinese population, taken in A.D. 1813, under the authority of his Imperial Majesty, Kea-king, and printed in the *Ta-tsing Hwuyleen*, 1825. This statement makes the total population of the empire amount to 363,447,183—more than twice the number which Humboldt and Balbi are willing to assign to it, and certainly beyond all antecedent credibility.

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on conditions dishonourable to the national character, disadvantageous to our trade, and hostile to the high purposes for which Divine Providence has committed to Great Britain the sovereignty of the East.

China, Mr. Auber tells us, 'is one of the five principal *nations* who have divided among them the vast continents of Asia. 'The other four are India, Tartary, Persia, and Arabia.' We must be permitted to remind Mr. Auber, that these are not nations, but countries; and that China is governed, not by the Chinese nation, but by Tartars; Persia, by Turks; Arabia, by Egyptians and Ottomans; and India, by the British.

Art. III.—1. *Landscape Illustrations of the Bible;* consisting of Views of the most remarkable Places mentioned in the Old and New Testaments, from finished Drawings by J. M. W. Turner, R.A., A. W. Callcott, R.A., C. Stanfield, R.A., and other eminent Artists, made from original Sketches taken on the Spot, and engraved by W. and E. Finden. With Descriptions of the Plates. By the Rev. Thomas Hartwell Horne, B.D., Author of an Introduction to the Study of the Holy Scriptures, &c. Parts I. and II. sup. roy. 8vo, 2*s.* 6*d.* each; imp. 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*; imp. 4to, 7*s.* 6*d.* London, 1834.

2. *Cabinet Illustrations for Pocket Editions of the Holy Bible and the Book of Common Prayer;* Historical and Topographical. Part I. Six Plates, engraved on Steel. The Landscapes from Drawings by W. Westall, A.R.A., selected from the most authentic existing Documents, and the Sketches of modern Oriental Travellers: and the Historical Subjects chosen from the most celebrated Pictures of eminent Painters. 2*s.* 6*d.* London, 1834.

3. *Illustrations of the Bible, from original Paintings,* made expressly by Richard Westall, Esq., R.A., and John Martin, Esq. Part I. Eight Engravings. 8vo, 1*s.*; roy. 4to, 2*s.* 6*d.*

4. *The Picture-Bible, for the Young.* Containing Sacred Narratives, in the Words of the Holy Scriptures. Illustrated by Engravings. Genesis to Deuteronomy. 12mo. pp. 170. London, 1834.

IN former times, missals and sacred books were illuminated: now our artists undertake to illustrate the Bible. The acceptation of the two words, however, is much the same, and we must not go to etymology for their import. Otherwise we might say, that the light shed by the illuminators was much like that of the waxen tapers before Romish altars, and that the glory thrown over the Bible by our illustrators, resembled that of painted glass. But all that is understood by either term is, an embellishment; and embellishments are not required to be always in strict harmony with truth. Hitherto, certainly, the sacred Scriptures have

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been little indebted to the pencil for any real illustration. 'Notwithstanding the surpassing interest which attaches to Scripture 'localities,' it is observed, in the prospectus to these Landscape Illustrations, 'very few even of the most remarkable places mentioned in the Bible have ever been delineated. The few 'wretched engravings which occur in books of travels, convey a 'very inadequate idea of the places which they are intended to 'represent.' And yet, it is obvious that, with the exception of engravings representing oriental costume, and illustrating the manners of eastern countries as they still exist and always have existed, 'matter of fact views of places' form the only embellishments of the sacred text suitable to its character, or adapted to any useful purpose. Barbarous or fastidious as may be deemed our judgement, we should attach little value to a set of Bible prints taken from the works of either ancient or modern masters, which, exquisite as they may be, considered as works of art, are for the most part wholly deficient in either historical or religious propriety, and often are chargeable with gross absurdity. Adam and Eve, as delineated by the pencil of the poet, may be fit subjects for the poetry of the pencil; but let them appear in illustration of Paradise Lost, not of the Book of Genesis. Representations of the Creation, like that which Mr. Martin has attempted, we deem at once objectionable and ridiculous. The Deluge is a subject which has seldom been treated, and is scarcely capable of being treated, in a manner adapted to please any but children. And the same may be said of some of the favourite subjects of painters. But what can we say of such Cabinet Illustrations of the Bible as a portrait of the horned Moses, or of a very feminine St. John, or a Hagar and Ishmael with a groupe of baby angels in the clouds? We must confess that we have serious scruples as to the propriety of binding up with the volume of inspired truth, such apocryphal embellishments.

To Landscape Illustrations, however, no possible objection can attach, provided that care be taken not to confound with Scripture fact, the legends of superstition. This exception may not be deemed wholly superfluous, when we find the interior of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and the street called *Via Dolorosa*, given in Part II. as an illustration of *the Bible*; together with a very misjudged attempt in the text, to defend the authenticity of the sacred antiquities of Jerusalem, which have involved the actual topography of the ancient city in obscurity. Mr. Horne should have known better than to countenance such puerile absurdity. Whatever Bishop Heber (if he *was* the Quarterly Reviewer) or any other ingenious critic may choose to assert, the site of the pretended sepulchre never could have been without the ancient wall; and the spot where Peter's cock crew, and the house of Dives, are just as much entitled to credence as

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the clumsy fraud of the sepulchre. So far from illustrating the sacred narrative, the plate that is given can only convey an erroneous idea of the nature of the tomb in which the Saviour's body was placed, and connect false associations with the recital. The mummery got up by Helena and the monks, is exceedingly distressing to the intelligent and pious traveller who wishes to follow the only safe guides, Nature and the Bible. Of the monuments of Jewish days, no undoubted vestige remains, except the tombs, the cisterns, the magnificent remains of the temple on Mount Gerizim, and *perhaps* the cave called the School of the Prophets on Mount Carmel. We regret to find Mr. Horne gravely speaking of the workshop of Joseph and the Virgin Mary's kitchen at Nazareth, without any distinct intimation of a becoming Protestant indignation at such lying fables. The interest of Judea lies in the landscape—in the unchangeable features of nature:—not in modern Jerusalem, but in Mount Olivet, and the brook Cedron, the Plain of Gennesareth, and the Lake of Galilee. The topography of Palestine has never yet been adequately illustrated. For this purpose, the travels of Dr. E. D. Clarke, who galloped through the country and overlooked the site of Samaria, the garrulous prosing of Rae Wilson, and the sentimental pages of Chateaubriand, are worth absolutely nothing; and we regret to find them cited as authorities in the descriptions furnished by Mr. Horne.

What business has a view of Palmyra in Illustrations of the Bible? It is true that it occupies the site of Tadmor, but the architectural remains are of the era of the Lower Empire.

Of the plates themselves it is impossible to speak too highly. Part I. contains a magnificent view of Mount Ararat, drawn by Turner, and exquisitely engraved by Finden; a distant view of the Dead Sea, with the mouth of the Jordan; the Valley of Kedron, by moonlight,—a very beautiful scene; and a view of Palmyra. Part II. contains Sidon; the Church of the Sepulchre; Street in Jerusalem; and Nazareth. The extreme cheapness of the publication is most commendable, and will, we hope, insure a remunerating sale. Every plate, and the text connected with it, are distinct, so that the purchaser may make his selection, and reject the apocryphal illustrations. Altogether, it will form one of the most interesting series of views that have yet been brought before the public.

Part I. of the Cabinet Illustrations contains six plates: viz. Hagar and Ishmael; Moses; St. John; and views of Palmyra, Nazareth, and Malta.

Westall and Martin's Illustrations are cut in wood, and are effective specimens of that style of engraving. The subjects are, The Creation; the Temptation of Adam; The Judgement of Adam and Eve; The Expulsion from Paradise; Cain and Abel's

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Sacrifice; The Deluge; The Assuaging of the Waters; and Hagar and Ishmael.

The Picture Bible for the Young contains a series of outline engravings in a very pleasing style, with numerous vignette woodcuts. The designs, by H. Melville, are spirited, and marked by great propriety. Pains have apparently been taken to render them consistent with eastern costume, and conformable to the Scripture narrative. If the subsequent volumes keep up the promise of this, it will be by far the best picture Bible for young persons that has appeared. Calling to mind the interest once inspired in ourselves by the vulgarly conceived Dutch Bible prints of a folio Bible, and the storied tiles of our nursery fire-place, we cannot but felicitate the little people of the present day upon the superior provision which the march of art has afforded for their Sunday amusement and instruction.

Art. IV.—1. *The Pilgrims of the Rhine.* By the Author of "Pelham", "Eugene Aram", &c. 8vo. pp. xxxvi, 341. 27 plates. London, 1834.

2. *Lays and Legends of the Rhine.* By J. R. Planché, F.S.A. With illustrative Views from Sketches made on the Spot. 8vo. London, 1832.

THE richly-wrought missals of other days have passed away with their monkish illuminators; and the costly volumes which led the devotion of priest or noble, exists but in the collection of the antiquary. The 'lively effigies' of some worthy abbot are no longer recognized in the garb of an early confessor, nor the miniature of some fair and favoured lady (for flattery could scale even convent walls) in the character of an angel or a Madonna. Such is the effect of the march of intellect, that we moderns find nothing but amusement in the portraitures of those airy opponents of St. Dunstan which impressed our forefathers with such salutary horror; and, probably, in a few years, every child will be too well taught to be any longer afraid of darkness, of old picture-galleries, or of churchyards by moonlight. When the walls of the monastery and the thunders of Rome no longer availed either to suppress or to preserve the spirit of learning, commenced the iron age of literature. Men began to think, and to speak, and, worst of all, to write for themselves. But the ink had become rather muddy by the dust of a thousand years which had accumulated during the time it was out of use. And as sturdy reformers have ever gone to the extreme opposed to the errors they undertook to correct, the license of the legend was opposed by the rigid severity of the treatise or the lecture. Thus, ponderous tomes and lengthened discourses multiplied, till

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they became too heavy a load for the public mind, and their reign has, in its turn, passed away. It would be a curious and not unprofitable task, to trace the course of English literature to the present day;—to mark what influence political events, or public characters, or original genius, have had on its progress. But this is not for us. We must proceed to the task before us.

It was in a languid state of the public mind, when deep and extensive reading had been yielded to our German neighbours, when no poetry was considered readable after Lord Byron's, any more than other novels after the Waverley, and before useful knowledge societies and penny magazines had as yet discomfited the tactics of the Row, that the Annuals made their appearance. Their plates attracted some; their stories others; and in a few years, this new style of work formed an appreciable item in the accounts of the patrons of the press. Their success seems to have emboldened our artists and booksellers to join in producing a still more elegant class of illustrated volumes, among which we must accord a high rank to the "Pilgrims of the Rhine."

The design of the Author has been, to embody at once the scenery and the associations, the 'outer and inner world' of the land of the Rhine. The scenery is delineated by the aid of both the pen and the pencil; the stories interwoven in the narrative bring before us the genius and dispositions of the people to whose vineyards we are transported; and the introduction of fairies, gnomes, *et hoc genus omne*, heightens the variety of subject in this enchanting volume. Germany as it is, is not all that attracts our attention in the Pilgrims of the Rhine. We are pointed back to the days when it was a province of the Eternal City. 'Rome—' apostrophizes the Author, 'magnificent Rome! where-'ever the pilgrim wends, the traces of thy dominion greet his eyes. 'Still in the heart of the bold German race, is graven the print of 'the eagle's claws; and amidst the haunted regions of the Rhine, 'we pause to wonder at the great monuments of the Italian yoke.' But to the relics of classic lore that yet linger among these 'castled crags', our fancy is only directed; it is not satisfied. If we may judge from the manner in which a peep is given us of 'the last lingering wanderer of the race which the Romans wor-'shipped', we have cause to regret that we have not more afford-ed us of 'the golden tribes.' It would have rendered more complete the picture of the Rhine.

A considerable part of the book, to begin with the super-natural, is devoted to the favourites of our childhood—the fairies. An English princess of the Elfin tribes makes an excursion to Germany, accompanied, among other attendants, by a veritable Chancellor Hyde in miniature; and by their agency we are introduced to the spirits who have not yet been driven by the march of intellect from the cliffs and caverns of the Rhine. In a work

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of fancy, we must accord to the author his request to be judged by the rules of poetry rather than of prose, and would therefore warn all such sober personages as are unwilling to be run away with into the regions of wild fiction, to shun the Pilgrims of the Rhine. This premised, such readers as wish to escape for a few minutes from this hackneyed and melancholy world, cannot do better than put themselves under the guidance of Mr. Bulwer. They will find the companions of their tour to consist of a young and lovely English girl, upon whom consumption has set its seal, and who, being advised to travel, has preferred the scenes of the romantic legends of the North, to the classic associations of a warmer clime,—together with her lover and her father.

The progress of these pilgrims forms the narrative, which is diversified by the stories recounted by the way, and the introduction of the unearthly *dramatis personæ* above alluded to. The characters are well drawn, although, if Mr. Bulwer, after the fashion of modern writers, has blended any thing of the auto-biographical with the description of his hero, he would be a pleasanter companion on paper than in real life. Trevylyan 'was of a wild, reso-'lute, and active nature. Thrown on the world at the age of 'sixteen, he had passed his youth in alternate pleasure, travel, 'and solitary study.' This process appears to have had the effect of, if we may be allowed the expression, case-hardening him, though his better qualities are called forth by his hapless attachment. His character, and the philosophy of the book, are pervaded by a misanthropic tone which scarcely harmonises with the hopes he entertains of a future union with his Gertrude. 'The philo-'sophy of a sad experience, acting on an unimpassioned heart,' had, we are told, rendered Vane, the father of Gertrude, more cold, and more sceptical, even than Trevylyan. A very sad picture of the world, their conversations would lead us to form. But we turn from the philosophy of the volume to the more agreeable fiction.

We regret that we cannot give entire, one of the tales, and to extract from them were to mutilate. We must, therefore, be content to accompany the pilgrims over a short portion of their route from Cologne. On leaving that unsavoury city,

'the stream winds round among banks that do not yet fulfil the promise of the Rhine; but they increase in interest as you leave Surdt and Godore. The peculiar character of the river does not, however, really appear, until by degrees the Seven Mountains and 'THE CASTLED CRAG OF DRACHENFELS' above them all, break upon the eye. Around Neider Cassel and Rheidt, the vines lie thick and clustering; and, from the shore, you see from place to place the islands stretching their green length along, and breaking the exulting tide. Village rises above village, and viewed from the distance as you sail, the pastoral errors that enamoured us of the village life, crowd thick

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and fast upon us. So still do these hamlets seem, so sheltered from the passions of the world; as if the passions were not like winds—only felt where they breathe, and invisible save by their effects! Leaping into the broad bosom of the Rhine comes many a stream and rivulet upon either side. Spire upon spire rises and sinks as you sail on. Mountain and city—the solitary island—the castled steep—like the dreams of ambition, suddenly appear, proudly swell, and directly fade away.

'"You begin now," said Trevylyan, "to understand the character of the German literature. The Rhine is an emblem of its luxuriance, its fertility, its romance. The best commentary on the German genius is a visit to the German scenery. The mighty gloom of the Hartz, the feudal towers that look over vines and deep valleys on the legendary Rhine; the gigantic remains of antique power profusely scattered over plain, mount, and forest; the thousand mixed recollections that hallow the ground; the stately Roman, the stalwart Goth; the chivalry of the feudal age, and the dim brotherhood of the ideal world, have here alike their record and their remembrance. And over such scenes the young German student wanders. Instead of the pomp and luxury of the English traveller, the thousand devices to cheat the way, he has but his volume in his hand, his knapsack at his back. From such scenes he draws and hives all that various store which after years ripen to invention. Hence the florid mixture of the German muse—the classic, the romantic, the contemplative, the philosophic, and the superstitious. Each the result of actual meditation over different scenes. Each the produce of separate but confused recollections. As the Rhine flows, so flows the national genius, by mountain and valley—the wildest solitude—the sudden spires of ancient cities—the mouldered castle—the stately monastery—the humble cot. Grandeur and homeliness, history and superstition, truth and fable, succeeding one another so as to blend into a whole.

'"But," added Trevylyan a moment afterwards, "the ideal is passing slowly away from the German mind: a spirit for the more active and the more material literature is springing up amongst them. The revolution of mind gathers on, preceding stormy events; and the memories that led their grandsires to contemplate, will urge the youth of the next generation to dare and to act."

'Thus conversing, they continued their voyage, with a fair wave, and beneath a lucid sky. The vessel now glided beside the seven mountains and the Drachenfels. The sun slowly progressing to his decline cast his yellow beams over the smooth waters. At the foot of the mountains lay a village deeply sequestered in shade; and above, the Ruin of the Drachenfels caught the richest beams of the sun. Yet, thus alone, though lofty, the ray cheered not the gloom that hung over the giant rock: it stood on high, like some great name on which the light of glory may shine, but which is associated with a certain melancholy, from the solitude to which its very height above the level of the herd condemned its owner.' pp. 100-103.

This extract contains a fair specimen of the descriptive powers and of the philosophy of the Author. We could find it in our

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hearts to be very spiteful for the concluding fling. It has been said, and said with truth, that general and sweeping satire seldom offends, as each reader fancies himself one of the few happy exceptions to the absurdities of his friends. We will not, therefore, go out of our way so far as to pick up the gauntlet thrown at the *ignobile vulgus;* but we would hint that intellectual power is marked by modesty, and that its possessor would be the last to lament, did he discern, his elevation over the 'herd.'

'The Maid of Malines' is one of the most pleasing tales in the book. The story is simple and touching. A peasant girl, in assisting the steps of a blind stranger, who is deserted by his dog, through the streets of Mechlin, has her arm broken in protecting him from an unruly horse. Her disinterested kindness and sweet voice touch the heart of the darkened wanderer, and a short sojourn in the city makes him the affianced of Lucille. But to break the smooth course that bade fair to run so smoothly, the cures performed by the three kings of Cologne inspire the maiden with hope that the sight of St. Amand might be restored. Unknown to her parents, and alone, she makes the toilsome pilgrimage, and through the intervention of a kind priest, returns with a celebrated physician, by whom the sight of her lover is restored, —but restored only to render him a victim to the arts of a beautiful cousin of poor Lucille, whose own features had been seared by the small-pox. Years roll on. St. Amand, bitterly lamenting his inconstancy, seeks to lose his pain in the din of war, and returns from Egypt again, and irrecoverably blind. Need the sequel be told? His hearth was again lonely; and when, with his blindness, his former love returned, he no longer mourned the fate that restored him to Lucille. In tales like this, Mr. Bulwer is at home: we wish no better chronicler. Not less happy is he in the specimen which he gives of a peculiar style of German romaunt, in which animals, endowed with the power of speech and other human qualities, are the heroes. The Dog, the Fox, and the Magpie are admirable drawn in the narrative recounted by the fairy; and the Griffin with a pipe in his mouth, is quite German. In the purely imaginary portions of the work, the Author shews himself to be eminently fancy-free; but we do not think his fairy personages equal to the fairy scenes. Nothing, indeed, can be more darkly wild than 'the Tomb of the Teuton', encircled with the wizard, the dwarf, the household elf, and the more graceful fay, and the enormous dragon of the north,—the sole remains of an antique creed. The brightest gem, however, in this book of beauty, is, we think,

'THE COMPLAINT OF THE LAST FAUN.

'The moon on the Latmos mountain
Her pining vigil keeps;

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And ever the silver fountain
In the Dorian valley weeps.
But gone are Endymion's dreams;
And the crystal lymph
Bewails the nymph
Whose beauty sleeked the streams!

'Round Arcady's oak, its green
The Bromian ivy weaves;
But no more is the Satyr seen
Laughing out from the glossy leaves.
Hushed is the Lycian lute;
Still grows the seed
Of the Mœnale reed,
But the pipe of Pan is mute!

'The leaves in the noon-day quiver,
The vines on the mountains wave,
And Tiber rolls his river
As fast by the Sylvan's cave:
But my brothers are dead and gone;
And far away
From their graves I stray,
And dream of the past alone!

'And the sun of the north is chill,
And keen is the northern gale:
Alas, for the song on the Argive hill,
And the dance in the Cretan vale!
The youth of the earth is o'er,
And its breast is rife
With the teeming life
Of the golden tribes no more!

'My race are more blest than I,
Asleep in their distant bed:
'Twere better, be sure, to die
Than to mourn for the buried dead;
To rove by the stranger streams,
At dusk and dawn,
A lonely faun,
The last of the Grecian's dreams.'

With regard to the plates, the most fastidious could find little room for criticism. Some of the architectural designs have the elaborate beauty of Prout's most finished drawings. The burin, though handled by different artists, and in different styles, has done full justice to the pencil. The frontispiece, Thurmberg, drawn by D. Roberts, and engraved by Wilmore, is at once bold in outline and exquisite in finishing: we almost expect to see the shadows of the clouds thrown on the rough crags and air-hung

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turrets flit over the scene. A peacock is introduced, lying on the balcony which occupies the foreground, and the bird's attitude of undisturbed repose gives a character of noon-day tranquillity to the landscape. The church of St. Rembauld at Mechlin, drawn by the same artist as the preceding, and engraved by Le Keux, looks, indeed, a fairy structure: the beauty and richness of the building, and the exquisite finish of the plate, suggest the idea of lace-work. The Ruins of Rheinfels have a gloomy grandeur quite in keeping with the storm; we almost question, however, the legitimate effect of introducing lightning. It serves, indeed, as a hint to the imagination, but the flash cannot be represented; for even were the scenery depicted as developed by the sudden and instantaneous splendour, the transition from gloom to light and from light to gloom, must be lost. A master's hand may arrest the view thus illumined, but it would want the *setting*. It is almost invidious to select, where all are so beautiful; but we must particularize 'the Brothers', engraved by Hatfield from a painting by M'Clise; the grouping, the contrast of the figures, and of the shades, and the natural frame afforded by the barriers and drapery of the lists, are perfect. The most original design is a wreath of fairies, who are seen floating, dancing, and flying around a Roman faun, (not a Grecian one, as the latter gentry were contented with the human form garnished with short budding horns and a flowing tail, and left the goatish appendages to their cousins the satyrs,) and associated with some most mis-shapen elves, whose domain is evidently subterranean. It is a fantastic and graceful groupe, and admirably consorts with such portions of the letter-press as it illustrates. There are two other elegant fairy scenes by Parris; but we miss in them a feature which makes the fays of M'Clise, not people with wings, but real, evident fairies,—we mean their head-dresses, composed of the corollas and calices of flowers. Altogether, it is a splendid and captivating volume.

It is almost injustice to another work, which we intended to notice before, to bring it forward by the side of Mr. Bulwer's. But as this edition is not the first, the "Lays and Legends of the Rhine" may be presumed to have already found favour with the public. On its first appearance, it was rather a music book than a volume of songs, which character it now assumes. The lithographs, by the side of the illustrations of "the Pilgrims of the Rhine," look—like lithographs; but, as such, they are good: particularly Andernach, the Lurtei Berg, the Drachenfells, and Rudesheim. Among the most beautiful of the lays we should rank 'The Chapel of Stromberg, and 'Giesèla.' 'The Brothers' is a tale that bears twice telling, and we scarcely know to which version to give the preference.

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Art. V.—1. *The Ultimate Object of Evangelical Dissenters avowed and advocated.* A Sermon preached at the King's Weigh-house, London. By T. Binney. 8vo., pp. 44. London. 1834.

2. *Religious Reform impracticable without Separation from the State.* An earnest Appeal to Pious Members of the Established Church. By Mathetes. 8vo., pp. 36. London, 1834.

3. *Ecclesiastical Establishments indefensible;* and the continued Separation of English Dissenters from the Episcopal Church justifiable: a Reply to a pamphlet by the Rev. W. Hull, entitled, "Ecclesiastical Establishments not inconsistent with Christianity." By John Boutet Innes. 8vo., pp. 129. London, 1834.

4. *The Rights of the National Church, and Six Reasons for maintaining them against the Encroachments of Dissenters.* By Andrew Marvell, junior. 12mo., pp. 35. Hull, 1834.

5. *The Union of the Methodists and the Church calmly considered:* in a Letter to the Rt. Rev. Henry, Lord Bishop of Exeter. By Coadjutor. 8vo., pp. 22. London, 1834.

6. *A Serious Address to Protestant Dissenters,* in the present Crisis. By a Puritan. 8vo., pp. 40. London, 1834.

7. *The Sword Acuminated.* By the Author of "The Sword Unsheathed." 8vo., pp. 12. London, 1834.

WE shall commence our account of this new batch of pamphlets, by noticing the last, in which we are ourselves more particularly concerned.

It seems that the "Sword Unsheathed" jumped from its scabbard in consequence of a recent article in the Eclectic Review, not at all of a polemical cast, but one in which we had expressed approbation of an exposition of the thirteenth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans*, in a volume by a clergyman of the Established Church. It is curious enough that so fierce an attack upon the Dissenters should have been called forth by the work of a brother clergyman. But stranger still is the circumstance that it should have proceeded from such a quarter. Having no personal knowledge of the writer, we very naturally, though erroneneously, supposed that his character must answer to his production,—that a pure spring could not send forth such filthy water,—that sentiments so fanatical, and language so arrogant, must proceed from some insolent fanatic. We had really no suspicion that a man with any fair pretension to evangelical piety or

* Eclectic Review, Dec. 1833, Art. Anderson's Exposition of the Epistle to the Romans.

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kindly feeling, could have been capable of so grievous an outrage against charity; and we felt indignant that the word of God should be perverted to serve the purpose of party politics. As regards the pamphlet itself which called forth our remarks, we cannot admit that any language of condemnation could be too severe. But as regards the character of the writer, we are happy to believe ourselves altogether mistaken. We have learned from several quarters, that Mr. Stephenson is not only a good man, but an amiable one, and that he has hitherto maintained with the Dissenters he anathematises, the most friendly intercourse; that he is, in fact, one of the last men from whom so extraordinary a display of 'unsheathed' bigotry could have been expected. The anomalies of human character are endless. It is well to recollect, however, who it was that said, "Lord, wilt thou that we command fire to come down from heaven, and consume them"? How unlike the character of the Beloved Disciple! Not less at variance with the character which Mr. Stephenson bears among those who are personally acquainted with him, is the extravagant sally he has made with the drawn sword of St. Paul, which he would wrest from the magistrate, in order to put it into the hands of the ecclesiastic! Not, indeed, to do him justice, a temporal sword, but 'the lightning sword of 'the ever-living Jehovah,' which every apostolically ordained minister has a commission to wield against all dissidents from the Apostolic Church of England!! 'The offences are *spiritual*, 'and the punishments *eternal!*' 'Such,' exclaims Mr. Binney in a note to his present sermon, 'are the words of the Rev. J. 'A. Stephenson, M.A., Rector of Lympsham, who, I am told, 'is a pious evangelical clergyman.'

'If such a man can have his mind and heart so perverted by his ecclesiastical notions of apostolical succession and episcopal authority, we cannot wonder at the *exclusiveness* which they engender in others.'

The 'Sword Acuminated' comes before us in the shape of a Letter to the Editor of the Eclectic Review; and the Writer appeals directly to our candour in terms of courtesy which call for respectful reply. We must, however, confess that we cannot understand the process by which Mr. Stephenson seems to have persuaded himself of the coherence of his own reasonings, or the pertinence of his citations from Scripture. His argument would, if fairly pursued, overturn the foundations of civil government. Because the Apostle forbids the indulgence of revenge, urging the consideration that Retribution belongs to God, Mr. S. would have us infer, that the sword spoken of in Rom. xiii. can be no other than 'the sword of Divine denunciation.'

'Do you really think,' he asks us, 'that the sword borne by 'God's minister means the rod and axe of the lictor, and the

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'*pugio* of the carnifex? That wrath means the frown of the 'prætor, and damnation adjudgement to corporal punishment.' As to damnation, the word has no business there, as every one who reads his Greek Testament will, we presume, admit; nor is wrath a much more appropriate term to express the idea of judicial punishment. But we really do think that resistance to civil government, whatever be the form of that government, on the plea of being exempted from its control by becoming the subjects of Christ, or because the ruler is not Christian, is what is especially forbidden in the passage in question; and that this applies as well to the staff of the constable, or to the rod of the lictor, as to the sceptre of the king, or any other emblem of the power of the state. Who occupied the throne when St. Peter wrote the words, "Honour the King"? Again—"Submit your-"selves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, whether "it be *to the king as supreme*, or to governors as to them that "are sent by him for the punishment of evil doers."—How any one who compares with this exhortation the equivalent language of St. Paul, can have any doubt or difficulty as to its true import, is to us incomprehensible.

This is not the place to enter into the consideration of the true limits of civil obedience; but that it has its limits, is evident from the language of the Apostles, when charged with disregarding the prohibition of the powers then existing—"Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye." But there is surely a very obvious and an infinite difference between assuming an independence of civil government, or setting up a political power in opposition to it, and recognizing, as a rule of personal duty, obligations of a paramount character relating to the things which are not Cæsar's, but belong to God. The time may not be very distant, when even Mr. Stephenson will learn to distinguish between things which so greatly differ. We know not in what predicament he would feel himself, were he even now to cross the Tweed, where 'God's 'own polity', as he terms it, has been set aside by the civil rulers in favour of the Presbyterian platform. He would seem, however, to count it a light matter to resist the State; but expresses his earnest hope, that 'if among the readers of the 'Eclectic there be any resisters of, or dissidents from, the Church 'of England, they will, *before it is too late*, discover themselves 'to be resisters of, and dissidents from, God himself.' Now we cannot think it wholly impossible, that Mr. S., and other clergymen of his stamp, may be placed in circumstances that will leave them no alternative but either to *resist* the Church of England, or to do violence to their own consciences. However this may be, we cannot but express our cordial hope that, sooner or later, he may discover the difference between being a resister of prelacy

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and a resister of the gospel,—between a dissident from the Church of Elizabeth and a dissident from the Church of Christ.

Mr. Binney's Sermon, if he will bear with it, would much facilitate his arriving at a sound scriptural discrimination in this matter. The text is the intercessory prayer of Our Lord (John xvii. 21), that all his followers may be one. The Preacher first mentions some things in which this unity does *not* consist, and secondly, those which are necessary, either to its actual existence or its visible development. The foundation of this unity must, he contends, be laid in an agreement as to the reception and profession of fundamental truth. The basis of the unity of the Church is the unity of the faith. But this unity ought to be manifested by the mutual recognition of each other, on the part of all Christians and Christian Churches thus harmonizing. The prayer of Christ, though actually fulfilled to a much greater extent than appears to a superficial observer of the present aspect of the Church, 'can 'never be fully accomplished, but by the removal of all that in- 'terferes with the mutual recognition and the universal com- 'munion of Christian churches.

'If Christians wait till every church is modelled according to any supposed apostolical pattern;—that is, if they wait till some one existing community has drawn and absorbed all others into itself; if they wait for this, before they dare to open the heart and to hold out the hand of fellowship to each other, I much fear that they will have to wait far longer than any of them calculate. This consummation—the triumph of some particular form of church order—if it ever take place, (which I deem very problematical,) is much more likely to *follow* the practice of universal communion than to precede and to prepare for it. It *might* come, however, if love began to light the way, and, by enlarging and purifying the heart, to assist the general judgment to discover and to welcome the favoured economy;—but whether it ever come or not, the obligation remains the same, and is imperative and pressing, of seeking the commencement of universal visible fellowship, as the proof of present fundamental agreement,—even if it should *not* prove the prelude to universal uniformity. The one is an unquestionable duty, the other is probably a dream.

'Deeply as I feel, and fondly as I cherish, the truth and excellence of the principle which I have endeavoured to establish, I am compelled to confess, that, though I entertain no doubt of its ultimate triumph, I fear it will be long before it be generally acknowledged, and longer still before it come into any thing like practical operation. In the meantime, many obstacles must be removed, which, while they continue, will retard and prevent its recognition and adoption. The most important of these obstacles are, sectarian partialities, ecclesiastical assumption, and political ascendency. The first leads the thoroughgoing Independent to dogmatize on the particulars of the apostolic pattern, and to demand that every church upon earth, to be worthy of the name should be moulded and fashioned according to *his* notions of

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primitive law. The second, prompts the advocate of Episcopacy to utter "great swelling words;" to look upon the minister of every minor communion as a clerical intruder; to deny the validity of his orders, his right to rule, and his commission to teach; to brand *him* as a schismatic and his people as a sect. And the third, Political Ascendency, elevating one party to the injury of others, inflames and exasperates the animosities of all. These things, however, cannot be eternal. So long as they exist, indeed, the fulfilment of the prayer of Christ is impossible; but, as that prayer *must* be fulfilled as certainly as it was offered, it follows, that whatever obstructs it will one day be entirely removed. Secular governments will cease to be partial and learn to be just. Ministers and churches of different orders,—one class no longer encumbered by privilege, another no longer mortified by insult,—will learn to abandon their respective follies, and to draw towards each other when there is no positive legal barrier to forbid. As secular jealousies are extinguished, sectarian and ecclesiastical will subside. One man will cease to exult in his "succession,"—his neighbour will dismiss the conceit of his little republic embracing the world,—both will come at length to embrace each other,—the Saviour will see his supplications answered,—"men will be blessed in him, yea all nations shall call him blessed." "That they all may be one, as thou Father art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us, that the world may believe that thou hast sent me!"

Those who in this spirit engage in the present 'religious 'movement', may despise the injustice of calumny; and by keeping their eye and heart steadily fixed on the object of the Redeemer's prayer, they will escape the secularizing and distracting influence of the contentions in which all who will be faithful to their principles must occasionally mingle.

That 'Religious Reform is impracticable' within the Established Church, 'without separation from the State,' Episcopalians are themselves beginning slowly to apprehend; and when this truth once gains full hold of their convictions, they will emulate Dissenters themselves in seeking the removal of the great grievance. The separation of the Church from the State would not in itself include the needed reform, but it would remove the chief obstacle, and bring on the emancipation of the Church from its secular bondage. The apparent indifference on the part of the pious clergy and laity of the Episcopal Church to the system of patronage, we cannot but agree with Mathetes in regarding as criminal. But it cannot be long before the anti-patronage spirit which has sprung up in Scotland, will manifest itself in this country. How is it that hitherto, 'no voice has been raised 'against a system of oppression and injustice as much greater 'than that of nomination boroughs, as the things of eternity ex-'ceed in value and importance those of time?'

'Many churchmen,' remarks the able Writer who assumes the title of Mathetes, 'protested against the interference of the nobility

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and gentry in returning members to the House of Commons; they spurned at the idea of allowing individuals to usurp the privileges of the people, and their remonstrances were successful: yet the very same persons who were zealous and determined advocates for civil liberty, tolerate a system of nomineeship in the affairs of eternity without a murmur, without a protest. How can we account for the fact, that the same noble lord, who has been deprived of the power of appointing representatives in Parliament for a particular place, should still be allowed, without remonstrance, to place over its inhabitants, as their religious teacher—as their guide to heaven—a man unknown to them, and ignorant of them; without their consent being sought or obtained—without even the courtesy of previously informing them what are his qualifications for discharging the duties of his office? Are the affairs to be transacted by the British Legislature, of greater importance than those which relate to eternity? Are pecuniary interests more dear to Churchmen than the interests of their immortal spirits? Is the liberty of choosing a member of parliament more to be desired than the liberty of choosing a teacher of religion—a guide to them and their children in the way to heaven? Is it more essential, to ascertain the qualifications and the principles of a candidate for Parliamentary honours, than to examine the qualifications, and to ascertain the principles of a minister of religion? Who will assert that pious members of the Church of England are better able to judge of political qualities, than of moral and religious character? Must we then conclude, that all those Churchmen who were zealous in seeking a reform in Parliament, are unbelievers, or ignorant of the Gospel of Christ, caring nothing about their own salvation or that of their children? We dare not suppose this, for we know the contrary. This indifference among evangelical members of the Episcopal communion, appears, to our view, an ominous circumstance. We are not surprised, when men of the world —when mere formalists, succumb to the despotism of a patron, and raise no voice against *his* choice of a pastor for them. *They* feel no interest in the subject—they act as their fathers did—and they would indeed wonder at any resistance to the exercise of a power like this. Religion presents no aspect of importance to them, and if the regular services of their Church are performed, they are perfectly content. From such Churchmen, their communion can have no hope, as it regards real, efficient, enlightened help, in the hour of danger; they form the dead weight in that denomination, and would soon bring it to ruin, were there not numerous real Christians, who preserve the body from entire debasement. But is it not matter of equal surprise and regret, that the better portion of that communion should allow this state of things to continue? They cannot but see the injurious and destructive effects produced by the law of patronage. They must know, that there are thousands of clergymen in their Church, utterly unfit for the sacred duties of their office; and who, but for the present system have occupied a station among the professed ministers of Christ. They must also know—for the thing is not done in a corner—that even in those parishes where faithful ministers are placed, their is no security that, when they die, men of similar views will succeed them. The very persons who, under God, owe their conversion to these devoted

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men—who have been brought together to attend divine ordinances, so far as the system will allow—may on the death of their pastors, have men of opposite sentiments placed over them What remedy have these injured people? They must either consent to receive the instructions of a man who preaches another gospel, or must *leave* the Church, and hear the truth in an unconsecrated building, except it happen that a neighbouring parish is blessed with a clergyman who preaches the Gospel. Grievous as the result may be, the patron has only exercised his legal right which *hnman* laws have given him. In most cases, the people who love the truth, must seek a teacher *beyond* the pale of a Church, which by this antichristian law, robs them of the provisions of the Gospel. Is there a man in the Episcopal denomination, valuing the Gospel more than he values the forms and ceremonies of any church, that can say, thse Christian people do wrong in becoming Dissenters, in circumstances like these?

How long will members of the Church of England continue to despise their birthright as Englishmen, and their liberties as Christians; to forget the just claims of God and of conscience, and yield unwarrantable subjection to secular laws in religious matters? They boast of their apostolic, primitive form of Christianity: but surely no denomination, in which the people are excluded from the choice of their pastors, can be either apostolic or primitive. We might, indeed, if necessary, rest the question at issue between the Established Church and Dissenters on this single point, as alone sufficient to justify separation; for while the Episcopal denomination submits to this law, it must, of necessity, remain a corrupt community.

This Appeal to the pious Members of the Established Church, is written in an excellent spirit, and deserves to obtain the serious attention of those whom it more especially concerns. Hitherto, many good men have been endeavouring to persuade themselves, that only political and radical Dissenters desired to see the Church separated from the State; but the perusal of this pamphlet can scarcely fail to remove that fond impression. Numbers of Dissenters who have refused to join in political clamour, are not less firmly opposed, on principle, to the existing connexion between Diocesan Episcopacy and the State, and believe it to be their duty to seek its dissolution by all lawful means.

'When,' continues this Writer, 'we see the great injury done to true religion, in our own country, and indirectly to the world, by the connexion between Church and State; when we believe that the legislative establishment of a church, which acknowledges the King to be its head, is a direct interference with the prerogatives of Christ; when we see Christian liberty restrained, and civil liberty injured; when we behold multitudes of nominal Churchmen without any suitable means of religious instruction being provided for them, though by a legal figment this is supposed to be done for every parish in the kingdom; when we feel the injustice of the laws which still penally affect Dissenters, for acting according to the dictates of conscience; in short, when we can trace all these evils, any many more, to this connexion of

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a Church with the State, what, we ask, is our duty? What would be the duty of Episcopalians, were they placed in our circumstances, if they held the same opinions respecting the nature of Christ's church, were ours (supposing such a thing possible) the Established Church? Unquestionably it would then be *their* duty to seek a separation between our Church and the State; but not to interfere with us, as a Christian denomination, in altering our forms or observances. This *is* now *our* duty, and as soon as this object is effected, we shall cease to have any controversy with Diocesan Episcopacy as a denomination. Its prelatical assumptions will then be comparatively disregarded, if they are not lowered, and all parties will have the privilege of going forward in their career of usefulness. The bitterness of party spirit, the irritation of mind, produced by the arrogant pretensions of a dominant sect, will be unknown; and harmony among all denominations may reasonably be expected. Our opposition, which, we repeat, is not to Episcopacy, but to its incorporation with the State, would then terminate. As a denomination, its own religious character and zeal would then have fair play, without injuring others; whereas, according to its present constitution, it cannot prosper, without treating others with injustice, and directly interfering with that equality of civil privilege which ought to exist among Christian sects. Let not the nature of our hostility be mistaken. We unfeignedly love all that is unquestionably good in the Episcopal Church—its great doctrines, and those of its members, who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity. We shall rejoice in its augmented zeal, purity, and success in the wide field of a yet partially enlightened world; and we are persuaded that the real safety, honour, and usefulness of that denomination, can only be secured by *separation from the State.*

'Nor can this opposition of Dissenters cease while the union subsists. They interfere with no ministerial plan of Church reform, which is confined to the Established Church as a religious community. Nay, even if the gross existing abuses be remedied,—pluralities abolished, residence enforced, inequalities of income properly arranged, the bishops released from attendance in Parliament, and tithes commuted,—we dare not promise that we shall be satisfied: for we cannot consider the work as done till there is a separation of the Episcopal Church from the State. This is not a reckless obstinacy on our part, proceeding from a factious and discontented spirit. It is an opposition springing from principles based on the word of God. We shall continue to seek this change, because it is just to others as well as to ourselves—because the civil and religious liberties of our country can never be secure, while a prelatical hierarchy exercises authority in civil matters, and extends a baneful influence throughout the land: in short, because the interests of religion, both at home and abroad, are deeply injured by the present state of things. We must continue to seek this separation, because we are the servants of Jesus Christ, whose laws are violated, whose authority is usurped, and whose cause is retarded, by the unholy alliance now subsisting.' pp. 14, 15.

So long as the Episcopal Church remains in connexion with the State, it is evident that every measure of religious reform

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must wear the aspect, and partake of the character of a *political* movement, and must have to encounter the opposition of *political* interests. What is more, reforms of a purely political nature must of necessity precede the spiritual improvement which pious Episcopalians themselves desire to see introduced; for to those spiritual improvements, the ruling powers and the numerical majority of the political Church, are confessedly and notoriously opposed. While the State rules the Church, the Church must be, in its main features, a secular institution, of which religion is 'the acci-'dent.' The body must correspond to the head. The head is confessedly political, and so must be the influence which descends from it through the whole system. And so long as this political union lasts, it must preclude that catholic union which springs from holding the True Head. 'Any denomination,' it is justly remarked, 'which throws itself into the arms of the State, may 'call itself the Church; it may indeed be a part of the church of 'Christ; but, so far as it enters into alliance with the State, it 'separates itself from the true Church.'

As a religious reform of the Church cannot be expected to proceed from the State or from the Legislature, so it is vain to expect that it will originate with the clergy. This is put very strongly by Mathetes, but not more strongly than is warranted by the facts. What then can bring it about, but such an emancipation of the Church from the usurped dominion over its faith and discipline, as shall restore their just rights to the laity? Surely, then, this Writer remarks, there rest with the pious laity of the Establishment, responsibilities of no common order.

'If their conviction is, that their Church greatly needs a *religious* reform, let them state their conviction to their ministers; let them candidly examine the questions, which at present agitate the Christian church, respecting the nature of Christ's kingdom, and let truth have free course. If they should discover, that their ministers are afraid to act up to their convictions, let them attempt to inspire them with moral courage. Let them, above all, seek to be guided, in their reform of Episcopacy, by the New Testament. If the laws of Christ are recognized, as authoritative in this matter, we do not fear the result. Either the Episcopal communion will be *religiously* reformed, or its spiritual members, lay and clerical, will separate from it, and form a distinct Episcopal denomination. A separation from the State, by promoting religious reform, might prevent the necessity for the latter; which, we are quite ready to allow, must be a painful alternative. They cannot bear the thought of being compelled to separate from a Church with which all their early associations are connected. They love their own forms, they prefer their own liturgy; nor can they see any other existing denomination, with which they could cordially associate. We would say to such persons—let your decision be the result of conviction; take no step but what the Word of God and conscience sanction; but, at the same time, be careful that proper means

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are used to understand the subject, to enlighten the judgment, and to instruct the conscience. Take nothing for granted: let not early habit and strong attachment overcome plain, commanded duty. Let no principle of *expediency* supersede the authority of Christ. Let no fancied hope of being more useful in the Established Church, even in its corrupt condition, than if separated from it, tempt the pious clergy to do evil that good may come. Let not the serious laity suppose they should leave this matter to their teachers. They form the strength of Episcopacy—it could not exist as a denomination without them; and every individual, holding communion with that Church, is bound to think and act, in a matter like this, as if all the success of the attempt depended upon his individual exertion. This is the *crisis* in the *religious* character of Episcopacy. If the reform, which is expected from the Government, only touch secular evils, Episcopalians may rest assured that the power of the State will be greater than ever over their Church. It will make patronage and other evils worse than before, for it will *confirm*, in the nineteenth century, the usurpations and errors of the sixteenth.' pp. 35, 6.

Mr. Innes appears before the public, not without reluctance, in the character of antagonist to an individual towards whom he wished never to have stood in any relation but that of a friend. Having succeeded to Mr. Hull at Norwich, he has felt that a reply was demanded from him to criminatory assertions which might seem more immediately to implicate those with whom he is connected as pastor. Of his predecessor, he had always, he says, thought with respect; and he is 'remembered as one whose public 'labours entitled him to a high degree of approbation.'

'From those who were capable of properly appreciating the productions of a powerful and well cultivated mind, that approbation was obtained. Many of his discouragements, which it is to be lamented appear to have perverted his views, and disturbed his feelings, arose from circumstances, over which he had little control, and consequently for which he was not responsible. His compositions, whether at any time issuing from the press, or delivered from the pulpit, proved that his mind was not only comprehensive and evangelical in its views, but glowed with an intense degree of ardour. He ordinarily discharged the high and holy duties of his important office, not with feebleness but with force, and when urged to extraordinary effort, he often appeared as "a giant refreshed." This testimony to his talents and character, as a writer and a preacher, is the more willingly borne, because some depreciating statements have been made in other quarters, which demanded it from me as an act of justice.' p. 4.

We do not know in what quarter Mr. Hull's talents as a writer and a preacher may have been depreciated. Ample justice has been done to his written compositions in the pages of our Journal; but to success as a Christian pastor, many qualifications are requisite besides high mental cultivation and intellectual ardour. But we do not wish to dwell on this point. Mr. Innes has done

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honour to his own feelings, in endeavouring to rescue his predecessor from any unmerited imputation. He has returned a soft answer to a pamphlet full of wrath and bitterness; and we should rejoice to think that the spirit in which his pamphlet is written might prevail with Mr. Hull himself so far as to make him repent of the aberration into which his wounded feelings have betrayed him. Of the circumstances specifically alluded to, we know nothing beyond what he has himself thought fit to communicate; but we have heard it whispered, that Mr. H. has become a strong conservative, and if his quarrel with the Dissenters be at the bottom a political one, perhaps it may yet be made up.

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'All this bustle and rant, about "recent transactions," and rebellion, and anarchy, and example of revolt and "restless multitude", prove nothing but that some "recent transactions" have produced an unhappy effect upon his imagination, on account of which he has attacked his former friends; who have reason to be gratified that his mind did not run wild in another direction. Had he chanced, under his present excited feelings, to become an anarchist himself, and had some one, as violent as he, produced him as a specimen of the Dissenting body at large, he would have been no more a credit to them, than, until he adopt a more moderate and rational tone, he is likely to be to the party whose cause he has thus undertaken to plead.' pp. 90, 91.

The reply to Mr. Hull's charges is at once temperate and triumphant. It is, for the most part, furnished ready to Mr. Innes's hand by Mr. Hull. There is, he remarks, scarcely 'a 'point introduced in his late publications on which he has not 'previously expressed such decided sentiments, that he becomes 'his own antagonist.' Of this, one very amusing instance is given. It will be recollected, that Mr. Hull accused the Dissenters with disciplining their children to eternal hatred of the Church. This, remarks Mr. Innes, relates to a *fact*.

'It is either a truth, most disgraceful to those against whom it can be proved, or such a deviation from veracity as I am most unwilling to characterize. There can be no medium. It is the more injurious to those persons to whom it is intended to attach infamy, because it relates to domestic management, and consequently to that on which the public are incompetent to judge, while one who has filled the office of a Dissenting pastor is supposed to be well informed. Children, servants, and those whose intimacy with us has laid open our family arrangements to their observation, know it to be palpably untrue. I will say nothing of the domestic altar and oath; they were introduced for the sake of embellishment and effect; but I ask the younger branches of Dissenting households whether any attempts whatsoever have been made to infuse into their minds rancorous feelings against the Church of England? On the contrary it is known by them, and by all intimately connected with them, that this is a subject but seldom introduced. Parents among us are more anxious to see their

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children the subjects of pious feelings than of correct sentiments on points of discipline and modes of worship.'

'But if I cannot expect to be credited; if children and young persons taught to hate the Church, and perhaps to deceive it too, are not worthy to be believed; on this question of *fact*, I will cite another witness. I call forward the Rev. Wm. Hull of 1820, pastor of the Independent Church, St. Clement's, Norwich. He denies not, that this book was kept by him. It is the record of the transactions of that Society. He denies not that this is his writing. It is an extract made from an entry which he made of an address, delivered by himself, in his pastoral character, to those who composed his flock, and which was thought by him to be sufficiently important, to be thus preserved.

'"Far be it from us, my brethren, to hold out any other law than simplicity, and godly sincerity. In this age of revolutions, this age so fertile in novelties, when so many means are employed to attract, and to proselyte, let us not abandon the simplicity of Christ. We have our lot in an age when Christian discipline has grown too much out of use, when the order of Churches has sunk into practical contempt, when mere preaching, and not Christian institutions, is valued and followed, when numbers and not character, are made the test of usefulness. Let us not deviate from the good old way. The simplicity and the manliness of the early Nonconformists accorded with the purity of their principles, and the grandeur of their religion. This Church was one of the first that was established by those venerable men, and let it be the last to dishonour its founders. Amidst the changing fashions of the religious world, let us be found the same unsophisticated people, plain and respectable, and substantial as these majestic pilars around us, an example of the believers in word, in conversation, in charity, in spirit, in faith, in purity. This ancient, this noble building, in which we worship, was erected by men who knew the principles of Dissent, and who adhered with holy simplicity to those principles, who ardently loved the gospel, and walked in its hallowed light. Let us not desecrate this temple by deviating from their example. Let us venerate the memory of those illustrious men who lived its founders, and let us tread reverently upon their dust.

'"It has been a complaint of modern times, and certainly justified by the history of this church and congregation, that the younger branches of our families frequently forsake the principles of their fathers, that the same family is seldom found among evangelical Dissenters, for more than two or three generations, especially when they rise in society, and become opulent citizens. There is, no doubt, great temptation connected with the acquisition of riches, and the society to which it introduces. But much may be traced to *a neglected education. And it would be well if Dissenters would early instruct their children in Nonconformist principles.* Let them be familiar with Ecclesiastical history from the earliest ages, that they may see the rise and progress of corruption in the Christian world, and the frightful consequences that followed. Let them especially be initiated into the history of their own country, and the study will shew them the *immense importance of Dissenting principles* to the cause of *vital godli-*

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ness, as well as to that of *civil and religious liberty*, Next in importance to the question, 'why are you a Christion?' let them be taught to consider '*why are you a Dissenter? This is not made sufficiently a matter of principle, in the present day.* A vague notion prevails, that so long as people hear a gospel sermon, it is of no consequence, whether it is heard in a Church or a Meeting, and as the Church is a place of more genteel resort, some of the more opulent Dissenters are dwindling into evangelical Churchmen, *not from a spirit of conciliation* and catholic charity, but from mere pride of rank, and *ambition of distinction.* It is time for those who are Dissenters on conviction to stem the torrent. Let their children read 'Graham on Ecclesiastical Establishments,' 'Towgood's Letters to White,' 'The Nonconformist's Memorial,' 'Palmer's Dissenter's Catechism,' and other works containing the arguments on this subject. If you cannot change their hearts, you can enlighten their intellects. If you cannot make them Christians, you may make them Dissenters, and this, though a secondary object, is not of so little consequence, and lightly to be despised. At the same time let them be taught to hold their principles, not in the spirit of bigotry, or opposition, nor as rancorous partisans, but in the spirit of love.

'"From the changes which time has effected in the Dissenting interest in this city, from the number of new places and new sects that have arisen, and *the disregard to the simplicity of Nonconformist principles, to which I have already alluded,* it appears unlikely that this congregation should regain that prosperity which it has gradually lost. It was once one of the most considerable Independent societies in the empire. But if we do not court popularity, by following the vitiated taste of our day, if we deem it right to adhere to our principles, though they are unfashionable, because we know them to be scriptural, let us do every thing that is prudent towards the preservation of our interest from the intrusive and restless spirit of the times," &c. &c.

'Here the general case might be safely left. It would be enough to say "*ex uno disce omnia.*" Mr. Hull has, by the impetuosity of violently excited feelings, occasioned probably by circumstances sufficiently notorious, been unhappily driven to commit himself, by making in this instance an assertion which is not only contrary to fact, but to *his own* past representations of fact. The neglect which he once intimated, not followed by the improvement which he so earnestly recommended, has distinguished Protestant Dissenters from most who profess other creeds and practise other forms. Hence it is, that vast numbers who worship with them, do so rather from habit than from information. I am now neither justifying nor condemning the parties; but I am stating a fact of which, from my own observation, I am perfectly convinced, and I am doing it to rebut a slander which fixes on the party making it something more than palpable self-contradition.'

pp. 91—98.

Andrew Marvell, junior, is a smart writer, and his fellow-townsmen will understand his sly hits and ironical allusions; but the interest of the publication will be chiefly local. We must give a short specimen.

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'In speaking of the rights of our national church, the first feeling in the minds of those who are accustomed to compare the wisdom of our ancestors with the folly of restless modern innovators, must be deep regret that these rights have been already so lamentably abridged. What patriotic breast does not glow with strong emotion at the recollection of the famous days of good Queen Bess? That was the period when the British Eagle shook the chilling dews of night from its full fledged wings, and soared to sun itself in morning glory. And that, too, was the period when our national church, in the native beauties of her own brilliant plumage, arose like a Phœnix from the fires of martyrdom. Then, those whom her comeliness and her blandishments could not win to conformity, her power could compel. Attendance at her temples, agreement with her creeds, and communion at her altars formed the tenure on which, not merely office and favour, but property, liberty, even life itself was held. *Then was she truly a national church.* The soil could be trodden, the sweet and unimprisoned atmosphere could be breathed only by those who were numbered with her sons, and, willingly or unwillingly, worthily or unworthily, partook of her sacramental bread. Alas! that the rod of her power should should have been broken, and the spell of her youthful fascinations dissolved. Why do we deceive ourselves by calling her *now* our national church, when scarcely a third of the people enter even the outward courts of her worship, and but a fragment of that third approach the more hallowed place of her communion? Yet there is a pensive satisfaction in decorating the dejected head with the rays of ancient glory. The title gives rank and precedence even after the estate has been alienated. The staff of the regiment retains its name, its colours, its honours, after the companies have been disbanded. Above all, as said our excellent Barrow, "There is a strange enchantment in words; which being *(although with no great colour of reason)* assumed, do work on the fancies of men, especially of the weaker sorts. Of these, power doth ever arrogate to itself such as are most operative, by their force sustaining and extending itself." I entirely approve, therefore, the wisdom of those who called the late public Meeting, in giving such prominence to the title "OUR NATIONAL CHURCH." The title, though empty like the drum, makes a good and exciting sound in beating the multitude to arms.

'If the power and fascination of our national church (for I think it right to make the most of the name, though we have lost the thing) have departed, yet, it is some consolation, that the emoluments remain; —remain too, nearly as they were in the days of her glory. In one view of the case, the situation of the church is even more desirable than it once was; she is certainly relieved from the burden of *teaching all,* but she has not yet been deprived of the just right and privilege of *taxing all,*—the right and privilege which we are now called on specially to guard and maintain.' pp. 7, 8.

The Letter to the Lord Bishop of Exeter is a very happy and adroit application of irony to the purpose of serious argument; and nothing can be more farcical, than the political union is made to appear, which his Lordship affected to contemplate as a

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'blessed result', by simply pursuing the idea into detail. For instance:

'I am sure your Lordship would gladly embrace any scriptural remedy for such a fearful state of things, that should be consistent with the dignity, safety, and *revenues* of the Established Church.

'I humbly suggest one in which, possibly, your Lordship has anticipated me:—

'I propose, then, that the Methodist Circuit Ministers, who are in full connexion, be invited and authorised to preach in any parish church, in which there is now service only once a day, as often as they choose. That they be allowed the use of the surplice and the gown. That the bell do toll as at other times; and that all the decencies and solemnities of the church be observed. I propose, moreover, that in cases where the services of a circuit preacher cannot be obtained, that the Methodist local preacher be allowed to officiate. In this case I would advise that they do not wear the surplice nor the gown; and that they do confine themselves to the reading-desk; so that the dignity of the pulpit do remain unimpaired. I heard an excellent sermon from a highly gifted carter lately; also one from a pious tailor: I have, moreover, listened with sincere pleasure to a zealous shoemaker. Useful and desirable as their services may be, yet I think it hardly compatible with propriety that they should occupy the pulpits of episcopal places of worship. Here I am sure your Lordship will agree with me. Prayer-meetings also might be held in the church on Sunday mornings early, or on any night during the week.

'Your Lordship will perceive, in a moment, how such an arrangement as this would strengthen the Church, and what an advantage it would give Methodists (who are not unfriendly to you) over Baptists and Independents.

'Economy points out the propriety of such a measure as this, as the necessity of building chapels would be superseded. Your Lordship, of course, would not object to Wesley's Hymns (which are well known to you) being sung, provided the church prayers were always read. Thus one "narrow partition" is broken down.

The next point to which I shall request your Lordship's attention, is, the empowering of Methodist circuit ministers, in full connexion, to officiate on matrimonial, baptismal, or funereal occasions, in the churches of the Establishment; one half of the fees to be enjoyed by themselves, and the other half to be paid to the parochial clergyman. While other sects (the Socinians in particular) have raised such a clamour on this point, your Lordship will bear the Methodists witness how meekly and unblamably they have borne themselves; and shall they lose their reward? Thus, my Lord, happily two "narrow partitions" are broken down.

'It would perhaps, be desirable that all Methodist ministers should receive episcopal ordination, as, in your Lordship's view, their services and ministrations must be unauthorized and invalid without it. I fear there are some of their body who would raise foolish and trifling objections at first, owing to old prejudices: these little difficulties must be

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expected. But I propose that your Lordship do attend the next annual meeting of Conference, and offer this high distinctive and peculiar privilege to them in full conclave; that your Lordship do explain its importance, state its advantages, and prove its scriptural origin.

'The weight of your Lordship's character, your high office, and, above all, your affectionate regard for the Methodists, would produce results of which your Lordship's humility will permit you to form but a feeble conception. There might be possibly some difficulty in ordaining them deacons and priests simultaneously; but such an obstacle your Lordship's discretion, experience, and zeal, would enable you to surmount.

'Your Lordship's parliamentary experience may, perhaps, have furnished you with the fact, that, on some urgent occasions, a bill has been read three times consecutively in the Commons in one evening; then it has been sent to the Lords, where the same rapidity has marked its progress, and, in a few hours, the royal signature being attached, it has been the law of the land. My Lord, what can be more important and urgent than the *valid* ordination of all the Methodist ministers who are above twenty-four years of age, the apostolical cycle, I believe, for full priest's orders? I would, therefore, meekly suggest, that your Lordship do, in one day, ordain them deacons, priests, and bishops. The ceremony might be long, but it would be *peculiarly interesting*, and very imposing. Were any hiatus in point of time to occur, the most painful and deplorable results might accrue. Their oldest ministers would not be able to solemnize matrimony legally, nor to officiate at the churching of women, nor to dispense the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's supper; nor would they be authorized to give absolution in the following authoritative, consolatory, edifying, and instructive words—"Our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath left power to his church to absolve all sinners who truly repent, and believe in him, of his great mercy forgive thee thine offences; and by his authority, committed to *me*, I absolve thee from all thy sins, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen." They would keenly feel being disqualified on this point.

'Possessing, as they do now, in their present connexion, if unauthorized, yet plenipotentiary powers, your Lordship's delicacy will immediately sympathize with their aversion to remain on the quarantine ground, or rather, in the chrysalis state, which admission to deacon's orders only implies. Your Lordship's skill and tact will, I am sure, extricate you and them from this apparent dilemma. This "narrow partition" must be broken down.

'The present aspect of the times, and the labours of many wise and pious bishops and clergymen, combined in removing an obstacle, which, at one period, seemed insurmountable; I mean, the Calvinistic bearing of some of the Articles of the Church. It is now clearly ascertained, owing to the indefatigable and learned labours of those exemplary prelates, Tomline, Marsh, and others, that whatever the *language* of the Articles may be, their *sense* is to be construed in favour of Arminianism. This is most consolatory, as the doctrine of predestination, if insisted on, would exclude the Methodists for ever; and your Lordship must rejoice with me,. that this impediment no longer stands in the way of

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the honest and devout believer in the doctrine of free-will. Happily here the "narrow partition" is broken down.

'The consecration of Methodist chapels is a subject which I cannot pass over in silence. To the importance of this sacred rite your Lordship is quite alive, both from principle and practice. It is of the greatest consequence, whether we view it in connexion with the dignified individuals who perform it, or the unspeakable benefits resulting from it. Although much good has been effected within the unconsecrated walls of plain Methodist chapels, who can answer the interesting inquiry, how much more would have accrued had episcopal consecration been vouchsafed? However, I will not venture on such holy ground, but will leave this matter to your Lordship's devout consideration. Should your Lordship decide on the propriety of consecrating the Methodist chapels, (some of which are mere barns, while others are equal in beauty to any religious structures of the present day,) they trust your Lordship will spare them the infliction of the expense generally connected with such an imposing proceeding, which they understand is about 100*l.* for each chapel. It would cost their humble and insignificant body, at this rate, a sum that would pay for the erection of 400 new chapels; viz. nearly 200,000*l.* There are two decided advantages which would result, but your Lordship and I must acknowledge they are of a temporal kind. The Methodist would be relieved from the expenses attendant on the renewal of trust-deeds, of the pressure of which your Lordship, from your intimate knowledge of Methodism, is fully aware. In the next place, it would enable the Methodists to keep their places of worship in repair, to light, to warm them, and to pay their organists, and a few other trifles, by the convenient provision of the church-rates. This, it is true, would be a great accommodation to the body. I know that the Independents and Baptists have lately evinced much soreness on this point; I ascribe it to nothing but "their ignorant impatience of taxation." I doubt not, my Lord, that you will resist any measure that will tend to deprive the Church of such an equitable, scriptural, and unexceptionable means of support. The Methodists have not joined in the turbulent movement against this time-hallowed impost; and they are, therefore, entitled to your Lordship's most indulgent consideration. What will become of the churches, unless the parishes keep them in repair by a rate compulsorily levied? pp. 7—9.

The Serious Address by a Puritan, breathes the martial spirit of a roundhead of other days. The Writer tenders his advice to 'Christian soldiers on the eve of a tremendous battle', in which he seems longing to mingle for the stir and glory of the strife. His language is: 'Put yourselves in battle array against 'Babylon round about: all ye that bend the bow shoot at her; 'spare no arrows, for she hath sinned against the Lord.' He wishes Dissenters to engage in a new solemn league and covenant 'in the sincere language and doctrine of Prynne's days.' He assures them, that 'they have but one alternative with *any* go-'vernment composed of the English gentry—hatred or con-

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'tempt'; and he therefore wishes, of course, to have a government composed *not* of the gentry, but of whom he does not say. He denounces the Patriot newspaper as a 'Cabinet Gazette',—and represents the Editor as not less out of his sphere than the Duke of Wellington as Chancellor of Oxford, or Lord Brougham in the Chancery Court, or 'a dolphin in a stable'. He sneers at the '*respectable* Dissenters', and laughs at the nickname of Radical. Is this the advice of a friend, or of an enemy in disguise? Is it fanaticism or treachery?

Art. VI. 1. *National Lyrics, and Songs for Music.* By Felicia Hemans. Fcp. pp. 341. Dublin, 1834.

2. *Hymns for Childhood.* By Felicia Hemans. 18mo, 3s. silk.

THE first of these volumes contains, besides a few poems on subjects of national tradition, 'all those of the Author's 'pieces which have, at different periods, been composed either 'in the form of the ballad, the song, or the *scena*, with a view 'to musical adaptation';—now first collected and arranged.

From the poems of Felicia Hemans, might be selected one of the most exquisite volumes in our literature; and to those acquainted only with her happier efforts, it might seem almost impossible that she could write too much. The facility with which she pours forth her liquid song, is astonishing; but wherever that dangerous attribute of talent exists, inequality of success inevitably marks the results. In Mrs. Hemans's poetry, however, there is not simply a more than usual inequality, but, as it strikes us, a difference of style and character so great as to render it difficult to account for its being the production of the same individual. The perfect melody, the well-tuned cadence, the epigrammatic terseness, the deep pathos of some of her lyrical pieces, not only disappear in others, but are replaced by a harsh and unfinished versification, a want of simplicity, and an absence of originality or point in others, that we can only compare the difference to that of a fine instrument in perfect tune and out of tune. We mention this circumstance, because it has almost vexed us to see a name, with which we connect feelings of warm admiration, attached to poetry of a common-place character in the Poet's Corner of newspapers. The effect is like that of hearing a favourite and delicate air tortured and vulgarized by some vile music-grinder in an alley. Mrs. Hemans, however, writes for all tastes and all ages, as well as for all nations, and therefore she may do well to write in all sorts of style and manner. And at all events, she who pleases others so well, may be allowed at times to please herself. Such strains as the following might soothe the ear of Rhadamanthus, and charm Cerberus to slumber.

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'COME TO ME, GENTLE SLEEP.

'Come to me, gentle sleep!
I pine, I pine for thee;
Come with thy spells, the soft, the deep,
And set my spirit free!
Each lonely, burning thought,
In twilight languor steep—
Come to the full heart, long o'erwrought,
O gentle, gentle sleep!

'Come, with thine urn of dew,
Sleep, gentle sleep! yet bring
No voice, love's yearning to renew,
No vision on thy wing!
Come, as to folding flowers,
To birds, in forests deep;
—Long, dark, and dreamless be thine hours,
O gentle, gentle sleep!'

Another specimen of the Author's happy art of setting a simple thought to most sweet and natural music, we take the Song of the Greek Islander, suggested by the anecdote of a Greek, who, on being taken to the Vale of Tempe, and called upon to admire its beauty, only replied—"*The sea*, where is it?"

'WHERE IS THE SEA?

'Where is the sea?—I languish here—
Where is my own blue sea?
With all its barks in fleet career,
And flags and breezes free?

'I miss that voice of waves which first
Awoke my childhood's glee,
The measured chime, the thundering burst—
Where is my own blue sea?

'Oh! rich your myrtle's breath may rise,
Soft, soft your winds may be;
Yet my sick heart within me dies—
Where is my own blue sea?

'I hear the shepherd's mountain flute;
I hear the whispering tree:
The echoes of my heart are mute:
—Where is my own blue sea?'

The sea seems to waft inspiration on its breeze to our Poet. One of her most spirit-stirring and touching poems is an apostrophe to ocean, beginning

'What hidst thou in thy bosom caves, O deep—.'

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'The Meeting of the Ships,' in the present volume, is another favourite of ours; and here is a strain in the Author's highest mood.

'THE VOICE OF THE WAVES.

'WRITTEN NEAR THE SCENE OF A RECENT SHIPWRECK.

'Answer, ye chiming waves!
That now in sunshine sweep;
Speak to me from thy hidden caves,
Voice of the solemn deep!

'Hath man's lone spirit here
With storms in battle striven?
Where all is now so calmly clear,
Hath anguish cried to heaven?

'—Then the sea's voice arose,
Like an earthquake's under-tone:
"Mortal, the strife of human woes
Where hath *not* nature known?

'"Here, to the quivering mast,
Despair hath wildly clung,
The shriek upon the wind hath past,
The midnight sky hath rung.

'"And the youthful and the brave,
With their beauty and renown,
To the holly chambers of the wave
In darkness have gone down.

'"They are vanished from their place—
Let their homes and hearths make moan!
But the rolling waters keep no trace
Of pang or conflict gone."

'—Alas! thou haughty deep!
The strong, the sounding far!
My heart before thee dies,—I weep
To think on what we are!

'To think that so we pass,
High hope, and thought, and mind,
Ev'n as the breath-stain from the glass,
Leaving no sigh behind!

'Saw'st thou nought else, thou main?
Thou and the midnight sky?
Nought save the struggles, brief and vain,
The parting agony!

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'—And the sea's voice replied,
"Here noble things have been!
Power with the valiant when they died,
To sanctify the scene:

'"Courage, in fragile form,
Faith, trusting to the last,
Prayer, breathing heavenwards through the storm;
—But all alike have passed."

'Sound on, thou haughty sea!
These have not passed in vain;
My soul awakes, my hope springs free
On victor wings again.

'*Thou*, from thine empire driven,
May'st vanish with thy powers;
But, by the hearts that here have striven,
A loftier doom is ours.'

Of the Hymns for Childhood—written exclusively for the Author's family circle—we must say, that they are not quite fit for childhood, and they are not strictly hymns, one or two excepted. They are too deficient in simplicity of expression, to be adapted to children, and they have too little of a devotional cast. The Christmas Carol is, we think, the best.

'CHRISTMAS CAROL.

'O lovely voices of the sky,
That hymn'd the Saviour's birth!
Are ye not singing still on high,
Ye that sang, "Peace on earth?"
To us yet speak the strains
Wherewith, in days gone by,
Ye bless'd the Syrian swains,
O voices of the sky!

'O clear and shining light, whose beams
That hour Heaven's glory shed
Around the palms, and o'er the streams,
And on the Shepherds' head;
Be near, through life and death,
As in that holiest night
Of Hope, and Joy, and Faith,
O clear and shining light!

'O star which led to Him, whose love
Brought down man's ransom free;
Where art thou?—'Midst the hosts above,
May we still gaze on thee?—

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In heaven thou art not set,
Thy rays earth might not dim—
Send them to guide us yet!
O star which led to Him!'

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Art. VII.—LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Preparing for publication in occasional 8vo. vols., Archæographia: being a Series of Papers on several Antiquarian and Scientific Subjects relating to, or connected with, the History and Chronology of the Jews, Egyptians, Chaldeans, Greeks, Chinese, and other ancient Nations; the Physical History of the Universe; and the Progress of Religion, Civilisation, and Knowledge. Read before the Royal Society of Literature, published in several Periodical Journals, and others not before promulgated. Including Memoirs on the Hieroglyphic Symbols, and the Chronological Machinery of the Inspired Writings; on the Hieroglyphic Records and Mythology of Egypt, the Destination and Epochs of the Pyramids, the Spheres, Zodiacs, and Calendars of the Ancients, the Arrow-head Inscriptions and Monuments of Babylon and Persepolis; together with Tests for the solution of several Problems in Sacred and Profane History and Institutions, and in Science as connected with Revelation; a restoration of the Historical Canons of the Proto-chonographer Julius Africanus; and other Subjects connected with the History of Man and of Nature. By Isaac Cullimore, M.R.S.L.

Silvio Pellico, whose "Ten Years' Imprisonment" excited so deep an interest in the public mind, has just published a Treatise on the Duties of Men, which is now in a course of translation by Mr. T. Roscoe, Author of "The Landscape Annual," &c. &c. who has added a Life of Pellico, drawn up from authentic sources, and embodying the additions to the "imprisonment," by his friend and fellow-prisoner, Maroncelli; embellished with a portrait of Pellico, and a view of the Castle of Spielberg.

In the press, and shortly will be published, Six Lectures on the Atheistic Controversy; delivered at Sion Chapel, Bradford, by the Rev. B. Godwin, Author of Lectures on Colonial Slavery. Forming the first part of a course of Lectures on Infidelity.

In the press, An Original Essay on Primitive Preaching. By John Petherick, Minister of the Gospel, Totnes.

Preparing for publication, Remains of the late Alexander Knox, Esq. of Dublin; containing Letters and Essays on the Doctrines and Philosophy of Christianity, and the distinctive character of the Church of England.

Preparing for the Press, under the direction of his Executors, a uniform Edition of the Works of the Rev. Daniel Isaac, including his latest corrections, and several Posthumous Treatises, never before published: together with a Memoir of his Life.

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Shortly will appear, in Three Volumes, post 8vo., The Danger of Intemperance, exemplified in the Life, surprising Adventures, and awful death of Marianne Murlowe, written by herself to a late period, and continued after her decease by the Editor.

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Art. VIII. WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

BIOGRAPHY.

Life and Correspondence of Henry Salt, esq., F.R.S., his Brittannic Majesty's late Consul-General in Egypt. By John James Halls, Esq. 2 vols. 8vo.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Remarks on Transportation, and on a recent Defence of the System; in a second Letter to Earl Grey. By Richard Whately, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin. 8vo. 6*s*.

POETRY.

The Poetical Works of S. T. Coleridge, Esq. (This edition contains many new poems, and is uniformly printed with the Aldine edition of the British Poets.) Vol. I. to be completed in three volumes. fcap. 8vo. 5*s*.

POLITICAL ECONOMY.

Lectures on Political Economy, delivered in Trinity and Michaelmas Terms, 1833. By Mountifort Longfield, LL.D., Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, and Professor of Political Economy. 8vo. 6*s*.

Report from His Majesty's Commissioners for inquiring into the Administration and Practical Operation of the Poor Laws. Published by authority. In one large vol. 8vo, bound in cloth, 2*s*. 6*d*.

THEOLOGY.

A Series of Lay Sermons on Good Principles and Good Breeding. By the Ettrick Shepherd. 1 vol. 12mo.

An Argument to prove the Truth of the Christian Revelation. By the Earl of Rosse. 8vo. 10*s*. 6*d*.

The Improved Version truly designated a Creed: a Letter to the Rev. James Yates, M.A., Secretary to the Unitarian Association; containing an Examination of his Defence of the Improved Version, in his "Letter to the Vice Chancellor" respecting Lady Hewley's Trust. By Robert Halley, Highbury College. 8vo.

The Ultimate Object of Evangelical Dissenters avowed and advocated. A Sermon preached at the King's Weigh-House, London, previous to notice being given that Petitions to Parliament for the Removal of Dissenters' Grievances would lie for Signature in the Vestry during the Week. By Thomas Binney. 8vo. 1*s*.

Ecclesiastical Establishments indefensible, and the continued separation of English Dissenters from the Episcopal Church justifiable. A Reply to a Pamphlet by the Rev. W. Hull, entitled, "Ecclesiastical Establishments not inconsistent with Christianity. By J. B. Innes. 8vo. 2*s*. 6*d*.

TRAVELS.

Journal of three Voyages along the Coast of China in 1831-2 and 1833. With Notices of Siam, Corea, and the Loo Choo Islands. By Charles Gutzlaff. With an Introductory Essay, by the Rev. W. Ellis, Author of "Polynesian Researches", &c. 1 Vol. Post 8vo. 12*s*.

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THE ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR JUNE, 1834.

Art. I. *African Sketches.* By Thomas Pringle. 12mo., pp. 528. Price 10*s.* 6*d.* London, 1834.

THE name of Thomas Pringle cannot be unknown to any of our readers; and wherever it is known, it will vouch for the modest and substantial worth of the volume to which it is prefixed. The title of this work does not specifically describe its contents; but it will be surmised by those who are acquainted with the Author's former productions, that these Sketches are *South* African. We are in want of a geographical term to describe the region of the Cape Colony and what has been barbarously denominated Caffraria; *i. e.* pagan-land. But, till a better is found, we must be content to use the term South Africa in the specific sense in which it is usually employed to denote the territory of the Cape Colony. These, then, are South African Sketches, historical and descriptive, in prose and in verse; sketches of scenery, natural history, aboriginal customs, colonial manners, emigrant adventures, and missionary establishments.

The first part of this volume, occupying 114 pages, consists of 'poems illustrative of South Africa.' Part II. is a narrative of the Author's residence in that country, comprising not merely a story of personal adventures, but the history of a settlement, from its foundation in the wilderness till, after struggling through various difficulties and discouragements, it has attained a considerable degree of prosperity. The narrative supplies also, incidentally, some instructive notices of the political history of the Colony, which is becoming every day more important in a national point of view. We need not say, then, that the volume is one of no ordinary interest: it deserves a place in every family library.

Before we proceed to give some further account of its contents, it will be proper to let the reader know why the narrative has been withheld for several years after the Author's return to

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Europe. His intention was, to publish it directly; and several of the poems, as well as a few of the prose sketches, have from time to time appeared in print*.

'But, having become unexpectedly engaged in the prosecution of a great moral and political question, as secretary to the Society for the Abolition of Slavery throughout the British Dominions, he was led to postpone, though he never entirely abandoned, his purpose of relating what he had seen, felt, and suffered, during a residence of six years in South Africa. The grand and engrossing object to which, for the last seven years, his hand and heart have been, however feebly and unworthily, devoted, having at length, through the blessing of Divine Providence, been attained, the Author now offers this little volume as the first fruits of his relaxation. It will, he humbly trusts, be found in no respect incongruous with his recent labours, and, so far as it relates to the condition and improvement of the long-oppressed natives of Southern Africa, even strictly subsidiary to the same cause.'

In fact, as regards the West India Colonies, the cause of humanity has triumphed, and the struggle of the philanthropist has been crowned with a success which requires only to be consummated by the labours of the Christian teacher. In South Africa, slavery has indeed been abolished, but much remains to be done in the equitable settlement of our relations with the native tribes, and in the total suppression of the atrocious commando system, which rivals the old slave-trade itself in turpitude; while a wide field opens before the philanthropist, in the condition of the interesting tribes that are inviting civilization, and among whom Christianity has already commenced her beneficent conquests.

In pursuance of a plan formed by the Home Government to colonize the Caffer frontier, in 1819, a free passage was offered to emigrants from this country, upon certain conditions. The most flattering picture was drawn of the natural attractions and resources of the country, in some clever articles put forth in the Admiralty Review; and contingent advantages of a tempting nature were held out to emigrants on their arrival. Five thousand British settlers, lured by these specious representations, entered into engagements to proceed thither †. Among these was a party of Scottish agriculturists, including the family of the Pringles, of whom our Author was, *pro tempore*, the head or leader. In emigrating to the Cape, he had in view, he tells us, two special objects.

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* See a review of the Author's "Ephemerides," (12mo, 1828,) in Eclectic Review, Vol. xxix., p. 343.

† The total number of persons who made application to the Colonial Department, with a view to emigrating to South Africa, is stated to have exceeded 80,000 souls.

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'One of these was to collect again into one social circle, and establish in rural independence, my father's family, which untoward circumstances had broken up and begun to scatter over the world. To accomplish this, emigration to a new colony was indispensable. My father had been a Roxburghshire farmer of the most respectable class; and all his sons (five in number) had been bred to the same profession, except myself. The change of times, however, and the loss of capital, had completely overclouded their prospects in our native country; and, therefore, when the Government scheme of colonising the unoccupied territory at the Cape was promulgated, I called their attention to that colony, and offered to accompany them, should they determine to proceed thither as settlers. After maturely weighing the advantages of the Cape, as compared with other British colonies, they made their election, and empowered me to apply on their behalf to the Colonial Department. As it was required by the Government plan that every party should comprise at least ten adult males, one party, related to my wife, and two or three other respectable individuals, were associated with us. And thus our little band of twenty-four souls was made up; consisting of twelve men, (including three farm servants,) six women and six children.

'My personal views were different from those of my relatives. I had received a collegiate education; and had been employed for about a dozen years in the service of his Majesty's Commissioners on the Ancient Records of the Kingdom, in the office of my esteemed friend, Mr. Thomson, Deputy Clerk-Register of Scotland. I had also been recently engaged to a certain extent in literary concerns; having been one of the original projectors and editors of Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, (then a *liberal*, though not a *party* journal,) and afterwards of Constable's Magazine. My connection with these journals, however, had rather been prejudicial than otherwise to my views in life, and had given me, moreover, a decided aversion to literature, (or, at least, to Periodical Literature,) as a profession. Under these circumstances, I determined to embark my own fortunes with those of my relatives, in the Government scheme of South-African colonisation. But as neither my pecuniary circumstances nor my previous habits rendered it advisable for me to locate myself as an agricultural settler, I trusted to obtain, through the recommendation of powerful friends, some moderate appointment, suitable to my qualifications, in the civil service of the colony, and probably in the newly settled district.

'Having explained these views to my respected friend, Sir Walter Scott, in the autumn of 1819, that illustrious and benevolent man entered into them with his characteristic cordiality and promptitude. He immediately wrote to some of his ministerial friends in London, in behalf of myself and my party of emigrants, and obtained our ready admission among those selected by Government for the new settlement from the vast multitude of applicants. He also exerted himself with the utmost zeal to obtain an appointment for myself in the colony; and when I came up to London, in November, 1819, to make arrangements for our embarkation, he furnished me with strong letters of recommendation to persons of influence, whose intervention in my behalf he hoped to render effectual. These exertions procured me a

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letter of recommendation from Mr. Goulburn, then Colonial Secretary, to the Governor of the colony, Lord Charles Somerset; with an assurance that his Excellency, to whose disposal all appointments, except a very few of the highest grade, were intrusted, would be prepared to give the most favourable attention to my wishes.' pp. 119—122.

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The name of that virtuous scion of the House of Beaufort, had not then acquired the unenviable notoriety which has since converted the appellation of a Lord Charles into a generic term of well understood significance; and little did our Author anticipate that he was about to commit himself to an unequal contest with a governor in whose eyes the establishment of a press was a crime, and the very suspicion of a leaning to Whiggism sufficient cause for him to determine on the ruin of the unconscious offender. Had Mr. Pringle known the character of the man to whose arbitrary and venal sway the Colony was at this time unhappily consigned, he would never have set his foot on the shores of the Cape. But it is well for South Africa, and upon the whole for himself, that he was not in possession of the knowledge which would have deterred him from the adventure. The circumstances which at first wore the character of misfortunes, have been overruled for much good. The victim of unmerited persecution has been nobly revenged. Lord Charles sent home to the Anti-Slavery Society an invaluable secretary, who has not deserted the cause of South Africa, but has advocated it more powerfully and successfully here, than he could have done as Government librarian, or as the Editor of a Cape journal. And now, who is the happier, who the greater man; Thomas Pringle or Lord Charles Somerset? The one, though far from wealthy, stands ennobled in the estimation of his countrymen: the other has fallen into popular contempt, and even Toryism is ashamed of its nursling and determined votary.

But we are forestalling the course of events. For two years, one Author was peacefully occupied with laying the foundations of the settlement in Glen Lynden. Before proceeding to their appointed location, the party, on the 6th of June, 1820, 'assisted 'at laying the foundation of the first house of a new town at Al-'goa Bay, designated by Sir Rufane Donkin, (the acting Go-'vernor,) "Port Elizabeth," after the name of his deceased 'lady.'

'In the course of fourteen years, this place has grown up to be the second town in the colony, both for population and for commerce; and it is still rapidly increasing. Captain Moresby, of the navy, was the proprietor of the house then founded with much ceremony, and of which our party assisted to dig the foundation. The only other house then commenced, excepting some temporary offices and cabins, was one erecting by a Malay named Fortuin, now, I understand, one of the wealthiest and most respectable inhabitants of the place.' p. 139.

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His very name seems to have been a good omen.—The location to which at length the party proceeded, was a valley watered by one of the smaller branches of the Great Fish River, formerly known under the name of Baboon's River, but which received from the settlers the name of the Lynden. The rugged glen which it waters, is about thirty miles in extent. The upper part had never been permanently settled, but had formerly been occupied as grazing ground by a few Dutch boors, who ranked among the most rude and lawless of the colony, and who had been dispossessed, and some of them executed for high treason, about five years before. The wild and savage scenery must have somewhat appalled the party who were about to make it their home, although it forms a pleasing picture in description.

'Leaving a subsidiary glen on our right,' says the Author, 'we proceeded up the River of Baboons. To this point the wagon track, wild and rugged as it was, might be considered comparatively safe and in good repair; but it now became difficult and dangerous to a degree far exceeding any thing we had yet encountered or formed a conception of; insomuch that we were literally obliged to *hew* out our path up the valley through jungles and gullies, and beds of torrents, and rocky acclivities, forming altogether a series of obstructions which it required the utmost exertions of the whole party, and of our experienced African allies, to overcome.

'The scenery through which we passed was, in many places, of the most picturesque and singular description. Sometimes the valley widened out, leaving space along the river side for fertile meadows, or *haughs*, (as such spots are called in the south of Scotland,) prettily sprinkled over with mimosa-trees and evergreen shrubs, and clothed with luxuriant pasturage up to the bellies of our oxen. Frequently the mountains, again converging, left only a narrow defile, just broad enough for the stream to find a passage; while precipices of naked rock rose abruptly, like the walls of a rampart, to the height of many hundred feet, and in some places appeared absolutely to overhang the savage-looking pass or *poort*, through which we and our wagons struggled below; our only path being occasionally the rocky bed of the shallow river itself, encumbered with huge blocks of stone which had fallen from the cliffs, or worn smooth as a marble pavement by the sweep of the torrent floods. At this period, the River of Baboons was a mere rill, gurgling gently along its rugged course, or gathered here and there into natural tanks, called in the language of the country *zeekoe-gats* (hippopotamus pools); but the remains of water-wrack, heaved high on the cliffs, or hanging upon the tall willow-trees, which in many places fringed the banks, afforded striking proof that at certain seasons this diminutive rill becomes a mighty and resistless flood. The steep hills on either side often assumed very remarkable shapes—embattled, as it were, with natural ramparts of freestone or trap rock—and seemingly garrisoned with troops of the large baboons from which the river had received its former Dutch appellation. The lower declivities were covered with good pasturage, and sprinkled over

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with evergreens and acacias; while the cliffs that overhung the river had their wrinkled fronts embellished with various species of succulent plants and flowering aloes. In other spots, the freestone and basaltic rocks, partially worn away with the waste of years, had assumed shapes the most singular and grotesque; so that, with a little aid from fancy, one might imagine them the ruins of Hindoo or Egyptian temples, with their half-decayed obelisks, columns, and statues of monster deities.

'It were tedious to relate the difficulties, perils, and adventures, which we encountered in our toilsome march, of *five days*, up this African glen; to tell of our pioneering labours with the hatchet, the pick-axe, the crow-bar, and the sledge-hammer,—and the lashing of the poor oxen, to force them on (sometimes 20 or 30 in one team) through such a track as no English reader can form any adequate conception of. In the upper part of the valley, we were occupied two entire days in thus *hewing* our way through a rugged defile, now called Eildon-Cleugh, scarcely three miles in extent. At length, after extraordinary exertions and hair-breadth escapes—the breaking down of two wagons, and the partial damage of others—we got through the last *poort* of the glen, and found ourselves on the summit of an elevated ridge, commanding a view of the extremity of the valley. "And now, mynheer," said the Dutch-African field-cornet who commanded our escort, "*daar leg uwe veld*—there lies your country." Looking in the direction where he pointed, we beheld, extending to the northward, a beautiful vale, about six or seven miles in length, and varying from one to two in breadth. It appeared like a verdant basin, or *cul de sac*, surrounded on all sides by an amphitheatre of steep and sterile mountains, rising in the back-ground into sharp cuneiform ridges of very considerable elevation; their summits being at this season covered with snow, and estimated to be from 4000 to 5000 feet above the level of the sea. The lower declivities were sprinkled over, though somewhat scantily, with grass and bushes. But the bottom of the valley, through which the infant river meandered, presented a warm, pleasant, and secluded aspect; spreading itself into verdant meadows, sheltered and embellished, without being encumbered, with groves of mimosa-trees, among which we observed in the distance herds of wild animals—antelopes and quaggas—pasturing in undisturbed quietude.

'"Sae that's the lot o' our inheritance, then?" quoth one of the party, a Scottish agriculturist. "Aweel, now that we've really got till't, I maun say the place looks no sae mickle amiss, and may suit our purpose no that ill, provided thae haughs turn out to be gude deep land for the pleugh, and we can but contrive to find a decent road out o' this queer hieland glen into the lowlands—like ony other Christian country."

'Descending into the middle of the valley, we unyoked the wagons, and pitched our tents in a grove of mimosa-trees on the margin of the river; and the next day, our armed escort with the train of shattered vehicles set out on their return homeward, leaving us in our wild domain to our own courage and resources.' pp. 150—152.

They reached their location on the 29th of June, 1820, exactly

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six months from the day on which they had embarked at Leith. The next day but one was Sunday; and the Author's description of the first Sabbath spent by this respectable band of Scottish emigrants in the wilderness, is extremely touching.

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'Feeling deeply the importance of maintaining the suitable observance of this day of sacred rest, it was unanimously resolved that we should strictly abstain from all secular employment not sanctioned by absolute necessity, and at the same time commence such a system of religious services as might be with propriety maintained in the absence of a clergyman or minister. The whole party were accordingly assembled after breakfast, under a venerable acacia-tree, on the margin of the little stream which murmured around our camp. The river appeared shaded here and there by the graceful willow of Babylon, which grows abundantly along the banks of many of the African streams, and which, with the other peculiar features of the scenery, vividly reminded us of the pathetic lament of the Hebrew exiles:—"By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat; yea, we wept when we remembered Zion. We hanged our harps upon the willows in the midst thereof."

'It was, indeed, an affecting sight, to look round on our little band of Scottish emigrants, thus congregated for the first time to worship God in the wild glen allotted for their future home and the heritage of their offspring. There sat old ———, with his silvery locks, the patriarch of the party, with his Bible on his knee,—a picture of the high-principled, grave Scottish husbandman; his respectable family seated round him. There was the widow ———, with her meek, kind, and quiet look—(the look of one who had seen better days, but who in adversity had found pious resignation), with her three stalwart sons, and her young maiden daughter placed beside her on the grass. There, too, were others, delicate females—one of them very nearly related to myself—of whom I need not more particularly speak. There was ———, the younger brother of a Scottish laird, rich in blood, but poor in fortune, who, with an estimable pride, had preferred a farm in South Africa, to dependence on aristocratic connexions at home. Looking round on these collected groupes, on this day of solemn assemblage, such reflections as the following irresistibly crowded on my mind: "Have I led forth from their native homes, to this remote corner of the globe, all these my friends and relatives for good or for evil?—to perish miserably in the wilderness, or to become the honoured founders of a prosperous settlement, destined to extend the benefits of civilisation, and the blessed light of the Gospel through this dark nook of benighted Africa? The issue of our enterprise is known only to Him who ordereth all things well: 'Man proposes, but God disposes.' But though the result of our scheme is in the womb of futurity, and although it seems probable that greater perils and privations await us than we had once calculated upon, there yet appears no reason to repent of the course we have taken, or to augur unfavourably of the ultimate issue. Thus far Providence has prospered and protected us. We left not our native land from wanton restlessness or mere love of change, or without very sufficient and reasonable motives. Let us,

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therefore, go on calmly and courageously, duly invoking the blessing of God on all our proceedings; and thus, be the result what it may, we shall feel ourselves in the path of active duty." With these and similar reflections we encouraged ourselves, and proceeded to the religious services of the day.

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'Having selected one of the hymns of our national church, all united in singing it to one of the old pathetic melodies with which it is usually conjoined in the sabbath worship of our native land. The day was bright and still, and the voice of psalms rose with a sweet and touching solemnity among those wild mountains, where the praise of the true God had never, in all human probability, been sung before. The words of the hymn (composed by Logan) were appropriate to our situation, and affected some of our congregation very sensibly:—

"O God of Bethel! by whose hand thy people still are fed;
Who through this weary pilgrimage hast all our fathers led:
Through each perplexing path of life our wandering footsteps guide;
Give us each day our daily bread, and raiment fit provide: ....
O! spread thy covering wings around, till all our wanderings cease,
And at our Father's loved abode our souls arrive in peace."

'We then read some of the most suitable portions of the English Liturgy, which we considered preferable to any extempore service that could be substituted on this occasion; and concluded with an excellent discourse from a volume of sermons presented to me on parting by a revered relative, the Rev. Dr. Pringle of Perth. We had a similar service in the afternoon; and agreed to maintain in this manner the public worship of God in our infant settlement, until it should please Him, in his good providence, to privilege it with the ecclesiastical dispensation of religious ordinances.

'While we were singing our last psalm in the afternoon, an antelope (*oribi*), which appeared to have wandered down the valley without observing us, stood for a little while on the opposite side of the rivulet, gazing at us in innocent amazement, as if yet unacquainted with man, the great destroyer. On this day of peace, it was, of course, permitted to depart unmolested.

'On this and other occasions, the scenery and productions of the country reminded us in the most forcible manner of the imagery of the Hebrew Scriptures. The parched and thorny desert—the rugged and stony mountains—the dry beds of torrents—"the green pastures by the quiet waters"—"the lions' dens"—"the mountains of leopards"—"the roes and the young harts (antelopes) that feed among the lilies"—"the coney of the rocks"—"the ostrich of the wilderness"—"the shadow of a great rock in a weary land"; these, and a thousand other objects, with the striking and appropriate descriptions which accompany them, recurred to us continually with a sense of their beauty and aptitude which we had never fully felt before.' pp. 155—57.

A series of brief notes transcribed from the Author's MS. journal, comprising the 'short and simple annals' of the infant colony for several months, will enable his readers to form a tolerably distinct and correct idea of 'life in the wilds;' of which

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the description given by Miss Martineau in her first Tale, will be found closely to correspond to the actual history. The first business was the construction of huts and household furniture; next, the purchase of live stock, the cultivation of garden ground, and the clearing of land for tillage. Our Author's *chef d'œuvre* was the construction of a parish oven, scooped out of a huge ant-hill under an old mimosa, and plastered and paved within: it served all the hamlet to bake all their household bread in for a couple of years. To his other occupations, he was obliged occasionally to add that of *doctor*, by help of a small medicine chest and the lancet, which he had learned to use on the passage .' In ' a similar limited and provisional capacity,' continues Mr. Pringle, ' I ventured to assume the office of religious instructor to the ' poor ignorant natives placed under my temporary direction.'

' Having, with the aid of a grammar and dictionary, made myself, since our arrival at Algoa Bay, so far acquainted with the Dutch language, (now universally spoken by the colonial Hottentots,) that I could converse in it on familiar topics, and read the scriptures with tolerable fluency; I added, for the benefit of our Hottentot guard, a Sunday service in Dutch to our usual one in English. This service was of a very simple character; being confined to the reading and exposition of plain passages of Scripture, and of a short sermon or tract; some devotional portions of the liturgy used by the Dutch Reformed Church; and the singing of one or two hymns. Limited as were our ministrations in this way, they had a very pleasing effect. They were attended to with an earnestness which it was not less affecting than gratifying to witness. To two or three Hottentots (mulattoes) who could read a little, I presented Dutch New Testaments, which were received with the most lively feeling of thankfulness; and which they were afterwards observed to be often reading, or spelling out, to their comrades. Several of them frequently came, at other leisure times, voluntarily to solicit further instruction; and one poor fellow, to whom my wife had given a New Testament, several months afterwards sent her, from his master's place, a hundred miles distant, the present of a milch-goat with twin kids, as a testimony of his gratitude.

' I thus found myself all at once, and not a little to my own surprise, performing the novel and somewhat incongruous functions of a sort of civil and military officer, of a medical practitioner, religious instructor, engineer, architect, gardener, plasterer, cabinet-maker, and, I might add, *tinker*. In short, I was driven to do the best I could in the peculiar position in which circumstances had placed me; and when (as was frequently the case) my own knowledge and the experience of others failed me, I was obliged to trust to "mother-wit."

' About this period, we were somewhat teased by Sunday visits from our Dutch-African neighbours of the lower part of the Glen-Lynden valley and the Tarka. Solicitous to keep upon friendly terms with these people, I always made it a point to receive them courteously, and usually asked them to dine with me. But finding that they made a practice of visiting us on Sundays, either to gratify idle curiosity or

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with a view to commercial dealings, I fell upon a scheme which effectually relieved us from this annoyance. I took care to acquaint them that it was contrary to our principles to transact secular business on the Sunday; and when any of them came, I offered them a seat among my Hottentot audience, and invited them to read aloud the Sunday Service. Few of them, I found, could read even the New Testament without much stammering and spelling; and they considered it, moreover, a shocking degradation to sit down amidst a groupe of Hottentots. We were therefore speedily relieved altogether from their Sunday visitations. In other respects, we found them generally, however uncultivated, by no means disagreeable neighbours. They were exceedingly shrewd at bargain-making, it is true, and too sharp sometimes even for cautious Scotchmen; but they were also generally civil and good natured; and, according to the custom of the country, extremely hospitable. On the whole, their demeanour towards *us*, whom they might be supposed naturally to regard with exceeding jealousy, if not dislike, was far more friendly and obliging than could, under all the circumstances, have been readily anticipated.'

pp. 168—170.

Variations of weather, a visit from neighbouring boors, or from the wild animals, a packet from the coast, containing despatches from the Colonial Secretary, or letters and newspapers from Scotland,—were the most remarkable occurrences during the first months of the settlement, with the grievous exception of the destruction of the ripening corn by a mildew. For several successive years, the wheat crops of the settlers were almost totally destroyed by blight, which was a great discouragement; but, as the Government, in consequence of this calamity, continued to supply them with rations of flour for six months beyond the time originally stipulated, the party did not in the first instance suffer from it any material privation. The year 1821 opened, however, rather gloomily at Glen Lynden.

'In the first place, the whole of our wheat crops were destroyed by the *rust* or mildew. Then a severe drought, which had commenced in December, lasted more than three months; so that the pastures were parched up; the river ceased to flow, except near its sources; the irrigation of our gardens and orchards was interrupted, and many of the young trees and other plants destroyed. About the same time we received information that the party of 500 Highlanders, who were expected out to occupy the country between us and the new Caffer frontier, had, in consequence of some untoward circumstances, entirely abandoned their intention of emigrating to the Cape; and, to crown our disappointments, the melancholy intelligence soon afterwards reached us, that the other Scottish party, which sailed from the Clyde on the 13th of October, 1820, had perished miserably near the equator, by their vessel (the Abeona transport) being destroyed by fire. Out of 140 of these unfortunate emigrants, only sixteen souls escaped; who, being picked up in their boats by a vessel homeward bound, had returned to Scotland. These concurrent disasters, crowding upon us

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all at once, greatly disheartened most of our party; and I was urged by some of them to apply to the Government to remove us to Albany, since, owing to the failure of the other Scottish parties, we would otherwise be left quite isolated among the rude Dutch-African Boors, on this remote and exposed part of the frontier. I prevailed upon all the families, however, to give the place a longer trial; and the discontinuance of the drought in the end of March, together with the arrival of a corporal and five men of the Cape Corps (Hottentot soldiers), whom, at my request, the acting governor had kindly sent for the protection of our settlement, in lieu of the district Hottentots, contributed not a little to the restoration of confidence and satisfaction.'

pp. 200, 201.

In June, Mr. Pringle met the Acting Governor, Sir Rufane Donkin, (Lord Charles being absent from the Colony,) who was making a circuit through the eastern province, and found him disposed to remedy to the utmost of his power the disadvantages under which the settlers laboured in consequence of these disappointments. He kindly offered to remove the party, if they desired it, to Albany, or any other situation; but, as they had now made up their minds to remain at Glen-Lynden, Mr. P. obtained, in lieu of this, an enlargement of their location to 20,000 acres. This was more than they could immediately occupy or adequately stock, but not more than, in that part of the country, was absolutely requisite for the complete establishment of eight or ten substantial farmers. Their situation at the close of the year is thus described.

'The rations of flour, &c. were discontinued at the close of 1821; but as our wheat crops had succeeded pretty well this season, and we had now got a competent share of live stock on our farms, we ran no risk of wanting at least the *necessaries* of life. We killed our own beef and mutton; we had milk, butter, and cheese; we reared abundance of poultry; we cultivated with success potatoes, pumpkins, melons, with almost all the ordinary esculent vegetables, and some not known in Europe. We learned from our Dutch-African neighbours to make our own soap and candles; and to manufacture from the skins of our sheep and goats, tanned with mimosa bark, excellent leather for jackets and trousers—and which supplied a sort of clothing well adapted for a country full of thorny trees and jungles. All that we had occasion to purchase, therefore, were a few *luxuries*—such as tea, coffee, sugar, wine, spices, &c. We usually got a sufficient quantity at a time, from Cape Town, or Algoa Bay, to last us a considerable period; but once or twice, our old stock being exhausted before the new arrived, we found ourselves entirely destitute of the most important of these articles—tea and sugar, of which neither Cradock nor Somerset then afforded a regular supply.

'We were once subjected to a more serious privation. In the summer of 1821-22, we were again visited by a severe drought, which endured so long that at length our little river ceased to flow; and,

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although we had enough of water in permanent pools and fountains for ourselves and our cattle to drink, we could not get our wheat ground into flour, in consequence of all the mills on the river being stopped for want of water, and were soon left without bread. As all our neighbours were nearly in the same situation, we could neither borrow nor purchase. Our Dutch-African neighbours and our Hottentot servants took the matter very quietly. They could live very well on mutton and boiled corn, they said, for a month or two, till rain fell. Indeed, many of them in the arid back country live entirely on animal food and milk, without either bread or vegetables. But it was different with us: we felt the want of *bread* as a grievous privation. For a week or two we made a shift to grind a daily supply with our coffee mill; but this at length also failed. The iron handle was repeatedly broken; and though I had enough of smith's or tinker's craft to repair it twice, the third fracture was beyond my skill; and we were then reduced to grind, or rather to bruise, our corn, by crushing a few grains at a time with a round stone upon a flat one. By this tedious process we procured a small cake or two daily; and with this we were forced to content ourselves, until we could obtain a supply of flour from Somerset. This was a *real* privation: but, after all, I must not forbear to add, that these same cakes, baked of coarse meal ground between two stones, and occasionally of my own grinding, made the sweetest bread, I think, I ever tasted.' pp. 242, 3.

At the close of the second year, in July, 1822, the state of the little settlement was, on the whole, prosperous.

'The first difficulties had been surmounted; the severest privations were past. A crop, though a somewhat scanty one, of wheat and barley, had been reaped. The gardens were well stocked with vegetables. The flocks and herds were considerable in number, and gradually increasing. The necessaries of life were secured; comforts and conveniences were slowly accumulating. The several families had all obtained Hottentot servants; and, being now familiarised to the country and its various inhabitants, had begun to feel quite at home on their respective farms.

'Among other improvements, the frightful road down the glen had been so far repaired and ameliorated, that wagons could now travel on it, if not with ease, at least without imminent danger. This had been accomplished by the vigorous voluntary labours of the party, assisted by our Mulatto tenants, for two months; the Colonial Government having, at my request, relieved for one year our coloured allies from all other public services, in consideration of their aid in this enterprise. It may be worth while to mention that, in accomplishing this arduous work, we overcame one of the chief difficulties—the removal of the enormous blocks of stone which frequently obstructed the only practicable line of road—not by the aid of blowing-irons, but by the joint application of fire and water. This process, which we learnt from the Hottentots, consisted simply in kindling a large fire of wood upon and around the mass of rock we wished to get rid of, and, when it was well heated, to sweep off the fire, and dash suddenly upon it several buckets-

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full of cold water,—which, by causing an instantaneous change of temperature in the mass, generally split it, if it lay in an isolated position, into a number of manageable fragments.

'Our guard of six Hottentot soldiers was withdrawn by the Colonial Government in January; but, as we were now well strengthened by our Mulatto tenantry, we could dispense with military support. Hitherto we had neither suffered actual damage, nor been disturbed by any serious alarm, from our wild neighbours to the eastward, although several of the Boors on the Tarka and Great Fish River had been recently subjected to their depredations. Our only intercourse with the Caffer tribes had consisted in one or two amicable visits which a few of them, chiefly females, had paid us, in search of employment, and whom, in obedience to the colonial regulations at that time, we had sent back to their own country under an escort.

'In July, 1822, my eldest brother arrived with his family and some other relatives from Scotland; and, having placed in his possession the farm of Eildon, which I had occupied for the last nine months, I prepared myself to proceed to Cape Town, in order to occupy a situation to which I had been appointed by the Colonial Government.

'I have mentioned in the commencement of this narrative the nature of my aims and expectations in emigrating to the Cape. One of my chief objects, the establishment of my father's family in rural independence, had been fully accomplished. Towards the rest of the party, also, I had now fulfilled the duties which I undertook when I became their leader and representative. All that I could do to promote their prosperity had been done, so far at least as depended upon my residence on the location. A longer residence there could do little to benefit my own family. Land, without adequate capital to occupy it, was scarcely of any value; and my pecuniary means were too slender either to purchase sufficient stock or procure effective labour. I had, therefore, from the commencement of our enterprise, regarded farming, under my peculiar circumstances, as a resource only to be resorted to in the event of my failing to obtain some suitable employment under Government.

'The situation to which I had been appointed was that of librarian of the Government Library at Cape Town; an excellent institution, established principally by the exertions of Colonel Bird, the Secretary to Government. This charge had been offered me by the governor, Lord Charles Somerset, some time after his return to the colony in the close of 1821, in consequence of the interest exerted in my behalf in Downing-street, by Sir Walter Scott, Sir John Macpherson, and other influential friends. As regards emolument, indeed, the appointment was but an humble one; the salary being only 1000 rix dollars—or about £75 sterling. But the duties were not very onerous, and were peculiarly adapted to my tastes and habits. I was not unaware of the inadequacy of the income for the support of a family in so expensive a place as Cape Town; but I was encouraged to hope that, by means of the press, I might be enabled to realise a competent income for my family, and at the same time to benefit my fellow-colonists by the diffusion of useful information.' pp. 289—292.

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We have passed over the accounts given of various excursions through the adjacent country, and a very delightful chapter devoted to anecdotes of African wild sports, and descriptions of the wild animals. For these we refer our readers to the volume itself. On the 25th of September, the Author reached Cape Town, where, with a short interval, he remained till February 1825. This was by far the busiest and most eventful portion of the six years which he spent in South Africa. The narrative, however, is compressed into a single chapter,—a melancholy, but instructive one. The system of tyranny and terror to which our Author became a victim, has happily been abolished; but that such things were, ought not to be forgotten.

Ruined in circumstances and in prospects, but sound in conscience and character, Mr. Pringle had no alternative but to return to Glen Lynden, where he had the satisfaction of finding his relatives in tolerably prosperous circumstances,—much more so than the Albany settlers whom he visited on his route. In spite of occasional ravages from rust and locusts, they had saved abundance of wheat for their own consumption, and had some to spare for the market. Their flocks and herds had continued to thrive and increase. Some of the settlers were now lodged in comfortable dwellings. The Author's brother had erected a commodious farm cottage of stone and brick, with a chimney in the chief apartment; the first chimney that yet had been built in the subdistrict; and his own bee-hive cabin, which he had himself constructed, he found transformed into a kitchen! The remaining chapters of the narrative are principally occupied with interesting details relating to the native tribes of Bushmen, Caffers, and Hottentots,—the commando system,—the border conflicts,—the emancipating ordinance of 1828,—the progress of Christian missions in South Africa,—and the changes gradually effected in the colonial administration and policy. On these topics, a mass of valuable information is brought before the reader; and the Author's suggestions with regard to the future system of policy relating to the native tribes, which humanity and the interests of the colony alike recommend, will, we hope, obtain the attention they deserve, as coming from one so competent, from practical knowledge, to form a correct opinion.

'Restore to such of the frontier chiefs as have equitable claims upon it, all that is not irretrievably alienated of the Neutral or Ceded Territory. They will gratefully receive it on our own terms. Give it back to them, to be held of the Colonial Government, and settled on a plan somewhat analogous to that of the Kat River; reserving, however, to the chiefs certain rights of seigniory over the respective domains allotted to their clans, such as would enable them to maintain their hereditary rank and influence, without having the power of oppressing their vassals. This would tend to preserve the native aristo-

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cracy of the country and the existing relations of society, and would greatly promote order and good government. These *Colonial* Chiefs might be appointed field-commandants over their respective clans; and the whole of the settlements, including the Kat River, might be placed under a magistrate carefully selected for that office, and who ought to be a person friendly to the native race, and well acquainted with their character, habits, and usages. These Caffer settlers, after a probationary period, might be entrusted with fire-arms, in the same manner as the Hottentots of the Kat River, and all the male adults might be embodied as a militia for the defence of the frontier. Place confidence in these people, and they will be loyal to the colony, as the Hottentots have been loyal. Missionaries should be liberally encouraged to settle among them, and schools founded and endowed in every village. Lastly, the colonial laws should be extended to a certain fixed and well-defined boundary—say the Keisi and Chumi rivers, and thence the summit of the mountain ridge to the Winterberg.

'With respect to the tribes and clans beyond the colonial boundary, let a system of just and honourable dealing, upon terms of fair reciprocity, be established and strictly adhered to. Let a general Convention of all the chiefs west of the Kei river be solemnly assembled; and let an equitable plan for the restoration of stolen cattle, for the redress of mutual grievances, and for the regulation of commerce, be proposed for their adoption. Such a Convention might perhaps be advantageously held at stated periods; and, without in any degree interfering with the hereditary precedence recognised among them as due to the respective Chiefs, it might form a sort of legislative and judicial council for maintaining peace and good order among the independent Caffer Tribes. Let one or more English residents be stationed in Cafferland, and let a Caffer envoy represent his nation in the Colony. Let a just and simple code of international law be drawn up and translated into the Amakosa language; and get the chiefs to affix their signatures to it, and to concur in giving to it prompt and firm execution. Insist on strict and speedy justice being executed on all convicted offenders; but cease to punish the innocent for the guilty. Let the Caffers see clearly that we are resolved henceforth neither to *do* nor to *endure* wrong; and I will venture to predict that we shall have all, except a few habitual rogues *on both sides* of the boundary, zealously devoted to the support of an equitable frontier system.

'Nay more, however Utopian such 'visions' may appear to some people, I will venture to predict, that if some such system (I speak of the *principle*, not of the *details*—which may perhaps require to be greatly altered from this rude outline) shall be now adopted, and judiciously and perseveringly carried into operation, we shall at no remote period see the tribes beyond the frontier earnestly soliciting to be received under the protection of the colony, or to be embraced within its limits and jurisdiction. At this moment, the Gunuquebi clan are anxious for such an incorporation. Their three chiefs, the sons of old Kongo, have already embraced Christianity, and proclaimed the due observance of the Christian Sabbath throughout their territory. Enno, Botma, and above all Makomo, are earnestly disposed to follow the same example, and to found missionary institutions and schools in the

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midst of their people. The Native Tribes, in short, are ready to throw themselves into our arms. Let us open our arms cordially to embrace them as MEN and as BROTHERS. Let us enter upon a new and nobler career of conquest. Let us subdue savage Africa by JUSTICE, by KINDNESS, by the talisman of CHRISTIAN TRUTH. Let us *thus* go forth, in the name and under the blessing of God, gradually to extend the moral influence, and, if it be thought desirable, the territorial boundary also of our Colony, until it shall become an Empire—embracing Southern Africa from the Keisi and the Gareep to Mozambique and Cape Negro—and to which, peradventure, in after days, even the equator shall prove no ultimate limit.' pp. 473—480.

These important suggestions are shewn to be in accordance with the opinions of all intelligent writers upon the subject; and the Commissioners of Inquiry, in their Reports, strongly recommend that civil agents should be stationed among the native tribes, with a view to preserve the tranquillity of the frontier. Notwithstanding which, it is, says Mr. Pringle, 'a remarkable 'fact, and not very easy to be accounted for, that, up to the pre-'sent hour, the judicious and beneficent recommendations of his 'Majesty's Commissioners in regard to the native tribes appear 'to have been, in almost every essential point, totally neglected; 'and a natural query recurs, *How can the Home Government* 'excuse itself for permitting such criminal neglect?'

Circumstances at length occurred, which decided the Author on returning to this country. On arriving once more at Cape Town, he had some very satisfactory interviews with the Commissioners of Inquiry, and with General Bourke, who had happily succeeded to Lord Charles Somerset in the government of the Colony. On the 16th of April, 1826, he embarked for England, and arrived in London on the 7th of July; having lost about a thousand pounds at the Cape, for which he has never obtained from Government a shilling of indemnity, although his loss was entirely attributable to the criminal misconduct of the ex-governor. The narrative concludes, however, in a very different tone from that of either complaint or depression.

'A few words in conclusion about our settlement of Glen-Lynden. Under the blessing of Providence, its prosperity has been steadily progressive. The friends whom I left there, though they have not escaped some occasional trials and disappointments, such as all men are exposed to in this uncertain world, have yet enjoyed a goodly share of "health, competence, and peace." As regards the first of these blessings, one fact may suffice. Out of twenty-three souls who accompanied me to Glen-Lynden fourteen years ago, there had not, up to the 24th of January last, occurred (so far as I know) a single death—except one, namely, that of Mr. Peter Rennie, who was unfortunately killed by the bursting of a gun, in 1825. My father, at the patriarchal age of eighty years, enjoys the mild sunset of life in the midst of his

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children and grandchildren; the latter, of whom there is a large and rapidly increasing number, having been, with a few exceptions, all born in South Africa. The party have more than doubled their original numbers, by births alone, during the last twelve years. Several additional families of relatives, and of old acquaintance, have also lately joined them.

'Without having any pretensions to wealth, and with very little *money* among them, the Glen-Lynden settlers (with some few exceptions) may be said to be in a thriving, and on the whole in a very enviable condition. They are no longer molested by either predatory Bushmen or Caffers; they have abundance of all that life requires for competence and for comfort; and they have few causes of anxiety about the future. Some of them, who have now acquired considerable flocks of merino sheep, have even a fair prospect of attaining by degrees to moderate wealth. They have excellent means of education for their children; they have a well-selected subscription library of about four hundred volumes; and what is still more important, they have the public ordinances of religion duly and purely maintained among them: they have now a parish minister (the Rev. Alexander Welsh, a clergyman of the Scottish Church) established in the valley of Glen-Lynden, with a decent stipend from the Government, augmented by their own voluntary contributions.

'On the whole, I have great cause to bless God, both as regards the prosperity of my father's house, and in many respects also as regards my own career in life, (whatever may be my future worldly fortunes,) that His good Providence directed our emigrant course fourteen years ago to the wilds of Southern Africa.' pp. 497, 498.

It would be unjust to close this article without giving a specimen of the verse, although the Author's poetical talents, the graceful ornament of his more solid qualities of mind and character, are already known and appreciated.

'To Robert Pringle, Glen-Lynden, South Africa.

'My father! I to thee inscribe this page;
And send it freighted, like a courier-dove,
With many a prayer of reverential love,
To greet thee in thy distant hermitage.
If such slight themes may for an hour engage
Thy thoughts, intent on better things above,
This Tale of Trials Past perchance may prove
A recreation to thine honoured age.
Sprung from a stalwart line of Scottish sires,
Be thou the patriarch, on Afric's strand,
Of a young race, who with their fathers' fires
Shall warm the heart of their adopted land;
Who, firm yet gentle, generous, sincere,
Shall fear their God, and know no other fear.'

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Art. II. *A Connection of Sacred and Profane History, from the Death of Joshua to the Decline of the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah.* (Intended to complete the Works of Shuckford and Prideaux.) By the Rev. Michael Russell, LL.D. Episcopal Minister, Leith. 8vo. Vols. I. and II. pp. 544 each. London.

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THESE volumes ought, some years ago, to have received from us the notice to which the interest of the subject and their intrinsic value alike entitle them, although they form only a portion of a still unfinished work. To the two volumes already published, two others are to be added*. The part of the Author's undertaking now laid before the public, comprehends the times of the Judges, and terminates with the commencement of the regal government in the days of Samuel. The first volume is enriched with an Introduction and a Preliminary Dissertation. In the former, Dr. Russell, after supplying a concise sketch of the labours of his predecessors in the same department of literature, has developed the leading features of his chronological system, and given some further information designed to prepare the reader for perusing the work itself. The latter, occupying no fewer than 120 pages, is a very able Essay on the chronology of the long period that elapsed between the creation of Adam and the Christian era. According to the Author's elaborate computation, our Saviour's advent occurred A.M. 5441; and we consequently are now living in the year of the world 7275. Those of our readers who have examined, even cursorily, the subject on which Dr. Russell has written, will not be surprised by the conclusions at which he arrives; but all who have trusted to the record of the patriarchal generations, as given in the authorized version of the Scriptures, or to the dates printed in the margin of the larger copies, will doubtless be startled by the announcement of the hypothesis, that more than seven thousand years of the world's existence have rolled by. Having explained his system of dates, and very ably supported it, the Author divides the remaining part of these volumes into two books. The first 'contains a connection of sacred and profane history, from the death of Joshua 'to the commencement of the regal government among the 'Hebrews.' The second is 'on the ancient history of the 'oriental nations, as connected with that of the Hebrew people, 'in the times of the Judges; *viz.* from the year 1543 before the 'birth of Christ, to 1099 before the same era.' Book I. is subdivided into three chapters: on the civil and political condition of the ancient Hebrews;—on their religious belief and practices;—and on the general history of the Hebrews, from the death of Joshua to the reign of Saul. The second book is divided into

* We understand that Vol. III. is preparing for the press.

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five chapters: the first treats of the ancient history of the Babylonians and Assyrians, as connected with that of the Hebrews between 1543 and 1099 B.C.; the second contains an outline of such parts of the ancient history of the Hebrews, as may appear to have been affected by the power or character of the neighbouring nations; the third is on the Iranian or ancient Persian monarchy; the fourth, on the origin of the more remarkable states and kingdoms of ancient Greece; and the fifth, on the Argonautic expedition, the capture of Troy, and the return of the Heraclidæ. The third and fourth volumes, we are informed in the preface, will contain, together with a view of the civil and religious history of the Hebrews, an outline of the chronology, literature, and policy of the Egyptians, the Chinese, and the Hindus.

In discussing the various subjects treated of in the part of his work already before the public, the Author has entered much into detail; he has brought together a great mass of erudition, and, in the arrangement and moulding of his materials, has discovered no ordinary ability. The work is written in a very excellent style, and must, we think, eventually secure a high degree of reputation. A few exceptions, however, must be made against the Author's theological sentiments. We were sorry to find Dr. Russell attributing the views given in the Jewish Scriptures of Satan, or the evil principle, to the dogmas which the descendants of Abraham learned in the regions of their captivity. We cannot but think that, in his allusions to this subject, both in the preface and in the second chapter of the first book, the Author has taken a very dangerous and altogether untenable position; and we cannot but express the hope that this blemish will be hereafter removed from a work not more creditable to the deep research, than, in general, to the accurate judgement of the writer.

Having given this brief account of Dr. Russell's volumes, we propose to devote the remainder of the present article to an inquiry into the dates of the earlier parts of the Old Testament; availing ourselves without reserve of the very valuable materials supplied by the preliminary dissertation above referred to. In pursuing this inquiry, we cannot forget that it is one of universal interest, and we shall therefore aim at being understood by all. If, in attempting this, some things are introduced, which, to some of the readers of our Journal may seem quite superfluous, we can only plead in excuse, that we write for the many.

The periods of history to which the ensuing discussion is chiefly directed, will be first stated, together with the varying authorities between which we have to decide: those periods will then be separately reviewed, and such reasoning be advanced with respect to them, as we hope may prove satisfactory: finally, we shall attempt to support the calculations to which the preference is given,

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by tracing to its origin, the abbreviated system of computation which we reject.

I. The dates of the antediluvian records are found, upon examination, to present some very curious and suspicious results. The history of the ages immediately subsequent to the Deluge, is crowded with chronological difficulties. The narrative contained in the book of Judges, though its different parts are consistent with each other, cannot by any violence be reconciled with the dates appended to many of our Bibles. Sceptics, it is well known, found one pretext for rejecting the volume of truth, upon its chronological inconsistencies; and no reader of the Word of God can have attempted to wind his way through the labyrinth of past ages by the help of Usher's dates, (those which bring us down to the birth of Christ in A.M. 4004,) without finding himself bewildered and led astray by his guide. How difficult soever it may be to construct a better system, all who have made the effort to search the Scriptures by the aid of the one now in general use, will acknowledge their inability to reconcile its different parts, either with each other, or with the dates of uninspired ancient records. It were surely the part of wisdom, either to leave the pages of Holy Writ quite unincumbered with chronological notices, or to supersede those at present in use, by others having at least some claim to accuracy and consistency.

The computations of learned men, as to the age of the world, vary greatly. The popular belief extends it to about 5,800 years. The hypothesis which would lengthen this date by fourteen centuries, seems, however, not unlikely to supplant the one which now obtains general, and for the most part unsuspected credence. The main reason of this wide difference, many of our readers are aware, will be found in the discrepancy between the Hebrew Scriptures and the Greek version. 'About 170 years before the 'Christian era', says Dr. Campbell, 'a complete version of the 'scriptures of the Old Testament was made into Greek,—a lan-'guage which was then, and continued for many ages afterwards, 'in far more general use than any other. This is what is called 'the Septuagint, or version of the *Seventy*, (probably because 'approved by the Sanhedrim,) which was begun (as has been 'said) by order of Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, for the 'use of the Alexandrian library.'* This version of the Old Testament was much used in the synagogues in the time of Our Lord. The chronology of Josephus agrees with it; as also does the chronological system received by the Christian Church during the first six or seven hundred years of its existence. The difference between the received text and the Septuagint, occurs

* Campbell, Dissertation I. Part I. § 3.

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in the narrative of events prior to the birth of Abraham, and is as follows:

	Yrs.	Yrs.
From the Creation to the Deluge, according to the Hebrew text, elapsed .	1656	606 difference.
According to the Septuagint	2262	
From the Deluge to the birth of Abraham, according to the Hebrew.....	292	780
According to the Greek	1072	
	Total 1386	

During the administration of the Judges, the chronology of the Hebrew and that of the Septuagint agree. The dates often affixed to our English Bibles, follow, through the two former periods, the Hebrew: through the latter, where the Hebrew and the Greek coincide, they differ widely from both; and are adjusted to an abbreviated scheme of computation, invented by the Masoretic Jews.

II. The chronology of the book of Genesis is contained in the genealogical tables; and these are not computed, according to our method, by the distance of events from some one epoch. We are not told, for instance, in what year of the world Enoch lived, or was translated to heaven; but we arrive at the fact by adding together the previous generations; *i. e.*, by adding the time that elapsed between the creation of Adam and the birth of Seth, Adam's eldest son, or the son through whom the succession is traced, to the years that transpired between the nativity of Seth and of Enos, and by pursuing the same mode of calculation down to the event, the date of which we wish to ascertain. In our Bibles, the time between the creation of Adam and the birth of Seth, is said to have been 130 years; between Seth and Enos, 105, &c. From the Creation to the Flood, therefore, will be, $130+105+90+70+65+162+65+187+182+600 = 1656$. This accords with the Hebrew. The Septuagint agrees with it in the length of the lives of these antediluvians, but, in all the instances, excepting three, adds a hundred years to the time that elapsed between the births of the father and the son; and subtracts the same term of years from the number transpiring between the birth of the son and the death of the father. Thus, the Hebrew, and our Bibles following it, read: "And Adam lived 130 years, and begat Seth, and all the days of Adam afterward were 800 years, and all the days that Adam lived were 930 years." The Septuagint reads, "And Adam lived 230 years, and begat Seth, and all the days of Adam afterward were 700 years." The whole lives of these ancients are, by the version of the *Seventy*, neither shortened nor lengthened; but their generations, upon which alone depends the chronology

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of the world before the Flood, are, with these exceptions, lengthened by a century added to each. Consequently, the period already computed, will, according to the Septuagint, stand thus: 230 + 205 + 190 + 175 + 165 + 162 + 165 + 187 + 188 + 600 = 2262.

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We find, then, one chronological system measuring the existence of the antediluvian world by sixteen centuries and a half; another, exceeding that calculation by not less than 600 years. Now it is granted that, other things being equal, the Scriptures in the original language would be of greater authority than any version, how carefully soever executed. It is granted also, that, in a narrative so concise as that of the times before the Flood, and in the absence of all contemporary documents, there are no means of proving incontestably the inaccuracy of the genealogical tables of the Hebrew MSS. Still, as the contrariety is very great, it may fairly be expected, that, whichever system of dates is erroneous, and whether it be so through accident or through design, it will exhibit some internal marks of inaccuracy; though, from the brevity of the record, and the want of other chronological works with which to compare it, the evident discrepancies will be necessarily few.

The careful reader of the fifth chapter of Genesis will observe the very different ages at which the antediluvians are said to have become fathers: Seth at 105, Canaan at 70, Mahalaleel and Enoch at 65, Jared at 162, Methuselah at 187, and Lamech at 188. It is difficult to conceive why, in times when no Malthusian doctrines could interfere to retard the increase of the human family, such great diversity should exist. It will be seen by a glance at the figures we have given, that the same generations, as recorded in the Septuagint, fluctuate to a much less extent; and, in fact, approach about as near to uniformity, as the history of subsequent times would lead us to expect *.

As the generations of Adam's immediate descendants do not well comport with each other, so neither do they with the analogy of universal nature. Throughout the works of God there is observable, amidst the greatest variety, the nicest adjustment of parts,—a proportion the utility and beauty of which we can scarcely overlook. Nature produces giants and dwarfs, but not monsters; the horse with a construction in every respect fitted for speed, and the elephant with its ponderous body and huge

* Should any one be inclined to make a deduction from this argument, on the supposition that, at least in some of these instances, daughters would be the first-born of their parents, we must in fairness claim to have an equivalent addition made to the subsequent reasoning, drawn from the very early age, as compared with their whole lives, at which these ancients reached manhood.

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legs to support it. But we never meet with the slender structure of the one in grotesque and useless combination with the bulk of the other. A similar wisdom and beauty of arrangement force themselves upon our notice, in the slower or more speedy progress of the various forms of life towards maturity and dissolution. The oak does not spring up like the mushroom, nor fade and die like the flower of the field. Slowness of growth and longevity are uniformly combined, as are rapidity of growth and rapid decay. We should be not less confounded by the lion which in a few days should reach the full size, and attain the full strength of its species, than by the junction of the legs of an elephant with the body of a war-horse. But, according to the Hebrew genealogy of Noah's ancestors, this proportion is utterly violated, —this law of the creation is reversed; Mahalaleel and Enoch becoming parents at an earlier age than Nahor, Terah, and Abraham.

Where man reaches the age of threescore years and ten, and no artificial circumstances disturb the rate of increase, the time from the birth of the father to that of the child, may bear to the whole life of the father, the proportion of 1 to 3 and a fraction. But take the cases of Seth, Enos, Cainan, and Mahalaleel, (it is obvious that Enoch must be omitted, and in the instances of Jared, Methuselah, and Lamech, the Septuagint does not differ from our Bibles,) and the proportion will be as 1 to 11. Their lives together amount to 3622 years, which number, divided by 330, the total of $105+90+70+65$, gives 11 very nearly. The chronology of the Septuagint gives 5 nearly. The argument, of itself, it is confessed, is not conclusive, but we cannot think it futile; and, if we mistake not, it is supported by Scripture. The son and grandson of Abraham lived when the term of human existence reached about twice its present limits. Isaac, when his father's servant went to the house of Laban, was 40 years old, and died at the age of 180. Jacob was 147 years old when he died, and at least 40 (Gen. xxvi. 34.) when he fled from his brother Esau. These dates, by the rule already explained, will give, the one $3\frac{1}{2}$, the other $4\frac{1}{2}$, or, taken together, 4; and as both these patriarchs lived to an old age, their generations certainly favour the chronology of the Septuagint. It will be seen that we have not pushed this part of the reasoning to the extent to which it might be carried. It is fair to acknowledge, that 40 appears to have been, in the time of the immediate posterity of Abraham, about the age of virility; but, as a matter of fact, the son of Isaac was not born till the heir of the promises had reached his 60th year; and Jacob was unquestionably more than 40, (it is commonly supposed more than 80,) when he left his father's house, to sojourn in Padan-Aram. The prophet Isaiah, towards the close of his prophecies, is generally understood to

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foretel the happiness of the millennial days. Amongst other advantages to be possessed by mankind, when the new heavens and the new earth appear, the duration of human life is represented as greatly extended. But the extension is not to be effected simply by the lengthening out of the years of man. The different stages of his life are to be protracted; so that, whilst the days of the righteous are as the days of a tree, their childhood is to equal or exceed the threescore years and ten now allotted to man. "The child shall die a hundred years old."

The preceding paragraph may be allowed to afford some proof, that human existence lost not its symmetry, when its limits were greatly curtailed. The change was merely the reduction of the full-sized portrait to the miniature,—all the parts being still retained in all their proportions. This conclusion admits of some further confirmation. It is obvious to every one, that those creatures which, being long-lived, arrive late at puberty, are afterwards slow in their increase *. This law of nature seems to have been in operation in the earliest times. Adam was created in a state of manhood. Cain was probably born soon after his father's expulsion from Paradise; but it was not till our common parent had lived 130 years, that God gave him "another seed instead of Abel." Noah's third son, it would appear, was born when his father had reached the age of 500 years †. (Gen v. 32.) This

* Dr. Cumberland, bishop of Peterborough, towards the close of the last century, must, in his calculations, have entirely overlooked this law of human, and indeed of animal existence. He advances, and attempts to support, the extravagant hypothesis, that in about 340 years after the deluge, and about the time of the death of Peleg, 'there were or might have been in the world upwards of three thousand millions of married men;' or, as he himself expresses it, '3,333,333,330 males furnished with wives.' 'When this number is doubled, so as to include the women, we shall have 6,666,666,660 persons, all in the state of matrimony; to which, if we add the very low estimate of two children to a family, the population of the world, in the latter years of Noah, would exceed the magnificent amount of thirteen thousand millions.' (vol. ii. p. 18.) As we have mentioned this strange vagary, it may be right to give the reader some idea of the grossness of the error into which even a bishop could fall. Allowing that to the thirty-two grandsons of Noah (Gen. x.), as many grand-daughters are to be added, and that the cousins all intermarried in forty years after the Deluge; admitting the same rate of increase in succeeding years, and that a new generation was born in forty years, instead of 140, which is nearer the true term; making moreover no deduction for the ravages of death; eight millions, instead of 13000 millions, will be the estimated number of the human race about the middle of the third century after the Flood. And even this computation is immensely beyond the truth.

† Shem was ninety-eight years old at the time of the Deluge. That

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very gradual enlargement of the human family, according to the analogy of all nature, corroborates the conclusion at which we have previously arrived; that the Antediluvians reached maturity at a period late in proportion to the length of their lives; and not, as the Hebrew text would lead us to suppose, when they had passed but the eleventh part of their days.

A stronger argument against the dates of the antediluvian world, as they stand in our Bibles, than any yet adduced, is now to be brought forward. It is drawn from the genealogical tables of the subsequent era; the era reaching from the Flood to the birth of Abraham. The conciseness of the history of the times before the Deluge, renders it impossible to prove the accuracy of the chronology by numerous coincidences, or its incorrectness by numerous discrepancies; but when the narrative enters more into detail, it may be assumed as certain, that any disarrangement of the dates will render it very difficult to adjust to them the multiplied events, the progress of which they are designed to mark. The chronology of the ages from Noah downwards to the Father of the Faithful, as given in the xith chapter of Genesis, together with the history contained in the fourteen following chapters, is a case in point. That history ranges over a space, according to the Hebrew and our bibles, of 292 years only; according to the Septuagint, of more than 1000 years. It may be shewn almost to demonstration, that, in this instance, the authority of the Septuagint is to be preferred, and that of the Hebrew MSS. rejected; and if, there being in two cases glaring discrepancies, (amounting in the one to six, and in the other to nearly eight centuries,) the correctness of the Greek is proved in the latter, there arises a strong presumption in favour of its correctness in the former. If we must receive the Septuagintal calculations from Noah to Abraham, it is only very clear evidence of inaccuracy that will justify us in preferring any other guide from Adam to Noah.

In examining the chronology of the Bible, from the Flood to the birth of the son of Terah, it will be but fair to the reader, to subject it to that test by which we have tried the genealogy of the earliest ages. The dates of the xith chapter of Genesis, as given in the Septuagint, differ in so many particulars from those of the Hebrew, that it may be right to present them at length. Each name will be followed by two numbers; the first denoting the years between the nativity of the father and of the son; the second, the whole life of the father. Shem, 100; 600. Ar-

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he was younger than Japheth, we learn from Genesis x. 21; and Genesis v. 32, vii. 6, and xi. 10, collated, shew that he was also younger than Ham. Yet there is no reason for doubting that all were childless when they entered the ark.

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phaxad, 135; 535. *Cainan, 130; 460. Salah, 130; 460. Eber, 134; 404. Peleg, 130; 339. Reu, 132; 339. Serug, 130; 330. Nahor, 179; 304. Terah, 70; 205. We shall not encumber the page with the corresponding dates, as they stand in our version of the Scriptures; but, leaving the reader, if he choose, to examine them for himself, give him the results; requesting him to bear in mind, that as the individuals whose genealogies we are now commenting upon, were not all remarkable for longevity, but varied in their ages, (according to the Hebrew, from 600 to 205, and according to the Greek, from 600 to 275,) the proportion in this case will be somewhat different from that already found. The sum of the generations last quoted is 1270. The sum of the lives of Shem and his descendants, down to Terah, 3976; which, divided by 1270, give 3 and a fraction of trifling value. The same generations, according to the Hebrew, amount to 390, and the same lives to 2,999. The division gives eight nearly. Or, leaving out the first and last names, in the dates of which both authorities are agreed, we obtain the numbers 3 and 9: that is to say, the proportion between the years transpiring from the birth of the father to that of the son, and the whole number of years which the father lived, is, in the Greek, as 1 to 3; in the Hebrew, as 1 to 8 or 9. These results prove, that if, as we have laboured to shew, the different stages of human life originally bore a proportion to each other, even approaching that which they now bear, the genealogy of the Seventy is correct.

The subsequent chapters of the history, considered in connexion with the chronology of the xith chapter, will be found to lead to some conclusions for which perhaps many of our readers are not prepared. According to these dates, Noah outlived Nahor, and even Terah, and was contemporary with Abraham for more than half a century.

'We read of Nimrod, who appears to have been the youngest son of Cush, setting up a kingdom at Babylon, and establishing a tyrannical government in the extensive countries which are watered by the Euphrates and the Tigris, while his father, grandfather, and great grandfather were still alive, and in the full vigour of their age and strength.' Vol. I. p. 101.

* This name is not found in the Hebrew. Dr. R. has followed the Seventy, and retained it. 'Without entering into the minuter points of the controversy which has been maintained on this head, I shall rest satisfied with shewing, that, as the name of this son of Arphaxad is found in the Septuagint, and in the gospel according to St. Luke, so must his generation have also been inserted in the history of Demetrius, in that of Eupolemus, and in the Antiquities of Josephus as they originally proceeded from his hand.' Vol. I. p. 158.

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Of Peleg it is said: "In his days was the earth divided." This language would naturally lead us to suppose that his forefathers were removed from the world, before this division occurred; but, according to the chronology, they were still living and in the midst of their days. When Abraham left his own country, and went into Canaan; when, driven by famine, he went down into Egypt; when returning he was separated from Lot; when, by fighting with the kings, he rescued his brother; when the fate of his descendants was foretold to him; when Ishmael was born, and afterwards, the Patriarch at the age of ninety-nine entered into covenant with God, by the rite of circumcision; —whilst all these circumstances, which are related in six chapters, were transpiring,—Eber, Salah, Arphaxad, and Shem, *the son whom Noah blessed*, were still on the earth, and yet not the slightest allusion is made to either! The destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, and the history of Lot and his daughters and wife, are recorded with much particularity. Abimelech, king of Gerar, finds a conspicuous place in the narration. The birth of Isaac and the flight of Hagar, the great triumph of the Patriarch's faith, the death of Sarah, are detailed; and, with considerable minuteness, the purchase of a burying-place. A long chapter is devoted to the journey and mission of Abraham's servant. And yet, in all the history stretching through twelve chapters, and embracing numerous names and incidents, (many of the latter minute,) no place at all is found for the slightest reference to that remarkable individual who outlived all these events, and was born before the Flood! "Abraham was *gathered to his people*," but left the son of Noah alive on the earth. He "died in a good old age, an old man, and full of years," and yet 'departed thirty-five years before Shem, who was born nine 'generations before him, and nearly a hundred years before the 'Deluge.' The xxvth chapter relates the generations of Ishmael, and the nativity of Jacob and Esau; and the following chapter, Isaac's sojourning in Gerar, closing with the marriage of Esau; but there is not the most distant allusion to them. The end of the xxvith chapter would, according to the chronology, be the place for the record of his death; but no hint is given of that event. The history marks the decease of Terah, and Sarah, and Abraham, and afterwards of Rachel, and Isaac, and Jacob, and Joseph; but *Shem*, the first post-diluvian progenitor of the Messiah, the relic of past ages, the last link connecting the world that was with that which now is,—the extraordinary man who, according to the Hebrew dates, was contemporary for fifty years with Jacob, and for 100 years with Methuselah, (and Methuselah, according to the same chronological system, was contemporary for two hundred years with Adam himself,)—this extraordinary man dies unnoticed!

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'These difficulties arise altogether from the abbreviated chronology of the modern Hebrew text. According to the Septuagint, the Samaritan Pentateuch, and Josephus, all these patriarchs, down to the fifth and sixth generations from Noah, were dead long before the time of Abraham; and they had finished their days, too, after the ordinary course of nature; the fathers going before the sons, and not, as we find in the Masorite scheme of genealogy, surviving ten or twelve generations of their descendants.' Vol. I. p. 100.

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According to the mode of computation we have endeavoured to defend, the birth of Abraham occurred A. M. 3334. The next epoch chosen by Dr. Russell, reaches to the exodus of the Israelites. This will not detain us long: it includes 505 years. Between the giving of the promise to Abraham and the giving of the law, there elapsed, according to Paul (Gal. iii. 17), 430 years. To these add 75 for Abraham's age when the promise was given (Gen. xii. 3 and 4), and the number assigned above is completed. The correctness of this calculation may also be shewn as follows. Isaac was born when Abraham was 100 years old (Gen. xxi. 5); Jacob was born when Isaac had reached the age of 60 (Gen. xxv. 26), and went down into Egypt at the age of 130 (Gen. xlvii. 9). These numbers together amount to 290; leaving 215 years for the time of the sojourning of the descendants of Jacob in Egypt. Now the father of Amram went down with Jacob into Egypt, and the son of Amram led out the Israelites from the house of bondage (Gen. xlvi. 11; Exod. vi. 18 and 20). But one whole generation, therefore, passed away in the land of captivity. "The years of the life of Amram were an hundred and thirty and seven years;" leaving 78 years as the time spent by the Israelites in Egypt before the birth, and after the death, of Amram. $100+60+130+137+78=505$. This result clashes entirely with Exod. xii. 40. "Now the sojourning of the children of Israel who dwelt in Egypt was 430 years." There is no possibility of reconciling this verse, either with the narrative of the Old Testament, or with the quotation we have made from the Epistle to the Galatians. The reason of this contrariety we shall hereafter inquire into.

The patience of the reader will be taxed with the particulars of only one other era of the Old Testament chronology. It is that extending from the exodus of the Israelites to the foundation of Solomon's temple, and including, according to the history and the assertion of Paul (Acts xiii. 18, &c.), about 592 years; but, according to the marginal dates, 479 years only. The difference occurs in the reckoning of the times of the Judges. We read (Judges iii. 8), that "the children of Israel served Chushan-rishathaim eight years",—that "the Lord raised up a deliverer, Othniel", and that "the land had rest 40 years." Usher computes but 40 years for the time of both servitude and repose,

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thus plainly omitting eight years. Again, "the children of Israel served the king of Moab 18 years",—"the Lord raised them up a deliverer", "and the land had rest fourscore years." The Archbishop, following the Jews, (quite consistent in an archiepiscopal divine,) reckons but 80 for the 98; and, curtailing in the same manner the dates of the book throughout, shortens its chronology by 100 years.

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'The sacred chronology of Usher, in fact, follows closely, in this division of ancient history, the scheme adopted by the Masoretic Jews; who, as Dr. Hales remarks, have by a curious invention included the first four servitudes in the years of the Judges who put an end to them; contrary to the express declarations of Scripture, which represent the administrations of the Judges, not as synchronizing with the servitudes, but as succeeding them. The Rabbies were indeed forced to allow the fifth servitude to have been distinct from the administration of Jephtha, because it was too long to be included in that administration; but they deducted a year from the Scripture account of the servitude, making it, instead of eighteen, only seventeen years; and they curtailed another year from Ibzan's government, making it only six, instead of seven years. They sank entirely the sixth servitude under the Philistines, of forty years, because it was too long to be contained in Samson's administration; and, to crown all, they reduced Saul's reign of forty years to two years only.' Vol. I. p. 141.

This extract, together with the foregoing observations, will sufficiently explain the *mode* of curtailment in the chronology of this part of the Scriptures. Two tables, extracted from the work before us, will shew at a glance the *particulars* and *amount* of that curtailment. The first exhibits the calculations of our Author; the second, the dates adopted by Usher, whose Latin we translate.

		yrs.	m.
	'From the Exode to death of Moses	40	
	Joshua and Elders	25	
	Anarchy	2	
I.	Servitude under Chushan Rishathaim	8	
	Othniel	40	
II.	Servitude under the Moabites	18	
	Ehud and Shamgar	80	
III.	Servitude under the Canaanites	20	
	Deborah and Barak	40	
IV.	Servitude under Midianites	7	
	Gideon	40	
	Abimelech, 3; Tola, 22; Jair, 22	47	
V.	Servitude under Ammonites	18	
	Jephthah, 6; Ibzan, 7	13	
	Elon, 10; Abdon, 8	18	
VI.	Servitude under Philistines; Samson last 20 years	40	

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		yrs.	m.
	Eli was judge 40 years, but 20 of them with Samson...	20*	
VII.	Servitude or Anarchy.....	20	7
	Samuel alone, 12; Samuel and Saul, 40	52	
	David, 40; Solomon, 3.....	43	
	(Vol. I. p. 147.)	591	7

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[EXTRACTED FROM USHER'S CHRONOLOGIA SACRA.]

I.	From the Exodus to the passing of the Jordan	40	
II.	To the rest given by Joshua	6	4
III.	——————— Othniel.....	40	
IV.	——————— Ehud	80	
V.	——————— Deborah and Barak	40	
VI.	——————— Gideon	40	
VII.	To the commencement of the reign of Abimelech, son of Gideon	9	2
VIII.	Abimelech, Tola, and Jair	48	
IX.	Jephthah.....	6	
X.	Ibzan, Elon, and Abdon	25	
XI.	Eli and Sampson	40	
XII.	Samuel	21	
XIII.	King Saul	40	
XIV.	From the death of Saul to the laying the foundation of Solomon's Temple	43	
		478	6

Some ingenious arguments in favour of the longer computation are, in the work before us, drawn from the writings of Josephus, and of Clemens of Alexandria. We must not extract, and know not how to abridge them. The Author sums up the whole in these words.

'The consistency of the facts, and the harmony of the numbers, as I have given them, concur in bestowing an air of truth upon the hypothesis with which they are connected; whereas, according to Usher, Petavius, Capellus, and most other chronologers, who omit the seventh servitude, and the twelve years of Samuel's judicature prior to the

* 'The Hebrew text, Josephus, the Vulgate Latin, the Chaldee paraphrase, the Syriac and Arabic versions, assign to Eli forty years; but most of the Greek copies give only twenty years, as do also the Alexandrian and Vatican manuscripts. Theophilus, bishop of Antioch, Sulpicius Severus, and Procopius of Gaza, have followed the authority of the Greek. It is most probable, as I have stated in the table, that of the forty years given to Eli, he spent twenty in the days of the Philistines, while Samson waged a predatory war with that people; and the other twenty after the death of this Hebrew champion. *Chron. Antiq.* Vol. I. p. 140.'

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nomination of Saul, the prophet became a judge at thirteen; was an old grey-headed man, and had sons fit to assist him in his office, before he was twenty-three; and finally, died at an advanced age about the time he completed his fiftieth year.' Vol. I. p. 153.

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The sacred chronology of subsequent times is attended by little difficulty. From the foundation to the destruction of the temple are reckoned 430, and from the destruction of the temple to the Christian era, 586 years.

'The birth of Christ, according to the system of chronology which I have adopted, ... took place in the year of the world 5441. The particulars are as follows:

	yrs.
From the Creation to the Deluge	2256
——— Deluge to the Birth of Abraham	1072
——— Birth of Abraham to his removal into Canaan	75
——— that event to the exode of the Israelites	430
——— Exode to the Foundation of the Temple.....	592
——— Foundation to the Destruction of the Temple.....	430
——— Destruction of the Temple to the Birth of Christ ...	586
	5441

(Vol. I. p. 158.)

The reasoning of the preceding pages, it will be seen, is founded, almost exclusively, on data supplied by the Bible itself. There are other sources of evidence from which we might draw largely. The works of Demetrius, Eupolemus, and Josephus confirm the chronology of the Seventy. The first of these writers lived somewhat more than two centuries before the Christian era. Our Author cites from a fragment of his writings, preserved by Eusebius, the following statement. 'From Adam to the migration of Jacob's family into Egypt, there elapsed a period of '3624 years; and from the Flood to the same migration, the number of years was 1360.' These dates agree with the Greek version. We need not give particulars. The reader, if he choose, can refer to the foregoing pages. About fifty years after Demetrius, another history of the Jewish kings was written by Eupolemus, from which the following quotation, as preserved by Clement of Alexandria, is given:—'All the years that can be collected from Adam even until the fifth of Demetrius, the monarch 'of Syria, and the twelfth of Ptolemy who reigned in Egypt, 'are 5149.' 'Now the fifth year of Demetrius, and the twelfth 'of Ptolemy, the son of Lagus,' Dr. R. remarks, 'may be taken as 'the 295th before the common era of our Redemption; the sum 'of which numbers amounts to 5444, from Adam to Christ.' (Vol. I. p. 65.) Josephus bears testimony in general terms to the accuracy of these two authors, and his chronology agrees with theirs. He compiled his Antiquities from the Hebrew Scriptures,

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and yet, his chronological numbers coincide with those of the Septuagint. This great historian of the Jews twice informs us, that their sacred books contain a history of 5000 years, ending with the canon of Scripture in the reign of Artaxerxes.

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'Now if, to 5000, or rather 5017 years, we add the 464 which, according to Ptolemy, intervened between the time of this Persian sovereign and the era of Redemption, we shall have, as the period from Adam to Christ, 5481 years; being only 40 years more than the computations of Demetrius and Eupolemus,—an apparent discrepancy which I shall hereafter fully explain and remove.' Vol. I. p. 69.

To these early authorities there is to be added the unquestioned fact, that the abbreviated system of dates now adopted in our Bibles was unknown during the first age of the Church, and was not received for several ages afterwards. So far from shortening the period from the Creation to the coming of Christ to about 4000 years, the first Christians, yielding probably to the belief that the sabbath of the world was at hand, extended that period to nearly 6000 years; and it was not till circumstances had shewn the fallacy of their expectations of the Millennium, that they more carefully examined the grounds of their hope.

'It has been established by a very patient and learned research into Christian antiquity, on the part of the authors to whom I have referred, that, prior to the close of the second century, there is no writer to be found who did not inherit the opinions which prevailed in the times of the Apostles and of their immediate disciples, relative to the interval which had elapsed between Adam and Christ. In the following century, indeed, we begin to perceive symptoms of change in the leading systems of chronology, and an attempt to accommodate the authority of tradition to the actual state of things. The expected Millennium seemed to be delayed; and it, therefore, became necessary to examine more attentively into the language of Scripture, and to calculate with greater precision the several epochs which are recorded in the inspired annals of the Jewish Church. Julius Africanus, accordingly, who wrote about the year 221 of our era, is the first who reduced the period stated above to 5500 years,—a conclusion which appears to have been readily received by nearly all the learned Christians of his day, particularly in the provinces of Greece and Asia Minor.' Vol. I. p. 115.

Lactantius, the tutor of the son of Constantine, assuming that the renovation of all things would take place at latest, A.M. 6000, predicted, that from the time when he wrote, (A.D. 320,) two centuries was the limit of the world's existence; plainly supposing the year 5500 to be the era of Redemption. The records of a synod held at Constantinople in the year 691,—the 'principle 'of computation in use among the Greeks, Copts, Abyssinians, 'Armenians, Ethiopians, and Georgians, even at the present day,' —the calculation of Eusebius, not exactly agreeing with the

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Greek, but entirely clashing with the Hebrew,—are, with other authorities, triumphantly appealed to by Dr. Russell as proving, that the chronology of the Scriptures, as we now have it in the version of the Seventy, was, with some slight variations, universally received during the first six centuries.

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'It was not, indeed, till the eighth century, that the notions of the Masorite Jews found any acceptance in the Christian Church. About the year 720, the Venerable Bede produced his works, *De Temporum Ratione*, &c., in which he assigned, at considerable length, the reasons upon which he had decided, in preferring the Hebrew verity to the translation of the Seventy. But the innovations of the monk of Durham were ill received by his contemporaries. He was denounced as a heretic, because he had taken upon him to assert, in opposition to all the fathers of the church, that the Redeemer of our race was not born in the sixth millennium of the world. The darkness of the succeeding ages prevents us from pursuing the progress of this opinion among the churchmen of the West. * * * Upon the revival of learning, the discussion was renewed with that vigour and freedom which characterized the second birth of intellect and taste; and soon called into the field of controversy the powerful talents of Scaliger, Petavius, Vossius, Pezron, and Usher.'—Vol. I. pp. 120, 121.

We had wished, but have found it impracticable, to compress into a narrow compass, the main particulars of the connexion which Dr. Russell traces, between the dates already given and the chronology of the Babylonians, Assyrians, Persians, and Greeks. Suffice it to say, that the various collateral topics discussed in the second volume, render it a treasury of information, while the conclusions at which the Author arrives, serve to countenance and confirm the system of chronology he has adopted.

III. To those of our readers not conversant with the lore of antiquity, an inquiry must have suggested itself respecting the origin of the remarkable variations which have been pointed out, between the dates of the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures. Those variations cannot be thought to have existed when the translation of the Seventy was made. That the Jews should have permitted such a departure from the text of their sacred books, in a version of which they made constant use, is quite incredible. The care and jealousy with which they watched over the writings containing at once their political code and their religious creed, the value they put upon the Septuagint, and the absence of all conceivable motive to falsification when it was first produced, combine to assure us, that the discrepancy in the two authorities between which we have to decide, is not of equally ancient date with the Septuagint itself. The amount of difference, and the manner in which the genealogies are shortened or lengthened, lead to the suspicion of *design;* and forbid us to resolve the difference into the mistakes of transcribers. It is painful to accuse

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any of our fellow-creatures of having wilfully taken from, or added to, the oracles of God, and exposed themselves to the curse connected with such presumptuous impiety; but most painful to advance an accusation so serious against the descendants of Abraham, the chosen depositaries of divine truth, and the channel through which it was to flow to all nations. Such, however, is the grievous charge involved in the explanation given, (and, as far as we know, it is the only probable explanation,) of the diversity between our two chronological authorities. The hatred of the Jews to the name of Christ, it is notorious, was a "perfect hatred," and sufficiently strong to lead them to any extent of wickedness, through which the pretensions of Christianity could be invalidated. A race which filled up the measure of their iniquities by crucifying the Son of God, and the obduracy and guilt of which are attested by the degradation and misery of seventeen hundred years, can scarcely complain of calumny, if, in addition to their other crimes, they be charged with a wilful corruption of the pages of inspiration. The inducements to such corruption lay in the opinion, widely prevalent, if not universally entertained, that the Messiah was to appear in the sixth millenary age of the world; and that when that age had transpired, the end of all things would come. The correctness of this opinion being assumed, the Jews, as the last period of time approached its termination, would be increasingly perplexed by the incongruity between their circumstances and their creed; whilst the Christians would be furnished with evidence, to which the lapse of every day added strength, that the Messiah had indeed appeared. To us, the reasoning, *pro* and *con*, founded upon these data, may seem undeserving of the importance we suppose to have been attached to it; but the most abundant proof is not wanting, that about the commencement of the present era, and for some centuries downwards, the notions we have explained held a very prominent place in the belief and the hopes of both the descendants of Abraham and the disciples of Christ *. The Rabbies, it is conjectured, exasperated by the difficulty in which the common expectations of Jews and Christians involved them, secretly disarranged the genealogies of their forefathers; and thus put back many degrees the time-piece which had measured the ages of the

* The bloody cruelty of Herod shews, that, in the apprehension of that ferocious governor, the expectation of a deliverer about to appear, was generally entertained and fondly cherished amongst the Jews. A very useful collection of concurrent testimonies may be found in Sheppard's "Divine Origin of Christianity," Vol. I. p. 165, and onwards. We need not quote from the New Testament to prove that the belief prevailed amongst Christians, of the proximity of the day of the Lord. In the works of Clement and Barnabas, we find several unquestionable

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world. Let it be granted that Augustus Cæsar reigned in the 4000th year from the Creation, and the "traditions of the elders" might yet be saved, and a most popular and troublesome *argumentum ad hominem* be deprived of all its cogency.

But whilst the rejection of Christ by the Jews 'rendered necessary an extensive change in their dates and calculations,' it was only under very peculiar circumstances that such a change could be effected. If the MSS. were very numerous and widely spread, or in general use, the undertaking would be perfectly hopeless. It was not till the venerable originals were almost superseded by the Septuagint, and the few that remained were almost exclusively in the hands of the learned, that the presumed alteration could be attempted with the least chance of success. That such an opportunity of violating the trust reposed in them did occur to the Jews, is by no means improbable. The copies of the Scriptures, when perhaps two or three months' hard labour were required to produce one, would be comparatively rare. Amidst the destruction of Jerusalem, and the devastation that accompanied it, when he who was on the house-top, was warned not to tarry to "take any thing out of his house," and he who was in the field, not to "return to take his clothes," the sacred books of the Hebrews would unquestionably share in the general wreck. The version of the Seventy would seem to have been much used in the Synagogues even of Palestine, in the time of our Lord; and when the inhabitants of Judea and the neighbouring regions, who escaped the famine, and the pestilence, and the sword which devoured the land, were driven into all parts of the earth, they would, we may conclude, at once conform to the usages of the Grecians (Ἑλληνισταὶ) previously residing at the various places of their dispersion. This diminution of the numbers of the Hebrew MSS., and almost total disuse of those that remained, would facilitate any efforts made by the Rabbies to disturb the chronology of their ancient records; and the facility would be yet further increased, by the substitution of the Chaldaic letters for the Samaritan, about the time when the corruption of dates is thought to have occurred; i. e. about 130 years after Christ.

'On such an occasion, there would be little difficulty in effecting whatever innovations the sanhedrim of Tiberias might deem expedi-

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proofs of the early existence of this belief. 'The same notion may be traced in the works of Justin Martyr, Tertullian, and St. Cyprian. It was maintained by several other of the distinguished writers who adorned those early ages of our faith; and especially by Hesychius, Timotheus, Theophilus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, and Ambrose.'—Vol. I. p. 113.

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ent; and this the more easily, because the old language of Scripture had already become obsolete among the great body of the people in Judea, whom habit or necessity had long reconciled to the use of Greek, or of the mixed Syriac, the vernacular tongue of Palestine.' Vol. I. p. 122.

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In bringing against the Jews the accusation of having intentionally falsified their holy writings, the moderns are not advancing a novel charge. The stigma, whether deservedly or not, has for ages rested upon the children of the Patriarchs. The early Christians hesitated not boldly to attribute to them a violation of the Scriptures relating to Christ.

'A learned Author, the celebrated Abulfuragius, asserts, that the Jews, believing it to have been foretold in the law and the prophets, that Christ was to be sent in the *last times*, in order to produce a reason or apology for rejecting him, altered the chronology of the world.' . . . 'Augustine, in like manner, relates, that the Jews were suspected of having corrupted their copies of the ancient Scriptures, and particularly of having altered the generations and lives of the antediluvian patriarchs; and this they did, he says, out of dislike to the Christians, and in order to weaken the authority of the Septuagint.' Vol. I. pp. 79, 80.

At the commencement of the second century, 'a new translation of the Old Testament into Greek was brought forward 'under the auspices of their leading rabbies, the object of which 'was, to bring into discredit the venerable work of the Seventy.' The liberties which Aquila, the translator, an immoral apostate, used with the original, were soon perceived and exposed.

'Two years after the publication of Aquila's version, there appeared a work entitled *Seder Olam Rabba*, or, The Great Chronicle of the World; which presented to the Jews the first-fruits of those labours which the enemies of Christianity had bestowed upon the Hebrew writings. This curtailed system of chronology was put forth under the name of Rabbi Josi, and favoured by the countenance and recommendation of the notorious Akiba.' . . . 'Its publication may with certainty be regarded as marking the epoch at which the Jews adopted their abbreviated scheme of ancient chronology.' Vol. I. p. 83.

With such evidence of the guilt of the Jews we may connect the marks of *design*, and of design hostile to Christianity, which it requires little penetration to detect in the corruptions of the Hebrew dates. The careful reader would observe, that while the whole genealogical list contained in the xith chapter of Genesis was brought into our calculation, a selection was made from that contained in the vth chapter, and a selection, giving a result more favourable to the hypothesis we have laboured to support, than could be obtained from the average of all the generations mentioned by the historian. Those of the remainder, those of Jared, Methuselah, and Lamech, coincide with the Septuagint. The

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last two present a strange difference from those which precede them. The son of Enoch was born when Enoch was 90 years of age; of Cainan when his father was 70; of Mahalaleel when the father was 65; but between the birth of father and son, in the case of Methusaleh, 187 years transpired; and in the instance of Lamech, 182. Why, it may be asked, if the rabbies have tampered with the chronology, did they leave these glaring discrepancies? Because to have displaced a century in these instances, as in the others, would have sent down both Methuselah and Lamech into the new world; a contradiction to the narrative not to be ventured upon. The translation of Enoch to heaven rendered it quite safe to effect the alteration in his genealogy; and accordingly, 65 is the term of the generation, instead of 165, as in the Greek. Jared's chronology presents an exception. The 100 years are not taken away as they might have been, still leaving more than 200 between his death and the Flood. Was this a stroke of policy? The Jewish rabbies were subtle as well as malicious. They would doubtless attempt to conceal the fraud they had practised; and certainly we cannot conceive of their having by any other means so much increased the difficulty of detection, with so little addition to the time they were anxious to shorten, as by allowing the generation of Jared to remain in its true form. If it were left so from a wish to disguise the imposition they were practising, the scheme was worthy of the craftiness of its authors.

This management, however, if such it were, has not been universally adhered to:

'The Babylonian Jews shorten the period from the Creation to the Deluge a century more than their brethren in the West; placing the Flood in the year of the world 1556, instead of 1656; and this difference was obviously occasioned by the subtraction of 100 years from the generation of Jared, which were added, of course, to the remainder of his life.' .... 'The Samaritan Pentateuch, in respect to the period now under consideration, is even more corrupt than the Hebrew text, whether of Babylon or of Tiberias. According to this authority, the interval from Adam to the general Deluge is reduced to 1307 years, being 349 less than the Jewish computation, and 949 less than the tables of Josephus, founded upon the original records of the ancient Scriptures. The process of abbreviation seems to have been conducted as follows: a century was taken away in the first instance from the generations of Jared, Methuselah, and Lamech: after which, for what reason is not apparent, 29 years were deducted from the last of these patriarchs before he became the father of Noah, and 20 from Methuselah, before he became the parent of Lamech. But the authors of this scheme soon perceived, that, to secure consistency, they must carry their innovations to a greater extent than they had at first contemplated. They found it necessary, not only to abstain, in the three instances just mentioned, from adding the century which they took

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from the generation to the residue of life, but even to deduct another century from the total amount of these patriarchs' years, that they might not encumber their calculations by an inconvenient longevity. Accordingly, the Samaritan chronologists restrict the life of Jared to 847 years instead of 962, that of Methuselah to 720 instead of 969, and that of Lamech to 653 instead of 777. The result proves satisfactorily the object of these gross corruptions: the three ancients whose names have just been stated, are all made to die in the same year, and that too the very year of the Flood!' Vol. I. pp. 89—91.

We extract from the fifty-second page of the same volume, a Table, shewing at one view the particulars of the variation between the ancient authorities referred to above.

	Lived before Birth of eldest Son.				After the Birth of eldest Son.				Total length of Life.			
	Heb.	Sam.	Sep.	Jos.	Heb.	Sam.	Sep.	Jos.	Heb.	Sam.	Sep.	Jos.
Adam	130	130	230	230	800	800	700	700	930	930	930	930
Seth	105	105	205	205	807	807	707	707	912	912	912	912
Enos	90	90	190	190	815	815	715	715	905	905	905	905
Cainan	70	70	170	170	840	840	740	740	910	910	910	910
Mahalaleel	65	65	165	165	830	830	730	730	895	895	895	895
Jared	162	62	162	162	800	785	800	800	962	847	962	962
Enoch	65	65	165	165	300	300	200	200	365	365	365	365
Methuselah	187	67	187	187	782	653	782	782	969	720	969	969
Lamech	182	53	188	182	595	600	595	595	777	653	753	777
Noah at the Flood.	600	600	600	600								
To the Flood	1656	1307	2262	2256								

We mention two or three other indications of *design*, in what are thought to be corruptions of the Hebrew text. The third period of history, the dates of which form the subject of these extended observations, reaches from the giving of the promise to Abraham, to the exode of the Israelites from Egypt. There is no difficulty in ascertaining its length; and there are no means of reconciling it with Exodus xii. 40, (a passage already alluded to,) unless by adopting in that passage the reading of the Seventy: "Now the sojourning of the children of Israel who dwelt in Egypt, *and in Canaan*, was 430 years." The omission in the Hebrew MSS. of the words printed in Italics, makes Paul to contradict Moses; a contradiction, it is conjectured, which the Rabbies would be far from regretting: "The covenant which was

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confirmed before of God in Christ, the law, which *was* 430 *years after*, cannot disannul." Gal. iii. 17. In the book of Judges, as we have seen, the Jews, and Usher following them, shorten the chronology at least a century; again opposing their computation to the assertion of the Apostle:—"After that, he gave unto them Judges about the space of 450 years, until Samuel the prophet." Acts xiii. 20. Another passage, in which it is to be feared we may detect the marks of the vitiating hand of the Rabbies, is 1 Kings vi. 1. "It came to pass, in the 480th year after the children of Israel were come out of the land of Egypt, in the fourth year of Solomon's reign over Israel, in the month Zif, which is the second month, that he began to build the house of the Lord." Now if to the 450 years assigned by Paul as the time of the Judges, we add 40, from the Exodus to the death of Moses; 7 to the division of the land; 12 for the government of Samuel alone; 40 for the government of Samuel and Saul; 40 for the reign of David; and 3 from his death to the foundation of the temple, the sum will be 592. The Septuagint here fails us, and agrees with the Hebrew. Still, we need not despair of coming at the truth. Neither the narrative in the book of Judges, nor the words of Paul, can by any force or dexterity be twisted into accordance with the verse now before us. It is useless to disguise the fact, that one or the other must be given up. The inquiry arises, Is there external evidence to support or impugn either?

The calculations of Demetrius and Eupolemus, and those of other pagan authors, as quoted by Clemens and Theophilus, assume the longer series of years. Josephus refers to the very passage, but gives the number 592. (Book 8, chap. 3.) Origen, in his Commentary on the gospel of John, cites the text, 1 Kings vi. 1, but without the slightest notice of the number of years which had intervened between that event and the exode. Γεγραπται ἐν τῃ τριτῃ των βασιλειων, τους λιθους καὶ τα ξυλα τρισιν ἐτεσιν ἑτοιμασαν, ἐν δε τῳ τεταρτῳ ἐτει, μηνῃ δευτερᾳ, βασιλευοντος του βασιλεως Σολομοντος επι Ισραηλ· κ. τ. λ.

From the whole it is inferred, that the former part of the verse in question is an interpolation intended to overthrow the chronology of Paul.

We must hastily conclude by suggesting the desirableness—may we not say the necessity—of some speedy consideration of this by no means unimportant subject, with a view to the correction of the chronology, at all events, in foreign versions of the Scriptures. Vossius, Peyron, Hayes, Jackson, Hales, Faber, and Drummond reject, without hesitation, the contracted scheme of the Rabbinical text. Peyron informs us, that 'the Jesuit missionaries who were employed in China, deemed it necessary to come back to Rome, to ask permission to use the Septuagint calculation, in order to satisfy the scruples of the better-informed classes in that singular country.'

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Art. III. *A New Translation of the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Romans, with a Commentary,* and an Appendix of various Dissertations. By the Rev. Moses Stuart, M.A. Professor of Sacred Literature in the Theological Seminary at Andover, in the State of Massachusetts. Republished, by appointment of the Author, with Prefaces and an Index, under the care of John Pye Smith, D.D., and E. Henderson, Doct. Philos. 8vo. pp. xxiv. 563. London, 1833.

[*Concluded from Page* 303.]

WE have the authority of an Apostle to establish the fact, that in the epistles of Paul there "are some things hard to be understood;" and no one of them is more replete with passages of difficult interpretation, than that to which Mr. Stuart's present Commentary relates. Some of the subjects which are comprised in its contents have, more than almost any other topics of theology, engaged the attention of Divines; and the controversies to which they have given rise, have been wider in their range than almost any others by which the differences of religious parties have been perpetuated. Christians who, on all the essential points of their common faith are agreed, vary so much in the estimate they form of the Apostle's representations in particular portions of this Epistle, as to assume distinctive names, which hold them in an unseemly and unhappy separation. An interpretation of such passages, which should unite those who now deduce from them conclusions that place them in opposition to each other, would, if so admitted, be a pledge of an almost entire agreement in the explanation of the Apostle's writings. Whether such an interpretation shall ever be proposed, and meet with a concurrent acceptance, may be doubted. Every attempt, however, to illustrate the phraseology of this Epistle, which shall be soberly conducted, in the hands of an expositor of critical learning and skill, may be of service in promoting an approximation to a more harmonious understanding of debated topics, by enlarging the knowledge of the principles on which all correct interpretation of the Scriptures must be established, and by applying them so as to remove many of the existing causes of misapprehension and misconstruction.

Mr. Stuart's Commentary is such an attempt. The manner in which it is constructed and executed, renders it a most valuable companion to the student who may be desirous of examining the Epistle to the Romans with scrupulous exactness, by the light of an appropriate and copious philology. The extensive use of philological comment is the principal distinction of Mr. Stuart's volume; and on this account it is deserving of high commendation.

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Many of the difficulties which have been remarked by the expositors of this Epistle, have been attributed to peculiarities in the style of the Apostle Paul; and the discovery and elucidation of these have consequently engaged much of their attention. Of the quickness and vehemence of his manner, the abruptness of his expressions and transitions, the involution of his sentences, and the parenthetical construction of many of his periods, every attentive reader of this Epistle must be apprised. They are, indeed, too obvious to escape the notice of any reader. But the Apostle's diction is rendered not more difficult of explication by these characters of his writing, than by the use of certain words and phrases which are of frequent occurrence, and the sense of which is not to be determined in one place by their meaning in another. If, for example, we could determine the exact import of the term νομος, which the Apostle so frequently employs, in each instance of its application, we should proceed with more confidence than we feel, in our attempts to discriminate its reference. Something more, it must be admitted, than a knowledge of grammar and of words, is necessary for the understanding of the Apostle's writings; but a correct perception of the import of his terms, and an insight into his grammatical constructions, are in the first place necessary: and these, as indispensable requisites for ascertaining his meaning, are the most essential qualifications for an expositor of Paul's Epistles. The following observations of Mr. Stuart, in illustration of the Apostle's style, may assist the reader of his Epistles in remarking some of the peculiarities of it.

'It is an obvious peculiarity of this Apostle's style, that he abounds in parentheses. His mind appears to have been so glowing, and so full of ideas, that the expression of a single word seems often to call forth as it were a burst of thought respecting the import of that word, which hinders him from advancing in the sentence that he had begun, until he has given some vent to the feelings thus incidentally occasioned. The expression of these feelings makes what I have named *parenthesis* above; although this may not always be designated as such, in our printed books. To illustrate what I mean, let us take the examples in the first paragraph of the Epistle before us. When Paul (ver. 1) had named the ευαγγελιον Θεου, which would recall to the minds of his readers the gospel that was then preached by himself and others, he immediately adds, in order to enforce on their minds a becoming idea of the dignity and excellence of this gospel, ὁ προεπηγγείλατο διὰ των προφητῶν αὐτοῦ ἐν γραφαῖς ἁγίαις· after which he resumes his subject. But no sooner has he uttered the words του υἱου αὐτου, than another burst of thought respecting the exalted personage thus named, escapes him. First, this *Son* is γενομένου . . . . . σάρκα, a descendant of David, the most exalted king who ever occupied the Jewish throne, even as to his humbler condition, or his human nature. Secondly, he is του ὁρισθέντος . . . νεκρῶν, i. e. he has been constituted or

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set forth as the Son of God, clothed with supreme dominion, in respect to his more exalted condition or his more exalted nature, after his resurrection from the dead. Having thus given vent to the feelings of reverence with which the mention of the Son of God had inspired him, he resumes his theme by the words Ἰησοῦ . . . ἡμῶν, which are in apposition with τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, in ver. 3. The words τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν again suggest another train of thought, which the writer stops to utter, viz., δι' οὗ . . . . Χριστοῦ· after which he resumes his theme, and finishes the sentence by πᾶσι τοῖς . . . . . Χριστοῦ, ver. 7. The greater part, then, of this apparently involved sentence might be included in parenthesis; and then the simple sentence would run thus: Παῦλος . . ἀφωρισμένος εἰς εὐαγγέλιον Θεοῦ περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αυτοῦ . . . . . Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν . . . πᾶσι τοῖς οὖσιν. κ. τ. λ.

'If the reader now will take special notice of this characteristic in the writings of Paul, it will help to unravel many a sentence which would otherwise seem perplexed, and perhaps even irrelevant. To understand well the writings of this Apostle, something more than a knowledge of grammar and of words, is necessary. We must be able to enter into the feelings and sympathies of the writer, and to trace his modes of thought and expression in cases that seem obscure, as well as in cases which are plain.' pp. 59, 60.

Some editions of the Greek Testament have the parentheses, as thus noticed by Mr. Stuart; other editions are entirely without them; and some have only the portion in the second verse thus marked. In the impressions of the common version, some have the entire paragraph, verses 1—7, without the parenthetical distinctions; and others adopt them only in the second verse.

Mr. Stuart's criticisms are scarcely ever irrelevant to the subjects under discussion. In the following note, however, we meet with remarks which have no relation to the text on which it is designed to be a commentary,—at least no proper and instructive connection with it.

'vs. 8. τῷ Θεῷ μου, *my God*; the Christian religion which teaches us to say πάτερ ἡμῶν, allows us to say, Θεός μου.—Διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, *per Christum, auxilio Christi, interventu Christi*, i. e. through, by, or in consequence of what Christ has done or effected; in other words, *Deo gratias ago respectu vestrûm omnium, ut Christo adjuvante fides vestra, &c.* All that had been done among them to promote a true and saving belief, the Apostle attributes to what Christ had caused or effected. But whether he means to designate what he had done for them by his sufferings and death, or by sending his Spirit, does not certainly appear. In either sense the passage will convey a meaning both true and important.'

But the passage may have a true meaning, and the truth conveyed by it may have its importance, if neither the one sense nor the other were intended. In what misapprehension of the words διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, the preceding comment originated, we are unable to conjecture; but that they are not explained in their

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obvious and only admissible reference, is very plain. The phrase, as here used, only qualifies the Apostle's action of thanksgiving, and describes the medium of his eucharistical address.

On verse 13 (chap. i.), Mr. Stuart remarks, 'that the 'apostles were not *uniformly* and *always* guided in *all* their 'thoughts, desires, and purposes, by an infallible spirit of in-'spiration'; and he states, that this view of the subject frees it from many and most formidable difficulties. We can scarcely describe this as an example of the *dignus vindice nodus.* No serious writers, in treating of the subject of inspiration, have represented the apostles as being constantly, in all their thoughts, desires, and purposes, under its influence. The New Testament does not furnish any ground whatever for attributing to the apostles such an exemption from the causes of mistake and error, as might, in respect to their own personal views and behaviour, secure an unerring and faultless course. It is as apostles, not as men, that we consider them as laying claim to inspiration, and as being the subjects of a supernatural guidance. Inspiration did not eradicate their mental infirmities, as we know it did not change their physical condition. Inspiration belonged to them as religious teachers, as extraordinary ministers of Christ, who were employed in publishing the gospel. In all other respects, they were not distinguished from their brethren and companions in tribulation, and in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ, who, in their own personal concerns, and the general affairs of life, governed themselves by their own apprehension of the course of events, and determined the calls of duty by the maxims of Christian wisdom. Inspiration was given to the Apostle to qualify him as the bearer of a Divine commission, in the fulfilment of which it sustained him in all its relations to the spiritual objects of his ministry; but it did not supersede, nor was it intended to render unnecessary, the exercise of his own judgement in the ordinary circumstances of his personal conduct, and in the general course of his proceedings.

We do not agree with Mr. Stuart in the distribution which he has adopted of the 16th, 17th, and 18th verses of this Chapter. We consider the first or salutatory part of the Epistle as terminating with the 17th verse, and would commence a new paragraph with the 18th. We do not consider the Apostle as declaring that he is not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ, 'Because, (1.) 'It reveals the way of pardon for sinners who believe in Christ. '(2.) It shews the fearful doom of those who remain in their 'sins, and refuse to believe.' It is simply as to the Gospel's being a gracious dispensation of mercy in delivering men from a sinful state, that the Apostle avows his attachment to it. Nor do we think that the design of verse 18th is to 'shew the fearful 'doom of those who remain in their sins, and refuse to believe.'

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It is not of persons to whom the Gospel revelation had been published, and who had subjected themselves to the guilt of rejecting it, that the Apostle is writing. He is representing the case of men apart from all distinctive circumstances of this kind. Nothing can be more pertinent than the transition in the 18th verse to the state of mankind as the subjects of moral depravity exposed to the punishment of sin. The Apostle had described the Gospel as the essential and exclusive remedy for the removal of the evils which afflict mankind, and are preventive of their happiness; 'the power of God unto salvation, to every one that 'believeth, to the Jew first, and also to the Greek,' as discovering the righteousness by which man finds acceptance with God; and having done so, he proceeds to notice the condition of the human race as amenable to Divine justice on account of their moral responsibility and their violation of the Creator's laws. The 18th verse evidently commences a new subject, and should begin a paragraph. Griesbach has so arranged this portion of the Epistle; and many of the most judicious translators and expositors have adopted the same distribution of the verses.

From faith to faith. ἐκ πίστεως εἰς πίστιν. Mr. Stuart renders the whole verse: 'For the justification which is of God, is re-'vealed by it, [justification] by faith, in order that we may be-'lieve, as it is written: "The just shall live by faith."' In this manner the passage has been explained by many expositors: '*Justitia Dei ex fide, sive per fidem, revelatur ad fidem;* hoc 'est, ut in eum credamus.' Others adopt the sense imported in the rendering of the Common Version, and understand the expression as denoting a progressive faith, by which the subject of it is ever more and more transformed into the objective truth; an advancement from a lower to a higher degree of faith. Such a view of the passage is certainly at first sight in accordance with the construction of the Greek text—Δικαιοσύνη γὰρ Θεοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ ἀποκαλύπτεται ἐκ πίστεως εἰς πίστιν, which is literally rendered in the Common Version. The sense in which Mr. Stuart, in agreement with many of his predecessors, understands the words, would seem to require,—Δικαιοσύνη γὰρ Θεοῦ ἐκ πιστεως ἐν αὐτῷ αποκαλύπτεται εἰς πίστιν; and it would seem difficult to account for the collocation of the words in the text, if the Apostle intended to convey the sense in which they are explained, considering ἐκ πίστεως as qualifying δικαιοσυνη. No difficulty whatever is occasioned by the concluding words of the sentence, ἐκ πίστεως εἰς πίστιν, since we meet with parallel phrases denoting transition, or advancement, as ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν, 2 Cor. iii. 18, *from glory to glory;* ἐκ δυνάμεως εἰς δύναμιν, Ps. lxxxiv. 7, *from strength to strength.* But, as qualifying ἀποκαλύπτεται, there is in ἐκ πίστεως a difficulty which is very perplexing; for, as Mr. Stuart suggests, What can be the meaning of *is revealed from faith?* The con-

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struction which he adopts, understanding δικαιοσύνη as repeated before ἐκ πίστεως, is probably the true one, since it gives a consistent meaning to the passage, which cannot be said of any other of the interpretations which have been suggested.

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Among the most important terms which occur in this Epistle are the expressions, δικαιοσύνη Θεου, δικαιόω, which are frequently employed by the Apostle, and the correct apprehension of which is indispensable to the understanding of the primary doctrine of the New Testament. Mr. Stuart largely illustrates these terms. His illustrations are too extensive to admit of our placing them before our readers, but we shall extract his account of the verb δικαιόω; referring to our Number for Sept. 1830, (pp. 235—239,) for some remarks on this word and its derivatives.

'The Greek sense of the verb δικαίοω, differs in one respect from the corresponding Hebrew verb, צָדַק; for this (in Kal.) means *to be just, to be innocent, to be upright,* and also *to justify one's self, to be justified,* thus having the sense of either a *neuter* or *passive* verb. In the active voice, δικαίοω in Greek has only an active sense, and is used in pretty exact correspondence with the forms צִדֵּק and הִצְדִּיק (Pihel and Hiphil) of the Hebrews, i. e. it means, *to declare just, to pronounce just, to justify,* i. e. to treat as just; consequently, as intimately connected with this, *to pardon, to acquit from accusation, to free from the consequences of sin* or *transgression, to set free from a deserved penalty.* This last class of meanings is the one in which Paul usually employs this word. As a *locus classicus* to vindicate this meaning, we may appeal to Rom. viii. 33, 'Who shall accuse the elect of God? It is God ὁ δικαιῶν, *who acquits them,*' viz. of all accusation, or *who liberates them* from the penal consequences of transgression. Exactly in the same way is it said, in Prov. xvii. 15, 'He who *justifieth* (מַצְדִּיק) the wicked, and he that condemneth the just, even they both are an abomination to the Lord.' So in Exod. xxiii. 7, 'I will *not justify* (לֹא אַצְדִּיק) the wicked.' In the same manner, Isaiah v. 23, speaks: '*Who justify* the wicked (מַצְדִּיקֵי רָשָׁע) for a reward.' In these and all such cases, the meaning of the word *justify* is altogether plain; viz. it signifies *to acquit, to free from the penal consequences of guilt, to pronounce just,* i. e. to absolve from punishment, it being directly the *opposite* of condemning or subjecting to the consequences of a penalty.

'In this sense, Paul very often employs the verb; *e. g.* Rom. v. 1, δικαιωθέντες, *being freed from punishment, being acquitted, being pardoned* . . . . . εἰρήνην ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν. Rom. v. 9, δικαιωθέντες, *being acquitted, pardoned* . . . . σωθησόμεθα δι' αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς, which salvation is the opposite of being subjected to punishment, or of *not* being justified. In Gal. ii. 16, 17, δικαιόω is four times employed in the sense *absolved, acquitted,* or *treated as just,* i. e. freed from penalty, and admitted to a state of reward. So Gal. iii. 8, 11; iii. 24; v. 4; Tit. iii. 7. In Rom. iv. 5, τὸν δικαιοῦντα τὸν ἀσεβῆ is plainly suscept-

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ible of no other than the above interpretation; for those who are ungodly, can never be made *innocent*, in the strict and literal sense of this word; they can only be *treated as innocent*, i. e. absolved from the condemnation of the law, pardoned, delivered from the penalty threatened against sin. That the idea of *pardon*, or *remission of the penalty threatened by the Divine law*, is the one substantially conveyed by δικαίοω and δικαιοσύνη, as generally employed in the writings of Paul, is most evident from Rom. iv. 6, 7; where the blessedness of the man to whom the Lord imputes δικαιοσύνη, i. e. reckons, counts, treats as δίκαιος, is thus described: "Blessed are they whose iniquities *are forgiven*, and whose sins *are covered*; blessed is the man to whom the Lord imputes not sin," *i. e.* whom he does not treat or punish as a sinner. This is a fundamental explanation of the whole subject, so far as the present class of meanings attached to δικαιόω and δικαιοσύνη is concerned.' pp. 82, 83.

In Chap. iii. 10—19, a series of quotations is introduced by the Apostle from the Old Testament, principally from the Psalms, for the purpose of confirming by authority the averment which he had already made, that the Jews as well as the heathen were, in God's account, chargeable with the guilt of moral transgression. Those passages have been described by many expositors, as employed by the Apostle in order to represent the universal depravity of mankind, and as being direct testimonies to the universal corruption of human nature. A question is evidently suggested by this application of the quotations, which is of some consequence, and of which every considerate reader will be disposed to ask for a solution.—Was it in the design of the writers from whom the passages are cited, to invest them with such meaning? The affirmative cannot be maintained, because the passages adduced do not refer to the world at large, nor are they used by their authors in reference to the heathen. In the quoting of these texts from the Old Testament, there is evidently a limitation of them to the Jewish people, in the words of the 20th verse. "Now we know that whatsoever things the law saith, it saith to them that are under the law." Mr. Stuart explains the citations in respect to the moral condition of all unbelieving Jews. 'All unbelievers, all who put not their trust in Christ, 'are of the same character with those wicked persons whom the 'Psalmist describes.' 'The context in Ps. xiv. shews, that *the* '*workers* of iniquity there mentioned are the party opposed to 'David. Those who opposed the *Son of David*, are character-'ized by Paul in a similar manner.' But is the Apostle to be thus understood? Is he representing the case of persons who incur guilt by rejecting Christ, and who are in a state of moral delinquency in consequence of their opposition to the Messiah? Plainly not. He is writing of what the Jews were in a moral sense, as those, among others, for whom such a dispensation as

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the gracious economy of the Gospel was necessary, and who were sinners apart from all rejection of it, or opposition to it. The application of the citations is to be made out in another way. Their circumcision and their external privileges were the grounds of the confidence of the Jews. The passages prove, as used in the Old Testament, that moral degeneracy was chargeable upon such as possessed them, to whom they could therefore be no ground of dependence; and they are applied by the Apostle to describe the character of the Jews as depraved and amenable to a law which they had violated.

With the light of Revelation to guide us in our inquiries into all the questions which suggest themselves to us, as we view the circumstances of our moral state, and reflect on the visitation of the human race by death, we may look with other feelings than those of contempt or pride, on the speculations of those who, in ancient times, made the mortality of man an object of their contemplation. They went as far in their researches and in their musings as their reason and their learning could conduct them; but they found themselves but little benefited by these excursions, gaining nothing for their own satisfaction, and retaining all their incompetency to be the instructors of others, in respect to the nature and the issues of the change which closes man's intercourse with the living world. So much as the vulgar knew, the philosophers knew of the physical difference between life and death; but the wisest of them possessed no real advantages over the multitude, as to any knowledge of the moral relations affected by the change. *Malum mihi videtur esse Mors*, as a text for the discussions of ancient philosophy, included the probabilities of future non-existence, and the extinction of all present modes of enjoyment; but it furnished no occasion of investigating the causes to which the mortality of a reasonable creature like man might be attributed. In the writings of the Apostle, this subject is treated in a manner which, independently of all other evidence sustaining his authority as an inspired instructor, is sufficient to prove that his doctrines were not derived from the schools of human wisdom. In the fifth chapter of this Epistle, the moral connections of death, as affecting the human race, are the subject; and the design of Christ's mediation as influencing them, is explained by the inspired writer. The passage from vs. 12 to vs. 19 is, in respect to the scope of the Apostle's argument, a plain one; but the interpretation of it in detail is replete with difficulties; and the variety of opinions which commentators have deduced from the abundant criticisms which have been applied to the verses, may here, as in some other instances, very properly be noticed, as a caution to the reader against a hasty dismissal of passages from his examination, the general bearing of which may be distinctly perceived. Mr. Stuart's critical observations on this

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important portion of the Epistle are too copious and connected to admit of extract that should do justice to them; but his remarks in opposing the conclusion of some other expositors in favour of the doctrine of imputation, we shall lay before our readers.

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'We must, then, examine *the nature of the case.* What is it? It is, (according to the *common* theory of imputation,) that the sin of one man is charged upon all his posterity, who are condemned to everlasting death because of it, antecedent to, and independently of any voluntary emotion or action on their part. But this idea seems to be attended with some serious difficulties; for (*a*) it appears to contradict the essential principles of our moral consciousness. We never did, and we never can, feel guilty of another's act, which was done without any knowledge or concurrence of our own. We may just as well say, that we can appropriate to ourselves and make our own, the righteousness of another, as his unrighteousness. But we can never, in either case, even force ourselves into a consciousness that any act is really our own, except one in which we have had a personal and voluntary concern. A transfer of moral turpitude is just as impossible as a transfer of souls; nor does it lie within the boundaries of human effort, that we should repent of Adam's sin. We may be filled, and we should be filled, with deep abasement on account of our degraded and fallen nature; but to repent, in the strict sense of this word, of another's personal act, is plainly an utter impossibility.

'(*b*) Such an imputation as that in question, would be in direct opposition to the first principles of moral justice, as conceived of by us, or as represented in the Bible. That "the son shall not die for the iniquity of the father," is as true as that "the father shall not die for the iniquity of the son;" as God has most fully declared in Ezek. xviii. I am aware that Pres. Edwards (Orig. Sin.) has endeavoured to avoid the force of the declarations in this deeply interesting chapter, by averring, that "the thing *denied*, is communion in the guilt and punishment of the sins of others, that are distinct parts of Adam's race, *i. e.* who are different individuals," p. 338. The same writer has laboured at length to prove the actual physical or metaphysical (I hardly know which to name it) *unity* of all our race with Adam. According to him, then, we are all *one* in Adam and with him. How then can we all be *separate* and *distinct* from each other? Are we any more separate from each other, than we are from our first parents? Pres. Edwards and many others have often and at length represented our connexion with Adam, by the figure of a tree and its branches. Conceding this for the present, we may ask, whether the topmost branch is not more nearly and intimately connected with the one next below it, than it is with the root; and whether it receives the laws of its nature any more from the root, than it does from the branch immediately next to it? Then we may ask again, whether any law exists between the branches as they have respect to each other, that is fundamentally different from, and opposite to, that law by which they are all connected with the root? Can the *root* communicate that to the topmost branch, which does not come through the next branch below

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the topmost, and conform to the laws of its nature? Or has the root some other mode of communication with the topmost branch, independently of that through the next intermediate one, and in conformity with the laws of its nature?

'But I must desist from urging questions. I can only say, that my limits, and the nature of my present undertaking, allow me to do no more than to give mere hints; and these only in respect to a small part of the subject. I make the appeal, however, to all who have not a point to carry, and ask, for I feel constrained to ask: Would such an exegesis of the prophet Ezekiel have ever been produced, except for the sake of avoiding the force of a consideration, which at least seems to overturn the doctrine of imputation in its rigid sense? I add only, that the whole doctrine of moral retribution, as built on the principles of moral justice, appears, at the very first view of it which is taken by our conscience and our sense of right and wrong, to be consentaneous with the principles laid down in Ezek. xviii.; and the representations of moral retribution in the Scriptures surely accord with the views of that chapter.

'But still you admit, that the whole human race became degenerate and degraded in consequence of the act of Adam?

'I do so; I fully believe it. I reject all the attempts to explain away this. (see in Excursus V.) I go further: I admit not only the loss of an original state of righteousness to all, in consequence of Adam's first sin, but that temporal evils and death have come of course on all by means of it. I admit that all are born in such a state, that it is now certain they will be sinners as soon as they are moral agents, and that they never will be holy until they are regenerated; consequently I must admit, that all have come into imminent hazard of everlasting death, by means of Adam's first offence. But it does not follow, that the evils of the present life, (which, I admit, in and by themselves considered, may be truly regarded as a part of the penalty threatened to Adam,) may not still, through "superabounding grace," be converted even into instruments of good, with regard to the discipline of the penitent in this fallen state. "We know that all things will work together for good to those who love God." If infants are saved (as I do hope and trust they are), all the evils which they now suffer in this world, may be made, by a wise and holy Providence, to contribute to their eternal good. In what way I pretend not to determine. If they are in fact saved, this fact of itself will render it certain, that their sufferings will be made to contribute to their eternal good; for so much we are taught, and so much therefore we know from the assurances of the Scriptures. It does not follow, then, because a part, a very small part of the penalty of the law is inflicted on all our race without exception, and only such a part as is capable of becoming the means of good, (so the "superabounding" and wonderful grace of the Gospel has ordered it,) that it can be proved from such infliction, that all are the heirs of *eternal* damnation, whether guilty or not of voluntary sins. It does not follow, because we are born destitute of those holy inclinations which Adam had in his original state, that we are born with a *positive infusion* of evil inclinations into our nature. (See Edwards on Orig. Sin, Part IV. chap. ii., who strongly asserts

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here the same sentiment.) It does not follow, because it is certain that all who come to be moral agents, will sin, and will not do any thing which is holy until they are regenerated, that when men do sin, they do not sin of their own free will and choice, and without any compulsion or necessity. It was just as certain, before Adam and the fallen angels first sinned, that they would sin, as it is now that they did sin. Yet they sinned freely. Certainty, in the view of God or in the nature of things, as to a future event, does not diminish at all from the possibility that it should be altogether voluntary and of free choice. It does not follow, then, from the entire certainty that all Adam's race in their present fallen condition will sin so soon as they are capable of sinning, and thus bring on themselves the sentence of death in its fullest sense, that *his* sin is strictly and fully imputed to them.

'I might go further. Pres. Edwards and others have vehemently urged the *universality* of sin, as a proof that our nature has inherited a *positive* infusion of corruption from Adam; and he insists on this at great length, in the first part of his Treatise on Original Sin, as an unanswerable argument. But I find great difficulty in admitting the *force* of the argument. Just so far as the human race have had any trial in a pure and holy state, just so far the consequence was a *universal* falling from that state. Pres. Edwards himself has taken great pains, in another part of his book, to shew that we had a more favourable trial in the person of Adam, than we should have had *in propriâ personâ*. Of course, then, he must admit that we *all* should have fallen, had we, like Adam, been placed in a state of holiness. The corruption, therefore, by his own arguments, would have been *just as universal as it now is*, if all men had been placed on trial in a state of innocence. How then can the *universality* of corruption prove that men have now a *positively depraved* nature which has been *inherited* from Adam?

'I might even go further still, and aver, that if the argument from the *universality* of corruption be a valid one to prove our native and *positive* depravity; the same argument will prove, that men would have been greater sinners if they had been born in a holy state than they now are. For as *all* of mankind who were placed on trial in a state of holiness did fall; and as, by the statement of Pres. Edwards himself, it must be admitted that all their posterity would have fallen, in the like condition; and as it is clear, that when beings in a holy state sin and fall, they are pre-eminently guilty; so, for aught that I can see, Pres. Edwards himself being judge, the guilt of men would have been just as *universal* as it now is, if they had been born holy and placed on trial as Adam was; while the measure of this guilt would of course have been much greater than at present. For why were the fallen angels passed by, without any redemption provided for them, if their sin was not beyond the reach of mercy because of their previous holy state? And why did Adam's first sin produce such tremendous consequences as no other sin among men ever produced, unless its aggravation was exceedingly great, in consequence of his having fallen from a state of holiness? And even at the present time, is it not true, that the sins of Christians are, for obvious reasons, more blameworthy than those of the unregenerate?

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'But to return; when I say, then, that the whole human race have become *degenerate* and *degraded* by the fall, I mean, that they have lost the righteousness of their original state; that they are subjected to various evils in the present life; that they are in such circumstances, that *they will all sin as soon as they are capable of sinning, and never do any thing holy until they are regenerated.* But in his original state, Adam did neither sin as soon as he was capable of doing it; nor did he fail to live in a manner entirely holy, for some time: how long, the Scriptures have not told us. Here, then, are *two* things, in which *his* state was exceedingly different from *ours;* and in respect to these two things, it was far superior to ours. This entitles us to say, that our nature is now *degraded* and *degenerate* in itself considered. As elevated by the grace of God, a different view is presented. But we have been contemplating it now, merely as it is in itself.

'I add only, that, as "the many" are never "made righteous" without penitence and faith, *i. e.* without some act which is properly their own, so, by a parity of reason, we must suppose that "the many" are not "constituted sinners," except in the same way.

'I see no way, then, either by philology or from the nature of the case, of establishing the doctrine of imputation, in the sense of moral transfer or communication of turpitude, or in the sense of guilt construed as meaning obnoxiousness to punishment in the full and proper sense of the word; at least, no way of proving this from the passage under examination.' pp. 233—236.

The passage in chap. vii. 5—25. is very closely examined by the Author, and very ably treated, both in the notes of his Commentary, and in an Excursus (VI.) at the end of the volume. The import of this section of the Epistle has been a much contested point among theologians, and has been the subject of much discussion by practical as well as by critical expositors. By one class of these, the entire description comprehended in the verses has been applied to Christian experience; and by another, it has been explained in reference to the case of an unregenerate person. For the former, Augustine was the earliest advocate; and his sentiments have been adopted by many distinguished writers who in other respects have taken the same view of Christian doctrines as he is so well known to have maintained. Calvin considers the Apostle as proposing the example of a regenerate man. A regenerate man, he thinks, supplies the most appropriate example by which the great disagreement of our nature with the righteousness of the law may be known. The warfare described by the Apostle, he affirms, does not exist in man until he has been sanctified by the Spirit of God. Paul, he remarks, is disputing concerning none but the pious, who are now regenerated. Arminius, on the other hand, in his *Dissertation* '*on the true and genuine sense of the seventh chapter of the Epistle to the Romans,*' maintains, that the Apostle is describing the condition and feelings of an unrenewed man under the law. This is the sense in which the

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passage was understood by Chrysostom and the early Greek commentators; and it is the sense which Mr. Stuart regards as the true one.

In his preface to the present edition of Mr. Stuart's Commentary, Dr. J. P. Smith declares that he is not convinced by his very able discussion of the question, whether the case put, and the description so pathetically drawn, in the seventh chapter of this epistle, refers to an unconverted man, or to the Apostle himself as a sincere and practical Christian. The evidence in favour of the latter method of interpretation, seems, he remarks, more weighty than all which Mr. Stuart has advanced against it, and he goes on to say: 'The scope of the passage (to evince the 'necessity of Divine Grace in order to the sanctification of the 'soul) appears to me to be well served by an exhibition of the 'self-displicency which a vigilant and tender conscience entertains 'concerning its own feelings. The instances of phraseology, in 'some respects similar, which the Author brings forward in order 'to shew that the brighter side of the picture admits an application 'to an unrenewed mind, are all widely different from the case 'before us. In all of them, the bearing of the language cannot 'be mistaken: for the characters were evidently ungodly, and 'the connected parts of each description even rest upon that 'fact, as prominent in itself, and principal in the argument. 'Here, every thing in the interior and essential properties of the 'description, is of a contrary kind.' Dr. Smith is inclined to suppose, that the Apostle had in his memory, and that he vividly portrays, the feelings of his own mind in the period between his being struck to the ground near the gates of Damascus, and his receiving peace of mind by faith in his gracious Redeemer. There seems to us to be great improbability in this supposition. If the representations in question be referred to the case of the Apostle himself, previously to his being relieved from a state of mental distress by faith in the Redeemer, and while the supposition of pardon and acquired holiness was far from his mind, while probably he entertained not the faintest hope of either, as Dr. Smith supposes, they place him precisely in that state which Mr. Stuart assumes. The Apostle could not *then* be a sincere and practical Christian. If the supposition of pardon and acquired holiness was far from his mind, he could not *then* be otherwise described than as an unconverted man, whatever might be the strength of his convictions and the bitterness of his spirit as an awakened person. Conversion and hopelessness in respect to forgiveness, never can be predicated of the same individual at any given time. In the expressions, "chief of sinners,"—"less than the least of all saints,"—"not meet to be called an Apostle," there is evidently nothing parallel to those which occur in the tion of the Epistle to the Romans under notice. Paul himself

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explains the sense in which he was the chief of sinners,—"who was before a blasphemer, and a persecutor, and injurious;"—was "not meet to be called an apostle," because he "persecuted the church of God." And "less than the least of all saints" is only an expression of deep humility. Mr. Stuart discusses, at considerable length, the import of the entire passage; and in his Excursus VI., at the end of the volume, he resumes the subject. His remarks on the allegations of those writers who apply the description to the case of the regenerate, are, in part, as follows:

'It is alleged, that the contest described in Rom. vii. 14—25, is one which accords with the feelings and experience of every Christian; and that he is thus conscious that the interpretation given to it by those who apply it to Christians, must be correct.

'This consideration is, in fact, the main dependence of those who support the exegesis just named; I mean, that by such an appeal to feeling, they produce more conviction on the minds of Christians, than is produced by all their other arguments. After all, however, this is far from determining the case. Let us look at the subject in all its bearings.

'I concede, in the first place, that Christians have a contest with sin; and that this is as plain and certain, as it is that they are not wholly sanctified in the present life. It is developed by almost every page of Scripture, and every day's experience. That this contest is often a vehement one; that the passions rage, yea, that they do sometimes even gain the victory, is equally plain and certain. It follows, now, of course, that, as the language of Rom. vii. 14—25, is intended to describe a contest between the good principle and the bad one in men, and also a contest in which the evil principle comes off victotorious; so this language can hardly fail of being appropriate to describe all those cases in a Christian's experience, in which sin triumphs. Every Christian at once recognizes and feels, that such cases may be described in language like that which the Apostle employs.

'Here is the advantage which the patrons of this opinion enjoy, and which they have not failed to push even to its utmost extent. After all, however, the ground is unfairly taken, and unfairly maintained. For, first, it is *only a part* of the case. While Christians have many a contest in which they are overcome by sin, yet they must be victors in far the greater number of cases, if the whole be collectively taken. If this be not true, then it cannot be true, that "he who loveth Christ, keepeth his commandments;" it cannot be true, that "they who love the law of God, do no iniquity;" nor true, that "he who is born of God sinneth not;" nor, that faith enables him who cherishes it, to "overcome the world." As, however, there is no denying the truth of these and the like declarations, and no receding from them, nor explaining them away as meaning less than *habitual victory* over sin, so it follows, that when verses 14—25, are applied to Christian experience, they are wrongly applied. The person represented in these verses, *succumbs to sin* IN EVERY INSTANCE of contest. The Christian must not — cannot — does not, so fight

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against sin. To assert this, would be to contradict the whole tenor of the Scriptures; it would be abrogating, at once, all which is declared in so pointed a manner, in chap. viii. 1—17.

'Secondly, as I have already noted, there stands in the way of this interpretation, the fact, that a great transition is marked by the commencement of chap. viii., one of which no satisfactory account can be given, if chap. vii. 14—25, is to be interpreted as belonging to those who are under grace.

'Thirdly, I repeat the remark, that the question is not, whether what is here said *might* be applied to Christians; but whether, from the tenor of the context, it appears to be the intention of the writer that it *should be* so applied. This principle cannot fail to settle the question concerning such an application.

'In a word; how can it be just reasoning to say, that because verses 14—25 may be applied to describe those contests of the Christian with sin in which the latter is victorious, therefore it does describe Christian experience *considered as a whole*, and is intended by the writer so to do? What can be more certain, than that *Christian* experience is not here to the writer's purpose, *when his object is, to represent the truly desperate condition of him who is merely under the law.*

'So far as reasoning or argument is concerned, the main allegation of those who apply verses 14—25 to Christian experience, remains yet to be considered. It is this, viz. that "the declarations made in these verses respecting the *internal man*, are such as comport only with the state or condition of a regenerate man; and if this be not admitted, then we must concede that the unregenerate are subjects of moral good." But,

'First, this allegation takes for granted, that the phrases *σύμφημι τῷ νόμῳ, συνήδομαι τῷ νόμῳ*, &c., are to be taken in their full strength, without any modification. I must ask the reader, now, instead of repeating here what I have before said, to look back upon the commentary on verse 22, and also what is said near the beginning of the present Excursus, on the subject of deducing arguments in this case merely from the forms of expression, without a special reference to the context and the object which the writer has in view. When the whole of this is weighed, I would inquire, whether he who interprets chap. vii. 5—25, as having respect to one who is under law, has not just as good a claim to insist that *σαρκικός, πεπραμένος ὑπὸ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, αἰχμαλωτίζοντά με τῷ νόμῳ τῆς ἁμαρτίας*, &c., shall be taken without abatement or modification? And now, what is to be the result? Plainly this, viz.:—that the writer has described an impossible state, or in which a man is *under law* and *under grace* at one and the same time; one in which sin is predominant in all cases, and grace a power on the whole predominant, at one and the same time. As this cannot be admitted, which set of terms in the description must be modified?—for one of them certainly must be. The answer to this question may be found in the considerations which have been suggested above.'

pp. 540, 541.

Is the Apostle, then, to be considered in this passage as speak-

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ing of himself, or as describing an assumed case, in respect to which he uses the first person for the purpose of representing it more emphatically than if another mode of exhibiting it had been adopted by him? If it be alleged, that he is speaking of himself, that he is illustrating certain states of mind, by adducing his own experience as the example of their alternations and influence, it seems necessary to consider his representations as descriptive of himself at the time of his addressing the Christians at Rome; with the obvious exception, indeed, of those instances in which the terms used by him refer to a former period of his life. A question, then, naturally arises on this view of the subject, Do his writings suggest, in any other part of them, so imperfect an influence of the great principles which he believed and maintained, and so variable a state of feeling, resulting from the obscuration of Christian hope, as to induce us, in respect to a passage which may be otherwise explained, to interpret the expressions which he uses in reference to his own character? We can see no propriety in any other answer to such a question than a negative one.

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But, whatever may be the true interpretation of this much disputed passage, it is obvious, and of some consequence to remark, that those expositors who have adopted the opinion which is in opposition to that for which Mr. Stuart is an advocate, do not maintain it for the purpose of lowering the standard of Christian influence in accommodation to the actual state of any professors of the religion of Christ. No insinuations of this kind are made by Mr. Stuart; nor could he so offend against truth and charity as to make them; but they have been so employed. Mr. Stuart himself is one example of many that might be produced, of agreement with the doctrines which are termed Calvinistic, combined with dissent from other writers who maintain them in respect to the application of Rom. vii. 5—25; but neither Mr. Stuart, nor those commentators from whose interpretation of this passage he dissents, regard the determination of its meaning as in any manner connected with the grounds on which a man's Christian state is to be decided.

Mr. Stuart's discussions of the interesting but obscure passage in Chap. viii. 19—22, will be acceptable to the readers of his Commentary, as assisting them in forming a judgement of its import. The meaning of the verses cannot be determined till the sense of the expression ἡ κτίσις be fixed; but the difficulty of settling its signification is very great; and on this account, as well as in reference to the design of the representations in the entire passage, it has always been described by critical expositors as a *locus vexatissimus*. That ἡ κτίσις denotes the visible creation, the material world, exclusive of intelligent natures, is an opinion which has been powerfully supported by the commentators who have adopt-

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ed it, among whom are found writers of the most distinguished critical and theological reputation. Others explain the term as referring to the rational creation, the whole race of mankind. This is the view which Mr. Stuart takes of the passage. He examines minutely, and with much acuteness, the other opinion, and offers very powerful arguments against it.

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'If,' he remarks, 'κτίσις means the material or natural world, on the one hand, and αὐτοὶ τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τοῦ πνεύματος ἔχοντες means Christians on the other, then here is a *lacuna* which cannot well be imagined or accounted for. Christians are subject to a frail and dying state, but are looking for a better one; and the natural world is in the same circumstances; but the world of men in general, the world of rational beings who are not regenerate, have no concern or interest in all this; they are not even mentioned. Can it be supposed, now, that the Apostle has made such an important, unspeakably important omission as this, in such a discourse and such a connection? The *natural, physical* world brought into the account, but the world of perishing *men* left out! I must have confirmation "strong as proof from holy writ" to make me adopt an interpretation that offers such a manifest incongruity.' pp. 329, 330.

This is the last, and not the least forcibly urged of the reasons which Mr. Stuart adduces for not admitting the weight of the arguments offered by the advocates of the interpretation which he rejects. There is, however, in our view of the case, a much greater difficulty to be overcome than any which he may appear to have removed, before either his own hypothesis can be established, or that of his opponents refuted. It is necessary to ask, What is the Apostle's design in this paragraph? What he means to say is thus explained by Mr. Stuart: 'The very nature and condition of the human race point to a future state; 'they declare that this is an imperfect, frail, dying, unhappy 'state; that man does not, and cannot, attain the end of his being 'here; and even Christians, supported as they are by the earnest 'of future glory, still find themselves obliged to sympathize with 'all others in these sufferings, sorrows, and deferred hopes.' Now, if the design of the Apostle be only to represent the state of mankind, of men in general, as one of disquietude, in which their frail and dying condition is so felt as to impel their desires forward to a better state,—if this is the amount of what the Apostle says, that man's dissatisfaction proves that they are unhappy, and that their constant restlessness is an indication of aspiration after a state of satisfied desire, it may be conceded that Mr. Stuart's interpretation is a substantial one. But is there not more in the design of the Apostle than this? What are we to understand him as intending in the 21st verse—Ὅτι καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ κτίσις ἐλευθερωθήσεται. κ. τ. λ. 'Because the creature itself also shall

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'be delivered from the bondage of corruption, into the glorious 'liberty of the children of God?' Are not these words a declaration that the κτίσις shall be delivered from the predicated state of evil? No doubt, the unconverted may long to be freed from suffering and sorrow; but does the passage express nothing more than the desire of being relieved from distress; this desire, too, being attributed to mankind, rather than expressed, as an inference from the circumstances which constitute the vanities of human life? Some other development of the sentiment comprised in the verses would seem to be necessary, than that which Mr. Stuart regards as made out at the conclusion of his criticisms.

'If even the wicked, who love this world, are not satisfied with it, and are made to sigh after another and more perfect state, then follows what the Apostle has designed to urge, viz. the conclusion that God has strongly impressed on our whole race, the conviction that there is a better state, and that it is highly needed.' p. 333.

Mr. Stuart translates Chap. ix. 1—3, in the following manner.

'I say the truth in Christ, I do not speak falsely, (as my conscience
2 testifieth for me in the Holy Spirit,) that I have great sorrow and
3 continual anguish in my heart. For I could wish even myself to be devoted to destruction by Christ, instead of my brethren, my kinsmen after the flesh.'

Could the Apostle express the sentiment which is here attributed to him? Could he wish himself to be devoted to destruction by Christ? The possibility is not, Mr. Stuart remarks, p. 363, at all implied in what he says. In the following criticism, however, the reasoning is very insufficient to sustain the assumption.

'Ηὐχόμην γὰρ αὐτός, *for I myself could wish.* Compare Acts xxv. 22, ἐβουλόμην, *I could wish;* Gal. iv. 20, ἤθελον, *I could desire.* But why not translate, *I did wish*, i. e. I did wish, when I was an unconverted Jew? Because, (1.) The Apostle designs to shew his *present* love to the Jews. Who questioned his strong attachment to them, when he persecuted Stephen and others, before his conversion? Or to what purpose could it be now to exhibit this, when his love to them since he became a Christian, is the only thing that is called in question? Then, (2.) Neither the present εὔχομαι, nor the optative εὐχοίμην, would accurately express what the Apostle means here. Εὔχομαι (Ind. present) would mean, *I wish* by way of direct and positive affirmation, and with the implication that the thing wished might take place; εὐχοίμην (Opt.) *I am wishing with desire,* implying the *possibility* that the thing wished for would take place. On the other hand (ηὐχόμην), as here employed, *I could wish,* implies, that whatever his desires may be, after all the thing wished for is impossible, or it cannot take place; which is doubtless the very shade of thought that the writer would design to express.' pp. 360, 361.

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No such implication is contained in the word. Mr. Stuart's examples give no countenance to his construction. There was no impossibility in the way of Agrippa's wish, "I would (ἐβουλόμην) also hear the man myself." Acts xxv. 22. "To-morrow", said Festus, "thou shalt hear him." There was no insuperable hinderance to Paul's being present with the Galatians: the thing wished in this instance was certainly possible. That the Apostle intended to express his *present* love to the Jews is evident; but that the fact was so, is no reason for not rendering the verb, *I did wish*. The strong affection of the Apostle towards them is manifest from the construction which has been suggested by several writers who propose to include Ηυχομην ..... τοῦ Χριστοῦ in a parenthesis, and to read: 'I have great heaviness and continual 'sorrow in my heart, on account of my brethren, my kinsmen ac-'cording to the flesh;' and refer the words of the parenthesis to the Apostle's recollection of his former state of opposition and enmity to Christ. We do not admit this view of the passage as being free from difficulty, but it appears to us to be much less perplexing than that which Mr. Stuart has endeavoured to defend. How strong soever might be the affection of the Apostle towards the Jews, and how pungent soever his grief on account of their infidelity, we cannot conceive of his uttering such a sentiment as this: 'I could wish myself to be devoted to destruc-'tion by Christ, in their stead.'

We must now dismiss this very copious and erudite Commentary, with many thanks to the laborious and pious Author for these results of his studies on one of the most important and difficult books of the New Testament. The extent of his criticisms on many parts of the Epistle, and the close connexion of his discussions, have prevented us from furnishing to our readers many specimens of his superior qualifications as an Expositor, by which our attention has been arrested in our progress through his work. As a treasury of philological learning, it will be found of inestimable value to the Student.

In concluding our notice of this Translation and Commentary, which we have already commended to the attention of our readers as a most meritorious performance, we ought perhaps to apologize to the highly respectable Author for the inadequate manner in which we have furnished the proofs of its superior excellence as a *critical* exposition of the Epistle to the Romans. Its philological merits are very distinguished; but the minuteness of its details in explaining the import of words and the structure of sentences, and the connexion between the several portions of his criticisms, would render it very difficult by any extracts to render them substantial justice. Mr. Stuart's work is throughout constructed on the principle, that philological knowledge is the basis of all correct interpretation of the Scriptures. The meaning of

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terms, in themselves considered, and in their relation to other expressions which qualify or serve to define them, he invariably endeavours to discover, and conducts his examinations with acuteness, and generally with successful results. In this department, his labours are sometimes excessive rather than deficient; but in such cases, students in their noviciate may be essentially benefited by them. A very valuable department of the work will be found in the summary of contents prefixed to the chapters and inferior divisions of the text. In these, the Author has shewn great skill in developing the design of the writer, and in pointing out the relation of his propositions, and the course and bearings of his argument. The Commentary before us is distinguished from many other Expositions of the Epistle to the Romans, by the narrow limits within which the Author has confined his theological discussions. Sermon-writers to whom divinity commonplaces and sparkling paragraphs might be *desiderata*, will find nothing to gratify them in these pages; but the independent inquirer who welcomes every addition to his means of following truth into her interior recesses, will be thankful for the assistance which the volume before us will afford him. On some topics which the Author has discussed, no illustrations which human learning or human wisdom can supply, will ever be deemed satisfactory; but, in his remarks upon them, they are brought before us as comprising instructive lessons, not unnecessary for any of the parties who vary in their interpretations of the passages which embody them. Mr. Stuart always writes as is becoming a scholar and a Christian; and throughout his work, we find an example in illustration of his own demands of the homage due to truth.

'When will it be believed that scorn is not critical acumen, and that calling men heretics is not an argument that will convince such as take the liberty to think and examine for themselves? When will such appeals cease? And when shall we have reasons instead of assertions, criticism in the place of denunciation, and a full practical exhibition of the truth, that the TESTIMONY of the DIVINE WORD stands immeasurably higher than all human authority?' p. 544.

Art. IV. 1. *An Historical and Descriptive Account of Persia, from the earliest Ages to the present Time:* with a detailed View of its Resources, Government, Population, Natural History, and the Character of its Inhabitants, particularly of the Wandering Tribes; including a Description of Afghanistan and Beloochistan. By James B. Fraser, Esq., Author of "Travels in Khorasan," "A Tour through the Himalaya," &c., &c. Illustrated by a Map and thirteen Engravings. 12mo., pp. 472. *(Edinburgh Cabinet Library,* Vol. XV.) Edinburgh, 1834.

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2. *History of Arabia, Ancient and Modern:* containing a Description of the Country—An Account of its Inhabitants, Antiquities, Political Condition and early Commerce—the Life and Religion of Mohammed—the Conquests, Arts and Literature of the Saracens—the Caliphs of Damascus, Bagdad, Africa, and Spain—the Civil Government and Religious Ceremonies of the Modern Arabs—Origin and Suppression of the Wahabees—the Institutions, Character, Manners, and Customs of the Bedouins, and a Comprehensive View of its Natural History. By Andrew Crichton. With a Map and ten Engravings. In two Volumes. (Edinburgh Cabinet Library, Vols. XIII. and XIV.) Edinburgh, 1833.

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IT is not usual to make a title-page serve as a table of Contents; and there is an appearance of *puff* about this literary bill of fare, which would not lead us to anticipate much intrinsic merit in the publication, did not the name of Mr. Fraser afford a pledge for the interest of the volume which he has furnished. In fact, an air of quackery and pretence is thrown over the whole series of the Edinburgh Cabinet Library, by the vulgar stratagems of the publishers. Several of the volumes are of the flimsiest construction, and have evidently been hastily got up in a popular style; and yet, there is put forth a pompous array of names, and a pretension to scientific accuracy, wholly unsupported by the general character of the work. Not only so, but the language of disparagement is employed in reference to other works, to which the compilers of these volumes have obviously been under some obligations; and claims are made to originality, which ill accord with the most direct plagiarism. These tricks of trade are extremely reprehensible and disgusting. But, having fairly spoken out our opinion of Messrs. Oliver and Boyd's proceedings, we shall address ourselves to the more pleasing task of giving an account of the volumes before us.

Mr. Fraser has arranged his account of Persia under twelve chapters. The first two are occupied with the geography of the country. Chap. III. treats of the ancient history; and Chap. IV. of the ancient religion of Persia. We have then a chapter devoted to the extant antiquities. The history is resumed in the sixth and seventh chapters, and brought down to the present time. Chap. VIII. is on the resources and government of the empire; chap. IX., on the present state of its religion, science, and literature; and chap. X., on the character and customs of the people. An Account of Afghanistan occupies a distinct chapter; and a concluding one is devoted to Natural History.

The Persian empire no longer exists but in history. It is a mere section of it which forms the narrow kingdom of the present representative of the Sefis and Khosrous of other days, Of the thirteen provinces enumerated by Mr. Fraser, Seistan, Mekran, and the greater part of Khorasan no longer acknowledge the so-

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vereignty of the Shah of Tehraun; Kourdistan has never been strictly subject to Persia; and a large portion of Ajerbijan has been wrested from its present ruler by the encroachments of Russia and Turkey. Persian Armenia has been transferred from a Mohammedan to a Christian power; and no other limits seem imposed to the conquests of Russia, than those which her policy may dictate. The downfal of the present dynasty, Mr. Fraser considers to be fast approaching. The death of Abbas Meerza has deprived Persia of its most enlightened prince; but it may have saved the country from the calamities of a disputed succession. The very name of the Kajars (the reigning family) is, however, detested throughout the kingdom; and

'it is notorious,' adds the present writer, 'that pressing petitions have been made on the part of the greater number of the chiefs and nobles, backed by the earnest wishes of all ranks, for permission to throw themselves upon British protection; declaring that all they look for is peace and security, and protesting that, should their application be rejected, they will rather submit to Russia, than continue any longer subject to the misrule and extortion of their present masters. The earnestness with which these overtures have been urged, arises, no doubt, from their knowledge of the security to property and perfect religious liberty, and protection to all orders, enjoyed by British subjects in India, contrasted with their own precarious condition.'—p. 279.

We think that Sir John Malcolm would have made a capital king of Persia, and probably a popular one, if he could have managed the moollahs; but, putting aside the scruples that might have been felt in displacing a legitimate dynasty, it is a question, whether Persia would pay better for being taken under British protection, than the Ionian Isles and some of our own colonies. A country without roads, without navigable rivers, without ports, and therefore almost without commerce, presents no very tempting bait to the lust of conquest. All the invaders and conquerors of other days, fought for a bird which laid golden eggs; but the source of the wealth has long been destroyed. The commerce and revenue of Persia are now alike inconsiderable. According to the best information Mr. Fraser could collect, the whole cash receipts which enter the Persian treasury, do not greatly exceed a million and a half sterling; a smaller revenue than that of Denmark. Other authorities, however, estimate it at rather more than three millions sterling. Khorasan and Ajerbijan yield nothing: it costs money to maintain the governments. Mazanderan furnishes the greater part of the army in lieu of revenue. From Kermanshah, nothing is obtained; from the governments of Casbin, Kashan, Zenjan, Yezd, Senna, and various petty governments, little or nothing. Irak, Fars, and Ghilan furnish the chief land revenue, exclusive of contingent

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receipts and annual presents. Of the existing commerce, we have the following account.

'The principal raw exports are, silk, cotton, tobacco, rice, and grain, dried fruits, sulphur, horses, wax, and gall-nuts. The amount of the first three articles might be greatly extended, and mercantile ingenuity might devise other objects of barter for foreign productions. Of manufactured goods, Persia sends out only a few,—almost entirely to Russia,—consisting of a considerable quantity of silk and cotton stuffs, with some gold and silver brocade. The principal commercial intercourse is maintained with the empire just mentioned, as well as with Turkey, Bagdad, Arabia, the Uzbecks and Turkomans on their northern frontier, and India. In dealing with all these countries, except the last, the balance of trade, as it is called, is in favour of Persia; and the excess in the value of her exports is returned in ducats, dollars, German crowns, and silver roubles. But though this influx of the precious metals occasions a plentiful circulation, the specie is quickly transported to India, in return for the large surplus produce brought thence annually, either by way of Bushire and Congoon, or of Cabul, to Herat and Yezd, and destined to supply the demand in the countries towards the west. This occasions, indeed, a transit-trade, which is of course maintained with advantage; yet, on the whole, the commerce of the country is very limited for its extent, as the reader will discover from the few facts we have it in our power to place before him.

In the year ending May 31, 1821, the whole amount of exports from Persia to India at the port of Bushire, according to official reports, was stated at about	£305,000
That from Balfroosh, the great commercial mart on the Caspian Sea, is estimated by the merchants there to be annually about £215,000; but, in order to include the whole remaining exports from Ghilan and Mazunderan, let it be stated at	250,000
Allow for exports from the smaller ports on the Persian Gulf, including the islands, ...	10,000
The commerce with Bagdad, which is considerable, particularly in silk, of which 12,000 mauns shahee is sent thither, may be taken at	200,000
That with the rest of Turkey, including a similar quantity of silk, ...	200,000
That with Teflis and Georgia, ...	200,000
The exports to Bokhara and the states to the eastward,	50,000
That with Arabia, ...	10,000
	£1,225,000

'Thus we have a sum under a million and a quarter sterling to represent the total amount of exports from this great country, including the trade already mentioned from India; nor can we, in existing circumstances, hope to witness any great increase. Under a liberal and steady government, the demand would rapidly augment for productions of every kind, but especially for those which Britain can best supply. English cloths, muslins, calicoes, silks, hardware, and other

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articles, are already sought after to an extent only limited by the means of the purchasers.

The value of imported goods is of course measured by that of the exports, deducting the amount of specie; for Persia, having no mines of the precious metals, receives them, like other foreign products, by barter; and the extent of that supply may be estimated by the quantity annually sent to India. In the year ending 31st May 1821, the official return of gold and silver shipped from Bushire for India was 34,17,994 new Bombay rupees, equal to about £290,000 of sterling money. But many of the equivalent commodities are conveyed to the westward, whence they return in the shape of specie, with large profit. It is said, that about the time in question (1821), at least 300,000 golden ducats were annually brought into Tabriz by the Teflis merchants alone. A considerable amount in ducats and manêts, or silver roubles, is also imported from Astracan; and the expenses of the Russian mission are defrayed by remittances of the same coins; besides which, a large value of French and German crowns and Spanish dollars is received from Bagdad for goods. Thus a considerable stream of the precious metals flows into Persia; and though the greater proportion passes on to the eastward, there still remains a sufficient quantity to form the currency of the country, to supply the treasury, and furnish the hoards of a few rich individuals throughout the kingdom. Of the gold, much continues to circulate in the shape of ducats, while the rest is converted into tomans. The silver is all coined into reals, the manêts being current only in the districts bordering on Turkey and the Russian frontiers.' pp. 290—293.

The wealth of Persia, in former times, was derived from its being the great thoroughfare of the trade between China and India, and the countries of Western Asia and Europe, and from its manufactures. Babylon, Seleucia, Ecbatana, Ispahan, owed alike their creation and their opulence to manufactures and commerce. Under the politic despotism of the Great King, the merchant, in ancient times, pursued his way along the high roads from Sardis to Persepolis and Bactra; and municipal colonies sprang up along the whole line of route. The wealth was, however, confined within the walls of cities, and never distributed over the country. Persia has always consisted of capitals and deserts, the bulk of her population being divided into wandering tribes, who furnish the military force, and are at once pastoral and predatory, and citizens. The cultivators of the soil and the priests form two distinct classes; but the latter are chiefly attached to the religious establishments in towns; and the peasantry find safety only within their walled enclosures. To this concentration of the population in capitals, may be ascribed, in great measure, the superior degree of civilization and refinement by which the Persians have been distinguished among the Orientals; and to the same circumstance we may trace many of their characteristic vices. Whatever may be the future fortunes of Persia, it seems scarcely likely that those cities will recover their ancient

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importance, which the diversion of the stream of commerce has reduced to decay; but they will always constitute the main sources of wealth and the foci of civilization. The political greatness of Persia was military, and arose partly from the position which she occupied, and which rendered her the natural sovereign of the nations against whom she could close the gates of commerce, or upon whom she could pour forth her hosts in destructive inroads; partly from the character of her wandering tribes, which supplied the physical materials for armies such as, in former times, were able to cope with the best forces of Rome. Not only is the military spirit of the Persians now extinct, but the changes in the art of war have rendered her once formidable hosts unequal to engage with the regular armies of the west; and at the same time, her territory has ceased to be the highway of the commerce of the world, the centre of civilization where the eastern and the western knowledge and enterprise met. Persia has been out-flanked by modern commerce. She now stands isolated among the nations. Her Caspian Gates are no longer the portals of the East. The successor of Babylon, Seleucia, Bagdad, Shiraz, is—Calcutta.

The ancient history of Persia is involved in obscurity. Mr. Fraser has contented himself with giving an abstract of Sir John Malcolm's history of the early period, drawn from the native writers, but whose confused annals perplex more than they illustrate the veritable records of western writers. A learned Frenchman, the Baron St. Martin, has pointed out the striking similarity between the structure of the government under the Arsacidan or Parthian dynasty and the feudal system of Europe, both having for their common origin the laws of conquest.

"'"The Parthians," he says, "a nation of mounted warriors, sheathed in complete steel and possessed of a race of horses equally remarkable for speed and endurance, overran their feebler Persian neighbours almost without opposition, and erected themselves into a true military aristocracy, while the conquered were degraded into a mere herd of slaves. The invaders thus became the feudal lords of the vanquished nation, or rather the nation itself; for the rest, attached to the soil, remained serfs in all the force of the term. Thus, every arrangement of the feudal system may be found in the scheme of the Arsacidan government; the same usages and institutions, even the same dignities and officers. A constable is discovered commanding their armies; marquesses defending the frontiers; barons and feudal lords of all descriptions; knights and men-at-arms: The same limited number of the noble and free; the same multitude of vassals and slaves. The Parthian cavaliers, sheathed man and horse in armour, may well represent the knights of the West. Like them, we find them forming the strength of the army; like them, bearing every thing down before them, whilst the infantry was contemned and disregarded."

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'The empire of the Arsacidæ, according to this learned Frenchman, was in fact a feudal monarchy composed of four principal kingdoms, all ruled by members of the same family, who regarded as supreme the elder branch, which was seated on the Persian throne. It formed the centre of a vast political system, maintaining relations with the Romans in the West and with the Chinese in the East, the imperial head of which received the imposing title of King of kings; which indeed was no empty boast, for he exercised a sovereign sway over all the princes of his blood. The monarch of Armenia held the next rank; the Prince of Bactria, who possessed the countries between Persia and India, even to the banks of the Indus, was third in importance; and last of all stood the ruler of the Massagetæ, whose dominions were the steppes of Southern Russia, and who governed the nomade tribes encamped between the Don and Volga. The whole race sprung from the Daces, natives of Daghistan, a territory eastward of the Caspian Sea.

'The fall of the imperial branch did not immediately involve that of the others. The kings of Bactria, of Scythia, and Armenia, requested aid from the Romans against the usurper; but their strength, already on the decline, was unequal to cope with the rising power of Persia, and in the beginning of the fifth century the two former submitted to the dominion of the Hiatilla or White Huns of Sogdiana. The Armenian monarchs maintained themselves somewhat longer; they embraced the Gospel thirty years before Constantine, and were thus the first Christian kings. Their reign terminated A. D. 428; but the family continued to exist in Persia, where a branch of them once more attained to sovereign power under the title of the Samanides.'—pp. 123—125.

We leap over twelve hundred years to take a view of the unextinguished military strength and political importance of Persia at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

'At the time when Chardin wrote, which was in the days of the great Abbas, the martial spirit which had animated the nation, was almost extinct for want of exercise; and with it had sunk much of the real power of the empire. Still there was kept up a large force,—a sort of standing army, which had in fact been only established by that great prince. Previously to his reign there were no troops immediately paid by the crown, but each province supplied a fixed number of horsemen, which either were or were not effective, according to the genius of the sovereign and the consequent demand for their services. Besides these, there was the registered militia of the country, which constituted a very uncertain body, either as regarded discipline or numerical strength. Shah Ismuel possessed no other materials than these for his extensive conquests; but his abilities compensated all disadvantages. Abbas, observing the benefit which the Turks derived from their janizaries, with the view of opposing them effectually, as well as to counterbalance the dangerous power of the Kuzzilbash chiefs, raised two corps; one consisting of 12,000 foot-soldiers, who, from the arms they used, were called toffunchees or musketeers; the

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other comprehending a like number of cavalry. Both were regularly disciplined, and paid by the crown.

'In Chardin's time these troops were still maintained; and besides them a force of about 1200 gholams, on whom the sovereigns of Persia have at all times placed great reliance. There were also two smaller regiments of guards; one consisting of 200 men called the Suffees, instituted by Sheik Suffee as body-guards in chief; and the ziezairees, 600 strong, enrolled by Abbas II. This prince disbanded an artillery corps of 12,000 men, which had been raised by his great progenitor. These were all paid as formerly by the government. The other military force was composed of the Courchees, otherwise called Kuzzilbashes, (or Redheads, from the peculiar cap they wore,) who were considered as regular soldiers, and also of the irregular militia. The former were cavalry, furnished by the chiefs of tribes for grants of land in proportion to the number of their retainers. They were commanded by the heads of their own clans, and would obey no other: they received a small annual pay, with provisions for horse and man while on service, and were hardy, robust, active, very efficient in predatory warfare, and in some points exactly resembling the Parthians, whose descendants they were. Their number in the early years of Shah Abbas amounted to 80,000; but the power of their leaders became so formidable, that he saw proper to check it by means of the regular corps we have described. The Courchees were reduced to 30,000, at which force they remained during the visit of Chardin.

'The militia were enrolled from among all denominations of the people; they provided their arms and clothing, and were maintained by their respective provinces or villages, receiving when on service a small pay from the public purse. They had no pretensions to discipline; obeyed only their own officers; and were in fact rather a species of police than a body of regular soldiers. Besides these several classes, whose profession is arms, every man carries weapons; so that the whole male population may be called into action by a warlike sovereign.

'In fact, the military force of Persia, like that of all Eastern monarchies, has ever varied, both in numbers and in quality, with the character of the reigning monarch. Thus the troops of Shah Ismael, who had many formal enemies to contend with, became almost invincible; and the sight of his Kuzzilbashes struck terror into the Ottoman squadrons. A similar necessity produced similar results under the sway of the great Abbas; which, again, being united with a restless spirit of conquest, raised the glory of the Persian arms to its utmost height, and depressed the nation to the lowest misery, under the ambitious Nadir. His soldiers feared the frown of their leader more than the enemy's sword, and the dread of death was overlooked, if not despised by all who followed him.

'The same familiarity with arms and danger continued throughout the troubles which succeeded the murder of that prince; and the merciless but politic Aga Mahommed Khan never spared his men in the day of need, nor suffered any relaxation of discipline. But he was aware of the strong points of Asiatic warfare, and employing the tactics of his Parthian ancestors, he successfully opposed more regular

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troops. While in Khorasan this monarch was informed that the Russians had invaded his western frontier. He assembled his nobles; declared his resolution to march against the enemy; "and my valiant warriors," he added, "shall, by the blessing of God, charge their celebrated lines of infantry, and batteries of cannon, and cut them to pieces with their conquering sabres!" All the chiefs were loud in their applauses, and vowed to support him with their lives. When the assembly broke up, the king, turning to Hajji Ibrahim, demanded whether he marked what had been said? The minister replied that he had. "And think you that I will do what I told them?"—"Undoubtedly, if it is your majesty's pleasure."—"Hajji," said the king, half angry, "have I been mistaken? are you also a fool? Can a man of your wisdom believe I will ever run my head against their walls of steel, or expose my irregular army to be destroyed by their cannon and disciplined troops? No, I know better. Their shot shall never reach me. But they shall possess no country beyond its range; they shall not know sleep; and let them march where they choose, I will surround them with a desert."'—pp. 298—301.

During the present reign, an attempt has been made to introduce a more effective discipline, and even to organize a regular force on European principles. This force was, however, confined to Ajerbijan, and was entirely the creation of the prince-governor of that province. Its signal failure is attributable partly to peculiarities in the national habits, but chiefly to the inability of the Government to meet the requisite expense.

'When the design of forming these regular corps was first contemplated, English officers were invited by the Persian government, and appointed to discipline them; and while they were thus commanded, the troops on several occasions behaved with much steadiness. But no sooner did the peace with Russia take place, than the soldiers, from parsimonious motives, were permitted to return to their homes on the understanding of reassembling whenever they should be required; and the higher orders remained useless appendages at court. On the commencement of the war with Turkey, as British officers could not serve against a friendly nation, they were almost all dismissed, leaving but a few sergeants to manœuvre the horse-artillery. With the exception, however, of the Muscovite deserters, that was the only serviceable part of Abbas Mirza's establishment; for the regimented troops, though better armed, were scarcely in other respects superior to the common surbauze or foot-soldiers of the provinces.

'The rest of the military force is maintained on the ancient footing. The cavalry furnished by the chiefs of tribes still continues good, although greatly degenerated. A proportionate deterioration has occurred in the regular militia; their equipment is bad, and little reliance can be placed on them. Some provinces, however, send forth better irregular infantry than others. Mazunderan, for instance, and Astrabad, the original seat of the Kujurs, pay the principal part of their assessment in this sort of military service, maintaining 12,000 toffunchees and 4000 cavalry. These are supposed to be always ready

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for actual service, though they are quietly dispersed among their own villages; and as only eight tomans a-year are allowed to each horseman and a proportionately small pittance to the foot soldiers, it is scarcely to be expected that they should keep themselves in an efficient state of preparation.

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'Nevertheless, when the king does take the field, he is said, in one way or other, to make up a numerical force of 100,000 fighting-men, which by means of camp-followers may be doubled and even trebled, to the excessive annoyance and loss of the districts through which they pass. In fact they are always more formidable to friends than to foes, and the royal visits to Khorasan, which at one period were made every two or three years, were dreaded more than an incursion of the Turkomans or Uzbecks. Instead of the hardy veterans who served under Nadir and Aga Mohammed, they may be described as a lawless banditti, who shun the face of an enemy, and think only of plunder and peculation. The present king has taken every possible step to crush the martial spirit which he found existing on his accession to the throne. He reached the royal honours over the bodies of his relations and of the powerful nobles, whom the uncle destroyed that the nephew might reign in peace. Nurtured in the school of suspicion, he cannot witness energy in his officers without alarm; and this is so well known, that no chief *dares* to be brave, lest it should prove the signal of disgrace or destruction.' pp. 303—305.

The genuine representatives, and probably the descendants, of the Parthians of other days, are the fierce plunderers who roam the desert eastward of the Caspian Sea, between the Elborz mountains and the Oxus, and who are the scourge of Khorasan. Of these ferocious nomades, Mr. Fraser gives the following description.

'The Yamoots, Gocklans, and Tuckehs, who inhabit the skirts of those mountains, and the desert which lies at their feet, are probably the successors of former tribes who, themselves poured forth from the teeming storehouses of the North, have advanced as opportunity occurred farther into the cultivated country. Their customs and character differ considerably from those of the Eeliauts. They are more erratic, seldom remaining in a station beyond a few days. They encamp in parties varying from thirty to 150 families, each body having its Reish Suffed or Elder, to whom considerable respect is paid, whose advice is generally followed in matters affecting the common interests, and who adjusts petty disputes. But they have no governors, chiefs, or nobles; and no one attempts to arrogate any higher authority than that with which he is invested by the public voice.

'The habits of these people are extremely simple. Every one, great and small, enters a tent with the salutation of peace, and takes his seat [illegible]oniously. They pique themselves upon hospitality; they will [illegible]arrel for the privilege of entertaining a stranger who ap[illegible]s a friend; and some aver that such a guest is safe from all [illegible] in the camp, and when he departs is furnished with a guide

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to the next stage on his journey. Others deny this, and bid travellers distrust the fairest promises of the Turkomans.

'The women are not concealed like those of the Persians. They wear on the lower part of the face a silk or cotton veil, which, covering the mouth and chin, hangs down upon the breast. They frequently put on the head a very high cap glittering with ornaments, and over it a silk hankerchief of some gaudy colour. They have earrings; and the hair, long and plaited, falls in four divisions in front and behind the shoulders. Their persons are clad in loose shirts and vests with sleeves, and drawers of silk or cotton. The children and young women are sometimes beautiful, but in general much the reverse; and the virtue of the latter is not so favourably spoken of as that of the Eeliaut ladies.

'The men of these several tribes differ slightly from each other in appearance; though the features of all approach more or less to the Tartar physiognomy, having small eyes set cornerwise, little flat noses, high cheekbones, and a scanty beard or none at all. They wear loose shirts and cloaks bound round the waist with a sash, drawers of cotton or silk, and caps of sheep-skin,—red, gray, or black, according to the fancy of the wearer. They are provided with a spear and sword, bows and arrows, and some have matchlocks; but in parting with the arms they have lost the unerring skill of their forefathers, without having yet acquired the full use of more modern weapons.

'The Turkomans are rich in flocks and herds of every kind, but they value most their noble breed of horses. These animals are celebrated all over Persia for speed and power of endurance. Their large heads, long necks, bodies, and legs, combined with narrow chests, do not impress a stranger with high ideas of their value, although their powerful quarters, fine shoulders, and the cleanness of their limbs, would not fail to attract the eye of a competent judge; and experience has shown, that for a long-continued effort no horse can compare with that of the desert. In training, they run them many miles day after day, feed them sparingly on plain barley, and pile warm coverings upon them at night to sweat them, until every particle of fat is removed, and the flesh becomes hard and tendinous; so that, to use their own expression, "the flesh is marble." After this treatment they are capable of travelling with wonderful speed a long time, without losing condition or sinking under fatigue. They are also taught to aid their riders with heel and mouth; so that at the voice of their master they seize hold of an enemy, and even chase a fugitive.

'Thus mounted, the Turkomans, in larger or smaller bodies according to the object in view, and under a chief chosen for the occasion, set off on their chappows, (or plundering parties,)—a term that causes many a villager in Khorasan, and even in Irak, to tremble with dismay. Carrying behind their saddles a scanty allowance of barley bread or meal, to serve themselves and their horses for a week—for they fare alike—they march day and night, with intervals of not more than an hour's halt at morning and evening prayer. In this way they reach with astonishing celerity the outskirts of the place to be attacked. This is often 400 or 500 miles from their homes,—a distance which they travel at the rate of 80 or 100 miles a-day. A chappow that destroyed,

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while the author was at Mushed, a village near Ghorian, forty miles from Herat, must have marched fully five hundred miles.

'Arrived at the vicinity of their destined prey, if a small town, they halt in some hollow near it, and wait in silence till the dawn, when the inhabitants open their gates and issue forth on their various occupations. At once the fearful Turkoman shout is heard, and the grim band, dashing from their lurking places, seize all they can get hold of, cut down those who resist, plunder the houses, and, binding the booty on the cattle they have secured, retreat like the passing blast, before the neighbourhood can receive the alarm.

'Should the object of attack be a caravan, they conceal themselves in some ravine near its course; scouts are stationed unseen, on the heights around; and when the devoted travellers reach the ambuscade, the barbarians dart upon them with a rapidity that defies resistance or escape, bear down every opposition, and bind as prisoners all on whom they can lay hands. Then begins the work of plunder, and generally of blood. Those who are old and unfit for work are massacred; the cattle not likely to be useful in the retreat are disabled or cut to pieces; the goods thought worth the carriage are placed as loads upon the rest: and an immediate retreat is commenced. The captives, with their hands tied behind them, are fastened by ropes to the saddles of the Turkomans, who, if they do not move fast, drive them on with heavy blows. Whatever be the state of the weather, the wretches are stript to the drawers; even shoes are seldom left to them; and they are never accommodated with a horse unless pursuit renders it necessary. With equal rapidity they return home, and lodge both booty and prisoners in their desert abodes; and the latter in due time find a hopeless thraldrom, or a happy release, though at an exorbitant ransom, in the market-places of Bokhara or of Khyvah.' pp. 376–380.

The topographical description in the present volume is very slight and general. In this respect, it differs entirely from the plan adopted by the Editor of the Modern Traveller, the success of which publication led to the projecting of the present series. To the fuller information contained in that work, there is, however, no reference. Indeed, the cautious avoidance of all reference to it is very observable, and we must say, not very creditable. The geography of Ajerbijan and the Caspian provinces has recently received valuable illustration from the journal of a tour performed, by order of his royal highness Abbas Mirza, by Colonel Monteith, and printed in the third volume of the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society; of which it is our intention to give some account in our next Number.

Mr. Crichton's History of Arabia is a highly respectable performance, although the Compiler has laid himself open to some severe strictures, by concealing the extent of his obligations to his predecessors, and more especially by his wholesale plagiarisms from Gibbon*. The titles of the chapters will give the best idea of the plan and contents.

* Brit. Critic, Jan. 1834.

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Volume the First. I. Introductory View of Arabian History. II. Description of Arabia. III. Primitive Inhabitants. IV. Ancient History. V. Character, Manners, and Customs of the Ancient Arabs. VI. Life of Mohammed. VII. The Koran. VIII. Conquests of the Saracens. IX. Wars of the Caliphs. X. Conquest of Africa and Spain.

Volume the Second. I. The Abassides. II. Caliphs of Africa, Egypt, and Spain. III. Literature of the Arabs. IV. Civil History and Government. V. Description of the Hedjaz and Mecca. VI. The Mohammedan Pilgrimage. VII. History of the Wahabees. VIII. Social State of the Arabs. IX. Natural History of Arabia.

These volumes, it will be seen, contain a history of the Arabs, rather than of Arabia, and of the various nations who have been included under that general name. The reader will not complain that the work is so comprehensive, although the history of the Spanish, Moorish, and Syrian dynasties might seem scarcely to belong to Arabia, more than the history of England does to that of the country from which our Saxon progenitors issued, or that of the United States to English history. Yet, the diffusion of their language, together with the faith which they planted with the sword, rendered the Arabs of Europe, Barbary, Egypt, and Western Asia essentially one nation, even after the division of the khalifate.

The chief interest of the subject of these volumes is derived from its connexion with the Life and Faith of Mohammed, to which, in fact, all the geographical and descriptive matter is subsidiary. It is not a little remarkable, that Mr. Crichton, in giving a list of the writers who have treated this subject, should not have noticed Mr. Mills, and Mr. Forster. His own biographical sketch is taken chiefly from Gibbon, but without any sufficient or distinct acknowledgement. As a fair specimen of the spirited manner in which he is able to write, we take the following striking observations from the Introduction.

'Nothing in the political annals of mankind presents a more extraordinary spectacle than the sudden and overwhelming revolution which, about the middle of the seventh century, sprung up in this obscure corner of the East. Originating in the bold but impious pretensions of one man, who had the art to concentrate the scattered and impetuous energies of his country into the channel of his own ambition, it spread with amazing celerity; and in less than a hundred years covered an extent of territory greater than was ever owned by Rome in the Augustan age of her power. All that we read of the fabled monarchies of Assyria and Babylon, of the boasted expeditions of Cyrus and Alexander, or the vast regions overrun by the Mogul and Tartar hordes, will bear no comparison to the dominion of Mohammed; for it embraced them all. Reaching from the Pillars of Hercules on the one hand to the confines of China on the other, it comprehended du-

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ring a certain period three-fourths of Asia, the whole of Northern Africa, and a considerable portion of Europe.

'It is true that the stability of this colossal power did not equal its greatness. Religious disputes, and the jarring interests of families or individuals who claim an hereditary title to the succession, gave rise to discords and revolts that soon broke down this huge pontifical monarchy into a variety of separate and independent principalities. At a later epoch, too, foreign invasion completed that overthrow which intestine divisions had begun. The quarrels of rival caliphs were succeeded by wars and revolutions not less sanguinary than had marked the rise and establishment of their power. Greeks, Turks, and Tartars, numerous as the locusts from their own deserts, poured in their wild and undisciplined swarms on all sides of the Moslem dominions, and in process of time won back the extensive territories which a warlike superstition had wrested from them. New states and kingdoms sprung from this imperial wreck, and gradually settled themselves over the fair and ample regions which the Saracen conquests had embraced. The power and magnificence of the caliphs shrunk back into the same obscurity from which they had risen. But while their temporal dominion was reduced to its ancient limits within the Seas of Arabia, the faith and the fame of Mohammed were left to enjoy all the ascendancy which his first triumphs had gained. The victorious nations who threw off the yoke of his feeble successors retained all their veneration for his religion, and willingly rendered him allegiance as their spiritual master; and, at the present day, his creed reigns throughout the East with nearly as absolute and undisputed authority over the hearts and consciences of men as in the proudest era of Saracen despotism.

'Short as was the career of this military pageant, which achieved such vast and extraordinary changes in the moral and political state of a large portion of the world, it is replete with events interesting to the statesman and the philosopher; unfolding a series of characters and incidents that will both engage and reward our curiosity. The victories, revolutions, and capricious vicissitudes of human fortune that pass by in rapid succession, are without example in any nation of ancient or modern Europe. The catalogue of the leading personages, the caliphs and conquerors that figured on this remarkable theatre, presents some strange contrasts to the ordinary history of successful adventurers, and the distribution of earthly grandeur. Among other nations, heroes and legislators generally require a process of training, and it is only by slow and persevering degrees that the usurper ascends the pinnacle of his ambition. Here we have the rare spectacle of slaves mounted on thrones; lawless bandits becoming the dispensers of justice and protection; illiterate shepherds and merchants suddenly transformed into the commanders of armies, or vested with the solemn functions of kings and pontiffs. Yet, singular as it may appear, not a few of them were distinguished for civil and military talents; others have gained a lasting celebrity by their patronage and love of science; and some of them shed a lustre on the diadem, by the exercise of those peaceful and princely virtues which have procured for

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the rulers of other countries the venerable title of Fathers of their people.

'It was in the courts of Bagdad and Cufa, of Damascus and Cordova, that learning found a hospitable asylum, when a succession of barbarous inroads had nearly quenched the last rays of Greek and Roman literature, and scarcely left a single monument of art or genius in Europe. Nothing, except their own victories, is more surprising than the progress which this acute and ingenious people made in the cultivation of every department of human knowledge. From a state of ignorance and barbarism, in which they had been plunged for centuries, they emerged with a lustre not more remarkable for its brilliancy than for the gigantic height to which it rose. Nor can we account, except from the strength and versatility of their mental capacities, for this sudden blaze of genius which burst forth in every corner of their empire, and spread its influence as far as ther arms extended. Many of the caliphs were protectors of learning. They lived surrounded with poets and orators, and assembled in their palaces men of the most distinguished acquirements from every quarter of the world. The name of Haroun-al-Raschid, the hero of the Thousand-and-one Nights, stands associated with those enchanting fictions which have made Bagdad a fairy-land, and will continue to diffuse a charm until taste and imagination shall become extinct.

'Under his successors, learning of all kinds was cultivated and propagated with equal zeal. In every town, from the banks of the Tigris to the Atlantic, schools and colleges were established. The sun of science and philosophy diffused its humanizing influence over the fierce spirits and savage manners of Africa. A chain of academies stretched along the whole Mediterranean shore; and in the cities of Cairo, Fez, and Morocco, the most magnificent buildings were appropriated to public instruction.' Vol. I. pp. 22—25.

The second volume of the work bears marks of being hastily put together; and the materials are not well arranged. Chapter IV., 'On the Civil History and Government of the Arabs,' is chiefly occupied with topographical description; while the VIIIth chapter, on the 'Social state of the Arabs,' contains information that should have been given under the fourth, to which it forms an appendix. There is no proper discrimination, moreover, between the different nations who are confounded under the name of Arabs and Arabians. The distinction between the Bedoweens and the dwellers in towns, is of course adverted to; but it is lost sight of in the general description of their social state and manners; while the condition of the Egyptian Fellahs, the Moggrebyns, and the Arabians of Syria, is not noticed. If it be said, that the work is professedly only a history of Arabia, then one half of it might have been spared. If, on the contrary, it is designed to give a history and description of the Arabian nation, it is far from complete. But the chief defect of the work is the absence of the comprehensive and philosophical spi-

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rit requisite to a just moral estimate of the historical phenomena, and more especially of the true character and social effects of the Mohammedan fanaticism. We ought not, perhaps, to impute this to Mr. Crichton as a failure, since he has made no attempt of the kind, and has been very sparing of moral or religious reflections. As the subject will probably come before us in noticing a valuable work now on our table, we abstain from making these volumes the text of any further remarks.

Art. V.—*On the Study of General History:* an Introductory Lecture delivered in the University of London, on the Evening of February 14, 1834. By the Rev. Robert Vaughan, Professor of Ancient and Modern History.

UNDER the vague denomination of History, we are accustomed to confound, without reflecting, several very distinct lines of investigation and branches of knowledge. General or universal history seems to differ from the history of particular nations or countries as geography does from topography; but, besides this broad distinction, what may be termed, respectively, physical history, political history, and moral or philosophical history—in other words, the history of the globe and its chronology, its various races and languages, the history of states and revolutions with their laws and polities, and the history of Divine Providence,—form three species of literary investigation almost as distinct as the sciences of physiology, political economy, and moral philosophy. To speak of the importance of the study of history, is to propound the most common-place truism; and yet, how little study is really given to any one of its distinct branches! What is the worth of the historical knowledge imparted in our schools, consisting, for the most part, of meagre annals, romantic fables, and discoloured facts, the moral tendency of which is to produce admiration of military achievements, a complacency in heathenism, and a set of common-place notions and prejudices which afterwards stand in the way of more liberal sentiments? Few persons, however, comparatively, pursue the study of history after their school-boy days; hence it arises that a few popular works, notorious for their inaccuracy or gross partiality and faithlessness, maintain so strong a hold of the public mind as to give shape and laws to polite opinion, and even to bias legislation.

'Every observing mind,' Professor Vaughan remarks, 'must 'be constrained to admit, that nothing is more common than that 'all the respect due even to the highly educated, should be re-'quired by persons knowing little more of the real history of 'human nature or of society, than the fragments of an ordinary

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'school-book would have taught them.' And one serious consequence of this defective and superficial acquaintance with the records of human experience, is strikingly pointed out.

'History is the school of politics; without it men may become theorists, with it only may they become wise. History places before us the great, the complex experiment that has been in course of trial upon human nature for now some six thousand years; and the system of policy which is not founded on a careful estimate of the results of this experiment, may prove an *ignis fatuus* to the vulgar, but will never become the pole-star of the enlightened. Man in the same circumstances is ever, in effect, the same being; and if truly known as he performs his part in history, he will not often take us by surprise in real life. The nations of the earth have always consisted of the greater and the less, the civilized and the barbarous, the bond and the free; they have always supplied their factions and their demagogues, their arts of diplomacy and their court intrigues; and by knowing what has happened in these respects, we learn in substance what is happening still. The wonder so often expressed on witnessing the extravagancies of sects in religion, and of parties in the state, is the natural expression of historical ignorance; and the ill-advised attempts to counteract such evils, which are often made, are the equally natural effects of the same cause. Here, pre-eminently, knowledge is power. The man who would govern men, or who would even benefit them in any large measure, must study them, and this not only as they live around him, but as they have lived over a much wider surface.

'In our own day, agitated by new feelings, and teeming with experiments, an enlarged attention to the lessons of history is of the last importance. Nearly every thing we deem new has, in fact, been already weighed in the balance of experience. There is hardly a question that may become a matter of debate either in the assemblies of our rulers or in the homes of our people, on which history is not prepared to shed a light at once true and prophetic. And that we may become, in our measure, the benefactors of our country and of man, are we not bound to secure the guidance of such lights to the full extent of our means? The victims of selfishness and prejudice will avail themselves of the past for *their* purposes, and unless appealed to with equal frequency and intelligence by a better class, patriotism, humanity,—all conceivable interests must be hazarded. Our periodical literature, and our daily journals, abound with references to historical questions, on which, from the too general neglect of appropriate reading, or from the injudicious method in which it is conducted, the majority are incapable of judging, and liable to injurious imposition.' pp. 41—43.

These remarks apply more especially to the study of political history. But it is not less important that the moral use of history should be taught, as unfolding 'the ways of God to men.' 'Man is the great subject of history,' it is justly remarked in this valuable introductory lecture; 'and religion, in nearly every 'age and nation, has been a master element in the development 'of man.'

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'We find it every where mixing itself with his wisdom and his folly, his good and evil...In every view, the prevailing systems occupy a large space in the history of human nature; and while they have been, in great part, the mere product and reflection of certain conditions of society, they have always been in a course of re-action on the circumstances and character of their votaries. It is not possible, therefore, that history should be treated philosophically,—that is, justly, satisfactorily, agreeably to common sense, unless made to include an intelligent and candid analysis of the religions of mankind. This necessity is particularly manifest where the influence of religion has been strongly marked. What kind of story, for example, would the history of the Jews be, the Jewish religion being excluded; or that of Europe during the middle age, the Christian religion being excluded; or that of the Mohammedan conquests, the Mohammedan religion being excluded; or that of the great Asiatic nations for the last four thousand years, the many and mighty forms of their philosophical theology being excluded! There can be no disciplined thought in us if the bare mention of such a disruption between effects and their causes does not at once shock all our perceptions of the just and the proper. It must be repeated, therefore, that where there is no sympathy with the general operation of religious conception and feeling, there can be no true report of these, or of their effects. Men of this defective temperament, the victims of a lethargic scepticism with regard to everything spiritual and invisible, are not so much parts of humanity as exceptions to it; and their labours in consequence have tended rather to obscure than to solve some of the most difficult problems involved in the history of our race.' pp. 19—20.

If this view of history be just*, to how great an extent does it require to be re-written! But, this being at present impracticable, how important and responsible a function is that of the teacher to whom is entrusted the exposition of the obscure and faulty text of the historian. Professor Vaughan has shewn how well qualified he is to sustain this office, by the enlarged and profound view he has taken of its requisites and duties. 'What is 'wanting in this department,' he says, 'is, I conceive, a course 'of instruction that may lead to a sound habit of criticism in re-'gard to historical testimony; to a wise discrimination as to the 'value of historical facts; and to such a classification of these 'as may render them immediately illustrative of what is most 'important to be known in relation to the people with whose cir-'cumstances they are connected.' In the following paragraphs, the Professor explains the plan which he proposes to adopt.

'The chief end contemplated by the majority in reading history is amusement. The principal object of the student we must suppose is

* 'There is no good history of the progress of society.' Douglas on the Advancement of Society.

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instruction. Two questions, therefore, occur involved in the one inquiry immediately before us;—first, what are the matters of instruction for the sake of which history should be studied; and, secondly, what is the mode in which this instruction may be best and most readily conveyed? There are a few points, under one or the other of which nearly all the matters may be classed, which make history of importance in the esteem of persons whose object is improvement. The first of these embrace *legislation and government;* the second, *commerce, science, and art;* the third, *literature;* the fourth, *religion;* and the last, *national character,* including manners and customs. The value of history must every where depend on its being viewed in relation to one or more of these points.'

'If history be prosecuted as a study, and on the principle of analysis to which reference has been made, a broad outline, which should exhibit leading facts, and indicate the character of the events which may belong to a period rather than their number, would suffice for every purpose that a teacher of history could well propose. My plan, accordingly, when entering upon an epoch, will be, in the first place, to present an outline of this description, and then to retrace the ground over which we have rapidly passed, for the purpose of connecting its several classes of facts with the particular departments of knowledge which they serve especially to illustrate, and to which on our general principle they most properly belong; and it will be my endeavour to give to each of these separate sections as much completeness in itself as possible. From this method of teaching, much useful information may be derived, with very moderate effort; a comparatively small space being sufficient to bring out the lessons of history with regard to those great questions which make the study of it important. The object of chief interest with one, may be legislation and government; with another, commerce, science, or the arts; with a third, literature; with a fourth, religion; and, with some, national character and usage. When directing attention to the greater communities of mankind, whether in remote or more recent times, it will be my endeavour to produce authenticated and luminous views of their condition, with respect to all these great features in historical portraiture. It is manifestly impossible that I should do any tolerable justice to so comprehensive a subject as Universal History, unless an attempt be made to separate it into parts, in some such manner as now announced. But thus viewed, the wide chaos begins to show itself susceptible of order; and a way is seen through what would otherwise appear a pathless wilderness, or an interminable forest.'

pp. 23—26.

Professor Vaughan proposes to divide his lectures into the following courses: I. Ancient History, embracing the period from our earliest historical notices to the fall of the Roman empire in the fifth century. II. The Mohammedan religion, conquests, and civilization, from the Birth of Mohammed to the close of the fifteenth century. III. The State of Society in Europe during the same period. IV. Modern History, first period: from the

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age of Charles the Fifth to the accession of Louis XIV. V. Second period, from the accession of Louis XIV. to the beginning of the French Revolution. VI. From the French Revolution to the present day. To designate each of these periods by one significant word, we may thus characterize them :—Paganism; Mohammedism; Feudalism; Protestantism; Despotism;—and how shall we describe an era from which, though ushered in by convulsions and portents, posterity, it is to be hoped, will date the political regeneration of society by the humanising influence of those better principles which can alone give permanence to civil and religious liberty? Professor Vaughan may seem to have undertaken an herculean task; but few men have shewn themselves better qualified by patience of investigation, well directed industry, philosophical candour, and an uncompromising love of truth, to fill up the outline in a manner that shall stamp a high value upon the course of instruction to which he invites the student. We cordially wish him success in his endeavour to promote that 'intellectual reform' in education, which shall 'assign 'to History its due prominence in the class of liberal studies.'

Art. VI. *Conversational Exercises on the Gospels,* in 2 Vols. 18mo, pp. 194, 205. London, 1834.

THE author or authoress of this valuable little book (for we rather suspect it to be the production of a feminine pen) has fallen into an error of which critics have not generally much reason to complain,—that of underrating her own production. It is certainly adapted to a class of students far in advance of those for whom, if we were to judge by its unpretending title, it is intended. The work is, in fact, a Bible-class manual, from the study of which *intelligent* young persons might derive great advantage. As the title indicates, it is a series of Questions and Answers on the Gospels; and as it was originally written with a view to assist two classes meeting weekly for improvement in Scriptural knowledge, so it now appears in print in the hope that it may encourage and aid those who may have influence and leisure enough to pursue similar labours of love. The Harmony on which the questions are framed, corresponds to the arrangement of Townsend, and embraces every one of his sections, although, in some instances, two have been blended into one. So far as we have been able to examine the book, we can venture to pronounce its execution highly creditable to the research and judgement of the writer. The questions are for the most part plain and practical, and the answers seem to have been supplied or suggested by Scott, Doddridge, or Henry. We shall, however, be most likely to do justice to the book, and at the same time

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give our readers a more correct impression of its character than any description will supply, by presenting a brief section from each volume. The first is from Vol. I. 'The Questions.'

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'SECTION XXXV.

'CHRIST DINES WITH MATTHEW.

'Matt. ix. 10—18. Mark ii. 15—23. Luke v. 29 to the end.

'564. (Matt. ix. 12.) Were there any spiritually whole among the attendants of our Lord?

565. (13.) From what part of the Old Testament are these words taken, "*I will have mercy*," &c., and what is their meaning?

566. (Luke v. 33.) Were the disciples of John wrong in fasting like the Pharisees?

567. (34.) Is there any reference here to any thing John had said respecting our Saviour?

568. (35.) What is meant by the bridegroom being taken away?

569. (37.) Is it the case that new wine is likely to burst old bottles?

570. (36—38.) What was the instruction our Lord would convey as relating to his gospel?

571. Was the uniting the ceremonies of the Mosaic dispensation with the duties of the Christian dispensation ever attempted after the time of our Lord?

572. (39.) Is then religion different from what it was under the Old Testament dispensation?' Vol. I. pp. 54, 5.

The answers to the above are thus furnished in the second volume.

'SECTION XXXV.

'CHRIST DINES WITH MATTHEW.

'Matt. ix. 10—18. Mark ii. 15—23. Luke v. 29 to the end.

'564. (Matt. ix. 12.) No: the Pharisees were *whole* in their own estimation,—and this is what our Lord's words refer to.

565. (13.) No number of sacrifices, or the strictest attention to all ritual observances, could avail any thing, so long as sin was indulged, as in the case of the Pharisees. The words are from Hosea vi. 6.

566. (Luke v. 33.) John's afflicted circumstances (he was at this time in prison) no doubt led his disciples to observe frequent fasts; but they seem in great measure to have conformed to the uncommanded plausible austerities which formed the religion of the Pharisees.

567. (34.) Yes. See John iii. 29.

568. (35.) It refers to our Saviour's being taken from them by his crucifixion, and afterwards by his ascension, when they would meet with trials, which would render fasting seasonable.

569. (37.) The text refers to *leathern* bottles, which would burst through the fermenting of the wine.

570. (36—38.) That there could be no coalition between the old

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and new dispensations, or rather between the religion of the Pharisees and that of Jesus.

571. Yes: it was the grand fault of the Judaizing teachers of Christianity, against whom St. Paul so zealously contended, especially in his epistle to the Galatians.

572. (39.) The substantials of religion have been the same from the first revelation of mercy to man; and those who have enjoyed the substantials of religion will ever deem repentance, faith, and holiness, preferable to the peculiarities of any party.' Vol. II. p. 66.

It is needless to add any observations of our own on the importance of Bible instruction. We hope to see classes of this kind multiplied amongst us. The diffusion of Scriptural knowledge is the safety of the Church. It is ignorance,—a limited and partial acquaintance with Divine Truth, that is the fruitful parent both of Antinomianism and every other form of fanatical extravagance. The only safeguard against these pestilent errors is to be found in an enlarged and intelligent course of scriptural study. Entertaining these views, we do not hesitate to pronounce every publication calculated to promote such a "search" of Holy Writ, a blessing to the Church; and we cordially wish that the little volumes before us may have an extensive circulation.

Art. VII. 1. *Dissent unscriptural and unjustifiable,* demonstrated in an Examination of Dr. John Pye Smith's Sermon and Appendix, entitled, The Necessity of Religion to the Well-being of a Nation, &c. In a Letter addressed to their Author. By Samuel Lee, D.D. Prebendary of Bristol, Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Cambridge, &c. &c.—8vo, pp. 88. Cambridge, 1834.

2. *Some Remarks on the Dean of Peterborough's Tract,* entitled, "Thoughts on the Admission of Persons, without regard to their religious Opinions, to certain Degrees in the Universities of England." By Samuel Lee, D.D. Regius Professor of Hebrew, &c. &c. 8vo, pp. 24. Cambridge, 1834.

IT is somewhat singular that, in the first of these pamphlets, Professor Lee should stand forward as the champion, in the second, as the opponent of illiberal opinions. If, in the latter character, he has displayed more of his native good sense, and in the former, more of the prejudices of which prebendal stalls are the appropriate nests and nurseries, we are bound to admit that in both pamphlets we recognize the amiable character of the learned Writer, whose chief fault is an ardent temperament that sometimes leads him to blunder, not through ignorance, but through rashness, and to mistake opinion for demonstration.

Dissent '*demonstrated*' to be 'unscriptural and unjustifiable'!

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This is language savouring of self-complacency, more than of candour or the modesty of wisdom. And the vagueness of the expressions correspond to the flippancy of the assertion. What is Dissent? Protestantism is no more than Dissent from Romanism. Episcopalianism, on the other side of the Tweed, is Dissent from the Established Church. Is then *all* Dissent unjustifiable? If not, under what circumstances, and on what grounds, does it become so? To this natural inquiry, no answer can be extracted from the Professor's pamphlet. In a note, he anticipates that it may be urged, on his principles the Reformers could not have split with the Church of Rome. His answer is that most convenient and convincing of all demonstrations,—a bare, flat denial. 'I deny this', he says. 'I deny, that the Church of Rome, as 'it is called, ever possessed any real authority in these realms; 'and I shall maintain that Episcopacy was set up in this island 'long before Austin the monk came into it.' And can the learned Professor impose this upon himself as coherent reasoning? Does he imagine that his denying an historical fact, and maintaining a Welsh fable, can have the slightest effect as argument? The question relates to principles, not to points of antiquarianism. Even if Episcopacy were older than the Roman domination in this country, on what ground would the Professor excuse the schism of Luther? The Reformers of Germany, Switzerland, France, and England, dissented, on the same grounds, from the Church of Rome, as a corrupt Church; and they resisted the authority of the civil powers, by which it was established and upheld. Every where but in England, the Protestants shook off the yoke of diocesan Episcopacy. Whether they judged rightly or not in renouncing that form of polity, is immaterial to the argument. The question is, were they justified in their Protestant Dissent? Upon Professor Lee's principles, they were in the wrong. If he thinks otherwise, let him shew, if he can, upon *what* principle of Scripture or common sense, their Protestantism was defensible, while Dissent from the State-church of these realms is unjustifiable. His reply is no better than a subterfuge. If Protestantism consisted in simply abjuring the supremacy of the pope, or, in other words, the authority of *the Court of Rome*, its martyrs were but the victims of a political quarrel, and died for a mere point of precedency. The Church of Rome in England was the only Church established in England which had any real authority; and by that legal authority in Church and State, Cobham, and Latimer, and Hooper, were adjudged to the stake. By the same authority, under the lay popedom of the Defenders of the Faith, Bunyan, and Baxter, and the fathers of the Nonconformist Reformation, were consigned to bonds and imprisonment. Professor Lee, throughout his pamphlet, confuses and mixes up the subordinate and accidental controversy relating to

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the form of Church government, with the distinct and fundamental question relating to State authority in religion, and involving the principle of religious liberty. This is a common mistake, but it is one which necessarily nullifies the whole of his reasoning; and it shews how far short learned men may sometimes fall of understanding very plain things. Professor Lee knows much more about Arabic than he does about the subject he has here ventured to write upon.

Towards the commencement of his pamphlet, indeed, the learned Writer assumes the modest language of an inquirer; and he seems to complain of Dr. Smith, because he did not bring forward, in his Sermon, all the best arguments which could be urged in favour of the opinion which he intimates. He therefore ventures to doubt whether such reasons are to be found! This is not paying a very high compliment to Dr. Smith's understanding or integrity, who not only expresses his conviction that a variety of reasons might be adduced, but refers to writers by whom they have been urged, and in whose works they are to be found. Has Professor Lee ever read those works? If not, his doubts imply only a very unphilosophical contempt of the proper means of satisfying his inquiries.

But we proceed to notice the objections which Dr. Lee raises against the clear and moderate statements of the learned Dissenter.

'I want,' he says, 'to be informed, in the first place, What *the distinctions are*, and What the *grounds* on which they can be maintained, between the *religious* and *political* character of a Christian king; between *his duties as a man*, and his *duties as a Christian*. Have you discovered any principles, by which the *political* movements of a Christian king may be regulated, independent of those laid down in revealed religion? Or, that his *duties as a man*, are in any way different from those which he is bound to follow as a Christian man?

'Again, in what way does such king stand differently situated, as to questions of conscience, in the capacity of holder of the public purse in the one hand, or of the privy purse in the other? Is not the silver and the gold the property of Almighty God in each case? And, Is he, at last, any thing more than a steward or dispenser of these? The surplus of the privy purse, you think, may be disposed of in aiding works of piety. On what principle is it, I ask, either scriptural or abstract, that every portion of the public purse is to be withheld from affording any such aid? If the public purse is supplied for the better administration of the state; and, if it be true, (as I think you have shewn it is) that religious instruction is above all things conducive and necessary to the well-being of a nation, I ask again, on What principle is it that you recommend a partial expenditure in the one case, for the furtherance of this supreme good, but in the other, forbid every such contribution? Is the responsibility of a king as *an individual*, and in the expenditure of what you unscripturally consider

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his own, different from that of the same king as *a public officer*? If any difference exists, surely it must be this; that, as in his public capacity his powers are larger, the talents committed to his charge are more numerous; so must his responsibility also be greater, on the principle, that from him to whom much is given much will be required.' pp. 12—13.

This is certainly a very extraordinary passage to have been put forth by a Professor of the University of Cambridge in the nineteenth century. Here we have a learned divine unable to perceive the difference between a king's giving away his own money, and disposing of that of his subjects, and talking of the King of England as '*the holder* of the public purse'!! Pretty constitutional doctrine this! Then he can see no difference between a king's private beneficence, and his compelling the contributions of his people;—no distinction between his setting a religious example to his people, and his enforcing upon them, by political sanctions, conformity to his own particular belief;—no line of demarcation between the duties of private morality and the political duties of government. None are so blind as those who will not see, and we have really too high an opinion of Dr. Lee's good sense, to imagine that his not perceiving these distinctions and the grounds of them, arises from any other cause than his not opening his eyes or not wiping his spectacles.

For the purpose simply of shewing that Dr. Smith spoke advisedly, we shall venture to transcribe a few sentences upon this subject from a volume which has been before the public almost long enough to be forgotten.

'We are told, it is the *duty*, as well as the *right* of governors, 'to make laws of this nature concerning religion,—to make their 'religion the religion of the State. "They must do so, if they 'regard the temporal good of their subjects." Assuredly, if it is 'their duty, they must have the previous right: the converse of 'the proposition is not less evident,—if they have not the requisite right, it cannot be their duty.

'In order to bring the question of duty into a tangible form, 'we must ascertain, first, the source of the obligation, and secondly, the specific nature of the duty.

'The duty of regarding the temporal good of his subjects, 'should seem to be a natural duty binding upon every ruler 'arising out of the laws of moral obligation. But the duty of 'adopting any specific means of providing for this object, must 'very much depend, one would imagine, upon the legitimacy and 'wisdom of the expedient. The plan proposed, is, that of making certain "laws concerning religion." But whence arises the 'obligation of making these laws? Is it a general obligation 'extending alike to all princes and governors, or one that is binding only upon Christian rulers, as the consequence of their

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'having acquired more enlarged notions of religious duty? The 'latter branch of the alternative is seemingly maintained by those 'who lay the stress upon its being "the true religion" which '"the SUPREME POWER has a right to establish by positive in- 'stitutions." The esteemed ecclesiastical historian already re- 'ferred to, after having stated in his chapter upon Establish- 'ments, that "it is not possible to construct a government that 'shall preserve order and decorum, without some religious esta- 'blishment," takes notice of an objection to his hypothesis, which 'he owns to be, on its first proposal, rather startling. "Suppose 'the Civil Magistrate should happen to have formed an erroneous 'judgement concerning the true religion: will he not, in that 'case, according to the principle of general expediency, be justi- 'fied in establishing a false one?" To this query, the Dean 'scruples not to give a decisive negative: "Nothing can justify 'the magistrate in establishing a false religion." He waves the 'consideration of such countries as have never heard of Jesus 'Christ and his Gospel, founding his assertion on the fulness and 'clearness of the evidences of Christianity, the rejection of which 'must betray, he argues, great wickedness of heart. This ex- 'ception, however, can avail nothing as a qualification of the ge- 'neral position which he has laid down, that a government cannot 'preserve good order and decorum without some religious esta- 'blishment. For either Pagan and Mahommedan establishments 'are necessary and conducive to good government in those coun- 'tries which have never heard of Jesus Christ, or they are not. 'If they are necessary, the Supreme Magistrate in those coun- 'tries must be considered, on this writer's hypothesis, as justified 'in establishing his religion, although a false one. If they are 'not necessary, then it is possible to construct a government 'that shall preserve order and decorum without some kind of re- 'ligious establishment. There is no way of escaping from this 'dilemma, but by denying the magistrate's right to preserve 'order and decorum in those countries, until he shall have been 'converted to Christianity.

'But how stands the case as to countries where Christianity 'has not been rejected, yet where the Civil Magistrate does not 'happen to have formed a very correct notion respecting the na- 'ture of the true religion? Is the Roman Catholic religion a 'true religion, or is it a false one? If it be considered in the 'former light, then, "the supreme power has," on the principle 'contended for, "a right to establish it by positive institutions, 'and to ensure public respect to those institutions by *penal 'laws!*" It is the duty of Roman Catholic governors to esta- 'blish it,—their duty *because it is the true religion.* Yet, how 'it can be right for the king of Spain to establish Popery, and 'for the king of England to establish Protestantism, it would be

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'difficult satisfactorily to explain. If, however, the Roman Catholic religion is admitted to be a false religion, and its establishment is contemplated in its just light, as a portentous evil, 'we are then reduced to this most philosophical conclusion: that 'the Protestant religion being the only true one, Protestant rulers 'have the exclusive prerogative, and are exclusively under the 'obligation, of establishing their own religion as the religion of 'the State!

'We do not ask by what infallible guidance the rulers of a 'Protestant country have ascertained the fact, that their religion 'is the true one, because we are ready to concede that this is its 'real character; but still, although Protestants, there is room for 'their happening not to form a right, that is to say, a Scriptural 'judgement concerning the religion which they profess. Can 'their duty be suspended on an antecedent condition of so doubtful a nature, as the rectitude of the human judgement? If 'not, what is its basis? It is not an obligation which originates 'in the natural relations of society, since, as we have seen, it 'does not apply to all who stand in the same relation of rulers to 'the governed. Is it a revealed duty? The New Testament 'contains no direction or command on which it can be founded. 'The sacred writers abstain altogether from discussions relating 'to the politics of States, every where teaching us, that the kingdom of Christ "is not of this world."

'One only ground remains upon which this obligation on the 'Magistrate can be supposed to rest, namely, that of expediency. 'But this leads us to inquire more particularly wherein the duty 'specifically consists.—"The supreme power has a right," it is 'said, "to establish the true religion by positive institutions." 'But a religion may be established, by legal protection and by endowments, to the extent that the Protestant Dissenters of this 'kingdom are now established, without the erection of an exclusive ecclesiastical incorporation, similar to the English hierarchy. 'The religious instruction of a people may be provided for by 'other means than those which limit the right of instruction to a 'particular class, under conditions which ultimately throw the 'appointment of religious teachers into the hands of the proprietors of the soil. There are many ways in which a Christian 'ruler who has formed a right judgement concerning the true religion, may promote the moral and religious interests of his subjects, in the discharge of his public functions, as well as in his 'private character, besides that of "making his religion the religion of the State." That it is his duty to do his utmost both 'to protect and to promote the true religion, cannot be questioned. But to argue, that he must therefore institute and support an ecclesiastical establishment, and not only so, but proceed 'to "restrain and punish the propagators of" what he deems ir-

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'religious opinions," is taking it for granted, that the true religion is capable of being promoted by these methods, and that these, as both legitimate and effectual methods, fall within the line of his public duty; neither of which positions is tenable. The late Rev. Thos. Scott, in his Letters to the Rev. Peter Roe, has discovered a singular candour in treating the delicate subject of a ruler's duty, in reference to the establishment of Christianity. He owns that were a man of affluence, under the pretence of *improving his talent*, (which he considers to be the principle by which a Christian prince should be actuated,) to "claim the *right*, or consider himself bound in *duty*, by all which money can do, to bring others over to profess his creed, or conform to his mode of worship; because he thinks the one true, and the other right; he might probably please bigots of his own party, and make hypocrites, but he would not promote the genuine interests of Christianity." The "using of either wealth or power, to enforce compliance" with particular views of Christianity, he justly deprecates: these are to be employed only "to provide, as far as they can by Scriptural means, for the religious instruction of mankind at large." "Now, whether an establishment of some kind," he adds, "might not be the best method in which a king or a ruler could improve his talent, *may be a question*:" only, "the negative cannot," in his opinion, "be considered as self-evident."

'This point is readily granted: and to all that can be adduced for the purpose of shewing the importance of religion in its bearings upon the temporal welfare of the community, and the interests of the State, no Dissenter will hesitate to subscribe. Christianity, it will be as readily admitted, is the only true religion, which alone it can be our duty to promote. But "a religious establishment is," as Dr. Paley remarks, "no part of Christianity; it is only the means of inculcating it." Into the efficiency and expediency of this means, the whole question mainly resolves itself.'*

But Dr. Lee may not like this way of putting the matter, better than Dr. Smith's 'objectionable method of stating the question.' He may still 'contend, that the civil authority is bound, by every means placed within its power—not *to force*—not to *allure* into a *feigned compliance*,—but actually to teach, to countenance, to support, to encourage, and to defend.' To this we reply, that it is not the province of the Civil Magistrate to *teach*; but it *is* his province, and he is bound, to defend, not religion, but religious men, and to countenance the ministers and teachers of religion, but not to support them; for they are to be supported, according to Christ's law, by those whom they teach.

* Conder on Protestant Nonconformity, B. IV.

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If, indeed, the Civil Magistrate ought not to force nor to allure into a feigned compliance, it is clear that he ought not to employ either the authority or the revenues of the State in compelling men to support an order of teachers, or in bribing men to a political conformity; and what is this but saying that the State establishment of a sect is contrary to the principles which ought to govern the Civil Magistrate? the very point we contend for.

The puerile character of some of the Professor's reasonings is truly surprising coming from such a quarter. For example:—'If I am to take it as a principle, that the infidel is not to be 'taxed against his will, can I, upon the same principle, tax the 'thief, the robber, the murderer, against his consent, for the pur-'pose of building prisons for his confinement, &c.' Our learned polemic might as reasonably have asked: "If I may not compel the infidel to go to church, and take the Sacrament against his will, can I compel the robber to go to prison without his consent?" The question is, whether the support of the Gospel ministry is a legitimate object for which a compulsory tax ought to be levied upon any. But 'do not Non-conformist ministers in 'certain parts of Ireland actually receive the pay of the State?' They do so, and we hope that the tithe and the *regium donum* will be abolished together. Dr. Lee declares that he 'never 'heard of any objection made against this, either by them or by 'any other Non-conformist whatsoever.' This only shews that he knows very little of what is passing around him, and that he does not even read the Eclectic Review! The greater the pity.

Dr. Smith has, in his Sermon, pointed out the various ways in which a pious monarch may advance the cause of religion without endowing one Christian sect at the expense of every other, or shewing an unjust preference in the administration of government. Will it be credited, that the following is seriously propounded as a *refutation* of the Dr.'s just remarks?

—'And Hezekiah, it is added, "spake *comfortably* unto all the Levites that taught the good knowledge of the Lord," &c. Pray, my dear sir, would you not term this last an instance of *personal preference*? We are not told, that the king spake *comfortably* to those who laughed his messengers to scorn. He, probably did, therefore, shew some preference, which I cannot consider wrong, although you may condemn it as *personal*.'

Ergo, ecclesiastical establishments are scriptural and right, being comfortable things: *q. e. d.* How admirably this argument would *tell* in the House of Commons, against those who are disposed to lay sacrilegious hands on the Irish tithes! How clear is it that good Hezekiah acted in the very spirit of the Protestant ascendancy policy! But what did he do to those who laughed to scorn his messengers? They were of course put to death, were they not? Yet the fact is not on record.

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Professor Lee insists much on the conduct of the Jewish monarchs as furnishing a model for the imitation of the kings of Great Britain; more especially in one particular.

'He (Hezekiah) next assembles the Priests and Levites, and gravely impresses upon them their duty and *the necessity of reform*. To this they attend, and act accordingly. Here, then, the priests do not reform the king; but the king, the priests.'

There can be no doubt that Hezekiah acted very wisely—and not unconstitutionally. He knew that it was of no use waiting till the priests began the reform. And we should rejoice to see his example followed at the present moment. Let the King call together the Bishops, and gravely impress on their minds the necessity of church reform, and they will then, *perhaps*, act accordingly. We are quite sure that when church reform comes, it will originate, not with the priests who shall have reformed the king, but with the king who must reform the priests.

Assuredly, the conduct of many of the Jewish monarchs was most deserving of imitation; but before an argument in favour of ecclesiastical establishments can be drawn from their proceedings, it must be shewn, that the corruption of religion did not result from the very interference which they exercised. The state religion of the kingdom of Israel was clearly idolatrous as well as schismatical; and the worship of Baal was, under several of the kings, the established religion of Judah also. The principle of religious establishments is the same, whether the priests be those of Baal or of Jehovah; and the results of the general adoption of the principle have in every age been the same. It may suit the purpose of the advocates of the Church and State system to confound the theocrasy with the Jewish monarchy superinduced upon the original constitution of the people of Israel; but the political principles of the two systems of government were, in fact, materially different; and by the substitution of legal, for moral sanctions in matters of religion, a change was made, which proved any thing but favourable to the maintenance of the true religion.

This is a point of view in which we do not recollect to have seen the question placed; but we must resist the temptation to pursue the subject, and hasten to notice a few other strange positions in this strange pamphlet. At page 59, we meet with the startling and most erroneous assertion, that to the bishops of the church—to diocesan bishops of course—we owe 'probably the 'preservation of the Scriptures of the New Testament from 'corruption, and *certainly* the only means of determining what 'is canonically authorative, and what is not so.' Does Professor Lee really mean to concede to the Romanist the necessity of tradition to determine what is Scripture? He proceeds to assert with similar rashness, and in utter contempt of historical verity, that 'a period has never yet arrived in the

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'Church of Christ, in which its greatest ornaments and best defenders were not to be found among its bishops.' If he means by bishops, the pastors of Christian churches, using the term in its genuine scriptural sense, this affirmation might be supported; but if the prelates of a state hierarchy be intended, we cannot conceive of an assertion more irreconcileable with notorious fact.

The following remarks, however, we transcribe with pleasure, as we entirely agree with the learned writer in every word, and wonder only how they came to be introduced into a pamphlet to the whole strain of which they are in direct opposition.

'I think I may now say, that, according to the Scriptures, the Church of God *ought to be united*, to *be* PERFECTLY JOINED *together*, having *the same mind, the same judgment*, and *speaking the same words;* and that there ought to be *no divisions*, (or schisms); no: not under the authoritative names of Paul, Cephas, Apollos, or even Christ: and that ministers, in particular, ought to be God's *fellow-labourers*. Of course I mean here, that all such do hold the Head, Christ Jesus, and join most cordially in the inculcation of those doctrines which are peculiar to the Gospel: viz. of the Deity of Christ, of the Trinity in Unity, of justification by faith, and of all those others which the reformed Church has deemed essential and necessary to salvation.

'Now, I must affirm, that every opinion and doctrine setting forth that any thing, no matter how plausible or how wise soever it may be, or seem to be, originating *only in human authority*, but tending to destroy this union and communion among Believers, is directly *opposed to* the injunctions of Holy Scripture, and therefore sinful and dangerous in the extreme.' pp. 75, 6.

Towards the close of the pamphlet, we meet with the following candid remarks.

'Again, when I call to mind the astonishing effects wrought by Wickliffe and Luther only, as individuals, on the population of Europe; when I consider what has been done by many others, acting almost singly but simply for the spread of the Gospel, and the edification of the Body of Christ; may I not come to the conclusion, that, —if the energies of such men as Dr. Adam Clarke, Mr. Robert Hall, Mr. Samuel Drew, Dr. John Pye Smith, and many others whom I might name, had been superadded to those of our Hebers, and others who have adorned, and do now adorn, the Establishment,—our light as a Christian nation would have shone far more brightly, more clearly, more warmly, more steadily, and more extensively, than it now does? And, Would the labours of these non-conformists (great and good as they are) have been in any way tarnished, or made less efficient, by the connexion? My belief is, they would have commanded a much greater range in operation; and, from the leisure, opportunities, and encouragement, which our Institutions would have afforded, they would not have been less, but more, perfect in their kind.'

pp. 85, 6.

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Can there be a more severe condemnation passed upon the Church and State system, than is conveyed in this paragraph? Such are the men whom Episcopacy proscribes, and the Establishment degrades! In a postscript, Dr. Lee represents the Dissenters as 'combining for the purpose of compelling others to 'adopt that system of Church government which they deem to 'be the best and most convenient.' As we are persuaded that he would not intentionally misrepresent, though we cannot account for his gross misapprehension in this matter, we shall content ourselves with assuring him, that for this statement, there is not the slightest foundation in fact.

After these specimens of the learned Writer's opinions, the reader may well be surprised to find him coming forward to expose the chimerical nature of Dean Turton's fears as to the awful consequences of admitting Dissenters to graduate at the Universities. The evidence upon which the Dean of Peterborough rests his main position is, strange to say, the case of Dr. Doddridge's Academy!! To the laxness in the terms of admission to that private academy, and to the faulty system of lecturing as rendered necessary by that laxness, he attributes the heterodoxy which was in too many cases the result. We are happy to find the Dean's argument so completely demolished by the learned Prebendary, who shews himself a liberal man at bottom.

'It certainly has been the practice here, for some years past, to admit either Dissenters or Roman Catholics, provided their moral character and circumstances in life were such as to be unobjectionable. No difficulty has hitherto, so far as I know, been felt from the circumstance; nor any from the variety of opinions entertained among the young men so admitted. The result generally has been, that most of the dissenting young men have conformed to the established Church, and left the University in a state of mind evincing, that they had become its zealous and staunch friends. I do not think, therefore, that much stress can be fairly laid on the question relating to admission: and I am further of opinion, that the Dean would have laid no such stress upon it, had not his fears forced upon him considerations, to which his reasoning could afford no aid.

'My next objection is: The conclusions alluded to have been drawn from an assumption, that from a similar laxness of admission allowed at our Universities, similar consequences must of course follow. This assumption is, I think, not only groundless, but involves an event the most unlikely imaginable ever to take place. The Bill against which the Dean's objections are principally directed, providing that persons shall be allowed to matriculate at the Universities without regard to religious tests, enacts nothing, as far as I can see, that must necessarily introduce the *perilous mode of lecturing* set up by Dr. Doddridge. I can find no clause whatever in this Bill, enjoining that theological lectures shall be given at all, much less such as shall have *dogmatical divinity*

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exclusively for their object. How then, I ask, can it be maintained, that to adopt such a bill will necessarily set on foot an evil so great, as that against which the Dean feels bound to contend?' pp. 8, 9.

'I am quite at a loss to discover what could have suggested to the Dean, that dogmatical divinity was thus to be taken up and driven in the Universities, as a necessary consequence of passing this Bill: or, how he ever could have supposed, that the simple admission of Dissenters (a thing which has gone on here for years) could, under its operation, be productive of all these terrific results. But, as no arguments have been offered for their support, I have no other means of meeting them than by saying, that what their value may be as predictions I must leave others to judge.' p. 10.

'It is further assumed, that the studies which are now so sedulously, so harmoniously, and so successfully pursued, will be broken in upon and disturbed. "Among the younger students of the Universities," says the Dean, "as at present constituted, every thing wears the aspect of tranquillity. They have nothing to unsettle their minds. They are—taking them as a body—assiduously pursuing their studies, and qualifying themselves for the stations for which they are designed, &c." (p. 22.) I am sorry to say, I have strong objections to urge against this statement. It is well known, I believe, that a majority of the young men who marticulate at the Universities, do this with the view of entering the Church. These, according to this statement, "are assiduously pursuing their studies, and qualifying themselves for the station for which they are designed." Now, I would ask the Dean—Of the large number of young men here preparing for the Church, How many, to his certain knowledge, are pursuing *those studies* which are *to qualify them for this station*? Does he know so much as one individual assiduously pursuing such a course? Does he know any College, Head of house, Tutor, Professor, Examiner, or the like, either pointing out, or calling for, any such line of study as his arguments require, or as this his statement lays down? And further, is he not aware, that a very large proportion of the young men, and those in particular who are intended for the Church, are actually spending the far greater part of their time in idleness, if not in the acquirement of habits which must be an injury both to themselves and to society in after life? That all this goes on tranquilly, is surely no recommendation to it. It appears to me to be very much of a piece with that *flattering* unction which, when once laid to the soul, has no better effect than that of filming over the ulcerous place, and of suffering rank corruption to carry on its infections unseen.

'It may also be collected, I think, from the Dean's own statements, that no such course of theological study is engaged in, as his reasonings and statements require. For, at p. 27 he tells us, that "It would indeed be a subject of the deepest regret to" him "to find the attention, which is now so profitably directed to learning and science, in any degree engaged by polemical divinity." He adds, "I cannot but consider learning and science not as ends, but as means—the means of strengthening the minds, and informing the understandings, of those who will shortly be required to undertake the duties which respectively await them in Church and State." And again, p. 28:

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"With regard to free inquiry, on the most momentous questions that can occupy our thoughts, it is, I trust, almost unnecessary to say, that I am favourable to it, *at the proper season of life, &c.*" It seems evident from this, that the Dean not only concedes the point, that no professional theological studies are pursued at all by the young men here, but also that he does not believe it desirable they should be. He rather thinks, that they should be deferred until classical and mathematical learning shall have fitted the mind to receive them.—Let this be granted, and then let it be asked, What can there possibly be to fear from the operation of a Bill, which goes hand in hand with such a state of things, and asks for no such studies? And, How can any one reasonably object to that, which, supposing such studies were really pursued, expressly provides that they shall not be interfered with.

'I must notice one fallacy more, by which, as it appears to me, the worthy Dean has unwarily suffered himself to be imposed upon. Dr. Turton, arguing from the case of the Daventry Academy, necessarily takes for granted, that the numbers to be introduced by this Bill will be so large, as first, to make a very sensible impression on all the other young men sent to the Universities; and then, secondly, to form a large and permanent phalanx, for ever to be encountered. "But when persons," says he, (p. 26) "act together, and receive constant accessions in point of numbers, they become virtually a body corporate; and their power of doing mischief is, like property held in mortmain, for ever."

'Now I will only ask, If Dissenters and others, to be admitted under this Bill, are so numerous throughout the upper and middle ranks of society, as thus to inundate our Universities, is it likely that the Established Church can stand one hour before them? The Dean by no means believes this; for he says, (p. 23) "The higher and middle classes of society, in this country, are *yet sound at the heart.* "They reverence," adds he, "the law of God, and are conscientiously attached to the national Church." Whence then, I ask, are we to expect that swarm of Dissenters, &c. which, like so many locusts, are to overwhelm our Universities? The truth seems to be, the Dean has suffered himself to be so wrought upon, perhaps by his fears, that he is occasionally carried away, far beyond the limits prescribed by his own statements.' pp. 12—15.

We are sorry for Dr. Turton. He, too, is a learned and good man, but he does not appear to advantage in this instance.

Art. VIII.—*Horæ Otiosæ;* or, Thoughts, Maxims, and Opinions. 12mo. pp. 246. Price 6*s.* London, 1833.

THERE are in this volume, marks of original thought and materials for thinking; but we should find almost as much to controvert as to applaud. The Author correctly anticipates that, of the ideas introduced, some will be thought not sufficiently developed, and others incorrect or problematical. The work

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consists of a string of aphorisms after the *manner* of Lord Bacon; but it is rather a daring attempt, to imitate that great legislator of the intellectual world. Still, we are pleased to meet with the genuine results of meditation, whether that meditation be more or less profound and philosophical; and in proof that from these Thoughts some wisdom may be gleaned, we shall take a few that have pleased us, without comment.

'In the earlier stages of Christian experience, the mind is perhaps more influenced by religious principles, as embodied in particular individuals, than by those principles in the abstract. Afterwards, when the views and character are more ripened, principles themselves assume a greater weight, and individuals are less regarded.

'Though no motives deducible from human merit can be supposed to influence God in election, it does not follow that he is not governed by reasons in the choice of some, rather than of others. Doubtless the divine wisdom, as well as sovereignty, regulates the selection; agreeably to the language of the Apostle, who, after mentioning the predestination of believers, refers it to "the *counsel* of God's will."

'The interests of religion are little subserved by nice speculations about the precise order or elements of the mental emotions, at the commencement, or during the subsequent stages, of piety.

'It is remarkable, that while no book in the world contains so striking an exposure of men's vices and follies as the Bible, no book ever speaks of them with less bitterness or contempt.' pp. 237, 8.

'The depravity of man is shown, not only by the depth to which he is fallen from God, but by his endeavours to bring down the divine character and government to the level of his own degradation.' p. 243.

The following would perhaps serve as a motto to the volume.

'Trite maxims sometimes appear invested with originality, when their correctness is first ascertained by experience.' p. 55.

There is much truth in the following remarks.

'The biography of almost any individual would be deeply interesting, if it fell into competent hands. The question is not so much, Who is the subject? as, What are the qualifications of the writer?' p. 132.

'It is in literature as in life; the most laborious departments are often the least lucrative.' p. 135.

'Compilation is a task of far greater difficulty than the production of what is original. Yet there is no comparison between their intellectual merit, or their praise, whatever there may be as to their respective utility.' p. 137.

'Antiquity seems the more wise, because its follies have not de-

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scended to us. Inferior minds and productions abound in every period, but die their natural death. The present generation would no doubt appear very distinguished, if only the best works of the age were to reach posterity.' p. 136.

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Art. IX. *Memoirs of Rowland Taylor,* LL.D. Archdeacon of Exeter, Rector of Hadleigh, &c. Comprising an Account of the Rise of the Reformation in Norfolk and Suffolk. By Thomas Quinton Stow. 12mo, pp. xi. 343. London, 1833.

BISHOP Heber has remarked, that there is nothing more beautiful in the whole beautiful Book of Martyrs, than the account which Fox has given of Rowland Taylor, whether in the discharge of his duty as a parish priest, or in the more arduous moments when he was called on to bear his cross in the cause of religion. 'As a pastor,' Mr. Stow observes, 'no one appears to 'have been so completely the favourite of the Martyrologist as 'Taylor. His character in that relation appears to have struck 'him as the *beau idéal* of a Christian minister.' This admirable man was born at Rothbery, on the Scottish border, towards the close of the fifteenth century. The same vicinity gave birth to the great Bishop Ridley, and to their common friend Dr. W. Turner, 'the father of Puritanism.' He studied at Cambridge, and while there, the preaching of Latimer appears to have led him cordially to embrace the doctrines of the Reformed Faith. He became Principal of Borden Hostle (or Hall), and LL.D., in both civil and canon law. The first scene of his evangelical labours appears to have been laid in Cornwall, where he appears to have had the official superintendence of several monastic establishments. On the suppression of the monasteries, he obtained a pension in remuneration, and appears to have removed to London, where he married, and was appointed domestic chaplain at Lambeth Palace. Strype says that Cranmer 'made use 'of him in his affairs;' and he was employed by him more especially in diffusing the principles of the Reformation in Kent, within the peculiar jurisdiction of Canterbury. In the year 1544, Dr. Taylor was presented to the living of Hadleigh, in Suffolk; and Fox gives him great credit for disinterestedness in denying himself the gratification of a residence in Lambeth, for the unostentatious duties of a country pastorate. In 1549, Repps, the Popish diocesan of Norwich, disliking the measures of Edward VI. and the Reformers, resigned his bishopric; and its spiritualities were committed by Archishop Cranmer to Dr. Rowland Taylor and Dr. William Wakefield. These delegated powers placed the Reformer in a new and important relation to the two favoured counties of Norfolk and Suffolk; and from this

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time, the progress of the Reformed opinions in those parts becomes intimately connected with his labours.

These brief biographical memoranda will serve to introduce to our readers, the interesting subject of Mr. Stow's Memoirs. The records of those times are precious, and ought not to be so much forgotten as they are. We are satiated with the diffuse and garrulous memorials of contemporary necrology; while the lives of those who were lights in darkness, the confessors and martyrs of the heroic days of the Church, are suffered to remain untold or unread. We return our best thanks to Mr. Stow for the very interesting narrative which he has here presented to us, compiled with much care and industry, from scattered and obscure materials. The volume does him great credit, and forms an acceptable accession to a class of works of which we have but too few.

No period of our history stands more in need of illustration than that which intervened between the rise and spread of Lollardism and the *royal* Reformation. In the counties which were the scene of Taylor's labours, traces of Lollardism are found from a very early period.

'William Sawtree preached the doctrines of Wickliffe, at Lynn; and, so soon as 1399, was compelled by the command of the Bishop of Norwich, after being examined at the Manor House of South Helingham, to abjure publicly in the churches at Tinney, Lynn, and other places. The various scenes of his abjuration had all been probably the fields of his Christian labours. That this good man recovered from his frailty, we have satisfactory, though melancholy evidence. After preaching again the truths he had denied in Norfolk, he was burnt in London, the year following his unhappy recantation; and thus became the *first victim* to the horrid statute passed by Henry IV. for burning heretics, which hung for a century and a half with portentious glare in our ecclesiastical hemisphere, shedding terror and death throughout the land.

'The year 1424 is memorable in the history of both the countries, by the arrival in Norfolk of William White, a man eminent for learning, eloquence, and sanctity. As far back as 1416, he had been cited on a charge of heresy, but refused to appear. In 1424, he was induced to recant before the Archbishop of Canterbury; but speedily regaining his courage, he went down the same year to Loddon, a town in Norfolk, but closely bordering on Suffolk. This step was attended with the voluntary surrender, both of his benefice and of his office as priest. On this spot, independently of ecclesiastical authority, he gathered a numerous congregation, to whom he became the regular, laborious, and exemplary preacher and pastor. His followers studied with great diligence the New Testament, which was, of course, Wickliffe's version, and in manuscript, and called by them "The Book of the New Law." Writings of Lollardy were supplied from London, and meetings of instruction, conference, and devotion, called Schools of Lollardy, were held frequently among them. The success of this

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distinguished Wickliffite was surprisingly rapid and extensive. Some laymen who adopted his sentiments, assumed also his unauthorized habits of instruction, and became active promoters of their new views. Eight or nine priests of the neighbourhood embraced his doctrines, and shared in his labours. His converts were found in thirty towns and villages, lying mostly in the contiguous parts of the two counties, and some of them as distant as Wymondham, Harlestone, Eye, Aldborough, and an unnamed village near Ipswich.' pp. 26, 27.

'It was scarcely to be expected that such scenes should long escape the eyes of intolerance.—

'A commission was issued to apprehend and punish these humble men. Six persons were committed to the Duke of Norfolk, at Framlingham Castle. Three priests suffered death, of whom White was one. He was martyred at Norwich, in September 1428. His place was not despicably supplied by his zealous widow, and the more able of his followers, who continued, as well as their afflicting circumstances would permit, to instruct and cheer the affrighted flock, upon whom the wolves of persecution had broken in. The persecution continued to rage. Numbers of men and women in Norfolk and Suffolk, especially of Beccles, Earsham, and Loddon, were compelled to abjure with all the cruelties and indignities of penance. From the time of White's death one hundred and twenty persons, of both sexes, were examined and bitterly persecuted. Amidst their sufferings they appear to have comforted themselves with the full persuasion of the eventual triumph of their cause. "It is read," said one of these injured men in his depositions, "in the prophecies amongst the Lollards, that the sect of Lollards shall be in a manner destroyed; notwithstanding, at the length, the Lollards shall prevail, and have the victory against all their enemies."' pp. 28, 9,

When Lollardism had merged in the Reformation, this part of the kingdom enjoyed the apostolic labours of that 'good 'master Bilney,' the spiritual father of Latimer, Barnes, and Lambert. After him, Thomas Rose successfully laboured in the same field, and built upon the foundations so deeply and wisely laid. He was placed at Hadleigh, the very town which was subsequently to enjoy the pastoral care of Taylor.

'Of no place in Britain has Fox left so remarkable a record. "The town of Hadleigh," he writes, "was one of the first that received the word of God in England, at the preaching of Mr. Thomas Bilney [and of Mr. Thomas Rose, he ought, according to his own accounts, to have added], by whose industry the gospel of Christ had such good success, and took such root there, that a great number in that parish became exceeding well learned in the holy Scriptures, as well women as men, so that a man might have found among them many that had often read the whole Bible through, and that could have said a great part of St. Paul's Epistles by heart, and very well and readily have given a godly, learned sentence in any matter of controversy. Their children and servants were also brought up and trained so diligently in the right knowledge of God's word, that the whole town seemed rather

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an university of the learned, than a town of cloth-making or labouring people. And, what is most to be commended, they were, for the most part, faithful followers of God's word in their living." pp. 66, 7.

Taylor held the episcopal commission intrusted to him till the year 1550, when Thirlby was appointed to the see of Norwich. He then received a similar charge in the Diocese of Worcester. In 1552, he was made Archdeacon of Exeter, the see of which was then held by the venerable Coverdale; and the friendship between them, 'began in the episcopal palace,' was destined before long 'to be carried on in a prison.' The following year witnessed the dark eclipse of the light of the Reformation which ensued on the death of King Edward. Some time elapsed before Dr. Taylor felt the effects of his disobedience to the intolerant edicts of the sanguinary Mary. He continued to follow his usual course of public instruction, until interrupted by the malignant officiousness of two of his parishioners, who hired the Popish priest of an adjoining parish to revive mass in Hadleigh church.

'In order to accomplish their purpose, they first erected an altar, with which the Protestants of Hadleigh were so displeased, that in the night they pulled it down. Itwas rebuilt; and, lest it should be a second time demolished, a watch was provided. On the following day came the priest, attended by Clerk, Foster and others, who surrounded him armed with swords and bucklers. At the ringing of the bells, Dr. Taylor came down from his study, and, on attempting to enter the church, found the doors fast closed, except the chancel door, which was merely latched. On stepping into the church, a strange and unwelcome sight presented itself—the priest, with his 'broad, new-shaven crown,' just about to commence his idolatrous service, surrounded with armed men. "Thou devil," said the unceremonious Doctor, "who made thee so bold as to enter into this church of Christ, to profane and defile it with this abominable idolatry?" "Thou traitor," said Foster, starting up and boiling with fury, "what doest thou here to hinder and disturb the Queen's proceedings?" "I am no traitor," answered the venerable rector, "but I am the shepherd that God my Lord Christ hath appointed to feed this his flock; and I command thee, thou Popish wolf, in the name of God, to avoid hence, and not to presume here, with such Popish idolatry." "Heretic," said Foster, "wilt thou traitorously make a commotion, and resist violently the Queen's proceedings?" "I make no commotion," again replied the Doctor; "but it is you Papists that make commotions and tumults. I resist only with God's word against your Popish idolatries." Foster and his armed men ended the conference, by seizing the rector, and forcibly thrusting him out of the church.'

pp. 107—109.

Foster and Clerk followed up their opposition by writing against Dr. Taylor to Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, which brought a summons, in March, 1554, for the Doctor to appear before the

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Bishop, to answer the complaints. This citation was heavy news to his friends, who earnestly besought him to seek safety by flight, assuring him, that neither favour nor justice could be expected from the fierce and bloody Gardiner. To these remonstrances he replied,

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'"Dear friends, I most heartily thank you for your tender care of me. And although I know that there is neither justice nor truth to be looked for at my adversaries' hands, but rather imprisonment and cruel death, yet know I my cause to be righteous, that I will, by God's grace, go and appear before them, and to their beards resist their false doing."' p. 111.

Soon after his arrival in London, he was cited before the brutal Gardner, who reviled him in a strain of bitter and coarse abuse. He was then conducted to the King's Bench prison, where he found Bradford, Ferrar and Philpot, whose company yielded much satisfaction to his mind. Bradford thanked God that he had sent him 'so comfortable a fellow prisoner.' On the 22nd of Jan. 1556, all the imprisoned preachers were summoned before Gardiner, and asked if they would be reconciled to the Pope, and receive the Queen's pardon, which they refused to do, and were remanded to prison, where they were more severely treated than before. They were again brought before Gardiner, on the 30th of January, when Taylor, Bradford, and Saunders, were excommunicated and condemned. The sentence of death was then read, and they joyfully thanked God, and said to their persecutors, "We doubt not but God, the righteous judge, will require our blood at your hands, and the proudest of you all shall repent this." On his way to prison, Dr. Taylor addressed the crowd that flocked around him, and cheerfully said. "God be praised, good people, I come away from them undefiled, and will confirm the truth with my blood."

'On the 9th of February, the Doctor was conducted towards Hadleigh. When within two miles of the town, he alighted from his horse, and, according to Fox's simple narration, gave a frisk or two, as thoug he was going to a dance. The sheriff, whose attention was excited by this proof of continued cheerfulness, said to him, 'Why, Master Doctor, how do you now?' 'Well, God be wraised, good Master Sheriff,' answered the cheerful martyr; 'never betrer; for now I know that I am almost at home. I lack not past two styles to go over, and I am even at my Father's house. But, Master Sheriff,' continued the Doctor, whose affectionate and pastoral feelings began to swell as he approached the scene of his happy and useful labours, 'shall we go through Hadleigh?' 'Yes,' said the Sheriff, 'you shall go through Hadleigh.' 'O, good Lord, I thank thee,' exclaimed the thankful pastor, 'I shall once, ere I die, see my flock, whom thou, Lord, knowest I have most heartily loved and truly taught. Good Lord, bless them, and keep them steadfast in thy word and truth.' At the foot of Hadleigh-bridge a touching scene awaited the company.

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A poor man and his five children were kneeling upon the ground, and lifting up their hands, while the father thus addressed the Doctor, as he rode past:—'O dear father and good shepherd, Doctor Taylor, God help and succour thee, as thou hast many a time succoured me and my poor children.' This first proof of respect and sympathy towards Dr. Taylor, surprised and perhaps alarmed the Sheriff, who harshly rebuked the poor man for his expressions of gratitude. On entering the town, the streets were found to be thronged with the people of the parish and of the surrounding villages, who were waiting to see, for the last time, their beloved pastor. As he passed along, the people wept and lamented, saying to each other, 'Ah, good Lord! there goeth our good shepherd from us, that hath so faithfully taught us, so fatherly hath cared for us, and so godly hath governed us. O merciful God! what shall we poor scattered lambs do? What shall come of this most wicked world? Good Lord, strengthen him and comfort him.' These, and similar expressions, bursting from all sides, drew down the sharpest rebukes from the Sheriff and his men. The Doctor contented himself with repeatedly saying, 'I have preached to you God's word and truth, and am come this day to seal it with my blood.'

For the affecting sequel, we must refer to Mr. Stow's volume.

Art. X.—LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Major E. Moor, the Author of the Hindoo Pantheon, has just completed a highly interesting volume of Oriental Fragments, illustrated with a variety of curious plates.

Preparing for Publication, A Translation (by Miss C. Ward, an accomplished Italian scholar) of Professor Rossetti's extraordinary work, "Sullo Spirito Antipapale che produsse la Reforma," on the "Antipapal Spirit which produced the Reformation, and the Secret Influence exercised thereby on the Literature of Europe, and especially of Italy, as displayed by her classic writers, Dante, Petrarca, Boccaccio," &c. &c. &c. a work which has caused a strong sensation in Italy, and been laid under the ban of the Papal Church.

A Work under the Title of "English Scenes and English Civilization—Sketches and Traits in the Nineteenth Century," will appear in the course of this Month, from the pen of a Writer who has studied the present state of society, with the most liberal and profound views towards its improvement.

It is proposed to publish by Subscription, a Work to be entitled, "The Classic and Connoiseur in Italy and Sicily," in which will be condensed the best Observations of the more distinguished Tourists through those Countries. With (as an Appendix) an abridged Translation of Lanzi's History of Painting. 3 vols. 8vo.

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In the press, A Treatise on the System of Intercourse and Communication in Civilized States, and particularly in Great Britain. By Thomas Grahame. 1 vol. 8vo.

On the 15th of June will be published, Memoirs of the Rev, W. H. Angas, late of Shields. By the Rev. F. A. Cox, L.L.D.

Shortly will be published, A new and improved Edition of Sermons to Young People, by the late Rev. J. Lawington of Bideford, with a Memoir and Profile of the Author.

Preparing for Publication, The Life of Bishop Jewel, by Professor Le Bas.

Art. XI. WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

BIOGRAPHY.

The Life of Archbishop Cranmer. By Charles Webb Le Bas, M.A., Professor in the East India College, Herts, and late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. In 2 vols. small 8vo, price 12*s.* with portraits. (Printed uniformly with the Life of Wiclif.)

A Memoir of Mrs. Smith, of Madras, late Miss Marsden, of Southwark, with Extracts from her Diary and Correspondence, by John Smith, Missionary. With a recommendatory Preface by the Rev. Alexander Fletcher, of Finsbury Chapel. 18mo. The profits of the work to be devoted to the education of Mrs. Smith's son, now in England.

Life of the Rev. Rowland Hill, A M., compiled from Authentic Documents. By the Rev. Edwin Sidney, A.M., of St. John's College, Cambridge. 12*s.* cloth.

EDUCATION.

An Essay towards an Easy and Useful System of Logic. By Robert Blakey, Author of 'The History of Moral Science,' &c. 12mo, 4*s.* 6*d.*

MISCELLANEOUS.

A Concordance to the Psalms of David, according to the Version in the Book of Common Prayer. By the Rev. Charles Girdlestone, M.A., Vicar of Sedgley, Staffordshire. 8vo, 4*s.* 6*d.*

The Naturalist's Poetical Companion, with Notes selected by a Member of the Linnæan Society. fcap. 8vo, 5*s.* cloth.

The Young Disciple. By Eliza Paget, Author of the "Way of Peace." 12mo, 3*s.* cloth.

Substance of the Speech of Sir Charles Wetherell, before the Lords of the Privy Council, on the subject of Incorporating the London University. 8vo, 2*s.*

POLITICAL.

The Church and the Clergy. Showing that Religious Establishments derive no countenance from the nature of Christianity, and that they are not recommended by public utility; with some observations on the Church Establishment of England and Ireland, and on the System of Tithes. By the late Jonathan Dymond. 8vo, 6*d.*, or 40*s.* per 100. In order to spread widely just and true principles on these important subjects, this very able and temperate Essay is republished without any view to profit at the low prices above-mentioned.

Dissent Unscriptural and Unjustifiable, demonstrated in an Examination of Dr. John Pye Smith's Sermon, and Appendix, entitled 'the Necessity of Religion to the Well-being of a Nation,' on the subjects at present agitated between Churchmen and Dissenters, in a Letter addressed to their Author. By Samuel Lee, D.D., Vicar of Bamwell; Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Cambridge. 8vo, 2*s.*

THEOLOGY.

The Pulpit, Vol. XXIII. containing 60 Sermons and Lectures. 8vo, 7*s.* 6*d.* cloth.

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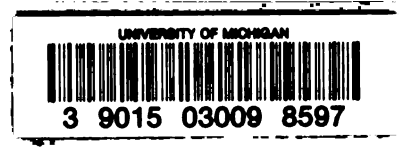

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