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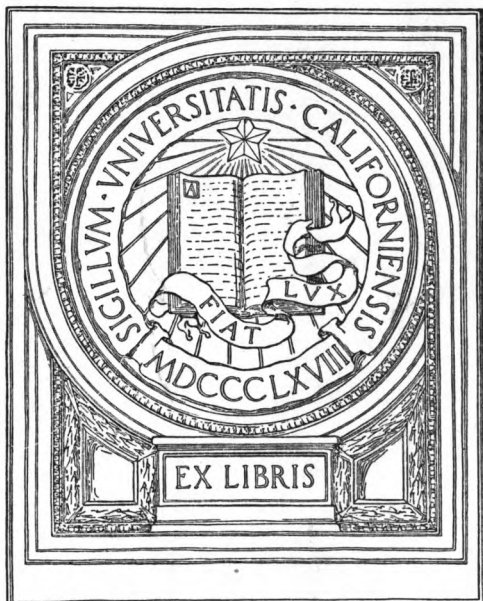
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THE  
ENGLISH REVIEW.

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TO THE  
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SHUT out from the rest of Europe no less by the genius of its inhabitants, than by the mountain barrier of the Pyrenees,—drawn from time to time into the vortex of European politics and foreign ambition, but still remaining a stranger to European interests and sympathies,—raised for a season to a height of power and splendour which made it an object of universal envy, by the discovery and conquest of a new world, and fallen from that height by the unnatural attempt to compress the life of that new world within the rigid forms of its own already effete life, Spain exhibits throughout the whole course of its history a character totally unlike that which Christianity and modern civilization present any where else. This peculiarity and separateness of every thing Spanish must be borne in mind, if we would form a fair judgment of the present condition, and a fair estimate of the future prospects, of that extraordinary country. For the very distraction in which it has been involved during the last thirty or forty years, and from which, we fear, there is no very proximate hope that it will recover itself, is owing to the intrusion into it of a foreign element which the national mind is incapable of absorbing and assimilating, while at the same time all the old foundations of its social and political existence, which had become weak and tottering by reason of their age, have been violently removed out of their places by the same foreign intrusion. The ancient tree of the Spanish Church and monarchy has been felled by the revolutionary axe of her

Gallican neighbour; the stump remains firmly fixed in the peninsular soil, but too old and sapless either to put forth young branches of its own, or to admit a graft from any other stock.

And yet, in spite of this inauspicious appearance, there is a fund of life and vigour in the people of Spain, which, one cannot help hoping, must sooner or later lead to a fresh development of life; the incubus of time-worn notions may retard, the interference of foreign influence may disturb, the development to which the national life is manifestly tending; but the moral energy of a people, in whose hearts principles are still cherished in right earnest for their own sake, not as baits and lures to subserve the ends of a wily diplomacy, cannot be pent up for ever. In comparison with the moral barrenness which is fast overspreading the principal countries of Europe, where the inroads of the tide of innovation have undermined the firm old rocks on which the cities of the nations were built, and a constant process of social trituration is reducing their remaining fragments to one common standard of smooth but worthless pebbles, Spain appears, notwithstanding the melancholy aspect which it wears at present, a promising country; a country which has, indeed, outlived its former self, but which is evidently travailing in birth with a new existence.

Of such a country, whose character is so exotic and its condition so critical, accounts founded on the personal observation of intelligent foreigners cannot fail to be extremely attractive; and while we have ourselves perused with more than ordinary interest the sketches lately furnished by two of our own countrymen, and by the able pen of M. Quinet, we doubt not that our readers will be far from displeased to have the most recent information concerning Spain presented to them in a condensed form.

The volumes which we shall put under contribution for this purpose, and the titles of which we have accordingly placed at the head of this article, are as unlike to each other in point of character, as Spain itself is to every other country in Europe. Among them the first place is due, on the same principle on which the *velites* were usually put in the front of the battle, to the pocket volume which forms part of Mr. Murray's Home and Colonial Library. It is,—as we are informed by two lines and a half of dedicatory matter, addressed "to the Honourable Mrs. Ford, by her very affectionate husband and servant,"—the production of Mr. Richard Ford, the author of the *Hand-book of Spain*, who in the preface tells us he was induced to compile it in compliance with the wishes of "many ladies," who, it appears, "condescended to signify to the publisher their regrets, that the *Hand-book* was printed in a form which rendered its perusal irksome, and also to express a wish that the type had been

larger." Whereupon Mr. Ford, like a dutiful ladies' man as by his own account he seems to be, lost no time, but, as soon as "this distinguished compliment was communicated" to him, hastened to gratify his fair patronesses, by "submitting to their indulgence a few extracts and selections" from the Hand-book, to which he added "much new matter, to supply the place of portions omitted;" having, with a due regard for the taste of that portion of the public by which he chiefly aims and rejoices to be read, "removed much lumber of learning, in order to lighten the narrative," and "not scrupled occasionally to throw Strabo, and even Saint Isidore himself, overboard." *Per contra*, the author states that "the passages here reprinted will be omitted in the forthcoming new edition of the Hand-book, to which these pages may form a companion; but their chief object has been to offer a few hours' amusement, and may be of instruction, to those who remain at home; and," he adds with exquisite gallantry, "should the humble attempt meet with the approbation of fair readers, the author will bear, with more than Spanish resignation, whatever animadversions *bearded* critics may be pleased to inflict on this or on the other side of the water." Whether in this last remark Mr. Ford means to insinuate that he is one of that privileged class of authors who revenge the griefs and grievances of authors in general, by "*bearding*" the critics in their turn, is more than we can tell; at all events we have no intention of putting his "Spanish resignation" to the test, because, to say the truth, we do not think his volume stands in need of any of the apologetic pleas which he has prefixed to it. It is an exceedingly clever, lively, and entertaining book, written by a man who is evidently master of his subject, one "whose knowledge of Spain and the Spaniards," according to the testimony of Mr. Hughes, himself a competent judge, "cannot be too highly extolled." There is but one serious exception which we have to make against Mr. Ford's book, and that is the frequent introduction of sacred allusions and Scripture phrases, which to a mind accustomed to keep biblical associations separate from the profane things of common life, is all the more offensive, because the matter with which these allusions and phrases are mixed up, is for the most part highly entertaining. In saying this, we do not mean to prefer a charge of wilful irreverence against the author; the fault which we have felt it our duty to point out, appears to be one of mere thoughtlessness, and we sincerely hope that Mr. Ford may be induced to correct it in a new edition of his book, which we doubt not will be, as it deserves to be, extensively popular.

In order that our readers may be under no misapprehension as to what they will, and what they will not find in the pages of Mr. Ford, we should add, that if they look for discussions on the



political state of Spain, or for accounts of its institutions, its literature, or its antiquities, they will be disappointed; for on these subjects the author rarely touches, and then only *en passant*. The field of observation which Mr. Ford has chosen, and to which he has judiciously confined himself, is the general aspect of Spanish life, as it strikes a bystander; the manner of living which is peculiar to the Spaniards, and to which, if they would travel profitably and pleasantly as Mr. Ford has done, visitors to Spain must adapt themselves. Of this, from the minutest details of the road and kitchen, to the general features of national character exhibited in the ways and habits of society, so far as that is accessible to a stranger's observation, the "Gatherings from Spain" afford a most lively and well-drawn picture,—a kind of panorama in letter-press, which will go far to indemnify those who have neither time nor money for a trip to Spain, and will put those who are lucky enough to have both at their disposal, at once *au fait* as to what they may expect to find on the other side of the Bay of Biscay.

The work of Mr. Hughes is of a different character altogether. It professes to be, and it is, no more than the journal of a tourist; of a man travelling for the sake of his health, as we were sorry to perceive by his frequent allusions to the state of his lungs. He accomplished the transit from London to Lisbon, almost entirely by land, a distance of 1500 English miles, in the course of about a month, for a sum little exceeding forty pounds. Under these circumstances it would be unreasonable to look, even at the hands of one who, like Mr. Hughes, has been resident in the Peninsula for some years, for any very accurate information, or for enlarged and profound views on the countries through which the writer passed. There is the usual amount of travelling incident, the vicissitudes of good and bad inns, of commodious and incommo-  
dious conveyances, amusing rencontres with original or eccentric fellow-travellers, occasional contests with douaniers and police-agents, and hair-breadth escapes from real or supposed robbers; which latter are as indispensable in a Spanish book of travels, as red pepper in a Spanish stew. These matters, *cosas de viage*, quite as much as *cosas de España*, would scarcely have furnished materials for two volumes; accordingly a considerable portion of the bulk of the work is made up of topics which, though interwoven with the narrative of an actual journey, might have been handled quite as well by a gentleman sitting at home with a tolerable supply of newspapers and other kindred sources of information at his command. Thus, in the first volume, besides the history of the author's progress to Madrid, *viâ* Havre, Rouen, Paris, Orléans, Tours, Poitiers, Angoulême, Bordeaux, Bayonne, Irun, San Sebastian, Vitoria, and Burgos, which occupied three

weeks, we have *inter multa alia* anecdotes of the different members of the royal family, and of the leading political characters of Spain, a complete biography of the Carlist chief Don Roman Cabrera, and copious disquisitions on the Montpensier marriage. The last-named subject extends far into the second volume, the bulk of which is swelled out with sundry official documents connected with the untoward affair, not forgetting even the text of the treaty of Utrecht. *A propos* of this business, Mr. Hughes gives his opinion very freely touching the conduct of our ambassador, on whom he called in his passage through Madrid, but was careful, as he specially informs us, not to lay himself under any obligation to Mr. Bulwer, which might interfere with the freedom of his observations. On this point it may be amusing to our readers to hear Mr. Hughes himself.

“ The fatal error of Mr. Bulwer’s career is an excessive opinion of himself. Not satisfied with a high reputation, a distinguished position, and even considerable fame, he would outshine all men within his sphere, and eclipse the proudest grandee of Spain in outlay and magnificence. It is not sufficient for him to have a splendid town-house in the openest and finest street of Madrid, but he must have his two country-houses (one his property at Aranjuez, the other hired at Carabanchal), his racing stud to superintend, his alternate villas to repair to. The more practical Brésson lived next door to the palace, and never was absent from his post; the theoretic Bulwer lived in an atmosphere of his own, and left the palace to shift for itself with lordly indifference. Brésson worked by *viâ voce* intercourse, Bulwer by diplomatic notes. I have not been six years watching the course of diplomatists, without learning the infinite superiority of verbal communication on all ordinary occasions. Twice before the night of the 27th of August, when the intrigue was finally wound up, had meetings of the ministers, leading prelates, and presidents of the legislative bodies been held at the palace, for the very purpose of deciding this marriage question—one meeting ten days before, the other three days before—yet Mr. Bulwer thought it consistent with his duty to go out of town with his usual frequency. The result any man, not blinded by vanity and self-love, might have anticipated. No one cared for him, or his inactive opposition. The marriages were even arranged in his absence. He was not consulted on the question, nor was its decision submitted to him; and when the news on the following day reached the British legation, after having become previously known to the metropolis, our minister was at Carabanchal! Then, indeed, he became very active, and displayed much *ex post facto* energy, writing a series of diplomatic notes and protests, in one of which he went the length of saying, ‘Had he known this result, he would have voted for Don Carlos instead of Queen Isabel’—for even the ambassador cannot lose sight of the individual—‘when he (Mr. Bulwer) was member of Parliament!’ Thus

England has been reduced to a position thoroughly ridiculous, from which she would have escaped under the management of a person of the commonest abilities—and all because her representative judged that one of his prodigious diplomatic notes would, like a thunderbolt, arrest the progress of events at any given time. His diplomatic notes were treated with the most marked indifference, and in every particular he was entirely foiled. . . . There is a Spanish proverb which he would do well to study, and with the truth of which M. Bresson is familiar: '*Quien quiere, va, quien no quiere, manda*¹.'—*Hughes's Overland Journey*, vol. i. pp. 6—8.

Appended to the Montpensier marriage affair we further have portraits of the different suitors for the queen's hand, with a taste of "the quality" of each, and an admeasurement of his pretensions; together with a variety of titbits, some of them rather racy, from the private history of the junior branches of the Orleans dynasty, as well as of the Demoiselles Coquillard and other heroines of the opera and ballet. For these we must refer such of our readers as are *amateurs* in that line, to Mr. Hughes' volumes, with the exception of one anecdote, for which we make room, because it affords a strong illustration of the popular feeling in Spain, in reference to the marriage of the Infanta with the French prince.

"A cowardly bull, on being placed in front of the *picador*, turned tail and fled. The crowd instantly exclaimed: '*Fuera el toro Montpen-seer! Fuera Mont-pen-seer*²!' The wretched brute, it seems, had but one eye, and the people had got it into their heads that the Duke de Montpensier is short-sighted; a prejudice utterly groundless, but like most other Spanish prejudices, ineradicable."—*Hughes's Overland Journey*, vol. i. p. 423.

We question whether Mr. Hughes is correct in attributing this burst of popular feeling to a misconception as to his royal highness's visual organs. A much more obvious explanation is suggested by the general dislike entertained by the Spaniards towards the "*Gabachos*³," and by their special aversion to the

¹ He who wants a thing, goes; he who wants it not, sends.

² Off with the bull Montpensier! Off with Montpensier!

³ Of the origin of this term Mr. Ford gives in a note the following account:—

"The word *Gabacho*, which is the most offensive vituperative of the Spaniard against the Frenchman, and has by some been thought to mean 'those who dwell on Gaves,' is the Arabic *Cabach*, detestable, filthy, or 'qui prava indole est, moribusque.' In fact the real meaning cannot be further alluded to beyond referring to the clever tale of *El Frances y Español*, by Quevedo. The antipathy to the Gaul is natural and national, and dates far beyond history. This nickname was first given in the eighth century, when Charlemagne, the Buonaparte of his day, invaded Spain, on the abdication and cession of the crown by the chaste Alonso, the prototype of the wittol Charles IV.; then the Spanish Moors and Christians,

alliance in question. But to return to Mr. Hughes and his journal. After a week's sojourn in Madrid, he proceeded by Talavera, Trujillo, Merida, Badajoz, and Elvas to Lisbon, which transit he accomplished in another week. For two months from that period his journal, occupying the latter half of the second volume, is dated from Lisbon, and treats exclusively of Portuguese matters; and among them principally of the recent political intrigues and revolutions in that part of the Peninsula.

Compounded of these various materials, the book will serve to beguile the time occupied by its perusal; but we question whether the reader will rise from it much better informed than he was before, either on local or on general topics. The latter have for the most part been amply discussed in the newspapers and elsewhere; and with regard to the former, the casual remarks of Mr. Hughes cannot for a moment endure comparison with the various and systematic information contained in Mr. Ford's inimitable digest of *cosas de España*. It is true that a great number and variety of topics meet the eye in running down over the table of contents, which leads one to anticipate much information and amusement; but we regret to add, that there is occasionally a good deal more of promise in the headings, than of performance in the chapters themselves. Thus, for instance, our attention was attracted by the legend "The valley of Loyola, with a reminiscence of the founder of the Order of Jesuits," among the items with which Chapter XVI. is labelled. Eagerly turning to the chapter, we sought for some time in vain, as for a needle in a bundle of hay; at last we discovered the passage we were in quest of, and to our disappointment found that the whole contents answerable to the above index consisted of the following half score lines:

"The beautiful valley of Loyola, distant only a mile from the town, should by all means be visited by the traveller who has an hour or two to spare. Here there are some picturesque farm-houses and a wooden bridge over the Uruméa, which winds through the valley as far as Astigarraga. This valley gave its name to the celebrated founder of

foes and friends, forgot their hatreds of creeds in the greater loathing for the abhorred intruder, whose 'peerage fell' in the memorable passes of Roncesvalles. The true derivation of the word *Gabacho*, which now resounds from these Pyrenees to the Straits, is blinked in the royal academical dictionary, such was the servile adulation of the members to their French patron Philip V. *Mueran los Gabachos*, 'Death to the miscreants,' was the rally cry of Spain after the inhuman butcheries of the terrorist Murat; nor have the echoes died away; a spark may kindle the prepared mine: of what an unspeakable value is a national war-cry which at once gives to a whole people a shibboleth, a rallying watch-word to a common cause! *Vox populi vox Dei.*"—*Gatherings from Spain*, p. 17.

the Order of Jesuits, Ignatius Loyola, whose birth-place is at Azpeitra, a few leagues distant."—*Hughes's Overland Journey*, vol. i. pp. 185, 186.

And thus ends the "reminiscence of the founder of the Order of Jesuits." We are, however, disposed to forgive the author the disappointment which he has caused us in the article of "reminiscence of Loyola," in consideration of the indemnity which he offers to his readers, at the end of the same chapter, in the simple and pathetic tale of Dolorés del Arco, a young orphan girl committed to prison on the false charge of theft, maliciously preferred against her from motives of jealousy; whose sense of the disgrace to which she was innocently subjected was so keen and overpowering, that she put an end to her life over-night. We have rarely met with a more affecting trait of truly romantic feeling in real life, than the visit of her little brother, guitar in hand, to the prison window before day-break, and the *impromptu* poetic dialogue between him and his unhappy sister. The lament of the captive maiden in her part of the *seguidilla* contains touches of the truest poetry of nature: (vol. i. pp. 193, 194.)

"*Qué es nuestra pobre existencia  
Sembrada de sinsabores,  
Cuando infames opresores  
Nos quitan la independencia?*

"*El pintado pajarillo,  
Que vuela de rama en rama,  
Libre en sus deseos ama  
Con un afecto sencillo.*

"*Cuando el aura matutina  
El horizonte colora,  
Libre saluda á la aurora,  
Libre y bullicioso trina;*

"*Libre vaga entre los flores,  
Libre atraviesa los mares,  
Y sin acerbos pesares  
Canta libre sus amores.*

"*Mas ay! si en barbara liga  
Perece su libertad,  
La dulce felicidad  
Tornase en dura fatiga.*

"*Y solo cesan sus penas  
Cuando se rinde á la muerte;  
Que el morir es grata suerte  
Para quien vive en cadenas!"*

Which for the benefit of those of our readers who are not versed in Spanish lore, we thus render into English :—

“ Ah! what of life is left,  
Poor life, by countless sorrows thronged,  
When we, by vile oppressors wronged,  
Of freedom are bereft !

“ In plumage gay array'd  
From branch to branch the linnet flies,  
And free his love, without disguise,  
He follows through the glade.

“ When at the dawn of day  
Enamell'd clouds the sky adorn,  
Then free he greets the blushing morn  
With loudly warbled lay ;

“ 'Mid flowers free he roves,  
And free across the waters flits ;  
Free on the greenwood bough he sits,  
And blithesome sings his loves.

“ But if, with sleight arranged  
The springe around his foot should cling,  
The merry flapping of his wing  
To weary toil is changed.

“ Nor cease his flutt'ring pains,  
Till he resigns himself to death :  
Welcome to him is life's last breath,  
Who lingers bound with chains.”

From the volumes of Mr. Hughes we now turn to M. Quinet's "*Vacances en Espagne* ;" a book which differs from the two preceding ones still more widely than they do from each other, whether we consider the purpose for which M. Quinet's tour was undertaken, or the highly entertaining and instructive result of it which lies before us. With regard to the former, the object of M. Quinet's visit to Spain, nearly four years ago, the volume itself is silent ; for information on this point we must refer to his lectures delivered in the spring of the year 1844<sup>4</sup> ; the two first of which were exclusively devoted to Spain, and for which he deemed

<sup>4</sup> These lectures were published in the course of the same year, under the title, "*L'Ultramontanisme, ou l'Eglise Romaine et la Société Moderne.*" The two first of them, entitled "*Du Royaume catholique par excellence,*" and "*Résultats politiques du Catholicisme en Espagne,*" which belong properly to the present work, will be noticed in the following pages. The seven remaining lectures treat of the Roman Church in her relation to the State, to science, to history, to law, to philosophy, to the nations, and to the Catholic Church.

it necessary to qualify himself by a personal visit to that country. M. Quinet's tour was, therefore, strictly speaking, a professional, professorial tour, and he seems to have considered it at the time as a great personal hazard and sacrifice. At least so he spoke of it at the opening of his course:—

“Intending to speak of the south of Europe, I am fresh from Granada and Cordoba. At the point at which we have arrived, and under existing circumstances, I felt that in order to say a serious word on the genius of the south, and the Catholic nations, it was indispensable for me to visit the nation which, in the midst of every distraction, has not ceased to personify the orthodoxy of Rome in its most inflexible strictness. This I considered as part of the task which I have to perform here. I set off for Spain, without support from any one, against the advice and the wishes of all my friends, who in their anxiety predicted to me nothing but ruin and disaster in that miserable land. And certainly of this I should not say a word, did I not know that while I was running and searching alone, and more than once (since the truth must be told) at the peril of my life, over the most inhospitable *sierras*, falsehood and calumny were lying in wait for me here.”—*L'Ultramontanisme*, pp. 1, 2.

The “falsehood and calumny” here alluded to seem to have amounted to this, that M. Quinet was said to have accepted a diplomatic mission to Spain, as an honourable retirement from his chair at the Collège de France, where he had made himself obnoxious to the Government; an insinuation which, he says, he treated with the utmost contempt, not condescending even to contradict it, on the principle that,—

“It would be honouring malignity too much, to admit, that every invention has a chance of gaining credit, provided it be of a calumnious character, and that a man's life and his actions are not to protect him in the least.”—*Ibid.* p. 3.

We quite agree with the learned professor, that silent contempt is the best reply which a man of character can give to calumnious misrepresentations; but we apprehend that on this occasion he has, with an egotism not at all unnatural to a professor at the Collège de France, made the most, both of the ridiculous stories circulated by his real enemies, and of the dangers which, he says, he incurred in his encounters with imaginary foes in the *sierras*. It is very amusing to follow M. Quinet on his would-be adventures with the *banditti* of Spain; for while it is quite clear that he never had the good or ill luck to set eyes upon a real highwayman, it is equally certain that he was always on the look out for them, and no less certain that he was terribly afraid. There is something

inexpressibly ludicrous in the account which he gives of the "tactics" adopted by him on his equestrian progress from Granada to Cordoba:—

"My pistols brightly polished, and placed conspicuously on my saddle, procured for me in the *sierras* the greater respect, as these kinds of arms are prohibited, and scarcely ever carried by any one except felons. This suggested to my mind the notion that if, wrapped in my mantle, I assumed a martial attitude, and an ill-boding look, I might at a distance myself easily pass for a robber in full chase, and frighten other people at least as much as they could frighten me; and upon this notion I had recourse to the following tactics:—As soon as a human figure appeared in the distant horizon, (for in these solitudes every human being is a danger,) I started off at full gallop to meet my knight-errant. In nine cases out of ten my knight-errant turned out to be some donkey driver or muleteer; and in that case I was saluted at a great distance with the most profound reverence, the fellow taking off his hat, and crying, '*Caballero, vaya usted con Dios,*' i. e. May your honour speed well! But sometimes my knight-errant happened to be a man on horseback, well-armed right and left with carbines and horse-pistols. Astonished at my movements the fellow thought I was pursued, and passed by me like an arrow, without uttering a word. Among these personages with frightful countenances, there were certainly some terrible misanthropists. These tactics, which before a band would have been altogether useless, did me excellent service with regard to individuals."—*Vacances en Espagne*, pp. 288, 289.

To complete this amusing picture, we must figure to ourselves M. Quinet's Sancho-Pança, falling back from precisely the same feeling which caused his master to advance, and intoning with a faltering voice, somewhat like a bee in a pitcher, a melodious air, in illustration of the classical adage,

"*Cantat vacuus coram latrone viator.*"

To relieve our readers from all apprehension for the safety of the valorous professor, and for their own safety if they should ever set out on an exploring expedition through the less frequented parts of the Peninsula, we refer them at once to the sensible remarks which Mr. Ford has on this subject:—

"An *olla* without bacon would scarcely be less insipid than a volume on Spain without banditti; the stimulant is not less necessary for the established taste of the home-market, than brandy is for pale sherries neat as imported. In the mean time, while the timid hesitate to put their heads into this supposed den of thieves as much as into a house that is haunted, those who are not scared by shadows, and do not share in the fears of cockney critics and delicate writers in satin-paper



albums, but adventure boldly into the hornet's nest, come back in a firm belief of the non-existence of the robber genus. In Spain, that *pays de l'imprévu*, this unexpected absence of personages who render roads uncomfortable, is one of the many and not disagreeable surprises, which await those who prefer to judge of a country by going there themselves, rather than to put implicit faith in the foregone conclusions and stereotyped prejudices of those who have not, although they do sit in judgment on those who have, and decide 'without a view.' This very summer, some dozen and more friends of ours have made tours in various parts of the Peninsula, driving and riding unarmed and unescorted through localities of former suspicion, without having the good luck of meeting even with the ghost of a departed robber; in truth and fact, we cannot but remember that such things as monks and banditti were, although they must be spoken of rather in the past than in the present tense.

"The actual security of the Spanish highways is due to the *Moderos*, as the French party and imitators of the *juste milieu* are called, and at the head of whom may be placed *Señor Martínez de la Rosa*. He, indeed, is a moderate in poetry as well as politics, and a rare specimen of that sublime of mediocrity which, according to Horace, neither men, gods, nor booksellers can tolerate; his reputation as an author and statesman—alas! poor Cervantes and Cisneros—proves too truly the present effeteness of Spain. Her pen and her sword are blunted, her laurels are sear, and her womb is barren; but, among the blind, he who has one eye is king.

"This dramatist, in the May of 1833, was summoned from his exile at Granada to Madrid by the suspicious Calomarde. The mail in which he travelled was stopped by robbers about ten o'clock of a wet night near Almuradiel; the *guard*, at the first notice, throwing himself on his belly, with his face in the mud, in imitation of the postilions, who pay great respect to the gentlemen of the road. The passengers consisted of himself, a German artist, and an English friend of ours now in London, and who, having given up his well-garnished purse at once with great good-humour, was most courteously treated by the well-satisfied recipients: not so the *Deutscher*, on whom they were about to do personal violence in revenge for a scanty scrip, had not his profession been explained by our friend, by whose interference he was let off. Meanwhile, the *Dora* was hiding his watch in the carriage lining, which he cut open, and was concealing his few dollars, the existence of which when questioned he stoutly denied. They, however, re-appeared under threats of the *bastinado*, which were all but inflicted. The passengers were then permitted to depart in peace, the leader of their spoilers having first shaken hands with our informant, and wished him a pleasant journey: 'May your grace go with God and without novelty;' adding, 'You are a *caballero*, a gentleman, as all the English are; the German is a *pobrecito*, a poor devil; the Spaniard is an *embustero*, a regular swindler.' This latter gentleman, thus hardly delineated by his Lavater countryman, has since more than gotten back his cash, having

risen to be prime minister to Christina, and humble and devoted servant of Louis-Philippe : *cosas de España*.

“Possibly this little incident may have facilitated the introduction of the mounted guards, who are now stationed in towns, and by whom the roads are regularly patrolled ; they are called *guardias civiles*, and have replaced the ancient ‘brotherhood’ of Ferdinand and Isabella. As they have been dressed and modelled after the fashion of the transpyrenean gendarmerie, the Spaniards, who never lose a chance of a happy nickname, or of a fling at the things of their neighbour, whom they do not love, term them, either *Polizontes* or *Polizones*, words with which they have enriched their phraseology, and that represent the French *polissons*, scoundrels, or they call them *Hijos de Luis-Philippe*, ‘sons of Louis-Philippe ;’ for they are ill-bred enough, in spite of the Montpensier marriage, and the Nelsonic achievements of Monsieur de Joinville, to consider the words as synonyms.

“The number of these rogues, French king’s sons, civil guards, call them as you will, exceeds five thousand. During the recent Machiavelianisms of their putative father, they have been quite as much employed in the towns as on the highway, and for political purposes rather than those of pure police, having been used to keep down the expression of indignant public opinion, and, instead of catching thieves, in upholding those first-rate criminals, foreign and domestic, who are now robbing poor Spain of her gold and liberties ; but so it has always been. Indeed, when we first arrived in the Peninsula, and naturally made inquiries about banditti, according to all sensible Spaniards, it was not on the road that they were most likely to be found, but in the confessional boxes, the lawyers’ offices, and still more in the *bureaux* of government ; and even in England some think that purses are exposed to more danger in Chancery-lane and Stone-buildings, than in the worst cross-road, or the most rocky mountain-pass in the Peninsula.”—*Gatherings from Spain*, pp. 186—188.

Mr. Ford, however, admits, not only that such things as *banditti* have been in Spain, but that there are even now circumstances which may in some degree account for the alarm felt by those whose imaginations, or else their fears, are easily excited :—

“It must be admitted that the locality lends itself often and readily to misconceptions. The leagues and leagues of lonely hills and wastes, over which beasts of prey roam, and above which vultures sulkily rising part the light air with heavy wing, are easily peopled, by those who are in a prepared train of mind, with equally rapacious bipeds of Plato’s unfeathered species. Rocky passes, contrived as it were on purpose for ambushades, tangled glens overrun with underwood, in spite of the prodigality of beauty which arrests the artist, suggest the lair of snakes and robbers. Nor is the feeling diminished by meeting the frequent crosses set up on classically piled heaps, which

mark the grave of some murdered man, whose simple, touching epitaph tells the name of the departed, the date of the treacherous stab, and entreats the passenger, who is as he was, and may be in an instant as he is, to pray for his unannsealed soul. A shadow of death hovers over such spots, and throws the stranger on his own thoughts, which, from early associations, are somewhat in unison with the scene. Nor is the welcome of the outstretched arms of these crosses over-hearty, albeit they are sometimes hung with flowers, which mock the dead. Nor are all sermons more eloquent than these silent stones, on which such brief emblems are fixed. The Spaniards, from long habit, are less affected by them than foreigners, being all accustomed to behold crosses and bleeding crucifixes in churches and out; they moreover well know that by far the greater proportion of these memorials have been raised to record murders, which have not been perpetrated by robbers, but are the results of sudden quarrel or of long brooded-over revenge, and that wine and women, nine times out of ten, are at the bottom of the calamity. Nevertheless, it makes a stout English heart uncomfortable, although it is of little use to be afraid when one is in for it, and on the spot. Then there is no better chance of escape, than to brave the peril and to ride on. Turn, therefore, dear reader, a deaf ear to the tales of local terror, which will be told in every out-of-the-way village by the credulous, timid inhabitants. You, as we have often been, will be congratulated on having passed such and such a wood, and will be assured that you will infallibly be robbed at such and such a spot a few leagues onward. We have always found that this ignis fatuus, like the horizon, has receded as we advanced; the dangerous spot is either a little behind or a little before the actual place; it vanishes, as most difficulties do, when boldly approached and grappled with.

"At the same time these sorts of places and events admit of much fine writing when people get safely back again, to say nothing of the dignity and heroic elevation which may be thus obtained by such an exhibition of valour during the long vacation. Peaked hats, hair-breadth escapes from long knives and mustachios, lying down for an hour on your stomach with your mouth in the mud, are little interludes so diametrically opposed to civilization, and the humdrum, unpicturesque routine of free Britons who pay way and police rates, that they form almost irresistible topics to the pen of a ready writer."—*Gatherings from Spain*, pp. 189, 190.

To this must be added the suspicious appearance of the national costume:—

"It must be also admitted that the respectability and character of many a Spaniard is liable to be misunderstood, when he sets forth on any of his travels, except in a public wheel-conveyance; as we said in our ninth chapter, he assumes the national costume of the road, and leaves his wife and long-tailed coat behind him. Now as most Spaniards are muffled up and clad after the approved melodrama fashion of

robbers, they may be mistaken for them in reality; indeed they are generally sallow, have fierce black eyes, uncombed hair, and on these occasions neglect the daily use of towels and razors; a long beard gives, and not in Spain alone, a ferocious ruffian-like look, which is not diminished when gun and knife are added to match faces à la Brutus. Again, these worthies thus equipped, have sometimes a trick of staring rather fixedly from under their slouched hat at the passing stranger, whose, to them, outlandish costume excites curiosity and suspicion; naturally, therefore, some difficulty does exist in distinguishing the merino from the wolf, when both are disguised in the same clothing—a *zamarra*, sheepskin, to wit. A private Spanish gentleman, who, in his native town, would be the model of a peaceable and inoffensive burgess, or a respectable haberdasher, has, when on his commercial tour, altogether the appearance of the Bravo of Venice, and such-like heroes, by whom children are frightened at a minor theatre.”—*Gatherings from Spain*, p. 192.

Notwithstanding all these admissions, however, Mr. Ford has no patience with “the Cambyzes-vein” of English sketch and tour writers, in whose pages, he says, “robberies are certainly oftener to be met with than on the plains of the Peninsula.” Still less does he sympathize with the accounts given of this matter by French travellers:—

“Our ingenious neighbours, strange to say in so gallant a people, have a still more decided bandittophobia. According to what the badauds of Paris are told in print, every rash individual, before he takes his place in the dilly for Spain, ought by all means to make his will, as was done four hundred years ago at starting on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem; possibly this may be predicated in the spirit of French diplomacy, which always has a concealed *arrière pensée*, and it may be bruited abroad, on the principle with which illicit distillers and coin-forgers give out that certain localities are haunted, in order to scare away others, and thus preserve for themselves a quiet possession. Perhaps the superabundance of *l’esprit Français* may give colour and substance to forms insignificant in themselves, as a painter lost in a brown study over a coal fire converts cinders into castles, monsters,

<sup>3</sup> The following curious circumstance, related by Mr. Hughes, strongly confirms Mr. Ford’s assertion, that travelling in the Peninsula is not nearly as dangerous an affair as many tourists would have us believe:—

“An extraordinary and nearly incredible occurrence has just come to my knowledge. A brace of Englishmen had made their way to Madrid in perfect safety, without knowing a syllable of any language but their own. What is still more extraordinary, they travelled post, and had to obtain fresh mules at every stage. They made themselves understood by signs, placing themselves on all fours when they wished to indicate their want of locomotive quadrupeds, and putting their fingers in their mouths when they desired it to be known that they wanted to eat. They were followed, of course, every where by crowds, but beyond being stared at, suffered no particular inconvenience.”—*Overland Journey*, vol. ii. pp. 69, 70.

and other creatures of his lively imagination; or it may be, as conscience makes cowards of all, that these gentlemen really see a bandit in every bush of Spain, and expect from behind every rock an avenging minister of retaliation, in whose pocket is a list of the church-plate, Murillos, &c., which were found missing after their countrymen's invasion. Be that as it may, even so clever a man as Monsieur Quinet, a real Dr. Syntax, fills pages of his recent *Vacances* with his continual trepidations, although, from having arrived at his journey's end without any sort of accident, albeit not without every kind of fear, it might have crossed him, that the bugbears existed only in his own head, and he might have concealed, in his pleasant pages, a frame of mind, the exhibition of which, in England at least, inspires neither interest nor respect; an over care of self is not over heroic."—*Gatherings from Spain*, pp. 191, 192.

But whatever we may think of the personal valour of M. Quinet, to whom this digression has naturally brought us back, the observations which he made—not, indeed, at the peril of his life, but at the expense of his reputation for bravery—during his expedition through Spain, will be read with deep interest: for notwithstanding the strong political and religious bias by which the mind of M. Quinet is pre-occupied, there is a thoughtfulness and seriousness pervading his writings, which cannot fail to win for him our personal respect, and to give weight to his remarks. He frankly confesses, that if the desire to inspect the localities and monuments which connect themselves with the literary history of Spain, had no inconsiderable share in prompting him to visit that country, his principal reason was to examine its religious aspect at the present moment. He wished to know what attitude the Ultramontanism of Spain was likely to assume, in reference to the conflict going on in France between Romanism and the doctrines of progress, among the champions of which M. Quinet holds so distinguished a place. On this point, he says, he arrived at the conclusion,

“That the mass of the Spanish clergy has as yet no idea of the complicated tactics of the clergy in the more northern countries of Europe. All those subtle discussions, those ecclesiastical tracts, books, and pamphlets frighten simple-minded men, who do not read, and who are apt to consider every new work as a heresy. They do not recognize their old Church under the demi-philosophic garb which the Church militant wears amongst ourselves; they have an instinctive distrust of new weapons which they know not how to handle.

“The crucifix and the sabre still are the natural weapons of this mass of Christians of Mahometan descent; all beyond they account a snare, fraught with danger to the faith.

“Accordingly they have to this day remained perfectly deaf to the

appeals of foreign priests and divines. Whether through traditional instinct, or through national obstinacy, the *Catholic* kingdom has no faith in this reactive movement, which appears to it too much embarrassed with abstractions and reasonings. The new colours borrowed from lay art disconcert those minds trained in the school of the inquisition; in one word, the Spanish clergy, so far from accepting hitherto an intimate alliance with the French clergy, are, on the contrary, very much disposed to suspect them of novelties, of philosophy, of eclecticism, of pantheism, and *doctrinarianism*, if, indeed, such words as these have ever found their way across the Pyrenees.

“What has Spain been for the last two centuries and a half? A country set apart for making the most decisive possible experiment as to the efficacy of ultramontane doctrines when left to themselves. Every particular project of reaction vanishes before this reaction of an entire race of men.

“In the face of modern Europe, of Protestantism and philosophy, the genius of the past concentrating itself in the sixteenth century, strikes root in Spain; like a bull at bay in the circus, it makes head against the crowd.”—*L'Ultramontanisme*, pp. 5, 6.

Having thus pointed out the characteristic features of Spanish, as distinguished from French Romanism, M. Quinet goes on to inquire into the causes of the downfall of the Church in Spain; a phenomenon the more striking, as it was through the immense influence of the Church over the minds of the people, that the power of Bonaparte was prevented from striking root in the “*Catholic*” kingdom. In answer to this inquiry, M. Quinet puts forward a great truth, a truth, the practical importance of which is unfortunately too much lost sight of in other countries besides Spain, and in other Churches besides the Romish; the truth, that if a Church proves her power in the hour of crisis, by rallying the hearts of a people around her, and she goes to sleep in fancied security after the victory, instead of putting forth her energies for the healing of the social evils which brought on the crisis, that Church is preparing her own downfall. The very feelings which she has roused in defence of her own and the nation's interests, will rise up in indignation against her inertness; seeing that she fails to satisfy the wants of the nation, and to meet the exigencies of the times, the hearts of the people will be turned away from her, and she will fall unsupported and unpitied by the deadness of her own weight. So it fell out with the Romish Church in Spain.

“It is commonly imagined,” says M. Quinet, “that the clergy fell because they laboured not with their hands, and left the land fallow! A great mistake! What the noble people of Spain expected of those men, was not the toil of their hands—it was the labour of the soul; and

it was that which was wanting. It was not required of the clergy, who are spiritual workmen, that they should lay down canals and erect factories; all that was required of them was, that they should diffuse a new moral life—that they should step out of their old routine, and cause the fountain of the Spirit to issue from the rock.

“And now where are you, ye legions of guerilla-monks, ye men terrible in war, but powerless in peace? Where are you, ye heroic fathers? what has become of you? I have sought for you every where, in your monasteries, and in your cells, near the tomb of Philip II. in the Escorial; but I have found no one. I have knocked at the door of many a charter-house, of convents of every order, in the cities and in the lonely waste. I have called, but no one answered. I have pushed open the door and walked in; from Biscay to Andalusia, and in Portugal, I have found, thanks to you, the cloisters of the Gospel more deserted and more ruinous than the Alhambra of the Koran. I heard nothing but the hammer of the workmen who demolished those walls without anger and without regret; I have seen the crucifix beaten by the storm, in the face of the mosques of the Moorish kings, overhanging in solitary voidness the ruins of its own Church. I wished to touch the bones of the great captain of the Catholic kings, Gonsalvo de Cordoba: those bones had been pillaged in the Charter-house of Granada. Near the place of faggots at Madrid, I have heard the eulogy of Voltaire pronounced in public; the palaces of the Inquisition are every where turned into theatres; even the pictures of hermits, from the pencil of Zurbaran and Murillo, which formerly peopled those cloisters, had disappeared.

“I was anxious, above all, to meet with a monk in Spain; but I was unsuccessful. Only now and then, in by-roads, I have met with men of broken voice, who, stripped even of their ecclesiastical garment, and dying with hunger, have asked me for alms. This was the remnant of the militia of Philip II.”—*L'Ultramontanisme*, pp. 12, 13.

These are startling facts, no doubt. Touching the cause which has produced such striking results, we are agreed with M. Quinet. The Church has failed to fulfil her mission, and thereby has brought destruction upon herself, and desolation upon the land. We need scarcely add, that we differ *toto cælo* from M. Quinet as to the principles on which this gigantic ruin is to be repaired. M. Quinet's eyes are turned towards the *Verbe de l'avenir*, whose pseudo-prophet he salutes as “his dear, heroic Mickiewitz.” That more “extraordinary language” than that gentleman gave utterance to<sup>6</sup>, has scarcely ever been heard of, we readily admit; but when M. Quinet tells us that it was “the most religious, the most Christian language” any man ever heard, we confess to considerable doubts; nor do we share the sanguine anticipations

<sup>6</sup> See English Review, vol. iv. p. 136.

of M. Quinet as to the happy effect to be produced upon the nineteenth century, if "the Catholicism of Napoleon (!) and the Reformation of Luther" could be induced to "shake hands across the Rhine." It is truly lamentable to see a man of M. Quinet's ability, quickness of perception, and depth of thought, go so far astray; and if ever these lines should meet his eye, we hope he will not think us unkind if we add, that we were rejoiced to find from his confabulation with the shade of "good king Boabdil" in sight of the ruins of the Alhambra, that his theories have failed to give to his soul the satisfaction which he sought.

As regards the Spanish people, we trust better teachers than the sons of the prophets which dwell in the *Collège de France*, will yet be found to deliver them from the mass of ignorance and superstition which, though the monks have disappeared, still keeps its hold upon the popular mind. On this subject the revelations of Mr. Ford's book are full of deep and painful interest. Nor is that interest altogether confined to Spain: at a time when strenuous efforts are made to obtain for popery the right of exhibiting and vending its superstitions amongst us without let or hindrance, it is far from uninteresting to see what sort of religion it is which the legislature of Great Britain is urged to endorse with its countenance. Speaking of the "firm faith" reposed by Spaniards of all classes in the supernatural protection derived from relics, medals of the Virgin, and the like, worn on the person, Mr. Ford makes the following statement:—

"The Duchess of Abrantes this very autumn hung the *Virgen del Pilar* round the neck of her favourite bull-fighter, who escaped in consequence. Few Spanish soldiers go into battle without such a preservative in their *petos*, or stuffed waddings, which is supposed to turn bullets, and to divert fire, like a lightning conductor, which probably it does, as so few are ever killed. In the more romantic days of Spain no duel or tournament could be fought without a declaration from the combatants, that they had no relic, no *engaño*, or cheat about their persons. Our friend, Jose Maria (a celebrated bandit), attributed his constant escapes to an image of the Virgin of Grief of Cordova, which never quitted his shaggy breast. Indeed the native districts of the lower classes in Spain may be generally known by their religious ornaments. These talismanic amulets are selected from the saint or relic most honoured, and esteemed most efficacious, in their immediate vicinity. Thus the 'Santo Rostro,' or Holy Countenance of Jaen, is worn all over the kingdom of Granada, as the Cross of Caravaca is over Murcia; the rosary of the Virgin is common to all Spain. The following miraculous proof of its saving virtues, was frequently painted in the convents:—A robber was shot by a traveller and buried; his comrades, some time afterwards passing by, heard his voice,—'this fellow



in the cellarage;—they opened the grave and found him alive and unhurt, for when he was killed, he had happened to have a rosary round his neck, and Saint Dominick (its inventor) was enabled to intercede with the Virgin in his behalf. This reliance on the Virgin is by no means confined to Spain, since the Italian banditti always wear a small silver heart of the Madonna, and this mixture of ferocity and superstition is one of the most terrific features of their character.”—*Gatherings from Spain*, p. 205.

Another enormous abuse of the superstitions of Rome for the purpose of extortion under pretence of “cure of souls,” is the “bull,” of which every Spaniard is compelled to procure a copy once a year, under pain of being left to die without the sacraments of the Church. The account which Mr. Ford gives of this, is as follows:—

“One word on this wonderful bull, that disarms death of its sting, and which, although few of our readers may ever have heard of it, plays a far more important part in the Peninsula than the quadruped does in the arena. Fastings are no where more strictly enjoined than here, where Lent represents the Ramadan of the Moslem. The denials have been mitigated to those faithful who have good appetites, by the paternal indulgence of their holy father at Rome, who, in consideration that it was necessary to keep the Spanish crusaders in fighting condition in order more effectually to crush the infidel, conceded to Saint Ferdinand the permission that his army might eat meat rations during Lent, provided there were any; for, to the credit of Spanish commissariats in general, few troops fast more regularly and religiously. The auspicious day on which the arrival is proclaimed of this welcome bull that announces dinner, is celebrated by bells merry as at a marriage feast; in the provincial cities, mayors and corporations go to cathedral in what is called state, to the wonder of the mob and amusement of their betters at the resurrection of quiz coaches, the robes, maces, and obsolete trappings, by which these shadows of a former power and dignity hope to mark individual and collective insignificance. A copy of this precious bull cannot of course be had for nothing; and, as it must be paid for, and in ready money, it forms one of the certain branches of public income. Although the proceeds ought to be expended on crusading purposes, Ferdinand VII., the Catholic king, and the only sovereign in possession of such a revenue, never contributed one mite towards the Christian Greeks in their recent struggle against the Turkish unbelievers.

“These bulls, or rather paper-money notes, are prepared with the greatest precautions, and constituted one of the most profitable articles of Spanish manufacture; a maritime war with England was dreaded, not so much from regard to the fasting transatlantic souls, as from the fear of losing, as Dr. Robertson has shown, the sundry millions of dollars and silver dross remitted from America in exchange for these

spiritual treasures. They were printed at Seville, at the Dominican convent, the *Porta cœli*; but Soult, who now it appears is turning devotee, burnt down this gate of heaven, with its passports, and the presses. The bulls are only good for the year during which they are issued; after twelve months they become stale and unprofitable. There is then, says Blanco White, and truly, for we have often seen it, ‘a prodigious hurry to obtain new ones by all those who wish well to their souls, and do not overlook the ease and comfort of their stomachs.’ A fresh one must be annually taken out, like a game certificate, before Spaniards venture to sport with flesh or fowl, and they have reason to be thankful that it does not cost three pounds odd: for the sum of *dos reales*, or less than sixpence, man, woman, and child may obtain the benefit of clergy and cookery; but evil betides the uncertificated poacher; treadmills for life are a farce, perdition catches his soul. His certificate is demanded by the keeper of conscience when he is caught in the trap of sickness, and if without one, his conviction is certain; he cannot plead ignorance of the law, for a postscript and condition is affixed to all notices of jubilees, indulgences, and other purgatorial benefits, which are fixed on the Church doors; and the language is as courteous and peremptory as in our popular assessed tax-paper—‘*Se ha de tener la bula*,’ you *must* have the bull; if you expect to derive any relief from these relaxations in purgatory, which all Spaniards most particularly do; hence the common phrase used by any one when committing some little peccadillo in other matters, *tengo mi bula para todo*—I have got my bull, my licence to do any thing. The possession of this document acts on all fleshly comforts like soda on indigestion; indeed it neutralizes every thing except heresy. As it is cheap, a Protestant resident, albeit he may not quite believe in its saving effects, will do well to purchase one for the sake of the peace of mind of his weaker brethren; for in this religion of forms and outer observances, more horror is felt by rigid Spaniards at seeing an Englishman eating meat during a fast, than if he had broken all the ten commandments. The sums levied from the nation for these bulls is very large, although they are diminished before finally paid into the exchequer; some of the honey gathered by so many bees will stick to their wings, and the place of chief commissioner of the Bula is a better thing than that in the Excise or Customs of unbelieving countries.”—*Gatherings from Spain*, pp. 243—245.

The pecuniary benefit of this vile traffic appears in the present instance to have been diverted from the ecclesiastical to the royal exchequer; the sovereign of Spain being, as the heir of St. Ferdinand, the great lay-impropriator of these indulgences. But care is taken that Rome, too, shall have her share of the ingatherings of the harvest of Spanish superstition; both in a show of service and devotion from the misguided multitude, and in the

more substantial form of money payments for the transmission of souls from purgatorial pains to heavenly repose.

“To a judicious rich man, nothing, supposing that he believes the Pope *versus* the Bible, is so easy as to get at once into heaven; nor are the poor quite neglected, as any one may learn who will read the extraordinary number of days' redemption which may be obtained at every altar in Spain by the performance of the most trumpery routine. The only wonder is how any one of the faithful should ever fail to secure his delivery from this spiritual Botany Bay without going there at all, or, at least, only for the form's sake. It was calculated by an accurate and laborious German, that an active man, by spending three shillings in coach-hire, might obtain in an hour, by visiting different privileged altars during the Holy week, 29,639 years, nine months, thirteen days, three minutes and a half diminution of purgatorial punishment. This merciful reprieve was offered by Spanish priests in South America, on a grander style, on one commensurate with that colossal continent; for a single mass at the San Francisco in Mexico, the Pope and prelates granted 32,310 years, ten days, and six hours indulgence. As a means of raising money, says our Mexican authority, ‘I would not give this simple institution of masses for the benefit of souls, for the power of taxation possessed by any government; since no tax-gatherer is required; the payments are enforced by the best feelings, for who would not pay to get a parent's or friend's soul from the fire?’ Purgatory has thus been a Golconda mine of gold to his holiness, as even the poorest have a chance, since charitable persons can deliver blank souls by taking out a *habeas animam* writ, that is, by paying the priest for a mass. The especial days are marked in the almanack, and known to every waiter at the inn; moreover, notice is put on the church door, *Hoy se saca anima*, ‘this day you can get out a soul.’”—*Gatherings from Spain*, pp. 251, 252.

If the Church has left no means untried in Spain to bring religion into contempt, it is much to be feared that royalty has been no less busily employed in undermining its own authority. *A propos* of cigars, the last thing that one would suspect of being turned into an instrument of tyranny, Mr. Ford has this curious anecdote:—

“Ferdinand VII., unlike his ancestor Louis XIV., ‘qui,’ says La Beaumelle, ‘haissoit le tabac singulièrement, quoiqu’un de ses meilleurs revenus,’ was not only a grand compounder but consumer thereof. He indulged in the royal extravagance of a very large thick cigar made in the Havana expressly for his gracious use, as he was too good a judge to smoke his own manufacture. Even of these he seldom smoked more than the half; the remainder was a grand perquisite, like our palace lights. The cigar was one of his pledges of love and hatred: he would

give one to his favourites when in sweet temper; and often, when meditating a treacherous *coup*, would dismiss the unconscious victim with a royal *pura*: and when the happy individual got home to smoke it, he was saluted by an Alguacil with an order to quit Madrid in twenty-four hours. The 'innocent' Isabel, who does not smoke, substitutes sugar-plums; she regaled Olozaga with a sweet present, when she was 'doing him' at the bidding of the Christinist camarilla. It would seem that the Spanish Bourbons, when not 'cretinised' into idiots, are creatures composed of cunning and cowardice. But 'those who cannot dissimulate, are unfit to reign,' was the axiom of their illustrious ancestor Louis XI."—*Gatherings from Spain*, pp. 337, 338.

As regards the affair in which Olozaga was "done" by the "Constitutional Madonna," an ample account of it is given by M. Quinet, who happened to be at Madrid at the time the mine exploded, and was present at the deliberations of the Cortes, which arose out of it. His account of the transaction, which forms the IXth Section of his "*Vacances*," is one of the most instructive parts of his volume; but we must confine ourselves to a few brief extracts. The drama opens with the following animated prologue:—

"A queen of fourteen years who accuses her minister of having used violence towards her, in order to extort from her a decree for the dissolution of the Cortes,—a political drama more astounding than all the dramas *de capa y de espada* of Calderon,—the great M. Olozaga, the ambassador, the president of the Cortes, the president of the council, the scholar, the mighty diplomatist who was to have healed the wounds of Spain, broken to pieces, in one night, like a doll, by the hand of a child,—and that child displaying all at once the coolness and cunning of an accomplished politician,—all the institutions stripped of their protection, all the fictions of the constitution laid bare and torn to pieces,—great orators starting up,—a deadly duel between the two things which in this country are most vital, the monarchy which is adored, and personal honour held sacred of old,—political emotions mingled with those of a court of assizes,—cries of rage which still resound in my ears,—first one man, who faces the storm singly and alone,—then the parties taking it up and engaging around him in a general fight on which the fate of that noble and miserable Spain will for a long time depend,—a chivalrous loyalty, an inconceivable servility in the maxims of some,—such is the chaos in which I live, and which I wish to depict impartially, in a few outlines, since chance has permitted me to be a momentary witness of it."—*Vacances en Espagne*, pp. 69, 70.

M. Quinet goes on to describe the sitting of the Cortes in which M. Olozaga had the difficult task of defending himself against the royal accusation without impeaching the royal veracity. The avenues of the chamber and all the galleries were

crowded to excess, the deputies in full muster. The moment M. Olozaga appeared, the most furious cries of "*Viva la reina ! Fuera ! Fuera !*" were raised, and the tumult was such that the sitting had to be adjourned. Having been resumed after an hour's delay, M. Olozaga lays on the table of the chamber the act of his dismissal, and demands to be heard in his own defence. An attempt is made to give the main question the go-by, upon a formal objection that M. Olozaga having ceased to be minister, has ceased to be a member of the Chamber. The question whether he shall be heard or not, is then put to the vote. But here M. Quinet had better speak for himself:—

"I confess I never have been present at our deliberative assemblies without being shocked at the system of secret voting<sup>7</sup>. These public men who approach the urn, concealing their conscience in their hands, have always filled me with an irresistible sense of shame. The Spanish Cortes could not make up their minds to imitate us in this fraudulent liberty ; and as I was quite unprepared for their manner of voting, the effect it had upon me was very great. I do not think any man can witness this spectacle, without being struck by it, as one always is by external acts which reveal in an instant the character and the past history of a people.

"In the midst of the tumult of the public which overlooks the assembly on all sides, in a personal matter in which hatred points the finger at every individual, each deputy in his turn rises, calls out his name, and adds *si* or *no*. There were a few unsteady and weak voices, but none which was not distinctly audible. Those two monosyllables sounded like a bass note, which called forth an echo of rage or of wild delight from the thousands of spectators by whom the congress is surrounded."—*Vacances en Espagne*, pp. 73, 74.

The vote of the Chamber was in favour of Olozaga's request to be heard. The president, Gonzalez Bravo, now rises, to read the statement of the queen containing the accusation, announcing at the same time that he is prepared to maintain its truth "*a todo trance*," to the very uttermost. The statement taken from the Queen's lips is as follows :—

"In the night of the 28th of last month Olozaga came into my presence, and proposed that I should sign a decree for the dissolution of the Cortes. I answered that I would not sign it, for this among other reasons, that the Cortes have declared me of age. Olozaga persisted. I rose to go to the door on the right of my royal apartment. Olozaga stepped between and bolted the door. I turned to the other door opposite, and Olozaga again stepped between and bolted it. He

<sup>7</sup> M. Quinet observes in a note, that since these lines were penned, the French chambers have adopted the system of open votes.

laid hold of me by my gown, forced me to sit down, and held me by the hand, to force me to sign ; after which Olozaga departed, and I retired to my apartment. Before he went he asked me if I gave him my word not to say any thing of what had happened ; I answered, that I did not give him my word.'

"No language can express the effect produced by these words, the electric shiver, the piercing cries which interrupted them, the horror and the stupefaction of the general mass. The swords of many of the officers were heard to clink ; the excitement of some was like that of wild beasts caught in a trap. Olozaga, with a smothered voice, asks to be heard ; he is refused : for a few moments I am fearful that he will be torn to pieces ; he applies a second time, and is again refused. The echo of the royal words is still ringing in men's ears. Not one of his friends, at this moment, supports him by a single word ; they seem petrified. If it was meant to try a great stage effect, it has succeeded beyond expectation. If the voice of malediction had been heard from the mouth of an angel, the wrath and consternation could not have been greater."—*Vacances en Espagne*, pp. 75, 76.

Days after days of debate passed away, before M. Olozaga could obtain a hearing. At last the opportunity was afforded him, and he rose in his place to make his defence:—

"His voice is deep and hollow ; not heated by excitement ; it has that deadened sound which seems to belong peculiarly to the diplomatist ; and as, moreover, he takes care to speak of himself in the third person, he seems at first to plead the cause of an indifferent party. As he nears the point on which the whole question hinges, his language becomes more measured, more reserved, more cold. This language, however, so restrained, so proper, is broken by intervals of profound silence, during which one feels that his manly soul is collecting and subduing itself. For one moment nature gains the ascendancy ; that voice which was erst so dull, bursts forth with clarion sound, tearing itself. It is no longer the diplomatist that speaks, it is the man that cries aloud ; he weeps, he roars, he sobs and chokes amidst the maledictions of one and the acclamations of another part of the public, and the imperturbable silence both of his friends and of his enemies in the assembly which is to be his judge. After this momentary burst of enthusiasm and poignant grief, his mind resumes its balance ; he suppresses his tears ; his impersonal tone returns ; and he grows calm enough to visit with his sarcasms those who a few moments before put him into agony. . . .

"As to the main fact, he promised he should say no more than was absolutely necessary to save his honour ; he could not however help declaring that on the evening of the 28th he took the decrees to be signed, at the accustomed hour. There was a great number of them ; he read them all aloud, without having occasion to add more than a few explanatory words ; the signature was the same on them all, without any indication that one was more hasty than the other. The cabinet

business had not lasted more than a quarter of an hour; after which he had received from Her Majesty a present for his daughter; and the Queen had accompanied him, and saluted him in sight of the persons present in the adjoining apartment."—*Vacances en Espagne*, pp. 79→82.

To this simple statement of facts the unhappy minister added the best defence he could make against "the statement put into an august mouth," in which he said "the simplicity of language of the innocent Queen was scarcely to be recognized;" and having expressed his determination to maintain his honour to the last moment of his life, he declared his perfect readiness to let that life be made a sacrifice to the good of his country, if it was thought that his death would seal the liberties of Spain. Notwithstanding the profound impression which the defence of the accused had produced upon the assembly and upon the public, the question whether he should be impeached or no, was decided in the affirmative by a majority of eighty-one against sixty-six votes; and those were not wanting who contended that the honour of the country was involved in the sacredness of the royal word, and that, therefore, whatever might be the facts of the case, Olozaga had but one course to pursue, viz. to bow before the storm, and sacrifice his reputation and his life for his country. Against this notion M. Lopez, the late president of the council, asserted the supreme majesty of truth, in a speech full of lofty eloquence.

"Let not the Queen's word," he said, "be made use of to suppress ours; for without detracting from the respect which I owe her, I shall say without circumlocution that there is another queen, more inviolable and more sacred still, the daughter of heaven, the sister of time, the companion of eternity, the only refuge and consolation of the afflicted, the only shield of the innocent,—her name is Truth,—Truth seated on her everlasting throne, she whom I have worshipped ever since I was born. When I fasten my eyes upon her, every thing else on earth vanishes from before me.

"Truth was, before there were kings in the world. Kings and thrones are nothing, they rest on shifting sand, if their foundation is not laid in truth and justice. Truth we owe to God and to ourselves. We owe it to the people, who do not send us here that we should remit them false coin; and come what may, I for my part will to the last maintain and defend truth with the loyalty of an upright man. I cannot help admiring the reserve of M. Olozaga. Had I been in his place, I could not have observed it; for either the fact is true, and in that case I should have dropped dead on my seat at the moment; or it is not true, and in that case I should in spite, I say not of one king, but of all the kings in the world, have proclaimed and maintained that I was speaking

truth, with a quiet conscience, and with a heart full of indignation and daring."—*Vacances en Espagne*, pp. 100, 101.

Among the orators who took part against Olozaga, M. Quinet singles out M. Martinez de la Rosa, who hesitated not openly to advocate the unconditional sacrifice of the accused :—

" We who see in Isabella's throne the only means of salvation in the midst of our political struggles,—we who have anticipated the period at which the constitution confides to our kings the government of the people, can we do less, than raise our voices around the throne, in order to defend with every power of conviction, with all the enthusiasm of good Spaniards, the truth of the words of our Queen, because a dishonoured throne is a curse to the nation which dishonours it?"—*Vacances en Espagne*, pp. 105, 106.

In reply to this dangerous appeal, M. Olozaga himself boldly challenged the Queen publicly and upon the Gospels to swear to the truth of the statement produced against him :—

" To come," he exclaimed, " in the nineteenth century, and maintain in the congress of the Spanish nation, that the word of the Queen must be absolutely believed, and that no proof can avail against it, is a ridiculous conceit, or a piece of unexampled hypocrisy ; and whichever it be, with all the deference that may be due to such principles, I repudiate them unconditionally. Is there an accusation or not? If there is one, then, to make way for judgment, there must be some kind of evidence on one side, and my evidence to contradict it."—*Vacances en Espagne*, p. 107.

The decision of the Chamber was, as M. Quinet justly observes, not the least extraordinary part of this extraordinary business. A commission of inquiry was named, and the parties selected to compose it, were those who had most warmly defended Olozaga in the course of the debate. But before the proceedings could be carried any further, Olozaga was forced to fly from Madrid to avoid the assassin's hand ; shortly after two of the commissioners were thrown into close confinement ; Lopez hardly escaped by flight ; a counter-revolution once more inundated Spain with blood, and Narvaez found himself at the head of affairs.

Of this same Narvaez, by the way, Mr. Hughes tells rather an amusing story :—

" The only man to beard Narvaez in his den, when he governed Spain, was Salamanca. This eminent capitalist, notwithstanding his learned university name, has not a particle of learning, but a deal of mother wit, by means of which he has thriven amazingly in the world, and lives in a magnificent palace. Narvaez did Salamanca the high honour of making him his banker ; the result of which was, that Sala-



manca became involved to the extent of about 60,000*l.*, in consequence of Narvaez's unsuccessful stock-jobbing speculations. A coolness naturally arose between them, which Narvaez, with his usual insolent recklessness, considerably increased, by excluding Salamanca from the invitation to his last grand ball. Thereupon the capitalist coolly walked down to the Casino Club, and said there openly that it would be more fitting in Narvaez to pay him the money he owed him, than to give balls at his expense. An aide-de-camp of Narvaez challenged him on the strength of this insult, but Salamanca replied, that he had nothing to say to him, but would willingly have with his master. Thereupon Narvaez sent for him, and Salamanca entered fearlessly. Pistols were lying on the table; a common course with Narvaez, and the latter told the capitalist that he must fight him on the spot. 'Willingly,' said Salamanca, 'if you pay me my money first.' Narvaez was making a motion to seize one of the pistols, when Salamanca addressed him thus:—

" 'Don Ramon Narvaez, my life is in your power. You may destroy it in this apartment without a witness, but eternal infamy will light on your name if you resort to this mode of cancelling an obligation of which all Madrid has been made aware. I allude to the fact of your being indebted to me in the sum of six millions of reals, for which I hold here a receipt in due form, *which shall be yours when you pay me the said amount, when I will thank you for one of the pistols.*' "

"The imperturbable coolness of the man completely vanquished Narvaez, who led him out with many bows, and has since paid a portion of the money."—*Hughes's Overland Journey*, vol. i. pp. 418, 419.

These peeps into the political life of Spain are not calculated to induce a belief that the political and social face of that country will be very speedily renewed. Hitherto, indeed, the successive changes which the government and the constitution of Spain have undergone, have generally turned out, not for the better, but for the worse; so much so, that the very idea of change has become unpalatable to the popular mind.

"The very word *novelty*," remarks Mr. Ford on this point, "has become, in common parlance, synonymous with danger, change, by the fear of which all Spaniards are perplexed; as in religion it is a heresy. Bitter experience has taught all classes that every change, every promise of a new era of blessing and prosperity has ended in a failure, and that matters have got worse: hence they not only bear the evils to which they are accustomed, rather than try a speculative amelioration, but actually prefer a bad state of things, of which they know the worst, to the possibility of an untried good. '*Mas vale el mal conocido, que el bien por conocer*.' " 'How is

\* A known evil is better than an unknown good.

my lady, the wife of your grace?' says a Spanish gentleman to his friend. '*Como está mi Señora la Esposa de Usted?*' 'She goes on without novelty.'—'*Sigue sin Novedad,*' is the reply, if the fair one be much the same. '*Vaya Usted con Dios, y que no haya Novedad!*' 'Go with God, your grace! and may nothing new happen,' says another, on starting his friend off on a journey."—*Gatherings from Spain*, p. 166.

One very striking effect of the want of proper government, and the consequent decay of the national institutions, is noticed by Mr. Hughes: the voluntary abdication, from sheer poverty, of the nobility of the land.

"Titled nobility," he observes, "in Spain is just now at a low ebb. Resignations of titles are very constantly made by the proprietors, in consequence of inability or reluctance to pay the annual *nobilitaire* tax. Formerly every grandee and leading *titulado de Castilla* was obliged to furnish the sovereign with the aid of so many lancers or men full-armed, in his wars. In process of time this came to be commuted to a contribution in money, which was still called *lanzas*. The amount of this annual contribution for sustaining the dignity of a marquisate is, at this day, about 20*l.* sterling. The Marquis de Casa-Desbrulles the other day resigned his title, with the consent of the heir-presumptive, from a deficiency of the means of paying this annual tax; and the *Gaceta* announced that the Queen had accepted his resignation of the marquisate accordingly. Those who care for such things may readily, now-a-days, negotiate the purchase of a title in Spain."—*Hughes's Overland Journey*, vol. i. pp. 420, 421.

In any other country but Spain such a symptom would be looked upon as the sure precursor of total ruin; but here, though sufficiently ominous, it has not so serious a meaning as it would have elsewhere. The reason of this difference lies in the fact, that while the aristocracy of wealth is a thing almost unknown in Spain, aristocracy of birth is universally diffused, for every Spaniard is a gentleman born, a *caballero*: between the highest nobleman in the land and the lowest of the οἱ πολλοὶ there is not that great gulf fixed, which separates them in other countries. And this sense of equality, which is asserted in the ordinary intercourse of every-day life, has in it none of that offensive character, which belongs to it when it is the result of a revolutionary levelling of the distinctions of society,—an intrusion of the coarseness of the populace upon the refinement of the educated classes. On the contrary, in Spain it consists with a general good breeding and courtesy, which the different classes of society, however far apart in nominal rank, invariably observe towards each other. The fact is, that the equality of classes in Spain is the

equality, not of "*citoyens*," but of "*caballeros*," and has its root deep in the national life and history.

"This general politeness and urbanity of the whole nation," says M. Quinet, "indicates a spirit of equality at the root of the national character. It is so singularly stamped upon every thing, that in order to account for it, we must go back to the first springs of Spanish life in the past history of the people.

"How comes it, that the Spaniards, who were in so many respects behind the other nations, are in this fundamental point so far before them? The reason of it no doubt is this. Representing, as the Spanish people did in the middle ages, the idea of Christianity against the Moors, they realized the living spirit of Christianity more forcibly than any other nation. In the face of the Koran the Spanish people identified themselves with the Gospel; like the Hebrews, they looked upon themselves as the chosen people. When in the *sierras* of Andalusia the mountaineers meant to ask me if I spoke Spanish, they asked me if I spoke Christian, '*habla Christiano?*' During an eight centuries' conflict with Islam, every man came to regard himself as a champion of Christ. My guide, wishing to ask a goatsherd a question, called to him from the height, '*caballero!*' and the echo of a Moorish tower made answer that the nobility of that man dated back to the conflict between Christ and Mahomet. What becomes of the differences of fortune and social condition, where God Himself is a party concerned? On a battle-field all men are equal; but when the whole country is a battle-field, and the battle lasts eight centuries, and the cause for which successive generations take up arms, is the cause of Christ Himself, it is clear that the sense of equality under the banner of the Eternal, the sense of descent from one common blood, must become indelibly stamped upon the hearts of the people, and become the very groundwork of their nature. All the gold of Mexico could not alter this.

"This sense of religious brotherhood is the purest fruit of Spanish education, that which is most carefully to be preserved, which must not, upon any pretence whatever, be sacrificed for any form of government. It is the finger-mark of God in the history of the Spanish people."—*L'Ultramontanisme*, pp. 35—37.

The effect of this peculiar feature of Spanish history, by which it distinguishes itself from the history of every other European nation, the conflict between Mahometanism and Christianity, is not confined to the national character and manners; it is equally traceable in the architecture of Spain, in its fine arts, its language, and its literature. On the last-named subject M. Quinet's book contains some excellent and instructive remarks, in two lectures delivered by him in the *Collège de France*, in the years 1842 and 1843, which he has appended to his journal, and in which he takes a comparative view of the institutions and the literature of Italy and of Spain.

“In the struggle between the Islam and Christianity every man has become a champion of Christ; the serf has put on nobility under the banner of the cross. As he has obtained a value in the state, of which he is conscious, so likewise he has a poetry of his own, which he sings to himself. From the tales of city and country arise those rude sketches, which, like poetic germs, form at a later period the groundwork of Spanish literature. The greater the abundance of these germs of art which a people produces in its origin, the more will its literature be truly and naturally rich; for the exhaustion of a nation's genius is marked by the exhaustion of subjects. It is in this way that the fertility of a *Lope de Vega*, or a *Calderon*, must be accounted for. They had not to go far in search of their subjects; they gathered from the mouth of the people those harmonious legends which they naturalized in the domain of art. Spanish literature is a constant ennobling of popular invention by the authority of a cultivated poet. At whatever period it may be, you still hear the echo of those popular songs which recall the native genius of Spain, and direct the imagination of the learned to the road traced out by nature.

“Not that there was not in Spain, as in the rest of Europe, another source of inspiration. The imitation of antiquity makes its way there at an early period; the imitation of Italy still earlier; in the fifteenth century already the echo of *Dante* resounds in *Castille*. *Pindar* and *Horace* find imitators; but what strikes me as the distinctive feature of the genius of this poetry, is the co-existence and the struggle of those two kinds of literature, the one altogether indigenous, the other classical and foreign. Which will carry off the palm, the romance of the *Cid*, or the ode of *Pindar*? This is the question which suggests itself in reading the first monuments of that struggle. Down to the fifteenth century nothing is as yet decided. Is Spain to have a literature? The poets on whom the honour of the country depends are born. What are they going to do? Let us see what circumstances they have to deal with. On the one hand, rude, but indigenous traditions, poor and monotonous songs, of popular invention, but replete with associations of places, of things, of loved names, in one word, the rude, but native rock; on the other hand, universally admired and triumphant models of literature, the Grecian and the Roman, in all the vigour of revival; that is to say, on the one hand the acclamations of the world, on the other hand the obscure echo of Old *Castille*; between these the choice lies. What do you think the Spanish poets will do? They hesitate not; they decide with a full knowledge of the case; with a perfectly Castilian heroism they shut their eyes to all the pomp and seductiveness of the revival-school; they reject all the gold of antiquity; they prefer, along with native poverty, the poetry of their country's soil, however rude and uncultivated it may be. While the rest of Europe welcome with clapping of hands the revival of ancient genius, *Cervantes*, *Lope de Vega*, *Calderon*, alone go back as it were to the middle ages, there to trace out and to lay hold of the vestiges of the ancient genius of Spain. Thence they return with a new art, which owes

nothing to Greece, to Rome, or to Italy, which is indebted only to itself. You may admire so lofty a pride, or you may blame it; yet you cannot help seeing that the poetry, as well as the history of Spain, thus springs from a flash of heroism.

“Besides, how could Spain ever have submitted to the genius of antiquity? Every thing combined to carry it beyond the precincts of ancient Europe; the struggle with the Arabs in the first instance, close intercourse with them in the next place, and afterwards the discovery of America, drew Spain far away from the focus of other nations. Indeed, it seems as if that wonder in history, the discovery of America, must have changed the constitution and genius of that people still more violently than it actually did, and imprinted upon it forms still more extraordinary, or at least more unknown to the ancient world. When you hear the mighty shout, ‘land!’ raised on board the ship of Christopher Columbus, you may well believe that it will meet with an echo deep in the hearts of Spain. You look out in the Spanish mind for the reflection of that newly revealed nature; you wait, and mentally call for the poet or the writer who shall impart voice and speech to that hitherto silent continent. But that poet does not make his appearance; Spain, making but half a conquest of the Indies, contents itself with taking their gold; it does not instil into its poetry the breath, the inspiration, the soul of those virgin oceans, forests, and continents. It is too much preoccupied by its past history, to admit a deep feeling of the wonder which is accomplished before its eyes. The associations of the feudal system follow it into the midst of the virgin forests. The romances of the Cid, the half African romances of the children of Lara, still occupy it in the face of that new-born world, which it beholds with the eyes of the body much more than with the eyes of the mind.”—*Vacances en Espagne*, pp. 414—417.

Another peculiarity of the poetic literature of Spain, its close adherence to nature, and its eminently national character, M. Quinet accounts for no less felicitously by the fact, that the great fathers of Spanish literature were not men living in a world of their own, a world of literary abstraction and repose, but men whose minds were deeply engaged, and their characters severely tried, by the practical concerns of life; the men who carried forward the literature of Spain, were the same men who helped to carry forward the affairs of the nation, who fought its battles, or ruled its councils. We can find room only for one short extract, which will suffice to indicate the general tendency of the author’s view on this subject:—

“In the *naïve* loftiness of the author of Don Quixote, I desire to trace the one-armed hero of the battle of Lepanto. In the tone, now of chivalry, now of asceticism, which pervades the theatre of Lope de Vega and of Calderon, I seek to trace out these two men, who began life under the cuirass, and ended it under the hair shirt in the cloister.

Do not fancy that this is a mere illusion, a kind of *mirage* arising from the heated imagination of the reader. Far from it; so many real impressions, so many personal experiences, have found their way into their books, that if I were asked wherein the originality of Spanish literature consists, I should boldly answer, that it consists in the very profusion of passion and of life within the domain of art; there is less regularity, less order, less moderation, than with any other people, but also more expansion, a more impetuous overflowing of the soul, a loftier sense of reality, a more contagious excitement, which has given even to the ridiculous a stamp of nobility. The difference between the genius of the Italian and that of the Spaniard is the same as between the *Madonnas* of Raphael and of Murillo. The former, whose beauty is derived from Greece and from the age of revival, dwell evermore on the highest summits of the ideal world; scarcely do their feet touch the ground; their like has not been seen by any one on earth. The latter are natives of Castile, and never have seen any other country. They breathe forth their ascetic souls under the arches of the churches of Seville and Toledo; in their divinely aspirations you can trace reminiscences of an earthly home and vestiges of human love."—*Quinet's Vacances en Espagne*, pp. 430, 431.

Considering how completely the literature of Spain grew out of, and was interwoven with, the national life, it is not surprising to find that the interruptions which the national life has suffered of late, and by which the whole social and religious condition of Spain has been unhinged, should have produced a disturbing and unsettling effect also upon the literature of the country. And so, in fact, we find it. There is in literature the same struggle apparent to strike out, if possible, a new life, as in the social development of the nation, with the same oscillations, occasioned, on the one hand, by a disposition to return at once to the old paths, and, on the other hand, by inauspicious and fortunately unsuccessful attempts to imitate other countries, and especially the French school of politics and literature. Hence it is no less difficult to say what is at present the character of the literature of Spain, than it is to define its political system. Both are undergoing an alterative process; and are, therefore, liable to be viewed in very different aspects by different parties. Thus, for instance, nothing can be more unpromising than the account which Mr. Hughes gives of the present state of Spanish literature.

"How utterly hopeless is the attempt to extract any thing worth a moment's attention, or having a particle of local colouring, from contemporary Spanish literature, may be seen from the following leading passage in a work, which was sold to me at a high price in Madrid, as of great merit:—

"The cavalier was noticeable, as well by the dexterity and mastery

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with which he restrained the fire of his courser, as by the simple English elegance with which he was clothed. His blue frock-coat, buttoned up to the throat, had not a single wrinkle in it. His pantaloons were like what a profound sculptor would hew out of marble, and his straw-coloured kid gloves might compare for brilliancy to the rich lustre of his boots.'

"The incredible puerility which I have quoted is not a mere joke, but serious; and the whole thing—which was designed to catch, in imitation of Eugène Sue's novels—may give some idea of the state of living literature in Spain. The bibliopolist class subsist by trick alone; and if their dexterity in producing books equalled that which they show in putting them off, they would be worthy successors of Cervantes and Calderon. I was undecided whether I would purchase the six volumes in question, until the bookseller told me, with an air of mystery, that the first three volumes had been seized and suppressed, in consequence of the terrible truths which they revealed about the Court and Grandes. Accordingly, I gave him a commission to procure the *seized* volumes, which was very speedily done, (they should only have been seized by the trunkmakers,) I found the entire six volumes filled with the sort of rubbish I have quoted!"—*Hughes's Overland Journey*, vol. ii. pp. 79, 80.

That Mr. Hughes had the misfortune of being "done" with six volumes of trash, we do not of course mean to deny; we are bound to believe it, since he himself tells us so; but we cannot, therefore, jump with him to the conclusion that all the living literature of Spain is of the same miserably worthless character. If Mr. Hughes had taken a little more pains to inform himself on the subject, he might have found, that although Spanish literature is at this moment in a transition state, and therefore not likely to put forth any very distinguished or very perfect fruit, yet there are in it tokens of life and indications of revival. But for these indications we must look not in those departments of literature which have mere amusement for their object, and which are carried on for purposes of gain on principles of trade; we must look for them in those branches of literature which connect themselves with the present convulsive movement of the national mind; it is there that we shall find life reflected in literature. In any other direction but this, we shall in vain look for any thing characteristic and truly national at the present moment. Of the modern drama, for instance, as compared with the drama of former days, Mr. Ford says:—

"The genuine old stage held up the mirror to Spanish nature, and exhibited real life and manners. Its object was rather to amuse than to instruct, and like literature, its sister exponent of existing nationality, it showed in action what the picaresque novels detailed in description. In both the haughty Hidalgo was the hero; cloaked and armed

with long rapier and mustachios, he stalked on the scene, made love and fought as became an old Castilian whom Charles V. had rendered the terror and the model of Europe. Spain then, like a successful beauty, took a proud pleasure in looking at herself in the glass, but now that things are altered, she blushes at beholding a portrait of her grey hairs and wrinkles; her flag is tattered, her robes are torn, and she shrinks from the humiliation of truth. If she appears on the theatre at all, it is to revive long by-gone days—to raise the Cid, the great Captain, or Pizarro, from their graves; thus blinking the present, she forms hopes for a bright future by the revival and recollections of a glorious past. Accordingly plays representing modern Spanish life and things, are scouted by pit and boxes as vulgar and misplaced; nay, even Lope de Vega is now known merely by name; his comedies are banished from the boards to the shelves of book-cases, and those for the most part out of Spain. He has paid the certain penalty of his national localism, of his portraying men, as a Spanish variety, rather than a universal species. He has strutted his hour on the stage, is heard no more; while his contemporary, the bard of Avon, who drew mankind and human nature, the same in all times and places, lives in the human heart as immortal as the principle on which his influence is founded.

“In the old Spanish plays, the imaginary scenes were no less full of intrigue than were the real streets; then the point of honour was nice, women were immured in jealous harems, and access to them, which is easier now, formed the difficulty of lovers. The curiosity of the spectators was kept on tenter-hooks, to see how the parties could get at each other, and out of the consequent scrapes. These imbroglios and labyrinths exactly suited a *pays de l'imprévu*, where things turn out, just as is the least likely to be calculated on. The progress of the drama of Spain was as full of action and energy as that of France was of dull description and declamation. The Bourbon succession, which ruined the genuine bull-fight, destroyed the national drama also; a flood of unities, rules, stilted nonsense, and conventionalities poured over the astonished and affrighted Pyrenees: now the stage, like the arena, was condemned by critics, whose one-ideal civilization could see but one class of excellence, and that only through a lorgnette ground in the Palais Royal. Calderon was pronounced to be as great a barbarian as Shakspeare, and this by empty pretenders who did not understand one word of either;—and now again, at this second Bourbon irruption, France has become the model to that very nation from whom her Corneilles and Molières pilfered many a plume, which aided them to soar to dramatic fame. Spain is now reduced to the sad shift of borrowing from her pupil those very arts which she herself once taught, and her best comedies and farces are but poor translations from Mons. Scribe and other scribes of the vaudeville. Her theatre, like every thing else, has sunk into a pale copy of her dominant neighbour, and is devoid alike of originality, interest, and nationality.”—*Gatherings from Spain*, pp. 320, 321.



In contrast with these evidently debased departments of Spanish literature, there are presented to us by M. Quinet, who, let it be remembered, made literature one of his principal objects in visiting Spain, some brief but interesting sketches. He too observes that the Spanish drama is not now, as once it was, the reflection of real life; and therefore he asks and answers the question:—

“If the tragical situation of the Spanish people is not now expressed in the drama, where then are we to look for it?—perhaps in some admirable lyric pieces of a poet who has died in the flower of his age, Esproncédá. He, as it seems to us, is the man who from time to time responded, as if he were the echo of the nation’s mind, to the stifled groans which are to be heard issuing from the very depths of the social body in Spain. . . . His truly indigenous inspiration is a phlegmatic despair, a feeling of Mahometan fatalism in the midst of the convulsions of the day. There is no sigh, no tear, no word of emotion; it is a hardness of mind towards one’s self, and towards others. In his most celebrated pieces, the ‘Condemned’ (to death), the ‘Beggars,’ the ‘Hangman,’ every complaint is arrested by the pride of being an outcast from human society; each man makes himself in his hell the king of an accursed crew. Our romantic poets used to weep over their departed illusions; in Italy Manzoni, Silvio Pellico, fall into a pious resignation; the instinct of the Spaniard is to feel neither regret for the past, nor resignation to the present, nor hope of the future. . . .

“The hymn of the hangman is a composition sublimely ferocious. This shout of defiance, reeking with blood, and hurled from the scaffold against the human race, could hardly have been raised in any other land than Spain, which is still drenched with the blood of contending parties. This terrible poetry is the gnashing of teeth, of which the Scriptures speak, produced in a yet living people. After the inebriation of the beast of prey, the feelings of the man return at the end. The supplicating accents of the last stanza, atone for the atrocious exultation of the opening.”—*Vacances en Espagne*, pp. 196—198.

This last stanza is all that we can prevail upon ourselves to transcribe of this truly horrible poem. After a succession of stanzas of fiendish exultation over the bloody work of his office, the hangman turns to his infant son, and thus addresses him:—

“Ha! why is the hangman thy father, oh, my child, pure, graceful as thou art. The grace of the infant smile which plays on thy lips is borrowed from an angel. Alas! thy openness of heart, thy innocence, thy sweet beauty, inspire me only with horror. Wife! what avails thy tenderness to this unhappy creature? Show thy compassion for him by suffocating him; that will be to him a blessing. What matters it, though the world call thee cruel? Dost thou wish him to tread the path which I have trod? Dost thou desire that he should some day

course thee? Remember that thou wilt see the same child which now is playing thus innocently, hereafter a criminal, an accursed wretch like myself."—*Vacances en Espagne*, p. 200<sup>9</sup>.

In another poem, entitled "*El Estudiante*," EsproncEDA has embodied a legend, which M. Quinet says may be considered as the legend of Spanish society in the nineteenth century, and which he has frequently heard chanted in the streets:—

"The Don Juan of modern Spain is enticed to follow the steps of a young woman wrapped in a veil. Keeping close behind her, he descends after her a spiral staircase of interminable length. Nothing deters him. At last a broken sigh of love is heard resounding through the void space. They have arrived at the bottom of hell. The young gallant without alarm or trepidation tears the veil from the woman who has enticed him. But the bridal veil hides but a skeleton; and the wedding of the Spaniard with the corpse is celebrated in eternity by the choir of hell."—*Vacances en Espagne*, pp. 202, 203.

M. Quinet finds fault with EsproncEDA and other poets who have versified this popular legend, for resting content with what appears to be the obvious moral of the tale; he wishes them to apply it as an allegory to the present condition of Spain,—the female skeleton representing (according to the interpretation most natural to M. Quinet's train of thought) the Church.

Another of the modern Spanish authors to whose acquaintance we are introduced by M. Quinet, is the satirist Larra, whose reckless career and premature death present a melancholy example of the frightful results of the absence of all religious principle, in the midst of Christian profession, which pervades more or less the literature of the nineteenth century in every country of Europe,—of that profound infidelity of heart and mind, which, having outlived not only every form of superstition, but the truth itself, has no other means of stilling the cravings of the inner man, than to bid him prey upon himself. Gifted with a keen perception of the hollowness of social regenerations projected in paper constitutions and decreed by juntas, and at the same time destitute of all belief in a higher or healing principle; hating the old régime with a bitter hatred, and looking upon the new lights with scarcely less bitterness of scorn, Larra poured forth his sarcasms with astonishing power and boldness; himself the child of revolution, he made the revolution, its measures and its men, the subject of a gloomy and severe irony. The following comment on the

<sup>9</sup> We regret very much that M. Quinet has not given the Spanish text of the poems which he quotes; as a translation into French prose is but an indifferent medium through which to appreciate the genius of Spanish, or indeed of any poetry.

execution of the mother of Cabrera, is given by M. Quinet as a specimen of his tone and style:—

“Probably they told you the other day of a little fancy performance, officially executed upon an old woman, upon the *visa* of a hero. Heaven preserve us from falling into heroic hands! However, it is right I should tell you, that it is very proper to go back to the cause of every thing, to lay the axe to the root, not to the branches. Thus, for example, the first cause of the existence of the factious are the mothers who bore them. *Ergo*, by cutting off the mothers, you cut off the principle. We have the word of the Theologians for it: *Sublatâ causâ, tollitur effectus*. It is a pity the grandmother was already dead; for the farther one goes back, the more surely will the blow take effect. It has been proved, that as Samson’s strength was in his locks, so the venom of the factious is in the mother, to whom their bitter quality is owing. Take her away, and you will find them mild as mallows. Experience has proved this, because, after all, the other shot in return not more than about a score and a half. Who knows how many he would have shot if he still had had a mother. It is the mothers, therefore, which stand in the way of Spain’s happiness; and until we have done with them, it is idle to hope for a moment’s peace. As for the sisters, seeing they are married to national guards, they ought to be half shot, as belonging partly to one side and partly to the other; however, we know better, and shoot them out and out. Blessed in these heroic times are the foundlings, who have neither father nor mother to be shot! They say that, after this exchange of etiquette and courtesy, there are complaints in the army.”—*Vacances en Espagne*, pp. 149—151.

The success which the writings of Larra had, was such as might have gratified a less ambitious mind. But the fire that kindled his soul was like the boiling lava of a volcano. He vomited forth its scorching streams, but at last the volcano burnt itself out; and he who was ever grinning on the world around him, became (a solemn warning to all scoffers by profession) a prey to deepest melancholy. A wild rhapsody which he put forth on All Souls’ day, 1836, indicative of the state of his mind at this period, was the shadow cast before of the coming event. It ran thus:—

“FIGARO IN THE CEMETERY.

“*Beati qui moriuntur in Domino.*

“On All Souls’ day a cloud of sadness hung over me; it was one of those fits of melancholy of which a liberal [read ‘infidel’] Spaniard alone can form and convey a remote idea. A man who believes in friendship and puts it to the test, a youth who falls in love with a woman, a holder of Cortes bonds, a widow whose pension is insured in the Spanish exchequer, a soldier who has lost a leg for the *estatuto*,

and is left without leg and without *estatuto*, a grandee who has turned liberal in order to be made a senator, a constitutional general in pursuit of the Carlists,—the faithful image of a man running after happiness without ever meeting with it,—a journalist imprisoned by virtue of the liberty of the press, a constitutional minister or king of Spain,—all these are happy beings, radiant with joy, in comparison with the state of melancholy which oppressed me and gnawed my soul at the moment of which I am speaking.

“The bells were with lamentable sound proclaiming the everlasting absence of those that have been; they seemed to vibrate more mournfully than ever. I was choking. The thought struck me, that melancholy is the most amusing thing in the world for bystanders; and I considered that I might thus serve to relieve the sorrows of others . . . ‘Off! off!’ I cried forthwith, as if I had seen a Spanish player; ‘off with you!’ as if I had heard a speaker in the Cortes; and I went down into the street with as much calmness and deliberation as if I had been engaged in cutting off the retreat of Gomez,

“The inhabitants were poured forth in great numbers and in long processions through the streets, winding along like immense snakes variegated with a thousand colours. ‘To the cemetery! to the cemetery!’ and therewith they went out through the gates of Madrid.

“‘Let me see!’ said I to myself; ‘where is the cemetery? without, or within?’ A frightful dizziness seized me, and I began to see clear. The cemetery is in Madrid. Madrid is the cemetery where every house is a family tomb, every street the mausoleum of a revolution, every heart the sepulchral urn of a hope or of a desire.

“While those who fancy themselves alive, were gathering towards the habitation where they imagine the dead are, I proceeded to run, with all the piety of which I am capable, through the streets of the real bone-yard.

“‘Fools,’ said I to the passers by, ‘you are all excitement to go and visit the dead! What! has Gomez broken all the mirrors in Madrid? Look at yourselves, and you will find your epitaph written on your foreheads. You are going to visit your fathers and grand-fathers, when you yourselves are the dead. They live since they are in peace. They have liberty, the only liberty which is possible on earth, that which death bestows. They have not to pay taxes which they have no money to pay. They are not sold up, nor denounced, nor imprisoned. They alone enjoy liberty of the press, since they speak to the world. They ery with a loud and clear voice, and no jury dare gag them or put them under lock and key.’

“‘What monument is this?’ said I to myself as I began my pilgrimage. ‘Is it the skeleton of past ages, or the tomb of other skeletons?’ The *palace!* This way it looks down on Madrid, on the other tombs: that way it looks out upon Estremadura, that Virgin province, as they used to call it. On the pediment was written, ‘Here lies *Royalty*. It was born under Isabel the Catholic, and died of a cold at *la Granja*.’

"A little further on,—good heaven! '*Here lies the Inquisition, the daughter of faith and fanaticism; she died of old age.*' Some strollers had scribbled the word 'government' with chalk in the corner; but it was already half rubbed out. Insolent fellows, thus to write on the walls! they do not even respect sepulchres!

"What is this? the *prison!* '*Here reposes the Liberty of the press.*' What! in Spain! in the land of free institutions? Two editors of '*The World*' were enacting the part of lachrymatory figures to this great sepulchral urn. A chain, a gag, and a pen were to be seen in relief. Is it the pen of the writers, or that of the scribes?

"*Street de la Montera.* Here there are no sepulchres, but mere bone-houses, where Commerce, Industry, Honesty, and Trade are slumbering pellmell. Venerable shades, adieu, till we meet in the valley of Jehoshaphat.

"*The Exchange.* '*Here lies Spanish Credit.*' It reminds me of the pyramids of Egypt. How in the world came they to erect so large a building for entombing so small a body?

"*Victoria.* No monument; but an inscription in imperceptible characters: '*The Junta has bought this land for it, as a place of sepulture in perpetuity.*'

"*The theatres.* '*Here repose Spain's Men of genius.*' Not a flower, not a memorial, not an inscription!

"Meanwhile night was coming on. The dogs prolonged their ill-omen'd howls. I felt on all sides the approach of death. The immense capital of Spain, the dying giant, was turning in his winding-sheet, the death-rattle in his throat; and soon I saw no more than one tomb. On the stone that lay upon it there was not a single letter; and yet the names of the deceased burst forth in visible characters in the eyes of all.

"Away from me! I exclaimed, horrible vision! Liberty! constitution! national opinion! emigration! shame! discord! All these words struck against each other with the last sound of the bells on the evening of All Souls' day.

"A gloomy cloud finally enveloped the earth. The cold of night chilled my veins. I wished to leave the cemetery, and to take refuge in my heart, which was erst so full of life, of illusions, of desires.

"O heaven! it was another cemetery. My heart is nothing more than a tomb! What does she say? Let us read! Who is the deceased? Inscription of hell! *Here lies Hope!*

"Oh, be still! be still!"—*Vacances en Espagne*, pp. 154—159.

This was followed two days after by another effusion, with the motto, "And he rose again the third day," profanely applied to himself. But the effort to be facetious was above his strength: his mirth grew too serious for himself. A few days after a disappointment *à la Werther* deepened the darkness of his soul, and José de Larra, the merry Figaro who had raised the laugh

all over Spain, shot himself through the heart standing before his looking-glass. He was but twenty-eight years old !

He left behind him in the person of his friend and admirer Zorilla a successor, who, being of a milder character, "seeks to heal the wounds which the scourge of Larra has inflicted." But in him, too, poesy is divorced from religion: as M. Quinet pithily observes, he stammers forth doubt in the language of the inquisition: his "restless night" is a kind of Spanish Faustus; and M. Quinet hesitates not to record his apprehension that his career is not unlikely to terminate in the same tragic manner as that of his friend Larra. His great excellency as a poet is, that he labours to make Spain forget her revolution.

"He appears to me like a minstrel at the bedside of a vanquished and mortally-wounded warrior. Afraid of re-opening the wounds of body and soul, he studies to avoid the remembrance of the last battles. In a soothing tone of voice he chants a plaint of bygone days: there is not one word that can revive recent grief. The warrior, broken-hearted, listens: he hails the balm of oblivion; in the far distance he sees dreams of glory, bright images of his childhood pass before him. His wound is not healed; but who knows? at least he feels it not, and with that he is content: agony and smiles meet on his countenance."—*Vacances en Espagne*, p. 170.

If these specimens of what may be considered the characteristic and really national literature of modern Spain attest, no less clearly than the deserted monasteries, the divorce of religion and national life in that unhappy and interesting country, they also prove that the national mind is not stagnant, that literature is not altogether engrossed by the *servum imitatorum pecus*; that there is a spirit stirring in the land which would fain ask the question, but has not yet found the prophet's utterance, in which alone it may be asked, "Can these bones live?"

ART. II.—*Historical Notices of the Missions of the Church of England in the North American Colonies, &c. &c.* By ERNEST HAWKINS, B.D. London: Fellowes. 1845.

*The History of the Church of England in the Colonies and Foreign Dependencies of the British Empire.* By the Rev. JAMES S. ANDERSON, M.A., Preacher of Lincoln's Inn, &c. London: Rivingtons. Brighton: Folthorp and Co. 1845.

*Report of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts for the Year 1846,*

THE publications which the last few years have witnessed on subjects relating to missions are a cheering token of the growing interest and importance which are now attached to such subjects in the minds of members of our Church. Until quite recently it must be confessed that our theological literature was deplorably destitute of works of this character. Archdeacon Grant is, we believe, the first writer,—in his admirable Bampton Lectures,—who has treated the question of missions systematically and fully; and to him, doubtless, it is largely owing that the subject has gained ground, and that sounder notions than formerly obtained are beginning to prevail concerning it.

Since the publication of these Lectures there has appeared the *History of the American Church*, by the Bishop of Oxford; a small volume indeed, but far from superficial, tracing with the hand of a master the progress of the Anglo-American Communion through its early and long-protracted struggles to its present vigorous and growing condition, and bringing out the more remarkable passages in its career, so clearly and forcibly to the view, as to arrest effectually the reader's attention, and impressively to convey the lesson, whether of encouragement or of warning, which he considers them calculated to teach. It is a book which, apart from the attractiveness of the author's name, could not fail to command attention, and materially to promote that good cause which it so powerfully illustrates.

This interesting volume was quickly succeeded by the two important works at the head of our article. Mr. Anderson's history not being yet completed, we shall only remark, that we have very high expectations of its value and usefulness. It will

be by far the most comprehensive account of the missionary exertions and achievements of the Church of England which has yet been produced; and if the ability hitherto exhibited in its execution be sustained throughout, its character must soon be established as a work of standard authority. Its great copiousness, perhaps, renders it less agreeable reading than a narrative of lighter pretensions, but its ample stores of information will be most acceptable to all who are really students of ecclesiastical history, or who wish to be thoroughly conversant with this particular branch of it.

The "Historical Notices" of Mr. Hawkins are a work, as the name implies, of a different character from the foregoing. They are but notices; not a continuous and systematic history: and, again, the field they embrace is limited, both as regards time and extent. They relate only to the North American colonies previous to the independence of the United States. There is nothing, however, of dryness or stiffness in this volume, such as notices and sketches of history very frequently exhibit. Each colony in turn comes under review, and the reader is presented with a clear and animated picture of the Church in its various circumstances of weakness, and difficulty, and persecution, from its first introduction down to the period of the rebellion. The original sources of information to which the writer's official connexion with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel has given him access, have imparted to his narrative an air of freshness and reality which cannot fail to charm and interest the reader; at the same time that they stamp it with a character of authenticity which will ensure its being highly esteemed. On its own merits, therefore, we consider this volume entitled to our strongest recommendation. We regret, indeed, that we have been unable to find an earlier opportunity of bringing it before our readers, but we have the satisfaction of feeling that it needed no assistance from us to become extensively known and appreciated, and that the judgment we have now expressed concerning it is abundantly warranted by the approval it has received, and is still receiving, in more competent quarters.

There is, however, a special value pertaining to this publication to which we are anxious to call attention; we mean the light which it throws upon the past services of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; services which, if they had been more generally known to Churchmen of the present generation, must have gained for it their cordial sympathy and support to a much larger extent than it has had the fortune to experience. It was impossible, we think, for the zealous secretary of the Society to have aided its prospects more effectually than by the labour he



has employed in publishing these historical notices of its earlier operations. The objections must indeed be weighty against its present character and proceedings which can be allowed to counterbalance such claims upon our gratitude and veneration as are recorded in this volume.

Selection is difficult where the book itself, as in the present instance, is constructed on a principle of selection: a few extracts, however, taken from the different chapters in their order, may, perhaps, induce some to whom they may be new to examine these interesting records for themselves, and may also serve to prepare the way for the observations we desire to offer on the duties which Churchmen, at the present time, owe to the Society.

The missionary operations of the Church of England may be almost said to have commenced with the foundation of this Society. The religious state of our colonies, from the time of their settlement to the end of the seventeenth century, was most deplorable. Of four important and extensive provinces, peopled from our shores during that century, we are reminded that "three were settled by colonists hostile to the Church of England. Massachusetts by Independents, Maryland by Romanists, and Pennsylvania by Quakers." "No wonder therefore," our author proceeds, "that America exhibits such a fearful preponderance of sectarianism." It may be said that among these different dissenting bodies there was much earnest piety, and that by their means a religious spirit was kindled and kept alive in these colonies, quite independently of the efforts of the Church. And far be it from us to call in question the Christian sincerity of numerous individuals amongst them, or their zeal for the extension of the Gospel according to their peculiar views of it, but we hold, nevertheless, that the religious condition of a country must be not only unsatisfactory for the time being, when it rests on no better support than the personal piety of individuals of contending sects, but is also in the sure road to deterioration, until at length an infidel carelessness shall be its prevalent characteristic. The accounts, which in after years were sent home by the missionaries to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel of the state of the population amongst whom they were labouring, frequently bear witness to such a degeneracy as we have here supposed. On this point Mr. Hawkins well observes:—

"It is sometimes said that the principal difference between the Church and dissent is one of ecclesiastical government, and that, practically, it is of little consequence to the people by what denomination of ministers they are instructed. It were easy to prove by argument the exceeding shallowness of this popular remark; but it seems more

appropriate to our present subject to show by the facts of history how the doctrines of revelation, and the sacraments ordained by Christ Himself, have become mutilated or neglected through the want of a divinely-constituted Church."

He then gives the statement (too long for insertion in this place) of the Rev. John Tyler, missionary of Norwich, in Connecticut, as to the almost universal neglect of the sacrament of Baptism in particular which then prevailed among Christians of every denomination in that locality.

Sectarianism, however, was in exclusive possession of our North American settlements until the latter part of the century preceding the formation of the Society. "Not a single church," we are told, "existed in the whole of the New England settlements till the year 1679:" and it appeared a little later, upon the inquiries instituted by Bishop Compton, "that *there were not at that time more than four episcopal clergymen in the whole continent of America.*"

The Society was incorporated in the year 1701, and it may be useful just to notice here the distinct declaration made in the preamble of its charter, of "the *twofold* object for which it was granted, viz. *first*, to provide a maintenance for an orthodox clergy in the plantations, colonies, and factories of Great Britain beyond the seas, for the instruction of the king's loving subjects in the Christian religion; and, *secondly*, to make such other provision as was necessary for the *propagation* of the Gospel in these parts."

It is the combination of these two great objects in their right order which is an excellence peculiar to this Society, and which constitutes, in our opinion, its paramount claim to support. But we are now concerned rather with facts. We will show by a few instances what was done by means of the Society towards the maintenance of the true faith of the Gospel when it was ready to perish among our emigrant countrymen, and also towards its extension among the heathen tribes by whom they were surrounded.

"The first matter of importance," we read p. 21, "bearing immediately upon its missionary character, which the Society took in hand, was an inquiry into the state of religion in the North American settlements; and painful as were the allegations of the absence of all public worship, nay, even the abandonment of the people to 'infidelity and atheism,' recited in the preamble to the charter, they were fully supported by official reports from the colonies."

A lamentable proof, truly, of the degeneracy just now adverted to, which is inherent in sectarian Christianity; for these pro-

vinces, be it remembered, were chiefly colonized by dissenters. The first missionary sent out by the Society upon this wide and unpromising field of labour was the Rev. George Keith, a man singularly qualified for his arduous undertaking. "He was directed to travel through the several provinces of North America, preaching as he went at every fair opportunity, and endeavouring to awaken the people to a sense of religion." He was a convert to the Church from Quakerism, and was successful in persuading many of that sect, then very prevalent in these parts, to embrace the true religion of the Church. The Rev. John Talbot, chaplain of the ship in which he went out, offered himself as the companion of his travels and labours, and he proved a true and worthy yoke-fellow of this indefatigable missionary.

The following extract from Mr. Talbot's letter to a friend will make it manifest that they did not run in vain, neither labour in vain:—

"Friend Keith and I have been above 500 miles together, visiting the Churches in those parts of America, viz. New England, New Hampshire, New Bristol, New London, New York, and the New Jerseys, as far as Philadelphia. We preached in all churches where we came, and in several Dissenters' meetings, such as owned the Church of England to be their Mother Church and were willing to communicate with her, and to submit to her Bishops if they had opportunity. I have baptized several persons whom Mr. Keith has brought over from Quakerism; and indeed in all places where we come, we find a great ripeness and inclination amongst all sorts of people to embrace the Gospel."

Another letter, by the same writer, addressed to the Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, gives the following report:—

"Mr. Keith and I have preached the Gospel to all sorts and conditions of men: we have baptized several scores of men, women, and children, chiefly those of his old friends (meaning the Quakers). We have gathered several hundreds together for the Church of England; and, what is more, to build houses for her service. There are four or five going forward now in this province and the next. . . . Mr. Keith has done great service to the Church wherever he has been, by preaching and disputing publicly, and from house to house; he has confuted many (especially the Anabaptists) by labour and travel night and day; by writing and printing of books, mostly at his own charge and cost, and giving them out freely, which has been very expensive to him. By these means people are much awakened, and their eyes opened to see the good old way, and they are very well pleased to find the Church at last take such care of her children. For it is a sad thing to consider the years that are past: how some that were born of the

English never heard of the name of Christ; how many others were baptized in His name, and have fallen away to Heathenism, Quakerism, and Atheism, for want of confirmation."

The remark which follows is especially observable, as marking the strong sense which was entertained from the first, by members of the Church in America, of the necessity for a resident episcopate. We shall notice other instances of the expression of this feeling, which occurs repeatedly throughout the volume, and excites our indignation at the miserable policy of our government, which refused so long to comply with this most righteous petition of our colonial brethren.

Mr. Talbot remarks—

"It seems the strangest thing in the world, and it is thought history cannot parallel it, that any place has received the word of God so many years, so many hundred churches built, so many thousand proselytes made, and still remain altogether in the wilderness, as sheep without a shepherd. The poor Church of America is worse on't in this respect than any of her adversaries."

In consequence of the strong representations which they received from Mr. Keith and others of the urgent want of ministers in the different plantations, the Society requested the aid of the Bishops in their several dioceses, in inviting men of suitable qualifications to offer themselves for the work: and the care which was taken to select none for missionary duty but such as *were* in every way qualified, appears from the form of testimonial which they furnished for the use of candidates, and the following earnest caution which was circulated with it:—

"And the said Society do request, and earnestly beseech all persons concerned, that they recommend no man out of favour or affection, or any other worldly consideration; but with a sincere regard to the honour of Almighty God and our blessed Saviour, as they tender the interest of the Christian religion and the good of men's souls."

The testimonies which follow from the governors of these colonies, bear witness to the high Christian character and exemplary zeal of the clergy who were sent out by the Society.

In South Carolina, the services of the Society were no less strenuously maintained; the brief records which Mr. Hawkins has given of the missionaries to this province, show them to have been altogether like-minded with those we have just now referred to. Their career was lamentably short—four of them having died within a period of eighteen months—but full of good works, and leaving a blessing behind it. The following instance

of the Society's great liberality to the Church in this colony, at a time of peculiar need, is worthy of all honour:—

“The Church, and indeed the entire British population in South Carolina, was well-nigh destroyed at this time, by a furious and exterminating invasion of the Yammonsee Indians: in the course of which, the plantations were laid waste, and the colonists, without respect to age or sex, murdered. The missionaries were exposed to peril of famine, as well as of the sword. As soon as intelligence of this disaster was brought to England, the Society—although the whole of its income for that year (1715) amounted to less than 1600*l.*—determined at once to send them relief. Accordingly, a half-year's income was voted to each of the missionaries and schoolmasters, and a gratuity of 20*l.* given to each of the other clergymen officiating in the province, though not in the service of the Society. At this period, we are told, and for many subsequent years, the Society assisted in the maintenance of ten missionaries in this province.”

In enumerating the services of the Society, we must not omit to mention a very important department of its labours, which was exercised among the negro population; the report for 1741 states that “some thousands of negroes had been taught and persuaded to embrace the truth as it is in Jesus Christ.”

In connexion with this province, we first meet with the name of Whitfield, whose ill-regulated zeal, however sincere it may have been, was extensively detrimental to the cause of truth and soberness.

North Carolina is the province next brought under review. Its condition appears to have been, spiritually, most destitute. “For twenty-one years,” writes a missionary to the Bishop of London, “this province has been without priest or altar.” The missionaries were here exposed to great hardships from the nature of the country, the alienation of the people, and the dearness of provisions; but by the aid they received from the Society they were enabled to struggle on, and the labour to which they committed themselves so devotedly, was found to be “not in vain in the Lord.”

Mr. Clement Hall gives the following account of himself, in a letter to the secretary, 1757:—

“By God's gracious assistance, I have been journeying about 557 miles in my mission in thirty-six days, preached twenty-five sermons to as many very large congregations, churched about 146 well-disposed women, administered the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper to about 248 communicants, and baptized about 536 white and eighteen black children, and two black adults, after proper ex-

amination, and performed several other ministerial duties, to the great satisfaction of the people in general."

Mr. Hawkins's testimony to this eminent missionary cannot fail to command the assent of his readers.

"Seldom, probably, has there been a more devoted or laborious missionary than Clement Hall. He was, for twelve years, the only authorized minister of God's word and sacraments through several hundred miles of country; and it may serve as a measure of the services performed by him, to mention the fact that he baptized 10,000 persons. Many a missionary to the heathen has acquired a greater reputation at much less cost."

In this colony, likewise, the need of a bishop for the benefit both of laity and clergy was strongly felt; and representations were made to the Society, by the governor of the province and others, urging them to use their influence at home to get this pressing want supplied.

In the notice of *Georgia*, we meet with the celebrated name of John Wesley, who laboured there as a missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; his connexion with which Society is said by Mr. Hawkins to be unnoticed by all his biographers. It is a piece of information which deserves the attention of the anti-rubrical agitators of our own days, that

"With his European congregation, Wesley insisted on an exact compliance with the rubric. He baptized children by immersion, allowed none but communicants to be sponsors, catechised the children after the second lesson in the afternoon, refused the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper to Dissenters, unless previously admitted into the Church, and would not read the funeral service over any who had not been duly baptized."

Whitfield subsequently laboured in the same field; but not in connexion with our Society. His ministrations were accompanied by many fanatical excesses; but in the earlier part of his career, at least, his influence appears to have brought many within the communion of the Church.

From *Pennsylvania*, Mr. Evans, a most zealous and successful missionary, writes to the Society after a lengthened statement of his labours:—

"I should now put an end to my memorial were it not that the *want of a bishop* amongst us cannot be passed over in silence. 'Tis a dismal thing to consider how much the want of one has retarded the progress of the true religion in America."

And then he proceeds to submit to the consideration of the

Society, sundry urgent reasons for desiring the appointment of a bishop for that colony.

Mr. Neill, another missionary, who was a convert from Presbyterianism, also represents very forcibly the evils which the Church was suffering for lack of episcopal superintendence.

Notwithstanding, however, all the disadvantages under which the missionaries were compelled to labour, and the severe persecutions to which they were exposed for some time prior to the rebellion, the progress of the Church was no where greater than in this province.

The debt which was owed to the Society by this and the neighbouring provinces is thus honourably acknowledged by Dr. Dorr, in his "Sketch of the early History of the Church in Pennsylvania":—

"Thus did this little plant, in process of time, become a mighty tree, 'whose leaves have been for the healing of the nations.' It has sent out its boughs into all lands. The prayer of the first founder of this venerable Society has been most signally answered, that 'God would prosper their work, and make it appear to be the work of His hands.' Of its extraordinary efficacy, it has been justly said, 'Some approach to a correct opinion may be formed from the fact, that when it began its operations, it found but five Churches; and when compelled, by the war of the revolution, to close them, it left us with 250.'"

The most distinguished name in connexion with the Church in *New Jersey*, is that of the Rev. Dr. Chandler, who, like the majority of the most eminent among the earlier American clergy, was educated a Dissenter. He maintained the principles of the Church with unswerving firmness, and was instrumental in extending its influence far and wide, in a time of rampant disaffection and contempt of authority, both in Church and State. In the face of the most clamorous opposition, he contended in an "Appeal to the public in behalf of the Church of England in America," for the "undeniable claim of that branch of the Church to a resident episcopate."

Dr. Chandler thus bears witness to the important services rendered by the Society to this province:—

"The Church in this province makes a more respectable appearance than it ever did till lately, thanks to the venerable Society, *without whose charitable interposition there would not have been one episcopal congregation among us.*"

*Rhode Island* is memorable as the scene of the noble exertions of Dean (afterwards Bishop) Berkeley. The history of his heroic

enterprise for Christ's sake and the Gospel's is too well known, to need more particular notice here. The failure of his undertaking, is one of the heaviest reproaches which could befall a government calling itself Christian. In the words of our author :—

“ To the same minister (Sir R. Walpole) attaches the shame of having defeated the two noblest projects that ever were formed for the benefit of the American Church; the one for the erection of four bishoprics in 1715, and the other for the establishment of a missionary college, at Bermuda, 1729.”

The notice of the Church in *Connecticut*, brings before us the eminent names of Dr. Cutler and Mr. Samuel Johnson, whose conformity to the Church is attributed, under Providence, to the study of Scott's Christian Life, together with other standard works of English Theology, which had been recently imported into America.

Dr. Cutler repeatedly urges, in his letters to the Society, the great need of a resident bishop in his province. We will refer here but to one occasion, where he says :—

“ There is no true churchman here but mourns under the obstructions there are to the settlement of bishops with us : but this does not lessen our obligations to those great and good men that have been zealous in our favour.”

Mr. S. Johnson, whose indefatigable labours were abundantly blessed by the growing influence of the Church, despite of the discouragements from the local authorities, and the unceasing hostilities of the sectarians, testifies again and again to the same necessity. The difficulty of procuring ordination deprived the Church of the services of many young men of zeal and ability, who would readily have given themselves to the work of the ministry, had there been a chief pastor at hand, by whom they might be duly “sent.” If the Church “grew mightily,” despite of these manifold obstacles, what might not its course have been, had there been, to use Mr. Hawkins' words, “a theological college founded, and a bishop sent forth to ordain elders in every city, and to care for the interests of the Church?”

How much of the good that *was* accomplished is due, under God, to the venerable Society, may be estimated from our author's statement, that at this period, and down to the commencement of the American war, there were, on the average, thirty clergymen maintained by the Society in the New England states.



Mr. Beach, another exemplary missionary, and a convert from dissent, writes as follows :—

“Were it not for the venerable Society's charity, I know not what would become of many thousands in these parts, who have so great a love and esteem of our Church, and so great an aversion to the Independent methods, that if they were deprived of that which they admire, they would never join with the other. Nay, the venerable Society's charity to us has proved no small advantage to the Independents, for they who live near to the Church of England, acquire juster notions of religion, and become more regular in their worship.”

This excellent man renews his thanks to the Society for their liberal support, in a letter written in the eighty-second year of his age, in which he says :—

“I have been sixty years a public preacher, and, after conviction, in the Church of England fifty years ; but had I been sensible of my insufficiency, I should not have undertaken it. But now I rejoice in that I think I have done more good towards men's eternal happiness, than I should have done in any other calling.”

We subjoin the following statement, one out of many of the same character which the volume contains, as an illustration of the sufferings to which the clergy were subjected, “for no other offence than the firm but unobtrusive assertion of their own principles.” It is valuable, as showing at the same time the utter disregard of individual rights and property, by those who profess to be the champions of liberty, and the stedfast, invincible loyalty of the true members of the Church. The extract is made from a letter of Rev. R. Mansfield, dated Dec. 29, 1775 :—

“After having resided and constantly performed parochial duties in my mission for full twenty-seven years without intermission, I have at last been forced to fly from my churches, and from my family and home, in order to escape outrage and violence, imprisonment and death, unjustly meditated of late, and designed against me ; and have found a temporary asylum in the loyal town of Hempstead, pretty secure, I believe, at present, from the power of these violent and infatuated people, who persecute me in particular, and disturb the peace of the whole British Empire. . . . That my endeavours and influence have had some effect appears from hence, that out of 130 families which attended divine service in our two churches, it is well known that 110 of them are firm and stedfast friends to government. . . . The worthy Mr. Scovil and the venerable Mr. Beach have had still better success, scarcely a single person to be found of their several congregations but what hath persevered stedfastly in his duty and loyalty.”

On this point, we will add only the following sentence from another letter:—

“If the rebels had said that the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel* were, and had been, the only supporters of all the religion and loyalty that is, or ever was, in New England, they would have for once spoke the truth ; but this suits not their plan.”

We have already noticed the successful labours of the Society's missionaries among the *negro* population of South Carolina. We have further evidence of its readiness to “care for the state” of the poor African race, in the notices of the New England states. It is recorded of the Rev. R. Charlton, who was one of those who discharged the humble but important office of catechist to the negroes in these parts, that from his appointment at New York, in 1732 to 1740, he had baptized 219 negroes, of whom twenty-four were adults ; the next year he had seventy negro and ninety white catechumens. In 1747 their number had considerably increased, and he “could plainly discover a truly pious spirit among them.” In 1764, he reports that not a single black admitted by him to the holy communion had turned out badly, or in any way disgraced his profession.

The history of the Church in *New York* occupies three chapters, which constitute perhaps the most interesting portion of the whole volume. We can but commend it to the careful perusal of our readers ; as furnishing by itself such a monument of the Society's efficiency and success in its holy object of propagating the Gospel, as cannot fail to ensure their grateful admiration. It would be peculiarly difficult, even if our limits did not warn us that it is time to pause, to represent at all satisfactorily the contents of these chapters by means of extracts ; so skilfully are the ample materials relating to this province already condensed and simplified. It must suffice to mention, that the narrative embraces the missionary labours, chiefly related in their own words, of such men as the Seaburys, John Sayre, Charles Inglis, and John Stuart (styled by the present Bishop of Toronto “the Father of the Church in Upper Canada”).

The following valuable testimony of Bishop Butler to the character of the Society's missionaries, forms a fit conclusion to those interesting records of the work they accomplished:—

“But the most conspicuous mark of the prudent care of the Society has been exhibited in the choice of their missionaries. If they have not all proved equally unexceptionable, every possible precaution has been used to admit none of evil report. The indispensable qualifications annexed to the annual abstract of our proceedings, might serve to evince

this, had not the missionaries themselves, during the last seven or eight years, by their conduct and sufferings, borne abundant testimony to the attention and discernment of the Society. The characters of those worthies will entitle them to a lasting memorial in some future impartial history of the late events in that country. Their firm perseverance in their duty, amidst temptations, menaces, and in some cases cruelty, would have distinguished them as meritorious men in better times."

The two colonies of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, which remain to be noticed, though the details of their history may be less remarkable than some of those previously considered; yet supply their full measure of testimony to the watchful care of the Society, and the good which resulted from its operations.

We give only the following gratifying notice of the growth of the Church in the latter colony. It was referred to by Bishop Butler in his anniversary sermon before the Society, in the following words:—

"Our infant Church is rising under the favour and protection of Government in Nova Scotia; and it is of a singular description, consisting of honourable exiles under the pastoral care of fellow-sufferers." To which Mr. Hawkins subjoins: "Not quite sixty years had elapsed from the publication of this sermon, when the son of the first bishop of Nova Scotia, and now occupying the same see, informed the Society that he had seen the number of the clergy resident within the archdeaconry (which forms the present diocese) increase from five to sixty."

The concluding chapter of the volume treats of the struggle for the episcopate, and brings together in one view the various incidents relating to this subject which occur in the course of the "Notices." It is a humiliating reflection for the Church of England that she was prevented, by her relations with the State, from conferring upon her daughter in the far west the crowning boon of an indigenous episcopate: that for lack of this chief blessing the services which she did render, by means of the Society, to her emigrated children were grievously thwarted and enfeebled: that while sectaries of every sort were organizing their forces to oppose and oppress the different congregations of faithful men who cleaved to her apostolical fellowship, she was restrained from making provision for the due administration of her own holy rites, and for the adequate supply of persons qualified to serve her in the sacred office of the ministry.

It is pleasing, however, to know that it was not from the apathy of the Church itself, or of the bishops, that the claims of the Church in America for a native episcopacy were so long disregarded. The earnest petitions of the missionaries and other churchmen in the colonies were seconded by strong appeals to

the Government from the bishops and the many influential lay members of the Society. Individual bishops also, in sermons and other publications, warmly advocated this good cause; and we may well believe that the necessity which obliged Seabury to repair to the Scottish Church for consecration as the first American bishop—(the consecrations of the non-jurors being practically out of the reckoning)—was the subject of very general mortification and regret among English churchmen of that day. They would rejoice, indeed, that a chief pastor was at length granted to their American brethren, and they could have no doubt of the validity of his succession, but they must have keenly felt that the sacred gift *ought* to have been imparted by the English branch of the Church to those who were her own children in the faith of the Gospel.

The whole chapter deserves to be carefully read and pondered by all who desire the prosperity of our Zion, and believe her to be pre-eminently God's chosen instrument for conveying the knowledge of his truth and the treasures of his grace to the nations which are yet sitting in darkness and the shadow of death. We pray that the lesson which the history of this question so forcibly teaches may not be lost upon our rulers either in Church or State, and that the wonderful growth both of the mother and daughter Church in America, *since* the introduction of the episcopate, will stimulate to greater exertions for the future, until the Church be established, in the integrity of its threefold ministry, in every province of England's world-wide possessions.

We have taken this desultory survey of Mr. Hawkins's volume, as conceiving it more likely than any arguments of our own, to impress upon our readers, or, if they need it not, through them to impress others, with the duty incumbent upon all churchmen, of strengthening, to the utmost of their power, that Society which has been for a century and a half the chief support of the Colonial Church, and to whose exertions the happier prospects which are now beginning to open on it are mainly owing. The past services of the Society are not so widely known as they deserve to be. We cannot believe that if the main facts recorded in these "Notices" had been more familiarly known amongst us, the embarrassments which of late years have impeded the Society's operations could ever have befallen it. It may be, as it is candidly admitted in the report of the last year, that there has been formerly an inertness on the part of its managers in publishing and recommending its claims. But whether this be so or not, the fact, we suppose, is unquestionable, that the claims, and even the existence of the Society, have *not*

been so generally known as an institution with such objects and of such achievements undoubtedly ought to be. This unacquaintance with the character and doings of the Society will account, of course, for the comparative inattention which it has experienced, although it cannot be said in the same degree to excuse it. Every well-instructed Christian must know it to be a part of our baptismal obligations that we mind not every man his own things, but every man also the things of others. Every one must feel that we *ought* to provide for the spiritual necessities of our countrymen; that the means of grace which are so precious to ourselves must be no less valuable to them; that their fellowship with us in the Gospel entitles them to a continuance in the country of their adoption of those church ordinances and administrations which they enjoyed at home; and feeling this, it surely behoves them to inquire for the means of discharging this duty; to look about for the opportunity of contributing, according to their ability, to so good and necessary a work. To such inquiries the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel would present itself, as supplying exactly the opportunity they desired. It would come before them as the accredited organ of the Church, designed and constituted for the very purpose of receiving and dispensing the offerings of her faithful members, and applying them to the maintenance of Church privileges among those of her children who are scattered over distant lands.

But now, at all events, it cannot be said that the Society is slack in urging its claims upon public attention. Great efforts have been made within the last year or two to excite a more general interest on its behalf. The three great meetings holden in the metropolis during the last summer must have brought it before the notice of many who had been previously uncognizant of it; and still more recently in the University and diocese of Oxford: and in other dioceses similar exertions have been made to awaken attention to the proceedings and the needs of the Society. Nor can we think the Society to blame for resorting to such means of accomplishing its object. We would rather, indeed, that the alms of the people were offered spontaneously and regularly on God's altar, and by their proper pastors cast into the treasury of the Society, or left to the bishop to be distributed among the various works of mercy and charity in which the Church is ever to be occupied. But this is a state of things which we are not sanguine enough to anticipate, at least as being realized in our own times: and it is necessary, urgently necessary, to make known to the people their duties in respect of the missionary functions of the Church, and the right means of discharging them. How, then, is this to be done but by public

meetings? And if, as is usually the case, they be presided over by the bishop of the diocese, all needful security seems to be afforded that every thing unseemly shall be excluded from their proceedings. But it is most important to bear in mind that it is impossible to *sustain* a general interest in the Society by means of such meetings, though they may be very effectual in awakening it. They will prove of little benefit to the Society unless they be followed up by the establishment of a permanent machinery in our several parishes, by which the demand upon individuals may be continually renewed, and the opportunity brought home to their door of doing their part in the work.

Here, then, are the services of the clergy to be called into exercise. It must depend chiefly upon them whether the Society shall be effectually supported. If every clergyman would establish an association in his own parish, or, in any other way which might appear more desirable, would ask systematically for the offerings of his people to the Society; if he would urge upon *all* the members of his flock the duty of contributing to it in proportion to their means, there would be no longer a lack of funds to enable the Society to carry on, according to the increasing necessities of the times, the work committed to it. We thankfully acknowledge that within the last few years there has been a very large increase in the funds of the Society; but it still falls very far below the amount required; and considering the history, and constitution, and objects of the Society, we cannot but regard it as a reproach both to clergy and people that its revenue is not far greater. Other societies there are of kindred objects, even among the Dissenters, which are able to raise an income nearly three times as large as that realized by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel for the year 1845, independently of its receipts from the Queen's letter. Surely it is time for us to wipe away this reproach. If, indeed, there be any members of our Church who refuse their aid to the Society because it gives no security that the doctrines of a particular school shall be exclusively taught by the missionaries it contributes to support, we leave it to them to settle with their own consciences how far they can be excused, *as members of the Church of England*, for keeping aloof from and even obstructing a Society having such objects, which only does not seek to abridge her servants of that liberty which the Church itself allows to them, which only forbears to constitute new rules of faith, and to assume an office, which, *if* episcopacy be lawful and right, must belong peculiarly to the bishops. But it is not, we are persuaded, from this class of objectors that the lack of support chiefly arises. We fear that many of the clergy who

have hitherto failed to exert themselves on its behalf would be at a loss to give a reason for their inactivity; or perhaps from the circumstances of their position their minds have been pre-occupied by other objects. May we hope that any of our brethren who may chance to read these lines, if they cannot acquit themselves in this matter, will seriously propose to themselves the question, what they *can* do for the Society in time to come, and determine that this, and no less than this, is what they *ought* to do?

And let none hold back because the Society, in some particulars of its management, or in its apparent acquiescence in sentiments which have been expressed in certain high quarters, tending to the discouragement of some of the most faithful of the Church's ministers and sons, may seem to have forsaken in some measure the ground which a *Church* Society should occupy; let allowance be made for the difficulty by which its path is beset: and let all who believe in the Holy Catholic Church, as, besides its other attributes, *the* great Missionary Society, of Christ's own institution, and who believe also that to the English branch of the Church, a great door, and an effectual, has been opened by Divine Providence for extending the light of the truth, and gathering into the fold of Christ the many thousands of English subjects who are now scattered as sheep without a shepherd; let all such avail themselves with ready thankfulness of the instrumentality supplied by this Society, and sanctioned, so far as *any* instrumentality can be, in our present condition, by the Church itself, for helping forward this most blessed consummation.

ART. III.—*The Ingoldsby Legends; or, Mirth and Marvel.*  
By THOMAS INGOLDSBY, Esq. *Third Series.* London:  
Bentley. 1847.

THIS volume forms the third portion of a very whimsical series of productions. The two former parts have been long before the public. Of the reception which they met with in the critical world we are unable to speak confidently from recollection. We presume, however, that it must have been favourable, or, at least, indulgent; seeing that the writer of the memoir prefixed to the present volume has very frankly allowed, that “few authors, upon the whole, have been more tenderly dealt with by the press than Thomas Ingoldsby:” in other words, “than the Reverend Richard Harris Barham;” for this, as it now appears, is the veritable name of the facetious divine who, under the disguise of Thomas Ingoldsby, was pleased for a considerable time to minister to the solace and recreation of the literary and Christian public.

The collection now before us is a posthumous one; the Rev. R. H. Barham having died in June, 1845. The memoir with which the volume is introduced is by R. H. D. Barham, who speaks of himself as a near relative of the deceased. We propose to furnish the reader with a very brief abstract of this biography. It may be somewhat curious and instructive to contemplate the genial and festive *Thomas Ingoldsby* in the character of an ecclesiastic,—a character which, most certainly, we should never have been tempted to ascribe to him, by the exceedingly joyous, light, and frolicsome spirit which pervades his popular *legendary* fictions. If the press had been in the secret of his solemn vocation, may it not be reasonably doubted whether Thomas Ingoldsby would have been handled with quite such exemplary tenderness as that which has been gratefully acknowledged by his biographer? But now to proceed to our little narrative.

Richard Harris Barham was born Dec. 6, 1788, in Canterbury. He was the only son of a gentleman of moderate property, and of immoderate bulk, who had attained the weight of twenty-seven stone in the forty-eighth year of his age. In 1795 the ponderous squire was gathered to his fathers, leaving to his son the inheritance of a very humorous temperament, and a



somewhat encumbered estate; a portion of which estate consisted of a farm, known by the name of Tappington, or Tapton Wood, so frequently alluded to in the "Ingoldsby Legends." In due time the heir was sent to St. Paul's school, (on his way to which he met with an accident which had nearly proved fatal,) and thence was removed to Brasenose College, Oxford. He was speedily admitted a member of the Phoenix Common Room, at that time the *grande decus* of university clubs. Among his chief associates at Oxford were "the gay and gifted Lord George Grenville (Lord Nugent)," Cecil Tattersal, the friend of Shelley and Byron, and, more especially, Theodore Hook, of brilliant, but unhappy memory, with whom he contracted an intimacy which terminated only with life.

A short, but severe, illness diverted the thoughts of Mr. Barham from the law to the Church. In 1814 he married, and was shortly afterwards presented to the living of Snargate, which he held together with the neighbouring curacy of Wareham. At this latter place he fixed his residence; and it was here that a second serious accident (by which one leg was fractured and the other sprained) consigned him to a temporary imprisonment, the tediousness of which he beguiled by the composition of—a novel! The Minerva press, however, was parturient in vain, and the novel was still-born. He survived the fractured limb and the literary abortion; but scarcely was his recovery complete, when he was driven to London in search of medical advice for one of his children. In London he chanced to meet with an old friend, who urgently recommended him to become a candidate for a minor canonry, then vacant at St. Paul's. On the instant, both living and curacy were resigned, and all for a mere *possibility*; for a mere *impossibility*, as most of his friends opined! But the *impossibility* of a thing, unless backed by other substantial impediments, was never a valid objection in the estimation of Mr. Barham. In this case, his contempt for the word *impossible*,—*ce bête de mot*,—was fully justified by the event. In spite of all "ominous conjecture," he was elected to the canonry; and, accordingly, removed to London in 1821.

By this step his income was diminished, while his family was increasing: and for this reason, it is to be presumed, his time was divided between clerical duty and literary engagement. Of the tenor of his life at this period some notion may be formed from a passage in his diary:—

"My wife goes to bed at ten, to rise at eight, and look after the children and other matrimonial duties. I sit up till three in the morning, working at rubbish for *Blackwood*. She is slave of the ring, and I of the lamp."

In the year 1824 he received the appointment of a priest in ordinary of His Majesty's Chapel Royal; and shortly afterwards, by another strange chance, he was presented to the joint incumbency of St. Mary Magdalene and St. Gregory by St. Paul. He found the "united parishes" in a state of tempestuous *disunion*; but in the course of a few months he succeeded in establishing a more pacific temper among the belligerent parties, and in securing for himself their affectionate esteem. It was not, however, as a popular preacher that he was beloved, for he abhorred all oratorical display in the pulpit: still less did he covet the honours of a partisan. "He published no pamphlets, conducted no petitions, neither did he lift up his voice in Exeter-hall;" but was rather anxious to win the attachment of his people by a watchful and devoted attention to their temporal and eternal interests. All this is extremely creditable and satisfactory; but, somehow or other, at this point what may be called the *clerical* interest of the narrative comes to a dead stop. Henceforward, the memoir does not read a bit like the biography of a parochial clergyman. It reads much more like the life of a highly talented and mighty pleasant sort of fellow, enjoying the society of various other mighty pleasant fellows, like himself. It is all alive with epigram, and anecdote, and pun, and merriment, in all its whimsical varieties. In the midst of all this gambolling and frisking, Theodore Hook—as may easily be imagined—stands prominent and conspicuous; with his sudden and desultory inspirations, his inordinate passion for practical jokes, and his unrivalled genius in the craft and mystery of *hoaxing*. The flavour of the whole compound is heightened by an occasional touch of the shadowy and preternatural; for, Mr. Barham was a dear lover of a ghost-story! We must honestly confess that we have found the miscellany, in many parts of it, prodigiously diverting; really, almost as entertaining as a jest-book. Only, we could not help wondering, at times, how all this sort of thing found its way into the life of a minor canon of St. Paul's, and incumbent of the united parishes of St. Mary Magdalene and St. Gregory.

Up to the year 1837, Mr. Barham had been anonymously scattering, among the periodicals, his stores of fugitive poetry, and transitory mirth. At length, however, came the "Ingoldsby Legends," which appeared, in rapid succession, in the pages of Bentley's "Miscellany," then recently established. Their popularity, at the time, was signally encouraging: and their subsequent appearance, in separate volumes, seems to indicate, that they may still be destined, as times go, to a very fair and reasonable extent of *immortality*. We quit them for the present, and proceed at

once to the year 1844, which was fatal to the author. On the 28th of October, in that year, he was seized with a sudden and severe inflammation in the throat. After some fluctuations, the disorder manifestly threatened his life. When all hope was abandoned, he contemplated his approaching end with entire calmness and resignation.

“Having arranged, with his usual perspicuity, all the details of his temporal affairs, he partook, for the last time, of the Holy Communion, with all his household, and set himself, in perfect self-possession, to make final preparation for the awful change at hand. On the morning of the 17th of June, 1845, he expired, in the 57th year of his age, without a struggle, in faith, and hope, and in charity with all men.”

On the day of his funeral, the windows in the streets of his united parishes were closed; and his memory was subsequently honoured by memorials, presented to his widow, in attestation of his worth.

Such was the personal and professional history of the *Rev. Richard Harris Barham*. We must now revert, for a moment, to the very popular “*Thomas Ingoldsby*,” of “*Legendary*” reputation. Of his tales and fictions in prose, little need be said. They have been long before the public, and have found their place in the general estimation. The present collection adds only one to the number, of no very eminent interest or merit, viz. “*Jerry Jarvis’s Wig*.” The rest of the pieces are in verse, and are all very strongly marked by the peculiarities of the writer. The general character of those wild effusions we are willing to accept from his biographer.

“As respects the poems, remarkable as they have been pronounced for the wit and humour which they display, their distinguishing attraction lies in the almost unparalleled flow and facility of the versification. Popular phrases, sentences the most prosaic, even the cramped technicalities of legal diction, and snatches from well nigh every language are wrought in with an apparent absence of all art and effort that surprises, pleases, and convulses the reader at every turn; the author triumphs with a master’s hand over every variety of stanza, however complicated or exacting; not a word seems out of place, not an expression forced; syllables the most intractable find the only partners fitted for them throughout the range of language, and couple together as naturally as those kindred spirits which poets tell us were created pairs, and dispersed in space to seek out their particular mates. A harmony pervades the whole, a perfect modulation of numbers never, perhaps, surpassed, and rarely equalled in compositions of this class. This was the *forte* of *Thomas Ingoldsby*; a harsh line or untrue rhyme grated like the *Shandæan* hinge upon his ear; no inviting point or alluring pun would induce him to entertain either for an instant; sacrifice or circumlocution

were the only alternatives. At the same time, no vehicle could be better adapted for the development of his peculiar powers, than that unshackled metre which admits of no laws save those of rhyme and melody, but which also, from the very want of definite regulations, presents no landmark to guide the poet, and demands a thorough knowledge of rhythm to prevent his becoming lost among a succession of confused and unconnected stanzas.

“Of the unflagging spirit of fun which animates these productions, there can be but one opinion; Mr. Barham was, unquestionably, an adept in the mysteries of mirth, happy in his use of anachronism, and all the means and appliances of burlesque; he was skilled, moreover, to relieve his humour, however broad, from any imputation of vulgarity, by a judicious admixture of pathos and antiquarian lore. There are, indeed, passages in his writings, the ‘Execution’ for example, and the battle-field in ‘The Black Mousquetaire,’ standing out in strong contrast from the ludicrous imagery which surrounds them, and affording evidence of powers of a very opposite and far higher order.”

So far, the sentence of our friendly critic will, probably, meet with pretty general acquiescence. What follows, will demand a little more consideration. The biographer observes that “Thomas Ingoldsby” has been charged with two grave offences;—coarseness, and want of reverence. The former of these charges, though by no means groundless, may be dismissed, as comparatively insignificant. With regard to the latter, his advocate contends that, if there be any appearance of levity, with reference to sacred subjects, it must be ascribed, not to intentional irreverence, but, purely to the writer’s anxiety to expose the superstitions and impostures of popery,—a service, which he, perhaps, regarded as rather meritorious, than otherwise, in these *Romanising* days.

“The question,” we are told, “comes to this,—Has the satirist exceeded his prescribed limits? We think not; he has invented nothing, mis-represented nothing: he has simply drawn his subject fairly out, and developed its inevitable tendencies. He has stripped off the gold and the silver, the purple and fine linen, and all the pomp and circumstance of undue solemnity, and bared the dull clumsy idol beneath. In point of fact, so far from exaggerating, he has been compelled to soften or suppress many of the details in these monkish histories; and it was against the advancement of a superstition, which countenances all this trash and absurdity, that he was rightfully, though mirthfully, contending. If there be apparent trifling with solemn subjects, the fault lies with those who seek to engraft such profane folly upon religion; not with him who detects and exposes it.”

“Has the satirist exceeded his prescribed limits?” Now this is a very ambiguous question. What prescribed limits may the critic have had in view? When a man takes upon himself the

solemn office of exposing fraud and superstition, what limits can there be to the intensity of his exertions, but those imposed by integrity and truth? If there be limits at all, they must be merely limits which control his discretion, and chastise his taste, and retain him within the influences, not only of conventional decorum, but of reverential sobriety. And these limits, in our judgment, have been often most egregiously transgressed by "Thomas Ingoldsby." It is to little purpose to tell us, as his biographer has told us, that he felt it his vocation to show up

"The latent imposture, contradiction, and impiety, abounding in the Roman Catholic doctrines: viz. auricular confession, penance, pardons, purgatory, celebration of masses, and the worshipping of saints and images; and other *fond things*, against which particular *Legends* are directed."

Not to mention

"Those mediæval miracles and ceremonial vanities upon which all are brought to bear in common."

Still more worthless is the attempted palliation, that

"The fault lies with those who seek to engraft profane folly on religion; not with him who detects and exposes it."

For, both these excuses rest on the assumption that the detection and the exposure must be comparatively ineffective, if bereft of the resources of broad ridicule and mockery. The writer might, surely, have learned a much higher and better wisdom than this, from one of the greatest of all masters of wisdom; he might have remembered the words of Lord Bacon:—

"To leave all reverent and religious compassion towards evils, or indignation towards faults, and to turn religion into a comedy or satire; to search and rip up wounds with a laughing countenance; to intermix Scripture and scurrility sometimes in one sentence; is a thing far from the devout reverence of a Christian, and scant becoming the honest regard of a sober man. *Non est major confusio, quam serii et joci*: there is no greater confusion than the confounding of jest and earnest. The majesty of religion, and the contempt and deformity of things ridiculous, are things as distant as things may be. Two principal causes have I ever known of Atheism; curious controversies, and profane scoffing. Now that these two are joined in one, no doubt that sect will make no small progression<sup>1</sup>."

These words, it is true, were directed against the profane scurrilities of the early puritanical pamphleteers; against that "im-

<sup>1</sup> Bacon, Of Church Controversies.

modest and deformed manner of writing, whereby matter of religion is handled in the style of the stage." But the same words have a manifest and general application to the introduction of grotesque and ludicrous images into the treatment of any subject whatever, directly or remotely connected with the spiritual interests of man. No matter for what purpose the artifice be resorted to; by little and little it will "deface the reverence" of the most awful and hallowed things. The professed intention of the caricaturist may be to advance the dignity of truth, by holding up deceit and perversion to public derision and contempt. But the experiment is sure to be a pernicious failure. The cheats, and abuses, and doting fooleries of priestcraft and superstition, may easily enough be made immensely ridiculous and funny; but religion itself will inevitably suffer more or less of degradation by the process. The Monkish Legend, for instance, may be turned into a broad farce; but the probable effect will be, that the history of all truly saint-like and self-denying men will; thenceforward, be quite indiscriminately entertained with an incredulous or sarcastic smile. Alas! such is the miserable weakness of our nature, that it is apt to shrink from the grand, but almost oppressive realities of its own eternal destiny, and to welcome any offer of temporary relief from the severe majesty of Divine truth. And, accordingly, we may depend upon it, that the powers of evil, who are constantly on the watch for our destruction, rejoice in few things so much as in a desperate assault upon their own works with the weapons of banter and buffoonery. It is no exaggeration to say, that a sly, laughable, and merry tale, at the expense of cunning friars, and licentious monks, and frail vestals of the cloister, may do a vast deal of irreparable mischief. It may chance to overthrow a wavering faith, and may help to deepen the lethargy of a sluggish conscience.

But of all the wild audacities of the spirit of mockery, none is so astounding as that which makes sport of the infernal and malignant agency, perpetually at work for the ruin of the human race. Of this it may truly be said, that it is

"Guilt's blunder, and the loudest laugh of hell!"

And we are grieved that the Rev. R. H. Barham should have suffered his native propensity for the ludicrous to betray him into so unseemly and perilous an indiscretion. And yet the habit of profane trifling is, unfortunately, so common and so inveterate, that our rebuke will, perhaps, be ascribed to nothing better than mere termagant moral prudery, or fanatical moroseness. We, accordingly, are fain to fortify our own judgment with that of a

writer of no ordinary powers, and of pre-eminent acuteness, who, in 1831, published a small volume of *Essays*, under the fictitious name of *Erwin*. One of these *Essays* is entitled "*Satan*;" and it commences with these words:—

"Among the doctrines of Scripture there seems to be none more clear, and, one might have supposed, more undeniable, than that there is a being of great power and malignity, who is the enemy of man; and who has under his command other beings of a similar disposition. . . . How great this power may be, in what mode, or by what means it is exercised, it is not my purpose to inquire; in the present day it is needful to call the attention of men (even Christians) to the fact, that this power is declared to exist, and is described in terms of terrific interest in the Scriptures."

Having next remarked on the shallow philosophy which affects to sneer at the belief of diabolical agency, the writer proceeds thus:—

"In fact, the great enemy of man has within these few years become the great subject of his mirth, and source of his amusement. This is known to every one who has observed the print-shops and play-bills of the metropolis. In one of the latter I lately saw a piece advertised for representation, in which the bulk of the dramatic personæ were the devil and his angels. The object of the piece seemed to be to represent Satan in various ludicrous situations; and two scenes were (as the bill announced in large letters) 'THE DEVIL DRUNK,' and 'THE DEVIL DAMNED.' Shortly before this (that is, if I recollect right, at the time when the Panorama of Pandemonium was exhibiting in Leicester-square, and people were running to see the horrors of hell charmed into a raree-show by the united powers of poetry and painting) a piece was performing at one of the largest of the London theatres, in which the jest lay in persuading a man that he was dead, and in hell. To show the reader that the opinion which I have expressed is not peculiar to one whom he may suppose to be a secluded enthusiast, ignorant of the impious ribaldry of past ages, but that the facts on which it is grounded are considered as characteristic of the present day, by those who are not inclined to treat the matter quite as seriously as I should do, I will here make an extract, verbatim, and

<sup>2</sup> "In correcting the proof-sheet of this essay, I cannot help noticing what I saw in the newspaper, only the day before yesterday, as it seems to show that the same taste in popular amusement still exists. The *St. James's Chronicle* for Oct. 4, 1831, after mentioning some performance at the Olympic Theatre, adds, 'This was followed by a new piece, or rather translation, appropriately entitled, "Talk of the Devil." It is from the French drama, 'Dominique, ou le possédé;' another version of which was produced at the Coburg a few nights since. In noticing this latter we gave a sketch of the plot, which it is therefore needless to repeat.' Not having seen this sketch, I cannot tell what the plot may be. I notice it on account of the subject, and because it seems to have produced uncommon merriment."

with its own capitals and italics, from the *Weekly Dispatch* of October 24, 1830. I do not know that I ever saw any thing of this paper, except the fragment which has accidentally fallen into my hands, and which contains the following article, which, while it purports to be a review, is, I presume, an advertisement of a new publication :—

“**OLD BOOTY ; OR, THE DEVIL AND THE BAKER.**—*Kidd, Old Bond-street.*—The Devil is in the booksellers at present—their shop-windows are filled with Devil's Walks, Devil's Visits, and Devil's Doings of all sorts. Verily, Old Nick is in high favour—his Satanic Majesty must wonder what the Devil is come to this most Christian community. Montgomery, in prosing poetry, painted him as a long-winded Methodist parson.—O. Smith has walked the boards of most of our metropolitan-theatres, the living personification of the Devil in all colours ; and the exquisite pencil of Cruikshank has been employed in embodying the conceptions of a score of puny rhymesters who have thought proper to perpetrate a long list of *infernal* cheap poems relative to the “sayings and doings” of that *most interesting* personage, who, as Scripture tells us, “goeth about like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour!” There is an old proverb which tells us that “Death and the Devil are not to be trifled with.” We suppose, however, that this piece of ancestral wisdom has lost its force in these March-of-Intellect days. Modern authors do trifle with the Devil most unblushingly. In good truth we must say there has been something too much of this : surely Satan has been sufficiently persecuted by the “small poets” of this era ; we beg of them to have pity upon him for their own sakes ; have they no fear of his future vengeance, that they thus, day by day, persist in publishing nonsense in his name? The little poem now under consideration is from the pen of a dramatic writer, who, for reasons best known to himself, has thought proper to *assume* the appellation of W. T. Moncrieff, Esq., what his real name is we do not happen to recollect. The anecdote on which the poem is founded is well known to the lovers of the marvellous, and was hardly worth repeating. The rhymes in which it is here conveyed are worthy of the subject, and the engravings, from designs by Cruikshank, are in strict keeping with the *horrible* taste of the present day. With this praise, such as it is, Old Booty and his devilry may rest content.’”

We have, here, to observe that the above article, or advertisement,—odiously profane and irreverent as it is,—contains certain cautions, which, come from what quarter they may, are not at all unworthy of attention from those persons, who, at any time, may be tempted to indulge in licentious fancies, touching very awful matters.

The writer (Ervin) then proceeds to say,—“On this point, I will only, at present, add my conviction, that the great and crowning device of Satan will be, (may I not say has been?) to persuade mankind of his non-existence.” And this reminds us, very forcibly, of a saying once addressed by old John Newton, to



his congregation at St. Mary Woolnoth;—"I am sadly afraid that some persons, now present, may be strongly disposed to doubt the personal existence of the devil. He wo'n't take it amiss!"

Now, we would, very respectfully, recommend one simple question to the consideration of Mr. Barham's most devoted admirers and friends; namely, whether his imagination has not gone into much "the same excess of riot," as that which is so justly complained of, and stigmatized, by Eruvin?—whether he has not written certain things which, although "not taken amiss" by the dark and dreadful personage to whom they relate, must certainly be "taken very much amiss" by all who are anxious for deliverance from the craft, and subtlety, and malice, of that same personage? Not that we would, on any account whatever, insinuate that Mr. Barham, or any clergyman of the Church of England, could entertain serious doubts as to the personal existence of the great adversary of God and man! On the contrary, we will imagine (and there is nothing at all improbable in the supposition) that a serious and sober-minded parishioner of Mr. Barham's had heard him preaching, earnestly and impressively, on a Sunday, from the pulpit of St. Mary Magdalene, or St. Gregory, upon the very text above adverted to,—*Be sober, be vigilant; because your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour: whom resist, stedfast in the faith.* (1 Pet. v. 8, 9.) We will not dwell upon all the tremendous topics with which the preacher would naturally illustrate the subject of his discourse: they will rush, at once, into the memory of every one, who is but tolerably conversant with the Scriptures. But we will, next, imagine that the same parishioner, on the very day after hearing the sermon, should chance to open the *Tales and Legends* of "Thomas Ingoldsby," and to light, for instance, on "The Brothers of Birchington." And let us further suppose, that, after perusing that very edifying "Legend," he were to be told, for the first time, that its author, "Thomas Ingoldsby," was, in fact, no other than his own respected pastor, the Rev. Richard Harris Barham, the self-same person who, on the preceding day, had faithfully set before him the terrors and dangers of the warfare against our "ghostly enemy." What would be the astonishment and consternation of the worthy man, at this discovery! For, what is the scene which the narrative in question exhibits to us? Why, no other than St. Thomas à Becket fiercely calling the devil to account, for carrying off a wrong man by mistake! It is with inexpressible sorrow and reluctance that we produce a syllable of this deplorable trash: but a specimen or two may be necessary, in order that the public may judge whether, or not, our censures are too grave.

“ When a crafty old hound  
 Claps his nose of the ground,  
 Then, throws it up boldly, and bays out ‘ I’ve found ;’  
 And the pack catch the note, I’d as soon think to check it,  
 As dream of bamboozling St. Thomas à Becket.  
 Once on the scent,  
 To business he went ;  
 ‘ You scoundrel, come here, Sir’—(’twas *Nick* that he meant) ;—  
 ‘ Bring your books here, this instant,—bestir yourself,—do,  
 I’ve no time to waste on such fellows as you.’  
 Hanging his ears  
 Yet dissembling his fears,  
 Ledger in hand, straight ‘ Auld Hornie’ appears.  
 With that sort of half-sneaking, half-impudent look,  
 Bankrupts sport, when cross-questioned by Creswell or Cooke.”

Again,—

“ I’m vexed beyond bounds  
 You should have such good grounds  
 For complaint ; I would rather have given five pounds ;  
 And, any apology, Sir, you may choose,  
 I’ll make, with much pleasure, and put in the News.  
 An apology !—pooh !  
 Much good that will do !  
 An ‘ apology,’ quoth-a ; and, that too from you !  
 Before any proposal is made of the sort,  
 Bring back your stol’n goods, thief !—produce them in court !”

There is a good deal more, *ejusdem farraginis* ! But we cannot prevail upon ourselves to transcribe another line. And, these are the amenities of literature, with which the pastor of a parish recreates his spirits, during the intervals of leisure from the work of his sacred office ! These are,—not merely brief and sportive sallies, such as will, alas ! sometimes escape the lips even of wiser and sadder men, in their more unguarded moments ;—they are compositions of some length, deliberately penned by a clergyman, with a view to circulation, and to popularity !

It may, perhaps, be alleged that similar eruptions of a light, and even a licentious humour, are by no means without precedent ; and that “ Thomas Ingoldsby ” is not the first ecclesiastic who ever took liberties with subjects of deep and solemn importance. And this, unhappily, it would be vain to deny. The mediæval times, it is true, had their Walter de Mapes. A later age rejoiced in the exquisite buffooneries, and, we must add, in the foul ribaldries, of Doctor Francis Rabelais. The last century produced its Lawrence Sterne,—whom, at times, we are, all of us, tempted to pardon, for the sake of his inimitable creations of “ Uncle Toby,” and “ Corporal Trim.” And, doubtless, the list

might easily be lengthened. But, to this consideration there is one very short answer:—"Nay,—if the devil hath given the proofs for sin"—(or precedents for sin)—"thou wilt prove this!" If example is to be admitted, in justification of delinquency of any kind, the cause of righteousness and holiness will be desperate indeed!

We cannot forbear to take this opportunity of expressing a wish that no such phenomenon as a novel-writing parson had ever been known in literary history. We cannot but regard that species of composition as lying quite out of the region of clerical duty or propriety. The general tendency of the fiction may chance to be unexceptionable enough. But, in order to be keenly entertaining, it must savour, more or less rankly, of the things of this world. The clergy are in full possession of much higher and holier ground; and the cultivation of this, their own *peculium*, will furnish ample scope for all their powers of intellect and imagination. The Tales of Sir Walter Scott have often been extolled at least for their comparative abstinence from exhibitions injurious to morality or religion. And yet, we must confess, that we should scarcely have been well pleased if the Great Unknown had turned out, after all, to be an ecclesiastic! Splendid as those miracles of creative genius may be, we should have regretted to behold their *strange fires* mingling with the hallowed flame of the altar. It should always be borne in mind, that a clergyman has one vocation, and one only. Whereas, the most virtuous and conscientious writer of fictions has, most usually, two vocations: one of which is, to instruct and to improve mankind; the other, to provide mirthful or exciting recreation, for a very capricious, motley, and miscellaneous sort of public; and, moreover, that, of these two vocations, the latter is exceedingly apt to supplant and put aside the former. Which of the two predominates in the productions we have been considering, has, we trust, been made sufficiently manifest by our preceding exposition.

It is, we presume, quite needless for us to declare that our remarks have been dictated by no spirit of ill-will, or of hostility towards the memory of Mr. Barham. He appears to have been a very cordial, frank, and benevolent kind of man. His biographer assures us, that his family were devotedly attached to him, and that he never lost a friend. Still, we must take his writings even as we find them. And, those writings have impressed us with deep regret, that, among the friends whom he retained to the last, no one should have been found faithful enough to twitch his ear, and to hold his hand, and to animate him with a higher and worthier ambition; and to whisper to him of a better inspiration than even that which presides at the meetings of the "Garrick Club!"

- ART. IV.—1. *The Psalms in Hebrew, with a Critical, Exegetical, and Philological Commentary by the Rev. GEORGE PHILLIPS, B.D., Author of "The Elements of Syriac Grammar," Fellow and Tutor of Queens' College, Cambridge, and Rector of Sandon, Essex.* 2 Vols. Parker, London, 1846.
2. *A Translation of the Book of Psalms from the Original Hebrew, with Explanatory Notes, by WILLIAM FRENCH, D.D., Master of Jesus College, Cambridge, and Canon of Ely, and the Rev. GEORGE SKINNER, late Fellow and Tutor of Jesus College.* Parker, London. New Edition, 1842.

It has been well remarked of the Book of Psalms by the author of the first of these works, that

"The Sublime Poetry which characterises these sacred songs, the pious and noble sentiments they contain, the diversity of subjects on which they treat, and the copiousness of instruction to be derived on all the relations existing between God and man, must ever secure for them, from every believer in the Bible, the greatest attention and most profound respect.

"Whatever be the circumstances of life in which a person may be placed, whether he is oppressed by bodily affliction, loss of estate, hostility of the world, or domestic troubles; or whether, on the contrary, he has been mercifully preserved from the evils of life, and has enjoyed in an eminent degree the bounties of Providence, he is sure to find in the Psalms his particular case represented, and from them he may gather expressions of prayer or praise, according to the circumstances of his condition, which he may profitably use in his devotional exercises."

Hence it has arisen that no portion of the Old Testament has been so many times translated<sup>1</sup>, and has so often exercised the

<sup>1</sup> From the year 1744 to 1830 no less than twelve new translations of the Psalms have been published in England, besides numerous metrical versions not translated immediately from the Hebrew, viz. :—

Mudge, 4to. 1744.  
 Edwards, 8vo. 1755.  
 Fenwicke, 8vo. 1759.  
 Green, 8vo. 1762.  
 Merrick, 4to. 1768. (verse.)

Geddes, 8vo. 1807.  
 Goode, 8vo. 1811.  
 Horsley, 8vo. 1815.  
 Fry, 8vo. 1819.  
 French and Skinner, 8vo. 1830.

skill of commentators, either to explain those difficulties which have perplexed the most eminent critics, or to apply to the improvement of the religious affections those lessons of wisdom and fervent piety with which the Psalms abound.

Of the English translations of the Book of Psalms, since the publication of the present authorized Version in the reign of James the First, few are entitled to much commendation. After the days of Walton, and Castell, and Poccoke, a long period intervened, during which very little attention was paid, in this country, to the cultivation of the Hebrew language; and the practice of reading without the vowel-points, introduced by Mascliff, and adopted by Parkhurst and the Hutchinsonian theorists, had too many followers. Little was known of the real state of the Hebrew text, and persons possessing but a slender knowledge of the anomalies and peculiarities of the Hebrew language, —ignorant, in many cases, of the cognate languages, and led away by a vivid imagination,—indulged in extorting a plausible sense from difficult passages by conjectural emendations without the slightest legitimate authority. We have remarked that little was known of the real state of the Hebrew text. While some maintained the absolute integrity of the Masoretic copies, Morinus and his followers held that great and serious changes had taken place from the negligence of transcribers; and nothing could determine this important subject of debate, but an actual and extended collation of Hebrew MSS. and Editions<sup>2</sup>. The eloquent Prælections of Bishop Lowth on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews, delivered in the University of Oxford, called the attention of the public to the long-neglected language in which the larger portion of the books of the Old Testament were written. His acute and just remarks on the character and construction of Hebrew Poetry, his lucid exposition of many of the poetical books, and his elegant and spirited translations, displayed beauties in the Sacred language of the Bible, which, if they had not altogether escaped attention, were at least very inadequately appreciated; and led, with the cordial approbation and support of the eminent and excellent prelate, who is justly described by Bishop Lowth as “*vir summæ eruditionis summo loco,*” to that great work, the labour of thirty years, the collation of all the MSS. and Editions of the Hebrew Bible to which access could be had in every part of the world. It was evident that this collation would at once settle the point at issue between the Buxtorfs on the one side, and Morinus and Cappellus on the other.

<sup>2</sup> See the Essay on the Various Readings of the Hebrew Bible, in Rogers's Book of Psalms in Hebrew, p. 53.

Dr. Kennicott, in his *Observations on the First Book of Samuel*, thus states, in his address to Bp. Lowth, the origin of his great work: "In defiance of the strong prejudice which, about seventeen years since, I myself had, in common with most other men in Europe, in favour of the integrity of our Hebrew text, a persuasion of its containing many and great mistakes arose from the attentive examination of one chapter, which had been kindly recommended to me by you. In consequence of which examination I published such remarks upon that printed chapter, and made such inquiries after Hebrew MSS., as laid the foundation of the work in which I have now the honour to be engaged."

Dr. Kennicott divides the MSS. and Editions which he collated into six classes:

1. The Bodleian Manuscripts . . . . .	88
2. Those in other parts of the United Kingdom and America . . . . .	55
3. Manuscripts in various parts of Europe . . .	99
4. { Manuscripts . . . . .	7
{ Samaritan Pentateuch . . . . .	1
{ Editions . . . . .	37
5. Manuscripts in different parts of Europe col- lated only in select places . . . . .	367
6. Manuscripts . . . . .	16
Editions . . . . .	13

It will be remarked that the MSS. in Class 5 were only partially examined, though many of them were afterwards more fully collated by De Rossi; and that Class 6 contains Talmuds, Megilloth, and other Jewish works, marginal readings, &c., besides copies of the Scriptures.

Soon after the publication of Dr. Kennicott's collation, another critic arose in Italy, whose extended research and indefatigable diligence made a very important addition to what had been previously accomplished. "Your Kennicott," said the venerable de Rossi, during an interview which we had with him at Parma, "Your Kennicott with the aid of all the crowned heads of Europe executed his work. I collected more manuscripts in my own library than he ever collated\*."

\* Amongst the subscribers towards Dr. Kennicott's collation were the kings of England, France, Spain, Denmark, Sardinia, Sweden, and the Empress of Russia.

De Rossi thus enumerates the MSS. and Editions which he had collated :

MSS. of Kennicott's collation . . . . .	577
MSS. in his own library . . . . .	691
MSS. in other places . . . . .	134
Samaritan MSS. . . . .	16
Editions in his own library . . . . .	333
Ditto, in other places . . . . .	42
Total MSS. . . . .	1418
Editions . . . . .	375
	<hr/>
	1793

But we must bear in mind that Dr. Kennicott notices every variation of reading, however unimportant it may appear; De Rossi only notices those which are entitled to some consideration, and he also frequently refers to the Ancient Versions, which Kennicott does not. Many readings, therefore, of De Rossi's manuscripts are unnoticed, and a large proportion of those collated by Burns, the coadjutor of Dr. Kennicott, were only examined in select passages. The collation, therefore, of Hebrew Manuscripts has not been carried to the fullest extent; and it is possible, not perhaps very probable, that a more extended examination might confirm readings supported by the Ancient Versions, and by strong internal evidence, but hitherto unsupported by MSS. It appeared necessary to go into these details, because both the present state of the Hebrew text, and the fidelity of our translations, are closely connected with the labours of Kennicott and De Rossi. If the readings of the ancient MSS. and Editions have not led to that result which was anticipated by many, if the great majority have no effect whatever on the sense, and, even of those which *do* affect the sense, not many appear preferable to the text of our common Hebrew Bible, one very beneficial effect at least has arisen; the *general* correctness of the text of Vander Hooght, which has been adopted by Kennicott and De Rossi as the basis of their works, has received a new and very valuable support; and the wildness of conjectural criticism, which before these collations had too frequently luxuriated at random, has been silenced for ever. The immaculate state of the Hebrew text, which was maintained by the one party, has been clearly disproved; and, on the other hand, the bold conjectures of Houbigant, the more measured emendations proposed by Cappellus, and those suggested by Lowth and Ken-

nicott, have received but very little support from the MSS. hitherto collated. "Jamjam docti litterarum sacrarum interpretes agnoscere incipiunt, ab utraque parte esse peccatum, et ab iis qui sinceritatem codd. Heb. nimis magnis laudibus attollebant, et ab illis qui nimium deprimebant : caute esse versandum in crisi, et non statim de corruptione esse conquerendum, priusquam idiotismorum Hebraicorum rationes probe cognoverimus<sup>4</sup>."

Difficulties must inevitably arise in the right understanding of a language which has not been vernacular since the time of the Babylonish captivity, of a construction quite different from European languages, and of which nothing remains to us but what is comprised in a single volume. Conjectural criticism has seldom led to any satisfactory result in the interpretation of the Hebrew Bible ; and it is far better frankly to confess our ignorance, than to attempt to extort from a passage a sense which no sound principle of criticism would give to it. None but a sciolist will ever hereafter, except to a very limited extent, apply conjectural criticism to the Hebrew Scriptures. "Maxima pars emendationum criticarum," says Baver, "quas viri docti attulerunt aut finxerunt, a criticis modestioribus et linguæ Hebraicæ analogiæ peritioribus jam jure reprobat, et ut non necessaria et vana repudiatur<sup>5</sup>."

"A mere conjecture," says Dr. Campbell, "may be mentioned in a note ; but if, without the authority of copies, translations, or ancient ecclesiastical writers, it may be admitted into the text, there is an end of all reliance on the Scriptures, as the dictates of the Divine Spirit. MSS., ancient translations, the readings of the most early commentators, are, like the witnesses in a judicial process, direct evidence in this matter ; the reasonings of conjectures are but like the speeches of the pleaders. To receive, on the credit of a sagacious conjecture, a reading not absolutely necessary to the construction, and quite unsupported by positive evidence, appears not less incongruous than it would be, in a trial, to return a verdict founded on the pleading of a plausible speaker, not only without proof, but in direct opposition to it. For let it be observed, that the copies, ancient versions, and quotations, which are conformable to the common reading, are positive evidence in its favour, and therefore against the conjecture ; and even if the readings of the passage be various, there is, though less, still some weight in their evidence against a reading merely conjectural, and consequently destitute of external support, and different from them all<sup>6</sup>."

<sup>4</sup> Baveri Critica Sacra.

<sup>5</sup> Baver de Integritate et Corruptione Textus.

<sup>6</sup> Preliminary Dissertation to Campbell on the Gospels, p. 466, 467.



The statement of Dr. Kennicott, that a single MS. of the Pentateuch, though 758 verses are missing, contains more than 200 various readings, may at first view create some doubt as to the accuracy of the received text; but the large majority of these readings do not, in the slightest degree, affect the sense, and of those comparatively few which do so, a very small number are entitled to preference: so that we have great reason to be thankful, that without in any degree affecting the integrity of the Holy Scriptures, the collated MSS. sometimes restore passages to grammatical analogy, sometimes enable us to recover the true reading, sometimes afford new light, where the meaning was difficult to discover.

But it will be more satisfactory to our readers not to deal in assertions only, but to proceed to proofs. We will therefore endeavour to show, by classifying the various readings of passages taken from different parts of the Hebrew Scriptures, how small a proportion those readings which influence the sense bear to those which do not. We will arrange the various readings of Psalms xvi. xix. xxii. xlii. and cxxxix., of chap. iii. of Genesis, and of chap. liii. of Isaiah under different heads; and from this extended examination we shall be able to collect something approaching to an average result.

Psalms	xvi.	xix.	xxii. <sup>7</sup>	xlii. <sup>7</sup>	cxxxix.	Gen. iii.	Isa. liii.
1. Insertion or omission of the Matres Lectionis . . . . .	30	29	192	40	57	51	55
2. Omissions and other errors in the collated MSS. . . . .	44	35	95	81	97	78	61
3. Other readings not affecting the sense . . .	15	9	14	22	45	15	12
4. Readings affecting the sense . . . . .	6	4	10	8	6	6	2
	95	77	311	151	205	160	130

If we sum up all the various readings, they amount to 1119: of which 1077 make no change in the sense, and 42 only make some change, though often with very little evidence in its favour, making 4 per cent. only on the whole. Having thus established the general integrity and the value of the Textus Receptus, we pass on to our more immediate subject.

The Hebrew Psalter has very rarely appeared in England as a separate work. Bishop Hare published an edition of it in 1736, arranged in metrical couplets, with an introduction and notes; but in order to maintain his fanciful theory of Hebrew poetry, he took

<sup>7</sup> The collation of these two Psalms is taken from "The Book of Psalms in Hebrew."

great liberties with the text, frequently changing and adding letters and words, sometimes with much ingenuity, but often without any authority whatever. In 1833, the book of Psalms in Hebrew, metrically arranged, was published by the Rev. J. Rogers, Canon of Exeter, with two dissertations prefixed, one on the character and construction of Hebrew poetry, the other on the various readings of the Hebrew Bible. In this edition the arrangement of the Psalms is in conformity with Bishop Lowth's principles, the text of Vander Hooght is adopted, with some select various readings placed in the margin; and some short critical notes are appended. Mr. Phillips's Hebrew Psalter, printed at the Cambridge University press, forms two large octavo volumes, and is more adapted to the use of the learner than either of those which preceded. The introduction contains brief and judicious remarks on the titles of the Psalms, an exposition of each Psalm, and copious critical notes, selected from some of the best Commentators. The author traces most of the words to their respective roots, on the plan of Bythner, and notices the anomalies and principal Hebrew idioms. He refers to the ancient Jewish as well as the more recent critics, and the cognate languages. Writing as the Tutor of a College, he seems to have had the encouragement of young Hebræans chiefly in view; and in passages of acknowledged, we had almost said of insuperable, difficulty, he has laid before his readers the opinions of the best critics.

The two last Editors of the Hebrew Psalter happily undertook their respective works after the collations of Kennicott and De Rossi had been long before the public. They must therefore have been aware that the conjectures of preceding commentators on the Bible are very rarely supported by the authority of MSS. They must have known that, notwithstanding the extensive collations of Kennicott and De Rossi, the *Textus Receptus* in the vast majority of its readings is fully supported; they have therefore shown a disposition rather to acquiesce in their ignorance of the sense of a difficult passage, than to produce a plausible meaning by the aid of conjectural Emendation. We will now enable our readers to form some estimate of the learning and judgment of Mr. Phillips, by a few extracts from his notes, partly to show what assistance he gives to the Tyro in Hebrew Literature, and partly to exhibit his treatment of passages of acknowledged difficulty.

“Ps. iv. 5. רגזו ואל תחטאו *stand in awe, and sin not.* רגזו This form occurs only in this place. רגז is *to shake, to tremble*, cognate with חרר. The word denotes *agitation of mind, emotion producing anger.* Prov. xxix. 9. Ezek. xvi. 43. Compare Eph. iv. 26. Hence it seems to

signify to fear, to stand in awe, as our translators have rendered it. **אָמַר** meditate, commune, muse בִּלְבָבְכֶם. This sense of **אָמַר** occurs in Gen. xvii. 17. Ps. x. 6—11. ‘Cogitare,’ says Venema, ‘super lecto, videtur proverbialis locutio de eo, qui seria meditatione rem expendit, et quid agendum sit deliberat ac decernit; vid. 2 Reg. vi. 12; Mich. ii. 1; Cui concinit proverbium, in nocte consilium, vel et occulte ac tranquille adfectui indulget.’”

“Ps. xvi. 10. **נִפְשִׁי** seems to be here, as it is in other places, equivalent to the personal pronoun, **אֲרוּחִי** me. For *Thou wilt not leave me in the Grave, or Hades, or place of the dead.* **לְשֵׁאוֹל** in the grave. Grotius remarks that **שֵׁאוֹל** as well as its corresponding term in Greek, when spoken of the body, signifies the grave; when of the soul, it refers to that state in which it is without the body.”

“Ps. xix. 11. **חֲנֻמִּים** which are desirable. The **ח** is rel., and **נְחָמִים** is Niph. part. plu. from **חָמַר** he desired. **וְנָמוּ** and then fine gold. **נָמוּ** is from the verb **נָמוּ** to purify, Arab. **فَص** used only with respect to metals, and in the part. Hoph., as 1 Kings x. 18, **וְהָבָה טָהוֹר**—instead of which we have in 2 Chron. ix. 17, **וְהָבָה טָהוֹר** pure gold. **נָמוּ** therefore signifies the purest gold, gold which is not capable of further purification. The Targum translates it **אֹבְרִיּוֹן** *Obryzum, fine gold, or the gold of Ophir.* In Ps. xxi. 4, it has rendered the word by **טָהוֹר**—purified gold. The LXX. have translated it **λίθον τιμιόν**, precious stone, and Kimchi observes that the word is so rendered by some of the Jewish Interpreters. It is, however, more in accordance with its derivation to give it its former sense: **נִפְתָּח** the distilled liquor from the honeycomb. **נִפְתָּח** from **נָפַח** agitavit, and in Hiph. **חָנִּיף** stillavit. On this word Venema properly remarks, ‘*Vox נפת male vertitur favus a nonnullis; favus enim est vel frustum operis apiarum; vel cella sexangularis, cum נפת sit id, quod est in melle præstantissimum et eliquatissimum: adeoque rectius ab rad. נפת effervescere, ebullire apud Arab. suo fervore ac motu effluere derivatur, unde נפת ebullitio, id quod per se fuit et ebullit.*’”

It has been already remarked, that by far the greater number of the various readings have no effect whatever on the sense. There are cases, however, in which we may select from them a reading preferable to that of the received text. We will adduce two instances from the sixteenth Psalm, with the remarks of our author on both.

“Ps. xvi. 2. **אָמַרְתִּי** According to the LXX. Syr. Vulg. Eth. Ar. Hieron, and some MSS., the true reading appears to be **אֲמַרְתִּי**<sup>2</sup>, and this is adopted by most modern translators<sup>3</sup>.”

<sup>2</sup> Vol. I. p. 33.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. I. p. 97.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. I. p. 137.

<sup>2</sup> Ten of Kennicott's MSS. read **אָמַרְתִּי**, and five read so originally, and three of De Rossi's, four originally, and five editions. See De Rossi's *Varie Lectiones*, including the Appendix and Supplements.—Ed.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. I. p. 82.

Ps. cv. 10. “Thou wilt not give *thy Holy One*’ חֲסִידֶיךָ We have here a different reading, viz. the sing. חֲסִידֶיךָ, which, as well as the one in the text, has been warmly defended: the arguments on each side may be seen stated at length in Rosenmüller’s Scholia on this verse; the arguments, without doubt, preponderate greatly in favour of the singular number. For חֲסִידֶיךָ there exist MSS. far exceeding in number those which contain the plural<sup>4</sup>: it is supported by all the ancient versions, without exception, and further it is cited by St. Peter and St. Paul, Again, the noun in the text is pointed as if it should be sing.; and the Nazarites have stated that the second Yod is paragogic, יחִידָה. Again; we find that the nouns which precede, corresponding to this, are all in the sing., and that it is even cited in the Talmud in this number. For the plural there is no other evidence than that it occurs in some of the MSS. The subject of the Psalm requires that the sing. should be adopted; and this has been felt so strongly by those Christian interpreters who prefer the plural, that they have contended for it only as a *pluralis excellentiæ*, employed by way of elegance of poetry to express the majesty of Him to whom it refers. The Jews of modern times, being averse to the Christian application of the Psalm, have of course unanimously received the reading of the present Hebrew text; but it is clear that the sing. is the correct one, and it is indeed hard to say how the plural crept into any MS., seeing that the voice of antiquity is entirely in favour of the other<sup>5</sup>.”

Let us see how Mr. Phillips treats some passages which are either obscure or incorrectly translated in our common Bible, or whose construction is difficult. We will begin with a passage which is quite unintelligible in the Prayer-Book translation, and not much less so in that of the Bible.

Ps. lviii. 8. “Or ever your pots be made hot with thorns, so let indignation vex him even as a thing that is raw.”—Bible Translation, “Before your pots can feel the thorns, He shall take them away as with a whirlwind, both living, and in his wrath.”

We shall make short extracts from Mr. Phillips’s notes on this verse.

“בטרם יבינו סירותיכם אשך *Before your pots feel the thorn.* סִיר signifies both a pot and a thorn; but in the former case it has a fem. plu. and in the latter a masc. The LXX. have adopted the latter sense in this place, apparently not having been aware of the distinction which is made by the gender of the plu., but they have recognized the former with other senses in many instances. . . . בִּין is to understand, and, as applied to pots, to be sensitive, or rather, to feel the thorn, or fire pro-

<sup>4</sup> No less than 156 MSS. collated by Kennicott, and two à primâ manu, and 107, six à primâ manu, and 50 Editions collated by De Rossi.—Ed.

<sup>5</sup> Vol. I. p. 98.

duced by the thorn. We observe here, that a noun with a fem. plu. termination is the subject to a verb masc.; the noun itself is common as to gender; and we find another instance of סִירוֹת being connected with a masc. verb, in Zach. xiv. 20. אֶמְסֵר *thorn* is found, besides this place, only in Gen. i. 10, 11. and Judges ix. 14, 15. It is stated by Geier, on the authority of Flacius, that this Hebrew name for thorn still exists among some African tribes, who call the thorns *atadim*. כִּמְרֵחֵי כִמְרֵחֵרוֹן יִשְׁעֵרֵנוּ. We have here the words חַי and חֵרוֹן employed peculiarly; but with a little consideration their force in the passage may be perceived. With respect to חַי, its primary and most frequent sense is that of *living*, and, when referred to the thorn, denotes it to be green, *i. e.* not yet deprived of its juice by which its life is maintained. חֵרוֹן is from חָרַח *to burn, to inflame*; . . . hence, as applied to the thorn, it describes one which will burn, *i. e.*, a dry thorn, in opposition to one which is green. . . יִשְׁעֵרֵנוּ *it (the storm) will sweep it away, i. e.*, the thorn. According to these remarks the whole verse will be, 'Before your pots feel the thorn, whether green or dry, the tempest will sweep it away.'

"Oftentimes it happens to travellers in the desert, whilst they are engaged in preparing food for themselves, that a tempest suddenly arises and extinguishes the fire kindled for cooking, and disperses and destroys the whole apparatus employed. From this circumstance a figure is borrowed for representing the swiftness of the destruction which should come on those wicked men described in the Psalm \*."

French and Skinner translate the words thus:—

"Before your pots feel the fire,  
May a tempest scatter the thorns."

Ps. cx. 3. "This verse presents some difficulties, which have given rise to a multiplicity of interpretations. We will consider as briefly as possible its various portions in their proper order. עַמְךָ נִרְבּוֹת *Thy people shall be willing*, as our translators have rendered it. נִרְבּוֹת is literally *promptitudines, readinesses*, so that the term being plural and abstract may be regarded as highly emphatic, as if the Psalmist had said, *thy people shall be very willing*. . . בְּיוֹם חַיִּל The noun חַיִּל signifies *power*, but here it denotes a *battle, a military force*. So the Chald. has בְּיוֹם אֲנָחוּתָא קִרְבָּה *in the day that he shall wage war*. Kimchi. בְּיוֹם חַיִּל לְחַלְהֵם בָּהֶם *in the day when thou makest (or collectest) an army to fight against them*. Schindler, 'quando exercitum colliges.' חַיִּל is found in this sense in 2 Kings xviii. 17. Isa. xxxvi. 2. We come to the next words, בְּחֹרֵי קִדְשׁ which our translators have rendered in the *beauties of holiness*, by which is to be understood that the people dress themselves in beautiful garments, *i. e.* shall exhibit themselves in splendid military attire. . . The word חֹרֵר properly denotes an ornament, and is used with reference to dress; so in Prov. xxxi.

\* Vol. II. p. 20, 21.

22, *לבושה עוֹז וְהָרַר* *her dress is splendid and ornamental*; lit., are splendour and ornament. Hence *קִדְשׁ חַדְרֵי* may be translated, holy garments of an ornamental character . . . . for the war of which the Psalmist is speaking is, doubtless, a holy war, carried on against the world, the flesh, and the devil, by an army of priests, whose army is directed by our Lord Himself, whose office as High Priest is set forth in the next verse. . . . *מִרְחֹם מִשְׁחָר לֶךְ שֶׁל יְלִירֹחַךְ*. There is considerable difficulty in these words in consequence of their collocation, and of the general elliptical character of the expression. . . . Schnurrer regards the passage as elliptical, and thinks that if it were written in full it would stand as follows: *שֶׁל יְלִירֹחַךְ יִהְיֶה לְךָ מִשְׁל רְחֹם מִשְׁחָר* *the dew of thy youth shall be to thee greater than the dew of the womb of the morning*. In Ps. iv. 8, is an expression in which the ellipsis is supplied in a similar manner. See note to that verse<sup>7</sup>.

We do not copy the rest of this long note, not altogether approving of it; and in lieu of it will quote Bishop Lowth's Paraphrase, which is approved by Dathe and Berlin. *Præ rore quæ ex utero auroræ prodit, ros tibi erit prolis tuæ* (copiosior). De Rossi's translation is as follows, "Dal primo spuntar dell' Aurora pronta sarà a seguirti, e fresca, e vigorosa, e in gran copia, come la rugiada, la tua gioventù." "From the earliest dawn of the morning, thy youth shall be prompt to follow thee; and fresh, vigorous, and copious, as the dew."

We have now placed before our readers sufficient proofs that Mr. Phillips is quite competent to the task he has undertaken; and that his work is calculated to lead those who want a guide, easily and safely, to a familiar knowledge of the Hebrew Psalter. When there is so much to approve, we feel but little disposition to find fault. We must, however, express our surprise and regret, that, though he fully admits that the parallelism, so clearly stated and so ably illustrated by Bp. Lowth, prevails throughout the Book of Psalms,—though he holds that this parallelism is peculiar to poetry,—though he maintains its importance as frequently throwing a light on the sense of a passage,—he has nevertheless departed from the precedents set by Kennicott and Jahn, and has given the whole Hebrew Psalter without any attention to poetical arrangement. Perhaps he may have found some difficulty with regard to some of the Psalms, and could not sufficiently satisfy himself. Yet rather than lose the light resulting from arrangement in parallels, he might have implicitly followed either Kennicott or Jahn, as he has the text of Vander Hooght, without feeling himself responsible for the absolute correctness of either.

<sup>7</sup> Vol. II. p. 422—425. N. B. The vowel-points and accents have been omitted here and elsewhere, to save trouble.—ED.

Let us hope that, if a second edition be called for, he will either carry out the principle now so generally approved and followed, or that he will considerably lessen the expense of the work, by omitting the whole of the Hebrew text, making a corresponding change in the title; for every Hebrew student has his copy of the Hebrew Bible, and will derive no help whatever from the text of the Hebrew Psalter, unless it is arranged in poetical parallels, or has selected readings placed in the margin. De Rossi, Rosenmüller, and other eminent critics have published their notes without the text; and it is well known how greatly the printing the Hebrew text with the vowel-points and accents adds to the expense of a work. One word more, and we have done. We think many of the critical notes might be shortened with advantage. Whilst every light ought to be thrown on those interpretations which are the best supported, those which deserve to be rejected, may, for the most part, be dismissed in very few words; and it should be remembered that there are many diligent students who are compelled to confine their expenditure in books within narrow limits.

But these remarks are made with perfect good feeling towards our author. We thank him cordially for the aid and encouragement he has given to those who are just entering on the study of the Semitic languages, and for the learning and judgment he has manifested throughout the work; and we now bid him farewell, trusting that we shall soon meet him again in these paths of Sacred Criticism.

A new translation of the Book of Psalms is a very arduous work. Besides the difficulties and peculiarities of the Oriental languages, and the many words which are found only once in the Hebrew Bible, a good knowledge of the Grammar, the idioms and anomalies of the cognate languages, and the Ancient Versions, is required, and an acquaintance with the present state of the Hebrew text, and familiarity with the principal critical commentators, both English and Foreign. Nor is this all; the translator of the Psalms ought to have a taste for poetry, and the happy art of conveying to the reader as much of the beauty and spirit of the original, as the idioms of the two languages will admit. The latter has been, in many instances, accomplished, by a lady of talent and taste and considerable literary attainments, to as great, if not to a greater degree than by any single individual. We allude to Miss Elizabeth Smith's translation of the Book of Job, made under unfavourable circumstances, with little if any knowledge of the Masoretic points and accents, and with no access to our best lexicons and critical annotators.

The work certainly is by no means free from errors, but there

are passages which convey the sense, the force, the spirit of the original in a way which does her the highest honour.

The following passages are taken, without any particular care in the selection, preceded by the authorized Version.

- 2 "And Job spake and said,  
 3 Let the day perish wherein I was born, and the night in which it was said, there is a man-child conceived. 4 Let that day be darkness; let not God regard it from above, neither let the light shine upon it."—Authorized Version, ch. iii. 2—4.
- 2 "And Job spake and said,—  
 3 Perish the day in which I was born, and the night when it was said, A man is brought forth.  
 4 Let that day be darkness;  
 May God not regard it from above,  
 Nor cause a ray of light to shine on it."—Miss Smith.
- 12 "Now a thing was secretly brought to me,  
 And mine ear received a little thereof.  
 13 In thoughts from the visions of the night,  
 When deep sleep falleth on men,  
 14 Fear came upon me, and trembling,  
 Which made all my bones to shake.  
 15 Then a spirit passed before my face;  
 The hair of my flesh stood up:  
 16 It stood still, but I could not discern the form thereof: an image was before mine eyes, there was silence, and I heard a voice, saying."—Authorized Version, ch. iv. 12—16.
- 12 "And to me a word was spoken in secret,  
 Mine ear received a murmuring thereof;  
 13 In the ecstasy of visions of the night,  
 When deep sleep falleth upon men,  
 14 Palpitation came on me, and trembling,  
 And the multitude of my bones did shake;  
 15 And a spirit passed before my face,  
 (The pile of my flesh stood on end;)  
 16 It stood, but I could not distinguish its form,  
 A figure before mine eyes—  
 Silence,—then I heard a voice."—Miss Smith.
- 26 The sword of him that layeth at him cannot hold: the spear, the dart, nor the habergeon.  
 28 The arrow cannot make him flee;  
 Sling stones are turned with him into stubble.  
 29 Darts are counted as stubble: he laugheth at the shaking of a spear.  
 30 Sharp stones are under him:  
 He spreadeth sharp pointed things upon the mire."—Authorized Version, ch. xli. 26, 28—30.



- 26 "The sword that would reach him, standeth not,  
The missive spear nor the javelin.  
28 The sons of the bow cannot put him to flight,  
The stones of the sling are turned into stubble.  
29 As stubble he considers the club,  
And he laughs at the shaking of the spear.  
30 Under him are splinters like potsherds,  
He spreadeth fragments of rock for his bed on the mire."

MISS SMITH.

Dr. French and Mr. Skinner are well known to us already; their "Translation of the Book of Psalms" was first published in 1830; and we are likewise indebted to them for one of the best, if not the best, translation of the Book of Proverbs. We are therefore satisfied that they possess the learning, the skill, and the taste, necessary for the work they have undertaken; nor are they disposed to differ, without some reason, from the words of our authorized version, hallowed as it has come down to us by the reverence of ages. We propose rather to submit to our readers such passages as shall enable them to form an estimate of the fidelity and judgment with which our authors have executed their task, than to break the lance with them on particular passages. It is the part of the translator of the Book of Psalms to correct what is erroneous in the authorized version, to render clear what is obscure, to make such occasional transpositions, having regard to the idiom of the English language, as will accord more exactly with the sacred original, and such changes as will give poetical character and force to the expression; but whatever he can well retain of the authorized version, he is bound to retain, and too many of our translators have neglected this salutary rule.

We have quoted some passages from Mr. Phillips's Psalter, and we will commence by letting our readers see how the authors of the "Translation of the Book of Psalms" have rendered these passages. We have already given their version of Ps. lviii. 8, in which they agree with Mr. Phillips.

We proceed therefore to the 110th Psalm, which we place entire before our readers, with the notes of the authors.

- 1 "The saying of Jehovah unto my Lord,  
Sit thou at my right hand,  
Until I make thine enemies thy footstool.
- 2 Jehovah will send, out of Sion, the rod of thy might;  
Thou shalt rule amidst thine enemies.
- 3 Thy people shall freely offer themselves,  
At the gathering of thine armies, in holy attire;  
Thy youths shall come forward further,  
As the dew drops from the womb of the morning.

- 4 Jehovah hath sworn, and he will not repent :  
Thou art a Priest for ever,  
According to the order of Melchizedek.
- 5 Jehovah is at his right hand !  
He shall crush kings in the day of His wrath ;
- 6 He shall execute judgment upon the heathen,  
Surrounded by the bodies of the slain.  
He shall crush the heads  
Over far-extended lands.
- 7 He shall drink of the running streams,  
Therefore shall He lift up his head in the way."

This Psalm is prophetic (Matt. xxii. 41—46. Mark xii. 35—37. Luke xx. 41—44. Acts ii. 34, 35. Heb. i. 13. v. 6. vii. 16. xii. 2.) of the triumph to be achieved by the Messiah, and of the perpetual priesthood vested in Him by Jehovah. The tone and character of the Psalm bear, in several particulars, a strong resemblance to those of the 2nd Psalm.

1. *saying*] *i. e.* the solemn declaration.—*Sit, &c.*] This implies a participation of sovereign power.

2. *Jehovah, &c.*] *i. e.*, Jehovah will obtain the victory for you.

3. *freely offer themselves*] Heb. (shall be) *free gifts, i. e.* shall willingly come forward and engage in this warfare.

3. *Thy youths, &c.*] Heb. Thy youths for thee. *At the gathering of thine armies,*] Heb. *in the day of thy forces.*

*As*] *i. e.* as numerous as . . . "We will light upon him, as the dew falleth upon the ground." 2 Sam. xvii. 12.

*The dew drops*] The dew is poetically considered as the offspring of the morning.

4. *Priest*] "He shall be a priest upon his throne." Zech. vi. 13.

*The order, &c.*] This is distinguished from the order of Aaron's priesthood, by being perpetual.

5. *At thy right hand,*] *i. e.* at Thy side.

6. *Surrounded by*] Heb. *full of.—the heads*] *i. e.* the rulers.

7. *He,*] *i. e.*, the victorious King, the Messiah.—*Drink, &c.*] Be miraculously refreshed, as Moses and the children of Israel were in the desert. Exod. xvii. 6.—*Therefore, &c.*] When thus refreshed, the Messiah will be victorious over his enemies."

It will be satisfactory to the reader to remark, that in the translation and exposition of this difficult Psalm Dr. French and Mr. Skinner nearly agree with Mr. Phillips.

We would only remark that the words "*at the gathering of thine armies,*" ver. 3, are an unnecessary departure from the original. ביום אגחותא קרבה ביום חילך. *In die quo prælium commiseris*, Chald. ἐν ἡμέρα τῆς δυνάμεώς σου, Sept. Syr. has the words corresponding to the Hebrew. *In die virtutis tuæ*, Vulg. *In die exercitus tuæ*, Schindler, Lex. Pent. *Die potentie tuæ*,

Dathe. "*In die exercitus tui* colligendi et educendi adversus hostes," (but these latter words are a comment.) We should prefer translating the words *in the day of battle*, or *in the time of warfare*. We will content ourselves with one specimen more from the "Translation of the Book of Psalms," the 45th Psalm, which, if we mistake not, conveys, not merely the sense, but much of the spirit and splendour of this triumphant Psalm to the English reader.

## PSALM XLV.

- 1 "My heart is overflowing with a goodly theme,  
I will recite my song made in honour of the King.  
May my tongue be as the pen of a skilful scribe !
- 2 Thou art beautiful, beyond the sons of men ;  
Grace is diffused upon thy lips ;  
Therefore hath God blessed thee for ever.
- 3 Gird thy sword upon thy thigh, O mighty Warrior !  
Gird on thy splendour and thy majesty.
- 4 And in thy Majesty ride on and prosper  
In the cause of truth, meekness, and righteousness ;  
And let thy right hand teach thee dreadful deeds.
- 5 Thine arrows are sharp,  
They are in the hearts of the king's enemies !  
The nations fall beneath thee !
- 6 Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever ;  
The Sceptre of thy kingdom is a sceptre of rectitude.
- 7 Thou lovest righteousness, and hatest iniquity,  
Therefore hath God, thy God, anointed thee  
With the oil of gladness above thy fellow-kings.
- 8 Myrrh, aloes, and cassia, perfume all thy garments ;  
Brought from Armenian palaces of ivory, they gladden thee.
- 9 With thy precious treasures, come the daughters of kings ;  
At thy right hand standeth the queen consort,  
Arrayed in gold of Ophir.
- 10 Hearken, O daughter ! observe, and incline thine ear,  
Forget thine own people, and thy father's house ;
- 11 So shall the king be enamoured of thy beauty ;  
Because He is thy Lord, bow down before Him.
- 12 The daughter of Tyre cometh with presents ;  
The wealthiest of her nation propitiate thy favour.
- 13 The king's daughter, all-glorious, is within the palace ;  
Her raiment is embroidered with gold.
- 14 In robes of needlework, she is conducted unto the king ;  
The virgins in her train,  
Her companions are brought unto thee.
- 15 They are conducted with joy and exultation,  
They enter into the palace of the king.

- 16 In the place of thy Fathers, thou shalt have children ;  
 Thou shalt make them princes over all lands.  
 17 I will cause thy name to be remembered,  
 Through all generations ;  
 Therefore shall the nations praise thee,  
 For ever and ever.

We have one remark to make, before we take leave of our authors.

In a work of such supreme importance as the Holy Scriptures, every reader ought to know as nearly as possible what are the words of the Bible, and what words have been added by the translator, in order to convey to the English reader the full sense of the concise and often abrupt original. This was the plan wisely adopted by the translators of the authorized version, and though the text is thereby in some degree disfigured, the benefit to the reader is far more than commensurate.

Our authors have made no such distinction, though they have sometimes, following in this respect the example of the translators of James the First's reign, given an exact literal version of the Hebrew in the lower margin.

We do not, for the most part, object to these additions ; indeed without them the sense and force of the original would have been inadequately conveyed to the reader ; all we maintain is that the reader ought to be apprised of them. In the psalm which we have just submitted to our readers, the following words are not in the Hebrew, though properly supplied, to make the sense clear.

- |                                       |                             |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>Ver. 1. In honour, may, be as.</i> | <i>Ver. 8. Perfume.</i>     |
| <i>Ver. 3. Warrior, gird on.</i>      | <i>Ver. 9. Arrayed.</i>     |
| <i>Ver. 4. In.</i>                    | <i>Ver. 12. Her.</i>        |
| <i>Ver. 6. For.</i>                   | <i>Ver. 13. The palace.</i> |
| <i>Ver. 7. Kings.</i>                 |                             |

There is an unnecessary transposition in the fifth verse.  
 We should prefer translating thus :

Thine arrows are sharp,  
 The nations fall beneath thee !  
*They pierce* the hearts of the king's enemies.

We trust we do not bid a final adieu to our intelligent authors. We hope they will again find leisure to apply to the illustration of the sacred poetry of the Hebrews. The Book of Job has not yet appeared in an English dress worthy of the sublime original, and the translators of the Book of Psalms and Proverbs would find here a field worthy of their skill and learning.

ART. V.—*An Historical Vindication of the Church of England in point of Schism, as it stands separated from the Roman, and was reformed 1 Elizabeth.* [Reprinted with additions from the author's own MS. in a copy now in the British Museum.] Cambridge, University Press, 1846. 8vo, pp. 244.

WHEN we look upon the history of our Church since the Reformation, we cannot but feel that the present day exhibits a condition of things, which indicate dangers and difficulties, to which the former dangers and difficulties, through which the Providence of God has safely borne it, do not present a complete parallel. We do not determine whether they are greater or less than those which have preceded them, but the only point on which we insist is, that they are of a different class. In the early days of the Reformation there was a practical knowledge of the evils which the Reformation was intended to remove, and against which its preachers zealously protested. In after days, men of earnest mind, but of misguided views, took up principles which they carried out, and in consequence entirely overwhelmed for a short season the Church of England, and established in its place an anomalous formation of their own, the period to whose existence could not have been long delayed, even if the Restoration had not brought back the Church of England to its legitimate condition as the Church of the nation. In the days of James II., the court, unfortunately for the monarch himself and his descendants, attempted to force popery upon the people, but the champions of the Church of England were well instructed in the theological arguments necessary to meet their opponents; and the popish divines appointed by James for a conference, showed very little inclination to meet them. The danger of the present day appears rather to consist in that general diffusion of a certain amount of knowledge on most subjects, which tempts persons to think themselves in a condition presently to decide upon all; and that, too, on very grave and important points, without that special study which they really require. The subject to which Sir Roger Twysden's volume, lately reprinted at the Cambridge University Press, relates, is one of those which it is especially hazardous to decide without sufficient *historical* study of the questions involved in it, and yet it is one which persons practi-

cally decide every day with the most consummate ignorance of all which relates to the real determination of the question. But it is a question with which English Churchmen must immediately make themselves well acquainted; and though connected with many other collateral subjects of inquiry, it presents a result of great simplicity, and carries us at the same time over ground of the deepest historical interest. We fear that the greater portion of the reading public, even in this age of presumed enlightenment, would give a very imperfect account of the breach of unity, which was the result of the English Reformation. The *common notion* upon the subject seems to be, that the English Church was a part of the Churches under the Roman obedience, and that she directly renounced allegiance to the Romish Church, and justifies her departure from that Church by alleging its corruptions in doctrine and worship. We have known persons, who have seceded to the Romish Church, who would inquire into none of those doctrines and practices, nor even into the history of the Reformation, having assumed the above account as the basis of their thoughts on the subject, and deciding that this act of the Church of England was an act of schism. Now it cannot be too early impressed on that part of the reading public, which has taken up any such view, whatever their decision may be, either in justifying or condemning the Church of England, that these views wholly *misrepresent* the state of the case. Had these views even been correct in point of history, it would be a grave question whether a national Church had not the right to recede from the Church of Rome, if its continuance in communion with that Church involved the admission of doctrines which are irreconcilable with those of the Gospel. But this question, we must repeat, is not *the* question which we are called upon to discuss, when the Church of England is accused of schism; or at all events it is not the *first* inquiry which presents itself in the consideration of this important matter of controversy. The first inquiry into which we are bound to enter, is the *justice* of this claim to our unlimited and unconditional obedience made by the Church of Rome. This question is argued on different grounds, according to the different phases under which it is viewed. Bp. Jewell argued the question altogether on general grounds, denying that for 600 years any Catholic father, any general council, or any learned doctor of the Church could be produced, who gave to the Pope the title of *Universal Bishop*, or the *Head of the Universal Church*. His opponent, Harding, was utterly unable to invalidate the proofs of the Bishop, who took that which is universally conceded to be the most difficult position for a reasoner, viz. that of "standing upon the negative." Indeed, the confidence with

which Bp. Jewell challenges his opponents to disprove the *negative* statements which he has made, is one of the most noble triumphs of learning which is on record. But our business at present does not lie so much with the *theological* portion of the question as the *historical*. The question has been repeatedly argued; often on both grounds, the historical and theological united; and at other times, on one only. Thus in Mr. Palmer's most useful Treatise of the Church, both lines of argument are indicated, but without sufficient detail to supersede the discussion of the subject elsewhere. Indeed the author evidently means that work to be, on such points, a *summary* of the arguments which enable us to defend the position of our Church, and a guide to the sources of more detailed information. In this respect it is most valuable; and the work of Twysden, the title of which is prefixed to this article, will be found of great use in establishing some of the conclusions indicated in Mr. Palmer's work, and some of the results at which he has arrived. If those results were attained without the perusal of Twysden's work, which has always been scarce, and not so much known as its sterling worth required, their coincidence with those at which he had arrived is of the greater value. When we speak of the theological portion of this question,—we should rather say its ecclesiastical or canonical determination, as it is rather the general right of one portion of the Church to reform itself, the right of the Pope of Rome to claim supremacy over all churches and unconditional obedience from all, than any question properly called theological, which is debated. The appeal is made to Scripture certainly in the first place, and in the second to the decisions of general councils and the sentence of the Church, legitimately pronounced. This may, perhaps, be distinguished as the argument *de jure*; but the argument pursued by Twysden is rather an argument *de facto*. If it appears, by historical evidence, that the power claimed and exercised by our sovereigns in the reformation, was a power that had always been claimed and exercised at times from the earliest ages in our country, at least that it was similar in kind, though it might exceed in degree that which our former sovereigns had exercised, and that the power which the pope had attained at the beginning of the sixteenth century was obtained by usurpation and unjust encroachment on the rights and privileges of the crown, then it will require something more than a mere assertion to remove the crime of schism from the Romish Church, in order to fasten it upon our own. And this phase of the argument is equally necessary with the other; indeed, there is no branch of inquiry which we can safely neglect. We have to do with antagonists who stand upon any tack which may seem likely to

bring their vessel into port; and sometimes sail in a direction exactly contrary to the last movement they happened to make. Sometimes the supremacy of the Pope is a *Jure Divino* Right; sometimes he claims our obedience because he is *Universal Bishop* (a title which one of their greatest prelates refused); sometimes because he is the *Patriarch* of the West; sometimes because he is entitled to it by *right*, while at others he stands upon *prescription*; although prescription can add nothing to a legitimate claim, nor do much to bolster up a bad one, and notwithstanding the claim of an Universal Bishop and a Patriarch are utterly irreconcilable with each other. If the Pope is *Universal Bishop*, he cannot be *Patriarch*; for *Patriarch* is a limited term, Universal an unlimited. And it is the more necessary to be upon our guard concerning this latter distinction, because our enemies are now using the claim of *Patriarch* where it suits their purpose. Thus in a Review, apparently supported in no small degree by writers who are apostates from our Church, there occurs a charming *morceau*, to the following effect. The reply of a Greek ecclesiastic to a member of the University of Oxford, who has exhibited a deep sympathy with the Greek Church, and who wished to be admitted to communion with them, is quoted with great delight. It is to the following purport:—"Go home, be reconciled to your own Patriarch, and then we shall know how to deal with you!" We are amused to find Roman Catholic gentlemen thus rejoicing in the reply of a schismatic Greek to an Anglican. Will they stand by its soundness? If they will, then let them cease to claim the obedience of the Greek patriarch. If the Bishop of Rome be Patriarch of the West he *can be no more*, and can have no claim to the obedience of the Greek Church. On one or other of these two claims they must stand, but not on *both together*. There is an admirable work on this subject, now about to be reprinted at Cambridge, which disposes of each of these pleas with great clearness. But our intention is not to discuss these questions ourselves, but to introduce to our readers the work of Twysden.

Sir Roger Twysden was the eldest son of William Twysden, Esq., of Royden Hall, East Peckham, Kent; a person of considerable learning, who was advanced to the dignity of a baronet by King James I. Sir Roger was born in 1597, and inherited his father's love of study, as well as his estates and his large library. His loyalty during the troublous times of Charles I. brought him under considerable persecution; he was imprisoned, his estates were sequestered, and he was permitted to return to his dilapidated estates only by the payment of a large pecuniary fine. On recovering his liberty he lived in retirement, or, as he touchingly expresses it, "I had no other way of spending my time



but the company a book did afford ;” and, among the fruits of this retirement and study, may be reckoned the “*Historical Vindication of the Church of England* ;” which was put forth in consequence of the publication of “*A Treatise of the Schism of England*,” ostensibly written by Mr. Philip Scot, a gentleman of academical education, who had turned Papist. Two editions of Sir Roger’s work appeared, viz. in 1657 and in 1675 ; the latter being published about three years after the author’s death.

For this brief account of the author and his work we are indebted to Professor Corrie, the editor of the present reprint of this valuable book ; the value of which he has greatly enhanced by interweaving in the text and notes some very large additions, which are found in MS. in the handwriting of the author himself, in a copy now deposited in the British Museum. These additions are very considerable in amount, and both important and valuable ; so that the possession of an old edition, though it may always remain a book of some rarity, will not supersede the necessity of purchasing the present.

We now proceed to lay a brief account of this work before our readers. The best account of the circumstances which engaged the author to enter upon these inquiries is given by the author himself in the following words :—

“ Reading some times in Baronius, <sup>1</sup> that all things were well done in the Catholic Church, had venerable antiquity for their warrant, and that the Roman Church did not prescribe any thing as <sup>2</sup> an holy tenet, but such only as—delivered by the apostles, preserved by the fathers—were by our ancestors transmitted from them to us—I cannot deny to have thought (for certainly truth is more ancient than error) this being made good, and that she did commend them to us in no other degree of necessity than those former ages had done, but she had much more reason on her side than I had formerly conceived her to have : but in examining the assertions, it seemed to me not only otherwise, but that learned cardinal not to have ever been in this consonant to himself, <sup>3</sup> confessing the Catholic Church not always, and in all things to follow the interpretations of the most holy fathers.

“ On the other side, it seemed to me somewhat hard to affirm the papacy had encroached on the English, and neither instance when,

<sup>1</sup> “*Veneranda Antiquitas, cujus præscripto cuncta bene geri in ecclesia catholica conseruerunt.*” Baron. *Annal.* Tom. VIII. ad an. 692, v. : [[*Vid. ann. 646, xii.*]]

<sup>2</sup> “*Non pro arbitrio disserentium, verbisque pugnantium hominum, . . . . sacra dogmata Romana ecclesia definiret ; sed quæ ab apostolis tradita, a maioribus deducta, a patribus servata accepisset, hæc ipsa, utpote sacrosancta, universe ecclesie servanda, atque inviolabili lege custodienda, eadem ecclesia Romana præscriberet.*” Baron. Tom. VII. ad an. 535, xc.

<sup>3</sup> “*Sanctissimos patres in interpretatione scripturarum non semper et in omnibus catholica ecclesia sequitur.*” Tom. I. ad an. 34, ccxiii.

where, nor how."—*An Historical Vindication of the Church of England*, pp. xi. xii.

It appears, therefore, that these assertions of Baronius led Sir R. Twysden to deeper inquiries on the subject; in the course of which he frequently conversed with a gentleman, (who it seems, by the MS. additions, was *Sir Basil Brook*,) who was dissatisfied with the position of our Church in some respects, or rather, who stated that he was "never satisfied of our agreeing with the Primitive Church in two particulars; the one in denying all manner of superiority to the Bishop of Rome, to live in whose communion the east and western Christians did ever highly esteem; the other, in condemning monastic living, so far, as not only to reform them, if any thing were amiss, but to take down the very houses themselves."

The reply of Sir Roger to the first of these particulars we must quote in his own words:—

"To the first of these I said, we did not deny such a primacy in the pope as the ancients did acknowledge; but, that he by that might exercise those acts he of some years before Henry VIII. had done, and had got by encroaching on the English Church and State merely by their tolerance, which when the kingdom took to redress and restrain him in, he would needs interpret a departing from the Church; yet if any made the departure, it must be the pope, the kingdom standing only on those rights it had ever used for its own preservation, which putting in practice, it was interdicted, the king excommunicated by him, &c. To which he replied in effect, that of Henry VIII. in his book against Luther, that it was very incredible the pope could do those acts he had sometimes exercised here by encroachment; for how could he gain that power and none take notice of it? That this argument could have no force if not made good by history, and those of our own nation, how he had increased his authority here. Which, truly, I did not well see how to deny, farther than that we might by one particular conclude of another; as, if the Church or State had a right of denying any clerk going without licence beyond seas, it must follow, it might bar them from going, or appealing to Rome: if none might be acknowledged for pope without the king's approbation, it could not be denied but the necessity of being in union with the true pope (at least in time of schism) did wholly depend on the king. And so of some other."—*Ibid.* pp. 1, 2.

With regard to the question of the monasteries, Sir Roger Twysden acknowledges, that though they had "so far strayed from their first institution, as that they retained little other than the name of what they were at the beginning," yet that evils arose from their total suppression, which more moderate measures might have prevented; and he appeals to the entreaties of some

of the visitors, that some of these houses might be spared, and to the endeavours of Latimer, a Protestant martyr, that two or three might be left in every shire; "while Cromwell, no Protestant, invaded them all,"—to show that, in his opinion, he had the concurrence of many of those who yet most earnestly desired the progress of the Reformation.

Many years after his first entrance on these inquiries, the work of Philip Scot, "*Of the Schism of England*," was put into his hands as an unanswerable book. To the assertion that the book is unanswerable, Sir Roger Twysden says little; while to the substance of the arguments he replies by a work, which it will be more easy to rail at than to answer, as it simply deals for the most part with matters of fact. The three broad inquiries into which Sir Roger Twysden's investigation branched out are thus stated by himself:—

"I. Whether the kingdom of England did ever conceive any necessity, *jure divino*, of being under the pope united to the Church and see of Rome, which draws on the consideration how his authority hath been exercised in England under the Britons, Saxons, and Normans; what treasure was carried annually hence to Rome; how it had been gained, and how stopped.

"II. Whether the prince, with the advice of his clergy, was not ever understood to be endued with authority sufficient to cause the Church within his dominions to be by them reformed, without using any act of power not legally invested in him, which leads me to consider what the royal authority *in sacris* is. (1) In making laws that God may be truly honoured; (2) things decently performed in the Church; (3) profaneness punished, questions of doubt by their clergy to be silenced.

"III. The third how our kings did proceed, especially Queen Elizabeth (under whose reformation we then lived), in this act of separation from the see of Rome, which carries me to show how the Church of England was reformed by Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Queen Elizabeth. Wherein I look upon the proceedings abroad and at home against heretics, the obligation to general councils, and some other particulars incident to those times."—*Ibid.* p. 8.

The first chapter of the work (which is comprised in nine chapters) gives an account of its origin and purport; the second, which is very brief, treats of the Britons; and the third chapter enters upon one of the most important inquiries connected with the whole subject. It is entitled, "*Of the Increase of the Papal Power in England under the Saxons and Normans, and what oppositions it met with.*"

Sir Roger begins with acknowledging, that after the mission of St. Augustine to England, great deference was paid to the counsel and advice of the pope as a great doctor and prelate, by

whose solicitude the Saxons had learnt the way to heaven, and as bishop of a place in which religion and piety did most flourish, but still affirming that the "instructions thence were not as coming from one [that] had dominion over their faith," &c. But after the pope tried to raise himself above the ecclesiastical canons,—

"He began to question divers particulars [which] had undoubtedly been practised in this kingdom, he seeing them and not objecting to them, as the receiving investitures of churches from princes, the calling synods, the determining causes ecclesiastical without appeals to Rome, the transferring bishops, &c., but the removing these from England unto a foreign judicature, being as well in diminution of the rights of the crown as of this church, passed not without opposition."—p. 14.

The first case which Twysden narrates is that of Archbishop Anselm, in the course of which some of the additional matter is both interesting and important. As an instance of this, we shall cite the very remarkable letter to Paschalis II., which Anselm wrote detailing his reception in England on his return from Rome. Anselm, who pretended that he ought not to be barred from visiting the vicar of St. Peter, was very strenuous in obtruding the privileges of the pope on the English Church. A native of Italy, where (as the MS. additions intimate, with a reference in the notes to the case of the Church of Milan, in which Angilbert, in 844, deserted the Romish Church, and it was only after two hundred years that the submission of the Milanese Church was recovered,) the pope's authority was newly established, and therefore pressed more vigorously, he contended stoutly for his right of appeal, insisting that Christ made St. Peter *super ecclesiam suam principem, &c.*; and he used phrases in reference to these matters, which made English ears, altogether unaccustomed to such language, tingle; and he brought his complaints before the pope. But the pope (Urban II.) finding his interference here would be objected to, gave him very little encouragement, but suffered him to live an exile during the lifetime of William II. Still Anselm chose to cleave to the pope rather than to the king, and early in the reign of Henry I. he returned into England, bearing with him the commands of the pope, backed by the decisions of a Roman council, to the effect that no investitures should be received from princes or laymen, &c. The MS. addition to this passage is very significant:—

"[[How this was received here, we cannot better learn than from Anselm's letter to Paschalis II.; which, because it is not in his printed

<sup>4</sup> Sir Roger Twysden's style is sometimes rather involved and difficult from his custom of leaving out the relative *e. g. from one had dominion, &c.*

works, I will give out of a MS. copy of them in Sir John Cotton's library. 'Postquam revocatus ad episcopatum redii in Angliam, ostendi decreta apostolica, quæ in Romano concilio præsens audivi; ne, scilicet, aliquis de manu regis aut alicujus laici ecclesiarum investituras acciperet, ut pro hoc ejus homo fieret, nec aliquis hæc transgradientem consecrare præsumeret. Quod audientes rex et principes ejus, ipsi etiam episcopi et alii minoris ordinis tam graviter acceperunt, ut assererent se nullo modo huic rei assensum præbituros, et me de regno potius quam hoc servarent expulsuros, et a Romana ecclesia se discessuros. Unde, reverende pater, vestrum petii per epistolam nostram consilium, quam misi celsitudini vestræ per Guillelmum regis legatum. Sed quoniam responsi vestri literas non accepi adhuc, per legatos nostros quos mitto cum carissimis fratribus et cœpiscopis nostris, qui pro eadem re vestram sanctitatem adeunt, jam petitum iterum supplex per chartam sublimitatis vestræ certum peto consilium<sup>s</sup>.']]"—*Ibid.* p. 16.

We cannot resist placing a part of this letter before our readers in the vernacular tongue:—

"Having returned into England, on being recalled to my bishopric, I showed the apostolic decrees, which I heard delivered, myself being present in the Roman Council, viz. that *no person should receive investitures from the hand of the king, nor of any layman, so that he might in consequence become the creature (ejus homo) of that person [or owe him homage], and that no one should presume to consecrate any man who transgressed these ordinances.*"

Such were the commands of the pope to the king and people of England, and what was the reception they met with in the good old popish days of Henry I. It was this:—

"*When the king and his nobles heard this, and the bishops themselves and others of the lower grades of the ministry, they resented it so strongly, as to assert that they would never give their assent to these matters, and that THEY WOULD EXPEL ME FROM THE KINGDOM AND THEMSELVES DEPART FROM THE CHURCH OF ROME, RATHER THAN SUBMIT TO THESE REGULATIONS.*"

The end of this was that Paschalis, though he would not abate the pretensions of his predecessor, was obliged practically to agree to many limitations of them, as for instance, to be satisfied with the king's granting investiture only by episcopal hands instead of his own.

Sir Roger Twysden goes on to mark other instances of the encroachments of Rome on the Christian liberties of the Church of England, and more especially that crafty device, by which, when any privileges, which the pope claimed, were denied to him, and his

<sup>s</sup> [Epist. cxcv. in Bibliotheca Cotton. Claudius, A. XI. : fol. 97, b.]

power resisted, he pretended that the acts so done were done by his permission or license; an ingenious trick by which many a false claim has been bolstered up.

The case of Wilfred is then considered at considerable length; the right of appeals; the introduction of legates into England; the interference of Italians in English synods are historically discussed, and the steps by which the great encroachments were made distinctly traced, but the matter is too important to bear much abridgment. One thing however must be remarked, viz. the mode in which the archiepiscopal oath was introduced, and afterwards forced upon all abbots and bishops (*mutatis mutandis*). When Anselm received the pall, it was placed upon the altar, and reverently kissed by all out of reverence to St. Peter; but when Ralph, his immediate successor, received it, this prelate did not take it from the altar, before he had made an oath of fidelity and canonical obedience to the Roman pontiff; and thus one of the strongest chains which bound our hands was forged. Our only regret is, that it is impossible to exhibit in a brief space the clear and consistent view which this treatise gives of the usurpations of the court of Rome. The question concerning appeals is very elaborately discussed, and the manner in which the usurpation was effected very distinctly traced. It must be observed at the same time, that it was the policy of Rome to preserve a show of power in the see of Canterbury, but at the same time to make it wholly dependent on the pope; and Sir R. Twysden mentions several instances in which the grants of the pope are intended to effect such an object. Thus "the right of the archbishopric was, none by appeal might remove any ecclesiastic cause from his judicatory: the pope grants, he shall proceed, notwithstanding a frivolous appeal." It is easy to observe how this nominal grant actually deprived the Archbishop of one of his most important privileges. Another point of encroachment relates to the filling up of vacant sees and benefices, and to the creation of new sees; in both of which particulars the pope by degrees usurped the rights of the English crown and Church. The fruits of these encroachments may be guessed from the disposal of three hundred spiritual promotions by the pope's legate in three years (A.D. 1241) "ad suæ vel papæ voluntatem," that will being to bestow them on Italians! But this abuse of the power is of less importance in argument, though in practice an intolerable evil, than the fact that the power itself was nothing but an usurpation.

This account is a most imperfect representation, we are glad to admit, of the full and interesting statements in Chapter III. of Twysden's work. The next chapter is devoted to the "*Payments to the Papacy from England*;" in which Sir Roger has collected

much curious information, and quoted some of the most striking public documents, which exhibit the intolerable grievance to which the country reluctantly submitted, and the abominable exactions under which it groaned. This subject exercised, as our readers are doubtless aware, another pen in the seventeenth century, and gave occasion to the celebrated, though somewhat rough, treatise of Staveley, entitled, "The Romish Horseleech." This chapter in Twysden enters rather less into detail than that treatise, but is of a more dignified and argumentative character, but, although curious as showing the objects and consequences of the pope's usurpations and the mode in which they were made, it is perhaps of less value to the argument than the next, which undertakes to trace "*how far the regal power did extend itself in matters ecclesiastical.*" This chapter begins with establishing that proper distinction in the different classes of spiritual power, which it is the interest of some popish disputants to confuse<sup>6</sup>, that they may mislead those who are ignorant on this subject. All spiritual power is of two kinds; the one *ordinis*, the other *jurisdictionis*. The power, which is called the power *ordinis*, consists in the administration of the sacraments, consecration, ordination, &c. The other, which is called the power *jurisdictionis*, is *double*, consisting (1) of that which is *internal*, where the divine or holy man, by demonstrations, persuasions, &c., so convinceth the moral conscience of a man, that it resigns and yields obedience to that which is proposed, &c., and (2) of that which is *in foro exteriori*, wherein Christians are compelled to their duty and obedience. Now the *power of order* and the *internal jurisdiction*, are not claimed and never have been claimed by our sovereigns, but

"Such things as are of the outward policy of the Church, as that God may be truly served, such as transgress the received lawful constitutions even of the Church fitly punished, by the right of their crown, the continued practice of their ancestors, they could not doubt but they might deal in; causing all others, be they clerks or other, that offend to suffer condign punishment."—p. 114.

Sir Roger states immediately afterwards, in order to determine how far the ecclesiastic rule of our princes extended, that we are to know

"That they were never doubted to have the same rule within their dominions, that Constantine had in the empire; and our bishops to have that St. Peter had in the Church. *Ego Constantini, vos Petri gladium habetis in manibus*, said King Edgar to his clergy, in that his

<sup>6</sup> We mean rather to allude to popular disputants than the great controversialists of Rome; like Bellarmine, by whom the distinction is properly defined.

speech so recommended to posterity. (Apud Ethelred [de Genealogia Regum Angliæ, inter Scriptores X.] col. 361, b. 16. 'Beato Petro, cujus vicem Episcopi gerunt.' Caroli Magni Capit. Lib. v. e. 163.)"

Twysden then proceeds historically to trace the exercise of this power by the sovereign, and points out the particulars to which we find it extended. He shows that the commands of the prince sometimes extended to the same things as the persuasions of the priest; as for example, in regard to the sacraments, that children should be baptized within thirty days, and no person admitted to the Eucharist, be a godfather, or be confirmed by the bishop, who could not say the *Pater Noster* and the *Creed*, &c. The prince reserved to himself a power of dispensing with the marriage even of nuns; he commanded the observance of Lent, *principali auctoritate*; he divided old, and erected new bishoprics, which Cardinal Bellarmine says, cannot be done without authority from Rome (though Theodore, A.D. 679, erected five, *consensu regis*, where we hear nothing of such authority, and he erected others altogether without the liking of the pope); he caused the clergy to meet in councils, and sometimes presided in them, even though the pope's legate were there.

These particulars chiefly relate to the times of the Saxons and Danes, but in a later portion of the chapter, Twysden enumerates twenty-one classes of acts of spiritual jurisdiction exercised by our sovereigns in later times. We can, however, only find room for the concluding words of this chapter:—

"Insomuch as we may safely conclude, when the clergy in convocation styled Henry VIII. *ecclesiæ Anglicanæ protectorem unicum, et supremum dominum, et, quantum per Christi leges licet, supremum caput*, they added nothing new unto him, but a [[past]]<sup>7</sup> title; for he and his successors after it, did never exercise any authority in causes ecclesiastic, not warranted by the practice of former kings of the nation.

"By all which the second question remains sufficiently proved, that our kings were originally endued with authority to cause the English Church be reformed by the advice of their bishops, and other of the clergy, as agreeing with the practice of all ages. For who introduced the opinion of transubstantiation; made it an article of faith; barred the lay of the cup; priests of marriage; who restored the mass in Queen Mary's days, before any reconciliation made with Rome; but the ecclesiastics of this kingdom, under the prince for the time being, who commanded or connived at it?"—*Ibid.* p. 140.

Thus concludes the fifth chapter of this interesting work. The remainder of the treatise consists of the application of these his-

<sup>7</sup> The words and passages enclosed in double brackets are the additions made from Sir R. Twysden's own MS. notes.



forical researches to the case of the Reformation. Twysden shows that Henry VIII. was fully justified, by the opinion of the Universities, public disputations in convocation, and the precedents of his predecessors in the kingdom, in the enactment made in the twenty-sixth year of his reign, A.D. 1533, by which he declared that the kings of this realm should "have full power, authority, &c., to visit, repress, and redress all such errors, heresies, abuses, &c., which by any manner of spiritual authority or jurisdiction may be lawfully reformed, repressed," &c. The Church of Rome chose to interpret this a falling off from the Church, but the English held it to be "no other than a declaration of that right had ever resided in the crown," and which I believe, adds Twysden, "it will be a difficult task to disprove them in."

But Twysden is not concerned to defend—as, indeed, who is?—all the conduct of Henry VIII.; it is the position of the Church, as settled in 1<sup>o</sup> Elizabethæ, to the defence of which his book is devoted. And in this respect it is of importance to observe, that on Queen Mary's accession, she took upon herself to alter all that had been done, and to re-establish popery before the kingdom had been reconciled to the pope, acting herein by her own sovereign authority, to which some of the popish controversialists do not demur, nor do they scruple to admit that by her act the kingdom was restored to its former condition. If so, if she had power to alter the worship, they will find it a hard matter to persuade the world that her successor had no right to act in an equally independent manner. We cannot, however, attempt to abridge this portion of Sir R. Twysden's book, but must commend it most strongly to the attention of our readers. Among the additional matter in this edition will be found some curious notes respecting the introduction of many of the popish doctrines into our Church, *e. g.* the praying to saints, purgatory, &c.; but these are rather *πάρεργα*, than the main business of the treatise. We must allow the author to state his conclusions in his own words:—

"But I do not take upon me to dispute matters controversial, which I leave, as the proper subject, to divines; it shall suffice only to remember, the Church of England having with this great deliberation reformed itself in a lawful synod—with a care, as much as was possible, of reducing all things to the pattern of the first and best times—was interpreted (by such as would have it so) to depart from the Church Catholic; though for the manner, they did nothing but warranted by the continual practice of their predecessors, and in the things amended had antiquity to justify their actions: and therefore [[the <sup>8</sup>late queen,

<sup>8</sup> [[Camden. Annal. Elizabeth.] [p. 28, ed. 1625.]

when certain princes, 1559, interceded the Roman Catholics might have churches permitted them here, told their agents there was no cause of such a concession, *cum Anglia non novam aut alienam amplectatur religionem, sed eam quam Christus jussit, prima et catholica ecclesia coluit, et vetustissimi patres, una voce et mente, comprobarunt*: and]] the Archbishop of Canterbury, in a provincial synod begun in St. Paul's the third of April, 1571, and all other bishops of the same province, gave especially in charge for all preachers, to 'chiefly take heed that they teach nothing in their preaching which they would have the people religiously to observe and believe, but that which is agreeable to the doctrine of the Old Testament and the New, and that which the catholic fathers and ancient bishops have gathered out of that doctrine.' So that nothing is farther off truth, than to say, such as reformed this Church made a new religion; they having retained only that which is truly old and catholic, as articles of their faith.

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"Upon the whole, it is so absolutely false that the Church of England made a departure from the Church [[Catholic]]—which is the ground and pillar of truth—as I am persuaded it is impossible to prove she did make the separation from the Roman itself; but that having declared in a lawful synod certain opinions, held by some in her communion, to be no articles of faith, and, according to the precedent of former times, and the power God and nature had placed in herself, redressed particular abuses crept into her, the pope, and his adherents—without ever examining [[for aught appears]] what was the right of the kingdom in such-like cases, that had from all antiquity done the same—would needs interpret this a departing from the Church, because he resolved to maintain for articles of faith, and thrust on others as such, some ambiguous disputable questions, the English did not think fit to admit into that number. To make a departure from Christ's Church is certainly a very heinous offence, she never commanding aught but what is conformable to his will, nor<sup>1</sup> requiring her children to believe any thing as matter of faith, but what is immediately contained in the word of God, or by evident consequence drawn from it: and as she excludes no Christians from being her children, who by their own demerits deserve not to be out of the Divine favour, so in opposing those who endeavour to procure some tenets to be admitted for hers, which cannot be deduced from that ground, we do not depart from her, but gainsay human errors and conceits, which they would infer to be her commands who acknowledges them not. But as St. Augustine, in a dispute with a Donatist, <sup>2</sup>*utrum schismatici nos simus an vos, non ego, nec tu, sed Christus interrogetur, ut judicet*

<sup>1</sup> The Book of canons of the same synod, printed by John Day, 1571. [See Cardwell's Synodalia, Vol. I. p. 126; § 'Concionatores.']

<sup>2</sup> Bellarmin. de Justificatione, Lib. III. c. 8, [in Disputation. Tom. IV. p. 242, G]; ibid. Lib. I. c. 10, [Tom. IV. p. 209, F.]

<sup>3</sup> Contra Literas Petilian, Lib. II. c. 85, [Opp. Tom. VII. p. 93, B.]

*ecclesiam suam*—so may I, whether we are the schismatics or the Church of Rome, Christ Himself be the Judge. But whether divided from the other, being matter of fact, let the histories of former times, the extraordinary proceedings of the see of Rome of late against the queen and this commonwealth be compared, and I am confident the judgment may be referred to any indifferent person (though of that belief) who made the separation, and whether this kingdom, on so high provocations, did any thing would not have been paralleled by former times, had they met with the like attempts.

Neither can the crown [[or English bishops]] in this reformation be any way said to have enterprised on the papal primacy—which, for aught I know, they might have acknowledged, so far as is expressed or deduced from Holy Scripture, or laid down in the ancient sacred councils, or the constant writings of the orthodox primitive fathers, and yet done what they did—but to have exercised that authority always resided in them, for conserving the people under them in unity and peace, without being destroyed by the canons and constitutions of others; [[our kings]] not suffering a foreign power ruin them to whom they owed protection. In which they did not trench upon the rights of any, but conserved their own; imitating therein the imperial edicts of several princes, and of those were in possession of this very diadem, conformable to their coronation oath [[and <sup>3</sup> what the bishops take at the entering on their churches]].”—*Ibid.* pp. 236—239.

We here take our leave of this valuable and interesting work, and, for the present, of the subject to which it relates; but we should be guilty of an act of injustice, if we failed previously to express our obligations to the present editor, Professor Corrie, for the care which he has bestowed on this reprint, and for the facilities which he has given to a verification of the very numerous references it contains. The extent of his knowledge, the accuracy of his mind, and the soundness of his judgment, are best known to those who have the happiness to number him among their friends; but the public will be able, by this publication, to appreciate the value of the care which he is both able and willing to bestow on any work, from which the Church may derive strength and assistance. The questions to which this work relates are of deep importance, but they have been rather overlooked in these latter days, because they seemed rather to belong to the controversies of a past age, and to matters long since settled amongst us. These weapons of our warfare had so long

<sup>3</sup> [[“*Neque est quod quis, ob litem hanc, Ignatium animo fuisse in apostolicam sedem infenso existimet vel ingrato, cum quæ juris essent sæe ecclesiæ defendere, juramento teneretur obstrictus, etiam æternæ vitæ dispendio. Non enim aliena retinere, sed sua possidere ex possessione prædecessorum ipse justum putavit,*” etc. Baronius, *Annal.* Tom. X. ad an. 878, xlii. : which I confess I take the case of our English Church and bishops.]]

hung upon the walls, that they may appear a little tarnished with rust when first brought out for use ; but we cannot fear, when once the Church of England has been taught to look for the attack of her enemies in this quarter, that the same Providence, which raised up such defenders as Jewell, Bramhall, Taylor, Laud, Stillingfleet, Barrow, and a host of others among our great divines, will enable her to maintain the same vantage ground which they once occupied, and preserve her as a champion for the faith of Christ, and a witness for primitive truth against the corruptions, the errors, and the delusions of the papal system !

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ART. VI.—*Sketches of the History of Christian Art.* By Lord  
LINDSAY. 3 vols. 8vo. 1847.

THE attention which has been claimed for the Fine Arts in this country, within the last few years, is altogether a singular phenomenon. Not a year, scarcely a month, elapses without our being reminded of our wakeful state and our high responsibilities. Nay, can it be said that we are for a single day suffered to forget that a pulse, which had long ceased to beat, has been suddenly quickened into action, and restored to fullest energy? Whither we are tending, it is not easy to foretell; but *from* what we are removing ourselves, is clear enough. Not to carry back our reminiscences to the dark ages,—the time, for example, when the nation stared with stupid astonishment at Horace Walpole's would-be Gothic baby-house at Strawberry Hill;—or, to mention a graver case, the year 1799, when the noble chapter-house of Durham Cathedral was demolished in order to facilitate the construction of a “comfortable room,”—let any one call to mind the æsthetical history of the last twenty years, and he will sympathize with our astonishment at the past, and our present satisfaction. Twenty years ago,—and it is no exaggeration to say that a well-disposed member of our communion, who desired to build a church in some rural district, and who, for that purpose, availed himself of the highest local authority,—an authority which, controlled by himself, he deemed a sufficient protection against error,—that *such* a person, in all probability, achieved something of which he is already heartily ashamed. He has long since become painfully sensible that, in order to the construction of a window in the Gothic style which men shall admire, something besides an arch and some curvilinear compartments is requisite. He no longer requires telling (though unfortunately too many persons still do) that a number of small triangular pieces of cold stained glass, disposed in a zigzag pattern round a common church window, are the reverse of ornamental. He knows that such geometrical vagaries, as meet with their prototype no where but in the object-glass of a kaleidoscope, become a “heavy blow and a great discouragement” when inserted in the east window of a Christian church; and that the matter is not at all mended by the insertion of the sacred monogram, I H S, in the midst of the

painted puzzle ; let the letters be ever so well shaped, and stand out ever so unmistakeably on a circular piece of ground glass. One desires, of course, to speak with the greatest indulgence of persons who, twenty years ago, had the spirit to build or to repair churches at all ; but they would themselves be the first to acquiesce in the truth of these statements, and rejoice over the change on which we are congratulating ourselves. These men were, and are, the salt of the earth. Our ridicule we reserve for those who so richly deserve every keenest shaft of satire ; and on whom one would cheerfully exhaust a full quiver, but that it seems hopeless to hit such men, even between the joints of their armour :

ᾧ μὴ ἴσῃ δὲ δῶντι τάρβος, οὐδ' ἔπος φοβεῖ·

and the records of their culpability are, in truth, no laughing matter. We gladly turn to the more hopeful prospect which it is our privilege to witness. We rejoice to think that competent *guidance* is now eagerly sought for on every side ; and, when sought for, is generally to be obtained. The secretaries of our architectural societies will bear witness, that when the windows or the door of a church are *now* to be restored, it becomes an anxious question, *how* the work of piety is to be best achieved “ for glory and for beauty.” If a curious painting on a wall is discovered, the question is raised how far, consistently with the honour of God’s house, it may be preserved. It is also generally admitted as possible, that of two designs for a pulpit or a pew, the one may be right and the other wrong. All these things have become familiar to us now ; but they were little dreamed of in the philosophy of the first quarter of the present century.

Sacred Architecture has suggested an illustration of our general position, that the last twenty years have witnessed a remarkable movement in this country ; but the remark holds equally of Architecture in general. As regards Sculpture, indeed, we have not much to say. Our sculptors have been, and are, comparatively few ; and few they are likely to remain, so long as their works are attainable only by the very wealthy. When they will condescend to work in *terra cotta*, like the artists of modern Italy and ancient Greece,—or, indeed, when any material, less costly than white marble, is suffered to receive the impress of their genius,—then we may hope to see a taste (in plainer English, a *market*) created, which shall call for a corresponding supply ; and an increased demand would, of course, be the signal for yet higher excellence. However, even in sculpture, the number of statues with which the metropolis has been—may we not say adorned?—within the memory of every one, is an incontroverti-

ble proof of an impulse that has been given to the public taste. Then, in respect of Painting, who will not immediately cite the *fact* of a National Gallery, however small and partial, as a significant token of a yearning after excellence, which has thus tardily found expression? Or, to refer to an extraordinary phenomenon connected with the art of design,—who can reflect without amazement on the amount of ability, not to say genius, which the press calls into requisition yearly, monthly, weekly? A volume, “embellished with engravings,” was, a few years ago, synonymous with a child’s book, got up in the very worst taste; exhibiting the impotency, without the quaintness, of what used once to be announced as “perspectives, curiously engraven on copper-plates.” At present, the weekly prints not unfrequently contain designs on wood, which, if exhibited on India paper, and taken off by hand instead of by machinery, would be welcomed to many a portfolio, and rescued from the grave which yawns for them with the recurrence of every successive Saturday.

But it was not to these external physical symptoms of a revival, nor even to the societies which have been recently founded for encouraging the study of Architecture, nor to the edifices more particularly connected with the Fine Arts, which have lately been reared in both Universities, that we alluded at the outset, so much as to the *literary* indications which we continue to receive, from time to time, of awakening interest in this wide and fruitful field of inquiry and speculation. Octavos on Painting, and books of all sizes on Architecture, are already accumulating upon us: while ever and anon some work makes its appearance, ambitiously proposing to take a bird’s-eye view of the entire field of inquiry. Now, the grave volume, with its theory and system of canons, its rules and instances, its rod and gingerbread, calling for silence, and requiring attention; and now, the indignant little pamphlet, with its specific nostrum, and consequential “Hear *me*.” These are, in truth, hopeful signs; for it is not to be supposed that what has been begun in such a spirit, will be suffered quietly to drop: while it seems fair to infer from so many reams of printed paper, that men’s *minds* are at work in a department where it will be found that intellect has her ample vocation, and rights, as yet almost unvindicated. Perhaps there is even a danger lest she should become too keenly sensible of those rights, and assert them too warmly; that is, to the exclusion or discouragement of the practical element, which here, as in morals, is certainly the real object of our concern,—*ἐπειδὴ τὸ τέλος ἐστὶν οὐ γνώσις, ἀλλὰ πράξις*. A noble design, whether for a bas-relief, a cartoon, or a minster, is a better thing by far than the very finest theory that ever was devised for any one of the sister Arts.

In the present state of our literature, however, we may well postpone any such apprehensions. We are evidently quite in the infancy of our studies. We have scarcely got beyond the perpendicular and the horizontal line as a clue to the maze of mystery which surrounds Greek and Gothic Architecture: while in respect of Painting and Sculpture, a few admirable discourses were, till yesterday, generally recognized as containing the most approved remarks on the metaphysical principles severally involved by each. The secret of what charms us in these arts,—in Architecture, for example,—is indeed an interesting problem, and one which we are glad to see discussed with warmth, and sifted with attention; but which we can scarcely expect ever to see satisfactorily solved. Perhaps the truth is something which lies deeper than we are aware of; and we may be, after all, throwing our plummet into an ocean which has no bottom,—seeking to measure the infinite by the finite,—while we are speculating on the subject. It may perhaps be as hopeless as an attempt to reduce Handel's music to a system of physical proportions, or to exhibit a picture by a series of equations. The explanations, or rather the hints offered in explanation, of what is confessedly so obscure, may be true enough in themselves; but they must be confessed to be immeasurably distant from the phenomena which they propose to illustrate. The simplest figure in geometry, or the monad in numbers, may, for aught we know, contain implicitly the secret of what charmed the ancients at Athens and the moderns at Cologne; but it is still, to say the least, a very poor account to give of the matter. An acorn is a very short reason to give for an oak-tree. On the abstract theory,—the metaphysics of Art,—we feel, then, that much remains to be said: but still more—more certainly that is valuable and to be wished for—remains to be illustrated, discoursed of, and explained, with the pencil and the pen, in a less ambitious spirit, with reference to all the three sister Arts. We must be allowed, however, to observe, that hitherto, if little has been achieved, it is, in our belief, because the question has not been approached in quite the right spirit. For, first, to exemplify our meaning in the case of Architecture alone, there has been an amount of prejudice indulged, which, on a question so remote, would have been incredible, had it not been actually witnessed. There seem to be, as it were, two rival factions in Architecture,—and, indeed, in Art generally,—the *Greeks* and the *Goths*; factions, which are respectively wedded to a particular phase of Pagan and of Christian art; and which reserve the whole of their admiration, and bestow the whole of their sympathies, on the god of their separate idolatry. It is not the generous rivalry of



those who, from idiosyncrasy, or some accident of education, incline more to the antique or to the mediæval method of representing Truth, but a rivalry which assumes the alarming shape of a war of extermination, where it is tacitly admitted that either idol is endangered by the mere existence of the other; that the name of one or of the other must be obliterated from men's hearts and minds. The result might be anticipated. The Goths deny to the Greeks all pretensions to beauty, and sentiment, and feeling. To be horizontal is to be abominable. The people whose philosophy, despite every difference of language, climate, race, religion, continues to be *our* philosophy, are denied to have had any yearning after the infinite and the ideal. The Greeks retaliate, as well they may; and certainly, "when Greek meets Goth, then comes the tug of war." The Goths are denounced as barbarians: what should *they* know of taste and fitness? A perpendicular line—except so far forth as it reminds one of an Ionic column—how it distresses the eye! What a mere solecism is the arch, the pinnacle, and the buttress! In a superstitious age it was all very well to sit beneath a bower of stone, and wreath a thousand colours into a Jesse window; but *now!* . . . Such is the spirit in which the war has been conducted, to the great injury of the truth, the waste of a great deal of good passion, and the infinite prejudice of Art in general.

Another, and, as we believe, a fruitful source of evil, has been the extremely narrow view which men have taken,—have been compelled to take, as one may say,—of the entire subject. One hears of Greek and Gothic architecture *ad nauseam*, as if this division were exhaustive. Let us for a moment agree to exclude the architecture of the far east from the inquiry, as being æsthetically as well as geographically remote; and let it be conceded that Greek is co-extensive with classic, and denotes all that preceded our era: shall "Gothic" be supposed to be a term commensurate with the whole field of Christian Art? What have we to say to the Byzantine and the Lombard styles, to go no further: the one, the original architectural expression of Christianity; and the other, the actual parent of the deservedly vaunted Gothic? We shall presently be obliged to recur to this subject; so that, for the moment, it may suffice to have pointed out, thus briefly, what seems to be another of the obstacles to our progress.

And, thirdly, there has been great anxiety to theorize, and but little industry displayed in the accumulation of *facts*. Till there has been a far larger amount of materials collected, how imperfect must be the induction, how inadequate the theory which proposes to account for what is beautiful, and to assist in its reproduction!

It is only by a minute study of existing monuments that we can hope ever to approach, much less to rival them. How many a secret do they wrap up! How often, it may be, will it be found that the clue to a large web of mystery is implicitly contained in some simple element of proportion, some detail of admeasurement! Enough for the moment, however, on a subject confessedly difficult; and which we do but approach as those who desire to learn.

But is it not a somewhat strange thing that this should prove a subject whose tendency it is to infect those who write about it with most incomprehensible incoherency? The inquiry is confessedly perplexed and embarrassing; but *that* surely is a reason why it should be conducted with surpassing clearness of thought and perspicuity of language. It does indeed seem to involve a *sentiment* rather than a syllogism; but if the mystery is something to be reasoned upon, the lecturer should surely abstain, to say the least, from language which belongs to the wildest flights of enthusiasm. Men do not commonly gallop among pitfalls. A rhapsody is but a poor substitute for a reason; even though it should chance to be as eloquently penned as what follows:—

“The perfection of human nature implies the union of beauty and strength in the body, the balance of imagination and reason in the intellect, and the submission of animal passions and intellectual pride to the will of God in the spirit.

“Man was created in this perfection, but Adam fell, and with the fall the original harmony ceased, the elements of being lost their equipoise; spirit, sense and intellect, with the two elements of intellect, reason and imagination, have ever since been at variance, and consequently every production of man partakes of the imperfection of its parent.

“Nevertheless the moral sense, although comparatively deadened, still survives, witnessing to what is pure, holy and fitting; and the struggle between imagination and reason (marvellously overruled) still reveals to the calm intelligence the vision of truth immortal in the heavens—of truth in the abstract or universal, inclusive both of particular truth and of that beauty which, being antithetically opposed to it, is falsely deemed its enemy—in a word, of the ideal, that point of union between God and man, earth and heaven, which, crushed and crippled as our nature is, we can recognize and strive after, but not attain to. Nevertheless, it is in thus striving that we fulfil our duty, and work out our salvation (!)”—*Sketches of Christian Art*, vol. i. pp. xi. xii.

“Man is, in the strictest sense of the word, a progressive being; and with many periods of inaction and retrogression, has still held, upon the whole, a steady course towards the great end of his existence, (!) the

re-union and re-harmonizing of the three elements of his being, dislocated by the fall, in the service of his God.

“ Each of these three elements, sense, intellect, and spirit, has had its distinct development at three distant intervals, and in the personality of the three great branches of the human family.

“ The race of Ham, giants in prowess if not in stature, cleared the earth of primeval forests and monsters, built cities, established vast empires, invented the mechanical arts, and gave the fullest expansion to the animal energies :—

“ After them, the Greeks, the elder line of Japhet, developed the intellectual faculties, imagination and reason, more especially the former, always the earlier to bud and blossom; poetry and fiction, history, philosophy, and science alike look back to Greece as their birth-place; on the one hand, they put a soul into sense, peopling the world with their gay mythology; on the other, they bequeathed to us in Plato and Aristotle, the mighty patriarchs of human wisdom, the Darius and the Alexander of the two grand armies of thinking men whose antagonism has ever since divided the battle-field of the human intellect :—

“ While, lastly, the race of Shem, the Jews, and the nations of Christendom, their *locum tenentes* as the spiritual Israel, have, by God's blessing, been elevated in spirit to as near and intimate communion with Deity as is possible in this stage of being.

“ Now the peculiar interest and dignity of ART consists in her exact correspondence in her three departments with these three periods of development, and in the illustration she thus affords—more closely and markedly even than literature—to the all-important truth that men stand or fall according as they look up to the ideal or not (!)—*Ibid.* pp. xii. xiii.

We gave just now the opening of a chapter; and here we subjoin its concluding passage :—

“ Woe to the artist or the man when he begins to be satisfied with himself, when he ceases to exclaim, ‘ Ancora imparo !’ And as for the union of the sister arts in one glorious pile, in that peculiar perfection, harmony and interdependency which the mightiest artists have dreamed of and long to realize, it remains, and must ever remain a dream, unless it indeed be that, in the life to come, our intellectual as well as our moral faculties are to receive their full expansion in the service of our Maker, and Michael Angelo, Leonardo, and Donatello be destined to build, paint, and sculpture temples to God's glory, with the materials of that brighter world, throughout eternity. (!)

“ Meanwhile we may at least observe, with the deepest reverence, that the three arts, considered in a Christian sense, as a manifestation of the Supreme Being through the intellect of man, his image, present a sort of earthly shadow of the ineffable and mysterious Trinity in Unity, in its relations with the material universe,—Architecture symbolizing the Father, known to us chiefly by the harmony and proportion

of what we term his (1) attributes—Sculpture the Son, the incarnate form or outline (so to speak) of the invisible and infinite—Painting the Holy Spirit, the smile of God illumining creation, while the three arts are one in essence, co-equal and congenial, as manifested by the inseparable connexion and concord observable throughout the whole history of their development, and by the greatest artists in every age of Christendom having almost invariably excelled in all three alike. There is no impiety, I trust, in vindicating this analogy.”—*Ibid.* pp. xvi. xvii.

On all this, we shall not comment, even briefly; for the reader of judgment and taste will have sufficiently anticipated our objections: while, with a certain class of thinkers, to reason on the propriety of such language is a mere waste of time. The chapter from which our extract is made is, indeed, like the two which succeed it, quite of a preliminary kind; and bearing, as it does, the ominous title of “The Ideal, and the character and dignity of Christian Art,” we are prepared for a little extravagance: but surely no one can read such a collection of sentences without amazement, and, unless he be of the number of those who, *συνειδότες ἑαυτοῖς ἄγνοιαν, τοὺς μέγα τι καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτοὺς λέγοντας θαυμάζουσιν*,—a feeling very nearly akin to displeasure.

It may be, however, that before venturing on so liberal an extract from Lord Lindsay’s book, we should have apologised for a breach of *bonos mores* in thus leaving his lordship to announce and introduce himself to the reader. It is also but common fairness towards the noble author to declare at once that he has done himself great injustice in prefacing a valuable and interesting work with such a discouraging chapter. We have derived much instruction from his three volumes of “Sketches of the History of Christian Art.” Disfigured indeed they are with blemishes innumerable; but these lie on the surface, and may be easily rejected from the context in which they stand. The author, for instance, evidently does not intend to be irreverent; but, by a strange fatality, as surely as he ventures on holy ground, so surely does he hazard some expression which offends, and gives pain. One such passage (or we are much mistaken) is already before the reader; and if we do not further support our assertion by multiplying examples, it is because there is here much to praise; and we therefore gladly forego the less grateful task of making extracts in order to blame. Above all, because it is painful to transcribe irreverent, not to say profane writing; and indeed to republish it, is to give it that very mischievous prominence which we so strongly deprecate.

But this book has another serious blemish, which, as it is far more glaring than the last, we cannot avoid distinctly par-

ticularizing: a blemish, however, which Lord Lindsay will scarcely thank us for saying lies somewhat loosely and unprofitably on the surface of it. We allude to the vestiges which it bears, throughout, of a favourite Theory, lately propounded by his lordship; that, namely, of *Progression by Antagonism*. One hundred octavo pages so entitled, and which embody this strange theory, (or "Central Principle," as its proprietor loves to designate it,) must be read, as we are informed, by those who would "rightly and fully comprehend" the three volumes on Christian Art, under consideration. To be enabled to guess successfully\* at the probable meaning of many a strange expression in the second work, one should indeed know something of the "central principle, as yet unrecognized," which is set forth in the first: but, what cockles are to the corn, and weeds to the garden, and mildew to the picture, and rust to the sword,—that the "Theory of Progression by Antagonism" is to the "Sketches of the History of Christian Art." We think it unnecessary to examine it in detail in this place; but a few words concerning "a Theory, involving considerations touching the present position, duties, and destiny of Great Britain," cannot be deemed irrelevant; especially when we are discussing a work which we are assured can only be imperfectly understood without it.

His lordship's notion then is propounded in the first page of the octavo volume just alluded to, in these terms:—"Progression produced by Antagonism is a general law of the moral government of God, in time and eternity;"—a startling assertion to every one who has been accustomed to entertain awful thoughts of God, and to think of His ways as "past finding out." More startling however, by far, does the proposition become when it is exhibited in diagram, and explained in words. We are required by Lord Lindsay to believe that Truth is an airy, unattainable,—or, at all events, *unattained*,—something, which may be represented by an upright line, bisecting (at C) the base of an equilateral triangle; and thence produced indefinitely, through the apex (D), which represents the Ideal. Imagination (A) lies at one extremity of the base, and Reason (B) at the other. The tendencies of either are exhibited by the tendencies of the lines AD and BD. Truth, as already hinted, lies exactly half-way between them; and, to our infinite satisfaction, on her way from C to M (the "Standard of Truth"),—after having taken an impartial survey of the worlds of Imagination and of Reason by the way, and rushed successively through the worlds of Sense and Spirit,—she finds herself in the very centre of the "Constitutional Government of Great Britain!"

Now, if this were a mere mathematical exhibition of an un-

fledged theory, we should not have heeded it: or, if the writer merely wished to express by a diagram the notion that Truth often lies midway between two opposite forms of falsehood,—and that one truth embraced without regard to another truth, may lead to falsehood,—we should not have much to say to him; except that he will find the notion worked out ready to his hand by the Stagyrice; and that, so nakedly propounded, there is nothing novel or striking in it. Further, if he were to add that Antagonism (to use his own word) attends Progress; that violence on one side begets violence on the other; that the ardent and self-willed, who refuse to submit to external guidance, and to conform the unreality of their own individual wills, to the reality of an objective universal law,—that these persons probably will, and generally do, overleap the Truth, and “fall on t’other side:”—to all this we should agree. It is all so true, that it is a truism. But Lord Lindsay means much more than this. He asserts that Antagonism is the *cause* of Progress: that Progress *depends* upon Antagonism. Truth, then, is not an eternal thing,—serene and immutable,—with an objective independent existence, discernible by the eye of Faith, and the knowledge of it vouchsafed as the reward of obedience: but, just whatever Antagonism may please, in its mercy, to make it. Not, a lamp lighted “in the beginning,” and which has ever since burnt serenely on, unquenched and unquenchable; but a flickering flame, now burning high, now low; now shining, and now quenched: a spark, which has to be elicited by the conflict of opinions; to be hammered out, in Politics, between Whigs and Tories, Democracy and Monarchy, Tyranny and Aristocracy, Anarchy and Despotism: and, still to transcribe from the “Chart of Human Nature,” in Religion (a *συστοιχία* in which we feel a far deeper concern), between Low Church and High, Protestants and Roman Catholics, Iconoclasm and Idolatry, Unitarianism and Polytheism, Atheism proper, or theoretical, and practical Atheism, or Sensuality! The worthlessness of the “Central Principle” is surely apparent. What a conclusion for the “enlightened intellect” to be lauded in,—that religious Truth is the mean between Theoretical and Practical Atheism! Say rather, what a dreary ocean for a poor lonely heart to be set adrift upon! And yet, Lord Lindsay believes that Progression by Antagonism is “capable of becoming the central principle of the period we are now entering upon,—of rousing up leaders such as are wanted in every walk of life, of serving as a compass to England in piloting the ark of humanity through the stormy sea, the struggle and the conflict of the days about to be!” (p. 105.)

We return to the “Sketches of Christian Art,” to which this strange theory has been applied; but we cannot relinquish the

subject without an earnest protest against such solemn trifling as this. Life is very short, and Eternity is very long; and if "jesting Pilate," who "would not wait for an answer," could ask, "What is Truth?" that question, surely, need not be asked by any one now. The answer has been for eighteen hundred years before the world, and has produced much "antagonism;" but the "antagonism" has produced no "progress:" no, nor while the world lasts, ever will. Life is very short, and Truth is very sacred; far too sacred to be dealt with as it is but too much the fashion to deal with it now-a-days. Why will men whose birth gives them influence,—whose abilities give them power,—whose fine sympathies beget sympathy in return,—and whose amiableness and kindness of heart (for we have heard as much of Lord Lindsay) entitle them to regard and courtesy;—why will such men symbolize with the disciples of that unhappy school,—call it *German*, or what you will,—which, in its anxiety to exalt the boasted claims of intellect, forgets the deep reverence due to Him from whom intellect, and every other good gift, proceeds; which respects Truth only because it claims an equal right to respect Error also; which, by believing all things, practically disbelieves every thing; and, by implication, says at its leisure what David only said in his haste, that "all men are liars?" A school which, instead of realizing present blessings, or witnessing to existing short-comings, talks vaguely of a bright future which exists only in the imagination, and of destinies which are beyond its reach; and which gives up the humble duties of the day, while it devises a plan for perfecting the human race throughout a long hereafter? This school, which has numbered among its disciples many of the amiable in disposition and vigorous in intellect,—(good and great men we neither can nor will call them,)—has widely spread, and is still spreading widely among us. But what well-disciplined mind, that can see even a little way through the shallow sophistry of such a school, dreads not the consequences of its teaching? Who sees not that from such a system it cannot but follow that human opinion shall become the standard of Truth,—human belief the limit of possibility,—human expediency the ground of morals;—mind the measure of merit,—and the blue horizon which circumscribes this little earth, the boundary of human hopes and fears?—But it is time to return.

As already hinted, the reader who ventures not beyond Chapter I. will be impressed with a very incorrect estimate of the value of these volumes. Lord Lindsay informs us that they comprise a portion only of his projected work; but, on examination, this proves only to signify that the history is not con-

tinued beyond a certain point. The "Sketches of Christian Art" begin at the beginning, and extend over every class of monument which comes in his lordship's way, until about the middle of the fifteenth century. Why, therefore, in the table of contents prefixed to each volume, he should so pertinaciously maintain that his book is devoted to "Architecture" only, we cannot discover. The reader will be best enabled to estimate the author's plan if we exhibit in order the heads under which he has grouped his remarks, and unfold briefly some of the chapters which appear to be of particular value.

The "Memoranda touching the Ideal, and the character and dignity of Christian art," are followed by others on "the symbolism of Christianity," and "the mythology of Christianity." Under this ominous title we are presented with a series of legends which it is convenient to have read if one would recognize St. Christopher when one sees him, and desires to distinguish St. George from St. Anthony. To the general reader, the space they occupy will seem (as indeed it is) disproportionate; but a series of ancient frescoes must be incomprehensible without some small amount of mythological lore; and hence the dedication of two hundred pages to an else unprofitable subject.

This is followed by a "general classification of schools and artists;" which, being a chronological catalogue printed in small type, and extending over forty pages, is of course valuable. But surely we shall not be thought hypercritical for suggesting that it might have been made ten times as instructive if the Categories, or whatever they should be called, under which Lord Lindsay classes his Artists, were conceived in less unintelligible language than such as the following:—

"Result of the Struggle between Imagination and Reason, the Contemplative and Dramatic, the Christian and the Pagan Principle, in the successive Triumphs of Spirit, Intellect and Sense, of Expression, Design and Colour."—*Ibid.* vol. i, p. ccxxvi.

And again:—

"Attempts to regenerate Christian Art through Sense and Intellect, Colour and Form, or Design, stopping short of Spirit,—Gallant struggle, —Victory of Sense."—p. ccxxxii.

These "Struggles," "Victories," and "Triumphs" are, doubtless, applications of our old friend the "Central Principle." It is certainly an obstacle to *our* progress, however it may have helped ancient Artists onward. But we have at last arrived at the threshold of the work. "Having taken a Pisgah glance at Palestine," as his lordship characteristically remarks, the re-



mainder of Volume I. is dedicated to "Roman and Byzantine Art," and is full of interest. For the former, it is considered under the heads of the "Architecture of the Catacombs," the "Christian Architecture of Rome," and "the Sculpture and Painting of the Catacombs, and ancient Roman School of Painting, as perpetuated north and south of the Alps during the Middle Ages." The latter is discussed in four sections, on "the Architecture of Byzantium;" "Design—Traditional Compositions;" "Monuments of Byzantine Sculpture, Mosaic, and Painting, till the Decadence in the Eleventh Century;" and "Monuments of Byzantine Sculpture, &c. from the Revival under the Comneni in the Twelfth Century."

An extract from the second of these sections shall here be given, wherein the main proposition of these early pages is maintained, namely, the mighty influence of Byzantium over the West. It is these larger views which are the most eminently instructive, and which it would be so interesting to see well-established by a series of illustrations from the pencil—*oculis subjecta fidelibus*—as well as from the pen:—

"But it was in design more especially that the Byzantines evinced their superiority during the middle ages, and this by universal and cheerful acknowledgment. Greek artists were employed in every church of consequence to decorate it with appropriate mosaic-work, and though there may be reason to believe that the Latins after awhile learnt to execute for themselves the 'Opus Græcicum,' which composed the pavement, and that finer incrustation which embellished the ciboria and reading-desks, it appears certain that their enterprise soared no higher, and that the execution of those extensive and more intricate compositions, whether symbolical or dramatic, that adorned the walls, tribunes, and cupolas, remained as late as the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the exclusive monopoly of Byzantium. In sculpture, too, a similar precedence was conceded by the West to the heirs of Phidias and Praxiteles; bronze doors were repeatedly cast at Constantinople for the cathedrals of Italy, and her ivory carvings were as frequently sought for to adorn the binding of missals and breviaries for kings and emperors. But, partly from the expense attendant on importation, and partly from the Lombards being well disposed to supply the public demand by sculpture, such as it was, of their own, few specimens comparatively of that of Byzantium are now to be met with." . . . .

"It was fortunate for Art that the Council held at Constantinople in 692 positively enjoined its disuse," (that, namely, of Symbolism,) "and the substitution of direct representation. After that period, Symbolism, still the acknowledged queen of Architecture, took the place of a handmaid below the thrones of Sculpture and Painting, which she had so long usurped, to raise her voice henceforward at intervals only, and as

an accompaniment to the more sustained and legitimate song of her sister rivals.

“The Greek artists were not unprepared for this interference on the part of the Church; it may even have been the knowledge of that preparation which suggested it. Compositions of a high order illustrative of the Christian history and doctrine already existed, and there could be little doubt that the summons would waken up and elicit whatever genius and enthusiasm yet survived in Greece. Accordingly we find, within a century after the council in question, a cycle of compositions, distinct and well-defined, seldom or never deviated from, and stamped (as it were) with the seal of the Greek Church, current every where throughout its bounds; a series of extreme beauty, feeling, and simplicity, and susceptible, in almost each individual instance, of a refinement and perfection which must have beamed before the mind's eye of the original composer, although the debased mechanical skill of the age debarred him from realizing the vision. Of these compositions I must now attempt to give you a precise idea, since after exercising the apprenticeship and maturer powers of Niccola Pisano, Cimabue, and Giotto, they were finally re-issued by those masters, more or less modified and improved, and were constantly reiterated in the following centuries, till each and all of them had taken their places finally and for ever amidst the productions of the golden age of art, as perfected by the genius of the Peruginos, Raphaels, and Michael Angelos, to whom the merit, not merely of execution, but of their original invention, is usually but erroneously attributed.”—*Ibid.* vol. i. pp. 70—73.

All this is very curious and important, and we share his lordship's happiness:—

“To find myself anticipated in this statement, and confirmed in the view I have taken of Byzantine art by Flaxman, who enumerates the ‘Greek Christian compositions’ of ‘the Creation of Adam and Eve, the Nativity, the Transfiguration, Crucifixion, Resurrection, Glorification, and the Last Judgment, with some others,’ as having been standards to the Italian painters, from which they scarcely ventured to deviate for ages, and ‘which amply prove that the sacred flame remained in Greece, which kindled light and life in the modern arts of Western Europe.”—*Ibid.* vol. i. p. 73, note.

The second volume contains a review of “Lombard and Gothic Architecture,” the “Sculpture of the Lombards, and Italic-Byzantine Revivals in Sculpture, Mosaic, and Painting, anterior to the ascendancy of Niccola Pisano;” “Niccola Pisano and his School;” and lastly, of “Giotto and his School.” To conduct the reader over this mighty field,—to abridge Lord Lindsay's abridgment,—would be neither useful, nor in this place desirable; but we cannot pass on *sicco pede*. Roman art, which

was an adaptation of the pagan forms, and Byzantine art, which was a pure creation, and independent expression of Christianity, has been already discussed. We now trace the effect of the invasion of the Lombards in 568; and we date a new era from the iconoclast rupture of 726, when Gregory II. refused obedience to the edict of the Emperor Leo III.: and,

“Finding his remonstrances unattended to, proceeded, under the sanction of a decree subscribed by a synod of ninety-three Italian bishops, and backed by the ready swords of the Lombards, to excommunicate in one sweeping anathema the whole body of the iconoclasts, the emperor himself not excepted, and to pronounce Italy politically independent of the Byzantine empire. It was a step before God and man alike indefensible, at once schismatical and rebellious. But, from that hour a new star dawned on the horizon, infant Europe was separated from the womb, life awoke in her, the warm blood was sent thrilling through her veins, that impulse was communicated to which she owes her growth and development, her virtue and her glory; a crime was, in short, overruled by Providence to the good of mankind.”  
—*Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 6.

Thus are we first introduced to that marvellous creation, a new architecture, as exhibited in the Lombard cathedral. Lord Lindsay's agreeable description of the structure we pass over. It was the lawful heir of its Byzantine sire and its Roman mother: but the features of the former ever predominated. If the reader is as much interested in this subject as ourselves, he will not be displeased to turn to another page connected with what goes before:—

“Such was the architecture which prevailed in Europe co-extensively with the Latin Church, from the seventh to the close of the eleventh century; while in Italy its rule was prolonged to the thirteenth, and its influence was never entirely superseded. Like the Roman and Byzantine styles, it sprang at once to full development in all its essential points, as may be seen in its earliest monument, the venerable church of S. Michele at Padua, which existed as a sanctuary as early as 661.

“What chiefly contributed to its diffusion over Europe was the exclusive monopoly in Christian architecture, conceded by the popes, towards the close of the eighth century, to the masons of Como, then and for ages afterwards, when the title of ‘Magistri Comacini’ had long been absorbed in that of ‘Free and Accepted Masons,’ associated as a craft or brotherhood in art and friendship. A distinct and powerful body, composed eventually of all nations, concentrating the talent of each successive generation, with all the advantages of accumulated experience and constant mutual communication, imbued, moreover, in that age of faith with the deepest Christian reverence, and retaining these

advantages unchallenged till their proscription in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries—we cannot wonder that the freemasons should have carried their art to a pitch of perfection which, now that their secrets are lost, it may be considered hopeless to attempt to rival. But before treating of the great triumph of their genius, pointed architecture, I must point out to your notice a few of the principal monuments of their skill in the earlier Lombard style, existing in Italy and elsewhere.”—*Ibid.* vol. ii. pp. 14, 15.

Such is the pleasant and instructive manner in which Lord Lindsay has discussed the earlier annals of architecture. The art crossed the Alps; and from Cologne, as from a centre, spread “along the Rhine, and over the North of Europe, gradually undergoing serious modifications or curtailments. It appears in France at the beginning of the eleventh century—in England not till the days of Edward the Confessor and William the Conqueror, when it became what we usually term the Norman style.” But we are called upon about the beginning of the twelfth century to witness a glorious phenomenon. A new style of architecture, “eminently original, yet only developed from the Lombard, then appeared, suddenly and simultaneously as a flash of lightning, in almost every country of Europe on this side the Alps—the birth, not, like its predecessor, of one individual people, but of the Teutonic mind in general.” This was the early Gothic, over which we may not linger. It shall suffice to trace in conclusion the further progress of the tide in Italy; and we cannot do so in a fairer manner to Lord Lindsay than by availing ourselves once more of his pages:—

“It was not till the 13th century, long after acquiring the supremacy in Germany, France, and England, that the new style crossed the Alps. Its first appearance is in the conventual church of S. Francis at Assisi, finished by a German architect in 1230,—beautiful in itself, and still more interesting as the cradle of Italian Painting. . . . But setting aside this church at Assisi, and a few similar structures (of which I may specify the Duomo at Milan, the Ducal Palace at Venice, and S. Giovanni a Carbonara at Naples, all built by German architects in the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries), few buildings of any importance in Italy present the pure unmingled Gothic of the North. Classical influences, far less propitious to the symbolical than the positive in Art, still lingered there, and necessarily modified it. A new school of architects arose during the latter half of the thirteenth century, and filled Italy with churches and cloisters, public palaces and halls, in a style of much beauty, but superficial and essentially southern in its character. Niccola Pisano was the founder of this school—the parent of sculpture and painting through his judicious use of antiquity, a man of whom, in that respect, it would be impossible to speak too

highly, but whose fame would have stood higher had he adhered strictly to his Transalpine models in Architecture."—*Ibid.* vol. ii. pp. 30, 31.

This style it was which was immediately succeeded by the Cinquecento, or revived Antique; with merely alluding to which "comparatively anti-Christian" element in the history of Art south of the Alps, we shall withdraw from this vast theme, for which the study of a life would barely be sufficient to qualify a man to speak with confidence and authority.

The tone of our extracts hitherto will seem to have very ill-supported our assertion, that Lord Lindsay's book is on other subjects besides "Architecture." We have, however, taken him at his word, and exhibited only its architectural feature; and shall merely remark of the rest, that Painting is its leading theme. At page 43 of his second volume he begins to discuss "sculpture, mosaics, and painting;" and the reader has been already made aware that, soon after, Niccola Pisano and Giotto divide his attention. His third volume discusses the "school of Sienna," the "semi-Byzantine school of Florence," the "primitive school of Bologna," and "Sculpture and Painting north of the Alps." On making reference to the "general classification of Schools and Artists," in Volume I., we discover that we have thus been conducted only over the first of five "Periods," into which the writer considers that the entire field of Christian Art is capable of being divided.

But our extracts must now draw to a close. Lord Lindsay's work will be more acceptable to those who have had the high privilege of visiting the works he describes than to those who dream of pictures here in England only,—dreaming of that which, so to say, they have never seen, and may never see. Our National Gallery, precious to us as it undoubtedly is, gives us but a miserable insight into the Halls of Painting; while into the *History* of the Art, it gives us literally no insight at all. Neither will our private Collections, numerous and excellent as they are—so numerous and so excellent indeed as to be, in the *truest* sense, our National Gallery,—neither will these furnish us with the specimens which we are taught to desiderate. Where is Niccola Pisano,—of whom Lord Lindsay says, "in comparing his advent to that of the sun at his rising, I am conscious of no exaggeration. On the contrary, it is the only simile by which I can hope to give you an adequate impression of his brilliancy and power relatively to the age in which he flourished;"—where is Cimabue and Giotto? where the schools of Sienna and Bologna? It will be answered, at Pisa and at Florence—at Sienna and at Bologna: and it must be so, from the nature of the case. But can we by

no expedient behold them *here*? not their compositions only, but their peculiarities of colouring and expression, which no series of engravings in outline can ever pretend to represent. Without *some* help, books like these are dry teachers. Schools and their succession, even though it is *proved* of each that it progressed by Antagonism, convey little interest, because they have no reality; names stand for nothing, and dates are useless.

But Lord Lindsay is by far too accomplished and well-bred a man not to be well aware of this; and he has accordingly enlivened his pages with many a graphic detail, and engaging personal trait. Here indeed it is that he comes out to most advantage, and gains most upon us. His enthusiasm is awake in a moment; and if he expresses himself at times with an almost boyish freshness of feeling, such language seems to become him well. His sympathies are with whatever is exalted and noble,—never so happy as when he can exhibit the union of genius and virtue, as in Fra Angelico (vid. vol. iii. p. 195, *et seq.*), and so very many more than we are apt to think of the early Artists. This faithful yearning after purity of heart, (which is, alas, so widely distinct a thing from refinement of Taste!) reconciles us to many a slip in his lordship's pages. He never forgets to tell us that which we love best to hear about. Such a feature in the early annals of Art as the following, for instance. He is speaking of the pious language of the decrees of Sienna, in reference to public works of Art,—“referring all things, in the first instance, humbly and reverently to the glory of God.” He proceeds:—

“Correspondent to this is her solicitude for the personal character and respectability of her artists, and her liberality towards those she found deserving of her favour. In a remarkable decree, as late as 1438, respecting the election of an architect of the Duomo after the death of Giacomo della Quercia, it is provided that neither an usurer, gamester, contractor for illicit gain, or indulger in nameless vice, nor any one even suspected of such delinquencies, shall be eligible to the office.”—*Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 119.

How precious would the belief be that none but the holy could adequately discourse, whether with the pencil or the pen, of holy things! And perhaps, after all, there may be better grounds for such a belief than is commonly supposed. The following may be only the type of many similar traits:—

“Guido, who like all great masters, felt and acknowledged the merits of his ancestors in Art, was an especial admirer of this painting (the ‘Madonna del Monte’). Count Carlo Malvasia, the historian of the Bolognese school, surprised him one day contemplating it in a sort of ecstasy, and he vindicated himself by observing that ‘there was a cer-

tain superhuman character in the countenances of Lippo's Madonnas, which made him think his pencil had been moved by a hidden gift of inspiration rather than mere mortal skill, exhibiting (as he did) in those pure mirrors of the ideal, a holiness, a modesty, a purity and a gravity which no modern artist, however excellent, however studious, had ever been able to attain to.' He proceeded to recount to me, continues the writer, how devotionally affected Lippo had been towards the mother of God, 'whence,' he said, 'we should not marvel that his hand so well expressed the image which he bore imprinted on his heart,' adding that, 'he never painted her without fasting the previous evening, and receiving absolution and the bread of angels' (the Eucharist) 'on the morning after.'—*Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 217.

Most welcome of all, however, will these volumes be to those who are about to visit Italy. The patient enumeration of the subjects of the several compartments of large fresco paintings, and the many tasteful remarks with which they are accompanied, would be unspeakably valuable when the dark undecypherable expanse of painted wall was stretched before us. Yes, "dark and undecypherable;" and *that*, not so much through antiquity, as through neglect. Still oftener do we read in these pages of vanished treasures. It is but a melancholy satisfaction to discover that English churchwardens are not the only barbarians on the surface of the earth. These modern freemasons seem to have *lodges* in every part of the civilized world; and their secret is contained in one emphatic word—"whitewash." Hence the "postscriptum" with which Lord Lindsay concludes his concluding volume:—

"I cannot dismiss these volumes without a word of appeal to the rulers of Italy in behalf of the grand old frescoes which are either perishing unheeded before their eyes, or that lie entombed beneath the whitewash of barbarism, longing for resuscitation, pining for the light of day.

"By a natural but most unfortunate casualty, the best works of the early painters being generally in more conspicuous and desirable places than those done in their youth, they were the more liable to perish, the rage for novelty destroying in each successive generation the works of the preceding one in order to substitute its own. It is thus that sometimes two or three frescoes are found painted one over the other in Italy. It was thus that the frescoes of Perugino, of Signorelli, and others in the Sistine chapel and in the stanze of the Vatican, were thrown down to make room for those of Raphael and Michael Angelo. When minds like these are in question, the consolation is obvious—we have got better in exchange; but when we read of similar devastations in favour of the Vasaris, Perino del Vagas, &c., of the decadence, the case is different, and one could weep for very despoilment."—*Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 417.

Thus, to the very last, is Painting Lord Lindsay's theme,

though "Architecture" is the professed subject of his pages. If we are called upon to explain *why* it has pleased him to introduce Painting and Sculpture to our notice under the topic of Architecture, the reason must be sought in the fact that Painting and Sculpture are, as it were, her handmaids,—have ever grown up under her protection, and in subjection to her will. Architecture is, in fact, a chief or master-art; and waiving all the fine things which might be said about it, historically and theoretically, we shall conclude as we began, with a few words on Architecture:—on Sacred Architecture, as its chief department:—on Sacred Architecture in England, as that aspect of the art in which we have the greatest concern, and feel the deepest interest. The many unequivocal indications of a reviving taste for the Fine Arts in general, but for Architecture in particular, have long *compelled* us to look in this direction; and it is presumed that a few remarks on the subject will be neither untimely at this season, nor out of place in these pages.

Whither we are tending,—as was remarked in a previous page,—it is not easy to foretell; by which it is not meant that we view the present rapidly-spreading taste for æsthetics with apprehension, so much as that we watch with anxious interest the growth—say rather the revival—of a sentiment in which the experience of past ages shows that Christianity has ever been most deeply interested. Low, indeed, must be our estimate of the sturdy life which animates the Church of our Fathers, if we could feel really apprehensive lest the luxuriance of weeds and parasites—if parasites and weeds they be—should endanger that vitality. Precariously, indeed, must the waters of life bubble up in those wells which are endangered by the canopy—be it of marble or of stone, early English or Perpendicular—reared by Love for their protection: feebly, indeed, must those truths shine out which can be obstructed by the chequered ray falling from a painted window, or obscured by the "dim, religious light" produced by vaulted roof or clustered column. No; we are haunted by no undue apprehensions. Rather will we be bold to record our deep conviction, that the *real* danger is to be apprehended from that state of things, from which, by God's Providence, we are daily further and further removing. Notwithstanding all that may be plausibly urged as to the non-connexion of the outward and the inward, they are, they ever have been, and must for ever be, closely and intimately connected. Men *may*, indeed, pray as fervently, and—who can doubt it?—be heard as well in the fields as in the town; in the dungeon as in the Cathedral. The Prophet was heard among the lions as well as in his chamber; in his chamber as well as in the Temple: but it was *there* that he loved



best to worship; and when that might not be, he opened his chamber-windows, "towards Jerusalem," and kept faithfully the hours of prayer. And such has been the temper of the saints in all times. Till they might worship in the light, our Fathers were content to worship in the Catacombs; but they well knew that the soaring spire and swelling dome were the fittest symbols beneath which to worship the "Ancient of days," Who inhabiteth eternity. Nor does this creed of theirs and ours—these general notions of fitness and propriety—rest on the suggestions of uninspired wisdom. Even while the Ark was a wanderer, the exact manner in which it should be curtained round was made a matter of special revelation; and when it pleased the Almighty to select a site for His Temple, He also gave, "by the Spirit," "the pattern" of all things appertaining to its structure and decoration<sup>1</sup>. It is not, then, so much the wish to honour God, by seeking to beautify His Temple, that we are apprehensive of in its tendencies, as of that vulgar spirit which degrades all it touches; which expresses its hatred of the thing symbolized, by quarrelling with the symbol; which begins by assailing the ornamental, and ends by demolishing the essential; and which seems to regard as the type of *spiritual* worship a white-washed barn, built of such materials, and fitted up in such a style, as would be deemed disgraceful in any place,—except the Temple of Almighty God. *This* is the style which we *do* dread in its tendencies. We really *are* apprehensive lest Truth should suffer in such chapels as we have sometimes seen in the metropolis: square, dingy structures, surmounted by an apparatus which seems to have been borrowed from the stabling of an old-fashioned country house,—a clock-face on its four sides, and an arrow at top. Within these non-descript structures, two tiers of gallery recall the playhouse rather than the house of prayer. The tall, dreary pews, hermetically sealed at the sides, suggest the true notion of Presbyterian exclusiveness. The Font is, in all probability, no where at all; and the Holy Table is hid by what resembles three auctioneers' pulpits, one on the shoulders of the other (symbolical, doubtless, of the three orders of the ministry—Priests, Deacons, and Parish-Clerks); the whole being surmounted by a parabolic sounding-board. In places like these we *are* apprehensive, not a little, lest the truth may suffer; nay, it *must* have suffered fearfully. How shall we be sure of the inward grace, if the outward sign be wanting?

But at the same time that we record very fully, and very honestly, this our deliberate conviction, we should very ill discharge our duty, and very inadequately express our opinion, if we omitted

<sup>1</sup> 1 Chron. xxviii. 11, 12. 19. Compare Exod. xxv. 40.

to trace with a firm hand the corresponding evils which *may* arise out of an undue reliance on the forms which we have inherited from past ages. And here we would not be misunderstood. By "reliance," we do not mean to imply that men suppose there is any virtue or efficacy in styles of Architecture, or in Form, or in Colour. This would be absurd. But it is to "rely" on the legacies of the past, servilely to copy and implicitly to follow that glorious symbolism, simply because it gratifies the eye, and appeals successfully to sympathies in themselves pure and unexceptionable. And herein, we apprehend, lies our danger. There exists a very considerable analogy between an awakened Taste and an awakened Conscience. Both are seized, so to speak, with remorse, and are eager to testify their repentance; both have apprehended—imperfectly indeed, yet most keenly—one or two great truths, and are unwilling to relax their hold. They are respectively placed at a great disadvantage to contemplate surrounding objects; and that they mistake and misapprehend, judge falsely, and reason incorrectly, is a fault which attaches to their respective positions rather than to themselves. It is on this general subject, therefore—the duty which invites, and the dangers which beset us—that we desire, in conclusion, to offer a few words; humbly, but earnestly, commending them to all those whom they may concern.

Much of our meaning seems capable of being summed up in a single sentence. It will probably be readily admitted that all forms and symbols—all the *external language of Art*—should be *the expression of an inward Feeling*. This alone it is which gives dignity, not to say respectability, to Architecture, Sculpture, Painting; and we will confine our remarks for the present to the former, both as it is more intimately mixed up with Christianity, and the art to which the other two have ever been in no slight degree ministerial. There have, indeed, been lulls in the æsthetic history of every nation, during which it seemed to speak no particular language, to have no distinct or definite sentiment to express; (like a ship at the instant of tacking, when the sails, ere the wind finds them out, flap idly against the mast;) but with such periods we have nothing to do. To say that *we*, in common with the rest of Europe, have been in such a position for the last two or three hundred years, would be to assert that which nautical men would deny the possibility of. On *this* subject a few words shall be offered hereafter. For the present, the point on which we are insisting is, that architectural forms should be the expression of a heartfelt sentiment, a distinct and deliberate conviction, a settled Faith. It has ever been so. It will, we trust, some day be so again. But it is not so *now*. Let us

not defend ourselves against this charge by assailing our neighbours. They may be as badly off as we are ; they doubtless are : they *ought* to be a great deal worse. Let us be content to look at home ; and we shall find that there prevails a merely eclectic spirit ; or rather, that there exists no independent taste at all. There has been neither adaptation, as of old, when churches grew out of basilicas ; nor development, as when the Lombard grew out of the union of the Roman and the Byzantine styles ; and the pure northern Gothic again, out of the Lombard, when it had crossed over to this side of the Alps. There has been injudicious adoption, and unfaithful copying, and infelicitous perversion ; and, with a few brilliant exceptions, this has been all. We are, as it were, at a stand-still. Are we called upon to build ? —(for population increases,—and towns grow,—and conflagrations destroy ;—and the club must have its *locus*,—and the City its Exchange,—and the Nation its Gallery,—and the national Council its House of Assembly ; fashionables, in other words, must lounge,—and merchants stand,—and pictures hang,—and members sit,—*somewhere* : ay, and even Churches must be reared, though Piety is no longer as anxious as she used to be to rear them :) are we called upon to build ? designs are advertised for ; and, with one or two signal exceptions, what *principle* is recognized by those designing men, whose vagaries are straightway laid before the public ? We are presented with porticoes which *could* not prove a shelter, if they would ; and which *would* not, even if they could ; or columns supporting nothing ; or pilasters, encumbering the façade which they cannot adorn ; or a castellated front, where the watchword is Peace ; or narrow windows, where light is the thing most wanted. In short, Gothic features where every association calls for at least a Palladian approach to the classic models : and Grecisms, where they are necessarily as unwelcome and out of place as Plato and Aristotle in an episcopal charge. Nor least offensive is that bizarre style, wholly preposterous and unmeaning, of which Sir John Soane has left us so many examples ; original, only because it is all but impossible that such vagaries should have ever entered any one's head before, or ever enter any one's head again. Such is no exaggerated account of the state of things among us at the present day ; and in proof that we have not been writing at random, let any one take his station at Charing Cross, and survey the erections which, at an enormous outlay, cover (not to say encumber) one of the noblest sites in any European capital. But to complain of *this*, or to particularize any of our public undertakings, was not our object. Here the classic element has been allowed, and perhaps properly, to reign supreme : let its defenders defend the several specimens of

it as they please. Our remarks are meant rather for those well-disposed persons, who, while they have our truest sympathies, must excuse us for admitting that they have not unfrequently awakened our anxieties as well. We called them the *Goths* when we spoke of them last: let us now address them as the persons on whom our hopes are fixed; as the advocates, namely, of a distinctly Christian style of architecture for edifices which are to be erected for distinctly Christian purposes.

And here the question immediately arises, what *is* Christian Architecture? or rather, what should be *our* Christian style of Architecture? for the question would have been answered in one way in one century and country, and in another way in another, for the last fifteen hundred years; and every answer would have been a true one. We shall perhaps be asked to explain what we mean. Our meaning will appear plainly enough, one should hope, to any one who has accustomed himself to consider that in architecture every thing has a meaning; and *should* have a fitness, and adaptation; that the human architect should imitate the Divine,—Who, with consummate, yea, with unutterable skill, has adapted every created thing to the agent for whose use His love designed it, and the purposes to which His wisdom intended that it should be applied;—and, accordingly, that every thing we build should be an image of our purpose, replete with intelligence, down to its very minutest detail. If we *indeed* believe that Baptism is the initiatory rite to the Church, then let the Font or Baptistry cleave to the entrance of the material fabric; and if it be the Church's intention that that holy Sacrament shall be administered, "when the most number of people come together," then let the font never be so constructed that the congregation can neither hear the service, nor witness the performance of the sacred rite. The like, *mutatis mutandis*, holds of the other Sacrament: and the principle would bear illustration and development to any extent. Enough has, perhaps, been said; and the judicious and thoughtful reader, following out a slight hint, will at once anticipate what practical conclusions we could deduce from it. They are obviously such as the following:—that it becomes a very grave necessity, in building churches, that we ask ourselves the question, —*not* what style do our friends admire the most? *not* what cathedral or church that we have seen shall we imitate? *not* what shall we reproduce? but,—what style will best suit the purposes of this particular building which we are about to erect? What disposition of the several parts will most facilitate the purposes of Divine worship according to the usages of this pure communion? What symbolism—Catholic, not Romish, nor Pagan, nor Sectarian; what Catholic symbolism will express the holy object of

this building; the high privileges and immortal hopes of those who will assemble here; the apostolic faith and evangelical doctrines which are here to be exemplified and proclaimed? How much can be afforded for the adornment of this place, where the "beauty of holiness" may well claim expression at our hands? Nor will the judicious Architect fail to carry on such debate until the minutest details of the sacred edifice have been adjusted. The kneeling places will be studiously contrived, with a view to the kneeling of those who shall occupy them. He who reared the spire or spread the dome will not suffer it to be ever discovered by the worshippers that it was of *it* that he thought, and not of *them*. . . . On the other hand, there will be here no solitary mass performed at private altars for the souls of the dead; no need, therefore, of chapel-like recesses, which shun the light. The Minister will have to "read with a loud voice," and to pray "with an audible voice;" and, again, to "read distinctly with an audible voice . . . so standing and turning himself as he may best be heard of all present;" therefore must he be facilitated by the Architect, in his pious endeavour to obey these orders. Again: "the Priest, turning to the people," shall "rehearse distinctly all the Ten Commandments;" therefore, were it mere mockery to erect such a screen between him and them, as may be neither seen through nor scarcely heard through; or to devise such a length of chancel, as might equally obstruct the voice of him who officiates, and conceal his person from the greater part of those who compose the congregation. Many of these difficulties are, indeed, easily met, and readily disposed of; but there are *requirements* to be fulfilled, no less than evils to be avoided. Many requirements are, indeed, satisfied, and most difficulties eluded, by the highly popular device of four bare walls; the production, in short, of such a church as the parishioners of suburban Hackney are provided withal; but is that a *Church* or an *Amphitheatre*?

It is easy to imagine some one smiling at what has gone before, as if it were, in point of fact, a faithful enumeration of the questions which every Architect invariably puts to himself before commencing his design for any structure whatsoever. Let us keep to churches; and let the man with the smile on his face enter almost any church he pleases, built within the first twenty-five years of the present century, (indeed, one might *almost* add, or of the following twenty-two years either,) and candidly say whether the laugh is not against him? whether, if those questions *were* asked, there is not sufficient evidence to prove that the oracle returned such very ambiguous answers, that it is most devoutly to be wished that they could be asked over again?

And here we check ourselves ; for to venture further would be to overstep our vocation, and intrude on the province of the profession with which we have been making so free. It is for the really enlightened and well-educated Professor, who has contemplated and studied on the spot the finest specimens of Byzantine, and Lombard, and Gothic art, in the East, in Italy, in Germany, and at home ; whose portfolio is full of plans and proportions ; whose Memory suggests the respective merit and demerits of every system ; and whose graceful Fancy, aided by a mature Judgment, is longing to combine, after a fashion of its own, those seemingly discordant, and certainly dissociated elements, into one intelligent and harmonious whole ;—it is for *him* to consider *what* is to be done ; what, for instance, if the same public interest were to be excited to-morrow in behalf of a Cathedral Church, which we have witnessed in behalf of the new Houses of Parliament, (now rising in such splendour beneath the hands of our own admirable Barry,) he himself would *do* ?

Our anxiety, then, definitely expressed, amounts to this :—a sentiment akin to apprehension is sometimes awakened, lest the generous enthusiasm which is so rife at the present moment to save monuments confessedly beautiful, should lead to the practical fallacy of requiring their repetition ; of supposing that because a thing is to be *preserved*, that *therefore* it is to be imitated. There is always a danger of admiring too much that on which we have bestowed a large amount of study ; and of becoming too passionately attached to that which we admire : of surrendering judgment, and losing the power of discrimination ; of copying blemishes as well as beauties ; and of mistaking the former for the latter.

It will perhaps be urged in reply to all this,—and apparently with considerable truth,—that just at present we need be under no anxiety to control or curb the style in which churches are built. That it should suffice us to see them built at all. That if our people were to come to our church-doors, and ask for standing room to hear God's word, we should be obliged to answer that we had not standing room for more than a small fraction of them : and that while this is the case, it is quite idle to be discussing principles of construction. Moreover, that there is nothing to *hinder* worship, however incongruous the structure ; whatever laws it may defy, and whatever prejudices it may violate ; and that the difference between what is approved and what condemned, is often, after all, but very trifling. All this is what may be said.

But, waiving the many obvious fallacies in such reasoning, though we should concede,—which however we cannot,—that the little church reared in an obscure district, whether of town or

country, so long as it *be* erected, it matters nothing *how*: though this point were allowed, it surely follows not that the entire question is to be so easily disposed of. Is it to be assumed that cathedral churches are never more to be built,—by our children if not by ourselves? And thus we are immediately made sensible of the impolicy of overlooking the lesser indications, if we would hereafter contend for the principle, which the greater and the less involve alike. No. The day is assuredly not far distant—if it be not come already—when there will be a cry from the people for that which our artists have it not in their power to supply. Even now, it may be, we do but lack the man to invent,—the creative spirit which, out of the many precious materials at command, should select, adapt, combine; and from his own proper stores *supply* that which should impart a purpose and an unity to the whole; and there would not be wanting some one noble heart, willing, like St. Anthony and St. Augustine of old, to sell all that it has, for the sake of Christ and the glory of His Church. A new style, in other words, is the *creation* of a great genius. One man, it is true, cannot constitute a school; but genius is infectious; and there were never found wanting the men who could follow, when there had been found the man who could lead. All that is wanted now, is the enthusiasm of genius to kindle the train which has been already in abundance laid. As for “want of encouragement,”—what is it but a phrase invented by dull mediocrity to account for the phenomenon of its own dulness? For our own parts, we cannot listen to any insinuations, from without or from within, which shall seem to imply that the deficiency lies deeper than we have represented. The thought is not to be endured that a faith so pure and apostolic,—a communion which has nursed within its bosom Saints without number, and Confessors who would have been Martyrs had they lived in days when the stake or the block—the fiery robe or the scarlet collar—was the price of confessorship; it is treason to suppose, that in such a Church there are not hearts *now* every whit as warm as at any previous period of our history. We have lived to see an increase of our Episcopate,—a thing which our fathers would have pronounced impossible. The boon has been granted in a niggardly spirit; and what is worse, under conditions which are unconstitutional, and which in a great measure make the concession nugatory. Still the Episcopate *has* been enlarged. It *will* be extended yet further; and Cathedral Churches will yet have to be built.

“I much fear,” says Lord Lindsay, “that Mr. Pugin is right—that it is ‘as utterly impossible to square a Catholic building with the present rites, as to mingle oil with water.’”—*Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 29.

Too strongly stated by Mr. Pugin, and involving an untruth into the bargain. For "Catholic," read "exclusively Romish." Nor do we quite see why the incompatibility of the two should be a subject of "fear" to Lord Lindsay.

"That 'those who think merely to build chancels without reviving the ancient faith, will be miserably deceived in their expectation,'—that 'the study of ancient church architecture' (in such an exclusive spirit) 'is an admirable preparation for the old faith,'—and that 'if the present revival of Catholic antiquity is suffered to proceed much further, it will be seen that either the Common Prayer or the ancient models must be abandoned.' (Eccl. Antiq. pp. 130, 137.)"—*Ibid.* p. 30.

Overstated once more; nay, as it stands, actually untrue; yet containing a partial truth, for the sake of which we are content to transcribe it. But Lord Lindsay's comment on the passage is yet more startling:—

"But what is the alternative? the meeting-house? By no means. The Church of England is *neither Catholic nor Protestant,*" &c.—*Ibid.*

O, Lord Lindsay, Lord Lindsay!—However, take the conclusion of his lordship's note (for it is no more); and it will be found to be almost the echo of what we had penned before we read it.

"This then is the problem,—England wants a new architecture, expressive of the epoch, of her Anglican faith . . . a modification, it may be, of the Gothic, but not otherwise so than as the Gothic was a modification of the Lombard, the Lombard of the Byzantine and Roman, the Byzantine and Roman of the classic Greek, the classic Greek of the Egyptian. We have a right to expect this from the importance of the epoch; and I see no reason why the man to create it, the Buschetto of the nineteenth century, may not be among us at this moment, although we knew it not."—*Ibid.*

We can quite imagine Mr. Pugin, however,—himself in the schismatical position of a seceder from the English Church,—and other persons of his own way of thinking, indignantly repelling the notion, the mere possibility that Art of any kind, but especially that a new Style of Architecture should arise, like another goddess of Beauty, out of such troubled waters as ours. Whether it is to be so, or not, time must discover. We shall not be so confident as to affirm that which an opponent might as confidently deny. Conceding however, that, as an actual matter of fact, we have partaken largely in the general decadence in respect of æsthetics, with which, owing to the mighty disor-



ganizing influences of these latter days, *the whole of Europe* has been visited; granting even that, as a reformed Church, we are decidedly anti-æsthetical in our tendencies and temper; we shall still confidently repel any derogatory insinuations which might be derived from this circumstance. We do but recognize in this, as in so many other respects, our resemblance to the Church of the first three or four centuries; and humbly, nay, thankfully, acquiesce in our peculiar destiny. We shall not, at all events, be disposed to admit the fact as a head of indictment against us; for, on the whole, after the fairest consideration of both sides of the question, we cannot but conclude as follows:—If there is a form of Christianity now in the world which is more bent on inward purity than on outward display, and is almost destitute of sensual attractions;—a religion which is, nevertheless, regarded with jealousy by the secular arm, and ever suspected of aiming at power and affecting splendour, while its very spirituality is made its reproach by an opposite class of enemies;—a religion whose doctrines have been often denounced, but never convicted of inconsistency with the unerring rule of Right;—a religion which it has been generally attempted to decry by appealing to its comparative numerical smallness, but which is infinitely larger than its enemies are willing to confess; not “national,” as has been so often asserted, but as Catholic in its extent as any which exists;—a religion which has indeed been fruitful in sects and grotesque forms of heresy, but which has never hitherto wanted a champion,—a Hooker, a Laud, a Bull, a Butler,—to engage its foes, whether assailing it from within or from without;—a religion seemingly indefinite in some of its outlines, and singularly destitute of systematic treatises embracing the encyclopædia of doctrine, theoretical and practical;—a religion which is only held by the State, so to speak, in mechanical solution, being *in* it, but not *of* it; frequently ill-used, and exposed at all times to its plunder, oppression, and wrong;—a religion which, stationary and inactive as it may seem, is, in truth, working like leaven, and actively engaged in evangelizing distant portions of the globe;—a religion which seeks for love, but finds cruelty and persecution; which yet, amid many discouragements and some defections, looks forward with hope and confidence to a high destiny in reserve for it, and brighter days hereafter;—a religion which men of other countries brand with hard names, and so barely allow, that its members abroad are obliged to meet for purposes of prayer in upper chambers and private houses, anathematized, as if their church were some impure thing, fit only to be cast out with loathing and abhorrence, as unworthy of regard till it has atoned for its involuntary estrangement, and assimilated

itself to the larger corrupt mass, with which, at a certain time, it seemed to all but its own eyes identified ;—a religion which, nevertheless, cannot be brought for any consideration to perform this act of reconciliation, on the ground that it is possessed of a Revelation from Almighty God forbidding its compliance ; and is content to be chiefly mocked and insulted for urging this very plea ;—a religion which is compelled to protest against the worship of the creature rather than the Creator, and contends that the larger part of the civilized world have darkened their consciences, perverted the teaching of God, and taught for doctrines the commandments of men :—if there be such a religion now in the world, it is not unlike Christianity *as Christianity actually was* when first it came forth from its Divine Author.

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ART. VII.—*Letters to M. Gondon, author of "Mouvement Religieux en Angleterre," "Conversion de Soixante Ministres Anglicans," &c. &c., on the Distinctive Character of the Church of Rome both in Religion and Policy.* By CHRISTOPHER WORDSWORTH, D.D., Canon of St. Peter's, Westminster.

IT is difficult to write on the subject of the defections which have recently taken place to Romanism without seeming either to undervalue or to overvalue the importance of that movement. On the one hand, it would be inexpedient as well as absurd to join in the lamentation of some well-meaning persons, who imagine that all the learning and piety which existed in the English Church has departed along with those who have fallen away from her communion. It may be very natural for those who have derived their views in religion entirely from the former writings of those unhappy persons, to suppose that truth and piety and learning cannot be found elsewhere; that whatever is not cast in their peculiar mould must be worthless. And this is a feeling which is, of course, assiduously kept alive by all the opponents of the Church, especially by Romanists. To hear them, we might suppose that theology had remained altogether unknown in the Church of England until a Newman or a Faber or an Oakley arose to call it into existence. But this is a sort of feeling and of argument which can have no influence on those who are acquainted, even slightly, with the real treasures of English theology,—who are not wholly ignorant of the writings of such men as Barrow and Laud, Bull, Beveridge, Hammond, Stillingfleet, Waterland, and others, who have in every way proved their intimacy with all the depths of Christian doctrine, and who have maintained its articles with triumphant effect against all adversaries whatsoever. To those who know the real power of Christian doctrine in such worthy hands,—to those who have not taken as their guides the views of rash and unsteady men of the present day—men whose principles were never settled—men who began to teach without having ascertained the truth of the principles on which they started—men who, without intellectual ballast, threw themselves into the troubled waters of controversy, and after being driven hither and thither, at length made shipwreck of their faith;—to

those who have made the Word and the Church of the living God their rule and their guide, the defection of such unstable men cannot be any matter of alarm or amazement. They know that if some of those who have fallen were remarkable for learning or for purity of life, still *greater* learning and not inferior holiness of conduct have distinguished those eminent men who, in former times, under all circumstances of persecution, have adhered to the communion of the English Church; nor are they ignorant, that in all ages of Christianity men of zeal, and of learning, and of seriousness of life have been at times misled and have fallen into very serious errors. Assuredly no one can deny to Wesley, for instance, a very sincere piety and zeal, and attainments of a very respectable description; and yet this did not save him from error and schism. Heresiarchs indeed, in every age, have been, for the most part, remarkable for ability, attainments, and austerity of life; while it is evident that in some one point their Christian character has been extremely defective. And we should say that the great fault of those who acted as leaders of the party which has now separated from the Church, lay in rashness and overconfidence in their own judgment. This secret pride of intellect naturally led to extravagance in every shape, and as naturally brought down on its subjects the displeasure of the rulers of the Church and the general disapprobation of its members; so that, in the end, having brought upon themselves a virtual excommunication, and feeling that all their influence was at an end for ever, they gave way to the temptation of forsaking a communion which had ceased to regard them with favour, and turned their eyes towards that communion which their rashness and thirst for novelty had long inspired with hopes of their conversion. Unstable men, puffed up by the adulation of a circle of admirers, they were unable to endure their fall from the position which they had, not undeservedly, for a while occupied in public estimation; and as they were incapable of submitting their judgments to authority, or of taking the place of learners after having occupied that of teachers, they easily fell into the snares which were placed in their way.

There can be no evil now in expressing opinions on the characters of those whose actions and conduct have so long become public property, and who are entirely cut off from the communion of the Church of England. While they remained, however frail their tenure might be,—however uncertain and unintelligible and unsatisfactory their position undoubtedly was, still it was advisable to avoid the expression of any opinions which might have given pain to those individuals; but the case is widely altered when the Gordian knot has been cut by their own act. Their

separation leaves us at liberty to speak more freely ; and in the exercise of that freedom we do not hesitate to say, that however striking and remarkable were the abilities of Mr. Newman, and however considerable were his attainments—and they were continually on the increase—and however beautiful was, in some respects, the tone of his mind, yet still, there was throughout his whole conduct as a theological teacher, from the first moment of his publication of the “ Tracts for the Times ” till the close of his literary career by the publication of the “ Essay on Development,” a temerity on all theological subjects, which, aided as it was by a most singular and remarkable obstinacy and pertinacity in the maintenance of opinions put forward hastily and on very slight grounds, was amply sufficient to account for the aberrations from sound doctrine which gradually appeared, and which had an issue so deplorable. We do not wish to speak with any disrespect or harshness of Mr. Newman, but such is our opinion of his mental and moral constitution. Opinions were very hastily taken up, and on very imperfect knowledge in many cases. Those opinions were, when once put forward, defended with extreme ingenuity and industry. No pains were spared to accumulate proofs in their defence ; *nothing was ever retracted*, though every one must have seen that some matters had been, to say the least, incautiously stated. We are merely stating facts, not explaining them.

And besides this, there was an organization for the spread of opinions ; an organization which had all the characters of a *party* within the Church, and which led to party feeling and party conduct. And this organization in itself rendered it in a manner necessary that no backward steps should be taken ; that no confession of faults or errors should be made ; to have done so, would have been to diminish or destroy the unbounded influence which was exercised over minds which accepted the teaching of certain persons as virtually infallible ; and perhaps it might be dreaded, that minds of that description, if once their confidence was shaken, might fall away into serious errors of various kinds. Such is our opinion of the position occupied by the only person of eminence who has left the Church. The others who preceded or followed him were mere satellites, men of no power or learning, and in many cases deplorably weak. These persons were entirely mystified by the sophistries which a superior mind had invented for the purpose of reconciling what could not possibly in reason be reconciled, namely, his position in the Church of England, and his principles. Hence arose that most strange and mystical theory which Mr. Ward and others openly advocated ; that religious truth was to be determined entirely by the feelings, and without any rational inquiry. On this wild and extravagant

theory,—the theory of Quakers, and enthusiasts of every kind,—scores of misguided men and women justified themselves in separating from the communion of the Church of England, and entering that of the Romanists, *without attempting any examination of the questions in debate!* They felt that the one was superior to the other; it came more home to their feelings, their moral instincts, their tastes: therefore they forsook the Church! Of course, however much we may lament to see any persons so misled, we cannot attach the slightest particle of weight to conversions operated on such principles. It was a mere chance that, with such principles, they did not become Shakers, or Baptists, or Mahomedans, or Mormons.

These are things which show the gross and extreme mistakes into which the leader of these unhappy persons had brought them. It was in the effort to escape from the consequence of his own irreconcilable inconsistencies, that he was obliged to have recourse to theories so extravagant, and which were, as usual, eagerly caught up and elaborately defended by his followers.

The publication of Tract XC. was in reality another attempt to get out of the difficulties caused by temerity, and the inconsistencies to which it had led. And this view of the Articles was, as usual, received with implicit faith, and carried out with the utmost extravagance of which it was capable. Hence the publication of many a pamphlet, and more than one bulky volume, in which such theories were elaborately and pertinaciously defended. Great was the labour employed on one side and the other in assailing and defending these theories. When suddenly a new light flashed upon their authors; the falsehood of all these theories was acknowledged, and after having for years struggled to maintain and propagate Romanism within the bosom of the Church of England, the unsoundness of this “non-natural” theory became glaringly evident; and its disappointed authors, unable to return to the faith from which they had apostatized, took refuge from their defeat in the communion of the Church of Rome.

While, however, it would be impossible for us to concur with those who appear to overrate the importance of the secession which has taken place, we are not disposed to consider the result as merely beneficial to the Church. Some advantages have doubtless followed from it. The secession of this small party has certainly tended to put a stop to the angry and unceasing controversy which was disturbing us; and though it must be expected that many inconveniences will for a time continue, it may still be hoped, that patience, and charity, and steadfastness of principle, will, in the end, avail to the removal of what evil remains.

Undoubtedly, if the Church has not lost any faithful adherents by the recent secession, the gain to Romanism has been considerable. To a *small* body like that of Romanism, the accession of even one or two hundred converts, of some education and station, is a matter of great moment. As the English Church extends to thirteen millions of the population, including all the higher classes, the loss of a hundred or two of her members is not of any serious consequence; but to Romanism, with its half million of adherents, and in its destitution of support by the higher classes, a small accession, such as has happened, is, indeed, a matter of great rejoicing, and of considerable importance. A little community like theirs feels, of course, very deeply even a small addition of numerical or moral force. What has recently occurred has raised the hopes and expectations of Romanists and of their supporters on the Continent to a very great degree. It was firmly believed that the whole Church of England was on the point of throwing itself into the arms of the papacy; and that the whole clergy were under the influence of the party which has left us. These sanguine expectations have been a little disappointed. The "instalment" is a very limited one. Some twenty or thirty clergy have, within the last few years, apostatized from the Church; but there seems no prospect of any further defection on a respectable scale; and what has occurred has unquestionably tended to produce in the Church a more general feeling against Romanism, than had previously existed. It has also produced some works in refutation of the claims of Romanism, which will survive the occasion which called them forth; and amongst them is the volume, the title of which we have placed at the head of this paper.

The series of letters which Dr. Wordsworth has addressed to M. Gondon, and which now appear in their collective form, was partially laid before the public last year, when we had the pleasure of noticing the portion which then made its appearance.

M. Gondon is one of those who cherishes the hope and expectation that the English nation will be *reconciled* to the see of Rome. His work, entitled "*Mouvement Religieux en Angleterre*," &c., is a sufficient proof of the interest which he takes in our affairs; and with this writer Dr. Wordsworth has maintained a correspondence, which has issued in the publication before us. After alluding to a letter received from M. Gondon, in which his hopes of the conversion of England to Romanism were expressed, Dr. Wordsworth thus proceeds:—

"Since that letter was written, much has occurred in France and England to strengthen that expectation. The number of *converts* to

Rome has been augmented by fresh accessions, of which full details have been published and circulated in your country; and an open demonstration has been made of the same hopes from one end of France to the other. No less than thirty-nine of your archbishops and bishops have enjoined the clergy and laity of their dioceses to offer up public prayers for the conversion of England. Masses have been said and litanies chanted for the 'return of England,' as you term it, 'to the unity of the Church.' Indulgences have been granted to all priests who offer the sacrifice of the altar, and to all laymen who partake of it, in the *intention* of interceding for our restoration to the Faith. Nor is this all. Rome has spoken. The Supreme Pontiff has authorized a *Novena* to be celebrated in the church of the Jesuits at Rome for our conversion. He has granted three hundred days' indulgence to all who visited the church during the *Novena*, and *plenary* indulgence to those who, after confession and communion, paid five visits to the church during that period."—pp. 1, 2.

Dr. Wordsworth introduces the subject of his letters by a clear and explicit statement of his views of the religious position of Rome and its adherents.

"Before I proceed further, allow me to acquaint you with my opinions concerning your relation, and that of the Church of France generally, to us in England, and to our Church. It is my belief that our blessed Lord designed his Church to be commensurate with the world in extent, and co-existent with it in duration. This Church,—thence called Catholic or Universal,—has many constituent elements, commonly termed *particular Churches*. Some of these are in a sounder state than others; some are in a healthy, some in a morbid, some in a moribund condition. Start not, I pray you, if I profess my conviction that the Church of Rome is of this *last* description; and that those national Churches which communicate with her in *all* her doctrines are necessarily in the same predicament.

"At the same time, I readily allow that the corruptions of the Church are not in themselves sufficient to justify its members in *separating* from it. Wilful schism is a mortal sin. No *disease* can be imagined so great that this can be its *remedy*. No Church on earth is perfect: the Apostolic and Apocalyptic Churches were tainted with heresies. Tares there are, and ever will be, mixed with the wheat, in every part of the universal field of the Church; and if the wheat will uproot itself because of the tares near it, it must look to grow, or rather to *wither*, in the *air*, for it will never find a place to its mind in the *soil*. Therefore, do not suppose that I am calling on you, or any one else, to *pluck himself* up from that part of the field in which he has been sown by the providence of God. No: let him only take care not to be *tares*, but to be *good wheat*.

"But then, you must suffer me to add, that the case may occur of a Church not allowing any persons to communicate with her, except



on this condition, that they communicate with her in her *corruptions*. A schism *must* then take place; and wilful schism, as was before said, is a mortal sin; and wo to him who gives *occasion* to it; wo to him, I say, 'by whom the offence cometh.' It is clear that in the case supposed the whole guilt of the schism lies with the Church which imposes sinful terms of communion; and the party who does not communicate with her does not separate himself; that is, is not guilty of schism. He is not the injurer, but the injured; he does not *commit evil*, but *suffers* it.

"Whether the Church of Rome does impose sinful terms of communion on her lay members, I leave you to judge: that she *does* impose them on her *clergy*, by compelling them to subscribe the Creed of Pius IV.,—which contains twelve articles not merely unknown to the Primitive Church, but, for the most part, *contrary* to what it received from Christ and his apostles, and *destructive* of it,—with an express declaration that out of this faith so enforced there is no salvation,—does not appear to me to admit of a doubt; and that, whether any one subscribes this creed or no, she is guilty of schism by *obtruding* it, I for my part cannot hesitate to affirm. If the whole of her priesthood were to abjure this oath as an illicit one, she herself would alone be responsible for what *she would call* their apostasy."—pp. 3—5.

A very just distinction is made between the case of those who have been born in foreign countries, and educated in the Roman communion, and that of persons who, having been baptized and brought up in the communion of the Church of England, have afterwards fallen away from it.

"Let the Church of England be as defective as they allege it is in means of spirituality and holiness; let her even be as corrupt as *we* affirm the Church of Rome to be, still they cannot prove that she is not a Church, and that she is not *the* Church in which they themselves have been baptized; and unless they can clearly demonstrate that she has *excommunicated* them by imposing on them sinful terms of communion, as we can show that the Church of Rome does excommunicate all those who cannot receive the unscriptural and anti-scriptural additions she has made to the practice of the Apostles, and of all the apostolic Churches, they have severed themselves from the Church, and are guilty of the heinous sin of schism, they are aiders and abettors of those who set up altar against altar, priest against priest, and bishop against bishop; that is, they are promoters of 'confusion and every evil work.' It is vain, therefore, for them to speak of their 'having joined the Church of Rome:' they have joined *no* Church, nor *can* they do so. They are wilful schismatics, and, as such, have put themselves out of communion with the *whole* Catholic Church. They are 'sine matre, sine sede, orbi fide, extorres sine lare,' like Cain. Let them even then possess the knowledge of Apostles, and the faith of martyrs, and the eloquence of angels; yea, let them give all their goods to feed

the poor, and their bodies to be burned, yet they have broken the bonds of Church unity, and therefore they have not charity; for, as St. Augustine says, 'Non habent Dei charitatem, qui non diligunt Ecclesiæ unitatem,' and therefore their gifts and graces, whatever they may be, profit them nothing, but only serve to increase their condemnation."—pp. 6, 7.

This is powerfully and justly said; and such expressions of sentiment are really valuable in the present day, in which men have learnt to be so very tender and gentle in their condemnation of error, that the language of reproof, and expostulation, and warning is virtually at an end. There is a morbid delicacy of feeling on such subjects too generally prevalent, and we are glad to see Dr. Wordsworth thus boldly expressing his sentiments, and not hesitating fearlessly to condemn, as an awful act of sin, the secession of those who, having been brought up in the midst of light and knowledge, have closed their eyes on the truth, and have become more dark and more superstitious than even those to whom they have united themselves. Ultramontanism itself—the very extremest and most superstitious party in the Church of Rome, has felt itself distanced by the extravagance of its youthful admirers and proselytes. Whatever had been rejected in Romanism by the good sense and the learning of its more intelligent adherents, has been blindly advocated by these neophytes. With them the Virgin Mary has become a real goddess, and all that is wanting now is, that her worship should wholly supplant that of Jesus Christ. The worship of the Virgin is indeed increasing so continually in the Roman communion, or *developing* itself, as these theorists say, that we can only look to the speedy advent of some such consummation.

The mention of this term "development" brings us to the object of Dr. Wordsworth's volume. He observes, that it is not his intention to compose a criticism on Mr. Newman's essay on that subject, which has, he observes, been already done by Dr. Moberly, Mr. Palmer, Mr. Irons, and Professor Butler of Dublin.

"My present concern," he continues, "is not with any individual work or person whatsoever, but with a *system*; and I advert to that volume only so far as it is connected with a *system*, and as it illustrates the proposition which I shall endeavour to prove in the following letters—I mean the *destructive* character of Romish principles. When carried to their legitimate results, they are, in my opinion, subversive of all that is most valuable and sacred in morals, politics, and religion."—p. 9.

Dr. Wordsworth proceeds to consider the question, how far

the doctrine of Mr. Newman, in his "Essay on Development," is really that of the Roman Church. He observes, that a year has now elapsed since the publication of that work, and that there has, therefore, been ample time for the judgment of the Church of Rome to be expressed upon it. What that judgment is may be gathered from what *has* been, and what *has not* been done. In the first place, according to the rules of the Roman pontifical, every one who has been an abetter of heresy, and who is afterwards admitted into the communion of the Church of Rome, is required to anathematize every heresy; and as Mr. Newman has not been required, on his admission to the Roman communion, to recant any of the opinions advanced in the "Essay," it may be inferred that the doctrines of that publication are in accordance with those of the Church of Rome. And, besides this, the Congregation of the Index would doubtless have placed its note of condemnation on the "Essay," if it had contained any thing which was erroneous or false in the opinion of the Congregation. But, in addition, the work in question has received the most marked applause from the Romish community generally. In the leading Ecclesiastical Review of France it has been termed "un beau fruit." In the Dublin Review it has been highly applauded, in an article attributed to one of the Romish vicars apostolic, in which the following passage occurs:—"The reader must peruse this volume as the description of the process of reasoning by which the author's powerful and well-stored mind was brought to a *full accordances* with Catholic truth." Another vicar-apostolic, a Dr. Gillis, who resides at Edinburgh, delivered a series of lectures upon it in the Scottish capital; thus, as Dr. Wordsworth remarks, receiving the Essayist into the number of the doctors of the Church of Rome, and placing his volume by the side of the "Liber Sententiarum" of Peter Lombard, and the "Secunda Secundæ" of Thomas Aquinas. Besides this, it appears from the *Univers*, the ecclesiastical intelligencer of the Continent, that the author of the "Essay on Development" has been honoured with a mark of approbation by the pope himself. The same letter from Rome, which appeared in that periodical, and which informed its readers of the devotion of the whole month of March, last year, to prayers by a religious society, for the conversion of England, also stated that Pope Gregory XVI. had presented a "beautiful crucifix" to Mr. Newman; and the present pope is said to have given public proofs of the same sentiments. We need not dwell further on the various proofs adduced by Dr. Wordsworth to show, that the "Essay on Development" is regarded in the Roman communion as entirely in accordance with sound doctrine. It is certainly a remarkable

fact, that no one has attempted in that communion to take exceptions to its doctrine in any one point. We, therefore, hasten to state Dr. Wordsworth's inferences.

“ Looking, then, at the reception of the author of the “ Essay on Development,” into the Church of Rome, with this volume as his confession of faith,—looking at the tributes of honour which have been paid to him and his work, by prelates of your Church, and by the pope; considering also that unity of doctrine and practice is affirmed by your Church, to be her special badge and prerogative, we should be guilty of great disrespect to her if we did not allow that this work is, (to adopt the first-mentioned bishop's words,) ‘ in full accordance with Catholic truth,’ as received and professed in the communion of Rome. You cannot wish us to imagine that the infallible head of the Church of Rome can have been deluded; and that he can have extended his favour to the publisher of a theory inconsistent with Roman orthodoxy.”—p. 17.

Dr. Wordsworth also observes, that a translation of the “ Essay on Development” into French, by Mr. Newman's *authority*, is publicly announced in France; and that, as he is now a student at the Propaganda at Rome, the publication of this translation must be regarded as a sufficient proof that the sentiments of the “ Essay on Development” are regarded as perfectly orthodox in the Roman communion.

Considering the Proteus-like evasions of Romanism when pressed in controversy, and its facility of devising distinctions for the purpose of escaping from every difficulty which may come in its way, it is certainly of great importance to have established any point so satisfactorily and irrefragably as this has been done. Doubtless no Romanist will acknowledge the particular statement of Mr. Newman's work as coming to him enforced by ecclesiastical authority, because none such has been formally given to it; but still, as there has not been the slightest censure or difference of opinion on the subject in the Roman communion, as its author has been received with the highest honour, and his work is openly republished, and translated, and applauded by Romish Reviews, and Romish Prelates, it can only be inferred that its general principle and doctrine is entirely in accordance with the Romish Creed.

Now this is a matter of more importance than at first sight appears. The “ Essay on Development” furnishes a new and very powerful argument against Romanism. It places in the most striking and remarkable point of view, the utter contradictions in first principles of the leading writers in defence of Romanism. The doctrine of development is absolutely and entirely opposed to that of tradition. Its first principle is, that

religion has been derived from a few leading principles laid down by Jesus Christ and the Apostles; that it has grown and expanded with the growth of the human mind; that its first beginnings were imperfect essays, as it were, which were afterwards carried to perfection; that the articles of the faith and the leading features of ecclesiastical polity did not subsist at the first, but were reasoned out and devised in after-ages. All this is very plausible, and sounds very well, until we hear the other side of the question from different advocates of the Romish Church. From *them* we learn that all these statements and theories are wholly false and erroneous; for that, instead of any thing like expansion, or novelty, or invention, the whole of the Christian doctrine and discipline has come down without the slightest change from the Apostles themselves. *Every thing* is an apostolic tradition. The worship of saints is an apostolic tradition; so is the use of images; so is the temporal and spiritual power of the papacy; so is the celibacy of the clergy, and every thing else which is maintained by Romanists! To hear these writers, there is no such thing as novelty of doctrine possible in the Roman Church: there has been, and there can be no change of any kind. The office of the Church is merely to decline and to declare what her faith is, and *always has been*.

This also is very plausible, and sounds exceedingly well; but, then, what a very awkward circumstance it is that the authors of the theory of development have contrived entirely to overthrow these notions, and have been so extremely candid as to inform us, that not one of these things is of apostolic origin; that they are merely the result of circumstances, or were excogitated in the course of ages, long after the times of the Apostles! What are we to think, when, as Dr. Wordsworth justly remarks, there are on this *fundamental* question, "Doctors against Doctors, Bishops against Bishops, Councils against Councils, Popes against Popes?"

We look upon it, that the cause of Christian truth has recently gained a very great advantage by the doctrine of development, which it did not previously possess. Till recently the theory of all advocates of Romanism was quite simple and consistent. They all agreed in asserting, with the utmost pertinacity, and in defiance of all fair and reasonable evidence to the contrary, that all the tenets of Romanism had descended from the Apostles themselves. It was not easy to meet such bold assertions—and nothing could be bolder than their tone—excepting by a painful and laborious induction of facts, and examination of evidence in disproof of these claims and assertions. But such a process, however ultimately satisfactory to the well informed judgment,

was in some respects defective; for the mass of pretended authorities adduced in proof of the Apostolic origin of these points of Romanism, was so great, that it was quite hopeless for men generally to examine them fully; and therefore an impression must have remained on some minds, that by possibility proofs might exist which had not been thoroughly sifted. But the case is wholly altered when *Romanism itself*, in another shape, comes forward to relieve us of all doubts and anxieties, by assuring us that it would be mere nonsense to think of looking for such things in Apostolic tradition—that they were decidedly *invented long after the Apostles—and that they could not have existed at the beginning!*

Dr. Wordsworth has very distinctly perceived the advantages which are now enjoyed by the advocates of Catholic truth in their contest with Romanism. In fact, the character of the contest ought hereafter, where there is any knowledge of the state of opinion, to change altogether. If these contradictions are well followed up and pressed upon the attention of Romanists, we shall anticipate nothing less than the rout and overthrow of their whole system.

We must extract the following passage in illustration of what has been said:—

“The aim of war is peace, and the end of controversy is truth. The question is now simplified between the Churches of Rome and England by the “*Essay on Development*,” and its appearance is, therefore, in a *certain sense*, a reason for gratitude to Him whose peculiar attribute it is to bring good out of evil; deeply to be deplored though it be for the author’s sake that such a work should have ever been written. Abundant though the evidence is, that the theory of development is the only consistent theory of Romanism, yet it has never, I believe, been propounded so distinctly, or worked out so elaborately, as by the author of this volume.”—p. 23.

Elsewhere, speaking of the Jesuit Professor Perrone, Dr. Wordsworth says:—

“Whether he will have cause to rejoice that Mr. Newman has now adopted Dr. Möhler’s profound theory, and has developed it in its full amplitude, remains yet to be seen. Of this I am sure, that with the rise of this theory, that of primitive tradition, to which the professor clings so fondly, must fall.

‘Non bene conveniunt, neque in unâ sede morantur.’

The Church of Rome is now in a very critical position. She desires to be like the last day of the Athenian months *ἔρη καὶ νέα*, both *new and old* at the same time. But she cannot remain where she is. The new moon must appear. And the essayist has been the first to announce it

in a bold and audible voice. Will she thank him for doing so? At present he has served only to remind us of her variations; to call our attention to the fact, that some of her doctors are for tradition, some for development, some for both. Is this consistent with truth? Is this unity? I begin to think that you will ere long have cause to rue his conversion."—p. 31, 32.

Dr. Wordsworth contrasts with the shifting and unsettled principles of the Romish belief, the firm and stable basis on which the English Church has taken her stand, namely, on Scripture, confirmed and illustrated by the general consent of Christians in the earliest ages. And he goes on to show, with especial reference to the "Essay on Development," that the principle of the Church of Rome tends to the entire subversion of the reason, as a channel for the reception of truth. He dwells on the folly and the extravagance of that strange mystical theory advocated in the "Essay on Development," which altogether excludes rational inquiry into the proofs of Christian doctrine. But he has scarcely remarked, so strongly at least as it deserves to be noted, the utter inconsistency of thus with one hand extinguishing all operations of the human reason and intellect in the investigation of religion, while, with another, that very intellect is enthroned in the midst of Christianity, and invested with the power of devising a continual multiplication of articles of faith. Assuredly nothing can be more glaringly inconsistent than this alternate deification and annihilation of the human intellect. Like every other of the many tortuous systems of defending Romanism, it sufficiently indicates the real weakness and falsehood of the cause which it professes to uphold. A Jesuit, to be sure, will never be without some distinction or evasion by which he may contrive to wind himself out of any contradictions, however plain and evident. There are, doubtless, men who could gravely undertake to show that there was nothing absurd or unreasonable in contending that "black is white;" but still, when men get so far as to make propositions of that nature, they have placed themselves at a disadvantage.

There is one passage in Dr. Wordsworth's able refutation of the theories on this subject of the "Essay on Development," which is deserving of notice from the completeness of the answer to Mr. Newman's assertions.

"He thus writes: 'It is the very objection urged by (the infidel) Celsus, that Christians were but parallel to the credulous victims of jugglers or of devotees, who itinerated through the pagan population. He says that some do not even wish to give or to receive a reason for their faith, but say, *Do not inquire, but believe, and, Thy faith will save*

*hee, and, A bad thing is the world's wisdom, and foolishness is a good.' How does Origen answer the charge? By denying the fact, and speaking of reason as proving the Scriptures to be divine, and faith, after that conclusion, receiving the contents, as it is now popular to maintain? Far from it; he grants the facts alleged against the Church, and defends it."*

Dr. Wordsworth, in reply, first quotes a passage from Barrow, in which this objection made by Celsus is considered, and then proceeds thus:—

"Now for a word concerning Origen. To adopt the essayist's language, 'How does Origen answer the charge of Celsus?' 'He grants the fact alleged against the Church by Celsus and defends it,' is the essayist's reply. But let Origen speak for himself. I cite from his third book against Celsus. Celsus (says he) thus writes: 'We see jugglers exhibiting their legerdemain in the streets, but never coming into the company of wise men, nor daring to act there; but when they behold children and slaves and a mob of silly folk, then they intrude themselves and display their feats.' But look, says Origen, 'how Celsus *calumniates* us, comparing us to mountebanks, itinerating through the populace. What do *we* like them? What do we even like his own pagan philosophers? They are not scrupulous about their scholars; any one may hear them who lists. But we, as much as we can, *pre-examine* the minds of those who come to us, and make them *rehearse* to us before we admit them to our communion.' . . .

"Hear Origen again: 'Celsus affirms that we say, this life's wisdom is bad, and that foolishness is good; but I reply, he *calumniously misrepresents* our words, not stating them as they are uttered by St. Paul, 'if any of you *appears* to be *wise* in *this world*, let him become foolish, that he may become wise. Therefore,' adds Origen, 'the Apostle does not say that wisdom is folly with God, but that the wisdom of *this world* is folly.' And again Celsus says, 'We teach men not to examine, but believe. But,' argues Origen, 'what is more *rational* than to believe in God? Let your philosophers boast of their investigations; not less *research* than theirs, to say the least, will be found among Christians concerning their articles of belief.' He allows, and very justly, that *all men cannot examine* the grounds of every particular doctrine of Christianity; and he maintains that the miracles of mercy wrought by Christ entitle Him to be heard as a teacher sent from God, and that the doctrines ought to be received for His work's sake. But what is there here to justify the assertion that Origen *allowed the validity* of the objection urged by Celsus, that Christians believed without reason? Nothing."—pp. 47—49.

We have quoted the above as affording a striking example of the facility with which startling assertions can be made with a show of learning, and with some foundation of truth most grossly perverted. It is never safe to trust quotations of writers on the



Romish side of the question. Whenever they are strong and decisive it may be generally suspected that they are either forged, or mistranslated, or misapplied. Persons are frequently not aware of this; and when an array of authorities is propounded to them they are perplexed, from not suspecting the honesty or sincerity of those who offer them in proof: but, we repeat, that in no case should authorities cited by Romanists be trusted. Inquiry will invariably disclose either fabrication or some falsification. Indeed it is wonderful to observe how the very same passages which have been long since proved to be forgeries, are unblushingly brought forward, again and again, by the advocates of Romanism. To talk of an appeal to antiquity, when spurious writings are continually referred to, seems absurd in the highest degree. At the same time it is a challenge which should always be cheerfully accepted by all persons of competent learning, as the exposure which follows, or ought to follow, affords a triumph to the cause of truth. Roguery like this when it is detected turns to the discredit of its authors, who keenly smart under the infliction of a public disgrace. We have not the slightest doubt that the moral code of Jesuitism affords full immunity and freedom for the adoption of such discreditable modes of proceeding; but we are persuaded that in this, as in every thing else, the truth of the old saying would be found by experience, that "honesty is the best policy."

Dr. Wordsworth passes from the consideration of the theories which deny the exercise of reason in ascertaining the claims of religion, to those which in like manner endeavour to subvert the authority of Scripture itself. The desperation of Romanists in their struggle with the adherents of the Reformation is, in no respect, so strikingly shown, as in their treatment of Holy Scripture. Not satisfied with maintaining that the Scripture ought to be understood in a sense accordant with that of the Catholic Church from the beginning—that Scripture rightly understood cannot be contradictory to the belief which was universally derived from it by the holy Fathers, and Councils, and the primitive Church generally—the Jesuits have gone to the daring and almost incredible length of denying altogether all rational proofs for the authenticity, genuineness, and preservation of Holy Scripture. They have borrowed from infidelity and rationalism, and in turn supplied them with weapons for assailing the truth of the Bible itself. Jesuitism has denied the scriptural proofs for all the Articles of the Christian faith. It defies us to prove from the Bible that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, of the same nature as the Father. It asserts that Arianism or Socinianism may be just as well proved from the Holy Scripture as the doctrine of

orthodoxy. It dwells upon the variations in the text of ancient manuscripts of the Scriptures, on the faults of translators, on the differences in early times about the canon of the Scriptures, on every thing else which is calculated to throw doubt on the authenticity and the inspiration of the Bible; and then, having accomplished, as it imagines, the overthrow of all the evidences which the piety and learning of so many ages have discovered in Holy Scripture, it would persuade us to receive those Scriptures, which it has thus shaken, as the mere dictum of the See of Rome. This is a very triumphant conclusion, doubtless. Our Jesuit imagines, that he has driven us into a position in which we *must*, if we are to remain Christians, begin by believing the infallibility of the See of Rome. He supposes, that we are at his mercy, and that we must now ground our faith wholly and entirely on the See of Rome—must become, in fact, papists, *before* we become Christians. But the wily Jesuit does not perceive, apparently, that at this very point he has himself prevented the possibility of any firm belief in the See of Rome, and therefore of Christianity. For what is his next step? Having broken down the evidences for the truth and inspiration of Holy Scripture, he appeals immediately afterwards to those very Scriptures as the foundation of the authority of the papacy. He appeals to evidence which he has himself endeavoured to prove worthless! The Jesuit has overreached himself in this course of argument. He has cut away the ground from under his own feet. If the Scripture has any rational foundation at all—if it is made a medium of proof by the Romanist for establishing the infallibility of the bishops of Rome, it may be equally made a medium of proof by Protestants against the doctrine of transubstantiation, purgatory, or the worship of angels. If it furnishes a good and a valid foundation for faith in the one case, it does so in the other also. When arguments of this kind are attempted, *i. e.* when Romanists endeavour to overthrow the authenticity and genuineness of the Bible, they should be permitted, we think, to carry out their proofs to their legitimate conclusions. And then it may be shown in what a dilemma they have placed themselves. To attempt to meet all the reasonings of Jesuits who argue against the Bible, while they all the time believe in its inspiration, is a mere waste of time. The true refutation of such folly is to be found in detecting the consequences which follow from it. If the whole argument of the Jesuit leads to the subversion of Christianity, it is sufficient to ensure the condemnation of this system by every religious and intelligent mind.

“The language of the Essayist,” says Dr. Wordsworth, “concerning Holy Scripture, is, as I shall show, entirely in accordance with that of

some of your most distinguished theologians. He says, that 'Scripture needs explanation,' that 'we have tried it, and that it disappoints,' that 'it has its unexplained omissions,' that 'all our Lord said and did, His actions, parables, replies, censures, are evidences of a legislation in germ afterwards to be developed;' that 'it suggests great questions which it does not solve.' These are precisely the terms in which many Romanist divines speak on the same subject. St. Paul commends Timothy for studying the Holy Scriptures from a child, and he teaches us that they are able to make us wise unto salvation. *But*, in order to make us believe, that if we would believe any thing, we must believe in the pope, your Romish doctors strain every nerve to persuade us that Scripture is imperfect, uncertain, ambiguous, and unintelligible; and that the reading of it is unnecessary and unprofitable, if not dangerous. For example: 'Vain is the labour,' said Cardinal Hosius, a papal legate, and President at the Council of Trent, 'which is spent on Holy Scripture; for Scripture is but a creature and a beggarly element.' And Ludovicus, a canon of the Lateran, in a speech at the same council, 'Scripture is only *lifeless ink*;' and Pighius, in his third book of controversies, calls it a mute judge, a 'nose of wax, which allows itself to be pulled this way and that, and to be moulded into any form you please;' and the Church of Rome, so far from regarding the reading of Scripture as necessary, has by the mouth of her supreme head, Pope Clement XI., *condemned, as false and scandalous*, the proposition, 'that the Christian Sunday ought to be hallowed by reading of the Holy Scripture,' and 'that it is criminal to prohibit Christians from such reading,' and 'that to take away from them the New Testament, is to close against them the mouth of Christ; to interdict them the use of light, and to subject them to a kind of excommunication.'"—pp. 69, 70.

The learned writer proceeds at some length to discuss the question which has been raised by the author of the "Essay on Development," in regard to the canon of Holy Scripture. According to the latter, the canon of the New Testament was not formed till the fourth and fifth centuries; or, in other words, Christians were, according to him, uncertain during the earlier ages what books of Holy Scripture were of sufficient authority to establish articles of faith. We have not space to follow Dr. Wordsworth in his able and satisfactory reply to these assertions, but we must content ourselves with presenting the following brief summary of his remarks.

He observes that Dr. Milner and Mr. Newman both affirm that the canon of the New Testament was not made till the end of the fourth century. Neither of these writers inform us *where* this canon was made, but Dr. Wordsworth very reasonably infers that they mean to refer to the decree of the Council of Laodicea, A. D. 360, and which made a catalogue of the sacred books which were to be read in the Church, including both the New and

the Old Testaments. Dr. Wordsworth inquires whether this Council intended to *make* any books canonical which had not been so before; and in reply to this question he quotes the decree of the Council, which supposes the books of the canon of Scripture to be known by all, and does not pretend to confer any authority upon them. Its injunction that none but the canonical books should be read, implies that every one could tell what the canonical books were. The Laodicean decree, therefore, as Dr. Wordsworth justly concludes, "was not an enactment, but a declaration."

It is probable that many councils before that of Laodicea may have made similar catalogues of the canonical books; indeed there is evidence that some declaration on the subject was made at the Council of Nice; but these earlier memorials of the faith of the Church have not been preserved. There is, however, an evidence of the canonization of the books of the New Testament, which is easily ascertainable from the facts of sacred history. These writings were addressed to the Churches by the Apostles, and as a fact we find that they were read out in all Churches from the earliest period, and universally treated with the reverence and respect that was due to their acknowledged inspiration. The canon of the New Testament "*made itself* by the *public usage* of the Church in all parts of the world;" and we have ample evidence to prove that "the books of the New Testament which we receive as inspired were so received as soon as they were written." Ruffinus, a Roman presbyter of the fifth century, gives a catalogue of the books of the New Testament as, "according to the tradition of our ancestors, they are believed to have been inspired by the Holy Ghost." Cyril of Jerusalem, again, exhorts us only "to meditate on the books which are read in the Church. The Apostles, as primitive bishops, who delivered them unto us were wiser than these." Tertullian, again, quotes all the books of our canon, except an Epistle of St. Peter, one of St. John, and perhaps that of St. James, expressly says that it was a characteristic of heresy to *reject* the books of Scripture; and this plainly infers that the authority of these books had been fully established in the Church by that time. There can, again, be no doubt that the four Gospels were received as inspired immediately on their publication. The testimony of Irenæus, Tatian, Polycarp, and others, who were companions and disciples of the Apostles, or their immediate successors, is sufficient to prove the universal acceptance of these four Gospels from the very beginning.

Dr. Wordsworth next considers the evidence for the acceptance of the Acts of the Apostles and of the Epistles of St. Paul. The Encratite heretics in the time of Irenæus are mentioned as

having *rejected* these epistles, which were received by all the Church. It is remarkable indeed that St. Peter himself speaks of these epistles of St. Paul as "Scripture," that is, as strictly canonical and inspired; and they were read in all Churches as such from the earliest period. Again, the old Péschito or Syrian version of the Scriptures, which was made in the first or second century, contains all the epistles of Paul, the Acts, and the Gospels.

"Here, then," says Dr. Wordsworth, "we have advanced another very considerable step, and our astonishment becomes greater than before, that any one should assert that the canon of the New Testament was not formed till the fourth or fifth centuries, and that a person who has ventured to affirm this should be hailed with cordial approval by the bishops of a Christian church."—p. 86.

The question next arises as to those books of the New Testament which were not *universally* received from the beginning. It appears from Eusebius that the epistles of James and Jude, the second of Peter, and the second and third of John, were not received by all, but only the majority of Christians. Dr. Wordsworth's remarks on this subject are so just and so reasonable that we cannot refrain from laying them before the reader:—

"Now permit me to say, this reception by the majority was itself equivalent to their canonization in the minds of all judicious, peace-loving, and candid men; so far at least that they would not raise any controversy on the subject. You may recollect the precept of Augustin on this subject: 'In canonical Scriptures you must follow the judgment' (not of Rome, but) 'of the majority of churches; you will prefer those which are received by *all* catholic churches to those which are not received by some; but in those which are not universally received, you will prefer those which the major and graver part receive to those which are received by fewer churches and those of minor authority. And if you find some received by the majority and others received by the more authoritative churches—though I do not think this case will ever occur—you may regard them as of equal authority.'

"But now, my dear Sir, do I intend to affirm that there was no room for doubting of the canonicity of *any one* book of the New Testament before the fifth century? No, certainly not: there *was* room for such doubting then; and if we *wish* to doubt, there is just as much room for doubting *now*; and, if we please, we may, on the strength of such doubts concerning *one* or *two* books of the New Testament, so magnify and exaggerate the evidence in *favour* of doubting, as to affirm, in *general* terms, that the canon of the New Testament was not settled till the fourth or fifth centuries, or, which is not a whit more preposterous, that it is not settled at this day.

"But what I would request you to bear in mind is this, that the evidence concerning the canon of the New Testament is precisely of the

same nature and degree as that which God had given us concerning all the fundamental principles on which our religion rests. That evidence is *probable*; by which I mean that there is abundance of it to convince our reason if we are disposed to be convinced, and not enough to exclude our cavils if we are determined to be captious. The evidence is of such a kind as to excite and exercise our faith if we are willing to believe, but not such as to *compel* us to believe if we desire to be sceptical. This, I say, is in exact accordance with the rest of the proof which God has given us of the truth of Christianity."—pp. 90, 91.

It is really satisfactory to see assertions which have so often passed uncontradicted, at length brought fairly to the test and proved to be utterly untrue. This notion that the canon of Scripture was not decided till the fourth or fifth century, and that it was then determined by authority, is one which Romish writers are continually advancing, and which is frequently admitted to be put forward without contradiction. We do not remember to have seen the whole question so clearly and shortly treated as by Dr. Wordsworth in this place. This is one proof out of many that Romish assertions of every kind should not be taken upon trust. The indolence of the human mind disposes it to acquiesce in bold assertions and statements, rather than to undertake the labour of examining the truth of what is proposed to it; and few men comparatively have the abilities and the perseverance to detect the fallacies and the errors of false historical statements which have passed current for some time. We, therefore, feel that gratitude is due to such writers as Dr. Wordsworth, who apply their attention to the criticism of the facts and statements obtruded upon us by Romanists. It is only by repeated exposures that they can be taught to speak with honesty and fairness.

We cannot afford space to follow Dr. Wordsworth, as we should wish to have done, through his powerful refutation of the Romish doctrine of a tradition co-ordinate with Scripture, and supplying articles of faith which are not contained in Scripture. While we entirely concur with Dr. Wordsworth's mode of treating the subject in dealing with a Romanist, we think that he has scarcely pointed out sufficiently the *inconsistency* which exists on this as on so many other important topics, amongst the Romish divines. This inconsistency was pointed out by Mr. Palmer, in a work to which Dr. Wordsworth refers in this place, and in which it was shown, that while the popular Romish doctrine of tradition,—that, namely, which is held by the great mass of theologians,—asserts the imperfection of Scripture, and the necessity of tradition as a supplement to it, there have been not a few of the most eminent Romish divines who have taught the *perfection*

of Scripture in all points; and further, that while one class of Romish divines maintain that such tenets as purgatory, the worship of saints, transubstantiation, &c., are derived only from tradition, others assert with equal confidence that they are plainly written in Holy Scripture. These differences are highly instructive; and the portion of Mr. Palmer's work on which Dr. Wordsworth here comments, and one or two expressions of which the Jesuit Perrone has endeavoured to prove mistaken, supplies considerable materials for the use of those who are desirous of establishing the inconsistency of Romanists in so vital a point. We shall not attempt to enter further into this subject, as we feel that we have no right to take it out of Mr. Palmer's hands; but we feel little doubt that the leading point which that writer has endeavoured to establish, namely, the utter inconsistency of Romanism on this point, and its toleration of contradictory theories, can be fully and satisfactorily made out, notwithstanding the evasions of Dr. Perrone.

Scarcely any portion of the theories advanced by those misguided men who have left the Church, is more dangerous in its tampering with the Word of God, than the system of allegorical interpretation, which, derived from the writings of Origen and his followers, led at an early period of the Church's history to errors and heresies of every kind. In the hands of Origen, this system explained away some of the facts of Scripture. The Mosaic account of the Creation was nearly resolved into a parable, and every circumstance in the Old Testament which seemed to reflect discredit on any of the patriarchs or holy men there mentioned, was represented as figurative and typical. In point of fact, the systems of such writers as Strauss are only the development and further application of the allegorical methods of interpretation devised by the school of Alexandria. It is quite as reasonable to regard the history of our Lord as a mythus, as it is to look on the actions of the patriarchs in the same light. If the door is once opened to arbitrary allegorical interpretations, there is no knowing when it can be closed. If such mystical inferences from Scripture are allowed to become the medium of proof; nay, if they be recognized, as they are by the author of the "Essay on Development," as the most cogent of all arguments,—then it is certain that no error or heresy, however monstrous, can fail to produce abundant Scriptural proofs in its favour; while all the passages which plainly and simply support the great doctrines of the Gospel, may be resolved into figures, and lost to the cause of truth.

Dr. Wordsworth cites some very remarkable instances of the results of the allegorical interpretation of Scripture. The author

of the "Essay on Development" refers to the canon law, and the bulls and letters of the popes, as exemplifying its practice.

"To these, then, let us resort for instances of the application of the theory. Pope Innocent III. (who dethroned King John) in one of his bulls has given a scholium on the text of Genesis (i, 14), 'God made two great lights.' These words (says that pope) signify that God made two dignities, the pontifical and the royal; but the dignity which rules the day—that is, the *spiritual* power—is the greater light; and that which rules the night, or the temporal, is the lesser, so that it may be understood that there is as much difference between popes and kings as between the sun and moon.' Take another example. Pope Boniface VIII., in one of his bulls, comments on the tenth verse of the first chapter of the Prophet Jeremiah, and throws in by the way some unique specimens of biblical interpretation. The verse is as follows: 'See I have this day set thee over the nations, and over the kingdoms, to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy.' 'Here,' exclaims Boniface, 'the Almighty is speaking of the power of the Church, to create, and to judge the temporal power; and if the temporal power swerves from its duty, it shall be condemned by the spiritual; and since Peter said to Christ, "Ecce duo gladii," "Lord, behold, here are two swords," therefore the pope has *both* the temporal and spiritual swords at his command; and since also Moses writes, "In *principio* Deus creavit cælum et terram," and not "in *principiis*," therefore there is only *one* precedent, and that is the papacy!"

"What wonders may not be expected from the developing powers of your hermeneutic Thaumaturge, who educes such marvellous things from the first two words of the Bible."—pp. 134, 135.

From this important subject—the figurative and the literal interpretation of Scripture,—the volume before us passes on to the consideration of the question of the relations of Scripture and tradition. On this subject it is maintained, that while Scripture is the only rule of faith, tradition, or the voice of the universal Church in all past ages, is of inestimable value in determining the right sense of holy Scripture. Reference is here made to the language of Isaac Casaubon, of King James I., of Bishop Overall, of Dr. Waterland, all of whom maintain the importance of tradition, not, however, as supplying independently articles of faith, but as representing the true sense and meaning of Scripture.

Scripture is our only rule, and this is the principle of the Church of England laid down in the Sixth Article; but then, as Dr. Wordsworth observes, she considers the Fathers are of great use in the application of this rule. She does not believe that any doctrine which may be now attempted to be founded on Scripture, and which was altogether unknown to the Primitive



Church, can rightly be inferred from Holy Scripture. This is a most important preservative principle—one which at once prevents the Christian faith from receiving increase by human developments, and from being curtailed or diminished by rationalistic criticism. The Romanist may attempt to found his novelties on the Bible, or the Neologian and Socinian may attempt to show that there is no such doctrine in Holy Scripture as the divinity of the Son of God, the atonement, or the Trinity; but the Catholic Christian may at once reply to him, that such interpretations cannot be sound or correct, for the Primitive Church was altogether ignorant of such doctrines, or held views altogether opposed to them. As Bishop Stillingfleet remarks, "It is sufficient prescription against any thing which can be alleged out of Scripture, that, if it appear contrary to the sense of the Catholic Church from the beginning, it ought not to be looked upon as the true meaning of Scripture." "In this respect," says Dr. Wordsworth, "the writings of the Fathers are invaluable. They are admirable expositions of *ancient truth*; and they are something more than this; they are sure preservations against *modern error*. They are faithful keepers of the old Catholic faith, and no less effective safeguards against the new Trent Creed." We are fully aware that an exaggerated authority has been ascribed to the writings of the Fathers by some of our recent theorists, and the extravagance of their notions has excited in the minds of some well-meaning men a reaction against the whole of ecclesiastical antiquity. It would, however, be much to be lamented, if it were possible that such a reaction could survive the absurdities which called it forth. But it may be anticipated, that a just and reasonable sense of the importance of the testimony of the Primitive Church to the preservation of the great doctrines of the Gospel, will be generally felt and perceived by persons of education. When it is remembered, that the historical evidences of Christianity—the text, the authority, and genuineness of the New Testament depend, in a great measure, if not entirely, on the testimony of the Primitive Church and of its Fathers; that the very foundations of our faith would be shaken, if the Primitive Church were found to be altogether undeserving of credit, then nothing more, surely, need be said, to prove that it is not for Christians too rudely to assail the character and the credit of the early Christians. To do so, would be to imitate the suicidal proceedings of the Jesuits, who first subvert all rational support and evidence of Holy Scripture, and then attempt to build the fabric of faith on a foundation which they have themselves undermined. Now to

pretend, as some of our recent theorists have done, that the writings of the Fathers are to be held as infallible,—that we are bound, for instance, to frame our opinions or our practice in accordance with that of an Ambrose, or a Chrysostom, or an Augustine, is in itself altogether irreconcilable with the principles of Christianity. Much as we may honour and respect holy men, yet we must remember that, after all, they are liable to mistakes; and that there is a higher model, and a higher rule of life, which is presented for our imitation, and by which the lives and actions of the holiest men must be tried. Nothing can be more dangerous than to take the opinions and conduct of our fellow men as the rule of our lives; it amounts to a dethronement of Jesus Christ from his supremacy over the heart. When Peter failed, and was led astray by the Judaizers,—when David, and Abraham, and Moses, and Aaron, were guilty of offences or of faults, it would, assuredly, be most unreasonable to imagine, that every dictum of a particular Father, or every part of his conduct, was correct, or free from fault. There can, therefore, be no difficulty in admitting, that many of the Fathers have spoken of celibacy in too exalted terms, or have been mistaken on other points; still this could not interfere with the value of their united testimony to *facts*,—to the belief of the Christian Church in all ages,—to the universal reception of Scripture,—to the use of the Christian sacraments,—to the continuance of the Christian ministry, in its three orders, from the time of the Apostles.

Dr. Wordsworth is not one of those who are to be mystified by mere assertions. It is really amusing to see the way in which he disposes of the statements of the author of the “*Essay on Development*,” which, doubtless, appears, at first sight, imposing enough. For instance, in a certain passage, where he attempts to account for the *silence* of the early Fathers as to the doctrines and rites of the Romish Church, he argues thus from analogy: “Thus Lucian hardly notices Roman authors or affairs. Maximus Tyrius, who wrote several of his works at Rome, makes no reference to Roman history,” &c. We must really quote Dr. Wordsworth’s reply at some length, because it is of very considerable importance to see what reliance may be placed in general on the statements of the “*Essay on Development*.” We do not mean to attribute intentional fraud to that writer, but, assuredly, he is very far from accurate or trustworthy as a narrator of facts.

“First, then, the author says, in the passage above cited, ‘*Lucian hardly notices Roman authors or affairs.*’ This is a very strange assertion. Lucian speaks *very frequently of Roman affairs* (i. 13. ii. 389.

iii. 108. 672, &c. Ed. Annet. 1743). To 'Popular *ὁράτω*, 'Let him survey Roman affairs,' is his precept to his historian, and

*Κοιτῆσις Πόμπη καὶ Θύβριδος ἱερὸν ἕδωρ,*

says he in a work which he addressed to Celsus, the famous Roman Epicurean. . . .

"Secondly, 'Maximus Tyrius (we are told), who wrote several of his works at Rome, makes no reference to Roman history.'

"You would suppose from these words that, in several works which he wrote at Rome, he makes no mention of Roman history. But are you aware that the essayist never saw 'several of his works?'—that only one of them exists, and that this is composed of Greek dissertations, some of which at least were delivered in Greece, and that they are all on philosophical subjects?

"Fourthly, 'Seneca, Pliny, and Plutarch, are altogether silent about Christianity.'

"It is very strange that this silence should be called 'unaccountable,' when it had been accounted for by St. Augustine fourteen hundred years ago. 'Seneca (says he) does not mention the Christians, lest he should either praise them against the custom of his country, or blame them (probably) against his own will.' This reason has been considered quite sufficient by your best writers; for instance, by Tillemont."

"Fifthly, 'Perhaps Epictetus also, and the Emperor Marcus (Aurelius) are silent on Christianity.'

"As for Epictetus, the fact is, none of his writings are extant; for the Enchiridion, or Manual, which goes by his name, is nothing more than a collection of his sayings strung together by his scholar Arrian, the Bithynian soldier. It is quite true, then, that Epictetus, as far as we know, is silent about Christianity, as he is about every thing else, except so far as Arrian speaks of him in a little volume of about thirty octavo pages; but there is another work by Arrian, called 'Dissertations,' which some suppose to have been also compiled from Epictetus, and there he is not silent on Christianity; he mentions the Christians, and calumniates them as Galileans. . . .

"Again: Marcus Aurelius is not silent about Christianity; it would have been much more for his credit if he had been; for he speaks of the constancy and courage of Christian martyrs as if it were mere obstinacy.

"Sixthly, 'The Jewish Mishna, too, compiled about A. D. 180, is silent about Christianity.'

"This is another strange assertion. The Jewish Mishna, or Second Law, falsely claims, as you know, to be the record of oral communications which God made to Moses on Mount Sinai, and which were transmitted by him to Joshua and the prophets after him. It would therefore have been very unaccountable if it had not been silent about Christianity."

"Seventhly; 'Josephus is silent about Christianity.'

"Here is another assertion, in which the author presumes on a most wonderful degree of ignorant belief in his readers. Who is there, of

moderate historical knowledge, who has not heard of the celebrated passage in the antiquities of Josephus concerning Christianity? And though some persons have raised doubts about it, yet what theologian knows not it is quoted as genuine by Eusebius, Hegesippus, and Jerome, in their controversial writings with Jews? Who is ignorant that its genuineness has been maintained by the most learned men in your nation and ours; by Casaubon, Valesius, Usher, and Pearson; and yet, with the most perfect calmness, the author says, 'Josephus is silent about Christianity!'

Whatever may be the learning and ability of the author of the "Essay on Development," he cannot any longer lay claim to the credit of a trustworthy writer. Such an exposure as this is perfectly decisive of the question. Let us hear Dr. Wordsworth's severe but just remarks:—

"I have thus gone through *ten* assertions; nine of them taken consecutively from a *single half-page* of the 'Essay on Development.' You will pardon, I trust, the trouble I have given you in carrying you through these details; but I am desirous of showing you, once for all, how little claim the 'Essay' has to be regarded as a correct representation of *facts*; and, since its main design is to show that popery is '*historical Christianity*,' I thought it a duty to prove that the 'Essay on Development' is not *Christian history*, and that a writer, who founds the claims of Romanism to be regarded as historical Christianity on such assertions as these, has gone far to prove it to be as fabulous as Greek or Latin mythology."—p. 166, 167.

It is very remarkable, but at the same time perfectly natural, that the same parties who deny Scripture, and endeavour to undermine its authority, should also endeavour to undermine the respect paid to the doctrine of the Primitive Church. This is, in these latter days, a remarkable sign of heresy and infidelity. Unitarianism, as we know, denies the inspiration of Scripture, and curtails and alters its text to suit its own taste. This is the course pursued by Rationalists, and by all who wish to preserve the name of Christians, while they reserve to themselves the liberty of believing what they choose, and nothing more. Now it is a most striking and instructive circumstance, that in this they are imitated by Romanists. We have already alluded to the treatment which the Scriptures have received at the hands of the Church of Rome and the Jesuits. We have seen them endeavouring by all means to subvert the evidences for the truth and inspiration of the Bible, in order that they may establish in its stead the authority of the papacy. And the same course is pursued by both parties, in regard to the testimony of the early Church. Rationalists and Romanists alike deny the authority of

the Fathers, and concur in asserting that they were ignorant of the great truths of Christianity; that they were imperfectly informed and unenlightened, and that it was left for Christians to work out the doctrines of Christianity. Hence we find them both denying that the doctrines of the Trinity or Incarnation, or the Divinity of the Son of God, were taught or believed by the early Fathers. And it is clear that these parties are obliged to adopt this course, because they cannot find support for their doctrinal errors, either in Scripture or in the Primitive Church. They find themselves close pressed by arguments, derived from one and the other; and, therefore, it is perfectly natural that they should seek to relieve themselves of their embarrassment by attempting to sap and undermine the authority by which they are condemned. These kind of arguments are, in fact, a triumph of the truth; they prove its force and power; they show that its opponents feel, and keenly feel, the strength of its position. This agreement in principle and conduct between persons who hold the most contradictory errors, is to the true Churchman an additional proof and confirmation of the safety of his own position. He sees the enemies of truth banded together for the subversion of the Christian religion: we cannot describe the conduct of Romish and Rationalistic controversialists in any other terms. They are labouring for the subversion of Christianity, in order that they may enshrine some idol of their own formation in its place—either the deductions of false philosophy, or the deductions of superstition and false religion. And when we contemplate this unhalloved union of superstition and infidelity—this combination of idolatry and heathen philosophy—this heathenism in speculation and heathenism in worship; when we see them all banded together for the subversion of the authority of that Word of God which they dare not deny to be the foundation of faith, even while they assail it; when we see them attempting to root up and destroy every rational foundation for the belief in Christianity, and labouring to make it, after all, a mere theory, or a fancy, or a philosophy, or a baseless and unfounded religion, like the dreams of the heathen mythologies; what confirmation does all this throw on the substantial truth of the holy religion which the children of the true Church of Christ are still permitted to profess! Supposing even that the religion of the English Church were not absolutely perfect—supposing even that it were not deemed altogether certain in every part—yet still *here*, we maintain, is the only rational and consistent principle on which Christianity itself can be maintained. *Here* is a substantial authority. *Here* are substantial evidences. Romanism has sapped and undermined all the rational evidences of Christianity. It has reduced Christianity in point of evidence

to the level of the heathen religions, which had no evidence at all. On the Romish principles there is no more rational evidence for the truth of Christianity as a divine revelation, than there is for the immoralities of Jupiter, or the incarnations of Vishnu. If the system of argument adopted by such writers as the "Essay on Development" against the Scriptures, and against the early Fathers, be legitimate, then we maintain that the religion of the Brahmins or of the Buddhists has more claims on our attention than Christianity itself, because it is far more ancient, and perhaps believed by greater multitudes. To attempt to build Christianity on the papacy might be all very well, if there were any rational proof for the papacy itself. But how are we to establish the divine authority of the papacy? It is not to be proved by mere *assertions*, because the worshippers of Jupiter, or of Vishnu, or of Mahomet, can make assertions equally strong. It must rest on some proofs of a divine revelation. And where are those proofs found, except in Scripture, and in the testimony of the primitive Church? If there be no rational proof for the truth of Scripture, and if no reliance is to be placed on the primitive Church, then there is *positively no proof whatever* for the authority of the papacy; the papacy becomes a mere baseless theory—a human invention—a tradition like the religions of heathenism. And with the papacy falls the *only proof* which these blinded and most miserable men can produce for the truth of Christianity itself! We tremble when we think of the extent to which this false and most dangerous system of reasoning has proceeded in the Church of Rome. It is the uniform course of teaching in that communion. The faith of all its members is taught habitually to repose on the papacy. Should they ever be led by circumstances to *inquire* into the proofs for the papacy itself, the only result must be universal infidelity. And this certainly throws an awful light on the prophecies which predict a universal apostasy before the end of the world. Assuredly the system of argument adopted in desperation by Romish controversialists, and employed to crush and stifle all inquiry within their own communion, is preparing the way for infidelity. It has brought matters to such a state, that if the slightest inquiry was made into the proofs which support the foundation of the whole system, faith would vanish at once, because it would be seen in a moment that there is no rational foundation whatever—that it has been destroyed to make room for implicit and uninquiring credulity. It may be very well to say that such implicit and uninquiring credulity is in itself a good thing, but have not heathens the same spirit of implicit and uninquiring faith? And does not this principle authorize them to reject the claims of Christianity? Would not such a conclu-

sion be absurd in the highest degree? Then, if so, there must be some liberty of *inquiry* in Christianity. A Christian must be able to examine the foundations of his faith, and to perceive that there is a rational evidence for it. We do not mean a demonstrative or a physical evidence, but such an evidence as is sufficient fairly to convince the judgment of a reasonable inquirer. It is the peculiar characteristic of Christianity that it *does* possess distinct, tangible, rational, historical evidences. This is an essential difference between it and all false religions. They are wholly without proof. Christianity is a real and actual revelation. They are only imaginary ones.

We would gladly follow Dr. Wordsworth further through his interesting and important labours; but we have said enough, we trust, to show their value; and we feel indebted to him for the careful research into matters of fact which marks every part of his volume. Every day proves to us the importance of carefully sifting and examining propositions which are advanced with some show of learning by the opponents of the truth. The labour in following out all their details is doubtless very wearisome, but it is of the highest value. Facts are very stubborn things; and if they be allowed to go uncontradicted, they may sow the seed of doubt in many a mind. On the other hand, the detection of unfair dealing in such matters leaves a very strong impression on the mind. It guards against further statements from the same quarter. And at the present day so enormous a mass of falsehood and misstatement in matters of fact is in continual circulation, that it becomes more than ever necessary to undertake such researches as those which Dr. Wordsworth has carried to so satisfactory a conclusion. We almost seem to have fallen on days in which it may be said again that "men love darkness rather than light," and will greedily hear the words of darkness, while they close their ears to the words of truth. Yet perseverance will in the end prevail, we are assured; and the cause of truth will not, we trust, be permitted to be defended with less zeal and energy than the cause of error.

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## NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS,

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1. Maurice's Boyle Lectures—Trench's Hulsean Lectures. 2. Sermons by Melvill, Wheeler, D'Oyley, Woodhouse, Goodwin, Blencowe. 3. Protestant Principles, by Phileleutherus Anglicanus—Gregg's Free Thoughts on Protestant Matters. 4. Bailey's Rituale Anglo-Catholicum. 5. Barrett's Synopsis of Criticisms. 6. The Ministry of the Body, by Evans. 7. Liber Pontificalis, by Barnes. 8. Adams' Holy Week. 9. Letters on Confirmation. 10. Chollerton—Trevor—Steepleton. 11. Adams' Old Man's Home—Ashton Hall. 12. Village Tales from the Black Forest. 13. Kip's Holidays at Home. 14. Lepsius's Tour. 15. Mills on Colonization. 16. Russell's Life of Johnson—Jeremy Taylor's Life. 17. Memoir of Cary. 18. Sunday School Magazine. 19. Haworth's St. Sylvester's Day. 20. Harington's Apostolical Succession. 21. Rimbault's Cathedral Service—Daily Service. 22. Don Quixote. 23. Stories from English History—History of Germany—History of Rome. 24. Progressive Geography—Elements of Geography—Principles of Algebra. 25. African Wanderers. 26. Beaven's Visit to Indian Missions. 27. Nicholls on Agricultural Labourers. 28. The Mendicity Society. 29. Jesse's Favorite Haunts. 30. Writings of Chambers. 31. Bohn's Library. 32. Miscellaneous.

- 1.—1. *The Religions of the World, and their Relations to Christianity, considered in Eight Lectures, founded by the Right Hon. Robert Boyle.* By FREDERICK DENISON MAURICE, M.A., Chaplain of Lincoln's Inn, and Professor of Divinity in King's College, London. London: J. W. Parker. 1847.
2. *Christ the Desire of all Nations, or the Unconscious Prophecies of Heathendom: being the Hulsean Lectures for the year MDCCCXLVI.* By RICHARD CHENEVIX TRENCH, M.A., Vicar of Icken Stoke, Professor of Divinity, King's College, London, and Examining Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Oxford. Cambridge: Macmillan and Co. 1846.

ONE of the common places given vent to by a certain party in the Church, which arose out of the great movement of 1833, and which the popular phraseology has identified with that movement,—one of the common places (we say) given vent to of late by this party, was to the effect, that the study of *Evidences* argued a want of faith, an unsound state of mind, theologically speaking; that it was unworthy of a churchman, and therefore to be discouraged. And we well remember how scandalized some of our acquaintance affected to be at the publication of "Christian Evidences," the author being supposed by them to be "one



of them." Now, within certain limits, this common-place may perhaps be right; *prima facie*, you would say, that that must be a doubting faith, the faith of a Thomas, which demanded the exposition of Evidences for its satisfaction. But we apprehend that this is not altogether a fair way of viewing the matter. The study of Evidences *may* demonstrate, not a doubting, but an ill-informed faith; and a desire, on the part of the student, to strengthen his faith. At all events, it is evidently quite in accordance with the Divine injunction to "try the spirits, whether they be of God:" it is quite in obedience with that other Apostolic command, to be "ready always to give a reason for the faith that is in you:" it is, lastly, quite agreeable to the spirit of that "reasonable service" which the reformed branch of Christ's Catholic Church here in England demands of her children, and by which she stands so nobly distinguished from the unreformed portions of the Church abroad. And we confess that since the party, to whom we have alluded, began to show itself in its true colours, we have been led to look upon this depreciation of the study of Evidences as an insidious and preparatory move, to prepare the minds of the young and enthusiastic for that state of passive recipiency which would more readily imbibe the anti-Catholic developments which were afterwards to be so industriously distilled into them.

It was a truer wisdom which determined Robert Boyle, the Rev. J. Hulse, Mr. Canon Bampton, and some others, to make provision for the perpetual publication of the various lines and phases of evidence, whereby God's ways are vindicated, and the religion of our Redeemer is defended on all sides. He knew that the human heart is the same in all ages; and, therefore, that the necessities of one generation are an index to those of the next. Satan is ever on the watch; and we have often thought that heresies seem to come round in a kind of cycle, just as it is said that certain changes of climate and temperature do. If we mistake not, the soundness of these views will, ere long, receive a signal confirmation. We believe that controversies with Popery, or with any other forms of error among Christians, sharp as they may be at the time, are but ephemeral. The last age witnessed a controversy, deep and deadly, not between Christians of different denominations, but between Christians and infidels: Deists and Freethinkers, of all sorts, combined to assault the bulwarks of the very faith: sore was the onslaught; but there were giants in those days, men well armed at all points, and the banner of Christianity waved triumphant. We are on the eve of another and a similar struggle. The low murmurings of infidelity have already been heard within our camp; and we, the leaders in

Israel, must prepare to gird ourselves to the battle once again. The secessions from our ranks to those of Rome have been grievous enough; but better, far better, these should be multiplied tenfold than that one soul, baptized into the faith of the adorable Trinity, should sink beneath the withering touch of a cold and cheerless infidelity! They were unstable, but earnest minds, which went out from us to Rome: alas! how many of those which went not out with them, possess all their instability and none of their earnestness; only kept from error by want of love for truth! What shall we augur of these men? will they be proof against the subtleties of infidelity? We shall have need, ere long, to fall back upon the Lelands and the Lockes, the Sherlocks and the Van Milderts; the host of mighty minds, whom the scepticism of former days called forth, and who have bequeathed to us an armoury which their skill and patience forged.

But there is another, and a truly important point of view from which we must look at the study of evidences. We have hitherto spoken of them as grounds of satisfaction and confirmation to professing Christians, when the darts fly thick and fast about us, hurled by "false brethren," who "have denied the Lord that bought them." We desire now to consider them as necessary instruments in the hands of our *missionary priests*, when we send them forth in the name of the Lord of hosts; and endeavour to fulfil those heavy responsibilities which undoubtedly attach to every victory that blesses our arms, by trying to rescue from his grasp those realms which Satan still holds in the dark thralldom of Paganism. Now, many of the nations of heathendom are by no means to be despised; they are acute reasoners, and they are deeply attached to their own religion. How are we to make an impression upon them? Fire and sword may do for Mohammedanism, but they are clearly contrary to the spirit of Christianity. To dream of pooh-poohing their superstitions (so to speak), is as clearly absurd. Argument must be met by argument; they must be dealt with in a spirit of candour. There is something of good and of truth in Islamism; what is it? There was something of good and of truth in some, even, of the old polytheistic faiths; what was it? They were not any of them wholly false; the offspring of nothing save the dreams of poets, or the designing craftiness of the ambitious. They had their origin in certain wants and cravings of our common nature. These things must be candidly investigated: we must be able to point out what the good in each of them is, clearing away the mass of rubbish with which it has been overlaid; and we must be ready to prove, by arguments of the truest

philosophy, adapted to the genius and mode of thought of each particular people, that the religion of Jesus can and does alone make full provision for all the deep cravings of humanity.

Nor, we may remark, will the investigations which these requirements demand, prove to be useful only as furnishing us with the means of working the conversion of others; we may be benefiting ourselves when we least think so. For if all error be but a distortion of truth; and if it be the tendency of error to reproduce itself under a thousand various forms, meeting us where we least looked to find it; it may so happen that under the guise of Christianity, our self-deceiving hearts have been nurturing some pernicious subtlety, such as in another shape we had combated in heathenism.

“The ultimate tendencies of Buddhism (says Mr. Maurice) to entire evaporation, to mere negation, are manifest enough. The like tendencies assuredly exist, perhaps are becoming stronger every day, in Christendom. But to take the result of a certain doctrine or habit of mind, without considering its stages, varieties, counteractions; its lights as well as its shadows; how it weaves for itself at one time a dogmatic or sacerdotal vesture; how it sinks at another into a mere speculation; above all, what an Eternal Verity keeps it alive in all its forms; is not using it for the warning and instruction of men, but turning it into a mask for frightening children. If it is well for us to know what possibilities lurk in Buddhism, because they lurk in us, still more ought we to consider its actual history, because it is the history of a process which may be passing in the minds of persons whom we are most ready to think of as having reached the last development of unbelief; because it may be going on in us when we are giving ourselves credit for the greatest amount of faith.”—p. xvii.

We think there is much truth involved in the last few lines of this quotation; and Mr. Maurice appears to us to have investigated his subject in a careful and enlightened manner. His work (which is transformed from a set of sermons into a series of essays) is divided into two parts: in the first, he “examines the great religious systems which present themselves to us in the history of the world;”—first of all Mahometanism, Hindooism, Buddhism; and then more succinctly the more conspicuous of the defunct religions of the ancient Persians, the Egyptians, the Greeks, the Romans, and the Goths; he examines these systems, “not going into their details, far less searching for their absurdities; but inquiring what was their main characteristic principle.” In the second part, our author investigates the relation in which Christianity stands to these different faiths.

We scarcely know how to select, when all seems good, and the various parts so closely to cohere; but perhaps the following

passage, taken from the concluding lecture, may serve for a specimen of our author's style, as well as prove interesting to the reader for the lesson it conveys.

"But to Englishmen in the eighteenth century the continent of India revealed itself with its treasures and its wonders. Its material treasures might help to strengthen the worldly appetite which went in search of them; but its wonders, if they were well considered, might surely have supplied the counteraction, might have proved that men every where needed the kingdom of heaven as well as a kingdom on earth. The Hindoo lives in a world of thought. He is certain that divine knowledge, the knowledge of Brahm, is the highest end of life. He cannot be satisfied till he is united with the Divinity. The divine man, he says, must be a twice-born man, must be raised out of his natural condition, must not lose himself in communion with outward things. Indications of this faith are forced upon the observation of every Englishman in India; he may explain them as he will, but he cannot deny them. Do they not say to him just, perhaps, when the associations of his childhood are about to be cast off altogether, 'What you used to hear from your nurse and your mother may after all mean something. You were told that you were a twice-born man, a member of Christ, a child of God, an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven. May these not be treasures nearer to you than these Indian treasures,—treasures which are yours by the clearest title, and yet which you have never reduced into possession? If you could impart them to these subjects of ours, might you not do that for them which the best legislation cannot do? Will you not at least ask whether the Hindoo is wrong in thinking that man is made for something else than to buy and sell, to eat, drink, and die; and whether, if he is right, there is any escape from his restless self-torture, except in the calm faith that it is our Father's good pleasure to give us that kingdom which the idolater would, at the price of any anguish, wring from the objects of his worship?'

"Here, then, is a voice coming from the most opposite quarter to that whence the other was brought to us,—a voice of the most different kind. Yet it comes as a witness not against but for that which we have been taught to believe,—a witness not for but against our indifference to it. So that these two voices compared together may, I think, help to answer the question we have been examining, whether Christianity be not dependent for its evidence and its success upon the faith of those who promulgate it."—pp. 243—245.

In conclusion, we highly commend this volume to the attentive perusal of all who think on such subjects.

The other volume which we have placed at the head of this notice is of kindred nature, both as to its origin (for it consists of lectures preached on the foundation of Mr. Hulse) and as to the general features of the line of defence which the Christian

apologist has adopted, though the mode in which Mr. Trench has worked his subject out is very different, and, so far as our own taste is concerned, less interesting than that which Mr. Maurice adopted. In point of style, likewise, we own to having been better pleased with the latter gentleman's performance.

There has at divers times been manifested a spirit, well expressed by the title of one of the ablest of the deistical books which the last century produced, of desire "to rob the Faith of its significance as the great epoch in the world's history, by the production of anterior parallels to it;" in other words, by proving "*Christianity*" to be "*as old as the creation.*" Our blessed Lord has been represented, from the days of Celsus to those of Voltaire and Gibbon, as a mere copyist and second-hand retailer of the sayings and doings, the precepts and the pretensions, of others who had preceded Him. Mr. Trench relates an anecdote, in connexion with this, of a singular piece of literary forgery, illustrative both of the ignorant credulity of Voltaire and of the tactics of Jesuits:—

"A Jesuit missionary, whose zeal led him to assume the appearance of an Indian Fakir, in the beginning of last century forged a Veda, of which the purpose was, secretly to undermine the religion which it professed to support, and so to facilitate the introduction of Christianity—to advance, that is, the kingdom of truth with a lie. This forged Veda is full of every kind of error or ignorance in regard of the Indian religions. After lying, however, long in a Romanist missionary college at Pondicherry, it found its way to Europe, and a transcript of it came into the hands of Voltaire, who eagerly used it for the purpose of depreciating the Christian books, and showing how many of their doctrines had been anticipated by the wisdom of the east. The book had thus an end worthy of its beginning."—Note, p. 7.

But to return. Mr. Trench—acknowledging that there *were* certain anticipations and "yearnings of the nations for a Redeemer, and for all which the true Redeemer only could give,—for the great facts of his life, for the great truths of his teaching,"—undertakes to show that these were to a certain extent "prophetic;" and that

"These dreams of the world . . . . are exactly that which ought to have preceded the world's awaking: that these parhelions do not proclaim every thing else to be an optical illusion, but announce, and witness for, a sun that is travelling into sight; that these false *ancilla* of man's forging, tell of a true which has indeed come down from heaven; that there needs ought to have been these; the transcending worth and dignity of the Christian revelation not being diminished by their existence, but rather enhanced; for its glory lies, not in its having

relation to nothing which went before itself, but rather in its having relation to every thing, in its being the middle point in which all lines, some consciously, more unconsciously, were tending, and in which all centered at the last."—pp. 3, 4.

That is to say, our author lays down before us, on the one hand, the longings and "feelings-after" of the heathen; on the other, the actual Reality—the forecasting shadows, and the true Body: he considers our Lord as, successively, "the Vanquisher of Hades," "the Son of God," "the Perfect Sacrifice," "the Restorer of Paradise," "the Redeemer from Sin," and "the Founder of a Kingdom:" he affirms that in these very respects Christ satisfied the longings which had from time to time found utterance among the heathen; and he puts these forward as evidences of the truth of Christ's religion, inasmuch as they prove Him to have been, in the prophet's words, "the Desire of all nations," the fulfiller of the world's hopes, the stiller of creation's groans, the great birth of time, unto which all the unspeakable throes of a suffering humanity had been tending from the first."

We do not particularly admire the title which Mr. Trench has adopted, "the Unconscious *Prophecies* of Heathendom:" and for this reason, that while that which it assumes may perhaps be true, it yet violates the (to our mind) chief purpose of a title, viz. to convey to the public a true and distinct notion of the leading idea of the work in question. At least for our own parts—although now that we have read his book we can perceive that his title assumes what may be true—we must plead guilty to having been quite deceived by it in the first instance; we must own to having opened the volume, expecting to find a series of dissertations (and those necessarily not the most edifying) upon the verses of the Cumean Sibyl, or the well-known passage in Plato's Republic:—and so far, therefore, we have been agreeably disappointed.

Before concluding, we feel bound to express our doubt of the soundness of one theory which Mr. Trench has advanced in his fourth lecture. He has been very well setting forth the sin of those who deprive themselves of life, *because* they happen to feel that they are worthy of death: and then he continues:—

"Such false conclusions from right premises they draw, the miserable victims that in our day fling their bodies to be crushed beneath the wheels of some idol car; the same they have drawn, who, in despair at the greatness of their sins, have lifted up their hands against their own life; for even self-murder, this most hideous perversion of sacrifice, yet grounds itself on a sense of life being the only worthy offering (!) Thus a Judas goes and hangs himself, because he feels his sin so great that it cannot be left without an atonement."—p. 73.

We are free to confess, that the passage which we have italicised, smacks a little too much of German refinement for us. We apprehend that a self-murderer "puts an end to himself" (in the common infidel language of the world) simply because he is too great a coward and too selfish to make up his mind to bear either the stings of conscience or the disgrace of public punishment; and this—in disbelief, or in a momentary heedlessness, of the infinitely greater disgrace and punishment which will ensue. Hence it was with reason, that St. Augustine included Judas in his chapter "concerning voluntary death for fear of punishment or disgrace."—(De Civit. Dei, lib. i.)

- II.—1. *Sermons preached on Public Occasions.* By HENRY MELVILL, B.D., Principal of the East India College, and Chaplain to the Tower of London. Rivingtons: 1846.
2. *Sermons preached in the Parish Churches of Old and New Shoreham, Sussex.* By WILLIAM WHEELER, B.D., Vicar. Brighton: Folthorps: 1847.
3. *Sermons delivered at the Parish Church of St. Mary, Lambeth.* By GEORGE D'OYLEY, D.D., late Rector of Lambeth, Surrey, and of Sundridge, Kent. With a Memoir by his Son. In 2 vols. Rivingtons: 1847.
4. *Practical Sermons.* By the Rev. G. W. WOODHOUSE, M.A., Vicar of Albrighton, Salop. Vol. ii. Rivingtons: 1846.
5. *Parish Sermons.* By the Rev. HARVEY GOODWIN, M.A., late Fellow of Caius College, Cambridge. Cambridge: Deightons: 1847.
6. *Plain Sermons, addressed to a Country Congregation. Second Series.* By the late Rev. EDWARD BLENCOWE, M.A., Curate of Teversal, Nottinghamshire, and formerly Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. London: Bell: 1847.

1. It has always appeared to us a great pity, that a writer possessed of so much originality of thought, and of such power of expression as Mr. Melvill beyond question is, should condescend to seek for popularity by the very startlingly brilliant mode of writing which we have been accustomed to associate with his name. We must, however, do him the justice to admit, that as he grows older he grows wiser; and we meet in his later writings, less frequently than in his earlier productions, with those "brilliant cataracts of words" (as Mr. Gresley once termed them), which used to offend our sense of propriety. In the present volume, a few, and comparatively but few, occur. For instance,

we read of "the mystery . . . [of] the Eternal mind" breaking forth "splendid with the coruscations of wisdom." And worse than this, because less intelligible,—“I more recognize Omnipotence in the effecting such combination, than in all those registers of might, whose letters are the mountains, or whose syllables the stars.” Surely such writing is ill suited to the dignified gravity of the English pulpit (we question whether even French divines would adopt such expressions;—we feel quite sure that there is nothing like them to be met with in their most highly-esteemed preachers); surely, too, such writing but ill accords with that first object of the ambassador of God,—to impress upon the understandings, and hence upon the hearts of his hearers, that awful message with which he comes charged. We do not mean to say that it is so with Mr. Melvill, for we believe it to be the contrary; but we confess, that such-like modes of expression (exaggeratedly mysterious to the mass of our congregations) impress us with the notion, that the preacher who habitually adopts them, is more solicitous to astonish than instruct; to set forth his own powers, than to set forward the edification of his hearers.

We are of opinion, moreover, that Mr. Melvill allows himself to be carried away a little at times, too much charmed with some of the "coruscations" that flash across his fancy. He strikes us as being too fond of indulging in speculations rather ingenious than true; not exactly false, yet not logically and severely correct; bursts, well enough in the poet, but very questionable in the mouth of him who ought to speak as though he believed that upon his words was hanging the salvation of souls. We are far from thinking that sermons should be destitute of the ornament and the metaphor, and all allowable arts of rhetoric; but we confess, that, of the two, we much prefer the plain and severe style of Archbishop Secker to the more startling interjections of the Principal of Haileybury. We know that there is a class of minds always ready to applaud these sparkling flights; they are dazzled by the novelty of the idea—whatever it may be; charmed with its ingenuity, they cannot stay calmly to test it, but take for granted that what pleases must be right; and forthwith they dub the preacher as a marvel, and his sermon as perfection. We have met with one or two passages charged with the fault we speak of, in the volume before us, but, at the moment of writing, we cannot pitch upon any other exemplification of it than the following. The author is speaking of the song of the angels at the Nativity, and he says that it was called forth by the manifestation of the power, the wisdom, and the goodness of God, in the



incarnation of Christ. Under the second of these heads he thus speaks :—

“ We know not how to express to you what we think of the power displayed in the work of our redemption. It is possible that this attribute of God is not so generally recognized as are others in the interference of Christ ; but indeed there is none whose manifestation is more marked or more wonderful. . . . . The amazing display of God’s power is that of power over Himself. This had been exhibited from the first moment of our apostasy. When penalty had been incurred, and God forbore to strike, then was the grandest demonstration of Omnipotence. If I would figure to myself Almightyness, creation is as nothing to me when compared with long-suffering. Worlds upon worlds, systems upon systems, a syllable people immensity [*what does this mean?*] is it an expression for the creative Spirit of God pervading all space? ] and causing the untravelled solitude to teem with life, all this conveys to me no such august idea of Omnipotence as God’s bearing with sinners, and not striking down the rebellious. We say again, that long-suffering is God’s power over Himself: it is restraint on his own attributes,—and that matter is at his disposal, this is nothing; that spirit is at his disposal, this is nothing: but that He can be insulted, and not take vengeance; defied, and not crush; blasphemed, and not annihilate; this is the overwhelming truth: this is the being omnipotent enough to control Omnipotence; and myself, in my constant offences, a living thing and yet a sinful, myself am greater proof how mighty is the Lord, than the earth with all its wonders, and the firmament with all its hosts.”—pp. 104, 105.

God forbid, that we should be insensible to his marvellous loving-kindness and long-suffering. God forbid, that we should not take delight to set it forth and magnify it in every legitimate way. But we question whether this *be* a legitimate way which Mr. M. has adopted. Can it be truly and logically predicated of Divine *mercy*, that it is the highest exemplification of the *omnipotence* of Deity? And if not, is not this rather too much like attempting to teach truth by fiction, to be admitted into a sermon? Is not the truth too precious, too sacred, to run the risk of even seeming to hold cheaply one iota of it?

Having thus given free and honest expression to our opinion on these points,—more for the sake of the rising generation of preachers, than to point out the little blemishes which mar the undeniable eloquence of one who stands, nevertheless, in the very foremost rank of living pulpit-orators; we cannot resist the pleasure of transcribing another passage from the same sermon.

“ Angels, it may be, did not reckon on such antipathy and resistance. They may have thought,—and on this persuasion they may have

woven their chorus,—that all enmity would give way before so touching a demonstration of Divine love, as that of God's sending his own Son to die for man's sins. They sang of peace upon earth; for as salvation itself had not come within their discovery, neither had its possible rejection by the great mass of its objects. Oh! it may not have seemed more insupportable to angels that men could be redeemed, than that, if redeemed, they could throw back with scorn the mercy God proffered. And, therefore, there is to us something wonderfully affecting in the circumstance, that angels sang of that as immediate, which, alas! even yet we cannot point to as produced. It is as though angels had thought man less obdurate, less wedded to iniquity, less in love with ruin, than experience has proved him. Angels could not think, that, with here and there a few exceptions, those for whom Christ died would despise and reject Him; and therefore did they sing of instant peace, never calculating, that, through human indifference and infidelity, centuries of conflict and misery would yet roll heavily over men. They supposed that the wretched would be willing to be made happy, and the sinking to be rescued, and the lost to be saved; and hence their chorus of 'peace on earth, good-will towards men.' Oh! they had not been able to discover that Jesus would die; could they, then, discover the alone greater marvel, that He would be crucified afresh, and put to open shame, by thousands upon thousands in every generation?"—pp. 113, 114.

We have been delighted to watch, in Mr. Melvill, for some years past, a growing feeling of Churchmanship,—a quality not often found in popular preachers at proprietary chapels; and we are not less rejoiced to see, that, in his passage from the very negative kind of religion with which, in common with many among us, he set out, he has not declined in his affection for the *English Church*. One of the later sermons in the volume before us was preached on November 5th; in the commencement of this he states his reasons for keeping up the observation of the day.

"Far less," says he, "would I be silent, when silence might be construed into an admission of there being no important difference between Protestantism and Popery; of its being time that we freed ourselves from the bigotry of our forefathers, and looked with less dislike, or less fear, on the Roman Catholic religion. . . . We shall say nothing at present as to whether there be aught in the aspect of the times to make it specially important that every due occasion be taken of impressing upon Protestants their peculiar duties and privileges. But at least, if the Reformation were worth achieving, and if it be worth maintaining, the present institution deserves to be solemnly kept."—pp. 257, 258.

The last sermon, on Deut. xxxii. 31, has for its object to convict, by their own indirect testimony, the Deist and the

Socinian of their folly; and appears to us to be valuable. "We must express to you our conviction," writes Mr. M., "that the source of infidelity is exclusively in the heart; and that, however sincere a man may seem in his pursuit after truth, *it is through nothing but a wish to be deceived that he is at last landed in error.*" He continues presently,

"We trace Deism and Socinianism, and under these every form of infidelity, to a cherished dislike to truth, which demands the subjugation of self, and the prostration of reason. What, then, does the rejection [of Christianity] prove, but that the embraced system is more complacent to pride, and more indulgent to passion? And if it prove this, it is itself nothing less than a testimony on the side of Christianity. It is an acknowledgment that Christianity is better fitted than the spurious faith by which it is superseded for the beating down those lofty imaginations, and eradicating those unrighteous propensities, which must be subdued and uprooted ere there can be hope of admission into the purity and the blessedness of heaven. . . . Oh! it is no argument to me, but altogether the reverse, against the truth, whether of Christianity in general, or of its peculiar doctrines, that many in every age have rejected Revelation, or explained away its mysteries. I would know something of the causes which have generated Deism and Unitarianism; and the more I search, the more is the conviction forced on me, that the Bible is repudiated because at war with all that man naturally loves, and its distinguishing doctrines denied because requiring that reason submit to God's word."—pp. 345, 346.

2. Some of the remarks which we have deemed it our duty to make—with all respect to the eminent preacher whose writings called them forth—must, we think, approve themselves to any minister of the Gospel who will bear in mind a fact, which we find adverted to in the advertisement to the second work named above. Mr. Wheeler therein observes, that "daily experience proves how little the generality carry away of the sermons which they hear, and therefore how necessary it is to impress, if it may be, a few plain truths." This observation is made partly by way of apology for the shortness of the sermons in his volume. We think that, looking to the nature of his parish—a rural parish, embracing fishermen and farmers—their shortness is one of the merits of these sermons.

Mr. W. appears, from his advertisement, to be one of those clergy—by no means few—who, having imbibed their theology at a purer fountain than their immediate predecessors in the parochial charge, have had to preach "the faith," in opposition to misapprehension in some, and, alas! hostility in more. They have, in fact, been "inculcating the teaching of the Church of England" upon those who are glad of the honour of calling them-

selves by her name, while they repudiate the obvious, and are contentious for the non-natural, sense of her Prayer-book. With such of her priests we know how to sympathize; and we bid them, "Be of good courage, quit them like men, and be strong." We are sure that the day of triumph will come—if not to them, yet to their successors; for *magna est veritas, et prevalebit*.

Mr. Wheeler's sermons "are intended to illustrate the nature of God, the Church, and the Sacraments; to teach the duties of obedience, faith, charity, repentance (to which subject five consecutive sermons are devoted); the consequences of unrepented sin; the nature of the warfare in which the Christian is engaged; the necessity of self-discipline:" all of them subjects of prime importance for iteration again and again in these days. And he sends them forth "with the hope that they may remove misapprehension, soften hostility, and afford some suitable topics of reflection to earnest-minded members of the Church of Christ."

We need hardly say, after this, that the tone of these sermons is healthy<sup>1</sup>; but we hope Mr. W. will not think that we are desirous of detracting from the praise which we gladly award to his volume generally, if we add, that—though, doubtless, like too many, he has been subjected to much wilful misapprehension—we are not altogether surprised at his sermons sometimes failing to make the impression he had hoped they would; for we think he is not always sufficiently careful to mould the expression of his thoughts with a view to the very rude and simple minds of (we apprehend) the bulk of a congregation in a fishing-town like Shoreham. Not only do they need the everlasting truths of the Gospel to be set before them in the plainest, the most Saxon, language which can be selected; but they require these truths to be presented to their minds in the most practical—we had nearly written, the most unphilosophical shape; nothing abstract or metaphysical will do for them: their minds would fail to comprehend it, even as a child's grasp would leave no mark upon your hand. If he would argue with them, the preacher must veil his argument under the very simplest syllogisms, and a chain of the most obvious assertions. But now take the following passage, selected from his thirteenth sermon. He has just been quoting 1 Pet. i.

<sup>1</sup> We ought, by the way, to mention, that Sermon xxvii.—"*All sin does not cast us out of a state of grace*"—is grounded upon the text, Gal. v. 17, "The flesh lusteth against the spirit, &c. . . so that ye cannot do the things that ye would." The mode in which the author has employed and explained this text (see particularly p. 305), is the vulgar, but we think erroneous mode. We refer him to the learned Bishop Bull, who (Harmon. Apost. Dissert. Poster. cap. ix. §§ 23, *ad fin.*) has rescued for this text its true meaning. The bishop does not quote, but we think he might well have quoted, as strongly corroborative of his view, the text 1 John iii. 9.

7—9, “Receiving the end of your faith, even the salvation of your souls,” and he proceeds thus:—

“This faith was exercised, you will observe, not upon truths mastered by the mind, but beyond it, and even to the end withheld from its clear apprehension. But reason, by itself, refuses to take for granted the existence of a first cause in religious inquiries. Hence, discredit has been thrown upon miracles. . . . Reason will receive only so much as may be strictly drawn out to its satisfaction, advancing onwards towards belief, according to the range of proof. It confines truth to what it understands of it, and admits it only so far as it is mastered; it considers faith as having reference to something *known* and ascertained, and not to a great First Cause, invisible, incomprehensible, who moves in a mysterious way to perform his wonders.”

All this is quite true, and would be well enough if addressed to an educated congregation; but we are much mistaken if the parishioners of Shoreham were a whit the better for it. A little reflection will show Mr. Wheeler how this might have been all said, and said impressively too. There are plenty of passages which we might extract, but we trust that this one will suffice. *Sat verbum sapienti.* Mr. W. should likewise be careful to break up what he has to say into short periods: the generality of his sentences are far too long. Neither does he appear to us sufficiently alive to the importance of employing the simplest words, or at least of explaining any more difficult word which he may be obliged to use. We allude to such words as *freethinking—momentous—episcopacy—regions of conjecture*—and the like, which are scattered up and down his pages with no sparing hand.

If we must give a character of the volume before us in few words, we should say (and we really do so reluctantly) that they are good sermons, full of faults. We speak, of course, with reference to the particular congregation for whom they were written, and to whom they were addressed. It is commonly said that “any thing will do for a country congregation.” The Vicar of Shoreham evidently does not think so: he has endeavoured to give them of his best; and we only wish that he had succeeded with the manner, as well as he has with the matter, of his addresses. For our own part, we feel persuaded that it is, on the whole, more difficult to preach *well* to a rustic than to an educated congregation. The very effort to deliver the truth to them in short sentences and intelligible English is no inconsiderable addition to the labour common to the preacher’s office. We are, most of us, a long while learning how very little of Divine truth the bulk of even the better sort of our congregations know, and how still less they will give themselves the trouble of thinking.

3. Of the work which we have placed third on our list it will be necessary for us to say but little. The sermons—of which sixty-one are now given to the public—were preached during a ministry of five-and-twenty years in Lambeth; and embrace such a variety of topics, as might be expected during the long continuance of an ordinary parochial cure. They strike us as being among the most *even* which it has fallen to our lot to notice; plain, straightforward expositions of the parts of Scripture upon which they bear; not destitute of occasional touches of affection, yet uncharacterized by any particular warmth or fervour; never descending to the trifling or verbose, never ascending to the striking or eloquent.

The respected author of them—an interesting little memoir of whom is prefixed to these volumes by his son—was too well known to need any eulogium at our hands. If for no other reason, yet would he deserve the grateful remembrances of all churchmen for this,—that he was the proposer of a project, which has since ripened into the beneficial institution of *King's College, London*; an institution, the object of whose foundation was to counteract the baneful effect of the principle upon which the building, now known as London University College, had then lately been begun;—the principle that religion should be wholly excluded from the system of education there to be adopted.

4. The first volume of Mr. Woodhouse's practical sermons was noticed in our number for July, 1844, and we now welcome the appearance of the second volume, which we think is of fully equal merit with its elder brother. We may mention with special commendation the sermons entitled, respectively, *Respectability not Religion*, and *Asceticism not Holiness*. There is more practical common sense in this little book than in almost any work of the kind which we have lately met with.

5. Mr. Goodwin publishes his sermons, in the hope that they are "capable of being in some degree instructive and useful;" and we are inclined to think that this hope bids fair to find itself realized. They seem to be plain, practical, and short; and would, doubtless, prove of service to some of our parochial clergy.

6. We do not remember to have had the good fortune to see the late Mr. Blencowe's first series of sermons; but if we may judge of them by the series now before us, we should say that they were plain, short, and affectionate discourses; and we are not surprised at "the favourable reception and rapid sale" which the "Advertisement" prefixed to the present volume speaks of.

III.—1. *A Vindication of Protestant Principles.* By PHILE-LEUTHERUS ANGLICANUS. London: Parker. 1847.

2. *Free Thoughts on Protestant Matters.* By the Rev. T. G. GREGG, M.A., Chaplain of St. Nicholas Within, Dublin. Second Edition. Dublin: Curry. 1847.

WE have classed these two works together, because they appear to us to have a nearly common object, viz. the exaltation of Protestantism, grounded on something like a community of principles; but when we have said this, we have stated pretty nearly the whole of the similarity existing between them.

The first author desires to "vindicate *Protestant principles*," by proving "that they do not naturally or necessarily lead to this jumble of *Protestant doctrines*," but "are something better than a simple re-assertion of the rule of Protagoras,—that every man is to himself the standard of truth and right." What, then, is the remedy? PHILOLOGY. Philology is the panacea for all the multifarious evils of our religious condition; the fairy's wand, which is to reduce to harmony and order the tangled threads of our many-shaded Protestantism!

"[We shall show] that there sprung up with Protestantism, a science, which is calculated to render the applications of Protestant principles as safe as its own deductions are certain (!) . . . The science to which we refer is philology."—p. 2.

The author is no dissenter; he is a member of "the Reformed Anglican Church;" unto which he desires to attach us all, as being that "religious communion which, by combining this science [philology] with the principles of Protestantism, has placed itself in the only position from which Christian doctrine may be successfully developed." His notion, however, of the Church of England is not quite that, which, we apprehend, presents itself to the minds of most of our readers. It is —, but the author shall speak for himself:—

"As this Church is, in the intention of its founders, and so far as its practical working has been unimpeded, the tolerant metropolis of all those who agree in the great essentials of scriptural truth, it is the duty of every good Protestant Englishman to join the National Establishment; and he will find in it a free declaration of my conviction, that, if the adoption of [St.] Peter's Creed, (Matt. xvi. 16,) is sufficient to prove a man a Christian<sup>2</sup>, the great majority, if not the

<sup>2</sup> Yes: but this is the question—a question which the author "begs;" and so builds on this assumption.

whole of those grounds of Nonconformity which are alleged by Protestant separatists, must be matters of indifference, in which the veto of the conscience has no place, and which, appealing only to diversities of taste and opinion, are in themselves of as little moment as the colour of our coats, or the fashion of our beards."—pp. v, vi.

Accordingly, the author has several sections to show, that it was the intention and the work of our reformers, to

"So frame its [the Protestant National Church's] symbols and confessions as to comprehend within its visible pale all the inevitable varieties of private opinion, which are compatible with its general principles."—p. 11.

With these views, of course he finds no difficulty in allowing that,

"The Church, [is] the only vehicle of safety,—the ark, which floats on the turbulent waters of destruction, with no shore beyond but heaven."—p. 12.

The author we take to be a sincere Christian, and yet, doubtless, for our warning, he has allowed us to see whither his boasted philology is to lead us: he confesses (p. 44, and *notes*,) that he looks upon many of the narratives of Scripture as so many myths or mistranslations. Indeed, Protestantism seems with him to be pretty nearly synonymous with Rationalism. We rise from the perusal of the book, impressed that the author is a sincere, and to some extent a learned man; we may add, with a mind open to conviction, fearless, and desirous of truth; but with an unhappy bias, which causes him to mistake liberalism for liberality, and continually sets before his vision a distorted image.

2. "The great problem," of which Mr. Gregg "has submitted his solution," is, "how the vast accumulation of social evils which afflicts the whole community is to be remedied? and, more especially, how is Ireland to be raised from the depth of misery in which she is plunged?" He, too, looks to "the Protestant Church" as the rallying point, whence all who wish well to our country—specially to Ireland, are to march forth like knight-errants to the rescue of some forlorn maid:—the Protestant Church, we should say, as established by the State, for he "exhibits Christian legislation," legislation which will put down "false religion," (and "at the head of all false religions stands Popery,") "Christian legislation as accomplishing the conversion of Ireland."

"The instrumentality for eradicating popery is the reformed Church.



I show how to heal its divisions; to make it 'terrible as an army with banners.'—p. xv.

"The Protestants of Ireland are the pilot power of the State."—p. xvi.

However, his views of the way to heal the religious differences which weaken this "instrumentality," this "pilot power," are not precisely the same as those of the last-mentioned anonymous author. He distinctly disclaims the notion that "Christian union" is "an agreement in disunion" (Index<sup>3</sup>); and falls foul of the "Evangelical Alliance." His panacea is, not a mere extended philology, (with this he seems satisfied), nor (with Mr. McNeile) a repeal of the Act of Uniformity, for "all the Methodists," he thinks, give their "consent and agreement with the Book of Common Prayer;" but—that our bishops shall

"Admit into distinct and avowed connexion with the Church the Church-Methodists of Ireland. . . . Let them be really and confessedly identified with the Church as one with it; their ministers admitted as lay-helpers; and when their gifts would warrant it, their service in our pulpits allowed. Let this be done, and the very fountain-head of dissent and disunion would be dried up."—p. 338.

In other words, stultify the principles of our ecclesiastical polity, and admit to equal honour with the true ministers of God's word and sacraments men who have "presumed to execute the functions" of the priesthood, without having "had episcopal consecration or ordination<sup>4</sup>." We confess that we are at a loss to understand how Methodists can "agree with the Book of Common Prayer," while the preface to our Ordination Service stands as part of it. (Perhaps Mr. Gregg did not know that this service *is* part of it: many do not.) But this is a curious proposition to come from Mr. Gregg at p. 338, when at p. 195 he has informed us that

"It is the principle of episcopacy which enables us to argue, without any hesitation, as to the apostolicity of a genuine episcopal church; to conclude, beyond a doubt, that such a church possesses the attribute of apostolical connexion; . . . to ascertain, beyond a possibility of doubt, that *the body to which we belong* was organized, incorporated, formed, associated, and constructed into a society *by the Apostles themselves*, and therefore has 'continued in their fellowship,' or else that it has duly grown as a branch from such an apostolic society."

And, amusingly enough, in spite of his outcries against "Trac-

<sup>3</sup> So anxious is Mr. G. that we should not fail to discover the treasures of this literary medicine-chest, that he has appended an Index to his volume!

<sup>4</sup> Preface to the Ordinal.

tarians," &c. &c., the author actually favours us with two *catenæ* of the succession of the present primates of England and Ireland from St. Peter and St. Paul!

We cannot recommend either of these two works; but from very different causes. While the first is cleverly written, with a considerable sprinkling both of learning and of truth, its very cleverness and apparent liberality make it a *very dangerous* book to be placed in the hands of those unskilled in controversy, and consequently easy dupes to the sophistry with which its false principles are overlaid. The second is alike destitute of cleverness, learning, or liberality. Harmless from its stupidity; amusing from its extreme egotism and arrogation of superior wisdom; and disgusting from pages full of the most unmeasured abuse of Dr. Todd of Dublin, of one Mr. Burgh, and of all and every with whom the author disagrees. Any thing more thoroughly vulgar (in its worst sense), more ungentlemanlike, more narrow-minded, and absurd than this production of Mr. Gregg's, we never remember to have seen.

IV.—*Rituaie Anglo-Catholicum; or the Testimony of the Catholic Church to the Book of Common Prayer, as exhibited in Quotations from Ancient Fathers, Councils, Liturgies, and Rituals; together with Illustrations from Accredited Publications of the Sixteenth Century.* By the Rev. HENRY BAILEY, M.A., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, and Curate of Hingham, Norfolk. London: Parker. 1847.

WE account it to be matter of special thankfulness to Divine Providence, that at a period of such general and unexampled activity of the human mind, when, too, men's attention has been so pointedly turned to all matters connected with religion and our national Church, and when, moreover, the "little learning" which makes men despise what they do not understand is straining its powers and uttering its outcry among us, contemptuous of all that is ancient and venerable, as such; we say, that at such a time, when minds are rife among us so incapable, either by constitution or by bias, as the two authors last noticed, of appreciating the excellence of their heritage, it is matter of thankfulness that Providence has raised up other minds not less active but more reverential and discriminating, who have shown us that our reform was not the work of one man or of a single day, nor our Reformation based only upon the unlimited private judgment of a tyrannical monarch or a time-serving bishop.

Mr. Palmer, in his "*Origines Liturgicæ*" was (to quote from

the volume before us) "the first English Churchman to revive in our day the attention due to" the ancient liturgies, "and has done great service both by his own well-digested information, and by pointing out the sources from which more may be obtained." And we deem it no slight praise to say, that this volume of Mr. Bailey's appears to us every way worthy of standing on the same shelf with that incomparable work.

Mr. Bailey's book is composed on the plan of "The Liturgy compared with the Bible," the production of his father. Its nature is sufficiently indicated by the title-page; the sources from which he has drawn his illustrations, are the ancient Fathers, ancient Councils, ancient Liturgies and Rituals, and the publications of the Reformation-era. To any one inclined to ask, why he should have taken up the same subject as that treated of in Mr. Palmer's work?—in other words, what the difference may be between the two? the author has given the following reply:—

"In the first place, I have endeavoured to avoid a repetition of the originals, which Mr. Palmer has quoted at length, merely marking them by references to his work. Next, as his object was to give the *originals* of the several collects and prayers, that is, those from which they were immediately taken, and which most clearly resemble them, he has, consistently with this object, omitted to give the *earlier forms* in which they appear, and to trace them upwards through the several stages of their formation. . . . Further, Mr. P. remarks in his preface, that 'when he has been unable to ascertain their originals, he has *occasionally* compared our formularies with those which have been used on similar occasions in other churches.' This has been invariably done in the present volume, with the important object in view of showing how the ancient rituals harmonize in sentiment with one another and with our own amidst every variety and circumstance."—pp. 18, 19.

Mr. Bailey assures us, that

"The objects he has had in view, both for himself and for his readers, are of a practical and devotional, rather than of a critical and polemical kind."

A preference, in making which we think he has acted wisely. Would space permit, we might easily give abundance of extracts to show the value of this work, as clearly exhibiting the mind of "the ancients" on many *now* controverted points; but we must refrain from more than a brief citation. Section clxvi. refers to that exhortation to thanksgiving which occurs immediately after the baptism of the infant, and which commences, "Seeing now, dearly beloved brethren, that this child *is regenerate,*" &c.: and

among the testimonies to the doctrine herein involved, we have the two following:—

Ἀρχὴ ζωῆς τὸ βάπτισμα, καὶ πρώτη ἡμερῶν ἐκείνη ἢ τῆς παλιγγενεσίας ἡμέρα.—*S. Basil. de Spir. Sancto*, x. 26.

Interrogo te: Oratio ista Ecclesiarū fidelium est, an catechumenorum? Certe utique regeneratorum est, id est, baptizatorum.—*S. Aug. Serm.* 181 (al. 29) *de Verb. Apost.*

We have, in the course of our own reading, marked down some scores of passages bearing upon this fundamental doctrine; but we question whether we have met with any more apposite than these. We predict that this will become a standard work in the libraries of our clergy; and we tender our best thanks to the author of it.

v.—*A Synopsis of Criticisms upon those passages of the Old Testament, in which Modern Commentators have differed from the Authorized Version; together with an explanation of various difficulties in the Hebrew and English Texts. By the Rev. RICHARD BARRETT, M.A., Fellow of King's College, Cambridge.* Vol. I., Part I. London: Longmans. 1847.

NEXT to the outcry for the revision of the Prayer Book, and remodelling our ecclesiastical polity, that for a new translation of the Bible perhaps oftener intrudes itself upon our ears. Nor, doubtless, could he, whose only desire is to magnify the revealed truth, fear such an undertaking, provided that it resulted in a more *faithful* translation. But is the temper of these times such as to warrant the expectation of this? Or is the *learning* of these times such? We have no hesitation in recording our conviction that *it is not*. Hebrew learning, Rabbinical learning,—of these we believe a sad deficiency exists among Churchmen of the day. However, there are several cheering signs of improvement in this, as in some other respects.

Our deprecation of a new translation of course proceeded on the supposed concession of the postulate, that a new translation is absolutely *needed*; but this we, for one, are by no means disposed to allow. That some passages have been misrendered, it would be folly to dispute; but the more we read on this subject, the more firmly convinced we are, that however in some points of mere criticism a more accurate version might be acceptable to the philologist, or even a great doctrine might receive fresh light or confirmation by another rendering of a text here and there, "the reader may rest assured" (to employ the words of Mr. Barrett) "that our present English Bible is one of the best trans-

lations that has yet been made of any book, and one over which a special Providence seems to have watched." There are, of course, difficult and obscure passages; but what work, written in a dead language, is free from these? And can we reasonably expect, by any number of new translations, ever to arrive at more than a probable explanation of them? Moreover, it may well be doubted whether the emendations which might safely be adopted into the text or the margin be sufficient to call for a new authorized version. Moreover, it is we think quite open to a question, whether the evils would not more than counterbalance the good resulting from a new authorized version. The difficult and mistranslated texts are points of interest chiefly to the scholar; the great proportion of the Bible is amply sufficient to guide the faith and hopes of the unlearned many. In former times the copies of the English Bible were comparatively few, they are now circulated by millions: a new translation would bring those copies into discredit, and "consequently unsettle the minds," nay, shake the very faith of thousands. But while we deprecate a new authorized version, we fully coincide with Mr. Barrett in regretting

"That the critical study of the Old Testament has been so much neglected, even by those whose duty it is to expound it; and that men should so confidently expatiate upon the spiritual sense of their text, without taking any pains first to arrive at its literal meaning." And we ask, with him, "why," since "a knowledge of Greek is required of all candidates for holy orders, as necessary for the understanding of the New Testament, why should not a knowledge of Hebrew be considered equally necessary for the Old? . . . Especially is it incumbent upon the clergy, who are set apart to minister to the Lord and to teach His Word, to neglect no means of rightly understanding that Word; and if they be prevented from entering deeply into critical studies, it is at least desirable for them to know enough of Hebrew to appreciate the explanations of commentators."—p. x.

We know of but one answer to the question, why is not a competent knowledge of Hebrew required of candidates for holy orders? and that is—the very bishops and chaplains who are to examine them, are themselves very deficient herein. More than one of them has distinguished himself as a ripe Grecian; but to which can we point as a really good Hebraist? But a brighter day is dawning, we fervently hope: and the foundation of new professorships at Oxford, and the institution of theological courses at Cambridge, are, we trust, the earnest of better things.

As we have said, our use of a more extended knowledge of the sacred tongue would be, to enable us to appreciate the labours of the commentators: much of whose writings are, we fear, merely

a dead letter to a large portion of our clergy. A wider knowledge of Hebrew, then, would not render superfluous the commentators; but rather, while they "have laboured," would give us the power of "entering into their labours." The commentators will always be of use. And when we mention them, we speak of a host of whose very existence many, we apprehend, are ignorant. To purchase even a few of these is far beyond the means of the bulk of our clergy—at least of the younger ones: and hence we hail with pleasure a work like that before us.

"The plan usually adopted throughout the work has been to give, in the following order, the Hebrew text, the Septuagint Version, the Authorized Version; and, lastly, the explanations both of those commentators who support the present version, and also of those who consider the Hebrew text to be corrupt, or to have been misunderstood by our translators."

Of course our author has drawn extensively upon the synopsis of Matthew Poole, who himself consulted between seventy and eighty commentators, and nearly thirty different versions. Mr. Barrett's book includes extracts from about a dozen commentators who have written since Poole's day, not omitting the infidel Geddes. Among these we are happy to observe the names of some of the German critics: no man, who is not blinded by prejudice, can impugn the truth of Mr. B.'s remark, that "where there is no question concerning a doctrine or the truth of a miracle, the German critics are most valuable." Often will a German by taking a passage in a critical manner, and "fairly facing the difficulties, offer a possible, if not an easy solution," when a good and orthodox man—like Lowth or Horsley, unhesitatingly alters or rejects it as interpolated or corrupt.

We are sorry, however, not to see one or two names in the table of abbreviations, but we trust that when those Scriptures, upon which in particular they have severally laboured, shall come under review, we shall find that they likewise have contributed their quota towards the enrichment of this very useful work: we allude to such names as Hengstenberg, Tittmann, Olshausen, &c. We have failed likewise to observe any reference to Archbishop Secker; his notes are indeed most short and pithy, but we hold them to be very valuable.

It is impossible to furnish the reader with any extracts from such a book: but we can assure him that we have turned to several passages (the present Part closes with Levit. vi.), and have been much pleased with the light which some of the writers quoted bring to bear upon them. Thus, for example, let the reader only compare the short dry note of Bishop Patrick on *Gen.*

xlix. 14, "*Issachar is a strong ass couching down between two burdens,*" with the array of comments which he will meet with here, and he will not long hesitate as to the utility of a work like the present. For our own part, we believe any of the renderings which have been proposed of מִשְׁפָּתִים, to be preferable to that of our authorized version, praised by Bishop Patrick: for ourselves, we prefer *the sheepfolds*, (as in Judges v. 16,) of course, bearing in mind that this is only an adaptation, to the spirit of the blessing, of the primary idea of the word. So, again, in *Exod.* ix. 14, 15, that which Patrick clumsily hinted at, is rendered plain by the comments of Kennicott and Rosenmüller. We think that Mr. Barrett might have advantageously cited Archbishop Newcome's note on *Jonah* iv. 10, where this very passage is alluded to; if it were only to have indicated to the young Hebraist, by the examples there collected, that he was at liberty to generalize the assertion of Rosenmüller, "Verba activa præterita, וְיִתְּנָהוּ וְיִתְּנָהוּ et וְיִתְּנָהוּ explicanda sunt de facultate agendi."

We shall anxiously look for the succeeding parts of this work.

VI.—*The Ministry of the Body.* By the REV. ROBERT WILSON EVANS, B.D., Vicar of Hoversham, and late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. London: Rivingtons. 1847.

ANY work from the pen of the author of "the Rectory of Valehead" will be welcomed by a large mass of readers; and we think that in this before us their expectations will not be disappointed. The subject is most important to the Christian, for to his mind the *body* must present itself under a very different aspect to that in which the heathen thought of it.

"To be in the body, what a mystery! To exercise its senses, what a blessing! To rule its appetites, what a charge!"

Most true! and yet, how few of us, perhaps, do deem of our body as they ought. If the popularity of Mr. Evans shall gain for this subject more attention only than many have been wont to give to it, or would perhaps give to it at the bidding of any less favourite writer, his book will have done good service, even though it were not written with his usual talent. But we are far from saying this. Mr. Evans's language is, indeed, rather quaint at times, and some expressions in his "Contents" are quaint still; but we trust that few persons are silly enough to judge of the internal fittings of a mansion by the approaches and the porter's lodge.

What with the reaction, commencing with the Reformation, and not yet subsided, produced by Popish corruptions, and the

additional bias which our age has inherited from the Puritans, the popular theology of the present day is most loose and defective on not a few points. Among them stands prominent the honour *due* to the body, as the instrument by which all sensations of good or evil are conveyed to the mind, and by which we are to worship God,—as that which Christ has redeemed no less than the soul,—as that, too, which is to be conformed to the glorious body of our Lord, and to be raised again at the last day.

The mortal body and the immortal soul are for ever set in contrast, and the moral worth and dignity of the one seem to vary inversely with the other. The popular theology perpetually confounds two sets of things, which are kept quite distinct in Scripture; viz. *soul* with *spirit*, and *body* with *flesh*; whereas

“The true opposition lies in the affections of the spirit and of the flesh (as between good and evil). ‘The flesh lusteth against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh,’ says the Apostle. But then flesh is not the body, but only the present constitution of the body, so accidental that it will one day be dispensed with. And it is worth while to remark on this point, that never (except when the notion of the flesh is implied in it) is the body spoken of in Scripture in a disparaging sense; nor is the epithet bodily ever there opposed to spiritual, with which fleshly and things of the soul are continuously and contemptuously contrasted.”—p. 39.

The natural consequence of this loose way of speaking of the body is a dropping, if not a tacit denial of, the “Resurrection of the Body.” Hence (as is evident) much erroneous teaching must prevail, in reference to the state of the dead, so far as it is revealed in Scripture, and the day of judgment. Our popular language

“Presents it [that day] at best as a day of empty parade, on which souls are to come out from heaven and hell, in order to go back into heaven and hell. . . . In the same breath that speaks of the soul, it will speak of crowns, and thrones, and other bodily preparation, receiving it from the earth. But when searchingly canvassed, it is found to involve the notion that the resurrection is already past, and shows the real tendency to the doctrine, though one would be sorry to lay on any the charge of the conscious maintenance of it.”—p. 41.

We have not space to devote to further extracts. Mr. Evans deserves our best thanks for his attempt to correct the popular language on this subject; and we recommend his little volume as one which will richly repay attentive perusal.



vii.—*Liber Pontificalis of Edmund Lacy, Bishop of Exeter; a MS. of the Fourteenth Century; printed from the original, in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Exeter. Edited by RALPH BARNES, Esq. Exeter: Roberts. 1847.*

To those engaged in tracing out the history of the English branch of the Church Catholic, and of her reformed ritual, the present publication must prove a most valuable accession. Several variations will be found in it from the Roman Pontifical, in the length, number, and order of the prayers, besides several distinct ceremonies and practices; but (as Mr. Barnes reminds us, from Venerable Bede) "Saint Gregory authorized the admission and selection from the Gallican or any other Church of any practice that was pious, religious, and proper, and to bind it up in one body, and deposit it among the Angles for the customary observance of their Church." One very interesting feature in the MS. now published is the *Ordo* for the consecration of kings and queens.

"Its substance (writes Mr. Barnes in his preface) is chiefly taken from Archbishop Egbert's Pontifical." Mr. Palmer, in the last edition of his *Origines Liturgicæ*, has shown that the *Liber Regalis*, preserved at Westminster Abbey, and used still as the authority for our coronation rites, is very similar to the Pontifical of Egbert as published by Martene; and he assigns the MS. to the reign of Richard II. (A. D. 1377—1399.) Now the Pontifical before us "in all probability was written in the fourteenth century," writes the editor; and the portion with which we are now engaged, commences, "Coronatio regis secundum consuetudinem ecclesie Westmonasteriensis." This is singular. For a comparison which we have made of it, with the extracts as given by Mr. Palmer from the *Liber Regalis*, shows that, though sufficiently similar to have been grounded on the same original (probably that of Egbert), they yet differ considerably, both in the order of the several parts, and in the forms and phraseology and length both of the rubrics and the prayers. If it were really "secundum consuetudinem ecclesie Westmonasteriensis," we are at a loss to understand how it could be so in the fourteenth century; for we know that *Liber Regalis* was the *Ordo* of that date.

The volume contains several most interesting forms of benediction, such as of the new sword of a soldier—herds—various kinds of fruit and grain—portions of a church—a ship, &c. Also forms for degrading priests, and restoring them—excommunication and reconciliation, and so on. It will well repay attentive study.

VIII.—*Warnings of the Holy Week, &c. Being a course of Parochial Lectures for the Week before Easter and the Easter Festivals. By the Rev. W. ADAMS, M.A.* London: Rivingtons. 1847.

THE plan of this little volume is as follows: first, there is a Scripture of the events of each day from Palm Sunday to Easter Sunday, harmonized after Mr. Greswell's method; and then a short, plain, practical lecture is subjoined, founded upon these events;—events which

“Speak to us again and again of blessings, warnings, and privileges; but it is for the most part of privileges neglected, warnings disregarded, and blessings forfeited.”—p. 5.

A more suitable little volume for this holy season could not well be imagined.

IX.—*Letters on Confirmation: a Manual of Moral and Religious Duties, designed for the young of her own sex in the upper ranks of society. By A LADY.* London: Cleaver. 1846.

WE should not hesitate to place this little volume in the hands of any young persons—more especially females—of the upper classes, who are about to prepare themselves for the important ordinance of Confirmation. The authoress has dedicated it to her god-daughter; and it is an earnest and affectionate appeal, calculated to impress her with the importance of the obligations she is about to enter into. We recommend it as being free from any attempt to enter into explanations of the deeper points, which are better adapted, and wisely reserved, for riper years. Part of the first letter, on the Baptismal Vows, pleases us much. Having shown the just explanation of “the pomps” to be “re-nounced,” the authoress proceeds to the “vanities:” amongst which she gives the first place to *beauty*; and shows that

“Though beauty, once bestowed, cannot be voluntarily discarded, nor is it needful that it should be, still it involves peril and danger, if you set too great a value upon it, or forget that, like all your other endowments, it is a gift from God, for the right use of which you will have to answer at the judgment.”—p. 13.

The second “vanity” is *wealth*; and, from her remarks on this head, we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of making an extract:—

“Is wealth less vain than beauty? Will riches avail us in another world? Will they not rather increase our condemnation, if we have

failed to use them as we ought: namely, in works of charity and usefulness, as the stewards of God's bounty? Desire not riches, therefore, for their own sake. Remember that increase of wealth brings also an increase of care and responsibility. . . . Consider, before you purchase a thing, whether it is necessary to you; whether it is required of you in the circumstances in which you are placed; whether you can make the purchase without incurring debt? If you can satisfactorily answer these questions, that is enough; but if you cannot, if you only *wish* for the thing you see, and do not *want* it, it then becomes a vanity which you must renounce; and you should consider, at such a time, how many might be supplied with *necessaries*, if only you would learn to deny yourself of *superfluities*. . . . But you are, perhaps, ready to ask:—'Are we then to spend nothing in our amusements and pleasures, and are even harmless indulgences forbidden us?' Again, I answer, *no*. But it is required of you, first, to inquire whether the thing you desire is really necessary, and to think of the wants of others before your own pleasures. . . . Before spending money in your own amusements, you should also satisfy yourself that they are perfectly innocent amusements, such as are not likely to produce harm either to yourself or others."—pp. 14, 15.

The third letter in this volume, upon "the Commandments," gives an admirable explanation of the several duties which they enjoin upon us, and would be read with great advantage by some of those who have not been accustomed to reflect, and to enlarge upon the points of obedience which are contained in the tables of the law, as applied to our daily duties.

The eighth and ninth letters, which treat of the "Lord's Supper," and the "Preparation for it," give a simple, and, so far as it goes, correct explanation of this blessed Sacrament. We could, perhaps, have desired that the authoress had spoken a little more distinctly and fully on its *sacramental* nature,—on its being a means of conveying supernatural grace, and not merely a commemorative rite. We are particularly pleased with the ninth letter, on the manner of preparing ourselves, both in heart and mind, to receive the holy Eucharist. We think that the authoress has fulfilled her purpose of supplying something more than an elementary treatise for that class, whose better education and more cultivated feelings can enter into her intentions. She will not be offended, if we add, that it were to be wished she had submitted her pages to some experienced eye, as we have detected an expression or two, to which polemics have attached a peculiar meaning, different from that which she would herself approve.

- x.—1. *Chollerton: a Tale of our own times.* By A LADY. London: Ollivier. 1846.
2. *Trevor: or, the New Saint Francois. A Tale for the Times.* London: Longmans. 1847.
3. *Steepleton: or, High Church and Low Church; being the Present Tendencies of Parties in the Church, exhibited in the history of Frank Faithful.* By A CLERGYMAN. London: Longmans. 1847.

It is with no favourable eye that we regard, in general, that class of books which has lately been on the increase, and which we may designate as *religious novels*,—the advocates now of “High Church,” now of “Low Church,” doctrines and practices. We dislike them in principle. Few minds are capable of setting forth the opinions with which they disagree, in a perfectly full and fair manner; they cannot help showing some favour to the particular side which they have themselves espoused. We deem this to be the natural result of conviction on an earnest mind: we do not, therefore, blame them for this their inability; we only blame them for knowing so little of themselves, as to allow themselves, laboring under the infirmity, to write books as though they were free from it. For what is the consequence? The consequence is that of every one-sided argument; it does not, cannot, instruct those who are predisposed to agree; it hardens those whom it would convince. Each party is confirmed in its own way of thinking.

Besides this, we are inclined to question the propriety of thus mixing up religion with romance. It is doubtless done on the same principle on which our old nurse was wont to give us a powder between two slices of luxuriously buttered bread; but we apprehend that the plan is less successful with the religious, than with the physical dose. Those who are desirous of learning what is right, will read graver books; those who require to be enticed by a story, will pick out the romantic, and skip over the religious chapters.

We have been drawn into these remarks by reflecting on the books before us.

*Chollerton* appears to us to be written with the charitable intention of forcing Church principles down the reader's throat. It is compounded, apparently, of a series of sermonets, or extracts from some big book of polemical divinity, “adapted to the times,” and “made easy,” by the occasional relief of rides and walks, ruins and pic-nics. The author's model (Arthur) is self-sufficient, dogmatical, and *ultra*; blurring out his opinion, often an extrava-

gant one, at all times, and in all companies; and laying down the law, both before and after his ordination, as if he was the Pope himself. The tale bears internal evidence, we think, of being the offspring of one who has not seen much of the world. The author has fallen into the common error of spinning out common-place conversations, and mistaking this for what is "natural." The book is not without interest and ability, but very unequal. The *love* contrasts curiously with the *theology*: in the one, the writer evidently speaks from experience; in the other, from theory. The impression left on our mind by the perusal of *Chollerton*, reminds us of *Old Poz's* reply to his daughter, when she puts in a word for the prisoner, "Go to your dolls, Lucy, go to your dolls; and don't talk of what you don't understand."

*Trevor*, be the author male or female, is a work of much greater power, and of not less interest; the chapters short; the conversations spirited; the incidents, *se non sono veri, sono ben trovati*. The author is evidently a friend to the poor, a quiet-going country clergyman, and has, we should think, been harassed by the vagaries of some young priest in a neighbouring parish, full of the enthusiasm and inexperience of youth. The result of this is, that he has fallen into the opposite error to the authoress of the last noticed tale; *she* was prone to exalt the Romanizing element, fancying it to be Anglican; *he* too often decries the Catholic element, mistaking it for Popish.

He is indignant at the refusal to read the Burial Service over the corpses of schismatics (p. 63); deals in a sophistical argument against "authoritative teaching" (p. 250); laughs at the notion of an Apostolical Succession, and the Divine right of kings (p. 189); declares that we want a reform of the Liturgy (p. 191); thinks that no "public declaration of faith is required to enable the truly devout to worship in common," and that the adoption of a Creed is of importance only as it exerts an "influence on the moral character" (pp. 189. 191); and finally, "not alarmed at the differences which exist between men of equal learning and piety," believes that "each may be right;" for that "the essential doctrines revealed" [in the New Testament,] may probably "be found in them all." (p. 251.)

The author is most successful when opposing the freaks of "Young Eng'and," and the pernicious teaching of the Mystics. In both of these points we heartily go along with him: although we must question the wisdom of putting the following speech into the mouth of a clergyman, *without subjoining a single word of disapproval*. The class of readers for whom the book is intended, are not likely to be always able, left to themselves, to separate the poison from the food.

“Madam,” said Malinsey, “no efforts which you, a poor child of clay, can make, will avail in that spiritual conflict. The sophistry of the intellect; the pride of the heart will triumph eternally over the soul, if it relies on intellectual or moral assistance in its struggles. Strive not at all; watch and pray: but let your prayers be the overflowings of a holy desire, the lamentations of a creature lost in sin, the verbal expression of inward penitence; and not vain supplications for benefits of your own imagining, or outpourings of conceited hope.” (p. 81.)

Of course we cannot recommend this book on the whole: but we are bound to acknowledge that the author, however decided his opinions may be, always gives utterance to them like a gentleman, a clergyman, and a Christian.

We wish we could say as much for the author of *Steepleton*. This is certainly the very weakest production in point of argument, that we have met with: it is likewise one of the most ungentlemanlike and uncharitable. Indeed, the Christian bearing of the book and its wit are about on a par. The author, doubtless, deems it very clever to nickname his “High Church” personages as “Mr. Punning, Dr. Dominant, Mr. Jolly-side, Mr. Crooked-soul,” or the Baptist teacher as “Mr. Lacklove.”

We should have left it here, quite sure that it is too bad to do any mischief; but to one passage we must refer, in which the author evidently thinks he has made “a good hit.” “Faithful” (the name will bespeak the *party* which he is meant to represent) challenges another to

“Produce the passage where the Church, according to the direct and strictly grammatical force of the English language, *asserts* the doctrine that regeneration always takes place in baptism.”

Of course the other produces the well-known “*Seeing now that this child is regenerate.*” “Begging your pardon,” Faithful replies,

“That is not an *assertion*, but an inference or assumption grounded upon certain premises. Prove your position.”

“Why, the Church says, *Seeing now that, &c.* What I *see*, I don’t want to have proved.”

“But do you *see* it?” asked Faithful.

“See what?”

“See that the child baptized is *actually regenerated*? . . . .

“Certainly not.”

“Well, then, so far you agree with me, that the very first word must be taken in its secondary or accommodated sense, and not in its strict literal sense; in short, in its *grammatical sense*, according to the connection in which it stands. It is clearly not to be taken alone, but as a part of a certain form of speech. Have you ever considered what is the grammatical force and meaning of the phrase, “*Seeing now that?*”

If you refer to Dr. Johnson, you will find that "*seeing that*," is equivalent to *pourvu que*, "provided that," and the word "*now*" is obviously *illative* here, and not an adverb of time; so that . . . . . the language here used is that of an assumption grounded on certain *premised conditions*."—pp. 149, 150.

We have no great opinion of Dr. Johnson (pardon us, ye Boswellites!) as an etymologist, but we had the curiosity to turn to his dictionary, and are happy to say, that he is not quite so bad as this writer—either through inability to understand him, or from something worse—would represent him to be. The Doctor's words are, "*SEEING that*." [It would be more grammatically written, as *vú que*, *pourvú que*, in French; *seen that*, or *provided that*.] Since; sith; it being so that." It does not require much penetration to perceive that—though "seen that" and "provided that," in this passage, *may* have a *conditional* force—they may also have, and, from the subsequent explanatory synonyms, were intended to have the *inferential* force, which Churchmen attribute to "Seeing that" in the Baptismal Service:—"it being so that this child is regenerate"—"since so it is, that this child," &c.—"let us, seeing that this child, &c., give thanks." And in this sense it is employed in every one of the passages which Johnson cites by way of example. The author of *Steepleton* appends a note, to the effect that

"The old English word 'sith,' 'it being so that,' or 'supposing it to be so that,' is similar in its force."

This note, taken in conjunction with the text, displays so happy a state of etymological ignorance, that we forbear to charge the writer with any thing else. His knowledge of Anglo-Saxon is manifestly derived from Johnson's dictionary, and the Doctor unfortunately knew nothing about it. The one explained "seeing that" by "since" and "sith," as though they were strictly synonymous; and the other takes his "sith" at second hand, and affixes to it a meaning which neither it nor "since" ever had, nor "*pourvú que*" in its original use.

We have not space to enter more at length into this: we will content ourselves with observing that "since" is only the modern form, and (as Horne Tooke shows) "a very corrupt" form, of what the Prayer-book more correctly expresses by "seeing that;" words which, we venture to say, never imply the conditional, doubtful sense which it is now sought to affix to them by the modern use of "*pourvú que*," and the explanatory "*supposing it to be so that*;" they always indicate "an inference" (if he will) "grounded on certain premises," *but*—premises, conditions, *assumed to be granted*. "Seeing that" answers to the Latin *quia*

in meaning, and to the Greek ἐγενήθη in both meaning and etymology. As to this writer's very clever quibble about "seeing that the child is actually regenerate," we could hardly expect him, perhaps, to know that, in the Articles, "regenerate" (renatus) and "baptized" are used synonymously. Now he will not deny that we can see that the child is *baptized*; ergo, we may safely say, that we can see that it is *regenerate*.

**XI.—1. *The Old Man's Home.* By the Rev. W. ADAMS, M.A.,  
Fellow of Merton College, Oxford. Rivingtons.**

**2. *Ashton Hall; or, Self-seeking and Self-denying. A Tale of daily life.* By Mrs. ALFRED MONTGOMERY. London:  
Rivingtons.**

1. WE cannot perhaps speak in higher terms of praise, than by stating that this little allegory is quite equal to the rest of Mr. Adams's works, and forms an admirable companion to "The Shadow of the Cross;" inasmuch as that depicts the responsibilities and dangers, the blessings and helps of our entrance into the Christian warfare, this shows the hopes and fears, the comforts and supports of its close.

2. We have read with infinite pleasure this instructive and amusing little work. The different characters are admirably drawn; the authoress is evidently well acquainted with the feelings of a deeply sensitive, affectionate disposition; and some useful hints are given on self-denial in little every-day duties. If there be a fault, it would seem to consist in her having represented Mary's feelings as somewhat needlessly harassed, during the illness of her sister. Short as the tale is, we cannot resist making one very brief extract, by way of a specimen, in conclusion:—

"When, strongly impressed with some one idea, we determine upon an action, it appears as if all the materials and details of our life were so much wax in our hands, which we could mould to the fulfilment of our own purposes. The common things of daily existence, far from appearing to offer any obstacle, look like the ready instruments to our will. But when the excitement is passed, and we find ourselves surrounded on all sides by little conventional customs, little domestic arrangements, little human hindrances, the very things which before were soft as wax, become so many iron spikes, entrenching upon our intended path on all sides, so minute, that we scarcely know where they lie; and so unyielding, that no mental energy seems capable of despoiling them."—p. 54.



XII.—*Village Tales from the Black Forest, by Berthold Auerbach. Translated from the German by META TAYLOR. With four Illustrations by John Absolon.* London: Bogue.

THESE are interesting traits of rural life in Germany. Berthold Auerbach, with his close observation and gentle style of narration, reminds us of Hans Anderson. Mrs. Taylor has most happily retained those distinguishing characteristics of the language, and that simplicity which forms the prominent charm of Auerbach's style, in her clever translations. Those who are familiar with the neighbourhood of Baden-Baden, will more particularly appreciate the pictures of village life depicted in these tales, and which present to the reader the feelings of a peasant population under that peculiar kind of independence enjoyed by the inhabitants of the villages in the Black Forest.

Mrs. Taylor's introduction contains a description of the present state of the German peasantry of that part of the country. They appear formerly to have been in the situation of cottiers, doing suit and service to their lords, but which state became intolerable, and the peasants were declared seised of the lands which they held in fief of these lords, who were compelled to accept a commutation for the dues they had previously received, in some instances in money, in others in land. The parishioners being owners of property under the control of the department of the Forest, acquire a certain dignity of manner, which render them regardless of those courtesies towards official persons observed by their neighbour citizens. The German peasants are more swayed by the opinion of their own village than by that of the townspeople, or even the government, and will try to maintain their sturdy independence against the interference of the *Oberamtmann* and the *Schultheiss*, which in these stories are translated Bailiff and Sheriff. Mr. Absolon's clever illustrations are prettily adapted to the stories.

Alloys in the first tale, nicknamed Tolpatsch, meaning stupid or clumsy, is a good illustration of the class, with a broad face, full blue staring eyes, and half-open mouth, his flaxen hair growing over the neck behind in one long patch—his ordinary dress “a shirt, red braces, and linen trowsers, prudently black, to meet any mishap,”—simple and awkward in his manners, and therefore a butt to the smarter lads of the village, who already begin to consider themselves men, as they have the distinguishing badge of a grown-up lad—the everlasting silver-mounted pipe hanging in their mouths, with its bowl of real Ulm ware:—but it is only when they can steal a coal from the baker's fire, that they smoke

and puff away, laughing withal to conceal the misery of their sickness.

The tales of "the May-Tree" and "the Axe" are prettily written, and are good illustrations of "village law;" but the most attractive one is that of "Ivo." Mrs. Taylor has done ample justice to the author's beautiful and simple style. The story is too long for us to enter upon, and we must content ourselves with a single extract. The difficulty seems to be one likely to occur to other children besides Ivo, and the reply to it is ingenious:—

"The chaplain was one day explaining to the boys that St. Peter held the keys, because it was he who opened the gate of heaven to the blest. 'How so?' asked Ivo; 'where does he sit then?' 'At the door of heaven.' 'But how can St. Peter ever get into heaven himself, if he has to sit there and open the door for others?' The chaplain, struck with the remark, looked at Ivo, and was silent for a minute; then he said, with a smile of pleasure, 'My boy, he finds his heavenly bliss in opening the door of salvation to others. It is the greatest virtue to rejoice in the happiness of our fellow-creatures and to labour for them: this is the high vocation of the holy father at Rome, who holds the keys of St. Peter on earth, as well as of all those who are consecrated by him and his bishops.' Ivo was satisfied; still he did not quite comprehend it; and he could not help feeling sorry that the good Peter should have to stand for ever at the door."—p. 230.

We think this little book will form a welcome addition to others of its class; and we trust Mrs. Taylor will be encouraged to produce another volume for the English reader.

XIII.—*The Christmas Holidays in Rome.* By the Rev. WILLIAM INGRAHAM KIP, M.A. Edited by the Rev. W. SEWELL, B.D. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans.

THIS is a delightful companion for the visiter to Rome, and for those who have not had the pleasure of wandering through "the eternal city," will give them a faithful, and at the same time animated and not overdrawn description of the solemn beauty of those mighty ruins, which speak so forcibly of the past, and which more than realize the dreams of the classical student. The author's primary object was to witness the Christmas Services in the Papal city; but his stay being prolonged during the winter months, he entered into a keen examination of the beautiful objects around, and hence the interesting volume before us, which Mr. Sewell has had the pleasing task of editing. The inquiry into the present state of the Romish Church and its dif-

ferent ceremonies, will be read with interest, and we cannot but approve of the spirit of the author's reflections; at the same time that he distinctly points out the great and manifold errors of her faith. We quote his concluding remarks upon this important subject, as they more particularly evince the spirit of his observations; and the effect which we feel cannot but be wrought upon the members of the Church of England, who have the opportunity of witnessing the ignorance and superstition which prevails throughout the Papal States, as also the (for the most part) frivolous ceremonies in her churches.

"We have throughout this volume spoken of the Papal Church, honestly and truly, as she seemed to us, expressing the admiration we feel for the many Catholic traits she retains,—her charitable institutions for the relief of every kind of misery,—her broad and expansive views, looking over the whole earth as the field of Christian labour,—and the solemn beauty of so many of her services, appealing at once to the deepest cravings of the heart by their holy teaching, or raising the soul above the earth by the austere hymns received from early days. But the view is one of mingled darkness and light; we have been forced, therefore, to speak also of fearful errors perverting the truth, and of countless ceremonies marring the effect of her noblest services, till he who studies them in the Missal scarcely recognizes them when performed amidst the pomp of her old cathedrals. We can have no sympathies, then, with Rome while she remains unchanged, but turn from her with renewed happiness to the stern purity of our own Church."

How anxiously does the traveller strive to catch the first sight of the great city! and those who have been excited by the exulting cry of "*Roma*," from the ragged and picturesque postilion, will have their reminiscences renewed when perusing the present volume. What a world of recollections does the great and lonely campagna conjure up! What numberless cities have teemed with busy life upon its now stagnant and desolate plains; "and so it has remained for centuries, becoming each age more dreary."

The author's first impression on seeing St. Peter's, his disappointment at the first view of the exterior, and the revulsion of feeling on arriving at the other side of the heavy curtain, which for a moment obstructs the visiter's entrance, are well described. How magnificent and faultless are the internal proportions! We have not the same opportunity of judging of the size of our own cathedrals, from the portion where the service is performed interfering with the general view—but even St. Paul's, how little will it bear comparison with St. Peter's. A recent publication, in speaking of the capabilities of the different European

cathedrals, gives an area of 6400 square yards, upon which (allowing four persons to each square yard) 25,600 persons could stand—while St. Peter's has an area of 13,500 square yards, capable of containing 54,000 persons!

A good example of the general character and antiquity of the Romish relics, is furnished by a story which the author gives upon the authority of Lady Morgan, respecting the sacred chair of St. Peter, in which he was said to have officiated as Bishop of Rome. Dragged to the light of day from its costly casket by the reckless curiosity of the French savans, some Arabic characters were found upon it commencing with the confession of the Mahometan faith; and thus was proclaimed the unhallowed origin of this would-be relic. Some observations on the probable origin of the *cloaca maxima*, the stupendous sewers attributed heretofore to Tarquinius Priscus, will be read with interest. The conjectures of the author as to their Etruscan origin, which coincides with Ferguson's views, are well worthy of consideration. The methodical and extensive plan upon which they were carried out, certainly suggests the notion that they were rather the *remains* of some great city, upon the ruins of which was reared a greater.

XIV.—*A Tour from Thebes to the Peninsula of Sinai.* By Professor R. LEPSIUS, of Berlin. Translated from the German by CHARLES HERBERT COTTRELL, Esq., M.A. London: Petheram. 1846.

THE biblical student will read this little tour with much interest. Professor Lepsius left Upper Egypt for the Peninsula in the early part of March, 1845, proposing to keep in view three historical points: first, the earliest Egyptian colonies, whose inscriptions and remains have given rise to various hypotheses; secondly, the different places mentioned in the wanderings of the Israelites in the wilderness; and thirdly, those singular inscriptions attributed to the Israelites, which have been termed *Sinaitic*. There is no part of the world where geography is more interesting, and at the same time so unsettled, as that treated of by our author; and, therefore, any light thrown upon disputed points is very valuable. Professor Lepsius appears to have examined with care the labours of Burekhardt, Rüppell, and Robinson; but is not disposed in all cases, from his own observations, to agree with them—more especially with the two latter travellers, in the topographical points they have endeavoured to establish.

The immediate object of the author was to fix the identity of Mount Horeb with Mount Sinai. The arguments he adduces in

support of this point are very ingenious, and worthy of careful perusal. Our space will not allow us to go into them; and there appears to be little doubt that the Wilderness of Sin reached up to Mount Sinai, and that the two names are connected. It was the fact of the Wilderness of Sin being bounded by Elim and Sinai, that assisted the author in determining his theory of the position of the mount. The following extract, long as it is, will be read with interest; its object is to fix the site of *Raphidim*, (we beg to say, that we are not responsible for the professor's, or his translator's spelling,) as well as that already mentioned. Having established the position of Wadí Firán, the fertile land of the Amalekites, he says,

“Faran belonged to the Amalekites. They had allowed the great host to march into and encamp in the Steppes without opposition, but were not very likely to surrender without a struggle the gem of the Peninsula. Amalek strove against Israel, but was defeated. Moses, Aaron, and Hur stood during the conflict on the top of the hill, and prayed for victory, without which no benefit would have accrued from the Exodus itself. On what other hill-top could they have stood but that of the convent mountain from whence the Israelites rushed down into the valley of the Amalekites? It is impossible to determine any historical locality with greater accuracy than this, when standing, as I did, on the summit of that hill, and passing in review on the spot itself the details of the event connected with it. In front of me I gazed upon the green shady valley of palm-trees; at my feet the Moses-spring meandered, encircled with a chaplet of turf, moss, and flowers, and the tarfa bushes already panting for the manna; to the right the road led up to the mount of God, which is visible down to the palms; behind me lay Raphidim, from whence they rushed down to battle. It is said in express terms that here in Raphidim they were at Horeb, for in Horeb Moses smote the rock; it is expressly stated that here was the mount of God at which they encamped, for Jethro, Moses' father-in-law, came to him to *Raphidim*, into the camp *on the mount of God*. . . . The thread of the narrative is taken up again, and the 19th chapter [of Exodus] commences: ‘In the third month, when the children of Israel were gone forth out of the land of Egypt, *the same day* came they unto the wilderness of Sinai. For they were departed from *Raphidim*, and were come to the desert of Sinai; and had pitched there in the wilderness, and there Israel camped *before the mount*. And Moses went up to God, and the Lord called to him out of the mountain.’ There is no mistaking the fact, that there is a loose and unusual connexion here with what has gone before . . . . Now, as we have seen that the Israelites, in the seven days' march from Etham, could not conveniently get beyond *El Hessue* [or Rephidim], they must necessarily have performed the journey from *Hessue* to *Gebel Músa*, nearly thirty-eight miles—that is, more than two ordinary days' march—in one. The consequence is, that Robinson gives up all attempts at a closer identification of the

previous stations, but thinks he may venture to place Raphidim somewhere in the upper part of the *Wadí e' Schech*. . . . The palpable difficulty that *Horeb* had been mentioned already in *Raphidim*, they attempt to explain away by supposing that *Horeb* is a great mountain, and *Sinai* a single peak of it. If the name *Horeb* comprised both *Raphidim* and *Sinai*, according to the ordinary view, and consequently also the banks of the valley of *Wadí e' Schech* and *Gebel Músa*,—between which there is no natural identity or correspondence whatever,—it must necessarily have embraced much more; for instance, the whole southern mountain *Um Schómar*, or indeed the whole primitive chain of the Peninsula. In that case, what meaning is there in single passages, almost all of which can, without exception, be identified as referring to particular points: for instance, where it is said that *Moses* drove the sheep to *Mount Horeb*; that the *Israelites* stripped themselves of their ornaments by the *Mount Horeb* (*Exod.* xxxiii. 6); that the *Lord* spoke to them in *Horeb*, and said, 'Ye have dwelt long enough in this mount' (*Deut.* i. 6); that 'they departed from *Horeb*' (*i.* 19), &c.? The very circumstance of the mount of *God*, *Horeb*, being frequently mentioned, prevents our thinking of a great chain of mountains. It must necessarily have been an isolated mountain. On the other hand, however, we must not make it too small and isolated, for the reasons which I have already given, both from the terms in which it is mentioned, as well as on account of its name. In a word, it is clear, that 'the mount of *God*, *Horeb*,' at *Raphidim* (*Exod.* xvii. 6; xviii. 5), was no other than 'the mount of *God*, *Sinai*,' at the last station in the wilderness of *Sinai* (*Exod.* xxiv. 13. 16), and no other than the mountain which is called simply 'mount of *God*' in various passages; and consequently that the wilderness of *Sinai* was immediately adjacent to *Raphidim*, that is, to the *Wadí Firán*; and that the *Mount Sinai* can therefore be no other than the *Serbál*. The names 'Horeb,' 'Mount Horeb,' 'Mount of *God*, *Horeb*,' are used precisely in the same sense as 'Sinai,' 'Mount *Sinai*,' 'Mount of *God*, *Sinai*;' with this difference only, which has been remarked by others in reference to the choice of the name, that, in *Exodus*, generally, but not exclusively, the same thing is said of *Sinai*, as is said generally, but not exclusively, of *Horeb*, in *Deuteronomy*."—pp. 75—82.

Professor *Lepsius* differs from *Robinson* with regard to the identity of the kind of gum on the *tarfa* plant and the *manna* of *Exodus*; but we cannot quite see our way along with either of these gentlemen on this subject. The Professor may be very valuable as a guide to geography and antiquities; but we rather fear his German predilections as a divine.

xv.—*Systematic Colonisation.* By ARTHUR MILLS. London: Murray.

MR. MILLS, in his pamphlet, calls attention to an important subject, and one which is more immediately interesting at the present moment. The state of our colonies has long been an anxious question, and various have been the measures advocated by our different governments to promote their interests. We agree with Mr. Mills, that an improved system of colonization is wanted; a system which would hold out such advantages as would induce a better class of labourers, as well as artisans, to emigrate to countries whose soil would support them and their families, and at the same time bind together the resources of all our colonial dependencies. While we have an over-burdened population in the mother country, we find that the whole of British North America does not contain so many inhabitants as London, of whom thousands, on inquiry, are applying for relief, and for whom benevolent societies are exhausting their resources in feeding and providing shelter. The letters from which Mr. Mills quotes are written by Sir G. Arthur, Lord Sydenham, Sir W. Colebrooke, and Sir G. Napier, the different colonial governors, to the several secretaries of state: they all prove that systematic colonization has been urged upon political grounds. Mr. Mills points out, that the system of the sale of British colonial lands has been chiefly effected by land companies; a system which, although tending to the early settlement of a new country, is far from conducing to its ultimate prosperity. Absentee speculators being allowed by these companies, they draw away and absorb a great portion of the wealth of the colony which should be reinvested to augment its resources. It is a curious fact, that the original grants of land having been made by half-pay officers and refugees, and having then passed into the hands of their representatives, the occupation of these lands (which was originally the primary object of the grants) has been evaded; and we learn from Mr. Mills's account, that out of a tract of a million and a half of acres, held in 1840 by 361 private proprietors, "one million acres were at that time wholly unimproved, and *only six proprietors* residing on their land."

We cannot be surprised at the comparatively small amount of emigration, when we look at the inadequate means provided for those who go out. It has hitherto been, and is still, the policy of our Government, to interfere as little as possible with emigration, leaving it to the voluntary feelings of landlords and parishes, and to the wishes of parties themselves, a portion of whom are guided by the accounts re-

ceived from their transatlantic friends. All that is done for them by Government is to give them some very trifling assistance from a sum appropriated to this purpose, not exceeding five thousand a year; and also that which is derived from the emigration tax of five shillings a head, which provides them with hospital aid in the event of their requiring it on their arrival in the colonies—such is the pecuniary assistance they receive; and what is the consequence?—The class who are sent out by the different parishes, have been those considered as a burden and nuisance to their neighbours, and, in some cases, as Mr. Mills remarks, it becomes a question whether the pauper shall leave his country at the cost of his parish, as an emigrant, or at that of the nation as a felon? Amongst the municipal regulations of Boston, is one by which provision is made for the cases of *idiot emigrants*! There is no doubt that our Emigration Board is sadly deficient, not only in its purposes, but also in the inadequate manner in which its plans are carried out. How can the interests of our emigrants be protected by so small a number as ten agents, who are severally placed at the different ports of embarkation? At Liverpool, where the largest number of emigrants embark, some 70,000 in the spring months of 1846, the single agent, having only one assistant and a clerk, cannot possibly carry out even the meagre intentions of Government relating to the proper victualling and equipment of the emigrant vessels. Moreover, the Act of 1842 only applies to vessels carrying more than thirty passengers; and it is shown that of 478 emigrant ships from England to Quebec during the years 1844-46, only 260 were within its provisions, the rest being free from any Government surveillance. Lord Sydenham proposed that agents should accompany emigrant ships, to see that the passengers were properly attended to, in the way of accommodation, food, and medical attendance. It is a well-known fact, that children have died on board from the absence of even medicines, to say nothing of a person to prescribe. His lordship also suggested that some accommodation should also be provided for emigrants on their arrival, who, at present, have nothing but their own energy and stout-heartedness to carry them through the disappointments and privations they must suffer until they arrive at their destined allotments. We might well imitate the manner in which the Germans have so efficiently applied the superintendence of agents to emigration. With regard to Australia, the constant complaint is the scarcity of labour and the consequent high price demanded for it. During the past year only 2247 emigrants left our shores for that distant colony; but until Government amend and enlarge the present



laws relating to emigration, little can be expected with regard to the improvement of the class of persons, either in condition or number, who will voluntarily undertake the hardships of a settler's life; their small capital being so considerably diminished by the extortions practised upon them before they reach their final destination. Mr. Mills's book, by drawing attention to these matters, appears to us calculated to be eminently useful.

XVI.—1. *The Life of Dr. Samuel Johnson. By the Rev. J. F. RUSSELL, B.C.L.* Burns: London.

2. *Bishop Jeremy Taylor, his Predecessors, Contemporaries, and Successors. A Biography. By the Rev. ROBERT ARIS WILLMOTT.* London: Parker. 1847.

1. THIS edition, compiled from Boswell's voluminous biography, as well as other sources, forms an interesting and conveniently-sized volume; and the author appears to have used much discrimination in his selection and arrangement of the chief incidents in the life of this remarkable man.

2. A life of Bishop Taylor in a form accessible to the general reader has been for some time a desideratum; we are glad to find it supplied by Mr. Willmott, for he has ably fulfilled his task. With extensive and intimate knowledge of the religious literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, he combines delicate and refined powers of criticism; and he has so entirely identified his own style with that of his subject, that he appears to be painting the Bishop in his own colours. So fine a character as Taylor's can scarcely be over-coloured, even when adorned with the gracefulness of his own poetical mind. We become acquainted also with the character of many other divines of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries; but, perhaps, none of them bring a more beautiful picture to our minds, than that of Bishop Taylor himself;

"From his boyhood at Cambridge, to his youth in London, and the rich maturity of his manhood, he planted his feet in the steps of the King, who had beaten down the snow before him. His sojourn among men was a journey to angels; heaven was round him, not only when he entered the world, but when he left it. Always, and everywhere—as student, priest, and bishop; persecuted or triumphant; joyful or weary;—he beheld lights and faces, which dwell not in the common day, but shine down upon the traveller, who in the wilderness feels that he is in God's work and in God's house."—p. 291.

XVII.—*Memoir of the Rev. Henry Francis Cary, M.A., Translator of Dante. With his Literary Journal and Letters. By his son, the Rev. HENRY CARY, M.A., Worcester College, Oxford.* In 2 vols. London: Moxon.

THESE volumes are an agreeable recollection of an amiable and eminent scholar, and form a fitting tribute of filial affection.

It is natural for Mr. Cary to value every thing appertaining to his father's literary fame, but we think that some matter might have been suppressed, as there is occasional repetition; and as far as regards the literary journals, they do not offer much more than evidence of the labours and industry of the subject of these memoirs. Mr. Cary was born at Gibraltar, in December, 1772, and was the eldest son of William Cary, a captain in the army. At a tender age he evinced great sensibility and understanding. His early talents were displayed by an extraordinary proficiency in Greek and Latin; and it was in his ninth year that he had a childish idea of translating a portion of the *Odyssey* into verse, by rendering it into prose, and cutting up this into "lengths of ten syllables each, which he then wrote out, under the persuasion that it was poetry." At fifteen, Mr. Cary published his "Ode to General Elliot," which was favourably noticed in the "Monthly Review."

While at school he formed, from congeniality of taste, a romantic friendship with two of his schoolfellows, Thomas Lister of Armitage Park, and John Humberston, the son of a physician at Birmingham; and the youthful poet was fortunate in attracting the attention of the then celebrated Anna Seward, to whom he was indebted for many sound and useful criticisms in future labours. His letters to her, whom he addressed as his "Muse" and "Mistress," will be read with interest, as also some of his replies during the period that he was engaged upon that which will hand his name down to posterity—the translation of Dante. The following letter is a pleasing example of his epistolary style, written during his residence as a Commoner at Oxford.

"Christ Church, Oxford, October 19, 1792.

"Fair Muse,—Permit me to communicate a little anecdote to you, which struck my fancy very forcibly, and which, if it pleases yours as much, may receive life and immortality from your Promethean touch. Near this place, on the banks of the river Isis, are the remains of Godstow Abbey, where the unfortunate Rosamonda was condemned by the jealous fury of Eleanor, the royal consort of Henry the Second, to become a pale-eyed votary of the cell. The gateway, the outer walls, and the chapel, where the fair penitent was interred, are now all that is left to

gratify the searches of curiosity. But the ideas annexed to the spot and the surrounding scenery of the river on one side, and the soft hills, with their forest drapery, on the other, are circumstances that often lead me to Godstow Abbey. Yesterday I found there an old man and a girl gathering apples (for the place is now turned into an orchard); they led me to a large nut-tree, which had sprung up on the spot where Rosamonda used to bathe; the ground under it was strewed with nuts of a large size and tempting appearance, but Rosamonda had, some way or other, bewitched them, and they were all without kernels: the same happens every year. 'Furthermore,' says the old man, 'there stood a great elm-tree yonder, the corpse of fair Rosamonda was rested under it, but when it was cut down, they could never get another elm to grow on the same spot; all other trees grew very kindly, but the elm always withered as soon as it was put into the ground.' If you do not think with the old man, that all this is very portentous, yet you will agree with me in thinking the tale a pretty instance of rustic superstition and fancy.

' It is silly sooth,  
And tallies with the innocence of love,  
Like the old age.'

"The present Archbishop of York wrote some elegant verses, as an exercise, (while at this college,) on Godstow Abbey; but they are very short, and would apply almost as well to the ruins of any other monastery. Farewell.

"Believe me your very faithful votary,

"H. F. CARY."

"To Miss Seward."

Vol. i. pp. 45, 46.

It was in the spring of 1796 that Mr. Cary was admitted to the order of deacon, and shortly afterwards was presented by the Earl of Uxbridge to the vicarage of Abbot's Bromley, in Staffordshire. In the same year he married the daughter of James Ormsby, Esq.; and from his affectionate letters to his wife, it will be seen that his domestic happiness was very great until the heavy hand of death visited his little circle. In 1805 the first volume of his translation of the "Inferno of Dante" came before the public, and in the following year a second volume; but, like many other great works, it was received with coldness, and the only favourable notice was written by his friend Price, the son of his old schoolmaster at Birmingham.

This portion of the Memoirs is perhaps the most interesting, from the critical correspondence which we have before alluded to, between Miss Seward and himself, on the subject of his labours. It was in consequence of the death of a favourite daughter that his health became so much affected, that he removed with his family to London. His means, we are told, at this time, were

very slender, barely five hundred a year; and yet with this he had to assist his eldest son in the army, to maintain two others at a public school, and three children at home. It was at Chiswick, the cure of which Mr. Cary had undertaken, that domestic affliction again visited him; his only surviving daughter was taken from him, in April, 1816. The following sonnet, written some little time after the event, shows the depth of his suffering, and is an example of his favourite style of composition.

SONNET ON THE DEATH OF HIS DAUGHTER.

Thrice has the dart of Death my peace bereaved;  
 First gentle mother, when it laid thee low,  
 Then was my morn of life o'ercast with woe,  
 And oft through youth the lonely sigh was heaved.  
 But in a child I thought thou wert retrieved;  
 She loved me well, nor from my side would go  
 Through fields by summer scorch'd or wintry snow:  
 How o'er that little bier at noon I grieved!  
 Last when as Time has touch'd my locks with white,  
 Another now has learnt to shed fresh balm  
 Into the wounds, and with a daughter's name  
 Was a seraph near me, to delight,  
 Restoring me by wisdom's holy calm.  
 Oh, Death! I pray thee next a kinder aim.

The second volume of these memoirs is mostly taken up with letters to his father and wife and different friends, together with his literary journal and notes of his visits to the continent.

xviii.—*Church Sunday-School Magazine*. Vol. I. Leeds: Harrison. 1846.

SUNDAY-SCHOOL teachers will find this Magazine useful in their instructions. Some of the stories are pleasingly written, and the sacred geography is well adapted for school children. This is the first volume, and we wish it well.

xix.—*St. Sylvester's Day, and other Poems*. By EUPHRASIA FANNY HAWORTH. *With Illustrative Designs by the Author*. London: How. 1847.

THE lines are generally sweet and graceful. The story is not remarkable for connected incident or originality. The principal piece is founded on a curious occurrence of *precision*, related in the preface. The authoress has also acted the part of artist, by

means of the newly-invented process of glyphography. We are reluctantly compelled to add, we could have wished, for the sake of her book, that she had let this latter operation alone; for the engravings are nearly all of them out of drawing.

xx.—*Apostolical Succession, and the necessity of Episcopal Ordination, as held by the Primitive Church, and maintained by the Reformers of the Church of England. Being Two Sermons, preached, &c., with copious Illustrative Notes. Second Edition, with large additions. By E. C. HARINGTON, M.A., Prebendary of Exeter, &c.* London: Rivingtons. 1847;

—is the second edition of a work which appears to have been appreciated by the public as it deserves to be. The author has augmented it by a very large number of additional quotations from our best authors. The book (for as such it must now be designated) cannot fail to be of eminent service to all engaged in studying the important subject on which it treats.

xxi.—1. *The Full Cathedral Service as used on the Festivals and Saints' Days of the Church of England, composed by Thomas Tallis. Newly edited by EDWARD RIMBAULT, LL.D., F.S.A.* London: D'Almaine. 1845.

2. *The Order of the Daily Service of the United Church of England and Ireland, as arranged for Choirs by Thomas Tallis, A. D. 1570. Edited, with an Historical Introduction, by EDWARD RIMBAULT, LL.D., F.S.A.* London: D'Almaine. 1847.

THESE are beautifully got up. To the latter is prefixed the historical preface (a careful essay) which was appended to the former. It also contains the harmonized Plain Song of Morning and Evening Prayer, and the Litany in five parts as altered by one Barnard (a minor canon of St. Paul's in 1641); except that he transposed the melody to the treble, as well as giving it to the tenor, thus producing the grammatical error of consecutive octaves: this has been corrected in the present reprint. Also the Plain Song has been restored, in both works, in the Lesser Litany. In the latter work, the organ accompaniment has been omitted throughout; likewise the Te Deum, Benedictus, Sanctus, Kyrie Eleison, Nicene Creed, Gloria in Excelsis, Magnificat, and Nunc Dimittis; and the priest's part is throughout printed in the bass cleff.

The former publication is rendered valuable by the publication,

for the first time, of Tallis's splendid Litany, *as he wrote it, viz.*, in four parts, with the plain chant in the tenor. Dr. Rimbault deserves the good opinion of Churchmen.

XXII.—*The History of Don Quixote de la Mancha. A new edition (divested of cumbrous matter, and revised for general reading).* London: Burns.

WE cannot say that we generally approve of the editions of classic authors being cut down and "divested of cumbrous matter," with the good intention of forming a pocket volume for the railway traveller. Those who are familiar with the texts of Jervis and Viardot, who have with great delicacy and judgment used the pruning-knife, but without injury to the tree, would perhaps hardly agree with the present editor in the propriety of removing larger portions of this time-honoured production. We think Cervantes' own words, "nothing omit and nothing add," should be held in reverence.

XXIII.—1. *Stories selected from the History of England, from the Conquest to the Revolution, for Children. Fourteenth Edition, illustrated with Twenty-four Wood-cuts.* London: Murray.

2. *The History of Germany, on the plan of Mrs. Markham's Histories; for the use of Young Persons.* London: Murray.

3. *The History of Rome, adapted for Youth, Schools, and Families.* By Miss CORNER. London: Dean.

1. THE simple and judicious style of these stories forms an agreeable little book for the entertainment and instruction of children; and each story being selected in a chronological order, may at the same time serve to give them some idea of the order of succession of the sovereigns of England.

2. Mrs. Markham's histories of England and France are so deservedly popular, that the present work, arranged upon the same plan, and embracing some of the most important facts in German history, from its invasion by Marius to the battle of Leipsic, will prove a useful addition to our elementary histories.

3. This is an improvement upon the generality of the smaller works upon Roman history. Miss Corner has bestowed some pains in compiling the present volume from the works of Niebuhr and Arnold, not, however, altogether discarding the early legends which those eminent historians have shown to have but very slender foundation. We think her plan judicious, of giving at the

bottom of each page the authority from whence she derives the different historical facts. Altogether, we conceive that it will be a useful book for the young student.

xxiv. 1.—*Progressive Geography for Children*. By the Author of "Stories for Children." Fourth Edition, revised. London: Murray.

2.—*The Elements of Geometry, symbolically arranged*. Published by command of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, for the use of the boys of the Royal Hospital schools, Greenwich, Second Edition. London: Murray.

3. *The First Principles of Algebra*. Published by command of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, for the use of the boys of the Royal Hospital schools, Greenwich. London: Murray.

1. WE think this little work would be more useful, were it published in a larger form, as regards the maps, which are hardly calculated to give a child a just idea of the countries they are intended to represent. Maps, if introduced at all, should be sufficiently large to enable the child to retain in his recollection the relative shapes and sizes of the different portions of the globe. Altogether, we have seen better elementary works on geography than the present one.

2 and 3. Both these little works possess much merit in the mode in which they are arranged, and would be useful class-books in any school where they were introduced as elementary books.

xxv.—*The African Wanderers; or, Adventures of Carlos and Antonio*. By Mrs. B. LEE. London: Grant and Griffith.

A WORK which will be read with interest by readers who do not object to the many improbabilities which present themselves in the course of the adventures of the heroes of the tale. The author's interest in the western coast of Africa, and her desire to call attention to a part which is but little known—the river Gaboon—has induced her to write the present volume. There is much that may amuse, in some of the facts relating to the natural history of that part of the world; but the different incidents throughout the story are at variance with those of real life, and detract from the merits of the book.

xxvi.—*Recreations of a Long Vacation, or a Visit to Indian Missions in Upper Canada.* By JAMES BEAVEN, D.D.  
London: Burns.

THIS is an interesting sketch of the labours of a portion of our Clergy in Upper Canada, who devote their energies to spread religious knowledge amongst some of those tribes of Indians, which are now rapidly disappearing from the face of the earth. In contemplating the history of these people, who once proudly ranged over the hunting-grounds of their fathers, their nature then uncontaminated by intercourse with the white man, one cannot but view their present condition with commiseration; but, at the same time, it is gratifying that, in their last days, the remnant of their race, through the labours of these amiable men, are now able to worship the Almighty in peace and tranquillity, in the humble little wooden church; while in the adjoining school-house their children receive that education which fits them for intercourse with their white brethren, amongst whom they are destined gradually to be mingled and lost. Mr. Beaven was induced to employ his long vacation in visiting the different Indian missions, and more particularly that of the Chippaway Indians, at *the Saulte Ste Marie*, on the south side of Lake Superior, from his hearing a letter, written by the chief, named *Shinguacouse*, or *the Little Pine*, addressed to Mr. McMurray, who was formerly at the head of the mission. This gentleman married the child of an Indian mother; but the severity of the climate obliged him to relinquish his situation. Not long after the mission was broken up, and the Indians were induced by Government to join their countrymen at Manitoulin. *The Little Pine*, after remaining two summers, returned with his people to his old settlement; but without a spiritual guide, notwithstanding his own efforts, the tribe were rapidly retrograding. The worthy chief took an opportunity of sending the letter to his former pastor, begging him, with touching earnestness, to procure some minister, who would lead the little flock: it occurred to the author that he might aid this object in raising a subscription for that purpose; but, previously to his doing so, it was suggested that a personal acquaintance with the mission in question would further his views. This little tour will be read with interest, as being a plain and unaffected statement of the author's impressions of the state of the different missions visited.

xxvii.—*On the Condition of the Agricultural Labourer, with Suggestions for its Improvement. Prize Essay.* By GEORGE NICHOLLS. London.

THE important subject of the present and future condition of the



agricultural labourer has been carefully considered in the present essay; and the experience which the author has had in the habits and condition of the labouring classes, gives considerable weight to the observations he has offered. There is no doubt that the farmer has hitherto thrown away many of the advantages of his position, and none more so than by his neglect of the instruments whereby he reaps the benefit of the soil. Mr. Nicholls does not merely consider the impoverished state of the labourer; he judiciously points out that, by ameliorating his condition, the landlord and farmer have a corresponding gain, and that the agricultural prosperity of the country is improved. He directs attention to four different considerations:—the enlargement of the field of labour—extending the benefits of education—providing comfortable dwellings—and adding to them cottage gardens. We have no doubt of the truth of Mr. Nicholls' assertion, that the agricultural produce of England might be increased at least one-third, under an improved system; but with an increasing knowledge of agricultural science, there must be a corresponding improvement in the education of the labourer. Mr. Nicholls' basis of a better mode of education, is the inculcating sound religious truths through our clergy, as accompaniments to that which is now absolutely necessary—reading, writing, and arithmetic, as well as a system of training in agricultural operations. Most important are the remarks upon the necessity of the landlord improving the cottages of the labourer. It is now fully admitted that health and morality are greatly dependent upon this point; in addition to this, the cottage-garden affords an honest and profitable recreation, and, where tried, has fully borne out the author's observations on this head. In conclusion, we recommend the perusal of this essay to those connected with the landed interest, as affording suggestions worthy of attentive consideration.

xxviii.—*The Practice of the Mendicity Society.* “By ONE WHO KNOWS IT WELL.” London: Murray.

THIS little book, which, the writer tells us, is undertaken without the cognizance of the committee, and entirely on his own responsibility, is in defence of the well-known charity, which has contributed in no slight degree to the suppression of vagrancy, and to the relief of many thousands in abject distress. In perusing it, we are struck with the enormous amount of good it effects, under difficulties which appear to increase with, unfortunately, decreasing means. The Begging-letter Department alone shows the energy and perseverance of its executive, and of the officers entrusted with that branch of the charity, who, during the years 1845 and 1846, reported on no less than 10,968 letters. One

subscriber alone sent 1500 letters during a single twelvemonth. We trust that this appeal may tend to remove many of the aspersions cast against the society, and add fresh subscriptions to their funds.

XXIX.—*Favourite Haunts and Rural Studies, including visits to spots of interest in the vicinity of Windsor and Eton.* By EDWARD JESSE, Esq. With numerous illustrations. London: Murray.

AMONGST Mr. Jesse's former works we have received more pleasure, and certainly more information, than from the present one. The volume before us is prettily illustrated, and the reader will dwell with pleasure upon the few notices of birds the author has given; and had Mr. Jesse bestowed upon us further results of his favourite study, it would have been more acceptable than some of the unconnected tales which are dispersed through the volume.

XXX.—*Select Writings of Robert Chambers. Volume I. Essays familiar and humorous.* Edinburgh: W. and R. Chambers.

AMONGST the many who have reaped literary fame, there are few, if any, more deserving of admiration than the brothers Chambers, or who are more entitled to the gratitude of the world for the labours they have achieved. For a quarter of a century have they devoted their energies to the public; and what higher praise can be bestowed upon them than to say, that amongst their voluminous publications, there is not (so far as we have seen) one of a doubtful or an objectionable tendency. Most ably have they employed the mighty powers of the press in disseminating either the light which has shone from their own minds, or in multiplying in an attainable form the instructive and useful works of authors, which now occupy the humble shelves of the lower classes, and conduce to the improvement of their minds. This volume of essays is but the forerunner of others, which are now, for the first time, collected together in the present form. Robert Chambers, in his interesting preface, shows how his important career was foreshadowed in his earliest years. Books, not playthings, formed his childish pleasures. At the age of twelve, he was deep "not only in poetry and fiction, but in histories and encyclopædias;" and now, as he pointedly remarks, he is at "the head of one of the great organizations of industry in this country, whereby more paper is blacked in a week than in many other printing-offices in a twelvemonth." Some of the

present essays are of an antiquarian character, while others are the result of "a maturer period," when the author was induced to become an essayist, to contribute to a well-known periodical conducted by his elder brother. During fifteen years that he laboured at these, not less than four hundred separate papers emanated from his pen, "alternately gay, grave, sentimental, philosophical."

XXXI.—*Bohn's Standard Library*

CONTINUES to deserve well of the public. The reprints which have appeared since our last number, are those of Lanzi on Painting, vol. i.—Coxe's House of Austria, vol. i.—Life of Benvenuto Cellini, vol. i.—and Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson.

XXXII.—*Miscellaneous Publications.*

"ON the Correlation of Physical Forces," by W. R. Grove, Esq., F.R.S., professes to be the substance of a course of lectures delivered in the London Institution, and is the work of a young man (we understand) of some scientific promise. The position which he seeks to establish is, that the various imponderable agencies, or affections of matter, viz., heat, light, electricity, magnetism, chemical affinity, and motion, have reciprocal dependence; so that neither, taken abstractedly, can be said to be the essential cause of the others, but that either may, as a force (by which term he would understand that which produces or resists motion), produce or be convertible into the other. Some facts do certainly seem to bear out the author in his hypothesis, but we are not prepared to subscribe at present to all which he says. We confess that his ideas respecting latent heat and invisible light appear to us rather confused.

Dr. Traill has published the first part of a new translation of "Josephus." We have not had an opportunity yet of examining it. The illustrations are good.—The Government plan of Education having been at length propounded, precludes the necessity of our making any lengthened observations *seriatim* on the various pamphlets on this question, which have been forwarded to us. We may however just remark that any one desirous of pursuing the subject, will find "Some Remarks on Dr. Hook's Letter, by one of the Clergy of the manufacturing district and parish of Manchester," to be an able assistant. Some startling facts likewise are brought together in "Crime and Education," by the Rev. W. J. E. Bennett.

Dr. Hook's "Three Reformations—Lutheran, Roman, Anglican," is characterized by the same earnest straightforward-

ness which marks all that comes from his pen.—The author of “A Letter to Lord John Russell on Bishops” desires to draw attention to the necessity of “organic changes in the Establishment,” as distinguished from the Church; and complains, alas, with too much truth! of “the disastrous consequences,” as well as “the obvious injustice” of the system of selecting the persons to fill vacancies on the right reverend bench from the resident members of the Universities, almost to the utter exclusion of the parochial clergy.—“A letter (reprinted from “the Guardian”) on two present needs of the Church, viz. Increase and Education of the Clergy,” deserves to be read. Something, however, has been done: a step has been made by Government, in the right direction, since the author wrote; still much remains to do.—“Principles of Church Restoration,” by Edward Freeman, B.A., shows why, while the mediæval architects eagerly caught at new plans, those of our own day must, for the present, be content to imitate the old ones.—A “Brief Account of the Scottish and Italian Missions to the Anglo-Saxons,” the Rev. D. I. Heath has thrown into the form of a chronicle, and illustrated by a coloured map, taking Venerable Bede as his chief authority; whereby he shows that the English Church is indebted far more to Lindisfarne than to Rome: a fact of some importance, now that a claim of obedience to Rome is set up upon a contrary assumption.

The Bishop of Bangor has felt himself called upon to publish “A Letter to the Rev. G. S. Faber, in reply to the postscript to his sixth letter on Tractarian Secessions to Popery;” being surprised (as his Lordship says) to find himself hooked into a book bearing this title. Every body knows Mr. Faber’s fondness of quoting the Fathers, and of translating them too, at times, in a manner quite peculiar to himself. This he had done by a passage of Augustine de Bapt. cont. Donat. l. vi. c. 12; and is very angry with the Bishop and Mr. T. K. Arnold for pointing it out. Any one who doubts about the meaning of the passage, would do well to read his Lordship’s letter.

Among periodicals, “The English Journal of Education,” New Series, will be found important. Sharpe’s Magazine and Mr. Burns’s Anthems preserve their character.

Two numbers of “the Sunday-School’s Teacher’s Manual” have been sent to us. In the first we observe an original letter from the Rev. W. Romaine, proving that the “Sunday-school system” was the work of Churchmen, not of Dissenters, as it is the fashion to say. The Manual is of a strictly Church character.

## Foreign and Colonial Intelligence.

AMERICA.—*Succession of the Bishops of the American Church.*—The following list of the bishops of the American Church, from the first planting of the episcopate in the United States to the present time, is given by the New York Church Almanack for the year 1847 :—

<i>No.</i>	<i>Name of Bishop.</i>	<i>Name of See.</i>	<i>Date of Consecration.</i>
1	Samuel Seabury	Connecticut	November 14, 1784
2	William White	Pennsylvania	} February 4, 1787
3	Samuel Provoost	New York	
4	James Madison	Virginia	September 19, 1790
5	Thomas John Claggett	Maryland	September 17, 1792
6	Robert Smith	South Carolina	September 13, 1795
7	Edward Bass	Massachusetts	May 7, 1797
8	Abraham Jarvis	Connecticut	October 18, 1797
9	Benjamin Moore	New York	September 11, 1801
10	Samuel Parker	Massachusetts	September 14, 1804
11	John Henry Hobart	New York	} May 29, 1811
12	Alexander Viets Griswold	Eastern Diocese	
13	Theodore Dehon	South Carolina	October 15, 1812
14	Richard Channing Moore	Virginia	May 18, 1814
15	James Kemp	Maryland	September 1, 1814
16	John Cross	New Jersey	November 19, 1815
17	Nathaniel Bowen	South Carolina	October 8, 1818
18	Philander Chase	Ohio	February 11, 1819
19	Thomas Church Brownell	Connecticut	October 27, 1819
20	John Stark Ravenscroft	North Carolina	May 22, 1823
21	Henry Ustick Onderdonk	Pennsylvania	October 25, 1827
22	William Meade	Virginia	August 19, 1829
23	William Murray Stone	Maryland	October 21, 1830
24	Benjamin Tredwell Onderdonk	New York	November 26, 1830
25	Levi Silliman Ives	North Carolina	September 22, 1831
26	John Henry Hopkins	Vermont	} October 31, 1832
27	Benjamin Bosworth Smith	Kentucky	
28	Charles Petit M'Ilvaine	Ohio	
29	George Washington Doane	New Jersey	} January 14, 1834
30	James Hervey Otey	Tennessee	
31	Jackson Kemper	Missouri and Indiana	September 25, 1835
32	Samuel Allen McCoskry	Michigan	July 7, 1836
33	Leueidas Polk	Arkansas	December 9, 1838
34	William Heathcote de Lancey	W. New York	May 9, 1839
35	Christopher Edwards Gadsden	South Carolina	June 21, 1840
36	William Rollinson Whittingham	Maryland	September 17, 1840
37	Stephen Elliott	Georgia	February 28, 1841
38	Alfred Lee	Delaware	October 12, 1841
39	John Johns	Virginia	October 13, 1842
40	Manton Eastburn	Massachusetts	December 29, 1842
41	John Prentiss Kewly Henshaw	Rhode Island	August 11, 1843
42	Carlton Chase	New Hampshire	} October 20, 1844
43	Nicholas Hamner Cobbs	Alabama	
44	Cicero Stephens Hawks	Missouri	
45	William Jones Boone	Amoy, China	} October 26, 1844
46	George Washington Freeman	Arkansas	
47	Horatio Southgate	Constantinople	
48	Alonzo Potter	Pennsylvania	September 23, 1845

The first of these, Samuel Seabury, was consecrated by Scottish bishops; the following three, William White of Pennsylvania, Samuel Provoost of New York, and James Madison of Virginia, were consecrated by English bishops; and from these four the rest derive their succession. Of them Bishop Seabury concurred only in one, Bishop Provoost in six, and Bishop Madison in two consecrations; but William White concurred in, and for the most part presided at twenty-seven consecrations, the last of them being that of Jackson Kemper, for Missouri and Indiana, on the 25th of September, 1835.

The same document gives the following statistical data as to the present condition of the Church in the different dioceses and missions of the United States:—

<i>Diocese.</i>	<i>Square Miles.</i>	<i>Population.</i>	<i>Clergy.</i>
Maine <sup>1</sup>	32,000	501,793	6
New Hampshire	9,280	284,574	12
Vermont	10,200	291,984	20
Massachusetts	7,800	637,699	65
Rhode Island	1,095	108,830	26
Connecticut	4,800	310,015	105
New York	21,751	1,293,783	225
Western New York	21,463	1,135,138	105
New Jersey	6,600	373,306	55
Pennsylvania	46,000	1,724,022	125
Delaware	2,120	78,085	12
Maryland	10,930	469,232	115
Virginia	64,000	1,239,797	115
North Carolina	43,800	753,110	35
South Carolina	30,000	594,398	60
Ohio	50,000	1,519,467	60
Georgia	58,000	770,000	25
Kentucky	40,000	790,000	22
Tennessee	40,000	829,210	15
Mississippi <sup>2</sup>	48,000	375,651	17
Louisiana	48,220	351,176	18
Michigan	55,000	211,705	25
Alabama	46,000	650,000	22
Illinois	59,500	494,404	22
Florida <sup>3</sup>	87,750	54,207	8
Indiana <sup>4</sup>	35,000	680,317	15
Missouri	64,000	381,102	13

Total of dioceses 27, bishops 23, clergy 1343, with a population belonging to the Church of two millions. In addition to these, there are

<sup>1</sup> Administered by the Bishop of Rhode Island.

<sup>2</sup> Administered by the Bishop of Tennessee.

<sup>3</sup> Administered by the Bishop of Georgia.

<sup>4</sup> Administered by the Bishop of the Wisconsin Mission.

two missionary bishops on the American continent, administering, one, the Wisconsin Mission, clergy 15, and the Iowa Mission, clergy 5; the other, the Arkansas Mission, clergy 3, and the Texas Mission, clergy 3. The American Church has also Missions—in China, a bishop and 4 clergy; in Turkey, a bishop and 4 clergy; and in Western Africa, 3 clergy without a bishop.

The principal institutions connected with the American Church are:—

1. *The General Theological Seminary* at New York, vested in a board of trustees, and managed by a committee, of both which all the bishops are *ex-officio* members. The number of professors is 6; the number of students in 1846 was 63; of the clergy now officiating in the several dioceses, nearly 300 have received their education at this college.—
2. *The Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society*, governed by a board, of which all the bishops are *ex-officio* members; receipts from June 1845 to June 1846, \$69,583; expenditure, \$68,117.—
3. *The Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Union*, governed by a board, of which all the bishops are *ex-officio* members.

Besides the General Theological Seminary at New York, there are Diocesan Theological Seminaries near Alexandria, Virginia, with 3 professors; at Gambier, Ohio, with 3 professors: at Lexington, Kentucky; Jubilee, Illinois; Indianapolis, Indiana; and Diocesan Colleges for general education at Hartford, Connecticut, with 7 professors, and 85 students in 1846; at Geneva, Western New York, with 4 professors; at St. James's, near Hagerstown, Maryland, with 10 professors; at Gambier, Ohio, with 4 professors. There are also academies and schools connected with the Church, and subject to episcopal government in most of the dioceses.

CANADA.—*New Popish See.*—Negotiations are at this moment in progress for the purpose of extending the hierarchy of the Romish Church in Canada. The Romish Bishop of Montreal has been at Rome, and the Romish Bishop of Toronto is on his way thither; the latter, according to the *Ami de la Religion*, with a view to make arrangements for the erection of a new bishopric in North Canada, which is to embrace in its operations the settlers at Hudson's Bay, and the Canadian Indians.

FRANCE.—*Death of M. Martin du Nord.*—M. Martin du Nord, Keeper of the Seals, and Minister of Justice and Public Worship, died in the morning of the 12th of March, at the *Château* of Lormoy, near Paris. His health failed at the beginning of the year; and as early as the middle of January it was found necessary to transfer his department *ad interim* to one of his colleagues. After a month's rest he resumed his duties, but was obliged within a week to relinquish them again, when he gave in his resignation, and took leave of his friends in Paris, with the intention of proceeding to Italy. This, however, he had not strength left to accomplish; he lost his speech, but retained his consciousness to the last, and was attended on his death-bed by the *curé* of

St. Roch, who administered to him the usual rites of his Church. The last days of M. Martin were, it seems, embittered, and in fact his illness occasioned, by infamous aspersions on his personal character, which obtained for a time extensive circulation; they were, indeed, afterwards formally retracted, and their untruth recognized, but not until their object had fallen a sacrifice to the malice of their yet undiscovered authors. He is the third minister of Louis-Philippe, who died in office; the other two being M. Casimir Périer and M. Humann. The *Rappel* speaks in terms of high commendation of his official conduct towards the clergy, and observes that there is but one blot on his administration, viz. the translation of Mgr. Blanquart from the diocese of Versailles, which is still labouring under the ill effects of his rule, to the archdiocese of Rouen, instead of sending him, as the *Rappel* thinks he ought to have done, to La Trappe. His successor, M. Hébert, *procureur-général*, is spoken of as a person of less conciliatory manners, as a great constitutional lawyer, and an unbending advocate of the "liberties of the Church."

The funeral of M. Martin du Nord took place on the 19th, with great pomp, in the cemetery of the *Père la Chaise*, the usual religious ceremonies having first been performed at the Church of *la Madeleine*. It was attended by all the high officers of state, the civil and military authorities, and a large number of clergy, the Archbishop of Paris officiating. An immense crowd accompanied the procession to the cemetery, when, according to custom, several speeches were delivered at the grave by the personal and political friends of the deceased.

M. Martin was born at Douai, July 30th, 1790. In 1833 he was appointed *avocat-général* at the Court of Cassation, and in 1834 *procureur-général* at the *Cour Royale* of Paris. In 1830 he became a member of the Chamber of Deputies, in which he acted as secretary from 1832 to 1835, and as Vice-president in 1835 and 1836. On the 15th of April, of that year, he entered the Cabinet as Minister of Public Works and of Commerce. He quitted office on the 1st of April, 1839; and returned to it on the 29th of October, 1840, when he was appointed Minister of Justice and Public Worship.

*Controversy respecting pretended miracles.*—A curious controversy has lately sprung up, touching the reality of certain pretended miracles, in which, besides the *Univers* and the *Siccle*, the *Ami de la Religion* and the *Rappel* have taken a part: the *Univers* asserting them; and abusing, in no very measured terms, those who disbelieved them, or suspended their judgment; the *Siccle* scoffing; the *Ami de la Religion* recommending discretion on the subject; and the *Rappel* supplying, in one instance, an explanation by natural causes. One of the stories vended by the *Univers* was, that the Virgin had appeared to two children while in the fields watching their flocks, and had announced to them four plagues, which should come to pass in the year 1847, viz. war, pestilence, famine, and inundations. This story gained so much credence among the inhabitants of Corps, in the Département de l'Isère, in the neighbourhood of which the occurrence is said to have taken



place, that the Bishop of Grenoble appointed two commissions of inquiry, which were directed by him to investigate the circumstances, but separately, and without holding any communication with each other. The report of both was to the effect, that there was no proof whatever of the truth of the story. Another and precisely similar story has, however, obtained the direct countenance of the ecclesiastic authority, as the following extract from a letter of the Bishop of Gap shows: "You have heard of the appearance of the Holy Virgin to certain shepherds at Gap, on the boundaries of my diocese. She has foretold them great disasters, a terrible famine, if men do not cease to blaspheme and to work on Sundays. 'The arm of my Son,' she added, 'is descending heavily upon France; I can no longer hold it back. Tell this to my people.' This appearance," continues the Bishop, "is well authenticated, and produces great effect; all work has ceased on Sundays, and every body presses into the churches. Crowds go in procession to the spot where it took place. Besides, a person of my diocese, and several others, have been suddenly cured by drinking the water of a spring which gushed forth under the feet of that 'most beautiful Lady.' An officer passing by wished to see the spot. He knocked away a piece of the stone on which the Holy Virgin sat while she spoke to the shepherds. There was a great number of persons present, who, like himself, almost fainted with wonder, when they beheld the image of Christ crowned with thorns imprinted on this stone." The Bishop of Gap also refers to the alleged appearance of the Virgin in the diocese of Grenoble, and to the inquiry set on foot there; the result of which, less discreet than his brother of Grenoble, he ventures to anticipate, adding, that he had heard the story from the *curé* of the two children, and that his account of the facts was "truly miraculous."

Another tale of wonder, produced by the *Univers*, has reference to the alleged miraculous cure of the Abbé Blanpin, who had lost his voice from an affection of the throat, and recovered it suddenly at Rome; a cure attributed to the prayers of the Polish Abbess Makrena, who is considered as a great saint by the Ultramontane party. To this the cautious *Ami de la Religion* demurred, on the ground that no authoritative decision had been pronounced by the Pope; but the Abbé Clavel, the editor of the *Rappel*, goes further, and while affirming the fact of the cure, distinctly avers that it is attributable to the climate of Rome; of the beneficial effect of which, in relieving similar affections, there are many instances continually occurring. It is rather characteristic, that some of the late English proselytes to Romanism, Mr. Newman among the rest, have made themselves conspicuous in affirming the miraculous nature of this cure, which two Romish journals question or deny, and which is maintained only by the organ of extreme ultramontane views.

*Revival of the Organ of the Canonist School; State of the French Church.*—The Abbé Clavel, the indefatigable advocate of the rights of the inferior clergy against the arbitrary, and often tyrannical, conduct of

the Gallican bishops<sup>1</sup>, has again taken the field. After the suppression of the *Bien Social* by the *mandement* of the Archbishop of Paris<sup>2</sup>, he attempted for some time to advocate the principles of the "*E'cole canonique*," in a political journal, the *Courier des Campagnes*, which was afterwards merged in another political journal, the *Esprit Public*. The unnecessarily confined space allotted to his subjects in these journals on the one hand, and on the other hand their uninteresting nature to the general reader, seems to have rendered this arrangement unsatisfactory on both sides; and, at length, the abbé determined to reconstitute an organ, expressly advocating the cause of the parochial clergy; the first number of which appeared in May last, under the title, "*Le Rappel, tribune du droit canon et des libertés de l'Eglise, journal historique des actes, des discours et des écrits du clergé contemporain*." It has been continued since at monthly intervals; and on the 15th of March of the present year a second journal has been added, under the title, "*La Quinzaine*," which is also to be continued monthly; the two together constituting, in fact, one publication, so divided in order to steer clear of the laws affecting journals published at intervals of less than a month. In the first number, the abbé guards himself against the possible mistake of confounding the cause he advocates with the "repeal" cause in Ireland, his object being a "*rappel*" to the ancient discipline of the Church. He also accounts for his former submission to the archbishop, which, he says, he considered necessary, as a testimony against the charge of Presbyterianism preferred against him by the Archbishop of Paris and other prelates. Moreover, the tone of the *Rappel* is, on the whole, much more moderate and *convenable* than that of the *Bien Social*, which often indulged in personal abuse, far from suitable to the columns of an ecclesiastical journal. The general objects, for the attainment of which he proposes to labour, and calls upon the clergy of France to labour with him, are:—1. The conversion of the numerous "*suc-cursales*," the ministers of which are at present removable at the *bon plaisir* of the bishops, into perpetual cures; 2. the establishment of independent diocesan courts; 3. the election of candidates for the episcopate, to which the State should be confined in making its appointments, by the clergy at their annual meetings (*retraites*), with a view to neutralize the influence of worldly ambition in the appointment of bishops: 4. theological examinations at stated periods, by the result of which the course of ecclesiastical preferment should be regulated.

From the mass of testimonies of approbation which were sent in from all the dioceses of France, on the first announcement of the projected publication of the *Rappel*, many of which are given in the first number, it appears that the re-appearance of an organ, specially devoted to their interest, is hailed by the parochial clergy; and, provided the Abbé Clavel confines himself within the limits of propriety which

<sup>1</sup> See English Review, vol. ii. pp. 295—328.

<sup>2</sup> See English Review, vol. iii. pp. 488—492.

he has set to himself, his journal is likely to exercise an extensive and powerful influence over the French Church. A short sketch of the line of theology advocated by the *Rappel* will not be unacceptable to our readers, as it throws considerable light upon the internal condition of the Romish Church in France. At the head of the discussion stands an essay, entitled "*Exposition de principes sur les libertés canoniques et nationales de l'Eglise en France*;" and divided into three parts: the first treating of the mutual relations of Church and State, of laity and clergy, and of fellow-citizens of different religious communions. In this the abbé defines the Church as a holy brotherhood, resting on a principle of perfect equality; as an association of those who profess and practise the doctrine of which Christianity is the germ; an association which has the canons of the Councils for its constitutional charter, and whose government is to be conducted on the principle pointed out to a Roman pontiff by St. Bernard: "*Præsis ut prosis, non ut imperes*." "Contrary to this principle," says M. Clavel, "certain ambitious and meddlesome men among the priesthood, constituting, after all, an insignificant minority, aim at bringing the Church, the State, men's consciences, every body, and every thing, into bondage to their worldly domination. When formerly the slave-dealers went to the African coast for the purchase of men, they took possession only of their physical liberty and of their bodily strength. Now-a-days well-informed men, blinded by passion, aim at subjecting their fellow-workmen to an infinitely harder bondage, the seritude of the mind. Who can venture to fathom the depth of degradation to which a nation might sink down, if it did not defend itself against such aberrations? Upon such a system, the life of every man, the life of the priest, as well as that of the layman, and, much more, that of the dissenter and the unbeliever, would speedily become subject to their yoke; and theirs would be the only power in the State. By virtue of the power of binding and loosing, in other words, with authority to make laws, to apply them and to execute them themselves, the episcopal authority would take every question into its own hands, because all the determinations between right and wrong ultimately turn upon a question of sin. This anomalous and unchristian domination was the cause of the brutishness of the people in those times, which, subsequently to the establishment of Christianity, are designated as barbarous in history. Hence the resistance of genius, of science, and of the beneficent authority of our monarchs, against these false interpretations of Christian doctrine. These encroachments of ambition, disguised under the cloak of religion, have at all times been the source of the most baneful reactions against the Church, of which her true ministers became the first victims."

The Abbé Clavel distinguishes in France "two classes of theologians and two kinds of people." The one he describes as the upholders of the principles of the bulls "*Unam Sanctam auscultata, Fili*," and "*In coena Domini*," the so-called "Catholic party," whose representative is the Archbishop of Paris. "This party," he says, "enjoys the exclusive

countenance of the temporal power, disposes of Church preferment, takes the lion's share in the ecclesiastical budget, while it carries on an underhanded warfare against the authors of the budget. It is perpetuated by means of the ascetic part of the population, consisting for the most part of devotees, kept in spiritual subjection by a multitude of practices which were unknown in the first ages of the Church. These self-styled saints are generally surrounded by a crowd of women, of men of weak mind, of enthusiasts, and of youths drugged with devotion from their infancy, and carefully kept in that state as much as possible; lastly, of that portion of the lower classes, which, doing little work, is like women greedy of excitement and novelty, fanatical on the side of religion to-day and on that of impiety to-morrow."

In opposition to this school the abbé asserts that there exists in France another school of theology, differing from the former on several points of Church discipline which within the Church are open to free discussion. "These have another portion of the population on their side, consisting of all reasonable and well-informed persons who have no taste for the mysticism of a devotee life, but are content with the ordinary Christian life." The former, according to the abbé, is the dominant school, bearing rule by means of worldly compromise with the temporal power; the latter the oppressed school, whose defence he has undertaken. The "Gallican liberties" he repudiates as instruments for the political aggrandizement of the episcopate; and, on the contrary, he looks forward to the establishment of the true "Christian liberties" upon the basis of the liberty of conscience proclaimed, without any religious intent, by the revolution. He protests loudly against the notion that the term "the Church" is to be understood of "the assembly of bishops alone;" a notion, according to which "the curates, the canons, the doctors in priest's orders, have nothing to do, but to obey without discussion; as for the laity, it is a matter of course with certain theologians, that they must take no part in religious matters. In no one point," the abbé continues, "is such a system tenable. And in the first place our prelates, and the Archbishop of Paris more than any other, know full well how variously religion and temporalities hang together; were it only by their handsome revenues from the budget, the special appropriations of different ministries, and the complements voted by the authorities of the departments and municipalities. It is not in regard to these matters certainly that the protection of the temporal power will be repudiated. On the other hand, it is inaccurate to affirm that the Church is merely an assembly of bishops, or of bishops and priests. According to all received doctrine it is the 'assembly of the faithful.' Now this assembly of the faithful which is the true Church, consisting in great part of laity, it follows that there must be a concurrence of the laity with the ecclesiastic authority in matters of religion. Hence arose that adage peculiar to Christianity: *vox populi, vox Dei*. Not that the laity are to meddle in religious deliberations. In all points of doctrine the ecclesiastical heads, united in a body, alone decide, ever since the commencement of the Church; in matters of discipline, that

is in matters bearing upon the temporal life, they also decide ; but in regard to these matters the clergy of the second order, and even the laity, may and ought to have a voice, and that voice preponderates, it comes forward and prevails, when it has the majestic power of numbers on its side."

In the second part of his essay the abbé treats of the "*libertés canoniques et nationales de l'Eglise en France.*" Here he enters fully upon the ground which he has chosen as his battle-field. Speaking in the name of the parochial clergy of France, he says : "They wish for no innovation ; they utterly repudiate all spirit of insubordination. But grieved at the sight of the discontent, it may be the secret and profound irritation which for some years past has prevailed in the ranks of the clergy, and which might possibly produce a reaction in the very heart of society, they have sought out its cause. They have arrived at the conclusion, that the disunion which threatens the Church of France, is a natural consequence of the abandonment of the ancient discipline of the Church. They have arrived at the further conclusion, that the return to the ancient canonical jurisprudence, laid down by the councils, and proved by the experience of so many centuries, can alone restore among the clergy that concord, union, harmony, and *esprit de corps* which no longer exist among them.

"The Church had defined the rights and obligations of the bishops ; she had also defined the rights and duties of priests having cure of souls, and of all the members of the clerical body. Half a century ago the secular power, having reaped for itself the advantage of social improvements which have brought on the emancipation of all classes, set up a new ecclesiastical discipline in the Church, while the ancient protective laws by which the Catholic clergy were governed, were suppressed. The emperor's ambition, and his system of centralization, directed this change in the condition of the clergy of the second order, whose concurrence had yet so materially contributed to the emancipation of civil society in France. It was then that the attempt was made to isolate the episcopate from the unity of the Church, in order to make it a tool in the hands of the temporal power. And, on the other hand, it was determined to take from the parochial clergy their union, their strength, and their power. They were strong, because they had *certain rights*. Those rights were all suppressed at one blow, and the clergy reduced to a state of helotism, in which they are at the mercy of an arbitrary authority arbitrarily chosen, which has, without control or appeal, power over their social life and death."

After dwelling with noble eloquence on the labours and the sacrifices of the priesthood, the Abbé Clavel thus describes the miserable reward which the clergy reap for their services : "The Church in her wisdom had laid down laws for the priest, without losing sight of their rights ; but now, alas ! handed over to the will, the arbitrary will and caprice of his superiors, liable to be denounced, calumniated, and persecuted by any one who may choose to attack him, without the means of defending himself, he meets often only with indifference and abandon-

ment among his fellow-citizens, with odious chicanery and petty persecution at the hands of his superiors, who are often guided by party spirit, according as the wind blows in the high regions of power, where wealth and honours are distributed.

"The child of the people, in the heart of a society which pretends to democratic principles, the Catholic priest, obscure and forsaken, is like a reed forced to bow his head before every wind. All his rights have been curtailed, he is left unsupported and friendless. The authority of the bishop seated in the clouds of power, surrounded with prejudices and errors, has generally become harsh and tyrannical. If, perchance, it casts a look down upon the pastor-priest, it is only to try his heart and his reins, and to remind him that he has an inflexible master. Wherefore fear agitates him, his nights are sleepless and full of anguish; his honour and his existence depend on the utterance of a single word.

"For the military there are houses of refuge set apart for the veterans and the infirm. A part of his pay may be granted him after a certain number of years of service, to ease his old days at the hearth of his family. In most other departments of public administration it is the same; but the priest, when old age and infirmities overtake him, is cast aside as a useless, worm-eaten tool; nor does any one care whether he has enough to live upon. If he cries out for hunger, now and then, to get rid of the importunate complaint, a scanty alms is thrown to him. Sometimes even his cries are considered troublesome, and he is left to starve, or shut up in a madhouse<sup>1</sup>. Thus are his long labours requited.

"Such is the pastor of souls, under the influence of a discipline unknown to the Church, and at variance with all the canonical institutions. Is it to be wondered at, if, in the bitterness of the melancholy position to which he has sunk down, and in the ocean of misery by which he is surrounded, he is sometimes betrayed into bewailing the day on which the hands of the bishop brought down upon his head the priestly consecration?

"The sore which wastes the strength of the parochial clergy of France is profound; to shut one's eyes, in order not to see it, would be a deplorable error, baneful to the Church, to the State, and to modern society, whose tendency is progress in every thing."

M. Clavel then proceeds to show how fatal this degraded state of the clergy must prove to society at large, to the stability of the political institutions, to morality and religion, to the character of the priests themselves, and last, not least, to the episcopate, whose authority, "being of its nature a moral authority, can be strong only while it is loved and respected;" and how should it be so, "when it is daily sowing fear, distrust, and sometimes hatred?"

On the subject of the appointment of the bishops, M. Clavel makes

<sup>1</sup> A case of this kind actually occurred a few years ago in one of the dioceses, when the excitement of an old priest, who sued in vain to the bishop for a bare subsistence, was taken advantage of to have him confined as a lunatic.

the following pertinent remarks;—"Why, when the charter proclaims the freedom of all religions, should the power founded upon this charter, arrogate to itself the exclusive right of appointing the guides and guardians of the Catholic religion? The Jew nominates his own rabbi; the Protestant his minister; why should the Catholic alone be debarred from the freedom guaranteed by the charter? why should he be doomed to accept his fathers in the faith at the hands of a power which has often no creed, or at least no avowed creed? It is true, Leo X. granted to Francis I. and to his successors the right of presenting bishops; but, to say nothing of the fact that Francis I. and his successors were sons of the Church, and called themselves above all *most Christian* kings, the Church has never ceased to protest against that arrangement as an usurpation . . . .

"Now-a-days, according to our political institutions, irreligious men, Deists, Pantheists, Jews, men who belong ostensibly to no religious communion, or who may even profess to believe nothing, are every day called upon to choose the elect who shall watch over the sacred deposit of doctrine, and to force them upon men who have a creed.

"Have these ministers any interest in giving to the Church faithful guardians, vigilant defenders of her doctrine? Evidently not! They are tempted rather to choose bishops who may fraternize with their own faith or belief. What would become of the Church if some day she should have at her head bishops whose orthodoxy is suspected? . . . Yes, the Church of France is in danger of seeing the deposit of the faith put into the hands of political men, who shall prove ignorant and exceedingly bad guides."

In reference to the distribution of ecclesiastical preferment, which is almost exclusively in the hands of the bishops, the Abbé says:—"The bishop can hardly make a good choice. It is a well-known fact that real merit rarely brings itself forward, but stands aside, because it has a sense of dignity and independence, and so is confounded or concealed in the crowd; while, on the contrary, solicitation, favouritism, servility, and hypocrisy often boldly push men of the greatest mediocrity into the most exalted stations. Even though the bishop should be inclined to make the best possible choice, it is out of his power. He knows only the pliant subjects who approach him, and will always be led to believe in the merit of those who pretend to be devoted, when in fact they are almost always only cringing.

"Besides, the bishop is a man; he is not proof against antipathies and prejudices. If, unhappily, his antipathy and prejudice light upon a man of merit, might he not, without being aware of it, pursue towards him an arbitrary course without limits, and keep him back continually from a station suitable to his character and to the inclination of his conscience? Yet it is not proper that a priest of merit, a well-informed man, an able pastor, in one word, that talent and virtue should be put under a bushel."

Lastly, M. Clavel notices the effects of the present state of corrective and penal discipline in France. "Formerly a priest, if accused,

could only be condemned by six bishops, after having been heard. Three bishops were necessary to condemn a deacon. Now-a-days a priest, a *curé*, is judged not only by the bishop alone, but sometimes by his *grand-vicaire*, who is but a delegate of the bishop.

“ Now-a-days, when a priest incurs any punishment, just or unjust, where is the helping hand that is stretched out to him in kindness? Removed from the sanctuary by a single will, which often rests only upon caprice, what means of subsistence are left him? Some few, full of courage and energy, manage to gain for themselves new positions in the midst of a society which repels them; but after surmounting unheard-of obstacles, continuing to wear in their heart and in their countenance the painful expression of injustice, most of them wander from diocese to diocese, in their worn-out cassock, begging for a place among their brother priests. But they are avoided; rarely does a word of love comfort them in the abyss of misery into which they have sunk. Poor priest! unhappy, arrived at the last extremity of wretchedness, he wanders up and down, his soul steeped in despair. At last, the necessity of procuring his daily food makes him forget that he is a priest, and often he seeks to earn by mean employment the bread on which he feeds.

“ Such is the lot, for the most part, of priests who incur the displeasure of bishops of the present day. Is it not horrible to think that such may be the fate of the most correct and upright man? An insurmountable antipathy on the part of his superiors, or of his enemies; jealousy, calumny ably contrived, may reduce him to this state. This is not a mere supposition. Paris, and several other dioceses in France, are brimful of ecclesiastics, whose only fault is that they have innocently fallen under the displeasure of the heads of their dioceses.”

These general statements are abundantly borne out by a variety of cases from the different dioceses of France, which appear from time to time in the columns of the *Rappel*, and which reveal a state of disorganization and discord in the French church, strangely at variance with the boasted unity of the Romish system. Jealousies and intrigues of the most discreditable character seem to be the order of the day, between the different members of the episcopate and of the clergy at large. We have no room for details, which would scarcely be interesting to an English reader; and we shall therefore close this notice with the statement of a few facts of general importance, which will serve to show the present tendency of the episcopal power in France.

Mgr. Affre, the archbishop of Paris, whose tyranny, rapacity, and ambition, bring him constantly under the notice of the public, has lately published a new catechism, inferior, it is said, both in literary and typographical character to the one which it has superseded, and has rigorously enjoined its use throughout his diocese, for no other purpose apparently, than to secure to himself the annual payment of a large sum of money, which the booksellers to whom he grants the exclusive privilege of printing and vending it, have agreed to pay him. In consequence of this and other recent biblioplist operations of the archbishop, a spirit



of opposition has risen up against him in the book-trade of Paris, several booksellers having combined together to publish editions of the different liturgical publications, subject by law to the archbishop's supervision and sanction. Legal proceedings having been adopted by the archbishop and by the booksellers licensed by him, which were ultimately carried by appeal before the *Cour Royale* of Paris, that tribunal affirmed the right of the archbishop to authorize such publications, by inflicting a fine of twenty-five francs on each of the parties who had infringed his right; but at the same time showed its sense of the abuse made by the archbishop of his controlling power, by refusing to give damages to the booksellers licensed by him, who had to pay their own costs, and also refusing to confiscate the unauthorized editions, which do not appear to have been liable to any other objection than that of not being duly licensed, being faithful reprints of the authorized books. What renders this proceeding on the part of the archbishop the more obnoxious, is the fact that the right which he has attempted to enforce, has long been dormant; so that he must have expected that its revival would meet with considerable opposition, even if it had been effected in the most disinterested manner; much more when the price demanded by him of the booksellers for his licence, which, of course, the public are compelled to pay in the shape of a higher price for books of inferior quality, has exposed his motives to suspicion, and given occasion for general and not unjust complaints.

Another subject of complaint is the recent prohibition issued by the archbishop against all catechetical instruction in private houses or schools, except in special cases, for which his licence shall have been obtained. The practice had hitherto been, for the different academies and boarding-schools for children of both sexes, to employ for the catechetical instruction of their pupils chaplains of their own choice, engaged by them on terms mutually agreed upon between the parties; the chaplains requiring the licence of the archbishop and the consent of the incumbent in whose parish the schools are situated. By his recent mandate, the archbishop has completely swept away this long-established and convenient system. He requires all children, of whatever age or sex, to be brought to the parish churches for catechetical instruction, and in cases in which he admits an exception, he requires the parties to treat with him for the remuneration, and imposes upon them what instructors he pleases. Considering the exposure to cold in the winter season, when chiefly catechetical instruction preparatory to confirmation is imparted, and the great improbability that the religious instruction of children of the middle and upper classes will be as carefully and effectively conducted under the new system as it was under the old, it is no wonder that this measure of the archbishop also has provoked a general outcry, and added to the difficulties of the already sufficiently thorny education question, which is still pending between the French episcopate and the university.

Another stretch of episcopal authority which has called forth severe animadversion, is the publication, by the Bishop of Versailles, in virtue

of his sole authority, of a large octavo volume of Diocesan Statutes; the provisions of which are no less at variance with the canon law of the Romish Church, than with the civil law of France, and of which the poor clergy are all compelled to purchase a copy at the sum of four francs. Among the provisions is one which prohibits the clergy from printing a single line on any subject whatever, without the previous sanction of their diocesan; another, which makes it unlawful for them to possess a single acre of land in their own parishes. The protests of the clergy against the new statutes are numerous; a learned canonist of another diocese has declared, that if he were the confessor of the Bishop of Versailles, he would refuse him absolution until he should have retracted all the "unjust, vexatious, odious, and petty" provisions of his book; and a constitutional lawyer has given it as his opinion, that the bishop ought to be impeached for attempting to annul, in the case of his clergy, the civil rights guaranteed by the charter; while a *maire de village* is said to have remarked that he would rather be one of his lordship's lackeys, than one of his curates. The measure appears to be the more ill-timed, as the ecclesiastical institutions of the diocese of Versailles are in a state of actual bankruptcy, by the failure of a rental of 22,000 francs annually, by which they were supported, and "the principal of which," according to the statement of the bishop himself, in a circular to his clergy, "has disappeared," whilst there are debts to the amount of 127,000 francs, and no assets. This strange state of the diocesan finances is accounted for by "unfortunate speculations" and "confused accounts;" the responsibility of which does not, however, appear to belong to the present bishop, but to his predecessor, M. Blanquart, now Archbishop of Rouen, the same of whom the *Rappel* says, that M. Martin du Nord ought to have sent him to La Trappe, and whose name figures constantly in the columns of that paper.

Among the results of this state of things it deserves to be noted, that even according to the showing of the Romish papers, Protestantism is making its way extensively in the French dioceses. That of Versailles is said to swarm with Protestants; and similar statements transpire every now and then respecting other parts of the country<sup>1</sup>. The great leader of the Protestant movement is still M. Napoléon Roussel, whose eccentric activity, spurning even the loose ecclesiastical bonds of the *Société Evangélique*, allows the Romanists no repose. Among his recent performances is a letter to the Romish clergy, on the abuses and superstitions of their Church, and on the evils of celibacy, inviting them to forsake her communion, and to settle down in family life as Protestant ministers. As regards this latter point, the *curés* will not have the opportunity of acting upon it; a recent decision of the Court of Cassation having affirmed the judgment given some time ago by an inferior court, by which it is laid down, as the law of France, that a Romish priest,

<sup>1</sup> Our readers will no doubt remember the account we gave of the progress of Protestantism in France some time ago, and the shameless denials of the fact which were sent out to India by the French Romanists. See *English Review*, vol. ii. p. 501, and vol. v. pp. 493—503.

although he should separate himself from his Church, and join the Protestant communion, still remains so far subject to the provisions of the canon law, as to render him incapable of contracting marriage. Meanwhile, the letter of M. Roussel, entitled *Appel aux Prêtres*, has certainly produced a great sensation among the Romish clergy, to every one of whom he transmitted a copy; and elicited, incidentally, considerable information as to the state of education and morals among the lower clergy of France. For while some wrote to him in a friendly and encouraging spirit, and others in a tone of dignified reply, he received a vast number of communications, the style and orthography of which betray the rudest ignorance; and several of them contain language and allusions far from calculated to convey an exalted idea of the chastity of thought attendant upon the celibate of the Romish priesthood. M. Roussel says, some are so bad that he cannot print them; and those must be bad indeed, for even the few specimens which he gives, are so gross, that we could not think of sullyng our pages with them. The alarm, however, which M. Roussel's attack spread among the Romish hierarchy, was sufficient to induce so high a dignitary as the Archbishop of Toulouse to descend into the arena, in a pamphlet entitled *Appel aux Protestants, en réponse à l'Appel aux Prêtres*, in which he thus accounts for his motives in taking up the pen: "From among the innumerable heterodox and impious sects which daily attack the unchangeable truth of the Catholic Church, an unknown, feeble, miserable voice has been raised, to which I thought it at first unworthy of us to make any answer. A pamphlet of four pages, printed at Paris, entitled *Appel aux Prêtres*, signed *Napoléon Roussel*, has been circulated extensively throughout France. This is, to all appearance, not the act of an individual, but that of a hostile sect. The performance is, however, so insulting to the Catholic Church, and the priests of my diocese, to whom it has been addressed, have expressed to me so strong an indignation on the subject, that on second thoughts it appeared to me proper to repel this outrage, or rather to take occasion from it to address to our separated brethren some advice, and to make an appeal to them also, but such an appeal as may prove useful to them."

GERMANY.—*Rapid development of infidelity.*—The development of infidelity, as the ultimate resting-point to which all the innovators and so-called reformers, both in the Protestant and in the Romish communion of Germany, tend, is progressing with rapid strides. To follow up the details of the numerous schisms and sub-schisms which are daily springing up in that unhappy country, would be an endless task, far exceeding the limits within which we must confine ourselves. A few leading facts is all that we can make room for, and, indeed, all that will be necessary to give our readers an idea of the extent to which the denial and repudiation of Christianity is carried by the founders of the "Free Churches." The most conspicuous of the leaders of rationalism at this moment is Dr. Rupp, formerly Military Chaplain at Königsberg. Having been dismissed from his post, in consequence of the

heterodox sentiments propounded by him in his pulpit, he established some time ago a free Church, which enjoys great popularity in the city of Königsberg; but what has chiefly brought him into notice, is the fact of his having been chosen one of the deputies from Königsberg to the Central Committee of the Gustavus Adolphus Association assembled last year at Berlin. As he had not only ceased to be a minister and member of the existing Evangelic Church, but had, moreover, in the official documents of the new sect established by him at Königsberg, openly renounced several of the vital doctrines of Christianity, the Committee judged that he was not entitled to sit and vote in the central governing body of an association set on foot for the express purpose of advancing the interests of the Evangelic Church, and accordingly refused to admit him, by a majority of twenty-seven persons having thirty-nine votes, against twenty-eight persons having thirty-two votes. His consequent exclusion from the assembly has lighted up a flame of discord throughout Germany, and protests are pouring in from all sides from the committees and general meetings of the local and provincial associations, in which the decision of the Central Committee at Berlin is disavowed and severely censured; an overwhelming majority (sixty-eight against ten, as far as the results have been reported) being in favour of Dr. Rupp's admission to the next meeting of the Central Committee, at which he will again present himself, having been re-elected as one of the deputies for Königsberg. From the violent agitation which has already taken place, and the determination of the orthodox, or rather, we should say, the less heterodox party,—which in almost every local association is represented by a more or less numerous minority,—to vindicate themselves against the reproach of an entire abandonment of their faith, no other result can be anticipated than the total disruption of the Gustavus Adolphus Association.

Meanwhile, the example set by Dr. Rupp has found an imitator in the pastor of the French congregation at Königsberg, M. Détroit, who, being a zealous professor of the doctrines of the "friends of light," omitted the Apostles' Creed, as an objectionable document, from the public liturgy, substituting in its place a rationalistic symbol of his own composition. The French Protestants enjoying toleration in Prussia on the express condition of their conformity to the doctrine and discipline of the reformed Church in France, as it stood at the period at which they took refuge in Prussia, the government interposed; and as M. Détroit refused to recede from the position he had taken, suspended him from his office, and called upon the elders to proceed to the election of another minister. These, however, refused to comply with the demand of the government, declaring that they would rather see their church shut up, and dispense with public worship altogether; which, accordingly, is the condition in which the French congregation at Königsberg finds itself.

A similar state of things has arisen at Halle, where the already suffi-

ciently notorious "friend of light," Wislicenus<sup>1</sup>, after being deposed from his office by the sentence of the ecclesiastical authority, has raised the "Free Church" standard. He now openly avows his total rejection of the Christian faith, for which he has substituted the principle of "pure humanity," of "universal brotherhood of all mankind;" rejecting all positive doctrine as a miserable remnant of the bigotry of creeds; even that loosest and most equivocal of symbolical compositions, the creed adopted by the so-called German-Catholic synod at Leipzig<sup>2</sup>, being considered an intolerable yoke which ought not to be put upon the necks of the disciples.

The German-Catholics, on their part, are also daily progressing in the course of "emancipation" from the bondage of confessions of faith, and more and more openly fraternizing with the Protestant "friends of light." The so-called German-Catholic congregation at Berlin is on the point of being broken up, its finances being in a state of utter dilapidation, and the very list of members having proved fallacious to such an extent, that while the number of registered householders, entitled to vote, amounted to 800, no more than 60 were actually forthcoming in answer to a most pressing summons for a general meeting of "the Church;" the rest being apparently downright "men of buckram<sup>3</sup>." Czarski has, by his frequent vacillations and coquettings with the ancient creeds on the one side, and with the Leipzig symbol on the other, lost all consideration and influence, and is dragging out a precarious existence with his congregation at Schneidemühl; Theiner has renounced all connexion with the new sect, and turned farmer; and Ronge is making abortive attempts, here and there, where the police does not interfere with his movements, (for in the Prussian dominions he is not permitted any longer to carry on his system of agitation,)

<sup>1</sup> See English Review, vol. iii. pp. 508—512.

<sup>2</sup> See English Review, vol. iii. p. 502.

<sup>3</sup> The trickery by which this deception has been carried on for a length of time, is thus explained in the *Berliner Allgemeine Kirchen Zeitung*. The admission to the German-Catholic meeting-house being by tickets, the elders of the Church, by way of giving importance to their body, opened a register, on which they inscribed the names of all the applicants for tickets, and, if they were family men, carried their wives and children also duly to account. The good people of the modern Athens of North Germany being, like their more ancient and southerly brethren, always happy to "tell or to hear some new thing," many applications for tickets were of course made by persons who never had the remotest intention of joining the new sect, and were wholly unconscious of their matriculation, when, in answer to the inquiries addressed to them, they gave their names, residence, and the census of their households, with a view to a family ticket. Upon a scrutiny of the names on the register, with a view to look up the truant members, it turned out that many of these applicants, wishing to preserve their *incognito*, while they gratified their curiosity, had, in reply to the inquiries made of them, given fictitious names and addresses. Still more impudent is the manner in which M. Ronge magnifies the churches of which he calls himself the founder. Having lately paid a visit to Hamburg, he wrote to Berlin that he had founded a Church there which counted already 3000 members; whereas the real truth, which is at present in dispute, lies distinctly between the two numbers 47 and 120.

to create a transient demonstration in favour of his new doctrine, which has now, by his own avowal, assumed the character of naked Deism. He makes no longer a secret of the fact, that the retention of certain points of Christian doctrine, certain symbolical phrases, at the outset of his career, and at the Leipzig Synod, was nothing more than a concession which he felt it expedient to make to popular prejudice; because he thus enabled himself to claim toleration at the hands of the state, under the title of a Christian denomination, and he gained the advantage of carrying along with him multitudes whom an abrupt confession of Deism would have alarmed, and whom he hoped to lead on, by a gentle and easy descent, to the ultimate point at which he always meant to land his "Church." All this is now publicly avowed with the utmost effrontery; and, to crown all, Ronge claims for himself the praise of perfect honesty, appealing to the fact, that in the Leipzig Articles he took care to insert certain clauses, in which he not only reserved to his "congregation" the right of altering any of the determinations then adopted "agreeably to the spirit of the age, and the progress made in the knowledge of Holy Scripture," but declared it to be the specific duty of "the Church" to modify her creed "according to the spirit of the age," and proclaimed "perfect liberty of conscience, free investigation and interpretation of Holy Scripture," to the utmost latitude of license<sup>1</sup>.

To what extent this license may be, and actually is, carried, appears from two documents recently put forth; one by Dr. Behnsch, of Breslau, on behalf of the Neo-Catholics; the other by the "friends of light" at Marburg, whose spokesman is Dr. Bayrhofer, one of the professors of the University. The former has issued a sort of proclamation, dated January 1st, 1847, which, with the words, "Christ-Catholics! I maintain," introduces twenty-one theses, of which the following contain the pith of the matter: "(3) the Christ-Catholic communion must not establish any doctrine as bond of union; (4) every doctrine is a means of disunion; (5) doctrines prevent the Christ-Catholic communion from attaining its object—an universal Christian Church; (6) principle is the only bond of union; (7) of principles the Christ-Catholic communion has two—free knowledge, and union of man with God and human society; (8) these two principles are the principles of primitive Christianity, as far as it is known to us." To these and the other theses both Ronge and Dr. Rupp have declared their cordial adhesion; while Dr. Behnsch holds himself up proudly, lance in rest, ready for a tilt with any one who shall presume to deny them, or any of them; for he has boldly challenged all the world.

Still more plain and instructive is the Marburg "appeal to the free Protestant and Catholic Churches of Germany," and "to all mankind" in general, issued likewise in January last. It opens with a short sketch of the history of Christianity, from its first beginnings, of which

<sup>1</sup> See "General principles and determinations of the German Catholic Church, adopted at the Council held at Leipzig," Nos. 35, 8, 9. *English Review*, vol. iii. pp. 505, 502.

the following are the leading ideas :—“ Somewhat more than 1800 years ago, there rose up among the Jews a man of the people, Jesus, the son of a carpenter, in opposition to the hypocritical Pharisees and the external law of the Jews, as the teacher of a spiritual God, of purity of heart, and of love embracing and reconciling the whole human race, friends and foes. . . . Then the ancient natural and national deities, Osiris and Isis of the Egyptians, Jove and Apollo of the Greeks, Jehovah of the Jews, all unable to assist their people any longer, crumbled; and in their place rose the Universal, the Spirit, the God of humanity, the Father of all mankind, as whose messenger, nay, as whose incarnation, Jesus was considered. . . . After the death of Jesus a priesthood or hierarchy was gradually formed, in combination with Pagan and especially Roman elements, in which the people imagined that they possessed God and Christ perpetually present in particular individuals. . . . At the end of the middle ages the German hero, Luther, and the Reformation, overthrew the idolatry of priestcraft, and Christianity resolved itself into the pure German genius. . . . Still there remained all those marvellous notions, contained in the ancient symbols, of God and devil, heaven and hell, the God-man Christ Jesus, the torment of sin and original sin, the sovereign power of grace, and the mystical and sacramental significance of Baptism, the Lord's Supper, &c.; all which doctrines the Reformers established afresh in symbols, the principal of which is the confession of Augsburg. . . . By the process of illumination which commenced in the last, and continues in the present century, in England, France, and Germany, under the influence of natural science and philosophy, the world of faith became daily more transparent and questionable. The Trinity, the God-man, the devil, hell, yea, even God and heaven itself, went the same way which saints, spectres, and witches had gone before. . . . Then (upon the foundation of Hegel's philosophy) David Strauss, in his ‘Life of Jesus,’ and Bruno Bauer in his ‘Criticism on the Gospels,’ showed the life of Jesus, as it is represented in the Gospels, to be simply the production of human fiction, in which the man Jesus is raised into a wonderful being; . . . and upon this, lastly, Feuerbach grounded the ‘religion of the future.’ . . . Thus the result of the whole Protestant development is the change of the (former) fantastic into a (new and) real Christianity. . . . The communion (founded on the basis of this ‘real Christianity’) is a Christian communion, *forasmuch* as it is the development of the Christian, that is, of the universally human idea to its actual fruit, after the dissolution of the fantastic elements of its childish period. At the same time it is, in truth, the perfect human communion, which stands no longer in need of the epithet ‘Christian,’ nay, in some respects, must decline it, because the historical notion of what is ‘Christian,’ involves, like any other religious or Church notion, a denial of what is purely human. . . . It cannot be denied, that the German Catholic and free Protestant congregations which are now in progress of formation, are inwardly impelled by that purely human principle. But that principle is as yet veiled in the

progress of its manifestation, and it is time that the real character of the present religious ferment should be presented before the world perfectly unveiled."

Here we agree with the manifesto. It is time, high time, that this wicked blasphemy be shown up before the world in all its hideous nakedness; to the end that men may learn what it is, they are driving at and driven to, when they cast themselves loose from the moorings of the ancient Catholic faith, and break away from the apostolic ordinances of the Church. And for this reason we will yet add the few significant facts which follow. At the Magdeburg synod of the German Catholics, which has been recently convened, it was determined to expunge from the Liturgy "the obsolete phrase, 'Lord, have mercy upon us!'" Baptism and the Lord's Supper are, by the unanimous consent of Neo-Catholics and "friends of light" declared to be "indifferent ceremonies," with which the weaker brethren may be indulged, but which have in themselves neither value nor meaning. Dr. Rupp still condescends to administer baptism "after the old fashion;" and what he calls "the old fashion" of that holy sacrament, is baptism "in the name of the Father who maketh the sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust; who even in the anguish of conscience testifies his eternal love; in the name of the Redeemer who called Himself the Son of God and the Son of Man, in order to intimate that all men are to become sons of God, as He was; in the name of the Spirit of courage and of power, which guides us into all truth." This profane parody of the command of the Lord Jesus (Matt. xxviii. 19.) is followed by an appropriate benediction, which accompanies the act of sprinkling, "Pure as the fountain that springs from the earth, be thy soul!"

No less consistent in its monstrosity, is the following example of the administration of baptism, "falsely so called," the notice of which we transcribe literally from the *Berliner Allgemeine Kirchen Zeitung*: "Königsberg. On the 25th of August the first-born son of the [Neo-Catholic] preacher Grabowski was baptized by Dowiat, [Neo-Catholic] of Danzig, in the French reformed Church. The sponsors were, 1. Count Luckner, a free Protestant; 2. Director Dr. Sauter, an Evangelical; 3. the Danish Consul, Schlagegg, a Roman Catholic; 4. Merchant Goullon, a Christ-Catholic; 5. Merchant Meierowitz, a free Protestant, formerly a Jew; 6. Merchant Anheim, a Jew."

Before this fearful uplifting of the standard of infidelity and open blasphemy, the unthinking liberalism of Frederick William of Prussia, and his orthodox propensities, stand alike amazed and appalled. Civil society is unsettled in all its relations, by ministrations which the law does not recognize, but which, nevertheless, continue, and place a daily increasing portion of the population in an anomalous position, in reference to all the domestic and social, civil and political relations of life. The necessity of some provision to meet the case is urgently felt, and the publication of an "edict of toleration," by which all things will become "lawful" in the Prussian dominions, has been announced, and is daily expected.



ITALY.—*Consistorial Appointments.*—In the course of last year five consistories were held: two by the late pope, Gregory XVI., on the 19th of January and the 16th of April; and three by Pius IX., on the 27th of July, the 21st of September, and the 21st of December. The episcopal appointments made amount in all to thirty-nine, of which eleven were translations. Among them was one patriarchate, of the Maronites at Antioch; two metropolitan sees, Manilla, in the Philippine Islands, and Urbino, in the Pontifical States; and the archiepiscopal see of Przemysl in Galicia. The following is a table of the whole of the appointments, arranged according to countries:—

Italy—Pontifical States . . . . .	8
Austrian Dominions . . . . .	3
Kingdom of the Two Sicilies . . . . .	4
Switzerland (Lausanne and Genève) . . . . .	1
France . . . . .	1
Portugal . . . . .	3
Bavaria . . . . .	1
Dalmatia . . . . .	1
Gallicia . . . . .	1
Algeria . . . . .	1
Levante (Maronite Patriarchate) . . . . .	1
East Indian Archipelago (The Philippines) . . . . .	4
West Indies . . . . .	3
South America . . . . .	2

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In addition to these there were three archiepiscopates and two episcopates *in partibus infidelium*. The pall was conferred on the Maronite patriarch of Antioch, on two metropolitans, and on two archbishops; one of the latter being the occupant of the recently-erected archiepiscopal see of Oregon. Five prelates were raised to the cardinal dignity, of whom four are cardinal priests and one cardinal deacon.

*Statistics of the Romish Church.*—The following statistical data, on the alleged authority of the Secretary of the Propaganda, are going the round of the Romish papers:—

	<i>Archbishops.</i>	<i>Bishops.</i>	<i>Number of Roman Catholics, within the regular Dioceses.</i>	<i>in places administered by Vicars Apostolic.</i>
Europe . . . . .	108	469	125,000,000	3,500,000
Asia . . . . .	25	34	1,200,000	240,000
America . . . . .	12	67	26,000,000	1,500,000
Australasia . . . . .	2	5	300,000	60,000
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>147</b>	<b>575</b>	<b>152,500,000</b>	<b>5,300,000</b>

157,800,000

NEW BRUNSWICK.—*Visitation of the Diocese.*—Among the recent numbers of the series, published by the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*, under the title "Church in the Colonies," is an account, by the Bishop of Fredericton, of a visitation tour through parts of his diocese, between June and October of last year, which contains the following general statement on the condition of our Church in that diocese:—

"Those who read the foregoing account will, no doubt, be struck with the small number of young persons confirmed in each place: this may be accounted for, in part, by the prevailing custom, that each single parish should present its own flock to the bishop. Though the social character of the ordinance is thereby diminished, its devotional effect is increased. I do not recollect to have seen a single instance of that levity which is so common in English churches, where vast numbers are brought together from the surrounding parishes. With us, the young people come with their parents, and sit with them, the congregation taking a deep interest in the holy rite; and when service is ended, they return quietly to their homes. This appears to me to compensate abundantly for the want of numbers.

"Still it must be confessed that one reason of the small number of young persons who are confirmed, is the prevalence of other bodies of Christians on the eastern shore of New Brunswick, particularly of Roman Catholics and Presbyterians; although, wherever an active, useful clergyman is placed, our Church not only holds her ground, but more than holds her ground; and I think we may reckon on a steady increase in such places. But the Society will judge of the destitution that prevails, when I tell them, that after filling up twelve vacancies, *I could find immediate and full employment for twenty additional clergy, without diminishing the labours of any one at present in holy orders.*"

The Bishop, in another part of his "Notes," adverts to the sad effects produced by the neglect of a proper and sufficient provision, in the first instance, for the spiritual wants of our emigrants and colonists; in consequence of which all religious habits and associations are broken, and the settlers in the wilderness left exposed to all the depraving influences of a life exclusively occupied with the things of this world. On this point we cannot refrain from transcribing the following observations, eminently calculated to awaken Christian sympathies, and to stir up a holy zeal in the Church at home:—

"Our brethren in England can hardly understand the desolation of spirit that must be felt by those who have been induced by a desire of bettering their worldly circumstances to plunge into the wilderness, and find themselves reduced to the sad alternative of forsaking the communion of their fathers for a less perfect faith, or of seeing their children grow up unbaptized, uneducated, uncared for, and even unburied by a pastor of their own Church. How rapidly, under such circumstances, do good impressions fade away; and the heart becomes thoroughly worldly and thoroughly callous! For good books there

are few or none, except such as the settler has brought out with him. There is no association of the frequent summons to a common house of prayer; the unwearied offices of mercy; the soothing, tranquilizing, yet awakening services of the Church. Money!—get money!—is the only sound that vibrates in his ears all the year round; and for my part I know not whether the polluting worship of idols is much worse than this cold, selfish, deadening atheism, which freezes up the heart against all the holier and more vivid impressions. As to any thing like a knowledge of the truths of the Creed, that of course is out of the question. It is well if the settler escape the gross profligacy, and still baser cunning and fraud, which are ever found where 'the strong man armed keepeth his palace, and his goods are in peace.' It is observable also that where some good impressions remain, the mind, irritated by a sense of neglect, easily resigns itself to the objections which are commonly made by different parties against our Church. It is felt not to be a reality; it loses all power over the minds of men; it lives only in written documents; and persons who are themselves conscious of not living up to their knowledge of duty, attempt to justify themselves in their neglect by retaliating on the Church, and by broadly asserting that her services are inconsistent or delusive. Thus, when the missionary goes into the wilderness, expecting to find himself received with open arms, and the Church welcomed as their mother and their guide, he finds a rapid under-current of suspicion, jealousy, and division; a feeling that the people are to be placed under some hateful undefinable restraint, which they have never known, and would be glad to shake off. Simplicity, unhappily, is not the characteristic of our North American mind; every man's wits are keen and trenchant, and this increases the difficulties of the spiritual labourer; not to speak of that awful effect of our interminable divisions, the lurking doubt that steals through many a mind, that as all cannot be equally true, all *may* be equally false.

“One circumstance has often struck me, in passing through the country, as a mournful evidence of its spiritual destitution. One finds separate and lonely graves scattered about on farms, or by the roadside, without any mark of Christian or even common sepulture. The communion of saints is not found even in our last resting-place; nor is there any visible sign that 'the spirit of a man goeth upward, and the spirit of a beast goeth downward to the earth.' Men and beasts are mingled together; our brethren are committed to the earth without sign of salvation, without any outward token of Christian fellowship, or a future resurrection. O that God would give our English churchmen grace, instead of 'biting and devouring one another,' to fight against the common foe of all; to remember how vast a field is open to their exertions, and that there is still room to occupy it; that He would give us grace to humble ourselves before Him, with weeping and mourning over wealth unseasonably wasted, and talents thrown away; that He may yet have mercy upon us, and save us!”

• The area of New Brunswick is 26,000 square miles, its population

about 160,000. The number of clergy in the diocese of Fredericton is 43. Arrangements are in progress for the erection of a cathedral.

**SWEDEN.—Death of the Poet Tegner.**—On the evening of the 2nd of November last, the celebrated poet Tegner breathed his last, at the episcopal residence at Wexiö. His health had for several years been precarious, and he had had six different attacks of paralysis, the last eleven days before his death. Esaias Tegner was born at Hyfkerad, Nov. 13, 1782. At the age of seventeen, he commenced his studies at the university of Lund, where his distinguished talents soon brought him into notice, and procured for him official situations. In the year 1806 he was appointed second librarian, and registrar of the faculty of philosophy; in 1811 he obtained the first prize of the Swedish academy for his poem "Sveg;" in the following year he was appointed to the chair of Greek literature in the university of Lund, and, having entered into holy orders, to the cure of Staelje, on which occasion he wrote his poem on "the priesthood." This was followed by "Axel," and other poems, which added greatly to his literary fame, till at last his celebrated poem, "Frithiof's Saga," placed him in the very first rank of poetic genius. He was now received as a member by the Swedish academy, and raised to the bishopric of Wexiö. After his elevation to the episcopate, he devoted himself assiduously to his official duties, and took an active part in the pastoral conferences of the clergy, and in the education of the people. On the field of poetry, he appeared now only upon rare occasions, by the publication of a few minor poems; but it is said that a variety of unpublished poetic materials have been found among his papers. His funeral took place on the 17th, with great solemnity, and under an immense concourse of persons assembled together for the purpose of testifying their respect for the departed, who appears to have been as much beloved as a man, as he was admired as a poet. Numerous were the contributions by which the Swedish muse sought to honour his memory; and a subscription has been opened for a national monument to be erected to the "Frithiof's Skald," one condition of which is, that no one person is to contribute more than six rixdollars.

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## Foreign Correspondence.

FROM A CORRESPONDENT IN HINDOSTAN.

*To the Editor of the English Review.*

EDUCATION AND MISSIONS IN INDIA.

SIR,

It has occurred to me that some information on the state and prospects of Christian missions in Northern India, and of native education and improvement generally, in the same quarter, might be an acceptable contribution to your department of Colonial Intelligence. With the view of affording you the means of forming a judgment on these topics, I have taken steps for forwarding, through my booksellers, a number of Calcutta periodical works and other publications calculated to throw light on the subject. These, however, will be sent by the Cape route, and will not reach you for some months. In the mean time, I have thrown together very hastily the following description of the state of things, (derived from continual observation of what is passing around me,) which may interest those who are desirous that Britain should in some measure discharge the immense debt of obligation which she owes to this her noble dependency, and who may be anxious according to their several abilities to assist in this work. My remarks will extend only to the Bengal and Agra presidencies, as I have less opportunity of becoming acquainted with those of Madras and Bombay.

### First. *Government Education.*

It is not intended to attempt a regular or minutely accurate history of the efforts of the Government in the cause of native education. Suffice it to say, that these efforts date principally from the time of the administration of the Marquis of Hastings, about thirty years back; since when they have been becoming more and more vigorous and systematic. The whole system of state education, as it at present exists, will be understood from the Reports on Public Instruction published by the Bengal and Agra governments. There are two main departments, the English and the Oriental; the former, for the instruction of the natives in the English language, literature, and science; the latter, for the instruction of the Hindus in their sacred language, the Sanskrit, and its literature, and for teaching Mahomedans the Arabic and Persian languages and literature. The Oriental department may also be considered to embrace the efforts which are made for the instruction of the people through their own vernacular tongues.

In Bengal there are English colleges in Calcutta, at Hooghly,

Dacca, and Kishenaghur; and in Behar, at Patna. The institution in Calcutta is called the Hindu College, and I believe owes its rise to the exertions of some native gentlemen, and some English friends of native education, nearly thirty years ago. There are now many other schools at the presidency (missionary as well as conducted by natives) in which English is taught to natives; and the effect upon the class of Hindus who have been subjected to their influence is very marked. But this result may be more conveniently noticed below in connexion with the subject of missionary schools. The education afforded at the Government colleges is very efficient, more particularly at the presidency and in its neighbourhood, where a variety of influences combine to draw forth the energies of the native mind in this direction, and where consequently the standard of tuition and attainment is the highest. Mathematics, algebra, political economy, history, poetry, &c. form the studies of the highest classes in the Hindu College. The same branches of study are pursued at the Hooghly College, which, I believe, is little inferior to the Calcutta Institution; and at the other colleges, in which, however, the same scale of excellence has not been reached. Besides the colleges there are a number of English schools at the less important stations in Bengal, where a similar system of instruction prevails; the standard being, of course, lower. It may be mentioned, once for all, that in the Government schools and colleges the principle of excluding religious instruction is maintained, and the Bible is no where read. Besides these institutions for general education in Bengal, there is a medical college in Calcutta, under efficient professors, in which instruction is given through the English language in the various branches of medicine, according to the European system. The dissection of human subjects has been practised in this seminary from its commencement, eleven years ago, (I am not sure whether the thing had not even been done before,)—a great triumph over Hindu prejudice. The result has been to send forth a body of able native practitioners, many of whom are employed by Government on salaries of 120*l.* a year, or more, with the title of sub-assistant surgeons. Four of the *élèves* of this institution, under the charge of Dr. Goodeve, one of the professors, are now in England, completing their education, and have been gaining high distinction in the London schools of medicine.

In the north-western provinces, under the government of Agra, there are also a number of English colleges: viz., at Agra, Delhi, and Benares, besides English schools at several other stations. In these the same system is followed as in Bengal; and the attainments of the Agra and Delhi pupils, in particular, are of a very satisfactory character; the knowledge of the English language, literature, and science acquired by the senior pupils being highly creditable, and many of them being able to speak English with fluency and correctness. Mohun Lal, a native of Delhi, now in England, was educated at the Delhi College. In all these English schools and colleges, a certain degree of attention is paid to instructing the pupils in their own vernacular tongue, but the result is not uniformly satisfactory, as many excellent English

scholars are not proficient in reading and writing their own mother tongue. They are thus so far disqualified for spreading among their countrymen the knowledge they have acquired.

II. *The Oriental Colleges.*—At Calcutta and Benares there are Sanskrit colleges, in which the grammar of the Sanskrit, the sacred language of the Hindus, together with its poetical, dialectical, philosophico-theological, mathematical, and astronomical literature forms the subject of instruction. There is also a Sanskrit department on a smaller scale in the Agra and Delhi colleges. At Calcutta, Hooghly, Delhi, and Agra, Mahomedan colleges are maintained, in which the Arabic and Persian languages and literature are taught. The Calcutta Mahomedan College has also an English department. The Delhi and Agra Oriental colleges are under the same roof with the English colleges.

The advantage of these Oriental institutions in maintaining a knowledge of the classical tongues of the Hindus and Musulmans, in conciliating to a certain degree the learned men of those religions, can scarcely be doubted. Whatever degree of European knowledge and science we may succeed in imparting to the native youth who learn English, there can be no doubt that such knowledge can only become generally diffused and rendered available for the enlightenment of the great mass of native readers by being transfused into the vernacular tongues: and these tongues can only be rendered efficient vehicles for conveying new ideas and scientific knowledge by cultivation and development. Such improvement of the vernaculars can only be effected by persons who have a competent acquaintance with the Sanskrit, or with the Arabic and Persian. The mode in which we at present encourage the cultivation of these languages, has, however, this disadvantage, that it is entirely conducted by native professors; who, though they are in some degree under European superintendence, support the native systems of theology and science with all their errors; and to these errors no adequate correctives have yet been applied. In the Delhi College a good deal of European knowledge has of late been communicated through the medium of the vernacular Urdu. But we may well suppose that many of the pupils, who are proficient in their own classical tongues, are disposed to look down on this exotic knowledge, conveyed through this comparatively humble medium. English science is, however, no doubt gaining ground chiefly through the attainments of the students of the English language. It is only by degrees that the better capabilities of these Oriental institutions can be educed, and the evil effects of their erroneous teaching diminished.

III. *Vernacular Education.*—In Bengal a beginning has been made to establish vernacular schools, distinct from the English seminaries. And in the districts of the Agra presidency measures have been directed by Government for the encouragement of existing native schools, by supplying elementary books calculated to meet native wants, compiled in accordance with native forms, and consequently adapted to the capacities of the indigenous teachers. Details on this subject will be found in the reports published by the Government.

Second. *Missionary Schools and Operations.*

In the missionary field there is a great variety of labourers. Missionaries of the Churches of England and Scotland, of the Free Presbyterian Church, of the London Missionary Society, (chiefly supported by Independent Dissenters,) of the Baptist Missionary Society, of American Presbyterian and Baptist Societies, and of the Romish Church, are stationed in Calcutta, or at different places in the interior. At Calcutta, may first be mentioned Bishop's College, instituted and maintained by the venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts; which is governed by a principal, who, with two clergymen as professors, is engaged in the education of native and Indo-British youth, chiefly destined for the society's service. Many of the élèves of this college are employed as missionaries in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, and in other parts of India. One of the missionaries of this society (not however educated at the college) is stationed at the large military post of Cawnpore, where there is a Native Female Orphan Asylum, the inmates of which are instructed and brought up in a manner suitable to their condition in life, as humble Christians. The Diocesan Committee of the venerable Society has also just projected a new mission in the Saugur and Nerbudda territories.

The Church Missionary Society has several missionaries in Calcutta, and a number of schools. It has also some flourishing missions in the district of Kishenaghur, where a religious movement of considerable extent and importance has taken place, of late years, among a certain class of the lower orders; for the proper development of which a much larger number of missionary clergy, catechists, and schoolmasters than the society apparently can afford to maintain, is urgently required. The Church Missionary Society has also stations at Burdwan and other places in Bengal; as well as in the important city of Benares, the great metropolis of Hindu learning, and the venerated stronghold of Hindu superstition. The society has here two institutions of considerable consequence. The first is an English and Oriental College, supported partly by an endowment founded by a Hindu gentleman, and partly by a monthly grant from Government. Christianity is, of course, a subject of study in this seminary, which, however, has not yet attained a standard of efficiency commensurate with the importance it occupies in the very heart of the Indian Athens. The other institution is an Orphan Asylum, (supported by local contributions and the earnings of its inmates,) in which a number of lads and girls, who were gathered together some years ago, (when a famine in the north-western provinces deprived them of their natural protectors,) have been trained up as Christians, and kept segregated from the surrounding Pagan population. These youths have been taught several useful arts, such as carpet-making, book-binding, cabinet-making, &c.; and some of them have been married, and are settled on the mission premises, or in a Christian village adjoining. The Church Missionary Society has also four German



Lutheran clergymen, (some of whom superintend an orphan institution, of equal importance with the Benares one,) at the seat of Government at Agra. There is on the orphan premises, near Agra, a printing establishment, which enjoys a large contract for printing official forms, &c. required by the Government functionaries. In this press many of the orphans are employed; others of them are taught to practise other trades. Some of the friends of Christian instruction at Agra, and elsewhere, lately agreed to use their exertions to raise funds sufficient for establishing at Agra an English College for the instruction of native youth in literature, science, and the Christian religion, under the control of the Church Missionary Society, provided that society would undertake to send out and maintain two properly-qualified clergymen to superintend it; but it is understood that the society has been unable to accede to this proposal, which is much to be regretted. The Church Missionary Society, in addition to the stations already named, has missionaries at Juanpore and Goruckpore, to the north of Benares, and also at Kotgurh, near the sanatorium of Simla, in the Himalayas.

Before leaving the subject of the Church of England Missions, I should not omit to mention the cathedral in Calcutta, which the Lord Bishop of the diocese has been labouring so zealously to build, and endow with foundations for the support of missionary clergy. Nor should I pass over the name of the Rev. Krishna Mohun Banerjea, of Christ's Church, Cornwallis-square, Calcutta, a native gentleman of high Brahminical caste, who has for several years been ordained a clergyman of the Church of England; and who, by his command of the English language, his knowledge of English, and even classical literature, and his proficiency in that of his own country, is admirably fitted for advancing the cause of Christianity among his countrymen. An able article in the Calcutta Review, on "the transition states of the Hindu mind," is understood to be his production. He has also lately undertaken the publication of a Cyclopædia in Bengali and English, suited to the intellectual state and wants of native society in Bengal.

Proceeding to other missions: the labours of the Rev. Dr. Duff and his colleagues, who were ministers of the Established Church of Scotland till the recent disruption of that communion, deserve particular notice. These gentlemen have devoted all their energies to the cause of Christian education through the medium of the English language; a department of missionary exertion well suited to the peculiar condition of Calcutta, (where the demand for a knowledge of English is so great,) and which in their hands has proved eminently successful. Notwithstanding the reluctance of the natives to allow their children to be instructed in Christianity, so great has been the desire for education, and so great the zeal and ability of the teachers, that they have long had under their charge a large and flourishing institution, which has now a collegiate (by this term is intended a more advanced) department; and their pupils, if I mistake not, are on a par, in point of attainments, with the young men educated at the Government institution, the Hindu College. In this missionary seminary, instruction is

given in the evidences and doctrines of Christianity, which, in a few cases, has ended in the conversion of the pupils.

Before proceeding to mention the other missionary societies, I will here allude to the effect produced on the native mind—the Hindu mind, I should rather say, (for on the Mahomedans a much slighter impression appears as yet to have been made,) by the conjoint operations of the Government and missionary institutions, and other influences which are at work. Few have been converted to Christianity. Some have lost all reverence for their old creed, and are become indifferent to all religion. Others, while their eyes have been opened to the errors of their ancestral faith, have yet happily retained their sense of dependance on a higher Power. Many of this class have openly expressed their hostility to idolatry, and followed, more or less closely, in the steps of the late Raja Rammohun Ray, whose acquaintance with Mahomedan and Christian opinions was, doubtless, the cause of his finding a distinct theistic sense in the mystical and pantheistic theology of the Upanishads. This school, calling itself Vedantic, takes these last-named dogmatic portions of the Vedas as its text-books, but mingling new exotic doctrines with those of its professed authorities, it is, in reality, a Neovedantic sect. The adherents of these novel tenets (who unite themselves in a body called the Brāhmā Sābhā, or society for the worship of the Supreme Spirit; and who appear to be called by the genuine Vedantists *devout-spiritualists*, as opposed to the *contemplative*, or *passionless-spiritualists*), are, of course, opposed to Christianity,—perhaps, in a considerable degree, from a feeling of national pride, and a reluctance to find in a foreign creed any thing superior to the tenets of their own renowned antiquity,—re-echoing, perhaps, the natural sentiment of the Syrian captain of old, *Are not Abana and Pharpar, rivers of Damascus, better than all the waters of Israel? May I not wash in them and be clean?* It may also be that Christianity has not been wisely placed before them, and that they have not yet been able to perceive it in its own true and attractive colours. Another associated class consists of the followers of the *Dhārmā Sābhā*, or society for the maintenance of the old religion, which was originally instituted to oppose the abolition of Suttee, and has since been engaged in enforcing, with inquisitorial zeal, an exact observance of all the Brahminical rites and ordinances. The force of this body is now, I believe, much broken. Another society, lately established, calls itself the Vishnu Sābhā, or assembly for the worship of Vishnu, and meets to recite hymns in honour of that deity. These societies have ramifications in the country around Calcutta, and distinctly attest the extent of the religious movement which is in progress in that neighbourhood.

The notices of the missionary societies which remain to be mentioned must be very brief. The London and Baptist Societies have many active ministers in Calcutta and its environs, with a number of schools. The Rev. Dr. Yates, of the last-named communion, recently

deceased, was a Sanskrit scholar of considerable eminence, and rendered the New Testament into that language, and its daughter the Bengalee. The entire Old Testament was also, I believe, translated by him into Bengalee, and some parts of it into Sanskrit. The London Missionary Society has also stations at Chinsura, Berhampore, Benares, and Mirzapore. At Berhampore there is an orphan institution under charge of one of the missionaries. At Benares there are schools connected with the mission; and at the large city of Mirzapore, this society has exclusive occupation of the field, with a printing-press, and an English school which receives considerable support from the residents. The Baptist Society has many missionaries, partly Indo-Britons, who were originally located by the Serampore Baptist Mission (which has now died away, all its ancient heads having been removed by death from the field of labour). These, with other ministers, are posted in various parts of Bengal, at Benares, and Delhi. There are also several missionaries, English and American Baptists, in Cuttack and in Assam. In the western provinces, the American Presbyterian missionaries are very numerous, being stationed at Loodhiana (on the Sutlej), Seharunpore, Futtehgurh, Allahabad, &c. They have an orphan institution at Futtehgurh, and printing-presses at Loodhiana and Allahabad, from which many tracts and books, printed in the country languages, issue.

I am but little acquainted with the operations of the Roman Catholic clergy, who are, perhaps, less occupied with the Hindus and Mahomedans than with the Indo-Portuguese, and other classes of mixed descent, belonging to their own communion, who are numerous at the seats of Government, and in some other quarters, and are scattered all over the country. Complaints are made by several of the Protestant missions that the Romanists are endeavouring, and with occasional success, to seduce away their converts. Tracts against Romanism have lately been written by the Rev. Krishna Mohun Banerjea, as well as by the Rev. Mr. Lacroix, of the London mission. I have no means at hand of giving an accurate account of the numbers of the Romish clergy. The Bengal Directory for 1844 gives a list of twenty-four in Calcutta and other parts of Bengal. But there must be others not named in that list. There are in Calcutta a Romish archbishop and a bishop; at Agra a bishop, and apparently another at Dacca. There are, I think, nunneries both in Calcutta and at Agra. At Calcutta there has been, for some time, a Jesuit's college, which, as appears by the newspapers, is about to be broken up, as one of the papers supposes, from the insubordination of the Jesuits.

From the above sketch, it will be seen that the British provinces in Northern India are occupied in all directions by missionary stations. Loodhiana, Seharunpore, Delhi, Agra, Futtehgurh, Cawnpore, Allahabad, Mirzapore, Benares, Juanpore, Goruckpore, and other places, form a line of missionary posts, from which the spiritual warfare is carried on in the western provinces. Bengal and Behar are similarly

occupied in various directions. The Bengal Directory for 1844 gives a list of clergymen and ministers not in the service of Government, who, with few exceptions, are all missionaries; in which are found, Church of England, 42; Lutherans connected with the Church Missionary Society, 5; Free Church, 5; London Missionary Society, 16<sup>1</sup>; English Baptists (including Indo-Britons), 35; American Baptists, 6;—total Protestant missionaries, 109. To these must be added the American Presbyterians in the western provinces, who cannot number much under 20, and perhaps some other German missionaries of whom I have no distinct information. The Church of Scotland has also of late sent out two missionaries to occupy the post in its ranks lately relinquished by Dr. Duff and his colleagues for the new Free Communion. How few are all these combined, when compared with the extent and wants of this vast country!

Besides discharging pastoral functions over their native flocks, which are seldom sufficiently numerous to occupy all their time and thoughts, the missionaries employ themselves in conversing with such Hindus and Mahommedans as may be making inquiries on the subject of religion; in preaching in chapels, or in the bazars at the stations where they may reside, or (particularly in the cold season) in itinerating in the villages round about, in company with their native Christian catechists. The subject of religion is introduced, a tract or portion of Scripture is generally read, and occasion is thence taken to expound the doctrines of Christianity. The missionaries are, for the most part, well received by the Hindus, and discussions are often carried on in a not unfriendly spirit; though frequently pundits of greater or less pretensions to learning will dispute with acrimony. The Mahommedans are more disposed to opposition and angry rejoinder. No doubt these itinerations and discourses in the market-places, must tend, in some degree, to diffuse a knowledge of Christianity, and to render the people better disposed towards its tenets, if not its profession; though it must, doubtless, often happen that the missionary is not clearly understood, (not from any deficiency in the power of expressing his meaning, but) from the difficulty with which uncultivated minds receive and comprehend new and strange ideas. The number of converts at most stations is very small. In a few places, such as the Kishenaghur district, where thousands have been converted, and in some of the Propagation Society's stations south of Calcutta, the success has been greater. (The case, as is well known, is very different in the southern districts of the Madras presidency, where, in many places, the converts are very numerous.)

It is long since the Holy Scriptures have been rendered into the principal languages of the north of India; the whole of the sacred books may be read now both in the vernacular languages, the Urdu, the Hindee, the Bengalee, and in the Persian and Arabic. The New

<sup>1</sup> The Local Committee's Report for 1845 gives 17 missionaries and assistant missionaries, besides catechists, &c.

Testament has also appeared in Sanskrit, and part of the Old, viz. Dr. Yates's version. I believe Dr. Carey, of Serampore, had previously rendered the whole Bible into this language in a more cumbrous form, and in a more literal and less elegant style. Dr. Mill, the late learned principal of Bishop's College, composed in Sanskrit verse a history of our Lord's life, embodying the full Gospel narrative harmonized, and interspersed with sketches of the Old Testament history necessary to the elucidation of the New. If any fault is to be found with this ably-constructed and skilfully-versified composition, it is, that the elucidatory parts are too much in the style of allusions to things partially known, instead of explanations of things entirely unknown<sup>2</sup>; the whole work, indeed, would be improved by being made clearer and simpler in style.

Little has yet been done by missionaries in the way of compiling books, either as preparatives to the reception of Christianity, or for the instruction of those who profess it. More has been done in the Bengalee than in the two other vernacular tongues, the Urdu and Hindee. The Calcutta Christian Tract Society (constituted on the same principles as the Christian Tract Society at home, and supported both by Churchmen of the evangelical school, by Presbyterians, and by Dissenters,) has produced the greater part of those that have been written; but most of those I have seen are composed in a dry, austere, and unattractive style, such as is little calculated to draw on the native reader to go through them. A very few books have been translated and printed for the Diocesan Committee of the Christian Knowledge Society, such as Bishop Wilson's *Sacra Privata* and *Sermons*, rendered by the Rev. K. M. Banerjea into Bengalee. There is a wide field open for the exertions of this Society, and important services might be rendered both in the way of composing persuasives to the reception of Christianity addressed to Hindus and to Mahommedans, and works calculated for the edification of native Christians. The Society, however, has but very small means in this country. Would it not be well if some of our retired Indian clergymen or laymen,—such as have really studied and understood the native character, and habits of thinking, and systems,—(for, unfortunately, most of our reverend chaplains know little of the heathen or Mahommedans around them, of whose languages they have at best only a smattering.)—would employ their leisure at home in this work? I mean in preparing for the venerable Society, in an English form, works of the description I have above suggested, written expressly for the natives, whether converted or unconverted. Translations of English books will

<sup>2</sup> In cases of this sort the Horatian description of a true epic poet,—

“Nec gemino bellum Trojanum orditur ab ovo.  
Semper ad eventum festinat, et in medias res,  
Non secus ac notas, auditorem rapit —”

is reversed, and it is a merit to expound the origin of things with the utmost clearness.

not answer. We want books which have a specific reference to native ideas throughout<sup>3</sup>. For the unconverted, in particular, we want treatises composed not only in a correct and idiomatic style, (which is not difficult to attain,) but also written from a native point of view;—not using expressions or making allusions which are intelligible to Christians alone, but explaining things from their elements;—characterized by a friendly spirit, and not dealing so much in direct attacks on the native systems, as tacitly undermining their errors. It is true that it is difficult thus to put one's self in the place of another, and to conceive the light in which he views the subjects which we wish to explain to him, and to modify our explanations accordingly; and to do this well, we doubtless want the aid, either here or at home, of some abler men than are generally to be found in the missionary ranks. Still, if attention were paid to this matter by missionaries generally, they could scarcely fail to suit their written instructions better than they have hitherto done, to the understandings and affections of their native readers. And it is not unlikely that, in extemporary exhortations, and particularly in conversations, the missionary is driven by the force of sympathy to enter more into the feelings and ideas of those he is addressing, and to shape and colour his subject accordingly, than is the case in his written compositions.

Of published controversy with Hindus there are not very many specimens extant. Dr. Wilson, formerly of the Scottish Mission (now Free Church) at Bombay, has printed translations from the Mahrattée tongue of tracts by natives in defence of their own religion, with his own replies. Four answers have been written by pundits to a printed tract in Sanskrit on Christianity and Hinduism, published some years ago on this side of India. Of these answers, one by a pundit in Calcutta, was printed by its author. The other three are in MS. The most recent, composed in Sanskrit verse, is meant as a reply generally to missionary objections against Hinduism, which it defends by asserting and applying the doctrine of the incomprehensibility of the Divine nature; and by declaring the unsoundness of many of the doctrines of Christianity, *e. g.* the ascription of the origin of all things to the will of God, who, the writer conceives, is, on this hypothesis, chargeable with injustice, in creating beings whom He has thus ordained or permitted to suffer misery. Besides some tracts published long ago by Rammohun Ray against the doctrine of the Trinity, there may possibly be other Bengali controversial tracts extant; and of late, efforts have been used in Calcutta to print and circulate European infidel tracts among the educated native youth. The Calcutta Bengalee newspapers, too, have doubtless contained from time to time many observations adverse to Christianity, and in defence of their own systems. Having alluded to these prints, I may mention that one of the best of them, the Bháskar,

<sup>3</sup> Books thus prepared in English could be sent out by the venerable Society to their diocesan committees here, to be rendered into the languages of the country.

professes a perfect impartiality towards all religions, as all good in their way. Others are, or were, of the old Hindu school. One, a monthly paper, is the organ of the Brahma Sabhá, or Neo-vedantist party. A new paper, just commenced, called the *Satyasancháriní Patriká* <sup>4</sup>, states, in its introductory exposition of its principles, that it has been established for "instilling into the minds of the rising generation, a knowledge of the responsible duties which they have to perform both to themselves, their country, and their God. We mean also in this paper to carry on with the Christian missionaries, fair and candid discussions on the subject of the true religion, not with a spirit bigoted and prejudiced on the side of our own faith and religion, but with a mind and heart ready to be bent on the side of clearer truth, and bowing down before the altar of superior reason; and demonstrations of a more manifest divine revelation, than what our own religious works furnish us with."

The Mahomedan controversy has been carried on to a greater length, and with more fervour and ability than the Hindu. An account of the principal works on either side will be found in the eighth number of the *Calcutta Review*, where the Mahomedan as well as the Christian arguments are analyzed in considerable detail. The Rev. Mr. Pfander of the Church Mission at Agra, who was formerly a missionary in Georgia, and there acquired an elegant Persian style, is the principal recent champion of Christianity. The visible result of his argument has been angry retort on the part of the Mahomedan Maulvees: and perhaps Mr. Pfander would have succeeded better if he had made a less direct attack on Mahomedanism. If he had contented himself with expounding the Divine revelation from the creation, with a tacit, but constant reference to Islamite doctrines, traditions, and ideas; unfolding the true character and claims of Christianity; and founding its authority as far as possible on points admitted by Musulmans, the result would probably have been a less strongly-marked exhibition of controversial violence on the part of his opponents. It must, at the same time, be allowed, that sooner or later the point must be reached where the assertions of Christian and Musulman reasoners must come into direct conflict. But this open collision should be avoided as long as possible; and as we may hope to find some inquirers of a more candid spirit than the generality, it is of the highest consequence that we should possess some one work, written on the wisest and most conciliatory principles, to put into their hands, as well as into those of the more bigoted. "Make straight paths for your feet, lest that which is lame be turned out of the way; but rather let it be healed." (Heb. xii. 13.) Instead of arousing malevolence by setting up Christianity as the rival and antagonist of false systems, we should be content to use all the powers of hallowed art in constructing, if we may, an image of the truth so instinct with

<sup>4</sup> This name means, A paper to promote (or give an impulse to) truth.

visible divinity, as to rivet the gaze, and excite the awe, of all beholders; like the fabled goddess:

“Dixit, et avertens rosâ cervicæ refulsit,  
Ambrosiâque comæ divinum vertice odorem  
Spiravere; pedes vestis defluxit ad imos,  
*Et vera incessu patuit dea.*” *ÆN.* i. 402.

I need scarcely remark on the great difficulty which many questions regarding the most effectual method of proposing Christianity to the Mahomedans and Hindus present to the thoughtful inquirer. To solve these questions, it should seem that we require men, not only of learning, of a philosophic spirit, and with an accurate insight into the varieties of human nature, but also practically acquainted with the people whose conversion they are seeking. We should therefore, if possible, have some such men present in the field of labour. If we cannot have this, we must seek in Europe for the learning, philosophy, and insight into human nature which are requisite; hoping that the record of the controversies which are waged in the field of conflict, may enable deep-thinking men to apply the principles which their reflection may suggest, to the guidance of those who are engaged in the holy warfare, with but an imperfect knowledge of the spiritual tactics which they should bring into play against their barbaric antagonists. The necessity for a more efficient training of our missionaries is fully felt and acknowledged in England, as appears from Dr. Grant's seventh and eighth old Bampton Lectures, and from the remarks in your own journal, No. III., pp. 167-8; and has been still more recently expressed by Dr. Tait in his "Suggestions to the Theological Student," Discourse V., pp. 156-7, as follows:—"We are a great missionary country, and profess to be anxious, under God's blessing, at this time to provide more distinctly systematic instructions for the missionaries we would train. But how is the missionary to be well armed to go forth in his Redeemer's service, to combat with the many subtle forms of error which, in the great empires of the East, *e. g.*, are supported by the reverence and accumulated learning of hundreds of years, if he has not studied the history and doctrines of false religions as well as of the true, seen the relations in which these doctrines stand to Christianity, and learned to know at once their weakness and their strength?"

In order that missionaries may be properly guided and instructed, it is necessary that these subjects should be deeply studied and discussed by men of learning and ability. Mr. Morris's Oxford Prize Essay on Hinduism, notwithstanding its great learning and a few useful hints which it offers, is, as a whole, very incomplete and unsatisfactory; as it could scarcely fail to be, being based on so contracted a system. It is to be hoped that the premium offered through the University of Cambridge may be more successful in drawing forth the powers of a sound and philosophical writer, who shall be able to construct a skilful and persuasive argument; and to justify Christian disputants in em-



ploying the Apostle's words in addressing the philosophers of the East, *Howbeit we speak wisdom among them that are perfect.*

Mahommedanism, as well as Hinduism, has yet to be profoundly studied. The Essay on "The Relation of Islam to the Gospel," by Möhler, the author of the "Symbolik" (which has been in course of translation lately in the pages of the Calcutta Christian Intelligencer), is an useful contribution to our knowledge of this subject; but we want a more exhaustive discussion. Some of the contributors to the "English Review" appear to have bestowed a close attention on Oriental subjects. May we not hope that they or others will undertake to examine and expound the history and character of Mahommedanism and Hinduism, and the mode of treatment by which they seem most likely to be dethroned from the minds and hearts of their votaries?

It would be well, however, if there were some, at least, of the missionaries themselves, who were learned in the classical languages and philosophical systems of the East. In large cities especially, the advocates of Christianity should be ready to encounter learned Musulmans and Hindus. Such learning commands the respect and deference of the natives generally, and is sure to give increased weight to any thing which the missionary may urge.

I remain, Sir, yours faithfully.

THE  
ENGLISH REVIEW.

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JUNE, 1847.

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- ART. I.—1. *Sketches for Cottage Villas, Parsonage-houses, &c.*  
By W. PATTISON, Architect. London: Williams and Co.
2. *A Treatise on the Law of Dilapidations and Nuisances.* By  
DAVID GIBBONS, Esq. London: Weale. 1838.

ALAS! what repulsive, what excruciating compounds of brick and mortar, are suffered to assume the name of "parsonages," and to act as such! The utmost ingenuity and the utmost skill seem to have been employed in putting the pastor's house into disguise. Whether it is large or small, a cheap or a costly structure, it has been invested with every form but that which is properly its own. We might have supposed that an act had been passed which involved the clergy in alarming penalties, if they indulged in the erection of houses that seemed to belong to them; and that, to escape suspicion, they ravenously embraced designs which were in most violent contrast to any thing of an ecclesiastical character. The residence of the manager of a joint-stock bank, the overgrown suburban villa, the stuccoed habitation of the small squire, the abridged edition of a hall, are all perversely settled down by the side of the parish church, and, under the designation of "rectories" and "vicarages," succeed in creating visible discord in the scene by their bold rejection of every thing that is appropriate.

The abstract idea of a parsonage would bring, we suppose, before our minds a quiet, composed-looking house, of strong ecclesiastical features, a modest mansion of modest size, so framed as to fit in and dovetail with the character of the neighbouring church; of a kindred yet simpler form, nestling in comely solidity under the wing of the house of prayer, as though it had thence derived its birth; kindly preventing the eye that had been gazing at the church from dropping down abruptly to the earth, but giving it a resting-place on its descent, which served to prolong the feeling created by the holy place; forming a link of connexion between the house of God and the houses of men; partaking of a sacred character, and yet for human use; blending more with the church than with the dwellings of ordinary men, and conveying a

mixed idea of religious offices and human wants. Tell an artist to paint a parsonage, and he would embody the abstract idea in some such form. He would not place by the side of the church a tall, gaunt, red-brick dwelling, with a bright green door and a brass knocker, and half-a-dozen glaring stone steps leading thereunto, with sash-windows on either side with red curtains and yellow fringe. Such a habitation, he would say, would be at enmity with the church; it would be out of place; it would not express the idea of a parsonage; and he would accordingly compose a house which should take its tone and character from the church. This with him would be a mere matter of taste, his sense and appreciation of the *τὸ πρέπον*. The *τὸ πρέπον* itself would spring from a deeper principle than perhaps he stopped to think of: good taste on such matters, like genuine courtesy, has a lofty parentage, if its birth be but traced.

Now, if we suppose ourselves, either with this abstract idea in our minds, or this picture of a parsonage in our hands, walking joyously over the fields to visit our friend in his new living, guiding ourselves across the meadows by that best of sign-posts, "the heaven-directed spire," expecting at every turn to see a grey gable-end or a mullion window peeping through the trees, the chances are, that we discern, with dread disappointment, as we draw near, a long monotonous expanse of slate, under which is ranged an equally monotonous row of sash-windows, and then a verandah, stretched like a prolonged parasol over drawing-room, dining-room, and door, the whole inclosed in a fat bristling shrubbery, well shut out from village eyes in coy seclusion, and appearing to be placed in visible contrast to the church. We look from the one to the other with dismayed and tortured eyes; not only is the eye distressed, but a train of feeling is disturbed; the secular parsonage contradicts the expression of the church; the parsonage seems to have pushed itself irreverently on holy ground to mar the proprieties of the scene, and we expect to see a bustling lawyer freighted with huge deeds, or a lounging squire with a curly retinue of dogs, issuing from the door.

The truth is, the notion has been almost lost that the parsonage is a "belonging" of the church. Pluralities, non-residence, an unclerical clergy, all that host of evils which oppressed the land in the last century, helped to dissolve the connexion. A large portion of the clergy did not reside upon their glebe; another portion, which affected to reside, lived chiefly on their saddles, hunting in the week, and scampering on Sunday from church to church. Their houses, like themselves, began no longer to be connected with their office. Those of the non-residents fell down, and those of the residents were looked upon as the dwellings of a species of squire. The vicarage or rectory in which a secu-

lar-minded clergy passed secular lives, failed to impress upon the popular mind any idea of the residence of a grave and sober pastor of Christ's flock. No wonder that such parsonages as were built or repaired were invested with a secular style; and when once the secular style set in, it was hard to change. We have gone on building parsonages without the slightest reference to their object, without the slightest regard to any ecclesiastical character, without the slightest attempt to bring them into visible harmony with the church. The idea of them as "religious houses" is almost gone: indeed, they seem scarcely, in modern language, to come under the head of ecclesiastical buildings; and they are commonly supposed to be only on the branch lines of ecclesiastical architecture. Even the Camden Society introduces some temperate and sensible remarks with something like an apology for diverging from their principal road, and thinks it necessary to state, that it "cannot consider the subject beyond the object of this society, although not strictly included under the head of church architecture."

Now, though it is true that a parsonage is not a church, and so, in this very restricted sense, has nothing to do with church architecture, yet it is a religious house, an essential part of the church system, an ecclesiastical building, and all but as necessary for the permanent and regular preaching of the Gospel, and administration of Sacraments, as the house of prayer itself. We might as well try to sever the domestic from the more sacred portion of an abbey, as to sever the parsonage from the parish church. As one common character is given to all the buildings of an abbey, as all the buildings are framed for sacred purposes, as the walls of the church are continued into those of the domestic portions, and visibly prove the connexion between all the parts; so the dwelling of the parish priest, though it may not actually touch the church, ought to take after it in style and character. We feel instinctively what an incongruity would be perpetrated, if a secular style were adopted in the chapter-house of an abbey, or a Grecian portico affixed to its library, on the ground that the chapter-house and library were not the church. Those who have visited the cloisters of the glorious cathedral at Lincoln will confess, we doubt not, they were seized with no moderate pang when they beheld one side of the quadrangle disfigured and deformed by a cumbrous and morose anti-ecclesiastical structure of Sir Christopher Wren.

While we are ready to allow that there has been a severance of all architectural and outward connexion between the church and the parsonage, we bewail it as an evil state of things; a bond was broken which was of great practical use; it is this broken

knot which must be tied again ; it is this forgotten principle which must be revived ; for we may be sure, that in such matters where an architectural connexion has been severed, a change of feeling and of principle preceded that divorce. It was a secular age and a secular clergy, which developed their secularity in secular-looking parsonages. When there was a separation between a pastor's office and a pastor's life, when the path from the parsonage to the church was but rarely trodden by the pastor's feet, then, as an outward symbol of inward alienation between the parish priest and his proper duties, the ecclesiastical features of the house of the parish priest were gradually worn down and disappeared ; the dwelling re-appeared in a secular form ; it was cased and coated with a new garb ; it tried to disclaim its connexion with the church, and to mix itself with the "gentlemen's" residences around ; just as the clergy themselves lost all gravity in their dress, and, by an unclerical outer man, were only developing an unclerical mind within. When we dwell upon the outward change in each, we treat it as the pulse and indication of an inward change. Hence we are in hopes that, as a great inward change is now moving the whole body of the English Church, we shall see the parsonage re-assuming its ancient and more comely look. As the increase of a really *working* clergy is among the cheerful signs of renewed life in our true branch of the universal Church ; as the pastor is again pastoral in his life, in many cases wearing even daily the path from his house to the church, and separating himself more and more from a secular life, so we are in hopes that the great principle of numbering parsonages among religious houses, and, for that end, of giving them an outward connexion with the church, will be restored. The movement we speak of has already affected the outward forms of our houses of prayer, it will soon spread downwards to the parsonage-house.

We see, indeed, signs of the revival of the very principle which we now maintain, and this revival in a quarter which at once fills us with the highest hopes. The Bishop of Oxford was recently found taking an energetic part in the formation of a "Diocesan Society for building Churches and Parsonage-houses." Here we have a bishop's well-timed sanction of the future connexion between the two. We should like, indeed, to see a still farther step taken in the cause of the parsonage, and that bishops or archdeacons with solemn prayer would lay the foundation-stone of the pastor's house. This would be an important and significant act, a plain endeavour to imprint on it a religious and official character. We should hail it as the beginning of a higher state of feeling and of practice on the subject ; the houses of the clergy

must no longer be looked upon as the dwellings of private men—they are attached to a sacred office—they are not Mr. A.'s or Mr. B.'s, but the parish priest's, who may happen to be Mr. A. or Mr. B.; they do not pass by descent of blood, but by a spiritual and priestly succession; they cannot be sold, nor turned into shops, nor enlarged into halls. Parsonages they are, and parsonages they must remain, however, at times, all their fitting outward or inward characteristics may be rubbed off or obscured.

We should like, therefore, to see our bishops publicly assert this principle, and separate them from common houses by giving them something like a lesser consecration; such an act would remind the people that they are set apart for holy persons, for the administration of a holy office. We feel the laying the foundation-stone with prayer would be a natural and fitting episcopal act; it would be in keeping with a bishop's office; and were a parsonage so holily begun, we seem to feel the religious character with which it would be invested would fit it at once. It would strike us instantly as out of place, if the bishop, surrounded by a galaxy of squires, were to lay the foundation of a new hall; or, immersed in a regiment of grenadiers, were to lay the foundation of a new barrack. But the mind is not jerked out of its sense of what is becoming, when we see him with a trowel in his hand on the glebe of the parish priest; on the contrary, we should say this is a bishop's place.

In such structures as glebe-houses, we must remember the whole Church is interested; it is not a private affair as with the hall, nor a secular public affair as with the barrack; the whole parish has a part in its own pastor's house. In a certain sense it belongs to them; as the pastor himself is theirs, so is his house; he is servant of all; so is his house open to all. It is there where they should be able to find their "ghostly counsellor;" it is "the office," as it were, of their spiritual adviser, the place of private counsel. He cannot padlock his gates, nor with huge shaggy dogs bark away his people from his door, nor proclaim himself through pompous and powdered footmen continually "not at home." As the church is theirs for common prayer, so the parsonage is theirs for private consultation. What is a church without it? "The church," says the Bishop of Oxford, "was altogether inadequate and incomplete. If they could secure the residence of the parochial clergyman within five miles of his parishioners, and ensure also active habits and strong health, still the want would not be supplied by a clergyman five miles off, for not only should the clergyman be able to reach the people, but the people to reach the clergyman; he should be accessible at all hours, whenever he might be wanted . . . If, therefore, churches

were necessary, parsonage-houses were also necessary." As a religious house, necessary to the church, and almost a part of it, ought the parsonage to be viewed; and the Bishop of Oxford has set the example of so viewing it.

But if we want to enforce and keep alive this principle of religiousness, and this connexion between the parsonage and the church, we must make a visible harmony between the two which may at once meet the eye, and face us as we walk; we ought not to need a guide to the parsonage; it should tell its own tale; its walls should speak, and its name be written up in the form and character it assumes. It should "take after" the church, and catch its architectural aspect, and in some sort reflect it; it should visibly be attached to it by a sameness of style. We are not, we must repeat, insisting upon this harmony of style as a mere matter of taste. If we objected to a row of Swiss-like cottages on one side of Regent-street, or to the tattooing of all members of Parliament by way of distinction, or to the painting all the houses of Piccadilly pink, we should offer our objections on the mere principle of taste. But when we want to see parsonages invested with the forms of ecclesiastical architecture, capable of being distinguished from the banker's, the lawyer's, or the squire's, we are taking our stand on far deeper principles than those of taste; we go to that universal principle, which, as by instinct, seeks to create an outward distinction between secular and sacred buildings. This separation is an act of reverential feeling, of that very same feeling which would make us distinguish such buildings by an increase of magnificence, or which would make us recoil from using vessels for our tables which had been used in religious rites. It is, of course, possible to view the whole subject of ecclesiastical architecture as a matter of taste; and in this light alone, we confess, it is often studied. It is also possible to rise above all mere architectural or outward distinction, to offer up pure worship in a church that looked like a police-court; just as it would be possible for a clergyman to be a true pastor in his flock, though he were to walk about in the dress of a mandarin. But though this could be done in particular cases, we should lower the whole tone of reverence if our churches did not outwardly help and incite reverential feeling, or if our clergy were forgetful of all sobriety and gravity in their dress.

In short, on the same principle that we desire to give distinct features to our houses of prayer, and a marked sobriety to the outward appearance of the clergy, do we desire to give to the adjuncts of the church something of a church character. If it matters not what churches are like, then still less does it matter what parsonages are like; but if it is of importance, by way of

heightening religious feeling, to make our churches outwardly proclaim their purpose, it is next in importance to carry that principle on to the houses of the pastor. What we desire is to connect the two in the people's minds; yes, and in the minds of the clergy too; to get the parsonages numbered among sacred, not secular, buildings; and we believe it would be of no little service to the cause of religion, if they were snatched from the secular buildings with which they are now classified, and transferred to the ecclesiastical, to which they really belong. It would be good for the people to see the clergy so closely linked to the church, so separated from the world, that their very houses had a church air and aspect about them. It would raise them as spiritual men in the eyes of the people, if their whole home-life and existence seemed thus to belong and to be tacked on to the house of God. The pastor's house in such a case would seem more than ever an unfit place for a secular mode of life, for luxurious feasts, and ceaseless entertainments. The grave walls would frown at all the racket of "society," as it is called; it would seem to repel the lovers of gaiety and foolish mirth as not convenient, and invite instead those who desired spiritual intercourse, and confidential converse with their spiritual friend. The idea of holiness, which the mere look of the church is apt to raise in the mind, would seem to be diffused over the parsonage; it would seem a sort of holy place, an outer chamber or porch of the house of God, the resting-place of the man of God. And surely this calm and holy idea which its outward character would naturally impress upon the people, would not be without its effect upon the clergy themselves. To feel that a bishop had laid the first stone, and with prayer; to feel that his house was all but a church, distinguished from all other human dwellings, a sort of place of preparation for the house of prayer, would raise at times in the pastor a recollection of the holiness of his office, and touch his memory with a kindly and solemn voice.

There is something wonderfully solemnizing and soothing in the spectacle of a church, parsonage, and school, all clustered together in a holy group, like a parent with her children; all linked together in a common style, as if for one common end, the glory of God; and, though "there is neither speech nor language" among them, all plainly bespeaking their kindred uses. The whole looks like a refreshing oasis in the waste of the world, a green spot for the soul to delight itself in, a place inviting and drawing us into a thoughtful frame of mind; and where such a scene can be found in the heart of a large, bustling, restless town, the effect is still more striking and impressive. It seems almost a piece of another world in the midst of this; a sense of tranquil solemnity steals over us as we



stand in the enclosure which is in such strong contrast with all surrounding objects; and we feel the power of religion, that can thus snatch a like piece of earth from all around, and, detaching it from the rest, make a region of peace and holy quiet in the very midst of worldly bustle and confusion and noise. Now, if we were once to shiver this visible unity, and break the scene into pieces, and make the school look like the outhouse of a factory, and the parsonage like the banker's residence, we see in a moment not only how much the eye of taste would be vexed, but how much of religious feeling would be checked.

Now hitherto our churches have claimed all our zeal. We have been hitherto content to let the chief object have not only our chief, but our only care. Those who glowed with the warmest love for the comely restoration of our houses of prayer, had no need to be distracted with other cares; we would not have intruded a lesser, though a kindred, subject on the minds of thoughtful men, when the greater subject was only beginning to be searched into and esteemed. Indeed "the greater haste" would have been "the worse speed;" for if parsonages are to partake of an ecclesiastical style, that style must have been first studied in its higher province, and the mind thoroughly at home in ecclesiastical architecture, before it would have been equal to the production of good designs for the kindred object. But may we not now safely venture on the commencement of a sober, temperate, and gentle agitation of the cause of the parsonage-house? "Hints to churchwardens" have done their work; and we may sometimes see that awakened race start with a whitewash-phobia from the glaring bucket, with which they once thought to choke all cracks, and to drown all cares. Do we not now require "hints to houseless incumbents who are about to build?" We see before us an age in which not only churches, but parsonages, will be built; it is time to prepare our "hints;" young incumbents stranded on a houseless glebe quickly set to work; and while we look round, lo! a story of the thin and overgrown mansion is sprawling over the field. The lover of brick porticos and plastered fronts is already engaged; and, hot from the erection of an Albert-terrace in some expanding town, is running up a square, stuccoed, and weak monstrosity. Pluralists and non-residents are dying off, while the subdivision of overgrown parishes is creating a multitude of new cures, in all of which it is of the highest importance to give the clergy a permanent official residence.

When the clergy were wont to narrow their duty to Sunday services, then they were content on a houseless living to live five or six miles from their church. Sunday was then, to be sure, a day of real work. All was hurry in the beginning, all weariness

in the end. The first grand effort was to get in time for school; after a scrambling, heated breakfast, the wife and children were squeezed, with dishevelled cloaks and untied bonnets, into the jingling pony-chaise; the hot drive made a hotter school, and the school the hottest church, while a wearied drive home at night ended the hurried day. But now the pastor wants to be daily amongst his people, to live in the midst of them, to be caught and stopped at casual times; many desires of advice, he knows, cool at the prospect of an hour's walk; the intercourse is stiff and formal where the distance is great; it is only a great matter which will urge a parishioner to stride deliberately over the five dusty or muddy miles. Moreover, the example of the parish priest's daily life, besides opportunities of constant unformal intercourse, is altogether lost when he lives in the midst of another flock; and thus the clergy, with a higher feeling of pastoral duties, if they cannot rent a house in their parish, wisely begin to build. The enforcement of the law of residence meets their wishes; their own principles would constrain them to residence, even were the law dead. As it is, both these powers, the law and their consciences, are at work; and both open out to our view a parsonage-building age. A resident clergy must have residences; and it takes but little time to discover that it is cheaper, even in the poorer livings, to build than to rent. We shall soon see some goodly imitations of the Oxford Society, of which we have already spoken, to aid the poorer incumbents in their desire.

When, indeed, we go into the statistics of the question, and see the extent of parsonage-building which is required to give efficiency to the parochial system, we behold a gigantic work before us. From the last statistical table which we have at hand we find, that in 1836 there were 5947 livings on which there were houses fit for use; that there were no less than 1728 on which the houses had been suffered to fall into such decay as to be wholly unfit for use, and that on 2878 there were no glebe-houses whatever. Thus, there were 5947 livings which had houses fit for use, and 4606 which had either no houses at all, or, what is the same, none fit to live in! This truly is a fearful state of things. There has been, we are aware, a great stride taken, even since 1836, in the building or restoration of glebe-houses; but if we put into the opposite scale the subdivision of large parishes, the formation of new districts, the increase of churches for which no parsonages have been provided, we are inclined to suspect, that at this very day there will be found at any rate above 4000 livings on which the clergy are compelled to reside, but on which there is no residence fit for their use.

Now, if we suppose that 1000 of these livings are so small as to be attached to some neighbouring cure, after the manner of chapelries, and therefore requiring no separate residence; and if we suppose another 1000 to be held by unmarried clergy, who might even prefer a lodging in their town or village to the expense and care of keeping house, still we have 2000 cures left in which a residence is absolutely required. We must remember also, that this number is daily on the increase by the creation of new districts, and the better adaptation of the parochial system to the wants of the times. We must also bear in mind Archdeacon Manning's statement in his last Charge, that "certainly not less than 4000, probably 6000, additional clergy are needed to provide pastoral care for the people."

Now, if we take as an average rent which the clergy of the 2000 houseless livings are forced to pay at 30%. per annum, the enormous sum of 60,000%. per annum is paid for clerical rent, and that sum annually *sunk*. The parochial clergy's incomes are reduced to the extent of this 60,000%. per annum, and unless they build, they must continue this monstrous rental. Such a fact is enough to show the wisdom of building glebe-houses; for though every glebe-house should deduct from the 2000 incumbents 30%. per annum for the next fifty years, yet still at the end of that fifty years the score would be clear, and a house gained. If they hesitate to build, then the rent of 30%. per annum may run on for centuries, a clear, continuous waste of clerical funds.

When, then, we consider the enforcement of residence, and the willingness of the clergy to reside, and the great lack of residences, we are prepared for a rapid increase of parsonage-houses. They will be built, and they must be built. It is this prospect which seems at present to start the question, "How shall they be built?" Are they to be of all styles and all shapes, assorting with all kinds of secular structures? Or, are they to be a genus by themselves, a distinct race, and, because of their peculiarity and distinctness of purpose, linked together by the adoption of one common style? Are parsonages to tell their own tale, to be invested with one common ecclesiastical style? Or, are they to be separated from all connexion with the church and with each other by the assumption of every possible variety of disguise? For ourselves we say, away with villas and halls, and the aspect of the secular house.

But it may be asked, where are our models, where any good designs? We confess at once the scarcity of both; a multitude of designs, indeed, are published, but we hope the only stone with which they will have to do, may be that on which the lithograph

is drawn. We seldom see a series of designs for "*Churches and Parsonage-houses*," but, as the head of our article bears witness, for "*Cottage villas, Parsonage-houses, &c.*" Now the scarcity of ancient models is easily accounted for. Previously to the Reformation, the parsonage-house being adapted to a celibate clergy, was, in most cases, extremely small; after the Reformation such glebe-houses as were not suffered to fall into decay through the robbery of tithe, were doubtless incorporated into larger structures, which the wants of a married clergy required. Many, doubtless, that fell into lay hands, became either farm-houses or the groundwork of residences for some of the tithe-endowed squires. The Rebellion, and above all, the sufferance of pluralists for a century and a half, together with the gross neglect of the pastor's office, served to ruin the mass of parsonages that were reared in the Elizabethan period. The writer in the "*Ecclesiologist*" has been more fortunate than ourselves in finding many early specimens. "Many such," he says, "exist in the different parts of the country, their character as ecclesiastical structures contributing, no doubt, to save them from demolition. We could mention several in the immediate neighbourhood of each other. At Barnack is a noble old rectory of the fourteenth century; two miles northward is another ancient one at Uffingham, and about as many more to the east is a third, at Market Deeping, a fine old building, which has lately been restored and enlarged in strict ecclesiastical style. There is an ancient example also at Enfield."

But still, though ancient models may be scarce, there is enough left for the ecclesiastical architect from which to form his designs. Indeed, if he masters the church, he will readily design a parsonage. The monastic remains of course supply him with many hints—hints especially on the subject of simplicity in their domestic portions. Thus, those who are familiar with the exquisite ruin of Tintern, while they remember the perfect harmony of the whole, and the unity between the more sacred and domestic parts, will also remember the strong and marked points of difference between these two portions. The moment we leave the house of prayer we have the same style, but it is exhibited in a plainer and simpler form; the gorgeousness of the church is at an end; richness, and ornament, and costly carving have all been exhausted thereupon: when we pass to the parts more peculiarly dedicated to human use, we see an instant modesty of architecture, if we may use the phrase; there is no waste upon mere embellishment; but, while all is strictly in keeping with the church, all is simple and comparatively unadorned. This striking contrast between the sacred and domestic portions, while the most perfect harmony is preserved, is a point which the architect, who

thinks while he looks, will bear in mind, in again connecting the style of the parsonage with that of the church.

And this very absence of ornament, this studied plainness in the pastor's house, will at once serve to appease those who think we are advocating the cause of architectural extravagance. We say plainly we want nothing wasted on ornament; the first point we insist upon is *solidity*; the extravagance of solidity we are ready to advise, because it is economy in the end. A parsonage should be built to *last*, for the very reason that it is a parsonage; thin walls are the cares and ruin of incumbents; it is cruelty to raise a cheap and flimsy structure which must somehow or other be maintained or rebuilt; and a dwelling which is to shelter a long line of parish priests, with the least waste of money, must be solid in the beginning. In many of our modern churches we are already smarting from the dearness of cheapness; we should profit by experience; leaky roofs and bulging walls warn us against a false economy; we speak as economists when we urge *solidity* at any cost: if the biography of many modern pasteboard parsonages were traced, the patchings of fifty years would be found to have well nigh doubled the original cost of the house. For the clergy's sake, therefore, it is a positive duty that none but solid glebe-houses should be built. And in thus so strongly insisting upon solidity on the score of economy, we are removing a great stumbling-block in the way of the ecclesiastical style; that style is supposed to be dear; so it is; but so is every style if it is used in a substantial way, with a view to the wear and tear of time and use; and yet, as every good style demands solidity, so every good style, whether heathen or Christian, is cheap in the end.

But the question of solidity leads us next to the question of *size*. Goldsmith seized hold of the perfect idea of a parsonage when he spoke of "the village pastor's *modest* mansion." A parish priest should be modestly housed; the "*via media*" in this, as in other matters, has been hard to hit; we are constantly in extremes; some parsonages are too small, some too large—some are halls, some are nutshells; there should be neither halls nor nutshells; a certain range should be allowed, but not the extremes which we now see. Small livings often want larger houses, and large livings smaller; the one are often underbuilt, the other overbuilt. As far as the law is concerned, the pastor's sober wants are not so much considered as his income. Now, though his clerical income should have some influence in determining the size of his house, it ought not to be the sole standard, unless another law be passed which shall enforce the advancement of all the clergy of large families to the large livings, and confine the clergy

of small families to the small livings. It is clear that we ought not to build either for a family of two, or for a family of fourteen. No house should cost as little as 400*l.*, none so much as 4000*l.* The law measures every thing by the value of the tithe; to a certain extent a wise law, but not without its defects when applied to the extremes in point of income, as it creates extremes in point of houses. To make a rough statement, without consideration of local circumstances, we should say no parsonage-house, exclusive of purchase of land if that is necessary, should cost less than 800*l.* nor more than 3000*l.*, supposing always that money to be well-laid out in good workmanship and good materials. Now the law, as it stands, allows a sum equal to only four years' income, to be raised on a living of 120*l.* per annum and under; that is, the house can cost no more than 480*l.*, unless funds be provided from societies or private sources. Unless, therefore, such money can be found, the house is not built; as the Bishop of Oxford says, "the law is a dead letter:" the result is, the incumbent rents a house. We will suppose him, then, to pay the moderate rental of 20*l.* per annum, he reduces thereby his 120*l.* to 100*l.* per annum; we will suppose the house to be rented for forty years, by that time the living will virtually have paid 800*l.* for the incumbent's house-room, and yet it has not secured him a house after all; he is where he was. Now it would seem reasonable to allow a larger sum to be raised on the smaller livings, where private assistance cannot be obtained, and the time for repayment extended in proportion. If the house were solidly built at first, we believe it would not entail upon the incumbents a farthing more in repair than a cheaper structure, which must of necessity lack this economical solidity; and we have shown, that as residence is wisely enforced, so the most moderate rental would, in forty years, devour a sum equal to the erection of a moderately-sized substantial glebe-house. Of course it is of the highest importance to obtain private help for the erection of parsonages; the present almost stationary condition of the endowments of the church, makes it a great matter not to trench upon those endowments, especially either in small livings, or in those where the population is excessive, and an immediate increase of clergy imperatively required. We should be glad to see all the Church-building Societies throw out a Parsonage-building branch.

But while the law gives but little help in reality to the small livings, it allows too large an outlay on the houses of large livings. Thus all which are above 1000*l.* per annum may spend to excess, by being able to raise a sum equal to three years' income. A living of 1500*l.* a year, for instance, may raise no less a sum than 4500*l.* A squire's house is the result. The over-small house is

“the failing that leans to virtue’s side;” but as we cannot promote a clergyman according to the size of his family, so something like a reasonable house should be provided, whatever the value of the living may be: he should not be forced to swing his children in hammocks, by way of making two rooms out of one. Much less ought the incumbent of a large living to be able to burst the bonds of moderation, and utterly to forget that character of sobriety which ought to break out as well in the appearance of his dwelling as his clothes. Every parish priest should be lodged in a comely and fitting house; and though we would allow a certain sliding-scale, according to the value of the living, yet we are far from thinking that a clergyman of 1000*l.* per annum is to spend twice as much upon his personal comfort as the clergyman of 500*l.*, or to have twice as large a parsonage. A large living does not warrant full-blown luxuriousness; the increase of means implies an increase of almsgiving; the well-supported incumbent is not to expand into the squire, nor to house himself in an immodest mansion, with graperies, and pineries, and all the superfluities which pamper the men of the world.

We confess that, of late years, the chief tendency has been to over-build; the extreme has been somewhat more on this, which is the worse side; much private money has been spent on parsonages, and the cruelty of over-building has been allowed for the sake of getting this private money. This, however, is but short-sighted wisdom: the funds of the church will be fearfully wasted, in future generations, on constant and extensive repairs; large modern parsonages are often weak, as well as large; solidity has been sacrificed to size; the strength of the walls to their length. While we may well welcome the expenditure of private means, yet that expenditure ought not to be a whit less scrupulously overlooked, else we shall be found to be only “gaining a loss.” The clergy of private fortunes are apt to build too selfishly, without regard to their successors; they like good houses to live in; they forget that the two pockets, the private and the clerical, from which they are able to draw, may not be possessed by their successors; that the golden bag may be gone, and only the silver left. If it is an evil state of things to inflict a large house, unsuited to a parish priest’s simple mode of life, on a large living, what must it be to overload a small living with a great imposing mansion?

The truth is, that the whole subject of parsonage-building wants a closer and stricter inspection, if the three important elements of *style*, *solidity*, and *size*, are duly to be kept in sight. Till we have an increase of bishops, we can hardly hope for the inspection that is required. The bishops have not the time to

wade through the details of the plans submitted them; the criticism is nominal; the seal of sanction a mere matter of form. We do not say that improvement is impossible even now; for, while an increase of bishops would secure a close and careful scrutiny of every plan, there are matters which bishops, whatever their number, must either take on trust, or refer to the judgment of professional men. According to Mr. Gibbons, whose work we have placed at the head of our article,

“The bishop has authority, and is in duty bound to visit each of the clergy in his diocese, and to view the state of repair of the churches, mansion, houses, fences, &c.; and if there be any dilapidations, he should admonish the parson to repair them out of the revenues of his benefice. In this respect, the archdeacon is the bishop’s assistant; he is called ‘*oculus episcopi*.’ The archdeacon ought personally to visit every church and mansion-house within his archdeaconry every three years, and cause them to be surveyed, and if dilapidated, should proceed, by ecclesiastical censures, to enforce repairs.”

Now, if the bishop is thus bound to notice the state of the parsonage, when it is built, whether himself or through his eye, the archdeacon, he is, of course, bound to see that a new parsonage is properly built at first. But an increase of bishops will not help them to understand the art of building. They might criticise excellently the size of the house, but of the material and workmanship they would know nothing; their archdeacons are of necessity no judges of timber; they have not been trained as builders or surveyors; they might look solemnly at bad weather-stone, and pronounce it good; they might launch unadvisedly into official eulogiums on American deal. If there were 200 bishops, they would all need a professional surveyor to help them in their judgment; and thus the bishops, as they are, might at once engage another eye besides the archdeacon’s, and enjoy at once the advantage of strictly professional advice. It would be a great comfort and a great security to the clergy, if a diocesan surveyor were employed to examine the contracts, &c., for new parsonages, and to report to the bishop upon the execution of the work, when all was finished. A gigantic amount of future dilapidations would be saved, if the erection of a sound substantial house were thus secured.

It is very possible to spend not only 800%. but 8000%. upon a house, and to have a bad, flimsy structure after all. The sum raised and spent is no criterion whatever of the excellence or the stability of the dwelling. We may see houses every day which cost 1000%. as sound, as stable, as likely to stand the war of time, as those that have cost double the sum; all depends upon the



choice of architect and builder. If this is left to the clergy, who are mostly but little versed in building business, they may be easily deceived. They are not the best men of business at any time. There are great mysteries in stone and wood; one plank to the bewildered incumbent looks the very brother of the other; his eye is not practised in quarries, and a porous stone is often comely to look upon. Even if we suppose him, by a rare chance, to have secured good materials for his house, there are many ways of putting those materials together; and the stability of the structure depends as much upon the mode of building as on the material employed. What greater picture of puzzlement or distress can be seen than a young incumbent with a contract in his hand, and a builder at his side? It would be a great release if he had the aid of a diocesan surveyor, a professional counsellor, to deal on his behalf with his architect and builder, to watch his interests, and to see that the work was duly and strongly done. Most gladly would he accede to any rule which provided for the payment of the expenses of that surveyor out of the sum raised for the parsonage. Both the bishop and the parochial clergy, by some such system, would feel themselves armed against the arts of designing, and the blunders of ignorant builders.

So, again, as to *style*; it is not to be expected that the bishops, whatever their number might be, should be always judges of style. In this case, while they might insist on the adoption of the ecclesiastical style, they might see by deputy, and by obtaining a third eye ably criticise therewith. In every diocese there might be some authorized architectural board, acting as the third "oculus episcopi," and reporting upon all plans, whether for churches or parsonage-houses. A "voluntary system" is at present at work, which might be moulded into an authorized form; and the various architectural societies now in existence might formally be constituted architectural boards, with full powers from the bishop. No church, no parsonage should be built without its seal of approval upon the design. It is only in such ways that we can secure structures worthy of their purpose; and we are sadly in want of some system of control. Tasteless men may indulge their tasteless freaks on private buildings; they may mash up the Grecian and Chinese, have Corinthian porticos and Egyptian doors, confuse the eye with verandahs and arabesques; it is but a private act of architectural lunacy; but ecclesiastical buildings claim ecclesiastical guardianship, and should be secure from the influence of perverse architectural conceptions. The tasteless incumbent should be unable to plant a perennial eyesore on his glebe; and as it is not his own house with which he deals, he has no right to make it or to do with it what he likes.

There must have been those in olden times who were wholly unmoved and unimpressed by the power of a sublime architecture, and cared not what form even a church assumed; the feeling for architecture, like that for music, is a gift; all persons have not every gift; there were others who were doubtless not only deficient in a sense, but, passing beyond the intermediate state of indifference, had a distorted and crooked sense, and would have rejoiced in the erection of offensive structures. But sound taste overruled both these states of mind, forced the indifferent to adopt a beauty which they could not feel, and violently suppressed the ebullitions of the active lover of the hideous. We accordingly see neither marks of indifference nor outbreaks of bad taste. Somehow or other, neither want of taste nor bad taste were suffered to develop themselves on the works of the church. So should it be now.

But till we approach something like system in these matters, we would simply recommend those who are willing to take our advice to put themselves in the hands of good ecclesiastical architects, on the understanding that the plans should be submitted to the inspection of some architectural society. Having taken these steps, let them above all refrain from meddling with the plans under the well-meant idea of improving them. Many a good design is marred by the inroads of an ill-informed amateur. If they build by contract, let them always avoid the lowest offer, and be careful to select builders of name and capital. It would be a great matter to throw parsonages, and schools, and almshouses, as well as churches, into the hands of ecclesiastical architects; for, with such a prospect of work before them, we should be able to secure and consecrate the services of the most able and powerful minds which are often unwillingly compelled to turn aside and disturb the nobler current of their thoughts by designing villas, banking-houses, and clubs. We should also rejoice to see the several architectural societies inviting attention to the parsonage-house in a more prominent and determined way. The cause of church-building is sufficiently advanced to warrant the immediate discussion of this kindred subject.

But we cannot indulge in expectations of a rapid increase of parsonages, nor behold the tide so decidedly and strongly set that way, without feeling that there is an imperative and increasing demand for a complete change in the law of dilapidation. The very mention of "dilapidation" is likely to give a galvanic shock to every clerical frame; every clerical reader, we are sure, is seized with a sharp mental twinge as his eye falls on that ominous word. An unfathomable abyss, a yawning, horrid, and insatiable gulf, in which guineas and bank-notes had been plunged for cen-

turies without diminishing its depth, seems to be revealed to the clerical imagination as the sound of "dilapidation" vexes his startled ear. We are apt to hear of "the glorious uncertainty of the law;" the superlative degree of uncertainty, the most uncertain of uncertainties, seems to be reached in this subject. Whether through the eccentricities or the ignorance of surveyors, there is no guarding against heavy sums for dilapidation. The question is involved in profound obscurity. Care and carelessness seem often to fare alike; and some incumbents grow desperate, and let their parsonage take its course, calculating that care or want of care may be equally costly in the end.

The fact is, there is an utter want of system in the whole matter of dilapidation; the Church has ceased to act in any official way; the visitation of the bishop or his archdeacon is now confined to the ecclesiastical person, not to the ecclesiastical house as well: we know not an instance in modern times in which an archdeacon has officially appeared as plaintiff in the case of dilapidations of a parsonage. It is a public matter, yet practically it is treated as a private matter; the in-coming and out-going parties are left to fight it out between themselves. The Church does not interfere; no authorized officer sees that justice is done at the death or departure of an incumbent, or that due dilapidations are claimed, or that the money so obtained is discreetly spent. The in-coming parson has to guard a public interest, and enters on a trust property; yet the Church, whose property it is, leaves him to his own devices. He is a stranger, commonly, in the neighbourhood; he chooses his surveyor as best he can; the out-going party in the same way chooses his surveyor; and each, with a great weight of legal responsibility, leaves the surveyors to wage the war. Both desire to be just; but by the word of their respective surveyor, whether just or unjust, they abide. The clergy are happily averse to law; rather than go to law they or their families sometimes pay an exorbitant sum to the in-coming party, demanded through the surveyor's counsel, and not known by the in-coming party to be exorbitant; sometimes the in-coming party receive less than should be asked for the same cause. Surveyors

"like our watches are;

None go just aright, yet each believes his own."

Let us just put a few instances, familiar to every clergyman, in which the present want of system is continually creating hardship and distress. A new incumbent enters upon his living, obtains the services of the best surveyor he can hear of, demands of the out-going party the sum awarded by the surveyor, gets what he demands, spends it to the best of his judgment, is careful of his

house, and, conscious of his faithful stewardship, thinks there will be but little to pay to his successor, either at his voidance of the living or at his death. At last, after a short incumbency, he dies. To the consternation of his family, an immense sum is claimed for dilapidation. It is proved that, in their relative's ignorance of the neighbourhood, he employed but an indifferent surveyor; that where he got 200*l.*, he ought to have got 400*l.* There is no remedy; the immense dilapidations must be paid. No blame whatever can possibly attach to the in-coming clergyman, who feels the hardness of the case upon his predecessor; but, being in possession of trust property, must be faithful to the Church.

Again, we will suppose an incumbent to have obtained for dilapidation what was right and fair; he spends it as his builder recommends; he thinks it judiciously spent; he continues to his death to be careful of his house. It is then discovered he had been ill advised in the *expenditure*; that the money was sufficient for needful repair, but had been ill laid out on unnecessary things. His family are the sufferers for an honest but misdirected expenditure.

Again, an incumbent dies insolvent. His successor can get no dilapidations whatever. The house is in a wretched state; he does what he can. After an incumbency of moderate length, he dies:—

"He is liable," says Mr. Gibbons, "not merely for the dilapidations which the premises have sustained during his own incumbency, but for every defect of reparation which may be found at the time the premises are surveyed, whether it accrued in the time of his predecessor, or, says Bishop Gibson, during the vacancy after the expiration of his incumbency. This, in some cases, the Bishop admits, may operate with hardship, especially when an incumbent dies insolvent, and the successor occupies the benefice but for a short time."

Now, we have not been inventing unlikely cases, nor building castles of misery in the air. They are such as constantly occur. While the present system, or rather want of system, lasts, they must continue to occur; and it is quite impossible to compute the sums which, after they have been paid, are wasted in injudicious repairs. Unless the clergy are apprenticed to builders, and take a surveyor's degree, we do not see how they can provide against the injustice which is undesignedly inflicted on them in all the various cases of dilapidation.

But, while we condemn as utterly false in principle, and utterly ruinous in effect, the *private* manner in which dilapidations are settled and spent, we are not disposed to expose a disease without

at any rate suggesting a remedy. The radical defect of the present system is the utter absence of any official control and surveillance on the part of the Church. Now, we spoke before of a diocesan surveyor; we showed the necessity of such an officer, in order that the Church may be sure the new parsonages are substantially and properly built; though in the case of money raised under Gilbert's Act, there is some sort of system of survey insisted on, a house of whatever size may be built by private means, and ill built too, and that house must be sustained. We would extend, then, the powers of this second "*oculus episcopi*;" and, as he has witnessed the original completion of the house, we would make it a part of his office to inspect every parsonage once every six years, to report upon its state, and to order, under authority of the bishop, all necessary repairs, which shall be executed within a year from the time of his survey. The expenses of the surveyor, who should be paid according to time, or at any rate not according to the amount of repair to be done, should be defrayed by the incumbents; and when we consider the security they would have against any large amount of dilapidations, if such a system were vigorously carried out, those expenses would be cheerfully paid. The immense sums now paid for dilapidations arise in a great measure from the fact, that such long periods intervene between one survey and another, in which decay, unchecked or unobserved, is gradually stealing on. No survey takes place *during* an incumbency; that process is confined to the beginning and the end; the incumbent is left to himself to mend or to let down during the whole of his career, and we know that the tendency is always to put off the evil day of repair. Twenty, or thirty, or forty years will often pass over the head of a parsonage without any inspection whatsoever. Here is the great mistake, and here the cause of great final expense and loss. A system of continual repair ought to be carried on; and if we leave the occupants to themselves, without any official and periodical oversight, it is against human nature to expect that "the stitch in time," which "saves nine," should be always scrupulously made.

If a six years' official inspection were made, and all necessary repairs immediately enforced, these three great advantages would ensue:—1. The prospect of the surveyor's visit would be a wholesome spur to a continual watchfulness over the building. His orders would be anticipated; all cracks, rents, leaks, &c. seasonably stopped; in short, every thing done at once that was desired, instead of lingering resolutions to mend, which give time for the increasing hunger of decay. 2. An incumbent would have security that at the time of his resignation or death there would

be but six years' damage to be made good, if the last orders of the surveyor were obeyed; and at the utmost but seven years' damage, if he resigned or died before the last orders could be obeyed. In short, no great sum would be required at any one time, no great degree of damage allowed, though lesser bills of repair would be scattered over the whole surface of an incumbency. This piecemeal expenditure is of course a far cheaper system to those who depend chiefly on a life-income, to say nothing of the advantage of timely repair to the building itself.

3. A remedy would be provided against the hardship suffered by incumbents who succeed insolvents. "The revenues," said Judge Bayley, "of the benefice are given as a provision, not for a clergyman only, but also for a suitable residence for that clergyman." While, then, the clergyman holds the benefice, he ought to be compelled *during* that tenure to spend a necessary portion of that revenue on repair; the diocesan surveyor's report being received by the bishop, the incumbent would be compelled, even if it came to a partial sequestration, to spend what was required. It would be no hardship, however poor he might be; for he holds, not private, but Church property; and because of his poverty, his parsonage must not be deprived of the use of those revenues which were given for its preservation. As it is, it is not till after his death that any thing is done; measures are then taken, when it is too late, to obtain from his private estate what ought to have come from his ecclesiastical estate; his ecclesiastical revenues have not been spent on his ecclesiastical house; those revenues are gone; his private estate yields nothing; and his successor inherits a ruin which he is forced to repair. If repair *in the course of tenure* were compulsory, it would be but demanding what is just from the incumbent, and securing justice to his successor.

It is true, as Mr. Gibbons says, that a visitation every third year is the duty of the bishop or of his "oculus," the archdeacon. But if the number of bishops were so great that they were able to effect a triennial visitation of every church and parsonage-house; and if their sense of duty was equal to that ability, still they would need the assistance of a professional surveyor. When the cracked wall opens its mouth, and cries for repair; when the bishop has to put up his umbrella in the bed-room to shield himself from the rain that streams through the leaky roof, the case is plain enough; but there are other less obvious, but not less fearful evils glazed and smoothed and plastered over, which the episcopal or archidiaconal eye is little likely to discern, and of which the incumbent himself may be ignorant. We want not to dispense with the bishop's visitation; on the contrary; for we

feel most strongly how valuable it would be, especially as regards the church; for he would there judge of matters quite beyond a surveyor's ken, peculiarly belonging to his spiritual office, such as the internal arrangement of the church, the regard or neglect of ecclesiastical proprieties, the provision or want of provision of fit seats for the poor. But we feel that he also wants, both for church and parsonage, an able surveyor to report on the state of the walls, roofs, timber, &c., and other such matters as he cannot be expected to understand, and must therefore sound and probe through some such deputy.

But we would still further extend the duties of this diocesan surveyor. At every voidance of a living, whether by death or resignation, it should be a part of his duty instantly to inspect the parsonage-house, and to report to the archdeacon the amount due for dilapidation. That amount ought to be officially claimed of the out-going party by the archdeacon, and by him paid over into the new incumbent's hands. Supposing a year allowed for the execution of the repairs: at the end of that time the diocesan surveyor ought to inspect the outlay of the dilapidation-money, take possession of the receipted accounts, and examine the manner of the execution of the work. The first survey should be paid by the out-going party, the second by the new incumbent; and in both cases the surveyor should be paid according to time, not according to the value of money demanded for or spent on repairs. This official survey on every voidance would save all personal collision between the out-going and in-coming parties; the Church would be duly acting through her own officer; and both parties would be better satisfied from the very official character of the process. A power of appeal against the surveyor's report should of course be allowed; though such handsome remuneration should be offered to the surveyor as to claim the services of the most conscientious and competent men.

If an accurate record were kept in the surveyor's office of the sums spent after the periodical surveys, and another record kept of the sums claimed, obtained, and spent at every voidance, we should have a perfect biography of every parsonage-house. The clergy would be able at once to see what had been done in the times of their predecessors. Such a record would be invaluable to all parties concerned.

Now even if the system of *periodical* surveys be deemed fanciful and impracticable, we feel there is the strongest call for an official survey of every parsonage-house at the death or departure of every incumbent. It ought no longer to be treated as a private matter, full, as it is, of personal unpleasantness and of insecurity, and from the very irregular manner in which these private

surveys are and ever will be conducted, involving Church property in much ruin and neglect. The system we have proposed, we would urge most strongly on the attention of our clerical readers, and we wish that those high in office would at any rate enter into the consideration of the subject, that some plan or some system might be quickly brought into action. Any system would be a boon. Whatever gives ease and security in temporal affairs to the parochial clergy in these times, is an important step. As the law is good which compels their residence in the heart of their flock, as the spirit is good which makes them desire what the law commands, so ought they to be protected from all hardship and uncertainty as regards their official places of residence. The due preservation of those houses with the least possible waste, and with the utmost possible justice to the various occupants, ought by some legal and authorized process to be secured. It is now time to give all encouragement to parsonage-building and parsonage-sustentation. We know how much the strength of the Church lies in the efficiency of the parochial system, and we are all rejoicing in the increasing vigour and regularity with which that machinery is acting; but the system is incomplete while the pastor has either no suitable residence, or while he may suffer a thousand hardships in its preservation.

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- ART. II.—1. *Life of JEAN PAUL F. RICHTER, compiled from various sources; together with his Autobiography, translated from the German.* 2 Vols. London, 1845.
2. *Walt and Vult; or, The Twins: translated from the Flegeljahre of JEAN PAUL, by the Author of "The Life of JEAN PAUL."* 2 Vols. Boston and New York, 1846.
3. *Flower, Fruit, and Thorn Pieces; or, The Married Life, Death, and Wedding of the Advocate of the Poor, Firmian Stanislaus Siebenkäs. By JEAN PAUL FRIEDRICH RICHTER. Translated from the German by EDWARD HENRY NOEL.* 2 Vols. London, 1845.

THE conquests achieved by literary genius over the impenetrable dulness which is, in the most enlightened, as well as in the darkest ages, the portion of the general mass of humankind, are, like other great conquests, not the work of a moment: the day on which the victory is decided and proclaimed is preceded by many a conflict of doubtful issue, and many a forlorn hope has to be led on before a breach can be effected in the massive fortifications of intellectual impassibility. Such forlorn hopes are the various attempts which have been made to introduce to the English reading public, by translations and biographies, one of the most distinguished literary characters of what may well be termed our German *brotherland*.

The first of these attempts proceeded, some twenty years ago, from no mean pen, that of the veteran of German criticism in the field of English literature. By two reviews of the two principal biographies of the author, the one authentic<sup>1</sup>, the other apocry-

<sup>1</sup> *Wahrheit aus Jean Paul's Leben*, which contains the autobiography of Jean Paul, in the form of humoristic lectures, extending, however, no further than his boyhood; followed by the continuation of his history by his intimate personal friend and literary confidant, Otto, who himself, also, did not live to complete it, having died a few months after Jean Paul, from grief, it is said, for the loss of his friend. The conclusion is from the pen of Dr. Förster, Jean Paul's son-in-law, to whom, after Otto's death, the completion both of his biography, and of the complete edition of his works, was committed. The first volumes of this biography were reviewed by Mr. Carlyle, in No. IX. of the *Foreign Review*. The article is reprinted in the second volume of Carlyle's *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*.

phal<sup>2</sup>, and by translations of several short pieces<sup>3</sup>, Mr. Thomas Carlyle brought the English public acquainted with the name of Jean Paul Friedrich Richter, and gave them some little "taste of his quality." He was followed by Kenney, from whose pen appeared at Dresden, 1839, a translation of "The Death of an Angel," and of a large number of short pieces, selected from the works of Jean Paul, together with "A Sketch of his Life and Character;" and now we have before us from an American pen, in an English reprint<sup>4</sup>, a "Life of Jean Paul," in two volumes, followed by a translation of his *Flegeljahre*, from the same pen; and furthermore a translation of *Siebenkäs*, from the pen of Mr. Noel. As we shall find opportunities of dropping an *obiter dictum* on the merits of these productions, we shall not detain our readers by criticisms upon the copies from that further and fuller acquaintance with the originals to which we shall endeavour, as far as is possible within our limits, to introduce them. Neither do we propose to enter into any details respecting the life of

<sup>2</sup> *Jean Paul Friedrich Richter's Leben, nebst Characteristic seiner Werke, von Heinrich Döring*, Gotha, 1826. Of this production Mr. Carlyle gave an account in No. XCI. of the Edinburgh Review; reprinted in the first volume of his Miscellanies. Döring himself published, in 1830, a second and enlarged, but scarcely improved edition of this biographical compilation, against which Jean Paul's widow cautioned the public by advertisement.

<sup>3</sup> A translation of Jean Paul's Review of Madame de Staël's Germany, was given by Mr. Carlyle in Nos. I. and IV. of Fraser's Magazine, and is reprinted in the second volume of his Critical and Miscellaneous Essays; and the third volume of his "German Romances" contains a translation of "Army-Chaplain Schmelzle's Journey to Flätz," and of the "Life of Quintus Fixlein."

<sup>4</sup> The English reprint forms part of "The Catholic Series," the object of which, we are told, is to "realize the idea of Catholicism in spirit." For this purpose, *inter alia*, an "Ideal Head" is placed on the title-page of each number, which, in our simplicity, we were on the point of mistaking for a bad likeness of Jean Paul, when our eye was caught by the announcement that it is "taken, with considerable modifications, from De la Roche's picture of Christ." As a specimen of the extent to which the *galimatias* of infidelity is carried, even in England, we transcribe the following explanatory remarks on this "Ideal Head:"—"An attempt was previously made to symbolize the idea of spiritual Self-reliance and Progression, but nothing was produced that was deemed adequately expressive, or applicable, as a characteristic of the series; hence, the present engraving was adopted, not *specially* because it was intended by the artist to express the idea of Jesus Christ, (for that must always be imaginary,) but as an embodiment of the highest ideal of humanity, and *thus* of a likeness of Jesus Christ, as its highest historical realization. In prefixing this engraving to each number of the Catholic Series, it is intended—by the absence of passion—by the profound intellectual power—the beneficent and loveful nature, and the serene and spiritual beauty therein portrayed—to awaken in the beholder a self-consciousness of the like qualities in a greater or less degree; and to imply the necessity of aspiration and progress, in order to unfold and realize the nature which the artist has essayed to express in this ideal image; and as a contributory means to this end, the Catholic Series is issued." If the world should last long enough for a future antiquary to collect specimens of the different *genera* and *species* of "Catholicity," which have been spawned by the nineteenth century, the collection will, we fancy, turn out something exceedingly rare and curious.

Jean Paul, of which as much as can be compressed into a brief sketch has already been told, and well told, by Mr. Carlyle<sup>5</sup>. The history of genius working out its powers under the pressure of worldly disadvantages, and struggling into greatness and fame through a long continuance of overwhelming adversity, is indeed an interesting and a highly-instructive theme: but still more interesting, and replete with instruction of a yet deeper sort, is the history of a mind groping through the darkness of human systems after the light of heaven's truth; endued with an instinct of truth too powerful to be deceived by the false lights by which philosophic thought and poetic enthusiasm are endeavouring among our German neighbours to supply the absence of the torch of God's truth, and yet kept back from seeking the light of that truth where alone it can be found, by prejudices, the existence of which is to be laid in a very great measure at the door of those who announce themselves to the world as its depositaries and heralds.

Such a mind was that of Jean Paul. In his earliest years, on the verge of boyhood, a deep touch of religious sentiment accompanied his first communion; but when the luxuriant growth of his mind and heart in youth, and the full ripe power of all his faculties in manhood, would have required the strong meat of Christian grace and truth to sustain them, the leanness and dryness of Lutheran orthodoxy failed to satisfy the cravings of his mind, while the cold and barren forms of Lutheran worship acted like the negative pole of the magnet upon his warm heart and his deeply poetic soul. Thus became he an easy prey to the seductions of that idolatry of genius which was at its height in Germany when Jean Paul's mind awoke to the great questions of life; and which, when afterwards by his own literary productions he rose into notice, placed himself also among the idols in the temple of literary fame. But although both a worshipper and an idol in that temple, neither its worship nor the faith on which it was founded could quench his soul's deep thirst for a higher and more heavenly life; and we find him who had become a free-thinker as soon as he began to think at all, in the ripeness of his manhood, and when he was full of years, before the gates of death and the portals of the invisible world, struggling to give to that world reality within his breast. One of his most interesting works, written in the very acme of his literary strength and fame, treats of the great question of the immortality of the soul; and a second and still maturer work on the same subject was commenced by

<sup>5</sup> In the article in No. IX. of the Foreign Review, reprinted in vol. ii. of his Critical and Miscellaneous Essays.

him on the day on which he was bereaved of his only son, a hopeful youth of nineteen, whose premature end was accelerated by spiritual struggles surpassing his bodily strength. This latter work especially, which was left incomplete, when, five years after, death overtook the author in the blindness occasioned by the sorrow of his bereavement, is a touching attestation of the flame of hope and faith which was glimmering in his soul, and which longed for the heavenly oil that would have kindled it into dazzling brightness. As we behold the unfinished manuscript of that work laid upon Jean Paul's bier by his mourning friends and admirers, we seem to see the soul, which in its flight from its earthly tenement left behind these fragments of its inward workings, passing over the threshold of the unseen world with that mighty question on its lips, there to receive a full and an eternal answer.

As is not unfrequently the case with men, whom their high gifts and their singular energy of character mark as chosen instruments for the accomplishment of great moral and intellectual reforms, Jean Paul's literary and social career commenced with opposition against the existing state of things. For it is the manner, the instinct, so to speak, of men of that stamp to chant forth into the world, forcibly and without disguise, whatever is for the time being the key-note of their inner life; whence it happens that what in after years of moral and intellectual maturity proves a sweet and salutary fruit of wisdom, is in earlier years not unfrequently obtruded upon the public with all the sourness and asperity which belongs to an unripe state. In few instances has this truth been more strikingly illustrated than in that of our author; the gentle mellowness of whose later works forms the most extraordinary contrast with the uncouth crabbedness of his youthful productions; while the position in which he found himself at the commencement of his literary career, at the age of nineteen, "at hand-grips with actual want," was one which to an ordinary mind would have suggested any course in preference to that of provoking the world's hostility by a series of keen and bitter satires. Such, nevertheless, were the first-fruits of Jean Paul's genius; and in the preface to them in the edition of his collected works, which he began to prepare after he had been an author for forty years, he frankly condemns them on this very account. He appears almost reluctant to reproduce them, yielding in fact to the curiosity of the public as to the first lucubrations of a favourite author; but even with this excuse he cannot make up his mind to republish them in their original form: he says he found it indispensably necessary to "reduce the coarse-grained gray salt" of his wit "to a finer state," or "to exchange it for white salt altogether." He chides his former self in good earnest, for that "in

two entire tomes no room was found for even a single line of gentle love;" and he sets his wit to work to account for a phenomenon so inconsistent with the tone of his later writings.

"The *Juvenilia* of Satire are like the iambics of Stolberg—mostly *Juvenalia*. Hence there are in this youthful little work no other flowers than humble violets, which, like other violets in the spring season, have drastic properties; for, in fact, all spring flowers are dark-coloured and poisonous. Let it be remembered, then, that it is the reader himself that calls for these violets, the juvenile relics of a novelist whom he has never known otherwise than gentle, even as love itself. After all, however, this book of satires will represent nothing worse than the relic of a *Petrarcan* cat, especially since it has the electric skin, and the sparkling eyes, and the sharp claws of the feline race; precisely as at Padua they still show the skeleton of a cat with which the love-sick Petrarca was wont to play."—*Jean Paul, sämtliche Werke*, t. i. p. xiii.

The first objects of Jean Paul's satire were authors and reviewers. As regards the former, he puts the question, "How can one manage to write a great deal?" to which he makes answer:

"Whoever wishes to endue his fist with necessary fruitfulness, let him proceed thus: Let all the ideas which embellished his first productions be brought out in later productions in new characters and under a new disguise, putting upon them, like upon old hats, a new gloss. Whatever ideas chance may throw up in his brain,—those which rise at the first moment of waking; those which form the vanguard of nightly dreams; those which shoot up in the heat of conversation; those which he picks up in familiar chit-chat, or snatches accidentally from some torn scrap of paper; those which turn up in idle moments; or those which, scarcely emerged from darkness, are trying to escape from memory's gripe, as young partridges run from the nest as soon as they are hatched,—all these ideas let him invest with a paper-body, quicken them with ink, scrape them on a heap, and carry them to market in any cart he can get. By thus listening for the light step of each idea, and forthwith shutting it up with others in a book,—by scraping from the brain every shooting crystal of thought, and inflating with words every dumb frog, the driest matter will swell into an octavo volume; every stone will be turned into an intellectual child, and into bread in the bargain; every head will become the patriarch of a sister-library, and fill its own book-case by its own fertility. At last such an author will be unable to help laughing at the writers who produce so little, and who have to rub their foreheads so hard till their ideas begin to flow. . . .

"Piracy is the soul of copious writing. In the republic of letters, as at Sparta, those thieves are in high esteem who know how to hide their long fingers in a glove; and the journals tie around their temples wreaths and bands very different from those which the criminal code of

Charles V. fastens round the necks of common thieves. . . . The greedy instinct with which these inventive copyists cause to be printed for the benefit of mankind under their names what was originally printed under the author's name only, and procure their subsistence, not from other men's coffers, but simply from other men's books, has to crawl through various paths towards their aim, and to enwrap their merit in various shapes. One soldiers together the '*dissecta membra poetarum*' with his own rhymes into a Horatian '*humano capiti cervicem pictor equinam*,' &c., or cuts for himself in the oak forests of Klopstock a little wooden or corken pegasus or hobby-horse, or does as those who melted down the fragments of horses of gilt brass found in Herculaneum into an entirely new nag. . . . Another, like thieves in England, puts on a mask, writing anonymously, and steals other men's honey, being defended against the stings of its rightful owners by a wire-mask and gloves. Another disguises his selfishness under the semblance of disinterestedness, steals the fruit of the sweat of other men's brows for the sake of imparting it to the public, and enriches himself by impoverishing them through sheer philanthropy; as Pockocke relates that the Egyptian thieves smear over their naked bodies with oil, to avoid their being laid hold of in their nocturnal expeditions. Some steal from the author nothing except the book itself, which they fit up with a preface and an index of their own; in other words, with an improved head and an improved tail; as Scheuchzer paints the unicorn,—the body of a horse, with a horn on the forehead and the tail of an ass. Others, again, are fishing in the familiar circles of friendship for the stray thoughts of great men; make them drop their cheese by fair speeches, like the cunning fox in the fable; and store up in their memory the fruit of other men's lips for their next publication. . . . Nay, often the pupil robs the master, and cheats the world with his borrowed greatness, until the true sun rises and causes the moon to turn pale; or he locks up his stolen ware till the death of the owner, intending by patchwork of his own to prevent its being recognized; even so a she-wolf once suckled Romulus, the son of a god. This accounts for the fact that an author is often so much worse than his book, and the child so unlike the father; that those who write for the amusement of a whole public of readers are often mute in society; even as crocodiles are not themselves eatable, but only their eggs."—*Grönländische Prozesse, s. W.*, t. i. p. 24—27.

In this wild strain,—which we have been obliged to chasten here and there, the salt of our author being, in spite of his own expurgations, occasionally still too gray to be set upon an English table,—the literally starving son of the Muses ran on through four volumes of satires upon all classes and conditions of men, under the grotesque titles "Greenland Lawsuits," and "Extracts from the Devil's Papers."

From this mood, which he himself characterized afterwards as the "vinegar state" of his mind, he passed, after the lapse of nine

years, into a kindlier and healthier state, in which he exchanged the character of satirist for that of novelist. The transition was marked in his literary career by the "Life of the cheerful little Schoolmaster, Maria Wuz, in Meadvale; a kind of idyl," in which, as Jean Paul says in his preface to the second edition of the "Invisible Lodge," the sweetness of the honey was still mixed with some acid; being written before the "Invisible Lodge," although published in the form of an appendage to it. Wuz, the hero of this *opusculum*, is a village schoolmaster, who has the happy knack of making the most of small comforts against the ills of life, and finding contentment in small enjoyments. His biography, barren of incident, is a still life humorously drawn, in which the disposition of mind which at this period appears to have been the most enviable of all in the eyes of Jean Paul, is variously displayed; a disposition which

"was not resignation, that submits to evil because it is *inevitable*; not callousness, that endures it *without feeling*; not philosophy, that digests after *diluting* it; not religion, that overcomes it in the *hope of a reward*: it was simply the recollection of his warm bed. 'This evening, at any rate,' said he to himself, 'however they may annoy and bully me all day long, I shall be lying under my snug coverlet, and poking my nose quietly into the pillow, for the space of eight hours.' And when at length, in the last hour of a day of crosses, he got between his sheets, he would shake himself and draw up his knees close to his body, and say to himself, 'Don't you see, Wuz, 'tis over, after all.'" — *Leben des vergnügten Schulmeisterlein Maria Wuz, s. W.*, t. vii. p. 135.

After accompanying the possessor of this happy temperament through the different stages of his life, among which his courtship and marriage hold a conspicuous place, Jean Paul adds "seven last words to the reader," from which we extract the following, as the moral which by it he intended to convey:

"O ye good men! how is it possible that we can grieve each other even for a short half-hour! Alas! in this dangerous winter night of life; in this chaotic multitude of unknown beings separated from us, some by depth and some by height, in this world of mysteries, this tremulous twilight which enwraps our little ball of flying dust,—how is it possible that lone man should not embrace the only warm breast which holds a heart like his own, and to which he can say, 'Thou art as I am, my brother; thou sufferest as I suffer, and we may love each other?' Incomprehensible man! rather thou wouldst gather daggers, and force them in thy midnight existence into the breast of thy fellow, which a gracious Heaven designed to afford warmth and defence to thine own! Alas! I look out over the shaded flower-meads, and remind myself that over them six thousand years have passed with their high

and noble men, whom none of us had the opportunity of pressing to his heart; that many thousand years more may yet follow, leading over them men of heavenly, perhaps sorrowful, minds, who will never meet us, but at most our urns, and whom we should be so glad to love; and that only a few poor decades of years bring before us a few fleeting forms, which turn their eyes towards us, and bear within them the brother-heart for which we are longing. Embrace those hieing forms; your tears alone will make you feel that you have been loved.

“And even this, that a man’s hand reaches through so few years, and gets so few kind hands to lay hold of, must excuse him for writing a book: his voice reaches further than his hand; his love, hemmed in a narrow circle, diffuses itself into wider spheres; and when he himself is no more, still his thoughts hover, gently whispering, in the paper-foilage, whose rustling and shade, transient like other dreams, beguile the weary hours of many a far distant heart. And this is my wish, though I scarcely dare hope it. But if there be some noble, gentle soul, so full of inward life, of recollection, and of fancy, that it overflows at the sight of my weak imaginings,—that in reading this history it hides itself and its gushing eye, which it cannot master, because it here finds again its own departed friends, and bygone days, and dried-up tears; oh, then,—thou art the loved soul of which I thought while I was writing, though I knew thee not; and I am thy friend, albeit I never was of thine acquaintance.”—*Wuz, Leben, s. W.*, t. vii. pp. 177—179.

Such was the frame of mind of Jean Paul at the opening of the second and brighter part of his literary career, during which he produced—besides the unfinished tale of “*The Invisible Lodge*,” the hero of which is, at the close of the third volume, left in a prison, into which he had been cast by some unexplained blunder—his three most highly-finished and most celebrated novels, “*Hesperus*,” “*Siebenkäs*,” and “*Titan*.”

The first of these, “*The Invisible Lodge*,” is an attempt to exhibit human nature under the effects of an early development of mind and heart, free from all the corrupting influences of the world, and directed towards the worship of God in nature. For this purpose, the author has had recourse to a whimsical device, which will at once remind our readers of the strange story of Caspar Hauser, and which, it is far from improbable, may have suggested the first idea of that romance in real life. Gustavus, the hero of the “*Invisible Lodge*,” is educated for the first ten years of his life in a subterraneous *pædagogium*, with no other living associate but his tutor and a white poodle dog. On his eleventh birth-day the child emerges from this *hypochthonian* nursery and schoolroom, through a long passage which opens in the side of the mountain upon the upper world; with many precautions to prevent injury to his eyesight and his physical health, and



under the accompaniment of music, to heighten the excitement of his soul. From the preparatory communications which his tutor had made to him, he is led to imagine that this passage out of the subterraneous world is death, and the upper world into which he enters, heaven, where he meets his parents and other persons whom hitherto he had known only by hearsay. The further progress of his education is conducted by Jean Paul in person, who quaintly enough introduces his real self, every now and then, into his own fictions, and in due time he is launched into a military academy, the "Sandhurst" of the imaginary principality of "Scheerau," which might be rendered "Clipfield," and seems to derive its name from the continual clipping which its loyal subjects have to undergo for the benefit of the princely exchequer.

What might have been the ultimate moral which Jean Paul intended to work out from these strange beginnings, it is impossible to tell: as it is, the hero, educated under the earth by his first, and in the clouds by his second tutor, descends, more naturally than surprisingly, by an Icarian fall, into a considerable moral quagmire, from which it appears that the author intended afterwards to extricate him; but probably he found that he had, with more truth than he himself suspected in his tale, marred his own theory of life, of which the subterraneous training was the first chapter, and had no heart to resume a fiction which required throughout magic lights to sustain it, and the enchantment of which was effectually broken. That he never quite relinquished the thought of rescuing his Gustavus from the black hole in which he so mysteriously lodged him, and pouring the balm of happier hours into the heart of a somewhat imaginative young lady, who is dying with love for him,—a favour which, it must be confessed, he little deserves,—is evident from the "apology" which he prefixed to this tale in the edition of his collected works:—

"Notwithstanding," he says, "my intentions and promises, it remains after all a ruin born. Thirty years ago I might have put the end to it with all the fire with which I commenced it; but old age cannot finish, it can only patch up, the bold structures of youth. For supposing even that all the creative powers were unimpaired, yet the events, intricacies, and sentiments of a former period seem no longer worthy of being continued."—*Die Unsichtbare Loge, Entschuldigung*, s. W., t. v. pp. 7, 8.

A far more highly finished performance was that which followed within three years after "The Invisible Lodge," and which placed Jean Paul at once on the lofty eminence which he ever after maintained, in the very first rank of literary genius; viz.

his "*Hesperus*," or "*Five-and-forty Dog-mails*." The latter title has reference to the humorous mystification which the author perpetrates upon his readers, by pretending all through, that the story, which is actually in progress while he writes it, is brought to him by a *dog*, who carries the successive chapters suspended from his neck, as a kind of contemporary biographical mail; and at the end, to his great surprise, Jean Paul finds himself involved as an actor in the plot of the story, he turning out to be a mysterious personage which has been missing all along. This conceit, however, which is drawn round the story like a festoon, from which numberless jokes and satirical hits are playfully suspended, has nothing whatever to do with the main design. The leading idea which is worked out through the whole of this complicated tale, full of trying moral situations, is to represent the conflict between good and evil, between the coarse and selfish passions of the common herd of mankind, and the higher and nobler aspirations of what may aptly be termed the aristocracy of the mind and heart. In this conflict the higher souls are victorious, but they can be so only by self-sacrifice: the thought that lies at the foundation, is an essentially Christian thought, but embodied in a poetic fiction: virtue is put in the place of Christ, and has both its passion and its resurrection. Hence the title "*Hesperus*," as signifying both the evening and the morning star; the whole being, in the wildest strains of German romance, an echo of that word of the Psalmist, "Weeping may endure for a night, but joy cometh in the morning."

The central character of the story, on which the whole plot hinges, appears but rarely on the stage. He is an English nobleman, Lord Horion, whose heart spent itself in early life in one ardent passion for a beloved wife: a short season of intense happiness is succeeded by a long life of cold desolation; the only object left him on which to bestow his affections, his son, being blind, and therefore a perfect cipher in the life of a man, the tendency of whose mind is essentially practical. This high-toned character, free from every earthly affection, because all he loved moulders in the tomb, independent of man's fear or favour, undertakes in a small German principality, with whose hereditary sovereign he has formed a connexion, not indeed the office of prime minister,—that is occupied by a premier of the ordinary cast,—but the function of a ruling genius, enacting a kind of providence for the good of mankind. To him, the other leading characters of the story, whose movements he directs, often unknown to them, look up with reverential awe: but the presumption of a short-sighted mortal, taking in hand the direction of human affairs, is fearfully avenged upon him; for in the end

all his plans, cherished for years, are in the most imminent danger of being altogether frustrated: he appears once more as the *Deus ex machinâ*, to set all right again; and having done so, and secured the perpetuity of his arrangements by an oath, which was to be binding till his return, he, like another Lycurgus, disappears for ever, not only from the country for the benefit of which he has been labouring, and from the prince whose government he has found the means of controlling for good, but from life itself: he retires to the tomb of his early love, and there dies by his own hand.

Of the other characters of Hesperus, the principal, and by far the most brilliant, is Clotilda, Jean Paul's ideal of the female character. She is related to Lord Horion by her mother's side, and becomes during a period of blindness, when he requires her aid to carry on his correspondence, the depository of all his secrets, under the guarantee of an oath, which places it out of her power to reveal them even to save the life of her own brother. The loftiness of her spirit, united to the meekest gentleness of heart; the exquisite delicacy with which she avoids all contact with the low intrigues and the base passions by which she is surrounded on all sides; the heroic firmness and consistency of her conduct, sustained by a deep religious faith, under the severest trials; her self-denying, self-sacrificing spirit, which in her case does not degenerate into suicidal enthusiasm; the holy resignation with which she surrenders her dearest affections at the call of duty; the high poetry of her soul, combined with a clear and calm judgment, place her, as a perfectly faultless character, on a superhuman eminence, high above the other characters, not of Hesperus only, but of all the works of Jean Paul. In its delineation he attained a point of perfection, which even his own pen could not afterwards exceed. In Titan he painted a man of much higher cast than the male hero of his Hesperus, but Clotilda stands unequalled and unrivalled among all his heroines.

The other two characters in Hesperus which rise above the crowd, are Victor and Emmanuel. The former, the putative son of Lord Horion, having been exchanged in infancy for his blind child by the father himself, is by him placed in the office of physician to the prince, in which he is not only to minister to the bodily health of the court, but to watch and to influence its contending tides and currents, in the interest of the philanthropic plans of his supposed father. He, too, is the depository of Lord Horion's secrets, except as to his own birth, and under the same guarantee; and partly by the intricacies of his position, partly by the almost feminine softness of his feelings, and the too great pliancy and versatility of his character, he becomes entangled in

moral difficulties of the most formidable nature. He is sustained throughout by Clotilda, under whose influence he is brought not only by their common possession of Lord Horion's secrets, but by the ties of the most ardent and mutual love. Without that support it is evident throughout that his character would be unequal to his position; and as the hero of the tale, which he is intended to be, he must be pronounced a failure.

Emmanuel stands aloof altogether from the plot and progress of the novel. He is an Englishman by birth, and having been employed by Lord Horion as the tutor of Clotilda, Victor, and several other persons involved in the story, is also in the secret; but he takes no active part. He is a visionary enthusiast, full of years, and rapidly approaching his death, of which he has a mysterious presentiment: he is introduced into the story as an impersonation of what was, to Jean Paul's conception, the highest and purest faith, great depth of religious sentiment, interwoven with a few scattered rays, and no more, of Christian truth, consuming itself in efforts to emancipate the soul from the trammels of earth, by the apprehension of a higher and a perfect state beyond the grave; for which, however, he has recourse, not to the volume of revealed truth, but to bold flights of imagination. Feelings, often morbid, drawn from the deepest depths of the human heart, and soarings, often presumptuous, of poetic fancy to the utmost boundaries of human thought, such are the ingredients of the religion which Emmanuel preaches and practises in his ascetic solitude, and the flame of which he keeps alive in the hearts of those under his influence, especially of Victor and Clotilda, the latter of whom alone, being a communicant of the Church, holds her high faith in a Christian form, and under the Christian name.

"I cannot," exclaims Emmanuel, in one of his ecstasies, "any more adapt myself to the earth; the water-drop of life has become flat and shallow; I can move in it no longer, and my heart longs to be among the great men who have escaped from this drop. O my beloved, listen to this hard heaving of my breath; look upon this shattered body, this heavy shroud which infolds my spirit, and obstructs its step.

"Behold here below both thy spirit and mine adhere to the ice-clod which congeals them, and yonder all the heavens that rest one behind another are discovered by the night. There in the blue and sparkling abyss dwells every great spirit that has stripped off its earthly garment, whatever of truth we guess at, whatever of goodness we love.

"Behold how tranquil all is yonder in infinitude!—how silently those worlds are whirling through their orbits, how gently those suns are beaming! The Great Eternal reposes in the midst of them, a deep fountain of overflowing and infinite love, and gives to all rest and

refreshment; in His presence stands no grave."—*Hesperus*, s. W., vol. viii. pp. 274, 275.

Besides the higher philosophy of life, pointing to another and an eternal world, there is in *Hesperus* an undercurrent of political feeling, an advocacy of civil liberty, in opposition to the miserable despotism under which at that period the petty states of Germany were groaning, which, no doubt, had its share in rendering the work as popular as it was from the very first. Of the keenness of Jean Paul's tone on this subject our readers may judge by the following extract:

"Not in colleges and republics only, but in monarchies too, speeches enough are made—not to the people, but to its *curatores absentis*. And in like manner there is in monarchies liberty enough, though in despotic states there is perhaps more of it than in them and in republics. In a truly despotic state, as in a frozen cask of wine, the spirit (of liberty) is not lost, but only concentrated from the watery mass around into one fiery point. In such a happy state liberty is only divided among the few who are ripe for it, that is, the sultan and his bashaws; and this goddess (which is more frequently to be seen in effigy than even the bird phoenix) indemnifies herself for the smaller number by the greater value and zeal of her worshippers; and that the more easily, as the few epopts and mystagogues which she has in such states enjoy her influence to a degree far beyond what a whole people can ever attain unto. Like inheritances, liberty is reduced by the number of participants; and, for my part, I am convinced that he would be most free who should be free alone. A democracy and an oil-painting can be placed only on a canvas in which there are no knots or uneven places; but a despotic state is a piece done in relief,—or, stranger still, despotic liberty lives, like canary-birds, only in high cages; republican liberty, like linnets, only in low and long ones.

"A despot is the practical reason of a whole country; his subjects are so many instincts which rebel against it, and must be subdued. To him alone, therefore, the legislative power belongs (the executive to his favourites). Even men who had no higher pretensions than that they were men of sense, like Solon or Lycurgus, had the legislative power all to themselves, and were the magnetic needles which guided the vessel of the state; but a regular despot, the enthroned successor of such men, is almost entirely made up of laws, both his own and other people's; and, like a magnetic mountain, he draws the state vessel after him. 'To be one's own slave is the hardest of slaveries,' says some ancient, at least some Latin, writer; but the despot imposes upon others the easier form of slavery only, and the harder one he takes upon himself. Another author says, *Parere scire, par imperio gloria est*; so that a negro slave acquires as much glory and honour as a negro king. *Servi pro nullis habentur*; which is the reason why political ciphers are

as little sensible of the pressure of the court atmosphere as we are of that of the common atmosphere. On the contrary, political entities, that is, despots, deserve their liberty on this account, if on no other, that they are so well able to feel and to appreciate its value. A republican in the higher sense of the word, *ex. gr.* the Emperor of Persia, whose cap of liberty is a turban, and his tree of liberty a throne, fights behind his military *propaganda* and his *sans-culottes* for liberty with an ardour such as the ancient authors require and represent in our colleges. Nay, we have no right whatever to deny to such enthroned republicans the magnanimity of a Brutus, until they shall have been put to the test; and if good rather than evil deeds were chronicled in history, we should, among so many shahs, chans, rajahs, and chalifs, have to point out by this time many a Harmodius, Aristogiton, Brutus, &c., who did not shrink from paying for *his* liberty (for slaves only fight for that of others) the dear price of the life of otherwise good men, and even of his own friends."—*Hesperus*, s. W., vol. viii. p. 196—198.

After rising as high as he did in his *Hesperus*, we are disappointed to find our author descend to a composition so full of false sentiment, of doubtful morality, and of sporting with life, death, and eternity, as the "Flower, Fruit, and Thorn Pieces; or, the Wedded Life, Death, and Espousals of the poor counsellor, F. St. Siebenkäs<sup>6</sup>." The foundation on which Jean Paul raised the superstructure of one of the strangest and wildest stories that ever entered the human brain, is a duplicate man, i. e. two men so perfectly alike, internally and externally, as to enable the one to take the place of the other without the possibility of discovery, merely by affecting lameness, that being the only point in which one differs from the other, and which prevents the exchange of individualities from becoming a matter of mutual accommodation. But the author shall himself introduce the pair to our readers:

"Such a royal alliance of two strange souls has not often occurred. The same contempt for the fashionable child's-play of life; the same hatred of littleness combined with tenderness to the little; the same

<sup>6</sup> By rendering the German *Armen Advocat*, "Advocate of the poor," the English translator has dropped out an equivocation which the merry author played off on his very title-page. The *Advocat* answers to our barrister or counsellor, and the *Armen Advocat* means a counsellor whose practice lies among the poor; but in the oblique case, in which it stands on the title-page, it involves the double sense of a counsellor who is himself poor. We therefore suggest that it should be rendered—after the analogy of "poor house," "poor doctor"—by "poor counsellor." In our compound word "poor-law commissioner" this double sense does not exist, owing to the intervening word "law," and to the handsome salaries which that law puts into the pockets of the commissioners.

abhorrence of mean selfishness; the same laughter-love in the fair bedlam earth; the same deafness to the world's, but not to honour's, voice;—these were no more than the first faint lines of similitude which constituted them one soul lodged in two distinct bodies. Neither is the fact that they were foster-brothers of study, and had the same sciences, even to jurisprudence, for their nurses, of any great weight, seeing that frequently the very similarity of studies acts upon friendship as a deleterious dissolvent. Nay, even the discrepancy occasioned by their opposite polarity,—Siebenkäs being more inclined to forgive, Leibgeber to punish; the former being more of a Horatian satire, the latter more of an Aristophanic pasquil, full of unpoetic and poetic harshnesses,—is sufficient to account for their being suited as they were. But as female friendship rejoices in likeness of apparel, so their souls wore the undress and morning-suit of life,—their two bodies, I mean,—altogether of the same trim, colour, button-holes, lining, and cut; both had the same brilliancy of eye, the same sallowness of countenance, the same stature, leanness, and all the rest; for indeed nature's prank in producing likenesses is much more common than is generally supposed, because it is remarked only when some prince or other great man is imaged forth in a bodily counterpart. I could have wished, therefore, that Leibgeber had not been limping, and thereby given occasion to distinguish him from Siebenkäs; more especially as the latter had cleverly abraded and extirpated the mark by which he too might have been distinguished from the other, with the cautery of a live toad burst upon the mark, which consisted in a pyramidal mole by the side of his left ear, in the shape of a triangle, or of the zodiac light, or of a comet's tail reversed; in fact, of an ass's ear. Partly through friendship, and partly through relish for the mad scenes which were occasioned in every-day life by their being mistaken for one another, they wished to carry their algebraic equation yet further, by bearing the same Christian and surnames. But this involved them in a contest of flattery; for each insisted on becoming the other's namesake, until at last they settled the dispute by each retaining the name taken in exchange, after the Otaheitean fashion of exchanging names together with the hearts. As it is already some years since my hero has had his honest name filched from him by his name-thief of a friend, and has got the other honest name instead, I know no help for it in my chapters, but am obliged to produce him in my muster-roll, even as I presented him at the threshold, as Firmian Stanislaus Siebenkäs, and the other as Leibgeber (i. e. 'Bodygiver'),—although I want no critic to tell me that the more comical name Siebenkäs (i. e. 'Sevencheese') would be better suited to the humorous visitor, with whom it is my intention by-and-by to bring the world better acquainted than even with myself."—*Siebenkäs*, s. W., t. xiv. pp. 31—33.

We have selected this passage, both as the key to that thimble-riggery and exchange of persons upon which the whole plot of

Siebenkäs is founded, and as a sample of the exuberance of thought which constantly heaps figure upon figure, and compresses the most grotesque contrasts and the most striking analogies within the briefest compass of speech. This of itself renders it extremely difficult, both to understand Jean Paul in the original, and to translate him into any other language; and the latter difficulty is much increased by his frequent intercalation of parenthetical thoughts, by his copious use—copious with all German writers, but more copious with Jean Paul than with any other,—of compound words of his own manufacture, and by the extraordinary manner in which the different significations of one and the same word, however widely apart they may lie, are pressed close together into the service of the author's versatile wit. Of this there is a remarkable instance in the passage just quoted. The opposite character of the temperaments of the two friends, the one being more inclined to mildness, the other to severity, is assigned as one of the causes of the attachment which they felt for each other; and to the same mutual attachment the author refers the striking similarity of their outward persons. Upon these two simple ideas the author contrives to engraft, first, the image of the mutual attraction of opposite magnetic poles; secondly, the antithesis between "Horatian satires" and "Aristophanic pasquils;" thirdly, the punning criticism of describing the latter as "full of unpoetic and poetic harshnesses;" fourthly, the trope of representing the body as the "undress and morning-suit of life," carried out into the details of "trim colour, button-holes, lining, and cut," on the one hand, and eyes, colour of the face, stature, and make, on the other hand; fifthly, the girlish notion of adopting similarity in dress as a badge of friendship; sixthly, the general observation that personal likenesses are more common than is generally thought, and pass unobserved only because the persons themselves in which they occur do not fall under observation. And while all these incongruous materials are welded together into two thoughts and two sentences, the connexion between the two is formed by the double signification of the German word *Anziehen*, which means both "attraction" and "attire." Availing himself of this, Jean Paul runs down his first conglomeration of thoughts upon the sense "*attraction*," and then upon the strength of the sense "*attire*," hooks on to it, so to speak, his second cluster of ideas. This nice point, at which the two sets of images are riveted together, and which we have endeavoured to render in English by the double sense attached to the word "*suit*," being overlooked, the coherence, and with it the artistic beauty, of the whole passage is destroyed; and that which is in reality a most skilful and witty combination, assumes the appearance of a mere negligent jumble,



of ideas ; as is the case with the passage in question in Mr. Noel's translation<sup>7</sup> :

“ Nor was it simply the want of resemblance, which, as an opposite pole, decided their attraction. Siebenkäs was more ready to forgive, Leibgeber to punish : the former was more to be compared to a satire of Horace, the latter to a ballad of Aristophanes, with its unpoetical and poetical dissonances ; but like girls who, when they become friends, love to wear the same dress, so did their souls wear exactly the same frock-coat and morning-dress of life ; I mean, two bodies, with the same cuffs and collars, of the same colour, button-holes, trimmings, and cut. Both had the same brightness of eye, the same salowness of face, the same height, and the same meagreness ; for the phenomenon of similarity of features is more common than is generally believed, being only remarked when some prince or great man casts a bodily reflection.”—*Flower, Fruit, and Thorn Pieces, by Noel, vol. i. p. 10.*

Here the word “ attraction,” which answers only to one of the two senses of the German “ *Anziehen*,” is evidently an insufficient translation ; it is besides divided from the sentence with which it should stand in immediate connexion, by the whole parenthetical sentence ; to say nothing of the lameness of the phrase, “ more to be compared to,” or of the inappropriate rendering of “ *Gassenhauer*” by “ ballad,” and of “ *Härten*” by “ dissonances ;” which latter, moreover, in Mr. Noel's translation, refers to the “ ballads of Aristophanes” only, whereas, in the original, it refers to both, but principally to Leibgeber ; whence “ harshnesses” is preferable ; in addition to which, the clumsy circumlocution, “ girls who, when they become friends,” for “ *Freundinnen*,” and the tasteless “ phenomenon,” for “ *Naturspiel*,” complete the process of deterioration which Jean Paul's original has undergone in the hands of his translator. This brief specimen will be sufficient to show how difficult, nay, next to impossible, it is to translate Jean Paul well, and how easy to mangle him. The fact is, that even Mr. Carlyle, whose translations are on the whole admirable, was obliged to take great liberties occasionally with the original, and has not unfrequently lost some of the more recondite allusions

<sup>7</sup> The original is as follows :—“ *Ja nicht einmal die blosse Unähnlichkeit ihrer ungleichnamigen Pole (denn Siebenkäs verliebt, Leibgeber bestrafte lieber, jener war mehr eine horazische Satire, dieser mehr ein aristophanischer Gassenhauer mit unpoetischen und poetischen Härten) entschied ihr Anziehen. Aber wie Freundinnen gern einerlei Kleider, so trugen ihre Seelen ganz den polnischen Rock und Morgen-Anzug des Lebens, ich meine zwei Körper, von einerlei Aufschlägen, Farben, Knopfföchern, Besatz und Zuschnitt : beide hatten denselben Blitz der Augen, dasselbe erdfarbige Gesicht, dieselbe Länge, Magerheit und alles ; wie denn überhaupt das Naturspiel ähnlicher Gesichter häufiger ist, als man glaubt, weil man es nur bemerkt, wenn ein Fürst oder ein grosser Mann einen körperlichen Widerschein wirft.*”

in which the writings of Jean Paul abound. It is, indeed, no disparagement, even to a first-rate German scholar, to say, that he is not qualified to translate that author; for among his own countrymen there are but few capable of appreciating all his beauties, and following him through the boundless variety and the vast expanse of that world of thought in which he moves with such astounding ease and agility. His mind resembles a complicated prismatic apparatus in which the rays of light, and the colours into which they resolve themselves, are perpetually scattered, variously reflected, and gathered up again into one focus; or better, it is like a kaleidoscope, which at every turn and shake produces a new combination, and presents to the eye, as if by mere chance, an endless variety of the most regular and beautiful designs.

But to return to the story of Siebenkäs. The poor counsellor, who, like other briefless barristers, is obliged to betake himself to authorship, has the misfortune of possessing a wife whose mind is as narrow as his circumstances, who, while he labours hard at the literary lathe, interrupts and irritates him perpetually with household questions and household operations; and, while he strives to escape from the closeness and misery of real life to the regions of higher thought and feeling, is for ever harping on his poverty, and taking occasion, from every little incident of daily life, to keep the remembrance of his troubles keen and fresh before his mind. The desolation of his life is yet increased by the evident preference which his wife, Lenette, to whom he was in the first instance tenderly attached, feels for a friend and daily visitor at his house, one *Schulrath*, i. e. "school-councillor," Stiefel, whose common-place mind harmonizes better with her own than that of her eccentric husband, while her conscience is effectually prevented from taking the alarm, because her unconscious predilection for him is set down to the account of her admiration for his pious and orthodox discourses from the pulpit, with which it must be confessed that the free-thinking remarks of Siebenkäs must have formed to a religious female mind a somewhat uncomfortable contrast. The unpropitious nature of his friend's financial and domestic position does not escape the notice of Leibgeber, who, happening to get the offer of a bailiwick on the estates of the Count of Vaduz, conceives the strange plan of extricating his double from all his difficulties by letting him personate himself in the bailiwick, after passing previously through a sham death and burial at his own home. This plan he accordingly presses upon his friend, who, after some hesitation, is persuaded to agree to the proposal, being moved thereto in no small degree by the consideration that Lenette, who, as his wife, leads a life of great

wretchedness, would in all probability, if left a widow *per hypothesis*, marry Stiefel. A romantic acquaintance which, at this very time, while on a visit to Leibgeber, he forms with a young lady of great beauty and high mental attainments, the intimate friend of his friend, Natalia by name, adds a new interest to his life and to the story; though she is no further concerned in the present affair than that, being penniless and dependent on a rich relation, who wants to marry her to a worthless character, she consents, in ignorance, of course, of the entire scheme, to accept a pension secured for her in a life-insurance office, upon the decease of her admirer; a "fraud," as we should call it in plain English, upon the office aforesaid, for which, as well as for the purchase of a widow's pension for Lenette, Leibgeber furnishes the funds; the dishonesty of the transaction being somewhat palliated by an intention to indemnify the office out of the profits of the bailiwick. All the preliminaries of the plan being settled, Siebenkäs returns home, and is soon after followed by Leibgeber, when the pseudo-tragedy of his death and burial is enacted, and he proceeds to his bailiwick. After the lapse of two years, curiosity induces him to revisit *incog.* the scene of his former life, when he finds that his relict, Lenette, who had, according to his own wish, expressed upon his supposed death-bed, married the *Schulrath*, has lately died in her first childbed. This intelligence induces him, during the night, to seek her grave in the churchyard; and there he meets Natalia, who, believing him dead, had come on a similar errand to visit his cenotaph. She takes him at first for his ghost, and is well-nigh killed by fright; but a recognition and explanation afterwards takes place, which ends in their espousals, and so justifies the quaint order of events in the title-page of the work.

It may easily be conceived what ample opportunities the story of which we have now given our readers a brief abstract, omitting all the minor details, and all the subordinate characters, would afford to Jean Paul's inexhaustible humour to display itself. But the sport which he makes, though not uncongenial to the German mind, accustomed to speak and think on the highest and the most serious subjects with an alarming degree of freedom, is hardly suited to our English taste, or justifiable in the abstract; and Jean Paul himself was carried by the impulse which he had given to himself, so far beyond all the bounds within which poetic fancy should be restrained by religious awe, as to introduce Christ proclaiming from the summit of the universe the non-existence of a God. It is true, the whole vision forms part of a dream, and its object is not to inculcate atheism, but to combat it, by showing the utter desolation of heart and mind which atheism involves;

but even this cannot reconcile us to a conceit so wild and strange, and, as we cannot help feeling, in spite of all the apologies by which Jean Paul prefaces it, so irreverent. At the same time, it is impossible not to admire the depth and grandeur of many of the thoughts which occur in this extraordinary composition. The idea, for instance, of "a vacant, bottomless eye-socket, staring down upon the immensity of creation," instead of "the Divine eye," is a delineation of atheism at once so bold and so graphic, as to be worth a score of dry arguments against it: the fault we find is, that such an idea should be put into the mouth of Christ, who gives the description of that "vacant, bottomless eye-socket" to the expectant universe as the result of his inquiries after the Eternal Father.

The next, and by far the most eminent of Jean Paul's productions, is his "Titan," on which he was engaged one year beyond the Horatian term of literary finish. It was already written in part, when *Siebenkäs* was given to the world; and with his usual love of fun and mystification, Jean Paul brings several of the characters of *Siebenkäs* on the stage again in *Titan*. The most conspicuous among these is *Leibgeber*, who, having restored that name to its original owner, and being precluded from resuming his own proper name, *Siebenkäs*, by its appropriation to the cenotaph of his friend, has now assumed the name of *Scioppius*, contracted into the German *Schoppe*, an eccentric character, as *Bayle's* dictionary testifies, full of strange opinions, and a wandering Proteus with many *aliases* like himself. In the story of *Titan*, he enacts the part of the devoted friend and tutor extraordinary of the young hero, who, by his knowledge of the world and his sagacity, manages to penetrate into various secrets, and, amidst all his wild vagaries, renders the most essential services to his pupil-friend. The chief interest, however, which attaches to the character of *Schoppe*, is not the place which he fills in the wheel-work of the novel, but the fact of his being an impersonation of the keenest satire upon the philosophy of *Fichte*, by which he is represented as becoming at last half-crazed. He is the alleged author of the "*Clavis Fichtiana seu Leibgeberiana*," published by

\* One of the mystifications by which Jean Paul makes himself merry at the expense of his readers, is, that, as on one hand, he works his own person into the story of his novels, under various disguises; so, on the other hand, he attributes some of his own publications to the fictitious characters in his novels. Thus, while *Leibgeber* or *Schoppe* is made the author of the *Clavis Fichtiana*, the "Selection from the Devil's Papers," mentioned before, is alleged to be from the pen of *Siebenkäs*, the production of his tortured brain during his purgatorial matrimony with *Lenette*; and in the "*Flegeljahre*" the "*Greenland Lawsuits*" are attributed to the humorous twin-brother, *Vult*.

Jean Paul as an "appendix to the first comical appendix to Titan," which, in a series of articles under various headings, exhibits the philosophical system of Fichte in the most ludicrous light. As a specimen of this kind of *persiflage*, we give the article

"LEIBGEBER. 'It strikes myself,' said I, as I was taking a cursory review of my system whilst bathing my feet, and looking significantly at my toes, the nails of which were being pared—'that I am the All and the Universe; it is impossible for me to become more in the world than the world itself, and God, and the spiritual world in the bargain. Only I ought not to have spent so much time (which, after all, is of my own making) before I discovered, after half a score of metamorphoses à la Vishnu, that I am the *natura naturans*, and the demiurgos and the pulley-lever of the universe. I feel exactly like that beggar, who, waking from sleep, finds himself all at once a king. What a wonderful being, producing every thing except itself, (for it only rises into existence, and never exists,) is that absolute 'I' of mine, which is the progenitor of all else!

"Here I was unable to keep my feet any longer in the water, but paced to and fro, barefooted and dripping. 'Come, for once,' said I, 'make a rough estimate of thy creations—space—time (as far down as the eighteenth century)—whatever exists in both,—the worlds—whatever is on them—the three kingdoms of nature,—the beggarly kingdoms of royalty,—the kingdom of truth,—the kingdom of the reviewers;—and last, not least, all the libraries!' And consequently, the few volumes too which Fichte has written: first, because I must produce or suppose him before he can dip his pen; for it depends entirely upon my moral politeness whether I shall concede him any existence; and secondly, because even if I do concede it, we can neither of us, being both *anti-influxionists*, ever listen to our respective 'I's,' but we must both invent what each reads of the other, he my *Clavis*, and I his sheets. Therefore, I call the *epistemology*<sup>9</sup> unhesitatingly my work, or *Leibgeberianism*, supposing even that Fichte did exist and entertained similar thoughts; in that case he would only act the part of Newton with his fluxions, and I that of Leibnitz with the differential calculus, two great men like ourselves. Even as there is a like number of philosophical Messiahs, Kant and Fichte; and the Jews also reckon two Messiahs, one, the Son of Joseph, the other, the Son of David."—*Clavis Fichtiana*, s. W., t. xxvii. pp. 41, 42.

Poor Schoppe, a determined Fichtian, by irony and hypothesis, continues to dwell upon the key-note of Fichte's philosophy, the "I," until at last it begins to haunt him like an evil spirit.

<sup>9</sup> The title of one of the principal works of Fichte is, "*Wissenschaftslehre*," which, after the analogy of *technology*, *τεχνολογία*, we render *epistemology*.

Finding that he excites considerable surprise by the apprehensions which he expresses lest the "I" should appear to him, he exclaims in great wrath :—

"Oh, I see, I take you; quite, quite! You do not think me one-eighth part as rational as yourselves, but rather mad. Wolf<sup>1</sup>! here! here! Thou beast hast often in my solitary rambles and wanderings been my shield-bearer and exorcist against the 'I.' Sir, a man that has read Fichte, and his vicar-general and brain-serf Schelling, as often as I have done, by way of fun, will at last find the matter sufficiently serious. The 'I' supposes itself, i. e. the 'I' and that certain remainder which some people call the world. When philosophers deduce any thing,—for instance, an idea, or themselves,—from themselves, they fail not, if they are proper philosophers at all, to deduce in like manner the remaining universe. The 'I' imagines itself; it is therefore the object and the subject, and, at the same time, the lair of both; by Jove! there is an empirical and a pure 'I;' the last words which, according to Sheridan and Oxford, Swift pronounced shortly before his death, were, 'I am I,' which I call sufficiently philosophical . . . .

"I can put up with any thing except the 'I,' the pure intellectual 'I,' the god of gods. How often have I not, like my name and deed-sake Scioppius or Schoppe, changed my name, and have annually become a different man, yet still the pure 'I' is manifestly pursuing me. One sees it most plainly in journeys, when one looks at one's own legs, and sees and hears them stalking along, and puts the question, Who is it that is so vigorously keeping pace with me down there? And then he is eternally talking to me: if he should some day personally appear before me, I should not be the last to grow faint and pale as death."—*Titan*, s. *W.*, t. xxiv. pp. 114, 115.

This tendency to insanity, engendered by Fichte's philosophy, is brought to a crisis by the prediction of a mysterious personage, half-wizard, half-juggler, who finds him an obstruction to his dark and crooked designs, and tells him that within a certain period he will be beside himself. The impression produced on Schoppe's mind by this prophecy, helps, as predictions of such a nature are apt to do, to bring about its own verification; and an accumulation of harassing incidents at the critical period works up his mind to such a degree of excitement that his bodily health gives way under it, and he dies in a paroxysm brought on by the sudden appearance of Siebenkäs, whom he mistakes for the long-dreaded personal appearance of the "I."

"'My Schoppe,' exclaimed the figure (Siebenkäs), 'I am in search of thee: dost thou not know me?' 'Long enough have I known thee! thou art old "I"—come on then, and put thy face close to mine,

<sup>1</sup> The name of Schoppe's dog.

and make this stupid existence cold,' cried Schoppe with a last effort of expiring manhood. 'I am Siebenkäs,' said his double tenderly, and stepped quite close to him. 'So am I, "I" equal to "I,"' added the other in a low tone, and his heart, overwhelmed, broke in death.'—*Titan, s. W., t. xxiv. p. 158.*

As regards the plot itself, in the *dénouement* of which the tragic end of Schoppe bears so conspicuous a part, it is by far the most complicated among all the novels of our author; and, in fact, so full of the most inconceivable conceits, and the most monstrous improbabilities, that Jean Paul's merit consists, not so much in the invention of his story, as in the skilful management of it, by which he contrives to make his reader forget the fictitious character of the wildest fictions, and carries him through them all, in spite of himself, with an intensity of interest, such as usually belongs only to real persons and events. The whole is evidently an improved and enlarged edition of "*Hesperus*:" the groundwork of the story in this, as in the other case, is the education, in a private station, and under a feigned name, of the heir to a throne. In *Hesperus*, the disguised prince, Flamin, is one of the subordinate characters, distinguished indeed by a certain princely excess of self-will and violence of passion, but otherwise not rising above the common level; and this, which cannot be accounted otherwise than a defect in the whole plan of *Hesperus*, seems to have suggested to Jean Paul the notion of reproducing the same idea, of course with necessary variations in the details of the plot to prevent actual repetition, in his *Titan*. Here, accordingly, the whole interest of the story is concentrated upon Count Albano, who is the rightful heir to the German principality, in which the scene is laid, but who appears on the stage as the son of a Spanish grandee. Around his lofty and highly-finished character all the other personages revolve, like attendant stars around the central sun. In the place of Lord Horion we have in *Titan* the Spanish knight Don Gaspard de Cesara, but with this difference, that Lord Horion is animated by high thoughts for the good of mankind, whereas Don Gaspard is impelled partly by vindictive feelings, and partly by an ambitious design to effect an alliance between Albano and his own daughter, the Countess Linda de Romeiro. Of the female characters, not one approaches to the perfection of Clotilda in *Hesperus*: Liana, the first object of Albano's love, placed in circumstances very similar to those of Clotilda, in the house of thoroughly worldly and ill-assorted parents, is too soft and morbidly poetic, and melts away before the heat of life's trials, like fresh fallen snow before the sun's rays. Her early death removes this formidable obstacle to the accomplishment of Don Gaspard's ambitious designs, and Albano is captivated by

the far more commanding charms of Linda. But that bond, too, is broken by the moral fall of Linda, whose romantic notions of love, spurning matrimony as a vulgar bondage, are abused by a villain, the former friend of Albano and his rival for the hand of Linda, for the purpose of robbing her of her innocence; the similarity of his voice to that of Albano, and her debility of sight after sunset, even to actual blindness, favouring his diabolical design. Ultimately, after the discovery of Albano's real birth, and his accession to his ancestral dominions, he forms an alliance with a princess, named Idoina, who bears a striking resemblance to the departed Liana, but who is kept too much in the background during the whole progress of the story, to give scope for a development of her character sufficient to interest the reader in her.

To exhibit a highly gifted and morally powerful nature, brought to maturity by the discipline of heart and mind which Albano undergoes during the course of these transactions, surrounded by the most opposite influences, and by a variety of persons whose characters are not less discordant than the aims which they pursue, and which are all more or less connected with himself, is the main object which the author of *Titan* had in view. The dream of human greatness and goodness is realized in the character of the hero; and whatever objections may be raised to the truth of the moral, as involving the fallacious doctrine of human perfectibility, it must be confessed that few of those who have attempted to embody that doctrine in fiction, have taken a loftier aim, or handled their pencil with greater boldness and effect, than Jean Paul in this, which, after all, stands out pre-eminent among all his writings as the master-work of his genius. Subordinate to this leading idea, and interwoven with it, there are other and kindred thoughts of high moral truth; such as the victory which, under the most crushing circumstances, the feeblest may achieve by the triumphant power of an invincible endurance, exemplified in the touching fate of Liana; the certain and fearful danger resulting from presumptuous disregard of the unalterable rules of moral order, in the terrible fate of Linda; and the desperate termination of a career of reckless self-indulgence in that of her seducer, Roquairol, who, after strutting on life's stage in all the eccentricity of a highly talented *roué*, blows out his brains in the last act of a tragedy of his own composition, in which he has reserved to himself the part of the suicide. In addition to these high lessons, *Titan* contains a vast abundance of keen and graphic satire upon court life and the corruptions of government, which shows that Jean Paul had not yet escaped from the infection of the liberalism of the revolutionary propaganda, the



traces of which, in his Hesperus, we have before noticed. Moreover, the perusal of Titan is rendered interesting and instructive by many profound and acute remarks on subjects of art; the cultivation of his taste being made a prominent part of Albano's education by Don Gaspard, who for this purpose engages, along with the philosophical Schoppe, a Greek artist, to bear him company in his travels. The depth and truth of Jean Paul's observations on these subjects, and the beauty of his descriptions, are the more surprising, because he never visited the scenes which he depicts in such glowing and graphic language in person, but derived his information partly from books and partly from one of the four sister princesses to whom Titan is dedicated.

In Titan, Jean Paul reached the highest point of what the Germans call the "Ideal," according to his views of life and of human nature. He was himself evidently conscious that he could not exceed his Albano and his Clotilda, the *Jupiter Olympius* and the *Venus Urania* of his poetic chisel. The efforts of his genius, in producing the two fictions of Hesperus and Titan, had lifted him to the top of Parnassus; and having reached it, he wisely determined not to waste his strength or to jeopardize his fame by abortive endeavours to outdo himself. Instead of straining his powerful nature, as he had hitherto done in his ascent to the cloud-capped mountain of the Muses, he was content henceforth to exercise it gently by disporting himself upon its summit. None of his subsequent works exhibit the same concentration of his varied gifts; it seems as if he had subjected his now matured mind to an analytic process, and determined to open for every faculty and tendency of it a separate channel in which it might flow forth, for the instruction and delight of a grateful and admiring public, and for his own satisfaction in the fulfilment of what he considered his calling in the moral and intellectual world of Germany. Of the writings which belong to this last period of Jean Paul's literary history, some are philosophical, a few political, and the rest divided between comic and sentimental humour. Among the comic productions we have chiefly to notice "*Dr. Katzenberger's Badereise*," or "Visit to the Watering-Place" of "Maulbronn," *Anglicè* "Mouthbourn;" the "*Life of Fibel*;" "*Nicolaus Markgraf*, or the Comet;" and the "*Journey of the Military Chaplain, Attila Schmelzle to Flätz*," of which Mr. Carlyle has given an admirable translation, with occasional abridgments. Of an earlier date, and more sentimental than comic in the character of its humour, is the unfinished novel entitled the "*Flegeljahre*," or lubber years, of which, under the title of "*Walt und Vult*," the names of the two heroes of the tale, the American editor of the Life of Jean Paul has just published a

translation. The story itself, strange, as all our author's stories are, is a kind of mythic representation of the two sides of his own poetic genius; one of the twin-brothers, Walt, being a dreamy sentimentalist, the other, Vult, a man of the world, full of practical sense and humour. The latter, a *vaurien*, who roams through the world as a strolling musician, in vain attempts to protect the former from the loss of a large inheritance left him, but under conditions which to a person of Walt's simplicity of character, unacquaintance with the world, and visionary cast of mind, prove constant snares. For a while the two brothers live together in great harmony; until they both become enamoured of Wina, a great beauty, by whose exalted rank, however, the attainment of her hand is rendered as hopeless for poor Walt, as the possession of the inheritance by the conditions attached to it by the testator. Nevertheless Walt is the accepted lover, while Vult meets with a decided refusal, in consequence of which he takes his leave of his incorrigible and yet more fortunate brother. Thus the story ends, or rather is broken off in the middle, though the allegory seems complete; the inability of poetic genius either to secure the lower advantages of the material, or to reach the higher aims of the ideal world, being admirably represented by the situation in which Walt is left, with a lady love whom he has no hope of marrying, and a fortune which he has no chance of realizing; while at the same time the utter inutility of that keen and humorous perception of life which often accompanies poetic genius, and did so pre-eminently in the case of Jean Paul, for the practical purpose of restraining its eccentric flights, and the repudiation of worldly wisdom, and of the humour of the clown by the highest ideal of poesy, are ingeniously rendered in the allegory by the futility of all Vult's efforts to prevent the mistakes of Walt, and his rejection by the noble and lovely Wina.

As regards the merit of the performance by which the American editor of Jean Paul's Life has attempted to transplant this interesting tale upon the soil of English literature, we are bound to warn our readers, that if they wish to steer clear of the lofty genius and the poetic beauties of our author, they cannot do better than make use of this translation, which turns all his bright poetry into dull prose much more effectually than it does his German into English. We do not underrate the difficulties which a translator of Jean Paul has to cope with; but making every allowance for these, and for the inevitable inferiority of the copy as compared with the original, we cannot admit that the translation before us comes up even to the most moderate requirements which the reading public has a right to make upon a work of this nature. The poetic beauties and the keen wit of Jean

Paul are evidently lost upon this translator; and through an exceedingly imperfect knowledge of the German language, apparently of its very accident, even the grammatical sense is not always faithfully given. We might adduce, if it were worth the while, numberless instances in justification of these remarks; one passage may suffice. Walt in his capacity as notary is called upon to draw up the last will and testament of Flitte, a runagate, who, to avoid his creditors, has lodged himself in the keeper's apartments in the top of the church-tower, and, feigning deadly sickness for fraudulent ends, has recourse to the comedy of making his will. For this purpose he employs the single-hearted Walt, whom he insists, in spite of his remonstrances, on including in the number of his legatees. After the execution of the document Jean Paul thus continues the story:—

“It was a bitter pang to Walt, to part from the poor merry bird, who was leaving him some of his feathers and golden eggs, and to see him already fluttering, half-plucked, in the talons of the owl of death. Heering lighted him and all the witnesses down. ‘It bodes me,’ said the keeper, ‘he will not get over the night; I have my own curious tokens. But to-morrow morning I’ll hang out my handkerchief from the tower if he is actually gone.’ Ghastly was the descent down the high-step ladders, through the vacant dank chambers of the tower, which contained nothing but stairs. The heavy stroke of the iron-pendulum, like the mowing to and fro of the iron scythe of time, suspended from the clock,—the wind without beating against the tower,—the lonesome noise of the nine living footsteps,—the strange gleams of light which the lantern, swinging in the keeper’s hand, cast down from the highest gallery into the pews below, in every one of which a livid corpse might be devoutly sitting, as well as one standing in the pulpit,—and the apprehension that at every step Flitte, having breathed his last, might be flitting through the church in a pallid glance,—all this chased the notary like a frightful dream through the dusky land of shadows and of terrors, so that he was as one arising from the dead, when out of the narrow tower he stepped out below the open starry sky, where above him eye was twinkling to eye, and life to life, and disclosing the world in deeper and deeper depth.”—*Flegeljahre, s. W.*, t. xxxiv. pp. 36, 37.

This passage the American translator has rendered as follows<sup>2</sup>:—

“It was sad and bitter to Walt to bid farewell to the poor *pleasure-loving* bird, who *would have left* him both feathers and golden eggs.

<sup>2</sup> The German reads thus:—“*Es war ihm bitter, von dem armen lustigen Vogel—der ihm Federn und goldene Eier zurückliess—zu scheiden, und ihn schon in den Krallen der rufenden Todes-Eule um sich schlagen zu sehen. Heering leuchtete ihm und sämtlichen Zeugen herab. ‘Mir will’s schwanen,’ sagte der Thürmer, ‘dass er die Nacht*

Heering lighted both him and the witnesses down the stairs. '*I will swear,*' he said, 'he does not survive the night; *there are many curious indications*; but if he really *gets over the night*, I will hang out my handkerchief from the tower *early in the morning.*' *Sluddering with cold*, they descended the long ladder through the empty *dark descent* in which there was nothing but steps. The slow iron pendulum of the clock, *that carried on the decrees of destiny, swung here and there*, like the mowing of the scythe of time. The winds that came in gusts against the tower; the solitary and careful steps of the nine men, *as they descended*; the strange light of the lantern that *struggled in the upper darkness and shed a sepulchral light upon the living*, and the expectation that Flitt, at any moment, might depart, and like a pale ghost pass through the church; all these *haunted Walt*, like a dream, in the land of shadows and terrors, so that *he stepped from the tower, like one risen from the dead, and meeting eye to eye, and life with life, in the outward living world.*"—*Walt and Vult, or, The Twins*, vol. ii. pp. 38, 39.

We have marked in italics the numerous mistranslations and perversions of this short passage, as far as the case admits of it; and we now ask our readers to compare them with the correct translation which we have given above, and those who know German, with the original. To render e. g. "*Mir will's schwanen,*" i. e. it bodes me, by "I will swear," is bad enough; but to translate "*wenn er wirklich abgefahren ist,*" i. e. if he is actually gone, "if he really gets over the night," giving just the contrary sense, is really too bad; to say nothing of several more venial blunders against both grammar and dictionary. But what we find fault with above all, is the evident want of all capability to seize upon the imagery of our author, and the cool composure with which words and entire passages, which it is clear the translator does not understand, are either omitted altogether, or else some random productions of the translator's own dull brain are put in the place of Jean Paul's vivid thoughts. For instance, the bold and striking figure of "the owl of death," which is already beginning to "pluck" its prey, the dying man "fluttering in its

*nicht übersteht; ich habe meine kuriosen Zeichen. Ich hänge aber morgen früh mein Schnupftuch aus dem Thurne, wenn er wirklich abgefahren ist.' Schauerlich trat man in die langen Treppenleitern durch die leeren dumpfen Thurm-Geklüfte, worin nichts war, als eine Treppe, herunter. Der langsame eiserne Perpendikel-schlag, gleichsam das Hin- und Hermähen der an die Uhr gegangenen Eisen-Sense der Zeit,—das äussere Windstossen an den Thurm,—das einsame Gepolter der neun lebendigen Menschen—die seltsamen Beleuchtungen, die die getragene Laterne durch die oberste Empor hinunter in die Stuhlreihen flattern liess, in deren jeder ein gelber Todter andächtig sitzen konnte, so wie auf der Kanzel einer stehen,—und die Erwartung, dass bei jedem Tritte Flitte verschieden und als bleicher Schein durch die Kirche fliegen könne,—das Alles jagte wie ein banger Traum den Notar im düsteren Lande der Schatten und Schrecken umher, dass er ordentlich von Todten auferstand, als er aus dem schmalen Thurne unter den offenen Sternenhimmel hinaustrat, wo droben Auge an Auge, Leben an Leben funkelte, und die Welt weiter machte."*

talons," has wholly disappeared. The graphic description of 'the ghastly descent down the high step-ladders, through the vacant dank chambers of the tower,' is pared down to the inexpressive and partly incorrect translation, "Shuddering *with cold (!)* they descended the long ladder (instead of "ladders"), through the empty *dark* (instead of "dank") *descent*:" can any thing be poorer or more clumsy? Again, that beautiful image in which "the heavy stroke of the iron pendulum" is compared to the "mowing to and fro of the iron scythe of time suspended from the clock," how it is marred! The pendulum, indeed, is said to be "swinging *here and there*" (!) and something is said about "the mowing of the scythe of time;" but not a word to indicate that the pendulum itself is "the iron scythe of time suspended from the clock;" in lieu of which we have the translator's gloss, "that carried on the decrees of destiny," which no doubt he thought mighty fine, and a considerable help to unimaginative readers. Further on, where the reader of the original almost hears "the lonesome *noise (Gepolter)* of the nine *living* footsteps," the translator, losing sight of the "noise" altogether, substitutes the epithet "careful," the most inappropriate of all the epithets he could have chosen, because conveying a precisely contrary idea; while the wholly superfluous information that "they descended through the descent," does not indemnify the reader for the loss of the contrast between the dead stillness of the lonesome tower before described, and the "*living* footsteps." Then what intolerable bungling in the startling description of the effects of the lantern, as it swings in the keeper's hand, in *the highest gallery*, and casts "*strange gleams* of light *into the pews* below," instead of which, we are told of its "light struggling in *the upper darkness*," and "shedding a *sepulchral* light *upon the living*," of all which stuff there is not a syllable in the original. And what becomes of those uncomfortable tenants of the church, "the livid corpses in the pews and in the pulpit," that congregation of the dead conjured up by Walt's fears and the poet's fancy? Are we to take "the sepulchral light shed upon the living," as an equivalent for that also? Again, how is the poetic bloom taken off from the image which represents the soul of the dying man above, as "*fitting* through the church in a pallid *glance*," instead of which he is made in downright prose to "*pass* through as a pale *ghost*!" And why are the epithets "*frightful*" and "*dusky*" omitted, in describing the notary as *chased* (not "*haunted*") through the land of shadows and terrors, by all the circumstances before described, as by "a *frightful* dream?" And last, not least, what a lamentable falling off in the closing sentence! Jean Paul's description of "the open starry sky," we seek in vain in the translation; and so we do Jean

Paul's beautiful comparison of the stars above, to eyes twinkling to each other, "eye to eye, life to life," and so disclosing by their bright sheen to the mortal eye below "the world in deeper and deeper depth," all which the ill-starred translator understands of human eye meeting human eye, one living man with another living man, in "the outward living world."

We were inclined, before we looked more nearly into the matter, to pity Jean Paul's translator; but we confess our pity is altogether transferred to poor Jean Paul himself, who, if he were alive to see how one of his favourite works is "dished" in a language for the literature of which he felt such intense love and veneration, would assuredly pay a visit to his caricaturist across the Atlantic, in the character of Siebenkäs, or Leibgeber, or Schoppe, and chastise him soundly for his murderous assaults upon his finest thoughts.

But enough of the *Flügeljahre*, and this travesty of them. We must draw our article to a close; which we shall do with a brief account of the philosophical works of our author. These are, besides two treatises on the immortality of the soul, his "*Levana*" and his "*Æsthetic*." The former of these contains his views on education, in a series of what he himself calls "fragments;" the latter, in a no less fragmentary form, his theory of poetic beauty. The following list of the subjects treated of in the two first volumes of the "*Æsthetic*," will give our readers some idea of the plan of this *ars poetica* of Jean Paul:—

"Of poetic art in general—of the successive degrees of poetic power—of genius—of Greek or plastic poesy—of romantic poesy—of the ridiculous—of humoristic poesy—of epic, dramatic, and lyric humour—of wit—of characters—historic fable of the drama and the epos—of the novel—of lyric poetry—of style—a fragment on the German language."

The three following volumes are of a much more miscellaneous character, consisting of short disquisitions, essays, and fragments, on a variety of points connected with the main subject of the work; among them, in the fourth volume, under the title "*Kleine Bücherschau*," a reprint is given of several reviews written at different times for the "*Heidelberger Jahrbücher*," one of which, doubly interesting on account of the reviewer, as well as the reviewer,—the review of Mad. de Stael's Germany,—is already known to the English public by Mr. Carlyle's translation.

Far more interesting, however, than either the "*Levana*" or the "*Æsthetic*," are Jean Paul's two treatises on the immortality of the soul, his "*Kampaner Thal*," and his "*Selina*." Both are in the form of dialogues, after the manner of Cicero's philosophical dis-

quisitions; with this only difference, that, instead of Roman knights and senators in all the dignity of the toga, we have here ladies and gentlemen of *bon ton*, dressed up in Jean Paul's best manner, especially the ladies. The "*Kampaner Thal*" belongs to his earlier productions, its publication intervening between "*Siebenkäs*" and "*Titan*;" its tendency, and the character of the author's views on this subject, will be best understood by the replies which he makes to the two principal objections raised against the belief in the immortality of the soul: the first, the apparently simultaneous decay of the powers of the soul, as well as the body, in old age; the second, the alleged impossibility of searching into a future mode of existence, of peeping over, out of a visible, into an invisible world. In answer to the first of these objections, he thus argues:—

"You are not a materialist; you assume that the action of the soul and that of the body correspond and excite each other; that, in fact, bodily organs are the keys which answer to the different glasses of the inner *harmonica*. Hitherto the bodily accords of the feelings only have been noted, as, for instance, the swelling heart and the sluggish pulse in longing desire, the effusion of bile in anger, and so forth. But the intertwining and *anastomosis* between the inner and the outer man is of so quick and so intimate a nature, that every image and idea of the mind must call forth a corresponding vibration of some nerve. These bodily after-tones ought to be observed and set down in the notation of speech when they express poetic, algebraic, artistic, numismatic, or anatomical ideas, no less than when they are the utterance of the feelings and passions. At the same time the body is no more than the sounding-board; it is not the spiritual scale, nor its harmony. Sadness bears no resemblance to tears, confusion none to the blood which is ebbing in the cheeks, wit none to champagne, the idea of this valley none to the miniature sketch of it on our retina. The inner man, the veiled god in the statue, is not of stone like the statue itself; his living members grow and ripen by a mysterious process of life within the stony limbs of the outer man. We do not sufficiently take notice of the influence which, in fact, the inner man has upon the outer man in restraining and moulding him; how, for instance, principles gradually cool and quench the irascible body, which, according to physiological laws, ought to be burning more and more fiercely from week to week; how it has even happened that terror or anger has held together, as by spiritual clasps, the texture of the body, which was already rending asunder and out of joint. Even when the whole brain is in a manner paralyzed; when every fibre is already rusted in and choked up; when the mind is clogged, it needs only an act of the will, which may at any moment be exerted,—it needs only some letter, some striking idea, to set the machinery of the cerebral fibres, the spiritual clockwork, going again without any bodily assistance. . . . .

“When the extravasation of an artery in the fourth cerebral chamber of a Socrates covers the whole land of his ideas with a bloody inundation, it is true that all his ideas and moral affections are covered by the tide of blood; but they are not destroyed by it; because his virtue and his wisdom resided not in the cerebral globules which have been thus drowned, but in his ‘I;’ and because the dependence of the works of the clock on its case, for protection from dust and the like, does not prove that the case and the works are identical, still less that the clock consists of nothing but cases. Since the functions of the soul are not bodily functions, but only either their consequents or their antecedents; and since every function of the soul must leave traces in the soul, as well as in the body, why should we suppose that the former are lost, when paralysis or old age effaces the latter? Is there no difference, then, between the mind of a childish old man, and the mind of a child? If the soul of Socrates were to be plunged into the body of a Borgia, as into a mud-bath, would it therefore lose its moral powers, and all at once exchange its virtuous for vicious propensities? Or are we to suppose that in the morganatic marriage by which soul and body are united, but without community of goods, the one spouse can only gain, and does not lose also, with the other? Is the ingrafted spirit to feel the influence of the body only when it is flourishing, and not also when it is decaying? And if it must feel the latter, as well as the former, then must not the clay which is wrapped round the body give to the soul the appearance of stopping or of retrograding, in the same way as the progress of our earth gives a like appearance to the movements of the upper planets? If we were to be unshelled at all, this could not be effected but by the slow hand of time, by the spoiling of old age; if it was once determined that our career shall not end in one world, the gulf which separates this world from the other could have no other form than the grave. The short interruption of our progress by old age, and the longer interruption of it by death, no more do away with that progress, than the still shorter interruption by sleep. In faintness of heart we mistake, like the first man, the total eclipse of sleep for the night of death, and that night itself for the world’s doom.”

—*Kampaner Thal, s. W.*, t. xix. pp. 48—50.

As for the second objection, the want of evidence of the reality of an invisible world, Jean Paul thus replies to it:—

“Am I to presume upon lifting the veil of a whole world of futurity? I, who am not coming thence, but am only on my way thither? No doubt it is this dissimilarity of the future world to the present, the very incommensurability of its greatness, that has made so many unbelievers in it. It is not the bursting of the larva-skin of our body in death, but the distance between our future spring and our present autumn, which throws so many doubts into our poor heart. This is evident in the case of the savages, who look upon the next life only as upon the second volume, the New Testament, of the first life, and know of no other difference between the two but that which exists between old age and



youth : they readily put faith in their hopes. Your first objection, the peeling off and crumbling of the bodily glazing, does not deprive the savages of the hope that they shall spring up again in a new flower-pot. But your second objection daily multiplies both itself and the number of sceptics ; for as the second world itself cannot be subjected to the blast of the chymist's furnace, or placed in the focus of the solar microscope, the progress of chymical and physical science tends, by its dissolvents and other appliances, daily more and more to precipitate or sublime the hope of a future existence. Indeed, it is not by the practice of the body only, but by its very theory ; not only by the applied mathematics of its lusts, but by the pure science of the existence of a world of sense, that the holy, inly-diving look upon the inner world is necessarily obscured and obstructed to beings dwelling as yet in the outer world. The inner world is more easily comprehended only by moralists, metaphysicians, poets, nay, even by artists ; the chymist, the physician, the mathematician wants for it telescopes and ear-tubes, and in course of time even eyes and ears.

"On the whole, I find fewer men than is supposed, who decidedly either believe or deny a future existence. They that venture to deny it, are exceedingly few, because without it the present existence would lose all unity, character, completeness, and hope ; and equally few are they who venture to assume it, because they are affrighted at the thought of their own translation into glory, and of the dying away of the diminished earth. Most men are tossed up and down midway between the two opinions, in poetic vagueness, by the impulse of alternating feelings.

"As we paint devils more easily than gods, furies more easily than the Venus Urania, hell more easily than heaven, so we believe in the former more easily than in the latter, in the greatest misery more easily than in the greatest happiness. Is it not, then, natural that our mind, accustomed to the disappointments and the chains of earth, should be slow to admit the thought of an Utopia against which the earth is wrecked, in order that its lilies may, like the Guernsey lilies, find a shore on which they may bloom<sup>3</sup>, on which the tortured heart of man may be saved, satisfied, exalted, and blest."—*Kampaner Thal, s. W.*, t. xix. pp. 54, 55.

Thus far the arguments in favour of the immortality of the soul are rather of a negative character, defensive against scepticism ; in the sequel Jean Paul urges the positive proofs also of the existence of a future world with great effect. One passage is all we can make room for :—

"There is a spiritual world suspended in our heart which breaks like a warm sun through the clouds of the material world,—I mean the universe of virtue, beauty, and truth ; those inner heavens and worlds

<sup>3</sup> "The Guernsey lily from Japan has its name from the island of Guernsey, on which it was poured forth and sown from a wrecked vessel."—[Author's note.]

which are neither parts nor emanations, neither derivatives nor copies, of the outer. The reason why we are less struck by the incomprehensible existence of these three transcendent celestial orbs is, that they are always hanging before us, and that we foolishly imagine that we are creating them, whereas we only perceive them. What prototype, what plastic power have we, or what materials, to create such a spiritual world within ourselves? Let the atheist but ask himself how he came by the gigantic ideal of a Godhead which he either denies or materializes; a conception which is not formed by an accumulation of finite quantities and measures, because it is the very reverse of all measure and of all quantity? The fact is, that the atheist denies the original of the copy which he holds in his hands. As there are idealists in reference to the outer world, who fancy that the perceptions produce the objects, whereas the objects cause the perceptions; so there are idealists in reference to the inner world, who deduce being from appearance, sound from echo, existence from observation, instead of accounting, as they ought to do, contrariwise, for appearance by the existence of that which appears, and for our consciousness by the existence of that whereof we are conscious. We mistake our analysis of the world within us for its preformation; in other words, the genealogist mistakes himself for the sire.

“This inner world, which is yet more glorious and wonderful than the outer, needs another heaven than the one above us, and a higher world than that which is warmed by a sun. And therefore we say with truth, not the second earth or sphere, but the second world; that is, another world beyond this universe.”—*Kampaner Thal*, s. *W.*, t. xix. pp. 58—60.

The depth of thought and intensity of feeling with which Jean Paul clung to this faith in the reality of a spiritual world, and which gave to the productions of his pen a higher tone and a heavenly colouring, had the most beneficial influence upon the minds of the German public at a time when the foundations of revealed truth were undermined, no less by the lifeless dogmatism and supercilious selfishness of the champions of orthodoxy, than by the irreverent boldness of rationalistic criticism<sup>4</sup>; and when, moreover, the tendency of the philosophical systems which sprang up in rapid succession, was to reduce all truth, as all morality had been reduced before, to the narrow and unsound foundation of the individual self. Among the metaphysicians, Jacobi alone,

<sup>4</sup> The following passage from the unfinished preface of his last work on the immortality of the soul, throws light upon the state of feeling which was produced in Jean Paul's mind by the controversies of theologians and philosophers:—“How is it possible to write decisively on the form of immortality, seeing that the empty dogmas, and responses of philosophers, theologians, and naturalists, excite regular disgust and indignation in the mind of an old man, so that at last he wishes heartily to escape from a world full of lying libraries.”—*Selina, Vorrede-Bruchstücke*, s. *W.*, vol. lxi. p. xxii.

deeply loved and venerated on that account by Jean Paul, stood up for the maintenance of religious faith and hope against the empty, vain eclecticism, and the cold and sneering scepticism of the age; and it is not too much to say, that Jean Paul's whole tendency and ambition was, to be, as a poet, his ally and fellow-soldier in that good cause.

It is, therefore, infinitely disgusting to find, not only among ourselves Socinianism pressing Jean Paul into its service, as if he had been one of that ilk, but in Germany also his posthumous papers abused, and that by his own son-in-law<sup>5</sup>, for the purpose of throwing his great name into the scale of the shallow infidelity of the "friends of light." Jean Paul was certainly far from being an orthodox divine, or a man of sound opinions on the subject of revealed religion; but in order correctly to appreciate the value of that fact, both in regard to his own character, and to his influence upon the public, we must bear in mind what was the general tone and tendency of the age in which he rose. That was decidedly towards unbelief; while Jean Paul's tendency, on the contrary, was towards faith. On the ladder of truth which God has let down upon the earth out of heaven, some are ascending, while others are descending back again to their earthly systems of ignorance and error; those that ascend and those that descend may chance to meet on the same round, but it is manifest folly thence to conclude that they stand in the same relation to truth. So it is with Jean Paul and the rationalists: he was strenuously working his way upwards into the regions of faith, they are sliding down rapidly towards the abyss of unbelief: they may occasionally strike the same notes, but the keys in which they play are widely different, and not the keys only, but the whole spirit of their music,—the one being a constant effort to produce harmony, the other a perpetual hammering out of dissonances.

We have thought it due to the memory of Jean Paul to vin-

<sup>5</sup> Since the completion of the edition of his collected works, Dr. Förster has published, at Frankfurt, 1845, two volumes of selections from Jean Paul's posthumous papers, and among them an essay "against hyper-Christianity," written by Jean Paul under the painful excitement caused by the premature death of his son, which was attributed to the effect of religious enthusiasm upon a feeble frame. This collection of fragments bears the quaint name of "*Der Papier-drache*," i. e. the paper-kite; a name under which Jean Paul himself announced his intention of publishing the numberless literary scraps which had accumulated under his hands, and which he had not "used up" in the composition of his different works. These he meant to connect together without much system, in the same way that boys paste and string papers of all sizes and colours together in making their kites, whence the name *Papier-drache*, or "paper-kite," not "paper-dragon," as we have seen it somewhere infelicitously translated.

dicate him from the ill savour which some of his admiring and patronizing friends, both here and abroad, threaten to bring upon his name; and we shall now adduce, in further confirmation of the view which we have taken of our author, in counting him among the champions of the inner soul's holy faith and hope, against the cold and base unbelief of the carnal mind, a few passages from his "*Selina*." This work was, as we have already stated, commenced by him on the day when he received the intelligence of his son's death; it was intended to complete the argument of the "*Kampaner Thal*," of which it is, both in form and substance, a continuation. The miserable theory which denies the immortality of the soul and the continuance of individual existence after death, designated by the expressive term "*Vernichtungsglaube*," i. e. belief in annihilation, is assailed and demolished by Jean Paul with arguments of singular depth, boldness, and power. His heart boils with indignation at the blasphemy of that theory; he challenges its advocates to pluck up their courage, to draw near and look down into the yawning gulf beneath them:—

"Many errors appear, like the moon, at a distance mild and soft; but on a nearer approach they show, like the moon through the telescope, precipices and volcanoes. Come closer, then, to the belief in the mortality of the soul, and look down into its chasms and *craters*."

"Realize, for once, the thought that we are all mere sound-figures of fine sand, which a note draws together on the vibrating glass, and which afterwards a breath of air without any sound blows off from the glass into empty space; and the existence of nations and centuries is not worth the expenditure of trouble and of life. They are formed and buried, raised up and thrown down again; but what use is it, that by careful nurture herbs are made to grow in the place of weeds, and blossoms to succeed the leaves? The churchyard lies upon the ploughed-down nations; the present is nothing to the past, the future nothing to the present. Sciences rise for ever; and for ever the heads which contained them, sink and grow hollow and empty down below. Let, at length, any one people attain the highest degree of science, of art, and of moral culture, in which later nations outstrip their predecessors, let in the last age the spiritual harvest and abundance accumulated through successive centuries be deposited in the human multitude of sound-figures: within fifty years the figures and the treasures vanish, and nothing remains but the fact that they have been. The light of creation and of its spirit is extinct; there is an end of all progress; there remain only steps; nothing but scattered beings:—at most they that have been, are confounded in the dust; and all that is of a higher nature must be gathered afresh. God from all eternity has seen nothing but perpetual beginnings after perpetual endings; his sun sheds forth the pallid light of an everlasting, never-setting sunset upon an inter-

minable graveyard, in which corpses upon corpses are still accumulating. God is alone; He only lives among the dying. . . .

“Our life owes its poor semblance of duration simply to the circumstance, that we include the past in our calculation of the present; but it shrivels up into a tiny moment, if we place it by the side of an immeasurable future, which flows towards us in a broad stream, but every drop of which is absorbed as soon as it touches us; a life between the contending tides of two oceans of eternity, which by meeting can make each other neither larger nor smaller.

“Imagine, then, that, instead of sixty years, we should live only sixty seconds,—and, properly speaking, in the face of a boundless eternity, we do not live longer, no, nor even so long,—what matters it what such a minute-creature may think, and desire, and aim at, for half a minute, in order to transmit and perpetuate its seed and crop in another minute-creature? What value has the civilization and illumination of a people whose existence is reckoned by seconds, of a little heap of pulverized colophony, which blazes and shines while it is blown through the flame of life? And can the dead pseudo-immortality of libraries and museums, which resides and is reflected in the transient blaze of the quickly consumed witch-meal<sup>6</sup>, give warmth and soul to a life exposed to an eternal extinction often before its short seconds are lived out and fulfilled? If the continual admixture and influx of the rising generation into that which is fading away, were not to impart to the latter a solid appearance of duration and continuity, turning it into a kind of electric jar of knowledge; if, without mixing with the next, the element of its renovation, each generation was in its turn to sink down like a swarm of day-flies from the beams of the evening sun into the water, all the brilliancy and splendour of the nations would appear to us only as the vanishing of glow-worms, which through the night describe their small orbit over the earth. Then must each individual, in the midst of his flight and effort to ennoble himself and others, be cast down by the thought that the injury done him by any chance gust of wind, may at any moment cause the tombstone to descend like a portcullis upon all his endeavours. . . .

“If from dying nations we pass on to dying individuals, it is painful to the soul thoroughly to realize, even for a moment, love between those that are to perish. From perpetual nothingness a couple of men wake up on their death-beds, and from these they look at each other with eyes full of deepest love, and instantly, after a few minutes, they close those eyes again in eternal annihilation;—and is that the imperishable love of men towards one another,—of parents, children, spouses, and friends? Without immortality, you cannot say to any one, ‘I love thee;’ you can only sigh and say, ‘I would love.’

“The heart stands lonely upon the earth, till at last it ceases to be lonely

<sup>6</sup> This is the popular name given in Germany both to pulverized colophony and to the seed of *Lycopodium*, either of which is used on the stage and by jugglers to imitate lightning, by blowing it through the flame of a candle.

in the great Sahara beneath the earth, because it ceases to be at all. It cannot even mourn and weep; for the shade in which it might sorrow, which for a moment stood there warm and coloured, has not grown cold and dark, but has become invisible in the vast invisible night. Even that small warm and red thing, which thou callest thy loving heart, is dissolved, it may be, at the very moment when it weeps, into invisible intangible night,—not into a part of that night (which has no parts), but into that night itself.”—*Selina, s. W.*, t. lxi. pp. 15—18.

From this powerful refutation of the theory of individual annihilation, Jean Paul passes on to an examination of the system of metempsychosis; he next proceeds to consider the objections against the immortality of the soul founded on the phenomena of sleep, of dreams, of old age; which leads him to throw out many striking remarks on the relation between body and soul. Thence he proceeds to the positive demonstration of the soul's immortality; on two grounds, first, the existence of God; secondly, the soul's inward craving for happiness, and the internal promise of it to the heart, which argues the existence of a future state, in which that craving may be stilled and that promise fulfilled.

The abstract question of the soul's immortality being thus decided in the affirmative, Jean Paul passes on to the further questions of the resurrection of the body, and mutual recognition in a future state. But on this deep and interesting theme he was not permitted to do more than put the objections into the mouth of the “*Advocatus Diaboli*.” In the answer to them he was overtaken by the hand of death; his work remained unfinished on the earth, and his truth-thirsting soul was removed out of this world, which was to him a state of darkness and conjecture, into that world in which all the questions of life are answered, and all its riddles solved; that world to the existence of which, and its connexion with the present; Jean Paul himself bore testimony when he said, that “somewhere there must be resting on the earth a heavenly ladder, whose top reaches up far beyond the most distant stars.”

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ART. III.—*The National Library for Ireland. By Distinguished Literary Irishmen. A volume published on the 1st of every month.* 12mo. McCormick, Dublin: Strange, London, 1846-7.

1. *The Life and Times of Daniel O'Connell, Esq., M.P.*
2. *The Life and Beauties of the Rt. Hon. John P. Curran.*
3. *Selections of Irish National Poetry.*
4. *The Life and Beauties of Henry Grattan.*
5. *The Mercenary Informers of '98.*
6. *The Rising of '98.*
7. *The Life and Times of Lord Edward Fitzgerald.*
8. *Commentary on Theobald Wolfe Tone.*
9. *The Life and Writings of Theobald Wolfe Tone.*
10. *Extracts from the Journal of Theobald Wolfe Tone.*

THIS is a very remarkable publication. It appears before us at a time when, from the distress prevalent in Ireland, we should have little supposed that there would have been a demand for literature of any kind in that class of society for which it is designed. It is certain, however, that the circulation of the "National Library" is very large. One of the volumes before us—the Life of Mr. O'Connell—is in the *seventh* edition. Each of the volumes—of which we have ten now before us, arrayed in the green livery of the emerald isle—consists of 144 closely-printed pages, and is sold for *fourpence*; and we are informed that 15,000 of each number are struck off as a *first* impression; that no profit can be made before 5000 are sold; that the edition does not remain on hand above a few days, but is rapidly dispersed into all parts of Ireland; and that copies may be seen, not only in booksellers' shops, but in booths and stalls, at markets and fairs in all quarters of the sister country. The extensive sale of fire-arms in Ireland<sup>1</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> On the 6th of May last Sir W. Verner called the attention of Her Majesty's Ministers to the *sale and importation of fire-arms* in Ireland, which was calculated to excite much alarm for the peace of that country. He then submitted to the House a variety of documents, on which he called on the House to give its sanction to

at this period of distress, has justly been regarded as an alarming symptom : and when our readers are familiar with the contents of the works before us, they may be ready to ask whether there is not *another* symptom of a very similar character in the vast *débit* of these fourpenny volumes of the National Library. We shall desire the editors to give their own account of the occasion, cause, and designs of their undertaking.

First, then, as to the occasion, they say :—

“ We live in an age when the blessings of knowledge are becoming every day more and more within the grasp of the humblest classes of the community. The *Irish National Schools* at present number on their rolls 400,000 pupils, *four new provincial Colleges* are about being founded, and the demand for all descriptions of books is hourly increasing. *To meet this demand*, on the part of the humbler class of our countrymen, *is the intention of the present undertaking*. . . . ‘ The National Library for Ireland ’ has been long projected by the publisher. After mature consideration, and with the advice of several literary and patriotic friends, the following plan has been finally decided upon, as the basis of the undertaking—a volume containing 144 pages will be published each month, at the very moderate price of fourpence.”—*National Library ; Life of O’Connell*, Preface, p. 1.

The facilities afforded by the “ *National System of Education in Ireland* ” for the diffusion of the doctrines taught in the “ *National Library*,” are also pointed out in an eulogy from the *Nation Newspaper*—the organ of *la jeune Irlande*—as follows :—

“ A COMMENTARY OF THE MEMOIRS OF THEOBALD WOLFE TONE. —To have this singular and celebrated tract, neatly printed, for the sum of *fourpence*, is a literary phenomenon worth noting. It is an *essay on the capabilities of Ireland to maintain national independence*. The real author of the tract, Mr. Justice Johnson, *was prosecuted in Dublin, at the instance of the English Government, for a political libel, and convicted*; a circumstance which must *naturally ensure the more respectful attention in Ireland to any thing proceeding from his pen*.

“ Now, until *the educational system*, which is established in this island, shall have become (as, please God, one day it shall) ‘ *national* ’ in spirit and in truth, as well as in name, it is well to have a ‘ *reading-book* ’ like this, full of facts, clear in arrangement, simple in statement, downright in style, offered to the *vastly-increasing reading public* at so very moderate a price.

some new *Arms’ Act*, if not to the *Arms’ Act* of last session, and concluded by moving that certain papers be laid on the table of the House. Mr. Labouchere said that the state of Ireland was most anxiously considered by the Government, and the prevalence of the sale of arms had not been overlooked ; but they had not deemed it necessary to resort to any extraordinary measures to secure the public peace, such as an *Arms’ Bill* or a *Coercion Bill*.



“To all the young men who will hearken to us, from fifteen to five-and-twenty, we cordially commend it.—*Nation*.”—Quoted in *National Library*, vol. viii. p. 143.

The cheapness of the “*National Library*” is put forth as a claim for general encouragement,—which is confidently anticipated,—as follows :—

“It is needless to say, that an *immense sale will* be necessary, in order to afford even a small shade of profit to the publisher. If it be true that ‘the Irish, as a people, are peculiarly remarkable for their desire after knowledge,’ the success of this national and enterprising speculation must be certain; for what man is there among us, who cannot afford one penny a week, or fourpence a month, or four shillings a year, to purchase twelve volumes of the ‘*NATIONAL LIBRARY* ;’ each containing 144 pages of small type, or 1728 pages in the whole yearly issue of twelve complete volumes?”—Vol. i. p. iii.

Again :—

“Besides, it is certain that this publication will fall within the reach of many honest fellows, who, although ‘ready to lend a willing hand’ or *arm* for the liberation of old Ireland as soon as *the proper time comes*, may be nevertheless unacquainted with the past history of our beloved country; not from any fault of their own, but solely owing to their humble position in life, and the want of money to procure books, which have been wisely called by an ancient Egyptian king, ‘the medicine of the mind.’”—Vol. iv. p. 1.

The following character of the “*National Library*” is appended as an *encomium*, to the seventh volume, among “*Opinions of the Press!*” and we shall proceed to show, by some pertinent extracts, that the testimony is amply deserved :—

“We have now before us the sixth volume of the ‘*National Library for Ireland*,’ containing ‘*The Rising of '98*,’ and which has *shown its green cover* just about the *accession of the present Ministry* to power. These volumes come forth *without the names of the authors*, for reasons which the present one renders abundantly obvious. They contain 144 pages of close letter-press, written with considerable ability, and in a manner eminently calculated to *excite the lower classes* of the people; and are published for *FOURPENCE* each, a sum that cannot do more than defray the expense. Pecuniary profit is evidently not the object; but we shall show that the plain and avowed object of the volume, with which we have now to do, is to *inflame the minds of the Irish Roman Catholics* against the sovereignty of our *QUEEN* and the *British Government*; and to incite, not to a repeal of the legislative union, but *to a total and violent abruption of Ireland from the British empire*, and the *establishment of an independent Irish nation*, by *EXTERMINATING*, under

the name of Saxons, *all* the inhabitants attached to English connexion. . . . . There is nothing in past times that by perversion or misrepresentation could gall the mind of *the Celt* that is not raked up; the very idea of an *English sovereign* as *monarch of Ireland* is intolerable; and loyal men's ears and feelings are insulted with the novel nomenclature of ELIZABETH TUDOR and GEORGE GUELPH."—*Evening Mail*.

Such is the certificate which the "*National Library for Ireland*" actually presents on its covers in its own behalf! We shall now briefly prove that it thereby assumes no more than its due. Its *animus* towards the English nation is sufficiently clear from the following extract:—

"Towards the latter half of the sixteenth century, it is calculated that the *blood-thirsty English* cut off or murdered by the sword and famine fully *half a million of the Irish race*. After the war ended in 1603, there was only 800,000 Irish remaining. In the wars of Charles II. and Cromwell, from 1641 to 1653, it is calculated that the *English murdered*, or cut off by the sword or famine, above 300,000 of the *Irish*. In the war of King William, from 1688 to 1691, it is calculated that the *English murdered*, or cut off by the sword or famine, above 100,000 of the *Irish*.

"Up to this period we must do them the justice to admit that they had one horrible object in view, which they seem to have regarded as a sort of excuse for their wholesale massacres. They wished to *exterminate the entire Irish nation*, and destroy the last remains of the *sacred Celtic race*; and those *inhuman monsters* were near effecting their villainous design. But a wise Creator ordained otherwise. *We can now muster two millions of Irish males capable of carrying out the principles of Brien Boru*. The spreading branches of the sons of Milesius have extended far and wide,

‘And true men, like you, men,  
Are plenty here to-day.’

Of course, *countless millions* of the *Irish* have been put to *death or murdered* in every way by *the English*, during 600 years. Of late, however, things are mending with Paddy, so let the *Sassenagh* look about him, and remember that a ‘good retreat is better than a bad battle.’

"We now come to the *last English slaughter of the Irish in '98*."—*National Library*, vol. vi. p. 98.

To which the next paragraphs may be appended as a commentary:—

"*Finding England embroiled in civil war*, the *Irish rose up in 1641*; but, owing to their divisions, were finally put down by Cromwell in 1651-52. When King William was invited over from Holland, in 1688, by the *English*, the *Irish*, taking part with James II., king of

England, were involved in war with the Dutch and English. This war, having lasted from 1688 to 1691, was concluded by a solemn treaty, signed at Limerick, in October, 1691. By this treaty the Irish Catholics were allowed to enjoy what is called the rights of subjects, and the Irish army was embarked for France, according to agreement. . . . . A few days after the treaty was signed, the long-expected French fleet arrived off the Irish coasts; and the Irish, from a false notion of honour, instead of falling on like men, knocking all the English and Dutch on the head, and driving them out of the country, stuck to the treaty, and retired to France. *They ought to have recollected, that nothing can be more dishonourable than to let an enemy forcibly enter into or take possession of one's country; all free nations punish such invading offenders with death.*—Vol. vi.

We now pass on to the record of more recent events:—

“A public banquet was given on the 18th of November, 1792, at Paris, by the English, Irish, and Scotch residents of that city. At this entertainment, ‘to celebrate the triumph of liberty in the victories gained over their late invaders, by the armies of France,’ Lord Edward Fitzgerald, with several others, attended. Nothing could be more delightful and brotherly than the whole scene. . . . Amongst the several toasts given were the following: ‘The republic of France, founded on the rights of man;’ ‘The armies of France: may the example of its citizen soldiers be followed by all enslaved countries, till tyrants and tyranny be extinct;’ ‘The speedy abolition of all hereditary titles and feudal distinctions.’

“Several of the above philanthropic or charitable toasts were proposed or seconded by Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who renounced the blasphemous title of ‘Lord,’ which it seems absurd to apply to the Great Creator and to the little creature in one and the same breath, which is frequently done from thoughtlessness and irreverence.”—Vol. vi. pp. 52—54.

The *French Revolution* is thus held up for admiration and imitation to the Irish Celts:—

“All nations, both ancient and modern, have had their periodical revolutions; but the Celtic French, when they tried their hand, eclipsed the whole world in this respect. Before that celebrated revolution, France was morally in the lowest state: the great mass of the French nation were in much the same condition as the Irish are at present—over-taxed, famine-stricken, rack-rented, and sunk in ignorance and despair. Nor were the aristocrats of France less degraded in the last century: they lived in idleness, debauchery, and dependence; and instead of supporting themselves like men, honestly and honourably by their own exertions, they dragged immense absentee-rents from toil-worn peasants, in the remote parts of France, which they squandered in Paris. When the French Revolution took place, the people resolved

wisely to become their own resident landlords<sup>2</sup>, and determined not to starve or rob their virtuous wives and innocent little children any longer, in order to pamper blood-sucking tyrants and drones, who never 'worked a stroke,' or produced any thing for society, except vice."—*Ibid.* p. 50.

We need not now be surprised at the following language concerning the royal grandfather of the present SOVEREIGN of Ireland :—

"From the time George Guelphs was called king, in 1760, to his death in 1820, it is calculated that no less than one hundred millions of money, wrung out of the blood, brains, and vitals of toiling millions, were expended on him and his idle family.

"This man was a great enemy of the Irish Catholics. In his latter days he became imbecile in his mind, which caused him to do and say very queer things. Every one knows that George Guelphs, like many other kings, if at any common, honest, or industrious pursuit, could hardly earn his bread. He was a great enemy of the liberties of man, and he seems to have delighted in *man-butcher*ing, for he got up a crusade against the Americans, and caused 30,000 German or Hessian murderers (hired at tenpence a day each) to be transported from Germany 4000 miles over the ocean, in order to cut the throats of the justice and liberty-loving Americans."—Vol. vi. p. 88.

Nor at these expressions concerning his Vicegerent in Ireland, the late patriotic and disinterested Marquis Camden :—

"Lord Fitzwilliam was dismissed from his post, which was conferred upon Lord Camden, a most horrible villain."

And his measures for quelling the "*Rising of 1798*:"—

"On the 17th of May, 1797, the *villanous conspirator* and *English viceroy Camden* sent out a paper notice or proclamation from the English Castle of Dublin, Ship-street, in which the United Irishmen were openly *threatened with physical force*, covered with abuse, but not proved to have done any thing to bring their country under a foreign yoke, which all agree is the greatest curse any nation can suffer."

<sup>2</sup> A list of the names of the ancient proprietors of lands, and of the various hands through which they have passed, was kept in one of the Roman Catholic chapels in the city of Dublin,—in the chapel of Cook-street,—from which it is said to have been removed to the Royal College of Maynooth. A map of this kind is to be seen in the Irish College at Paris. And a resumption of ancient possessions forfeited by treason and rebellions was formerly a very favourite expectation among one class of individuals in that country. Even so lately as the year 1798 an *equitable* division of lands was the hope held out by the chief conspirators to the lower orders, which they fondly expected would have been realized; and which never would have been held out to them if it were not a very general expectation.—See *Strictures on Plowden*, p. 13, and *Col. Irwin's Evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons, May 19, 1825.*

And concerning Her Majesty's present advisers :—

“ And who are these *Whigs*? We need only remind the Irish people that the *Whigs made and violated the solemn treaty of Limerick*; and the *Whigs were the authors of the infamous, treacherous, and infernal penal laws*, forged with the intention of *exterminating the ancient religion of the Irish people*. In this vain attempt, however, the Whigs failed.

“ *The time appears to be at hand*, when those who think to make sale of the people, will find out that they can only sell themselves. The Irish nation have been already sufficiently warned by O'Connell (when getting up the repeal agitation) against the *Whigs*, those ‘corrupters of the youth of Ireland,’ as he then, no doubt honestly, called them.”—Vol. v. p. 16.

And concerning the *English landlords* of Ireland :—

“ The third or English ascendancy party consists of the English, some lawyers and placemen, and those *absentee landlords* who draw immense sums of money from Ireland every year by the aid of a few soldiers, police agents, and bailiffs. This party looks down on the Irish as an inferior race made to work for them, eats up all the produce of their labour and industry, and then has the audacity to tell the *white slaves* that they are lazy and idle. This English interest, while they *drain the country of millions*, are constantly gabbling about introducing English capital; and if the Irish argue for the necessity of a native legislature or *independent government*, they say that Ireland would be ruined without English ascendancy or connexion, and even go so far as to call the Irish who desire a change for the better, rebels and traitors, as if a whole nation could be rebels and traitors.”—Vol. iv. p. 11.

So much for the *past* and the *present*: now for a few words concerning the *future*.

The relative physical force of Ireland at the rising of 1798, and in the present year, 1847, is thus stated; and an important inference is drawn from the calculation :—

“ The *population of Ireland is now twice* as great as in '98; therefore, on that score alone, 300,000 men would be the proportion required to bully the Irish at present. Napoleon said, that the moral is to the physical as three to one in war. Now, according to this principle, ‘we take it,’ as the United Americans say, that *one educated man*, if not equal to three, is at least equal to two ignorant men; therefore, one Irishman of *this age* is fully equal to two of the last; so that if this be the case, it would require 600,000 soldiers to oppress the Irish at present; that is, about 150,000 for each of the four provinces. Striking off one-third of those 600,000, we shall have 400,000, or 100,000 to each of the provinces of Ireland, which contain, on an average, above two millions of people each. Now, as one-fifth of every population can

bear arms, of course Ireland has 1,600,000 males capable of self-defence, or 400,000 for each province. According to our notions of military or manly matters, a force of 100,000 men, by the very lowest cut, would be necessary for controlling each province of Ireland. If it be true that the Duke of Wellington said, as far back as the year 1829, that it would require 100,000 to keep down Munster alone, if in a *proper* state of *insurrection*, then our calculation must appear moderate.

"Nothing can be more *elevating and instructive* than these calculations. Having settled the amount of forces necessary to keep down the Irish, if in a *proper* state of *insurrection*, we must just inquire where such an amount of force could be procured for love or money. *The reader will easily perceive* that Ireland has no longer *any thing to dread* on the score of conquest, whatsoever *England* may. Therefore, if Ireland continues much longer without enjoying her just rights, *the fault must be somewhere either in the Irish* people, or the present Irish leaders. That the Irish have naturally plenty of moral force or courage, is admitted by all; that they have plenty of physical force, is also proved beyond any doubt. *Then why is the whole Irish nation paralyzed?*"—Vol. vi. pp. 115—117.

Let us now make some citations respecting the event which is the main topic of these volumes—the *Rebellion of 1798*.

"It is necessary to take a glance at the state of Ireland in 1797. The reader has seen how the *English monsters*, for their own *infernal purposes*, excited the deluded Peep-o'-day Boys and Orangemen to rob and murder their poor Catholic brother-Irishmen, in the name of religion."—Vol. vi. p. 91.

The following is intended as a lesson to the Irish for similar enterprises hereafter:—

"The rising of '98 commenced on the 23rd of May. *It was intended* or supposed that the people of universal Ireland *would have risen 'en masse'* on the grand *French or Celtic principle*; for a partial or premature outbreak is unworthy of a great nation."

From this and the next paragraphs it may be apprehended that any future insurrection will be commenced in a different manner.

"The much-noised-of rebellion of '98 was certainly neither universal nor national; it was a *premature explosion*, a partial outbreak, *purposely produced by the English conspirators* for their own villainous purposes. So true is this, that it was even boastfully admitted to have been so by the *perpetrators* themselves. In fact, this premature explosion was hastened by the arrest of the leaders who 'bided their own time,' and were determined not to suffer the Irish nation to stir till their success was certain. They knew what the English wanted; they saw the people disarmed, and an immense foreign military force pouring into their country. It is well known that the grand object of the Irish

Directory was to increase and extend the organization, and at the same time to *restrain the impatience of the people, and prevent a general rising till the French allies arrived.*"—Vol. vi. p. 111.

Its lack of success arose, therefore, from the precipitancy of the insurgents, and from another cause, which, we are told, has now been removed by the "*Temperance Pledge.*"

"Lady Camden's quitting Ireland was considered as an unanswerable proof that Government, whatever complacency they had assumed, considered the issue as doubtful. 'After the defeat of Colonel Walpole,' says a hostile author, 'had the rebels directed their course northwards, Carlow, Wicklow, and Bray, must necessarily have fallen into their hands, and the capital would have been thrown into a most critical situation. *The effects of whiskey, AND THE WANT OF A LEADER ACQUAINTED WITH MILITARY TACTICS, ON THIS OCCASION saved the Government.*'"—Vol. vi. p. 135.

Again:—

"Nothing can prevent us from soon achieving this glorious exploit—the liberation of old Ireland—except our own national vices; nor can any thing enable us to guard against those vices more than being constantly reminded of them. The Irish have long been remarkable for their *intemperance*, disunion, irrational loyalty, or creature-worship, and unbounded trust in others, which means no trust in themselves. The degrading, beast-making vice of *drunkenness*, the Irish people, when roused by that *inspired, disinterested* leader, *Father Mathew*, have, to do them justice, nobly thrown off. Of the bad effects of disunion, we have warned them in the preceding volumes of the 'National Library.' As for the sad effects of *mock loyalty*, or respect for foreigners, the modern Irish have lost more by that single vice than any other nation on the whole face of the globe, as is sufficiently shown by the history of the Scotch family of the Stuarts."—Vol. v. p. 14.

We are also told that the rising of '98 was not so successful as it would have been, if the French fleet, designed for the aid of the insurgents, had not been delayed by contrary winds. But the disturbing power of untoward gales and dense fogs, "which alone prevented the establishment of an *Irish republic*," is, we are assured, now rendered of no avail by the use of *steam*; so that

<sup>3</sup> "Had even Admiral Bouvet's division, consisting of thirty-five ships, landed at once their troops, the *generous objects* of our French allies would have been most certainly effected; but while delaying for the remaining vessels to join, unfavourable winds and fogs arose, *which alone prevented the establishment of an Irish republic at that time*, and probably saved England from a mild Irish yoke."—*National Library.*

future insurgents may reckon with certainty on the requisite succours either from France or America.

In November, 1796, a French agent arrived in Ireland to inform the executive directory of United Irishmen, that the expected fleet, with arms and ammunition, would arrive at Bantry Bay in December.

Now for the history of this fleet:—

“To Theobald Wolfe Tone this expedition is chiefly to be attributed. On the 15th of December, Theobald Wolfe Tone, who was now adjutant-general in the French service, sailed on board the fleet from Brest, for Ireland. The whole armament, on leaving France, amounted to 43 sail; of which, 17 were ships of the line, 13 frigates, and the remainder corvettes, transports, &c. The fleet carried on board it 13,975 French soldiers, 41,160 stand of arms, 20 pieces of field artillery, and 9 of siege artillery (including mortars and howitzers), 61,200 barrels of gunpowder, 7,000,000 musket cartridges, and 700,000 flints, besides an infinite variety of other articles. Owing to fogs and wintry weather, the fleet was scattered on the voyage; and on the 22nd of December, we find that 35 sail, including Tone's ship, had arrived together off Bantry Bay. After lying for some days in this bay, the tempestuousness of the weather increased to such a degree, that the French Admiral Bouvet determined to quit his position, and return to France. Indeed, he could not do otherwise, without disobeying orders, since he had received no intelligence of General Hoche, who, along with his staff, were on board the *Fraternité* frigate, which was separated from the fleet by a storm that scattered the entire expedition as it left the coast of France. The land officers on board Admiral Bouvet's division of the fleet insisted on landing the troops; but as General Hoche—the commander of the land force, who alone possessed the plan of the expedition—was absent, Admiral Bouvet refused to comply with their proposals. So he set sail for Brest, where he safely arrived on the 1st of January, 1797. The other divisions of the fleet afterwards returned to Brest, with the loss of only five vessels, namely, two ships of the line, and three frigates. Of these, one ship of the line foundered at sea, and the other, after bravely maintaining a desperate engagement off Brest, against several English ships, ran ashore to prevent capture. As to the three frigates, two foundered at sea, and the other fell into the hands of the English.”—Vol. vi. p. 62.

But encouragement with respect to the future is elicited from all this, as follows:—

“The fate of this fleet,’ says an English or hostile writer, ‘proved, even to sense, what needed no proof in the eye of reason—that a superior naval force is not in all cases a certain security against invasion. Ireland, notwithstanding the superiority of the English fleet, was sixteen days at the mercy of the enemy; and was saved from attack only



by the elements.' Such was the jabbering of the frightened *English tyrants and usurpers*, even before the *United Americans* built the first *steam vessel*. Since the invention of *steamers*, the coasts of Ireland are opened to the whole civilized world; and there is an end put to that mean Chinese policy, used by the cunning English towards Ireland; the dirty policy of cooping up a social and generous nation, from the alliance and intercourse of all nations."—*Ibid.* p. 63.

And, again, the non-invention of *steam* is alleged in another volume (iv. p. 16) as the cause of another similar disappointment, which, it is suggested, is not likely to occur again:—

"In 1688, the English, *not liking their Catholic king*, James II., called in William, Prince of Orange; and James went to France, and then came over to Ireland in 1689. The Irish Catholics stood by English James, the Irish Protestants joined Dutch William. To do the Irish justice, they fought right well during this war; but having superior numbers, artillery, &c., against them, and *the French fleet not arriving in time (for steamers were not known then)*, the Irish agreed to a treaty with the English, which was signed at Limerick in 1691."

The nations who are looked to as the future emancipators of Ireland are thus mentioned. It will be seen that *Spain*, the cradle of the Milesian race, and endowed with the fief of Ireland by Gregory XIII., is no longer of any account. Republics and republicanized monarchies are *now* more hopeful allies. But let us turn to the "National Library."

"The old Irish party are attached to the people of the *United States*, half of whom are of the Irish blood; *they also love the French*, who are *Catholics and Celts*, and of a *military turn like themselves*. To the *French* nation the genuine Irish will be always grateful for employing their brigades in hard times, and supporting and educating their clergy for one hundred years."

The Irish insurgents in 1795 held communications with the French Directory, and in 1797 Dr. M'Nevin, their agent, stated in his memoir, presented in June, 1797, to the French minister at Hamburg, "that the counties of Louth, Armagh, Westmeath, Kildare, King's County, and city of Dublin, were the best-organized, and that the Catholic priests had ceased to be alarmed at the calumnies which had been propagated of French irreligion, and were *all* affected to the cause. That some of them had rendered great service in propagating with *discreet zeal* the system of the *United Irishmen*."—*Report of Secret Committee of Irish Parliament in 1798*, Appendix, xxxi. p. cclxxv.

It is certain, also, that the Roman Catholic hierarchy of Ireland united with Pius VII. in 1809, and with Napoleon Buona-

parte, then at war with England, against the lawful king of France, Louis XVIII.<sup>4</sup> Stranger things have happened than to see a Pope at the head of a democracy warring against Kings: and we should be blind to what is passing around us, if we did not say that this is very likely to happen, even at our own doors.

We shall offer no comments on the extracts, which we have now thought it our duty to lay before our readers, from the "National Library for Ireland." They tell their own tale; and we will not add any thing to aggravate the prejudice excited by the authors against themselves. Rather we would endeavour to elicit some salutary suggestions from them, for the benefit of England, and of the United Kingdom at large.

First, then, we would submit to our readers some observations on the causes which have led to the present lamentable state of public affairs in Ireland, and then we would offer some considerations concerning the remedial measures to be applied for its improvement. An attentive study of Irish history will, we are persuaded, leave on all reflecting minds this conviction—that the misfortunes of Ireland are mainly due to *England leaguving herself with the Papacy*, either by co-operation or connivance, *against that unhappy country*. This, we know, will appear to some a paradoxical assertion; but we are prepared to prove it, and shall proceed to do so as briefly as we can.

It is certain, that for the first ten centuries of the Christian era *Ireland* was independent of *Rome*. During a thousand years after Christ, the Irish ecclesiastics *took no oaths to the Pope*; they never applied to Rome for bulls of nomination or institution, or appealed to the papal see for decisions in ecclesiastical causes<sup>5</sup>. These facts have been completely established by Dr. O'Connor, the learned Romanist Divine. Nor is this all: the *ancient Church of Ireland* was not merely *independent* of Rome, but was *not even in communion with it*. This is clear from an ancient canon of the Council of Calchythe, A.D. 816, to which public attention was, we believe, first drawn by the Hon. and Rev. Arthur Perceval<sup>6</sup>. Indeed, even as late as the fifteenth century, many of the old native Irish clergy had not conformed to the ritual of Rome<sup>7</sup>.

The plain fact is, that Romanism was first *forced* upon Ireland

<sup>4</sup> See Phelan's Church of Rome in Ireland, p. 148; O'Connor's Historical Address, ii. pp. 3. 5.

<sup>5</sup> See Phelan's History, p. 94.

<sup>6</sup> Amelioration of Ireland, p. 4.

<sup>7</sup> See the authorities in Phelan, pp. 111, 112, 133, 134. In the year 1250 the native prelates resolved that "no clerk of the English nation should be received into a canonicate in any of their churches."—Ibid. p. 87.

by *England*, for the supposed secular advantage of Rome and England conjointly. Henry II. received Ireland as a gift from Pope Hadrian IV:<sup>8</sup> in the year 1155, and by his *reception* of it he recognized the Pope's power to give it, and made it the interest of himself and his successors to *maintain* that power, to which they owed the *donation*. The boon seems to have dazzled his eyes, and blinded him to the untoward fact, that by receiving it he acknowledged the superiority of the Pope's power to his own. From that time to the present hour, we trace the consequences of the unhappy relation, into which England was thus brought, with respect to the Papacy; we see the results of that false position, in the weakness and degradation of the English Crown, and in the misery of its Irish subjects.

It is a very singular fact, that, notwithstanding the successful efforts of some of the sovereigns of England—especially of Henry VIII., Elizabeth, and James I.—to maintain their own independence, and that of the Irish nation; yet the Crown of England, as if unable to extricate itself from the fascination of papal lures, has fallen back ever and anon on the power which has unnerved and paralysed its strength in Ireland, and has thus crippled the energies of the entire framework of the British Government.

At the time of Henry II.'s landing in Ireland, there were two great rival powers in that country,—that of the barons or petty kings, on the one hand, and of the prelates<sup>9</sup> of the Church, on the other. In order to subdue the feudal dynasts, Henry aggrandized the Church: with what recompense for his pains, is evinced by the fact, that Laurence O'Toole, Archbishop of Dublin, (now canonized as a saint in Ireland,) accused Henry at the Council of Lateran, although he had taken an oath of allegiance to him in the Synod of Cashel.

Still the eyes of the sovereigns of England do not seem to have been opened for some time to the fact, that if they are not independent of the Pope, the Pope's ecclesiastics are and ever will be *their masters*. This is clearly exemplified in Ireland. The Pope claims to be feudal monarch<sup>1</sup> of that country: the Romanist bishops are Peers of his creation, taking *precedence* of all temporal lords. The king is, in papal parlance, only "*lord of Ireland*,"

<sup>8</sup> The Pope's bull is printed in a *Disputatio Apologetica de Jure Regni apud Hibernos*, Amst. 1645, p. 8. It contains the following assertion, "*Sanè Hiberniam et omnes Insulas quibus Sol Justitiæ Christus illuxit, ad jus beati Petri et Sacrosanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, quod tua etiam nobilitas recognoscit, non est dubium pertinere.*"

<sup>9</sup> There were thirty-four episcopal sees in Ireland at that time, of which four were Archbishops.

<sup>1</sup> See the Romish assertions in Phelan's *Digest of Evidence*, ii. p. 34.

holding by a feudal tenure from the Pope; and the question asked by Irish Romanist writers is, "What is the use of a king in Ireland, except to collect Peter-pence for the Pope?, as by Hadrian's bull he is bound to do? And what is the viceroy of Ireland? *Nominis umbra*—the deputy of a deputy." It is therefore clear, that if the sovereign is not the Pope's master, he must be the slave of his bishops.

From the time of Henry II. to that of Henry VIII., the crown of England was a victim to the ignominious self-imposed policy of a papal *concordat*, by which it bound itself to oppress the people of Ireland by means of the papal ecclesiastics.

Henry VIII. was the first English sovereign who bore the title of *king* of Ireland; his predecessors had been permitted only to enjoy the inferior one of *lord*. But when Henry asserted his claim to the *independent* monarchy of the island, not only was that claim acknowledged, but joyfully hailed, by the *barons* of Ireland. The fact was, they were disgusted and wearied out by the pride and despotism of the Italian hierocracy, and they looked on Henry as their *deliverer* from papal tyranny, and as the *restorer* of their ancient rights, civil and ecclesiastical. They welcomed him as the author of their "emancipation." Notwithstanding that Ireland was averred to be a pontifical fief by the Pope, and by the Pope's ecclesiastics<sup>2</sup>; notwithstanding Henry had been anathematized, excommunicated, and deposed by Pope Paul III.<sup>3</sup>; notwithstanding that the Roman pontiff in the bull of excommunication had commanded all the nobles of England to rise up in rebellion against their lawful sovereign, the chiefs of Ireland, both of Irish and English extraction, almost unanimously acknowledged Henry as "their natural and liege lord," and "as supreme head on earth, immediately under Christ, of the Church of England and Ireland," and they pledged themselves, as far as lay in their power, "to annihilate the *usurped* primacy and authority of the Bishop of Rome<sup>4</sup>."

The feelings of the Vatican toward Henry may be inferred also from the following remarkable letter written by the Bishop of Metz, in the name of the Council of Cardinals to O'Nial, the

<sup>2</sup> Phelan's History, p. 121. Digest of Evidence, ii. p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> See Archbishop Browne's (of Dublin) letter, 1535, to Lord Cromwell (in Ware's Antiquities): "My brother Ardmagh has withdrawn (from the king's side) most of his suffragans, laying a curse on the people whoe'er should own his highness' supremacy, saying that this isle, as it is in their Irish chronicles *Inula Sacra*, belongs to none but the Bishop of Rome."

<sup>4</sup> In two bulls, "Ejus qui immobilis," 3 Kal. Sept. 1535, and "Cum Redemptor," 16 Kal. Januar. 1536.

<sup>5</sup> From the Council-Book at Dublin Castle. See Phelan, pp. 129—134. 136.

northern chieftain, who was prevailed upon to become the champion of the papacy:—

“MY SON O’NIAL,—Thou and thy fathers were ever faithful to the Mother Church of Rome: his Holiness Paul, the present pope, and his council of holy fathers, have lately found an ancient prophecy of one St. Lazerianus, an Irish Archbishop of Cashel; it saith, that *the Church of Rome shall surely fall when the Catholic faith is once overthrown in Ireland*: therefore, for the glory of the Mother Church, the honour of St. Peter, and your own security, suppress heresy, and oppose the enemies of his Holiness. You see that when the Roman faith perisheth in Ireland, the see of Rome is fated to utter destruction. The Council of Cardinals have therefore thought it necessary to animate the people of the holy island in this pious cause, being assured, that whilst the Mother Church hath sons of such worth as you, and those who shall unite with you, she shall not fall, but prevail for ever, in some degree at least, in Britain. Having thus obeyed the order of the sacred council, we recommend your princely person to the protection of the Holy Trinity, the Blessed Virgin, &c. Amen.”

Whatever may be said of Henry’s motives, it is certain that his Irish policy was, for the most part, wise and enlightened; and, we do not scruple to add, far more liberal and comprehensive, as well as more firm and intrepid, than that which has generally been pursued in more recent times.

Let us remember the force which was arrayed against Henry. We shall have some idea of *that*, when we read the following extract from a letter of Archbishop Browne to Lord Cromwell:—

“RIGHT HONOURABLE ———. My duty premised, it may please your Lordship to be advertised, sithence my last there has come to Ardmagh and his clergy a private commission from *the Bishop of Rome*, prohibiting his gracious Highness’s people here in this nation to own his royal supremacy; and joining a curse to all them and theirs who shall not within forty days, confess to their confessors (after the publishing it to them) that they have done amiss in so doing: the substance, as our secretary hath translated the same into English, is thus:—

“I, A. B., from the present hour forward, in the presence of the Holy Trinity, of the blessed Virgin mother of God, of Saint Peter, of the holy Apostles, Archangels, Angels, Saints, and of all the holy host of heaven, shall and will be always obedient to the holy see of St. Peter at Rome, and his successors, in all things, as well spiritual as temporal, not consenting in the least that his Holiness shall lose the least title or dignity belonging to the papacy of our Mother Church of Rome, or to the regality of St. Peter.

“I do vow and swear to maintain, help, and assist the just laws, liberties, and rights of the Mother Church of Rome.

“ I do likewise promise to confer, defend, and promote, if not personally, yet willingly, as in ability able, either by advice, skill, estate, money, or otherwise, the Church of Rome, and her laws, against all whatsoever resisting the same.

“ I further vow to oppugn all Heretics, either in making or setting forth edicts or commands contrary to the Mother Church of Rome; and in case any such be moved or composed, to resist it to the uttermost of my power, with the first convenience and opportunity I can possibly.

“ I count and value all acts made or to be made by heretical powers of no force or worth, or to be practised or obeyed by myself, or by any other son of the Mother Church of Rome.

“ I do further declare him or her, father or mother, brother or sister, son or daughter, uncle or aunt, nephew or niece, kinsman or kinswoman, master or mistress, and all others, nearest or dearest relations, friends or acquaintance whatsoever, accursed, that either do or shall hold for the time to come any ecclesiastical or civil authority, above the authority of the Mother Church, or that do or shall obey, for the time to come, any of her the Mother Church's opposers or enemies, or contrary to the same, of which I have here sworn unto. So God, the blessed Virgin, St. Peter, St. Paul, and the holy Evangelists help, &c.”

Archbishop Browne concludes his letter with expressing his fear that the malcontents in Ireland will cause “ a foreigner to invade the nation :”

“ I pray God I may be a false prophet, yet your good Lordship must pardon mine opinion, for I write it to your Lordship as a warning. Dublin, May, 1538.”—*Ware's Antiquities*, p. 152.

But Henry was not to be daunted by this formidable display. It was certain that the ancient Church of Ireland was free, and that the oaths imposed on Irish ecclesiastics by the Pope were illegal and schismatical; and that the dominion claimed by the pontiff in that country was an usurpation. The nobles of Ireland acknowledged Henry as their king, and he was determined to stand by them, and to liberate them and their country from foreign tyranny. He despised the threat of “ an invasion ” as much as he did the bulls of the Vatican; and what was the result? In reply to this question, let us quote the words of Leland at the close of his history of that monarch's reign :—

“ An unusual degree of peace seemed to have spread through the island; nor could the practices of Francis the First, when Henry had declared war, and was preparing to invade his kingdom, seduce the Irish to a revolt. On the other hand, Henry was attended to Calais by a considerable body of Irish forces, who distinguished themselves by

their undaunted spirit ;"—“ and so outrageous was the spirit of loyalty, that when a son of Fitz-Patrick, the Baron of Upper Ossory, had committed some treasonable offence, he was delivered up to public justice by the hands of his own father.”

We must take leave to inquire, whether these words do not supply a most instructive lesson to our own legislators *at the present day?*

We cannot pass from this period of Irish history without adverting to some of the acts of Henry, in further illustration of what we have called his bold and enlightened policy.

First, then :—

“ It was provided that an English *school* should be kept in *every parish*, and that such as could not afford to pay for the education of their children at such a school, should be obliged to employ them from the age of ten years in trade and husbandry.”

Next ; there was an act concerning *Absentees*, and a heavy *tax* was imposed on them for purposes of public improvement. (28 Henry VIII. cap. 3.)

We observe here, parenthetically, that a *tax* on *absentees* was proposed at a later period, in 1773, by Mr. Flood ; and again, in 1797, by Mr. Vandeleur ; but the measure was defeated by a combination of the great absentees of the day. For our own parts, we will not say that *lay residence* on an estate is as essential to the welfare of the tenantry and poor, as *clerical residence* is to that of a parish ; but we affirm that resident gentry are indispensable for the administration of justice, poor laws, and other secular matters, as well as for example and protection to their inferiors ; and it is one of the first duties of the Legislature to secure this residence of proprietors either in person, or by sufficient deputies, as lessees with a permanent interest in the property : and for this purpose the safety of life and property must be provided for, which can only be done by a STRONG GOVERNMENT.

We go on further to remark, that, unhappily for Ireland, the “ Sovereign of that country is its greatest *Absentee* ;” and if, as Sir John Davies observed, it was natural for the Irish “ to scorn the English knights who were sent to govern the kingdom,” although those lord-deputies were *permanent* viceroys, it is not to be hoped that the Irish (especially the Roman Catholic clergy, whose doctrines concerning the sovereignty are too well known from their own books\*) should have much respect for the authority, or much confidence in the policy, of a Lord Lieutenant, who is shifted with the veering gales of the parliamentary majorities of a reformed

\* See Digest of Evidence, H. 33, 34.

House of Commons. What Ireland requires, is a FIRM GOVERNMENT; it may yet prosper *with* one; *without* one it *never* can; and it can never have a FIRM GOVERNMENT, until England imitates the example of other powers of Europe,—for instance, of Austria, with respect to Lombardy; and of Naples, with respect to Sicily,—and makes the Viceregal Office in Ireland a *permanent* one, and provides, whenever it is possible, that it shall be held by a member of the Royal Family; a measure from which the best results might be expected.

Sir John Davies, (who writes with authority on this subject, having been solicitor-general and chief justice in Ireland under James I., and whose work on Ireland enjoys a very high repute,) in speaking of the effect of the statutes of Kilkenny in reforming the English, says :—

“ I join with these laws *the presence of the king's son* as a concurrent cause of this reform, because the people of this land, both English and Irish, out of a national pride, did ever love and desire to be governed by great persons; and therefore,” he adds, “ I may here justly take occasion to note, that, first, *the absence of the kings* of England,—and, next, *the absence of those great lords*, who were inheritors of mighty seigniories,—have been *main causes why this kingdom was not reduced* in so many ages.”

“ Touching *the absence of our kings*,” he adds, “ three only of them have made royal journeys into this land; and *yet they no sooner arrived here*, but that all the Irish (as if they had been but one man) submitted themselves, took oaths of fidelity, and gave pledges and hostages to continue loyal; and *if any of those kings had continued here in person a competent time*, till they had settled both English and Irish in their several possessions, and had settled law in a due course throughout the kingdom, these times, wherein we live, had not gained the honour of the final conquest of Ireland.”

“ In the commencement of Richard II.'s reign,” says the author of “ the State of Ireland,” 1810, p. 146, “ the parliament of England resolved that Thomas, Duke of Gloucester, *the king's uncle*, should be employed in the reformation and reduction of this kingdom; ‘ the fame whereof,’ says Sir John Davies, ‘ was no sooner bruited in Ireland, but all the Irish were ready to submit themselves before his coming. So much the very name of a great personage, *especially of a prince of the blood*, did ever prevail with this people.’ Nor did Ireland, since Richard's reign, again see any of England's royal race, till the unfortunate James took refuge among them, who was warmly supported by them as their legitimate prince, and *the descendant of their own kings*.”

But, to return to Henry's measures—

Thirdly; an act was passed “ for erecting *vicarages* for *resident clergy*.” (33 Henry VIII. c. 14.)



Fourthly; an act for regulating the return of members to serve in parliament; by which the knights and burgesses *must be residents*, to entitle them to stand the poll.

We sum up the result of these and other acts in the remarkable words of Mr. Phelan:—

“ In fine, for the *first* time recorded in her annals, Ireland was *now at peace* under one acknowledged sovereign. So *universal* was the tranquillity, that a considerable body of troops was spared for the king's service before Boulogne, and another force was sent into Scotland. Even the great feud between the two races was forgotten for a season; and while English and Irish crowded together from all quarters of the island to receive law from the throne, the loyal impulse with which they were animated seemed already to have borne its most appropriate fruits in the *feeling of a common country*, and the kindly affections of neighbourhood. This *unanimity* is more remarkable as being in *defiance of the denunciations of the Vatican*’.”

The beneficial effects of Henry's wise and vigorous measures were long felt. For the “first eleven years of *Elizabeth* the laity every where frequented the churches.” “The majority of the prelates,” now become much wiser than they were at the time of Archbishop Browne's letter<sup>7</sup>, “leading or following the popular opinion, retained their sees, and exercised their functions, according to the reformed ritual’.” “But at length,” in the words of Mr. Phelan, in 1568, “the patience of Rome was exhausted;” or rather, we would say, her exasperation at seeing Ireland rescued from Roman bondage, and restored to her ancient liberty, knew no bounds; “and that spiritual sword was unsheathed against those countries which, as it would appear, is never to be returned to its scabbard. Elizabeth was excommunicated and her subjects absolved from their allegiance by *four successive Popes*; her life was assailed by numerous conspiracies; her kingdom given up to the vengeance of *Spain*, at that time the greatest power of the continent, and to the more mischievous intrigues of the new

<sup>7</sup> Phelan's History, p. 138 (in his Remains, published by Bishop Jebb, vol. ii.). This brief but comprehensive work, admirable alike for historical research, philosophical depth, and vigour of style, claims a high place in its own department of British Literature, and will be read with special interest and advantage in the present critical period of Irish history.

<sup>8</sup> See above, pp. 328, 329.

<sup>9</sup> Phelan, p. 166 and 262. There were only two exceptions among the nineteen Irish bishops who were present in the Parliament at Dublin in A.D. 1560, when the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity were passed. Both these bishops were deprived; and it is observable, that they had both been forcibly *intruded* into their sees, while the rightful occupants of those sees were living, who were ejected by Queen Mary for being married. With the exception of those two, all the Irish bishops remained in their sees, and from *them* the present Catholic bishops of Ireland (*not* the Roman Catholic, who are schismatics) derive their orders.

order of *Jesuits*. Consecrated plumes and banners, men, money, arms and ammunition, were poured into Ireland; special *Indulgences*, and pledges of *Absolution* to the third generation, were granted to all who would rise in *rebellion*<sup>1</sup>."

The result of these papal demonstrations was seen in the successive rebellions of John O'Neil, of James Desmond, of John Desmond, and of the "great earl," the head of the Desmond family; and finally, of Hugh O'Neil, 'the prince,' who, when he had nearly won the sovereignty of Ireland for himself, and not for the Pope, was informed by Clement VIII. that Ireland was *not* for the Irish, and a Spanish archbishop and a Spanish general were sent by the pontiff to control the native belligerents; and O'Neil, finding that he could not have Ireland for his own benefit, thought it more patriotic to deliver his country from Spain and the Pope, by making his peace with Elizabeth, which he did at the close of her reign.

Ireland was so much distracted by these thirty years' rebellions, excited by the papacy for *its own aggrandizement*, in opposition to *Irish independence* as well as to *English rights*, (as was clearly proved in the case of Hugh O'Neil,) that it was not in a condition to profit adequately by the measures of the government of James I. That sovereign is usually represented in our "Histories for the Use of Schools," as a monarch of a 'very narrow mind and bigoted character.' We have no hesitation in saying, that James's Irish policy was *too liberal* for his age. He was too eager to assimilate Ireland to England, *at once*. He did not make sufficient allowance for the inveterate evils resulting from many dreary centuries of savage and oppressive customs of "coigne and livery," "gavelkind and tanistry," "fosterage and gossipred," "rackrents," "bonaght," and "eriach," and all the other barbarisms of the Brehon code; which, be it observed, the *Church of Rome*, when she had full sway in Ireland for *four hundred years*, did scarcely any thing to rectify. James seems to have laboured under the very common delusion, that, "una Quiritem Vertigo facit." He "mistook manumission for liberty." He did not enough consider that a Nation—as well as Nature—*nihil agit per saltum*; and he appears to have thought that Ireland could all at once cast off its feudal slough, and leap into a kingdom of county assizes, municipalities, law-courts, and parliaments<sup>2</sup>. But the "*Milesia vellera*" would not so soon change their old hue, and

<sup>1</sup> See the Roman Catholic work, *De Jure Regni apud Hibernos*, 1645, p. 38, where the original documents are printed.

<sup>2</sup> King James created fifteen counties and forty boroughs, with privilege of sending members to Parliament. (See Duigenan's Answer to Grattan, p. 248.) He also instituted circuits and assizes.

imbibe the new dye. The power of the old chieftains was broken by these new laws; and the people were free—to become slaves. The *Roman hierarchy* gained what the *Irish aristocracy* lost—ascendancy over the people; and both were now, more or less, disaffected to the crown. A “Catholic Association” was formed, and a “Catholic Rent” was raised; but it is due to the courage of the government of the pacific king—(a contrast in this respect to its modern successors)—to state that it had the spirit and the vigour, under the pressure of great difficulty, to emancipate<sup>3</sup> the “poor Catholics of Ireland” from the tyranny of both; by suppressing the one, and forbidding the other to be paid<sup>4</sup>.

Charles I. was not in a condition to act with the energy which the critical state of Ireland required. In the case of Strafford, who was lord-deputy from 1632 to 1640<sup>5</sup>, he had a vigilant and faithful servant, and a minister of commanding genius and undaunted courage, too bold and vigorous for his master’s affairs, who with “a papal envoy at his court, a popish minister in his cabinet, a popish wife in his bosom,” and with a puritan parlia-

<sup>3</sup> See Harris’s *Faction Unmasked*, p. 37. “In 1607 was discovered another conspiracy, formed by the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, Maguire, O’Cahan, and almost all the Irish of *Ulster*, to surprise the castle of Dublin, murder the active officers of state, secure the principal garrisons, and call in *foreign aid*; and the cities and great towns in the west and south were prepared to join in an *universal rebellion*; but too early a discovery put an end to this confederacy, and the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, Maguire, and others of the principal complotters, fled beyond seas, from whence, the year following, they incited Sir Cahir O’Dogherty, with assurances of *Spanish aid*, to fly out into actual rebellion.” Lord Castlehaven, a Roman Catholic and a general on the side of the Irish, thus writes of the causes in operation which eventually produced the great rebellion of 1641: “Forty years’ peace, from the last of Queen Elizabeth to 1641, seemed to carry a fair outside, as if all those national animosities and pretences had been utterly extinguished. But, alas! the old leaven still fermented inwardly of one side, and among that side the fire was but covered under hot embers: the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, and the *Councils of Spain and Rome*, and the *Irish monasteries and seminaries* in so many countries of Europe, and very many of the churchmen returning home out of them, and chiefly the *titular bishops, together with the superiors of regular orders*, took an effectual course under the specious colour of religion to add continually new fuel to the burning coals, and prepare them for a flame on the first opportunity, which whoever did not see in the beginning of this rebellion, as many did not, by observing what extraction, or what names all the first appearers in it were of, and how particularly, of the whole hundred that were designed for seizing the castle of Dublin, there was not so much as one person of British blood, extraction, or name among them, might nevertheless, and without the help of a multiplying glass, most clearly see in it the procedure of the war.”—See *Strictures on Plowden’s State of Ireland*, p. 197.

<sup>4</sup> See the Proclamation of the Lord Deputy Arthur Chichester, 1613, in Phelan, p. 310.

<sup>5</sup> Ireland is indebted to Strafford for her linen trade. (Potatoes were introduced from New Spain in 1565. Whiskey is of earlier date.) Under Strafford’s administration the shipping of Ireland increased a hundred-fold; a large debt was paid off; the revenues (which was never before the case) equalled the expenditure; the customs were trebled; the exports doubled the imports.

ment aiding and abetting the designs of the papacy and Cardinal Richelieu, had not the power or the prowess to support the man who would have saved the crown. The noble Wentworth fell a victim to the malice of Scotch and English puritans conspiring with Irish papists; and his fall was the signal of one of the most horrible rebellions which have ever stained the annals of a Christian country. On the 28th of October, 1641, the massacre began which deluged Ireland with blood—under the authority of a Bull of Pope Urban VIII.<sup>6</sup>

Here again we are shocked by the spectacle of the woes brought upon Ireland by England co-operating with, or at least conniving at, the designs of the papacy<sup>7</sup>. Had Strafford been supported by the crown and parliament of England, instead of being betrayed by the one, and destroyed by the other, it would not have been left to a Cromwell to rescue Ireland from papal bondage, and to deliver it over as a victim to the hands of the enemies of the Monarchy and the Church. At the same time we must not forget, that by his vigour Cromwell accomplished a “legislative union” between England and Ireland. Thirty members were allotted by him to Ireland, and sat in the parliament at Westminster<sup>8</sup>.

Another opportunity of justice to Ireland was offered to England during the administration of that second Strafford, the great Marquis of Ormonde, in the reign of Charles II.; but he, like Strafford, was recalled, and died, not, like him, on the scaffold—but of a broken heart.

Tyrconnel was placed by James II. in the room of Ormonde; and on the 7th of May, 1689, Ireland was governed by a Roman Catholic parliament. The property of almost all the Protestants was confiscated; and a large number of them attainted; and the

<sup>6</sup> Which absolved the rebels from their allegiance, and gave a full and plenary indulgence, and entire remission of all sins, crimes, and delinquencies, how heinous soever, to those Irish who, “in imitation of their godly and worthy ancestors, endeavour, by force of arms, to deliver their thrall’d country from the grievous empire of the heretics, wherewith this long time it hath been afflicted and heavily burthened; and gallantly do in them what lieth to extirpate and totally root out these workers of iniquity, who, in the kingdom of Ireland, had infected, and are always striving to infect, the mass of Catholic purity with the pestiferous leaven of their heretical doctrine.”—See this Bull in State Trials, art. “Lord Maguire’s Trial for High Treason.”

<sup>7</sup> What would have been the fate of Ireland if the proposals made by the Pope to Charles I. had been acted out, we may see by the Articles in Rinuccini Nunziatura in Irlanda, p. 462. This volume, first published at Florence in 1844 from the original MSS., contains a record of Archbishop Rinuccini’s mission as papal envoy in Ireland in 1645—1649, and shows what terms we are to expect from Rome if she should have a favourable opportunity for effecting her will.

<sup>8</sup> Ludlow’s Memoirs, p. 497.

writ *de hæretico comburendo* was revived ; and an act was passed, “ declaring that the kingdom of Ireland was independent of the Crown of England<sup>9</sup>.” Had James, therefore, been victorious at the Boyne, his triumph would have been the dismemberment of the empire.

We shall not carry our readers through the melancholy details which for the most part constitute the history of this injured country during the eighteenth and nineteenth century ; but we should be faithless in the discharge of the duty we have undertaken, if we did not signalize, with feelings of the deepest sorrow, some of the acts, by which, either by connivance or by direct agency, England has wrought the woe of Ireland, and for which she herself is now suffering severe but just retribution.

England had the whole of the eighteenth century allowed her for the regeneration of the sister country : and if she had been zealous and active *then* in that glorious and holy cause,—if she had legislated with any thing like a just appreciation of what was due to the ancient Church and Religion of Ireland, she would have saved a vast amount of treasure and of blood ; she would now have in Ireland a rich and fertile country inhabited by a nation of allies and of brethren bound to her by the strongest ties. Alas ! how different from this is the real state of the case ! Let the “ National Library for Ireland ” tell.

The first act we shall specify, in which England connived at the robbery of the Church and people of Ireland,—yes, and in a most sacrilegious plunder of the things of Almighty God, and of the poor,—was the abolition of the tithe of *agistment*.

Resistance was made to the payment of this tithe about 1734, not by the *peasantry*, but by the *landlords*. “ Most<sup>1</sup> unfortunately for the *clergy*, and more unfortunately still for the *country*, the persons principally, if not solely, affected by this tithe, were those best able to bear it, namely, the *great graziers* and *Protestant proprietors* of land, who, as they possessed considerable influence *directly* and *indirectly* in the *House of Commons*, brought the question before that *interested* tribunal on two different occasions, and, by raising false alarms, eventually succeeded in deterring the clergy from making, and the courts of justice from entertaining, any demands for this tithe, though no legal legislative act was passed for its abolition till the year 1800. What the necessary and unavoidable consequences of this injurious measure must have been, it was easy to foresee : by it the clergy were thrown from

<sup>9</sup> See Duigenan's Answer to Grattan, p. 123.

<sup>1</sup> We cite these paragraphs from a work entitled *The State of Ireland*. Dublin, 1810, pp. 9. 29.

the rich grazier and the Protestant proprietor of extensive tracts of land, *upon the poor Roman Catholic peasant for support*: by it they were driven from 'the demesne of the gentleman to the garden of the cottager,' to draw their subsistence from those who were already starving. Had the rectors been allowed their fair demand on agistment, *which at that time constituted the chief source of their revenue*, they would have been enabled to exercise great lenity in their dealings, and to indulge the natural humanity of their dispositions towards the poorer husbandman, from whom, by *that unjust, impolitic, and interested vote of the House of Commons*, they were obliged to derive their support. This vote of agistment, by which *the clergy were stripped of their just and legal demands*, injured the country in three different ways: 1st, by compelling the clergy to enforce a strict payment of other tithes, and for that purpose to resort more *generally to proctors*, it contributed to disturb the tranquillity of the country on various occasions: 2nd, by affording a negative *premium on pasture*, it threw further obstacles in the way of *agriculture*: and 3rd, by occasioning the *union of several parishes*, it added to the evil of *non-resident or inefficient clergy*, and the consequent decay of *religion and morals*. 'In many cases,' says Primate Boulter, 'there are whole parishes, where, without this tithe, there is no provision for the minister: and it is certain,' he adds, 'that by running *into cattle* the number of people are decreasing, and most of their youth out of business, and disposed to list in foreign service for bread, there being no employment for them at home, and by this means *a great part of our churches are neglected*, in many places *five, six, or seven parishes* being bestowed on *one incumbent*, who with all his tithes scarce gets 100*l.* a year<sup>2</sup>.'"—p. 183.

We heard it stated in the English parliament in 1845, as a reason for the Maynooth Bill, that "the REFORMATION had *failed in Ireland*." Must it not be confessed, that England and her parliaments are mainly responsible for this failure, as far as it goes, by robbing God, and the Church, and the poor; by the abolition of the tithe of agistment; and by all its lamentable consequences; alienation and jealousy between rich and poor; unions of parishes; non-residence of clergy; decay of churches and schools; neglected Sundays and services; ignorance, superstition, and sedition; and, in fine, by all that long train of miserable measures, of which the Maynooth Bill is one? When will England *restore* to the Church and poor of Ireland, their due?

<sup>2</sup> There are some excellent remarks, as well as much valuable information, on this and other similar topics, in a work by a Member of Parliament who has nobly shown his sympathy with Ireland in her misfortunes, J. C. Colquhoun, Esq.—*Ministerial Policy in Ireland, 1845*, pp. 28, 29.

Then, and not till then, will she cease to be dependent on the Pope. Then, and not till then, will she be secure against domestic faction, and lurking treasons in Ireland, as well as against open rebellion and foreign invasion. The abolition of the tithe of agistment led to the increase of *pasture*, and to the diminution of *arable* land: it reduced the native produce of *corn*: and now scarce five years pass away without a *famine* in Ireland.

But to proceed. In our own day the tithes of Ireland diminished by the abolition of the agistment tithe, have been further impaired *twenty-five* per cent. by the Tithe Commutation Act: that is to say, the Church has been robbed of a fourth of her income by England, to the great temporal and spiritual injury of the poor, and to the lamentable detriment of the country. And now (1847) the New Poor Law for Ireland comes in, and makes another excision from the impoverished revenues of the parochial clergy<sup>3</sup>.

Again: *ten* ancient Irish sees have been suppressed, to the discouragement of the national Church, and to the triumph and aggrandizement of papal usurpation<sup>4</sup>.

Again: a "National (so called) System of Education" has been established at an annual expense of *seventy thousand pounds*; which is so constituted, that the BIBLE is not admissible in the school-room; and even the compilation called "Scripture Lessons" has been rejected in more than *nine-tenths* of the schools under the influence of the Romish priesthood in the south and west of Ireland; and thus, it may be feared, a generation has been produced in the lower orders of society, ready for the reception of all the pernicious influences of such publications as the "*National Library for Ireland*," and without any good principles to counteract the poison thus infused into their minds.

On the other hand, the old Charter Schools of the Church of Ireland have been abolished; and that Church which reads the Bible in all her schools, has appealed by her bishops to the

<sup>3</sup> The words of the Archbishop of Dublin in the House of Lords on this subject deserve to be recorded:—"There was a great want in Ireland of that class which was the most suitable to the working out of such a measure as the New Poor Law. They were destitute of the class of substantial farmers and yeomen, who should administer the Poor Law. Who had administered to the wants of the suffering people of Ireland in their necessities in the *present famine*? He said, and he said it without fear of contradiction, that it was *the clergy of the Established Church*. It was the clergy of the Established Church who had made great sacrifices to administer to the wants of the Irish people. But the clergy of the Established Church *would suffer the most* under the operation of the proposed law, and it should be borne in mind that, by the *tithe commutation, 25 per cent. of their incomes* had been given to the *landlords*."

<sup>4</sup> The Most Reverend Prelate, mentioned in the last note, is making a noble effort to restore these sees. We can hardly doubt of his success.

English government for aid in educating the people—and her *suit has been rejected.*

Again: the sum of *twenty-six thousand pounds* a year has been recently voted (1846) by the English legislature to the *College of Maynooth*, which is under the control of bishops who have sworn to “observe the decrees of Trent;” to “be obedient to their *Lord, the Pope,*” and “to maintain the papacy and royalties of Peter against all men.”

Again: in the Commission for Ireland under the *Charitable Bequests Bill* (7 and 8 Vict. c. 97) the English government has recognized Irish sworn servants of the pope, as bearing *rank* in consequence of vassalage to him, and of non-subjection to the English crown<sup>5</sup>; and bearing *higher* rank in proportion as that vassalage and that non-subjection, respectively, are more complete!

We cannot wonder that, with the lessons which these Acts publicly teach by the legislative voice of England, the Irish people should look on the English rule as a *civil and religious grievance.* If these legislative measures to which we have now referred, are indeed part and parcel of what is commonly called “*Justice to Ireland,*” then that system can only be *completed* by the REPEAL of the UNION, and by the abolition of all traces of English rule in that country. If these Acts *are* equitable, we cannot stop short of that catastrophe: and, whatever the means may be, the end aimed at by the editors of the “*National Library*” is indeed a consummation for which every Irish patriot is bound to strive.

But, as we have before said, we are firmly convinced that all these measures rest on an *unrighteous* foundation. They are based on principles directly opposed to divine truth, and utterly subversive of it. The WORD of God inculcates obedience to sovereign powers, and declares that he that resisteth the power shall receive to himself *damnation.* If the Queen of Great Britain is *not* the lawful sovereign of Ireland, then the sooner she renounces all claim to the rule of that country, the better; but, if she is, then any withdrawal of allegiance from her, and any adhesion

<sup>5</sup> King James I., whom it is now so much the fashion to disparage, showed much more political wisdom than our three estates of our own day, when he said to the Romish agents in 1614, “You that are but *half subjects* should have but *half privileges*: you that have an eye to me but one way, and to the Pope another way, the Pope is your father in *spiritualibus*, and I in *temporalibus* only; and so you have your bodies torn one way, and your souls drawn another: you that send your children to the seminaries of treason, strive henceforth to become true subjects, that you may have *Cor unum et viam unam*, and then I shall respect you all alike; but your Irish priests teach you such grounds of doctrines as you cannot follow them, but you must cast off your loyalty to your king.”



to a *foreign* power, is *treason* against her, and ought *not* to be rewarded by the state with *rank* and *dignities*, (God forbid !) but to be controlled by civil restraints.

Again: if the Romish Church is indeed the *true Church*, if it teaches the doctrines of Christ and his Apostles, if it is the *primitive Church of Ireland*, then, in the name of Heaven, let it be established to-morrow! let the Romish primates be installed in Armagh and in Dublin; let the Romish prelates be domiciled in the episcopal palaces of Ireland; let a Maynooth be erected and endowed in every province of Ireland; let the "National Library for Ireland" be reprinted by the Queen's printer; and let the "National System of Education" receive increased grants for teaching the doctrines of the papal councils of Lateran, Constance, and of Trent.

*But*, if the ancient Church of Ireland was *free*; if the authority of the Bishop of *Rome* was never recognized in that country before the tenth century; if the papal power *forced* itself into Ireland by aggressions and frauds, abetted, alas! by England; if Ireland emancipated herself from that tyrannical usurpation and hard bondage in the sixteenth century, and if she would now be enjoying the blessed fruits of liberty, peace, prosperity, and true religion, provided only that *England* had done her duty to Ireland, and had *not* been lamentably false to her trust by collusion and conspiracy with her worst foe; then, we say, if we do not desire that our own acts should recoil upon ourselves, and that the wind to which we have sown in Ireland should become a whirlwind in England, let us *repent* of our injuries to the Irish people; let not the folly of the past be a reason for insanity in the future; let us lose no time in paying some instalments at least of the heavy debt, so long due, of justice to Ireland; let us achieve a work of true "Catholic emancipation;" let us restore, sustain, strengthen, enlarge, and consolidate the ancient, scriptural, apostolical Church of Ireland; let us resuscitate her suppressed bishoprics, reimburse her sequestered endowments, recruit her dismantled schools; let us, in fine, make the Church of Ireland capable of performing the work, which *she alone can* perform, that of re-awakening the loyalty of an estranged nation, and of staying the plague (worse than of famine and pestilence) which may break out sooner than any of us is aware, and rage more furiously than any of us may apprehend,—the plague of sedition, of rebellion, and of civil war<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> The following extracts from the speech of the Right Hon. Spencer Perceval in the House of Commons on May 13, 1805, show what *would* have been done for Ireland if the life of that conscientious and courageous minister had not been

prematurely snapped asunder, and what *may still be done* for Ireland by a statesman acting on principles and furnished with abilities like his.

“Sir, if we would be wise, if we would be consistent, if we would be useful to our country, we must go further. We must *support the Established Church*; we must *encourage it*. We should adopt measures for *repairing the dilapidated churches* in Ireland. We should adopt measures for *reversing the fatal policy of those unions*, which, unhappily for that country, have committed the care of 2000 parishes to not more than 1000 rectors, of whom not more than 500 have any houses belonging to them on which they can reside. We should take measures for procuring a *resident clergyman in every parish*. We should take measures for *repairing rectorial houses* where they are decayed,—for rebuilding them where they have been demolished. We should, in short, *give to the people of Ireland the means of worshipping as Protestants*, of which, in many parts of that country, *they are now wholly deprived*. No circumstance has more fatally tended to thwart the progress of the Reformation; to diminish the numbers of the Protestants, both real and apparent; to aid the success and to spread the tenets of the Roman Catholic priesthood. Moreover, sir, we should review the system of the *Protestant schools* in Ireland, which, though instituted upon the best possible motives, have their objects defeated and counteracted by some impolitic and inconvenient regulations.

“It is in my mind to the *Church Establishment* in Ireland, and to the support of it (if you are to keep up your *connexion with Ireland*), that you must in a *great measure look for the means of preserving that connexion*. What is said, therefore, of the non-residence of the clergy, the union of many livings, the too great extent of parishes, &c. &c., I agree to in a great measure, and would gladly see the object of reined. I would have the Irish Government set its face steadily against unions. I would not admit of a union to be held in plurality with another living. Let us persevere in our plan of encouraging the building of parsonage-houses. Let us *raise merit only to the bench and to the high dignities*; let us encourage the *dissolution of unions and the division of parishes*. These latter objects may be effected without difficulty when the patronage is in the Crown or in the Church, but will be useless till we have the means of giving separate glebe residences and churches to the separated parishes and the distinct parts of those which may be divided. *Let residences of the clergy be every where compelled as much as possible*,—and from all I can hear, I believe these circumstances would not only *create*, but would *discover* a much *greater proportion of Protestant population* in Ireland than is *now believed to exist*. In many places they have no means of showing themselves at present.

“As to *provision for the Roman Catholic Clergy*,—believing the Protestant ascendancy and establishment to be essential to the *connexion of Ireland and England*, and indeed to the existence of the Protestant proprietors in Ireland; and that *no degree of good, no, nor that of conciliating the priest himself*, would be effected by this measure; I look at this measure as *one of the most fatal which could possibly be recommended*. I look sanguinely to the effect of an improved state of the Protestant clergy in point of residence, operating upon the improved state of growing information in Ireland, for the gradual diminution of papal error; I contend that the promotion of the Protestant religion in Ireland has *NEVER* been pursued upon any rational principle till of very late years; that it is *not even now* sufficiently acted upon; that the effect of the *experiment* fairly tried is *not known*; and I look to any thing which promotes and increases the influence and revenues of the Roman Catholic priest as so much weight flung into the opposite scale, counteracting all the good which we may hope to derive on the other side. To this, therefore, I cannot conceive the state of circumstances in which I should not feel myself bound to give my most decided opposition.”

ART. IV.—*Two Lectures on Machinery. Delivered before the University of Oxford in Lent Term, 1844.* By TRAVERS TWISS, D.C.L., F.R.S., Professor of Political Economy. Oxford: John H. Parker. 1844.

WE propose at present, and perhaps in some future numbers, to make a few observations on the subject of Political Economy. And at this name how many readers will lay down the book! To how many will rise up a vision of a dry, barren, weary, interminable waste of disquisition, strewed with arid facts, like a wilderness with stones, and incapable of throwing forth even one wild flower of imagination, or one gushing rill of feeling to relieve its dreariness! How many will turn away from the subject with still more repugnance, as the chosen resort of minds alienated from all higher speculations, and corrupted by the service of Mammon! How many, too, upon principle, will affect to despise it, as if the only mode of checking the abuse of an inquiry is to crush it by an assumption of scorn!

And yet political economy has raised its head, and established its footing among the sciences and philosophies of men. It has been admitted—not without a struggle, but still formally—into our University studies. It has attracted the attention of minds of great acuteness and range of thought; and it has compelled attention by the pertinacity with which it has forced its calculations and conclusions into every department of political life, and become, in fact, the secretly dominant theory of public affairs. Examine the measures of a Ministry, and the debates in Parliament; and how few, if any, do not at last fall into and terminate in some economical question—a question of revenue, or taxation, or expenditure, or debt, or property. How few even of the greatest and most purely moral subjects connected with legislation are ever approached in Parliament without being debased by reasonings only fit for the atmosphere of the Exchange, and without the measures they involve being impoverished and curtailed, and often rendered futile, by the pressure of the money market.

Ireland—and with this word what a host of reflections rises up—is at this day become from a problem of religion, of political organization, of moral cultivation—a problem of money. Education, dis severed from all higher responsibilities, all avowed connexion with religion, so far as the State is concerned, is now reduced to the distribution of funds: it is a matter of finance.

The prerogatives of the Crown seem valued only as they dispense salaries. The Legislature is a machine for taxation. Society a joint-stock company for the creation of wealth. The higher classes are the rich, and the rich are the higher classes. Poverty in our eyes has lost its sanctity, its title to respect, its community of nature with man and with God, and is dealt with only as an incumbrance, or a curse, or a political offence. Even the Church is dragged down to the same miserable level. It cries for more bishops; but the answer is, there are no funds. It asks permission to receive endowments, and is met by the Statute of Mortmain. It strives to consolidate its funds and associate its clergy in colleges, and the main difficulty of their existence depends upon a question of money—the law of trusts. A blow is struck which threatens, in all human probability, to extinguish a whole class of the community, and that class the foundation itself of political society; but no voice is raised to plead for it on any higher grounds than those on which it is attacked—the price of corn. On every side we are beset by problems of political economy. And the Church, whether reluctantly or not, must be prepared to enter into, and guide and sanctify this branch of human knowledge, like every other. There is no escape.

And perhaps the importance of the study, its intimate connexion with the grandest and highest interests of life might be best appreciated, if the reader would transfer himself in mind to three scenes, which were once brought in succession before our own attention, and would compare them together in their circumstances and results. The first is the University of Oxford.

It is no unworthy pride for those who owe to the institutions of that place a most fervent gratitude, if they delight to witness the effect produced by them on cultivated and religious minds. And when the observer stands among them perhaps with even increased affection and pleasure as the place of his own education, let him appreciate the munificence which has devoted its wealth to the foundation of such nurseries of learning and piety. Let him examine the political wisdom which has given security to their property, and invested them with dignity and power in the body politic of the nation. Let him trace their moral operation upon the whole people by the spirit of obedience, and self-respect, and faith, which they infuse into the higher classes. Let him feel the secret influence of noble halls, and ancient towers, of cloisters, and groves, and spires, and pinnacles mingled together in exquisite beauty; of the calmness and peacefulness which lie around them like a spell; of libraries stored with the wisdom of ages; of collections of works of art; of the grace, decency, and manly refinement diffused over the whole aspect of life. Let it be the season of a public celebration; and let him

witness ceremonies which in splendour and beauty can scarcely be equalled in the courts of princes. Let him partake of hospitalities at which nobles are entertained with no unworthy sumptuousness. And let him reflect, that if in their public characters these great societies are thus able to exhibit both wealth and grandeur, privately there is spreading among them a greater simplicity of taste, more self-denial, more hardness of living, such as becomes communities devoted to prayer, and education, and learning.

He would be struck especially by the profusion, or, as too many might regard it, the extravagance which has been recently indulged in the restoration and decoration of the chapels belonging to the colleges; and not less by the extraordinary readiness and liberality, with which appeals of charity and religion are answered, by men, whose whole incomes, in the eyes of the world, are slender pittances; and by the tone of mind, the quietness, the reverence, the kindly feeling, the manly independence which pervades its society.

Let it be a calm bright summer's evening when he leaves that place of many privileges and many blessings. And as he looks down, for the last time, from the woody heights above it, on its spires, and turrets, and long grey ranges of arched windows flashing in the setting sun, amidst tufted groves and meadows glittering with streams; let him ask to what may be attributed the preservation of this place in strength and honour through so many changes of outward things, and even of civil convulsions; and how does it retain, even now, in the midst of a general corruption, its healing and sanctifying influence on the whole empire? And would not the answer, after looking to the source of all good, lead to a theory of Political Economy? When struck with the riches of its foundations, and the splendour of its public ceremonials, coupled with the peacefulness, and modesty, and neglect of self, which appears to be the natural result of its institutions, when religiously and worthily maintained, must he not reflect, that without vast endowments, and much of all those various creations of human art which constitute wealth, and, without certain laws in the distribution of them, even the moral energy and spirit of this place would be comparatively powerless? Perhaps in no place in the world is wealth, the great corrupter of man, more divested of its poison, or rendered more subservient to good,—that is, to the preservation and promulgation of religious truth, of obedience, and of charity. No where might we trace more clearly the effects of a sound and Christian Political Economy, as well as of a sound and Christian Political Philosophy.

Let the next day carry us to a very different scene,—into the

midst of one of those vast populated wildernesses of buildings, which cover, almost connectedly, our manufacturing districts. Let us be shut in for miles by dismal dreary ranges of sightless habitations, intermixed with tall blackened chimneys, vomiting perpetual smoke, and wreck-like heaps of excavated earth, from which hundreds of thousands of squalid, demoralized beings issue, day and night, to their never-ending drudgery in mines and factories; where the very blue of heaven, and the brightness of the sun, are tainted and obscured with filth; where spring never seems to come, and Nature, with her thousand forms of grace and mercy, is unknown. Let us seek out those who have devoted themselves to the ministry of the Gospel in this melancholy district, and as we listen to their sad and desperate tale of its condition, and watch their pale exhausted countenance, worn with anxiety and hopeless toil, and hear of children doomed to labour, without a thought of heaven or a knowledge of their God; of parents selling their babes to misery, and sin, and shame, to earn a scanty pittance; of the young thrown together into fermenting cesspools of corruption and vice; of towns springing up without a church or a school; of alternate fluctuations in the demand for labour, which exclude prudence, and tempt to extravagancy, and reduce all alike to poverty; of dishonesty and fraud which often close the market against the manufactures of a Christian country, and leave whole populations at the risk of perishing by famine; of sedition, and discontent, and infidelity; of the blasphemer and the drunkard; of chartism and socialism; of the infidel and assassin:—and when the cause of all these miseries and crimes was asked, and we traced it to the covetousness of wealth, should we not feel with the holy Apostle, that money is, indeed, the root of all evil; might we not doubt if a Christian should tolerate a science which makes wealth an exclusive object, if there can be any such branch of philosophy as a Christian political œconomy, any more than a Christian theory of murder and of poison?

From this scene we would take the observer to another. Let him find himself standing on the summit of one of the loftiest cliffs on the western coast of Ireland, and looking down from Achill Head on a grand, but dreary and desolate, extent of headland, and crag, and solitary shore, and wild moorland, and barren mountain, scarcely trodden by human foot. Beneath him, at the bottom of a precipice, known by the name of the Amethyst Mountain, from those gems being found there, he will see one of the miserable villages, of which only a few are to be found in the whole district. The little cabins, built of rude boulders from the shore, and thatched with sod, are huddled together, with their apertures, which can scarcely be called either doors, or windows, or chim-

neys, turned from the western blast. Before them lie fetid dunghills, the manure and only wealth of the emaciated, squalid, and almost naked beings who loiter idly among them. A few rude coricles are the only symptoms that any use is made of that magnificent ocean which stretches before their eyes, full of the most valuable fisheries, and opening to enterprise communications with the whole world, and by its safe and magnificent harbours, offering refuges and nurseries for whole fleets and marts of commerce. He will ask the names of two of those melancholy villages, and will be told that one signifies ague and the other fever; and the sickly, pallid faces of the almost naked children who crawl amidst the filth, will too well explain the reason. There is no sign of a place of worship, of a school, of any thing to indicate the presence of guidance or cultivation. The savages in the interior of Africa could not present a more wretched appearance than these citizens of the wealthiest and most cultivated empire in the world. Poverty, famine, and ignorance are stamped on every trace of human life; and the traveller will rejoice when an intervening precipice shuts out the sight, and he finds himself alone with nature, no voice to speak of misery and man, no sign of life but the leaping of the insect among the heath, and the eagle which shoots out under his feet from its eyrie in the cliff.

And yet as he descends from the mountain he will trace in many places indications of mines and treasures in veins of the rock and in the beds of torrents. The cabins are piled up from boulders of granite and porphyry. Though even the valleys are now covered with a deep bed of peat and bog, spotted here and there with black inky pools, or with a meagre patch of yellow ill-weeded potato ground, yet enormous trunks and roots of trees buried deep in the earth, prove that formerly whole tracts had been covered with forests, which, from the neighbourhood of the sea, might now have proved sources of wealth. Notwithstanding poverty and disease, and entire abandonment by any superior instructor, the unhappy children are still full of intelligence; and it will be remembered that from the Irish people are provided for England its finest soldiers, the great proportion of its manufacturing population, and, in the higher ranks, some of the highest and noblest examples of the human character which ever adorned our nature. Only one spot will exhibit any symptom of improvement. A line of low whitewashed cottages, with glazed windows, and a little terrace of cultivated corn land, lies in the gorge of a deep valley where it opens to the sea. It is the Missionary Settlement of Achill. And though many defects might be suggested in its organization, and no few differences of opinion on its religious character, the enterprise is full of interest both to the Christian and the statesman. At other times these

points might be discussed. Now it may strike us in another light, as connected with the temporal welfare and development of the wealth of this barren island. It is the germ of its political economy.

And it may be then,—surely the thought will occur,—it may be, that wealth is necessary to man, and that a science of Political Economy after all may not be a science of mere poison. What Oxford, with its noble machinery of institutions, is effecting for the whole empire, that little colony, not with less zeal, though with far less wisdom in its organization, is endeavouring to effect for this wilderness. But, without wealth, how could Oxford be supported? And this little spot in the desert must wither and die away unless it can command that, which in the eyes of the starving inhabitants around it, would appear unbounded riches. Oxford, Birmingham, and Achill! How much they might suggest to us on the use and abuse of wealth, on the difference of a Christian and a heathen political economy, and on the absence of any economy whatever.

This, then, is the object of the following remarks—to suggest how political economy may be viewed in a Christian light; how it may be identified with Christian morality; how it may be made to illustrate Christian truth; how its end and object, the proper creation and distribution of human wealth, may be attained and served more by the simple observance of the teaching of the Bible, than by all the speculations of finance and the enterprises of covetousness.

And first, of the logical mode of examining the subject.

When a Christian commences the study of any science, he may well bear in mind the following principles:—that all truths, and all facts, and all the phenomena of nature, are parts of one grand system, of which the one God and Father of all is the Creator; that, as his work, they are all intimately connected together; that they are all emanations, or deductions, or copies, or applications of certain primary truths, which are the universal laws of creation; that the laws of the creation of an Almighty Creator can be found only in his own will, nature, and being; and that the will, nature, and being of that Almighty Creator are not now to be searched out and sought after, as if they were utterly unknown, but have been communicated to man, sufficiently for any practical purposes, through revelation to the Catholic Church.

Although he will be wisely and reverently cautious in applying these revealed truths to the explanation of phenomena, to which they may not be applicable (if this, indeed, be possible); and, still more, in deducing from them false conclusions by illogical reasonings of his own, he will also anxiously retain them before him



as warnings and safeguards, whenever he is arguing inductively, or examining any portion of philosophy apart from revelation. If he cannot draw out from the creeds of the Church, by direct argument, either moral or physical science, he will at least distrust any moral or physical science which terminates in inferences opposed to any article in those creeds. It is not said that he will reject, but he will distrust them; and, without denying indisputable facts, he will be inclined to suspect some error in their assumption as facts, or in the reasoning connected with them. When Newton, upon the unity of the Creator, founded his theory of unity and analogy in all the operations of nature, and thence concluded, that the same law which regulated the fall of an apple to the ground might regulate the movements of the planets, he acted upon the principles here suggested. When he proceeded to verify the hypothesis by experiments, and found that his calculations brought a different result, he neither abandoned the law of analogy, nor the supposed facts of observation. He retained them both, suspended in his mind, and waited for some other mode of reconciling them. It may be that he doubted the correctness of his calculations, rather than the universality of his law; and the doubt was subsequently justified by the discovery that the calculations had been wrong, and that correct calculations brought out the exact result which he had anticipated.

As Newton acted in astronomy, a Christian may not unphilosophically act in political economy; and as all the articles of the Christian faith come to us upon the same authority, and demand the same reverence and faith, he can no more be charged with mysticism and false speculation, in hypothetically applying any one to science, than Newton, when he applied the doctrine of the Divine unity to the solution of the movements of the heavenly bodies.

Among these articles are two; a neglect of which seems to have embarrassed both modern and ancient speculations on the subject of political economy,—and however remote they may seem at first, they will be found intimately connected with the study. They are, first, “The human Nature of our blessed Lord united with his Divine Nature, in one Person, as perfect God and perfect Man, of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting;” and, secondly, “The Resurrection of the Body.”

It would be scarcely possible to state, in a more general or authoritative form, the mysterious truth, round which both human passions and human reason have been battling since the beginning of the world, and battling in vain, as often as they have been distracted by the struggles between matter and spirit, the soul and the body. At one moment, the ethereal element within man

has endeavoured to emancipate itself wholly from the chains of the flesh; and if not in this world, at least in another, to imagine and realize a being wholly incorporeal and divine. At another the body has dragged the soul to the ground, and sense has succeeded in materializing even the "Divine particle of heavenly breath,"—"divinam particulam auræ,"—enclosed within it. Either spirit without matter, or matter without spirit, has at times formed the exclusive object of human speculations; and as often as they have reached this termination, they have been encountered and repelled by some startling phenomenon, which no fancy or ingenuity can resist or evade; and in which either spirit penetrates into matter, or matter moulds and incorporates spirit. The two cannot be separated.

And Christianity proclaims this mystery; and as one of the vital truths, which enter most deeply, not only into the system of Christianity, but into the whole life and business of man, the Divine hand, which framed, or guided the framers of the Catholic creeds, has placed this as one among the few grand facts, the truths of truths, and laws of laws, which are essential to the Christian faith. It has exhibited it, not merely as an abstract doctrine, but as other abstract doctrines are exhibited in the Gospel, in external facts, in the nature of the Divine Being, in whom, and by whom, and into whom, all things were created; "who is the image of the invisible God, the first-born of every creature" (Coloss. i. 15); and in the prophecy of man's own embodied state in a future world, where nevertheless he will see the God of Spirits face to face. Perhaps no conditions could be imagined, under which mere human reason would so revolt from the realization of the mystery. To combine matter with spirit, in the person of a Divine Being, would seem both profanation and blasphemy. To carry the fetters and seeming infirmities of the flesh beyond the grave, is to deprive the immortality of the philosopher of its highest and most captivating charm. And yet Christianity does both: and it exemplifies the mystery still farther in a variety of forms:—in its sacramental influences; in its consecration of the body of man to be the temple of the Holy Spirit; in its appeals to the evidence of the senses; in the external ordination of its ministers; in its typical ritual; in the symbolical interpretation, both of history and of nature; in the reverence for external forms, when established by Divine authority; in one word, in every instance where it recognizes man as a compound being of body as well as soul, and neither rejects the body by a forced system of asceticism, nor annihilates the soul by permitting the supremacy of the senses.

And now to apply this principle to the study of political economy.

Political oeconomy, as now understood, is the science—if science it can be called—of wealth; of its creation, distribution, and exchange. And by wealth are understood all those objects in the material world, whether natural, such as the fruits of the earth and the metals of the mine, or artificial, as manufactures, which contribute to the physical comfort, convenience, and enjoyment of man. Like physical science, it has for its subject matter the material world. It differs from physical science in this, that it does not consider such material objects in themselves, in their own laws and operations, which might exist, whether man was created upon the earth or not, as coals might be formed within the earth, and water descend with a certain power, though no human beings lighted a fire, or ground corn; but in their connexion with and adaptation to man—in their value relative to him. But it is their value, solely as material and corporeal. A political economist of the present day does not examine the influence of lotteries, or of ardent spirits, or of duties which encourage smuggling, or of particular manufactories or trades, upon the morals or intellects of the people. He calculates by the revenue, by rents, by wages, by prices. If a national taste be generated for poison, as in the case of opium, and opium thus becomes valuable, and an article of commerce, the political economist does not prohibit it, except by assuming another character,—that of a moralist, or a Christian. And in enumerating the use of such articles, the articles which constitute wealth, he would rigidly exclude any qualities of mind which they might encourage or deteriorate, any habits of temperance, or faculties of reasoning which might accompany them: he would confine himself to objects which can be touched and handled, seen and heard; as food, clothing, houses, furniture, pictures, statues, books, lands, woods, machinery of all kinds, cattle considered in this light, the products of the fine arts considered as enjoyments of the senses; every thing, in short, which the animal man values, as contributing to the maintenance and gratification of his animal nature.

It is no unjust charge against the science, or those who have professed it, thus to limit its present acknowledged range. It is one of the fundamental principles contended for in all its inquiries that they should be pursued independently and exclusively, and be secured from any false bias or extraneous admixture of moral and religious considerations: and the result of this theory is fairly exemplified in the creation of the manufacturing districts of the British empire.

On the other hand, both philosophy and religion have seldom prevailed without the rise, in some form or other, of an exclusive spiritualism. The body has been regarded solely as the prison

and punishment of the soul. The command to crucify the flesh—that is, to extirpate from it by self-denial, and at the cost of any suffering, the vitality of every germ of sin—has been perverted to the entire annihilation of the body. Asceticism has sublimed devotional feeling into an union so complete with the Divine Spirit, as to destroy our individual existence. Politics have been planned, from which commerce, and manufactures, and arts, and property, and even money itself, were to be excluded. Religious communities have risen, under vows of poverty, which led to the accumulation of enormous riches; and the rejection of every bodily comfort and enjoyment has been made synonymous with virtue—with humility, which engendered pride, and with self-sacrifice which became but another form of self-indulgence.

But truths are not single principles; they are made up of binary principles of two apparent contrarities. And though human reason cannot grasp them both, but must assume, and argue upon, only one portion and face of the whole, the Christian, by receiving revelation upon the testimony of the Catholic Church, can and will accept the whole: and where in the creeds he finds that the intimate union of the spiritual and corporeal is asserted in the strongest of all instances, he will beware of separating them. He will believe that there exists some deep, inscrutable, mysterious connexion between them in man and human nature, at all times, and under all circumstances upon earth, because not only in himself, but in the Almighty Being after whose image man was formed, and union with whom, both in this world and the next, is his life and his hope, the voice of heaven has proclaimed, that “the two natures are united never to be divided.” And he will neither study nor think to practise, nor teach a system of morals or of politics from which the use and abuse of wealth should be excluded; and still less to profess a science of wealth without placing it in harmony and co-operation with religion, and virtue, and truth.

With the former error we are little concerned at present. Perhaps in some recoil and revulsion of the public mind we may, at no great distance of time, pass from the idolatry of wealth to a fanatical spiritualism, which will treat it wholly with scorn. But as yet the danger and the falsehood lies in an opposite direction—in the exclusive contemplation of the laws of wealth, as distinct and severed from the laws of man’s higher nature; from virtue and religion. And because virtue and religion are vague terms, which may be used without any definite meaning, and may imply nothing more than forms of opinion without any positive external authority and obligation; and because even moral law must be founded on our relations to the Divine Being, and those relations depend

upon his nature and attributes, and thus even the commandments "Thou shalt not steal," "Thou shalt not covet," become emanations from the doctrinal truths of theology, therefore a Christian in restoring the connexion between matter and spirit in the study of political œconomy, will refer first to the facts of the Creed, and make them, as far as may be, the rule and standard by which he may at least check and test the result of his independent reasoning. In so doing, however his reasoning may be obscure to those who cannot perceive the connexion between the intellect and the heart, between abstract truth and practice, between principles and facts, he will at least assert the existence and supremacy, and universal authority and application of Divine truth. He will imply the essential connexion between the Creator and his creation. He will hold up the grand ultimate formula, which, however mysterious it may seem, must contain the key to the problem of the universe. He will remind both himself and others of the existence of an external law placed over his reason as well as over his affections by the hand of God himself, and of the authority through which that law has been made known to him, and which demands his allegiance in the name of God himself,—the authority of the Catholic Church. And he will be assisting to fulfil the task appointed to that Church of upholding and promulgating truth by elevating a standard of definite positive doctrine, by which revelation is secured from the licence and the destructiveness of mere opinion.

But when he proceeds to the Bible, the necessity will be made still more evident of connecting, and that most intimately, the science of political œconomy with the doctrines and the practice of revelation. The economist cannot say what the geologist, and the chemist, and the astronomer may attempt to say, that the Bible is silent upon his science—that it does not profess to deal with such matters—that in speaking of them it conforms to popular prejudices, and uses the language of popular error, where truth and falsehood are alike indifferent. Rather the Scriptures are full of a political œconomy of their own. Wealth, and its use and its abuse, form no small part of their teaching. And a Christian will pause the more before he proceeds to sever the political œconomy of the Bible from the political œconomy of human philosophy, the teaching that is of God from the teaching of man, when he finds that, in a multitude of instances, their principles and their reasoning run out into the most startling contradictions. If the blind man, having detached himself from his guide, pursues by himself the same road with his guide, he may be permitted to proceed with less fear; but when, at the first step, he

takes the exactly opposite direction, and at the end of his journey reaches a wholly different point, those who have the care of his safety will be desirous once more to attach him to a leader.

When political economy builds its whole system, as on a fundamental law, on a license to human avarice, and the Bible sums up its morality to man in the words "Thou shalt not covet,"—when political economy treats of wealth as an absolute good, if not "the good" of man, and the Bible declares that its glory, the glory of the world, has been delivered to the evil one (Luke iv. 6), "to give it to whomsoever he will,"—when political economy looks to the cupidity of man as the spring of his improvement and happiness, and the Bible pronounces it "the root of all evil,"—when political economy is compelled to treat poverty as crime, and He who made the world had not where to lay his head upon earth, and blesses it with an especial blessing,—when political economy prohibits any thought of virtue or of heaven from intruding into its calculations and acts, and the Bible says, "whether ye eat or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God,"—when political economy grudges tithes as a tax upon improvement, and the day of rest as a subtraction of labour, and the Bible "curses with a curse" (Mal. iii. 9), the robbers of the Lord in tithes, and the breakers of his sabbaths,—when political economy leaves as the wages of the labourer only that which he can extort reluctantly from the avarice of his employer, and the Bible says, "Thou shalt not muzzle the ox when he treadeth out the corn,"—when political economy would scoff at the thought of lending without interest, and the Bible says, "Thou shalt not lend upon usury to thy brother, usury of money, usury of victuals, usury of any thing that is lent upon usury,"—when political economy deems a maniac (Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, vol. i.) the man who would employ his capital except for his own present pleasure or future profit, and the Bible declares that the first duty of the rich man is to "honour the Lord with his substance,"—when political economy would aim by the increase and distribution of riches, to create almost a heaven upon earth, and the Bible gives the warning, "how hardly shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of God" (Mark x. 23),—and when the paradise of political economy is a vision of merchandise, and of "a city clothed in fine linen, and purple and scarlet, and decked with gold and precious stones and pearls," a vision of "cinnamon, and odours, and ointments, and frankincense, and wine, and oil, and fine flour, and wheat, and beasts, and sheep, and horses, and chariots, and slaves, and souls of men" (Rev. xviii. 16. 13); and these are the very marks set by the voice of God himself upon the "habitation of devils, and the

hold of every foul spirit, and the cage of every unclean and hateful bird,"—and when, in proportion as these signs are multiplying around us, in the same proportion misery and sin, malice and rebellion, heresy and schism, seem casting their shadows forward to foreshow the coming of the latter days, of the reign of Anti-christ,—when all these strange and fearful contrasts are perceived, a Christian may well doubt, whether it be possible to profess together the faith of a Christian, and the science of oeconomy, such as it is at present, and will assuredly endeavour, if both studies are necessary, as they are necessary, to the welfare of man, to harmonize them in the only way possible, by placing the human reasoning under the constant control and superintendence of the Divine revelation.

But the Christian may possess his philosophy as well as his faith. And by this he will at once detect the fallacy which lies in the seeming reasonableness of confining political oeconomy exclusively to its own province of wealth, and prohibiting the intrusion of any seemingly heterogeneous questions.

It is true that there was a time when physical science was not improved, when it was even impeded and corrupted by an admixture of theology, and by the substitution of laws of mind to explain the mysteries of the laws of matter. But it may be that even here the evil was caused rather by the assumption of false principles, and by their application to subjects with which they had no connexion, than by the admixture itself. A physician mistakes a poisonous herb for a healthy drug, and applies it in a disorder where even the drug could do no good; and the patient dies. But we are not therefore to proscribe the connexion between botany and chemistry as fanciful and mischievous. And if a moralist infers that because stones are only impelled by impact, therefore mind must be swayed by external motives, and the mind be irresponsible like the stone, there are other modes of explaining the falsity of the conclusion than by denying any analogy whatever between mind and matter. There is between them at least a typical connexion; and the knowledge of the substance may assist us in interpreting the shadow, and the shadow may illustrate the substance. Even in physical science it is not wise, and it never has profited to proscribe a prudent, cautious, reverent contemplation of the nature of the Divine Creator, when we are engaged in discovering or studying the laws which He has imposed on his creatures; to sever wholly theology from science.

But if this be true in researches, which are wholly conversant with matter, it is still more true in a study of which man, and his moral nature, his wants, and appetites, and intellect, and art, form an essential portion. And for this reason: because man,

as a free agent, is placed not under one system of laws, but under two; and any philosophy of actions which does not embrace both systems, is as maimed and imperfect as a theory of mechanical movements, which excluded the consideration of friction; or an astronomy, which in calculating the orbit of the planets, resolutely set aside the attraction of the sun. If a general, in planning a campaign, calculates only by the certainties within his powers, and omits all thought of contingencies beyond his reach; if an orator, in addressing an assembly, confines himself to the abstract rules of logic and of eloquence, but sets aside all consideration of a totally different subject, the peculiar circumstances and condition of himself and of his audience; if a statesman frames his policy only on the knowledge of what man is, without a thought of what man should be, and builds prisons without churches, and codifies pains and penalties without even recognizing, or appealing to, or anticipating in a people a single noble feeling or Divine act, because the nature of man is corrupt, and "all the thoughts of his heart are only evil continually;" and if they then boast of the sobriety, and discernment, and perspicacity, with which they drew the lines of distinction, and secured truth from the intrusion of error by a commixture of irrelevant matters, what would be the issue? And if political economy will persist in regarding man solely as a digger of coals, or a spinner of cotton, or a purveyor of tobacco, swayed only by one instinct—universal cupidity; if it will forget that there are men to whom gold is as dust, and hearts to which giving is tenfold more blessed than receiving, and laws which bid us take no anxious thought for the morrow, and a Creator, in whose eyes covetousness is as idolatry, and a Hand moving above all, which could feed a people in a year of jubilee, though fields were untilled, and crops unsown, and in a moment drive forth the King of kings from the palace of his glory, to "dwell with the beasts of the field, and to eat grass like oxen, because he walked in pride, and in the fulness of bread;" how can such a mutilated fragment of speculation presume to call itself a system, or to boast of its truth?

For sinful as man may be, selfish and covetous as he is, such instincts are not the only motives which influence his actions. The moral laws of his own nature, and of his Creator's revealed Word, are not wholly without effect. They do modify his conduct. And they do produce results in the creation and disposition of wealth, as well as mere cupidity. Nay, if the Scriptures may be trusted, they are not without effect in accomplishing the very object of the economist, and in rendering both nations and individuals prosperous and rich. If the Christian, in examining the laws by which wealth is accumulated and secured, should



adopt the following principles: if he believed that seeking first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, was the chief condition upon which the goods of the world will be added to us; that alms never impoverish the giver any more than a favourable loan, because he that giveth to the poor, lendeth unto the Lord, and the Lord will repay it; that instead of building barns to store up food for many years, that is, of accumulating capital as a security for the future, it may be wise to take no thought for the morrow, what we shall eat, or what we shall drink, but rather to depend on heaven day by day for our daily bread; that giving is the art of gaining, giving with a good measure, pressed down, and shaken together, and running over, that with the same measure that we mete withal, it may be measured to us again. (Luke vi. 38.)—If he believed, that to oppress the hireling in his wages, (Malachi iii. 5,) that is, to reduce him to the least upon which he can subsist, is no sure road to profit, but rather to bankruptcy and ruin, under a visitation from God; that if we seek to have the windows of heaven opened to us, and blessings poured out upon our fields, (Mal. iii. 10,) we must look, not to corn laws, or agricultural societies, or the removal of taxes upon produce, but to the payment of our tithes into the storehouses of the Lord; if a Christian should assert these principles as facts, as fundamental laws in the creation of wealth, how can the economist dispute them? How can he reject them without rejecting the Scriptures, or reject the Scriptures without denying his God?

Let us not be deceived. It is not necessary that a political economist, reasoning as the science now reasons, should be an infidel, for he may be, and, under the blessing of God, will be illogical, and inconsequent, and inconsistent. His acts and inward feelings will not realize his argument. But the science is essentially infidel. It cannot be carried on by itself, exclusive of revelation and morality, without the tacit assumption of three falsehoods: one, that man is only a mere machine, swayed only by one law of selfish covetousness; another, that wealth is created by man, not given and distributed by God; the third, that the declarations of God, bearing expressly on this subject, are not to be taken into account on it, and therefore have no meaning, or are false. The moral nature of man, a particular providence of God, and the divinity of revelation, are all tacitly set aside by a system, which gives rules for the accumulation of wealth, without recognizing the interferences of God to avenge or enforce his commands, and which refuses to include the words of the Bible in the code of its fundamental laws.

The words may sound harsh, but they cannot be evaded.

But, it will be said, if political economy, instead of arguing

upon human nature, as ruled by one simple universal law of covetousness, is compelled to take into consideration the variations of his moral affections, the almost miraculous interferences of providences, and the contingencies of uncertain promises, it ceases to be a science. It can possess no solidity, no demonstration.

Assuredly it is so. Political œconomy is not a science, and never can be a science. It is, if the expression may be used, a prudence. And as such has always been regarded by philosophers who best understood the analysis of human knowledge. Its pretension to the name of a science is not merely a metaphysical inaccuracy, or a vagueness in the use of words. It is fraught with false consequences and mischievous practice.

Human reasoning, to take the form of science, must deal with immutable laws, with fixed quantities, with strict definitions, with powers capable of accurate measurement, and conditions which can be foreseen and enumerated. In proportion as any of these things fail, reasoning sinks into guess-work; and action, if it rests on any fixed principles or hopes, can find them only in the faith which trusts to an eye that sees, where man is blind, and to an arm that overrules all things, where man is powerless.

Let us consider, first, to what an extent this defect of certainty, this predominance of the fluctuating and contingent, enters into the subject-matter of political œconomy.

In the first place, wealth is supposed to be created by bringing to bear upon certain raw materials a certain quantity of human labour; in the same manner as by applying flame to gunpowder an explosion is produced proportioned to the quantity kindled; or as a certain amount of mechanical force will move a certain amount of weight. And in the material world such laws are found, permanent and universal, and therefore fit subjects for demonstration and science. But the labour which creates wealth is not merely physical power, which can be measured; it is not the force of so many workmen, or of an engine of so many horse power; it comprises (and that in a large proportion) talent, ingenuity, quickness, versatility, perseverance, knowledge of various kinds, which if omitted from the calculation, leave the calculation abortive, and if introduced, will compel the economist to include in his elements of wealth intellectual qualities, and the instruments by which they are developed. And the scientific form of the study is at once lost.

Secondly, even if these intellectual powers are brought in any fixed and definite proportions to bear upon the creation of wealth, still it is one of the most striking phenomena in the history of man, how completely they seem to have been chained and blindfolded as it were by some overruling Providence, barring them

from seeing objects which lay under their feet, and from penetrating passages which spread open to their eye, until some fatal moment arrived, when not theory, nor experience, nor logical deduction, but some accidental coincidence, lighting on a train of seemingly fortuitous combinations, exploded discoveries which have changed the face of nature, and turned the currents of opulence, and converted deserts into tillage-land, and barren rocks into havens of ships. How nearly both Aristotle and Plato stumbled on, and yet missed the circulation of the blood! How unfruitful of practical results was the ultimate formula of modern chemical science, the resolution of the atomic theory into laws of proportionate combination, in the speculations and cosmogonies of Pythagoras!

“Printing,” says Lord Bacon, “a gross invention; artillery, a thing that lay not far out of the way; the needle, a thing partly known before, what a change have these three made in the world in these times; the one in state of learning, the other in state of war, the third in the state of treasure, commodities, and navigation. And these, I say, were but stumbled upon, and lighted upon by chance. Therefore, no doubt the sovereignty of men lieth hid in knowledge, wherein many things are reserved, which kings,” (he might have added philosophers,) “with their treasure, cannot buy, nor with their forces command; their spials and intelligencers can give no news of them, their seamen and discoverers cannot sail where they grow.”

Scarcely a classical writer but contains a vision, almost a prophecy of the existence of America. Yet America lay hidden, till Columbus revealed it. Newton's astronomical discovery sprung out of the falling of an apple. The Rosetta stone, the key to the hieroglyphics of Egypt, lay for years in a public street, till accident led to its observation. Vaccination, glass, steam, galvanism, the doctrine of specific gravity, the power of extracting silver from the ore without the aid of quicksilver, electricity, astronomy, the effect of oil in calming water, Peruvian bark, the mineral springs of Bath, Melksham, and Dorton; iodine; the primitive form of crystals; the magnet, musical intervals, the isochronism of the pendulum, multitudes of other discoveries of the utmost importance both in science and in practice, and, not least, in the creation and distribution of wealth, have been casual: that is, they have been providential; they have not been suggested by, but to the human mind; they have been reserved as gifts in the hands of that Being, who is the source of all knowledge; they have not been wrought out by men from their own anticipations and exertions. The very nature of human reason involves this fact.

But there is something which enters into the creation of wealth, still less susceptible of measurement. It is the moral character of the mind. Prudence, patience, temperance, honesty, perseverance, quickness, activity, and firmness of character, are as much portions of the machinery by which wealth is accumulated, as the temper of the metal which forms the plough, or the elasticity of the steam which impels the engine. But there is no mode of defining their quantity, or calculating their results, except by those general laws of moral retribution, which Providence has purposely buried under a mass of contingencies, so that although the experience of man has stamped them as popular axioms, the truth of which cannot be disputed, their immediate operation is full of doubt, and cannot be traced. That "honesty is the best policy;" that early resting and early rising bring wealth as well as health and wisdom; that we never see the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging their bread; that wealth ill-gotten makes to itself wings and flies away—these, and a multitude of maxims of the same kind, no bad foundation for practical political œconomy, yet cannot be made the principles of science. They must be accepted upon faith.

But in addition to the general uncertainty in which nature has wrapped these influences of intellect and moral goodness upon the creation of wealth, she seems to have purposely and studiously involved even the physical laws of its development in obscurity and doubt. Even the primary law of them all, the proportion in which increase is given to the seed and fertility to the soil, is so various, so doubtful, that no approach can be made to accurate calculation, and no faculty even of foresight can be exercised except by striking averages, and comprising in the calculation a vast extent of country, and a long series of seasons. No farmer when he ploughs or sows can foresee what his crop will prove. No miner when he commences his excavations can measure the depth or richness of the vein. No fisherman when he casts his net into the sea knows what it will bring up. At first sight no knowledge would seem more valuable to man, none more likely to direct his labour aright, and to save a waste of toil and time: and yet this knowledge has been withheld from him. It may be to remind him more strongly who is the giver of all wealth, who it is that feeds the raven and clothes the lily: and to prevent him from doing that which modern political œconomy professes as its chief boast and object, from attempting to lay up treasures upon earth, or seeking any art, without faith, for providing his daily bread. We learn from it, what human reason would so soon forget if such operations of nature were immutable and certain, that though one may plant, and another

water, it is God that giveth the increase. It is by the seven years of plenty, and the seven years of famine, by the shutting up of the windows of heaven, by "the drought, the blight, the barrenness, by the ravages of the caterpillar and locust, the canker-worm and the palmer-worm, all the great army of the Lord," (Joel ii.) that we are taught, as we are taught at this moment, both to pray and to give thanks for the early and the latter rain, for the fruits of the seed, and for the fatness of the land.

But whatever may be the object of this uncertainty, the fact is the same. The increase of that portion of human wealth by which all other is regulated, and on which it must depend, the supply of food from the earth is a thing precarious, and beyond the calculation of science, for more than practical purposes, in which faith and not science must be the foundation of our reasoning. It is faith, not science, which is commanded in these words of the wise man: "Cast thy bread upon the waters, for thou shalt find it after many days." "He that observeth the wind shall not sow; and he that regardeth the clouds shall not reap. As thou knowest not what is the way of the spirit, nor how the bones do grow in the womb of her that is with child: even so thou knowest not the works of God who maketh all. In the morning sow thy seed, and in the evening withhold not thine hand: for thou knowest not whether shall prosper, either this or that, or whether they both shall be alike good." (Eccles. xi.)

But there is still a further element of uncertainty in the creation of wealth which baffles any thing approaching to demonstration, and therefore any thing like science. The mutability of riches is, and has been in all ages, a proverb. It is not merely the Scriptures, not merely a theoretical philosophy, but the practical experience of each hour which bids us in the "day of prosperity be joyful, but in the day of adversity consider: God also hath set the one over against the other, to the end that man should find nothing after him." (Eccles. vii. 14.)

There is natural decay, the moth and the rust that corrupts. There is human cupidity, the thief that breaks through and steals. There is still more, the extraordinary intervention of heaven, bringing upon those who "by their great wisdom and their traffic have gotten gold and silver into their treasures the stranger and the sword." (Ezek. xxviii. 4.) There are the seasons constantly varying, and bringing round the same results, only in a large cycle of changes, of which no single portion is fixed or foreseen. The supreme power of the State must be master of the wealth of the subjects, and they are exposed to all its revolutions and caprices. Value itself is determined by the wants of others, and by the relative abundance which supplies

them; and these wants are constantly varying, and, especially where covetousness encourages speculation, the amount of supply shifts like a mountain torrent, now deluging the market, and now leaving it nearly dry. A new discovery of science, an accidental fashion, the opening of a new road, the change of residence by a new competitor, the rumour of a battle, the caprice of a monarch in the most distant quarter of the globe, may change the fortunes of a house, and reduce them from riches to beggary.

As wealth is exposed generally to the aggressions of others, so it must in most instances be entrusted to their mercy under a system of credit. No man by himself is able to guard it; and the hands which he employs to protect and to increase will also be tempted to steal it. And thus we are compelled to admit into our calculations all the doubts which hang over the conduct of men—their moral and religious conduct—when placed in a state of trial. And as soon as we endeavour to escape from these contingencies, and to ensure stability to credit, and honesty to the execution of trusts, so that doubt should no longer invade them, we involve ourselves in still greater difficulties. The present unhappy system of the Court of Chancery grew up from an unwillingness to exercise faith in the committal of trusts; and our bankruptcy laws evidence sufficiently the vanity of attempting to remove risk from credit.

And thus not only the Scriptures, but common life, are full of instances in which not wealth, as the imagination often dreams, but poverty, breaks in suddenly like an armed man, and at the moment when all things seemed secure. A mine of quicksilver is purchased to-day, which to-morrow is rendered useless by the discovery of a new mode of smelting metal. A poor woman falls down in a fit at the door of a banking-house: a mob is collected; rumours spread, a run takes place, and the bank is ruined. A firm, surrounded with all the appearances of stability and wealth, falls with the fall in the price of sugar or of corn, and involves with it the fortunes of hundreds. Thus property in the West Indies is affected by a hurricane, or by an act of the Legislature emancipating the slaves. Thus property in the funds hangs upon a division in the House of Commons. Thus capital embarked in an inn is rendered valueless by the projection of a railway. Precariousness and uncertainty are every where. Even property tied up, and as it might seem secured, by the most stringent laws, and in the most formal manner, is found to have been undermined in secret by some technical flaw or undiscovered claim: and none can say how suddenly they may break out. And its permanence in the family is little more certain

than in the individual. What the father accumulates by thrift, the son wastes in extravagance: and the artificial character of our own system of entail is a sufficient indication of the effort required to struggle successfully against that law by which so often "riches are kept for the owners thereof to their hurt: riches which perish by evil travail: and he begetteth a son, and there is nothing in his hand." (Eccles. v. 13, 14.)

But this pretension of political economy to the dignity of science is not merely a logical or metaphysical inaccuracy; it is full of practical evil.

In the first place, as science must be founded on universal principles, and as political economy is conversant with certain operations of man, it is necessary to find for those operations some general immutable laws, and to contemplate his conduct as regulated exclusively by them. Hence the necessity of regarding man as a machine emptied of all moral affections and duties, and actuated exclusively by the one instinct of covetousness. With this the office of the legislator dwindles down into an administration of finance: political society is contemplated only as a safeguard of property: loyalty and obedience become questions of prudence, to be regulated by the balance of trade and the amount of taxation: the landlord occupies his land only as a manufacturer of corn: the clergy stand in no other light than as receivers of tithes: charity assumes the form of our modern poor laws: the cultivation of the higher faculties of mind, intellect, taste, refinement, and philosophy, are studies which bring no profit, and therefore are despised: the manufacturer and the merchant, as most immediately concerned in the creation of wealth, become most deeply contaminated with the plague-spot of avarice, and lose their self-respect with the respect of society: and the labourer, whether in the factory or the farm, is priced and reckoned among the machinery and stock, and his wages reduced to the minimum of subsistence, as if he possessed neither heart nor soul, nothing but sinews and muscles to move like wheels and pulleys, and to be kept just sufficiently in repair. And these results are not imaginary; they follow logically and necessarily; and we can see them now before our eyes in our own country.

It may be true (let us repeat it again) that the majority of mankind do act under the one prevailing instinct of covetousness and selfishness; that trade, considered in itself, and value, and prices, and wages, are regulated by a conflict between two opposite avarices; that to buy cheap, and sell dear, is the chief or the only maxim of commercial relations. Even so it may be true that the majority of men are sinful; that they act only under impulse

and passion; and that those passions, for the most part, are most low and most unworthy. And yet how little can he know either of the nature of man, or of the dealings of God, who would either rule or teach, without constantly setting before him a higher nature, and nobler laws, and a diviner form of the human creature; or would frame a single, instead of a double, system for a being composed not of a single, but of a double, nature? What man should be is the first foundation and primary principle of the Divine government, whether in nature or in revelation. His high calling, his heavenly birth, his future glory, his brotherhood with Christ,—these are the first truths set before him in his baptism; and upon these, as realized and possessed, his education must be conducted and his perfection built up. To man, still retaining in his heart the root of bitterness and the bondage of sin, such thoughts sound as fictions and dreams, and too often they end in being fictions; for another reality exists within him,—the reality of sin: and against this another system has been framed, dealing with him as corrupt and frail, contemplating him as he is. And a government, or a philosophy, which does not embrace both views, like one which does not connect spirit with matter and matter with spirit, the higher world of thought and action with the lower, must begin in supposing man to be either an angel or a demon, and end in making him either a visionary or a brute. It is a great mystery; and yet this is the law of Christian education, to make man what he should be by supposing him to be already what he should be. And thus the political economist may have a system, in which selfishness is the ruling law; and he may calculate the results of this as facts too common, and of which the good, mingled with the evil, evidences the disposal of one who can bring light out of darkness, and order out of chaos, and by whom even the agencies of sin and mischief are turned ultimately to his own glory. But before, and beyond this, he must have another system,—the system of Christianity; in which not the love but the hatred of the world should rule; in which, that “the land may yield her increase, and the trees of the field yield their fruit,” we may look not so much to chemical agriculture as “to walking in the statutes and keeping the commandments of the Lord” (Lev. xxvi. 3, 4); in which man labours in the sweat of his brow, not to hoard up riches, but that he may have to give to them that need; and in which giving may be more blessed than receiving, and poverty more near to heaven than wealth.

But besides this demoralizing tendency of a scientific, demonstrative form of political economy, there occurs here again, of necessity, the same irreligious and infidel tendency, as in its rea-



soning exclusively of morals. There is no irreligion in examining and describing the physical laws of nature by themselves, because they have been fixed from the first, their agencies defined, and their results made capable of prophecy. The Creator has veiled his own Almighty hand, and left his creation, as it might seem, to itself; to be overruled only occasionally, and, under peculiar circumstances, by the interposition of miracles. But in the creation and distribution of wealth, the very opposite is the case. Here the Almighty has still reserved to himself, to his extraordinary, and immediate, and especial Providence, acting in mystery and in darkness, the whole province of the economy of the world. "The Lord maketh poor, and maketh rich: he bringeth low, and lifteth up. He raiseth up the poor out of the dust, and lifteth up the beggar from the dunghill, to set them among princes, and to make them inherit the throne of glory: for the pillars of the earth are the Lord's, and he hath set the world upon them." (1 Sam. ii. 7, 8.) If the accumulation of wealth proceeds upon any natural law, it must be that wealth creates wealth; and that riches, however gathered, are the best security for their own permanence. And yet even heathens knew from experience that such was not the truth; great prosperity, especially acquired prosperity, was to them in itself an omen, and prognostic of calamity. They felt, what the Bible declares, that another hand was stretched out to mar all the operations of men. Though they never had been in the sanctuary of God, they understood, with the Psalmist, the end of the evil: "Surely thou didst set them in slippery places; thou castedst them down into destruction. How are they brought into desolation as in a moment! they are utterly consumed with terror."

And when this immediate agency of the Lord is set aside, and other agencies are exclusively treated of, what is it but to deny the truth of his word, and to contemn his authority? What is a theory of population, which forgets that it is the Lord who "maketh the barren woman to keep house, and to be a joyful mother of children" (Ps. cxiii. 9); and that "children are an heritage of the Lord: and the fruit of the womb is his reward?" (Ps. cxxvii. 3.) What is a calculation of finance, which makes not "God the strength of a nation, but trusts in the abundance of its riches?" (Ps. lii. 7.) What is a bold carelessness in the means by which wealth is accumulated, whether by cruelty to the poor or dishonesty in our dealings, forgetful of the warning,— "Trust not in oppression, and become not vain in robbery: if riches increase, set not your heart upon them?" What are these and similar reasonings, in which, if political economy be a science, it must indulge, because it must confine itself to facts and observations,

which can be traced, and generalized, and defined by the eye of man?—What are they but practical and positive denials of the agency of the Almighty? and where that agency has been proclaimed by his word, denials of the Divine authority of that word, and of the being of God himself? It is an apostasy from the very profession of Christianity.

But, it may be asked, if the declarations of Scripture are to form the basis of political economy, what need is there of any further inquiry? What place has philosophy in a subject appropriated to faith? And the answer is the same as that which justifies a philosophy of morals and a philosophy of politics; although the principles of both morals and of politics are by the Christian primarily derived and received, upon authority, from the Scriptures and the Church. It is, that reason must be preceded by faith, not superseded by it. To prove, confirm, illustrate, expand, and apply by the light within us what has been originally taught us by the light of heaven from without, is one great function and duty of man. It is the proper exercise of his activity, the trial of his patience, the reward of his faith. Without it he dwindles into a passive recipient of truth, without the power of incorporating it with his own belief, or employing it in his own practice, as a free moral agent. And to give scope for these operations, the laws of superior legislatures are confined to general declarations; the application of which in detail, and often even their logical connexion and theory, is left to subordinate jurisdictions and to individuals.

Often also, though these general principles are recognized as authoritative laws, which may not be contravened, it is not easy to arrange them as a form or plan upon which to prosecute a scientific inquiry. A Christian will, indeed, hold them before him carefully and universally, as in his daily walk he would hold the moral commandments of the Lord, ready to abandon any conclusion of his reasoning which would really violate them; and yet he may commence his reasoning from other points, and argue efficiently without them. They may be employed as checks to his reasoning, where they may not serve logically as fundamental axioms, from which to commence it. Man is sometimes allowed to reason, as to act, from his own internal springs, and to move freely as between two lines of landmarks, set for him on either side; provided he never forgets that such landmarks exist, and retires as soon as his feet trespass even the least upon their limits. And this is not rationalism; though the reasoning itself be rationalistic, and faith assumes the form of philosophy and science. It gives to the human mind full scope for its activity of thought, and full indulgence to that desire of unity and system,

and logical dependence of argument, which forms the chief law of the human intellect; and it saves it from those melancholy aberrations, and deficiencies, and falsehoods, into which any science, where the Divine voice has spoken, must fall, when that Divine voice is set aside and neglected, as if it had never been heard.

With these cautions, then, we may venture to throw out a few suggestions from time to time on the form which the study of political economy would take in the hands of a Christian philosophy. And first of the nature of wealth.

As both reason and revelation concur in recognizing the intimate connexion between matter and spirit, a political economist must assume as a first principle, that wealth, that is the various adaptations of the material world to the comforts and conveniences of life, is in some shape or other necessary to man. That it is full of temptations, liable to abuse, pregnant with evil when abused, he must acknowledge also. It is one of the blessings, of which either the total want or the inordinate excess are each evil; and his prayer will be that of the son of Jakeh: "Give me neither poverty nor riches: feed me with food convenient for me: lest I be full, and deny thee, and say, Who is the Lord? or lest I be poor, and steal, and take the name of my God in vain." (Prov. xxx. 8, 9.)

But in order to determine where the use ends and the abuse begins, and to ascertain logically the moral laws for the development and distribution of wealth, a Christian philosophy will not be satisfied without examining the connexion which nature has established between spirit and matter, the soul and the body, in man himself. From this it will be more easy to trace the uses to which wealth may be legitimately applied, and in many cases the general proportions on which it may be divided: and though the inquiry may seem at first too far removed from the immediate subject, it lies really at the root of the whole discussion.

The first obvious relation, then, between mind and matter, is that of a light to a lamp, and to the oil that feeds it. Existence, and with existence all the interests included in it, depend upon the body. "The life of the flesh is in the blood." (Lev. xvii. 11.)

Perhaps to a thoughtful mind no mystery is greater than this fact. That the being, the development, the final salvation of an immortal soul, and all that wonderful dispensation of the spiritual world included under the words "the kingdom of heaven," should be so hung, as it were, upon that part of our nature which seems to us most vile and most perishable; that the puncture of an artery, the rupture of a filament, the contact of a particle of noxious air should put an end to acts and hopes extending

through eternity, and over the whole universe, is in itself a wonderful problem. But a Christian will trace its analogy with that divine revelation in which, though God is omnipotent and man nothing, Omnipotence itself condescends to give to man a marvellous command over its own operations, conforming itself to man's movements, repenting when he repents, answering when he prays, delaying the consummation of all things with the delay of man's conversion, suffering, as it seems, and only seems, the world which it made and pronounced good, and the hopes with which the whole creation groaneth and travaileth until now (Rom. viii. 22), to be marred and made futile and abortive by the sins of a mere worm. As if to realize in its fullest extent the moral relation between the Creator and his creature, as between two moral persons, two free agents, even the creature, the animal creature, swayed by material impulses, has been left to himself, and permitted even to rebel against God. And it may be for the very purpose of preparing us for, and familiarizing us with this phenomenon, that in our being we find our soul and spirit made dependent on the precarious soundness of a frail and perishable frame. But the mode in which this animal life, the present vehicle of the immortal soul is supported, is not less marvellous. We might imagine that the body, though liable to external injury, might have been so framed as not to require any nutriment from without, or if this nutriment was needed, that it should be administered regularly and mechanically, not be left dependent on the labour of man; or, again, that it should be supplied periodically, so as to save the necessity of daily and almost hourly thought, or that it should be produced by nature for man as for other animals, ready prepared, and requiring no further art; or that it should be secured against offering temptations to excess, and so conveying a poison under the disguise of food. In particular it is a startling thought that human life must be sustained in so great a degree by the sacrifice of other life,—by animal food. These and other circumstances exhibit phenomena in the arrangement of nature on this point, which fail to astonish and perplex us only because they are common. To a being from another world, living under a different system, they might appear inexplicable. And as food, its supply and distribution, forms one of the most important subjects, if not the most important of all, which political economy contemplates, these circumstances are to be carefully borne in mind. A Christian recognizes in them a wonderful analogy to the spiritual system under which he is living. There also he is taught to depend for his spiritual life not upon his own internal resources, but upon the bread which came down from heaven—to obtain, at the hour

of his need, this bread by his own energy, by prayer, by self-denial, by obeying the commandments—to look for it not in overwhelming portions, but day by day, morsel by morsel—to receive it as conveyed to him and prepared for him by the hands of human ministers and dispensers of the Divine grace; to seek for it and receive it with awe, as that which, together with life, to those who receive it worthily, brings “divers diseases and sundry kinds of death” to the unrepentant and irreverent. And this food he knows to be not bread only, but to be the symbol, and more than symbol, of a body broken and a blood outpoured, that by the death of One, all of us might be made alive. These analogies, let us be assured, are not mere accidental illustrations, and the spiritual phenomena were not framed upon the material, but the material were constructed to be a type and prophecy of the spiritual. They are essential parts of a vast system, and as such may not be neglected by any study which is conversant with the maintenance of man.

Nor will the Christian forget, that while, in the eye of the rationalist, human life depends entirely upon the supply of material food, the Scriptures, and our Lord Himself have again and again expressly declared, and proved by example, that even animal life may be nourished and supported by a spiritual presence. “Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word of God.” (Luke iv. 4.) Fasting, the fasting of the rich, used soberly and reverently, in obedience to the word of God, is no small part of that Christian economy, which must endeavour from the minimum of food to provide for the maximum of population. It will sound fanciful and strange; but the Scriptures cannot be received, and the fact denied.

A second immediate connexion of matter with spirit in man, is that of clothing. And here also the seemingly precarious and unprovided condition of man is a subject of no little marvel. That the infant should be cast at its birth upon the world, exposed to the inclemency of the elements and to its own shame, and be compelled to resort to art to supply one of the most essential wants of its nature, was in itself to a heathen poet<sup>1</sup> an argument for infidelity. But a Christian in the first page of his Bible reads of a time when man in innocence was naked and not ashamed, and of a hand divine which when they had sinned made them coats of skins and clothed them. (Gen. iii. 21.) And he reads in this simple narrative a typical and a moral connexion with that great mystery of the Gospel in which human corruption is described as clothed and veiled, and covered over with a righteous-

<sup>1</sup> Lucretius.

ness not of our own, a righteousness procured for us only by the sacrifice and death of Him whose merits hide us from the wrath of God. And many thoughts and even practical rules may be suggested to him by this analogy, besides the common and obvious explanation that man is intended by Providence to be the architect of his own fortune, that he may have his energies roused, and become subject to moral responsibility, and experience moral retribution, and learn prudence and self-denial, and to prefer the future before the present; and therefore has been left in the most essential part of his life dependent to a great degree on his own industry and talent.

With these two articles, of food and clothing, the Scriptures close their enumeration of the necessary provisions of wealth. "Having food and raiment therewith to be content" (1 Tim. vi. 8). But beyond these there is a third, which it may seem a superfluous subtlety to distinguish, but which forms an important object in political economy. It is place, locality. To exist, man must exist somewhere. And the wealth of an individual is in a great degree measured by the extent of locality which he can command, with a power of passing over it, and resting on it. And the wealth of the society depends almost wholly on the laws by which the space which affords a footing to the members of it, is parcelled out, and appropriated. Hence political economy is conversant with the laws of territorial property, with the system of letting and subletting, with the creation of roads, with the inclosure of commons and wastes, with a cottage allotment system, with the rearrangement of fences in Ireland, with the boundaries of parishes, and even of kingdoms. And these questions are concerned not simply with the production of food, but with the mere power of obtaining a local habitation, and of circulating freely through a certain extent of district, both which are necessary to man, who merely as an animal differs from a plant chiefly in this, that he is not permanently attached to the soil, and as a reasoning being is both able and needs to move over a wide extent of ground for a variety of purposes, carrying his food with him, or finding it every where.

Perhaps the next most necessary modification of matter is the house. And this not merely considered as a large garment shielding the body from the weather, like the cell of the anchorite, or the tent of the traveller, but as the outward shell and matrix which brings together the family under one roof; gives to it a centre and unity of place, and through this of affections and duties; and thus generates the various relations of domestic life, parentage, childhood, conjugal ties, brotherhood in different stages, mastership and servitude; constituting in this manner the primary elements of political society, and acting as a nursery for

that kingdom of heaven, in which God is our Father, and the Church our mother, and Christ, the first-born among many brethren, and even inferior beings to serve and to be governed and protected, may not be wanting.

Under this head will fall a number of questions of far more importance than those affecting the sanatory state of towns, the stability of buildings, or the ornament and convenience of public cities, on which even now the political economist is compelled to legislate. The state of a peasantry huddled together in cabins without any means of preserving decency, the occupancy of single rooms by whole families, the severance of gardens from cottages, the concentration of a vast portion of the population in towns, where for the most part the home ceases to possess any charm to endear and consecrate it, the gathering of the poor in work-houses, the creation and multiplication of artificial homes in the shape of religious communities for those who have been removed from connexion with their natural homes, the rate of wages, the style of living, the prices of necessary commodities, taxation as it affects building, and all the domestic economy of the poor, which attract them to their own firesides, when otherwise they would have recourse to the public-house; all these questions, and they branch out into numerous divisions, take their root in the dependency of man for his comfort and the full development of his nature on a house and home.

But even in the garden of Eden we find traces of another want, which connects the material world with the spirit of man, the want of property, something to call his own, something on which he can exert his power, modifying it according to his will, exercising on it his various faculties of art, enlarging, as it were, the material part of his being beyond his body, and thus realizing to himself more fully his own existence, the mere contemplation and consciousness of which according to one of the wisest of ancient philosophers is an enjoyment to man. If the whole being of man were concentrated in a point, in the present state of his intellectual nature, he could scarcely possess self-consciousness, any more than the eye could discern itself, if it were not reflected in a glass. But the larger the mass of matter which the human being gathers round himself, appropriates, and acts upon, and receives impressions from, as something over which he possesses absolute power, the more frequently his own existence is forced upon him. His self-importance augments. And if his sense of dignity and power be tempered with humility, and the acknowledgment that all power and all property proceeds from and is lent to us by heaven to be employed in his service, it becomes the source of infinite virtue and happiness. "And God said, (Gen. i. 26), Let us make man in our image, after our likeness: and let them have dominion

over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth." "And God said, Behold, I have given you every herb bearing seed, which is upon the face of all the earth, and every tree, in the which is the fruit of a tree yielding seed; to you it shall be for meat." "And God saw every thing that he had made, and, behold, it was very good."

Upon this primary grant to man, is founded the right of property in the earth. And the political economist recognizing it as a divine institution, observing its importance to the development of that individualism in man which is essential to his free moral agency, knowing that though its abuse is selfishness, without the power of abuse, there can be no moral use, and no liberality or self-denial, where there is nothing to give or to withhold, instead of vainly endeavouring to extinguish cupidity by annihilating property, will rather wish to secure to every subject in the state, however poor, something which he may call his own, to the cotter his little garden, even to the slave, if slavery unhappily exist, his peculium and reserve of profit. He will scrupulously guarantee to each labourer the proceeds of his labour. He will interfere as little as possible with the distribution and destination of wealth in voluntary contracts. He will permit, under certain conditions, the right over property to extend beyond the grave; and allow entails, and enforce the right execution of trusts, and guard the perpetuity of endowments. Arbitrary taxation, robberies, forgeries, fraudulent deeds, an unsettled government, the interference of the state with private bounties, foreign invasions, every thing which can shake or undermine the stability of property, while it brings poverty upon the land, injures a nation still more by paralyzing industry, and most of all by extinguishing the sense of dignity and consciousness of national freedom in those who are thus left, or liable to be left, without any thing which they can call their own.

Closely connected with this use of material wealth, in creating an individualism in man, is the field which it opens for the exercise of power. Man is destined in another world to rule in the kingdom of heaven. And, for this purpose, weak and frail as he is, nature has placed him upon the earth, even from his infancy, even under the most destitute circumstances, still in a position where he can scarcely be left without some object over which to exercise dominion. As master over servant, or as parent over child, or husband over wife, or elder over younger, or as strong over the weak, or as wise over the ignorant; even as a boy over the animal which carries him on its back, or feeds from his hand; even as a child over the toy which it calls a living



thing, and bears in its arms, as its own; or over any form of dead matter, which if it has not art to mould, it has strength to destroy: still man is never left without something to command. But the noblest exercise of this power is the dominion over other human beings and adults. And this dominion which establishes the relations of dependence, and obedience, and faith on the one side, and of mercy, kindness, authority, and dignity on the other, is the foundation of political society; and must be spread and ramified through every class of the people. And where political power cannot be diffused to convey it, it can be created by the possession of property, which gives us a command, not only over the labour, but over the local residence, and therefore over the habits, interests, and life of all whom we can support from our own superfluity, by employing them in our service. This is another use of the material world, to supply the wants of man, and by the institution of property to place the power of supplying them in the hands of some rather than of others, that this inequality of power and of want may establish due subordinations in society; and discipline the human mind in the virtues, both of government and of obedience, of self-respect and of humility, of love and of faith.

Under this head will fall chiefly those questions of political economy which relate to the distribution of wealth, and to its accumulation in large or small masses; the question of slavery, considered not in a moral, but economical view; the character of an agricultural and manufacturing system, in their relation to their dependents and labourers; the right of primogeniture; and others of the same kind.

Another thing necessary to man, is labour; and although it may be possible to imagine a state of existence in which even purely spiritual beings might have opportunities of working, to man the material world has been appointed as the chief field for his occupation. Even in the garden of Eden, Adam was placed there to "dress it, and keep it." Even in his innocence it was necessary that he should be matched, as it were, with an antagonistic power, whose movements he was to control, whose excesses he might contend against, whose defects he might supply by some degree of toil. Even an innocent human nature requires some end towards which to struggle, some resistance to call forth energy, some conflict to occupy thought. Even his animal life perishes without toil. And with his fall from innocence, the curse, and the blessings of labour, become alike more necessary. "Because thou hast eaten of the tree, of which I commanded thee, saying, Thou shalt not eat of it: cursed is the ground for thy sake; in sorrow shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life;

Thorns also and thistles shall it bring forth to thee; and thou shalt eat the herb of the field; In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, till thou return unto the ground." (Gen. iii. 17—19.)

And not only have the natural agencies of the material world been disturbed in their course, and thwarted as with malign influences, but the laws of it have been buried in perplexities; "the laws of all things that are done under heaven:" and this for the same purpose, that "sore travail might be given to the sons of man to be exercised therewith." (Eccles. i. 13.) "All things are full of labour." (Eccles. i. 8.) And the Christian political economist will, therefore, deal with labour, the great instrument in the creation of wealth, not as an accidental evil, which in his imaginary paradise he would entirely exclude and supersede, but as a necessary ingredient in the condition of man, and one which, for his good, ought to be attached both to the creation and the possession of riches. The use of machinery will be examined by him in its relation to this law, as well as to the increased facility of manufacturing articles of commerce. The existence of a monied interest, depending upon the labours of others, without labouring itself; almsgiving, without employment; communities of religious retirement or philosophical ease, without positive and even reluctant labour; property, invested with rights, without being charged with duties;—all these will, at least, seem questionable, as anomalies, in a system in which labour has been enjoined upon all as the price of our daily food.

But if labour is necessary to man, so also is rest; and if profound theologians are right, indications of this alternation may be found even in the earliest days of man. The Sabbath, there is reason to suppose, was instituted from the beginning. But to the repose of man the material world essentially, if not solely, contributes. The human mind, to be at rest, requires, except when in a state of unconsciousness, not total vacuity, or silence, or inaction; this only harasses and frets it with a wearying listlessness and gloom; it falls back to prey upon itself; but it must be occupied by some external object, playing before it in a succession of movements, and calling up without effort a variety of ideas and emotions, gentle and soft, which require no exertion on the part of the percipient mind. And nature, in a wonderful manner, is constructed to answer this end. It is like a tender and affectionate nurse, standing every moment by its wearied and exhausted foster-child, man, ready to soothe him with a lulling song.

For this reason, all the appliances of beautiful scenery, of rivers, and woods, and gardens, and flowers, besides many forms of the animal creation which minister to amusement, form essen-

tical portions of human wealth. A Christian political economy will endeavour to provide them, as far as possible, for all classes. It will create parks for the population of Bethnal Green and Manchester, as well as for the squares and palaces of London. And where these cannot be attained, it will study to promote other sports and recreations of a simple, healthy, refreshing, and invigorating character. A nation which has no such enjoyments, though it may wallow in other worldly advantages, is essentially poor.

Next to this need of rest comes another,—the need of opportunities for exercising a creative power. There is an instinct in man, not only for acquiring property and ruling over an external world, but also for creating. Aristotle attributes it to a love of imitation; Plato, more profoundly, to a desire of perpetuating and immortalizing our existence. But it seems to be an ultimate principle, and one among many by which the nature of man is assimilated to the image of his Maker. It is developed in the infant. A pencil and a morsel of paper is to the child what colours and canvas are to an Apelles. He plays the architect with wooden bricks; landscape-gardens with a pool of water; invents tragedies and comedies in his nursery games; tries with his little fingers to bring out music from the keys of a piano; the great effort and recreation of his life is creation. And in this light, as ministering not only to the animal wants, but to the higher instincts and necessities of our nature, Christian political economy will contemplate manufactures and art, all those various developments of the creative energy in man, without which, not only should we perish from lack of food and clothing, but even, if provided with these, as our first parents were clothed and fed by the hand of God, we should pine away in weariness, and be deprived of half the grandeur and divinity of our being.

Nor is the mode, by which man is enabled to take an active part in creation, in itself undeserving attention, and it may tend to solve the very difficult but important question of the employment of machinery. It has often been wondered that man cannot be an atheist. It is impossible he should be; because he cannot escape the evidence of his consciousness and his senses, and these will not for a moment allow him to doubt that there is beyond him and above him a power, be it what it may, call it what we will, which he cannot master, which is independent of his existence, which stands over him with an imperious unbending system of laws, laws to which he must conform or perish. Whether this power be a spirit, or abstraction, or a person, or a thing,—whatever idea may be formed of its attributes,—it exists; it is superior to man; man has no control over its ulti-

mate laws. It is to him therefore in the place of a God. And yet, notwithstanding the stern, unbending, imperative permanency of the ultimate laws of nature, it exhibits itself to us as willing to become almost our servant, as yielding to our hands, as giving itself up to follow every bias of our fancy, and minister, like the spirit of the lamp, to all our necessities, on two conditions,—the first, that we rigidly conform to its laws, and do not attempt to set them at nought, in which case it strikes us dead; the second, that by obtaining a full and accurate knowledge of its whole range, and of all its laws, we can bring one to bear upon another, so that without either of them abandoning its own power, or departing from its own immutability, the just action of the one may neutralize the just action of the other. This is the history of machinery. It presents a wonderful analogy with that divine mystery of Revelation, which represents to us the God of spirits himself, the Lord of nature, as the one eternal, immutable, illimitable Being, without shadow of turning, or subjection to other power than his own; and yet it exhibits this same Being as repenting and changing from love to hatred, from punishment to reward, from threatenings to promises; with every change in frail mortal man, so soon as man by accepting the truths of Christianity, by embracing the faith of the Gospel, obtains a knowledge of the whole Divine nature, of the plurality of persons contained in the unity of the Divine substance, and thus is able to bring to bear the sufferings and merits of a Saviour against the wrath of an offended Judge, and to lay open to us all the treasures of heaven by reconciling justice with mercy, without defrauding either of its fulness, and privileges, and immutability.

But it is obvious that the whole advantage of machinery, as the whole advantage of the spiritual system of redemption, depends upon its being so employed, as to encourage, not supersede, —to aid, not extinguish, the labours and exertions of man. Its object is to develop, not to paralyze his energies; and the economist, who so employs mechanism as to throw the artisan out of employment, though he provides through it an infinitely multiplied abundance of the wealth of the world, acts in the same way, and analogously, to the same effect, as the religionist, who uses the promises of salvation to generate a submission to a moral fatalism. He kills the life within us. Instruments and mechanism form a very large and a very necessary proportion of human wealth; but when they are accumulated without a due adjustment to human labour, they create not riches, but poverty.

But, besides these various constituent parts of wealth, there is another class of objects equally necessary. A large portion of the superfluous opulence of a nation is devoted to the encourage-

ment of art; and art, taking the word as applied to the faculty of imagination, is not merely creation, but creation of a peculiar kind, and needed to meet a peculiar want of human nature. Before us and around us there are two worlds, one visible, the other invisible; one confined by the senses, the other to be attained and realized by the reason. In the first, that is, in the material world, and embedded, as it were, in its complicated, shifting chaos of phenomena, lie hid great universal laws, which are only to be reached by vast inductions; pervading and immutable principles, of which we can perceive only some petty subordinate applications; types and symbols of the highest truths, but so buried and obscured, that a careless eye never detects them; and shadows and portions of the most glorious beauty, but portions only, which stimulate our craving for perfection, but cannot satisfy it. All the higher works of true and pure art are devoted to the purpose of creating, on a small scale, miniature but faithful exhibitions of these vast truths and infinite laws, the knowledge of which constitutes man's perfection, so as to bring them within the compass of an eye, which can only grasp objects by parts and portions. The music of nature, exquisite as it is, is wild, irregular, and capricious; and the ear requires a more perfect harmony, more regular melody, and such as it can always command. Hence the creations of the musician. The historian can trace through a vast cycle of affairs, through generations upon generations, the great laws of moral retribution, which our moral nature demands to see carried out, and which shock and startle us by their seeming suspension or violation. But this task is too vast for an ordinary mind, and therefore the tragedian comes in to condense and concentrate into a given compass, easily embraced by the eye and the understanding, a series of events which exhibits within a few hours, and in persons brought under the senses, what nature only realizes in a vast number of years, and in persons removed from our knowledge. Nature has created every class and species of being after a model of beauty, but the perfection of that model is not attained in any one individual. Wherever the eye rests upon individuals, it meets with some flaw and deficiency. The sculptor endeavours to remedy this; to satisfy the mind with perfection, and to create an image in which nothing shall be imperfect. Man, in short, as Bacon has observed, requires art to gratify and give full scope to that yearning after perfection, which is one of the strongest proofs of his divine origin and immortal destination; and a people who, among all the treasures of wealth, possessed no high and elevated art, would be destitute of one of its most important and noblest elements.

Lastly, man requires signs and symbols. He has to embrace in his mind, and to condense in his actions the past and the future, —the distant and the present: and he has no means of doing this but by signs and symbols. He has an intellect and a spiritual nature, which is to be exhibited in its various phases to other beings; and the operations and ideas of mind can only be represented by analogous material objects. And he has a power of creating, and reasoning, and acting upon ideal conceptions, of which the exact counterpart exists in the material world: and he is compelled to calculate with cyphers and counters, and to invent symbols, infinitely divisible, by which he may adequately and accurately indicate the arbitrary measurements and combinations of his own mind. Hence the necessity of languages, of written books, of money; of all those various conventions in which signs are substituted for realities, and without the signs the realities would be useless. A merchant, surrounded with millions of valuable commodities, might starve if he could not obtain some signs and symbols of their value, i. e. money; by which to transfer them to others, and obtain from others a return; and the knowledge of the universe would be useless without words to explain and communicate it. Signs, therefore, and symbols, are an essential part of human wealth; and with these the present enumeration may conclude.

We may endeavour, on some other occasion, to pursue the subject further; to examine what law Christianity has laid down for the creation and distribution of wealth; and to show how infinitely superior they are, in their practical tendency, to insure that object, than any modern speculation of that political œconomy which is at this day ruling the nations of the world.

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ART. V.—*The Catholic Institute of Great Britain.* 1847.

POLITICS, like poems, have their episodes, which are often as important as the plot. So it is with the great question of National Education, which has engaged the public attention in and out of parliament during the last and present year. It has its subordinate *action*, which, we believe, will engross the popular mind as much as the grand *catastrophe* itself. We allude to the topic started in the debates on the Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, and pursued with much earnestness by various parties. What course is to be pursued toward *Roman Catholic schools*? Are *they* to be admitted to participate in the national grants for education?

For our own parts, we have always maintained that the *Church of England* can educate the people<sup>1</sup>, and that she *ought* to be enabled by the Nation to do so; and we are persuaded that any measure which either ignores or contravenes what we feel solemnly bound to call her *divine* commission to be the Teacher of the Nation, in *schools* for the *young* as well as in churches for *all*, is founded on *schismatical* principles, and therefore cannot expect those blessings which the Great Head of the Church has promised to unity of heart and voice in the belief and profession of His truth.

Still we are well aware that in the visible Church on earth there will ever be imperfections and failings; the chaff will be mingled with the grain, the tares with the wheat, the sheep with the goats, even to the end; and therefore although, in our opinion, no one can *concur* in any *schismatical* measures without guilt, yet every one in this world must look to be called upon to *suffer* much that is wrong in principle and in practice; and though the Church, if true to herself and to her Divine Head, *can never approve* what is opposed to His will and word, yet her lot ever will be, in her present condition of pilgrimage and widowhood, to *tolerate* charitably and patiently much that is evil, and to refer her cause to Him who judgeth righteously, and to look forward with faith, hope, and desire to that blessed time when all her trials will be over, and she will pass from the strifes and confusions of earth to the peace and felicities of heaven.

<sup>1</sup> See English Review, No. XI., pp. 127—175.

We are not without expectation, that by the goodness of a wise Providence, Whose peculiar attribute it is to bring good out of evil, and by His blessing on the zeal and activity of the Clergy and Laity of the Church, the English Nation may yet be capable of sound Christian laws concerning education; and we feel therefore the greater anxiety, lest, by taking a *false step* in the matter now immediately before us, any of her members should render this consummation more *distant* and *difficult of attainment*.

In proceeding to argue this question concerning the extension of the national grant to Roman Catholic schools, we shall studiously avoid all allusion to language which fell from members of the legislature in reference to it during the recent debate on education. From a perusal of the speeches then delivered, we feel persuaded that this topic came upon many of them *by surprise*, and we are prepared to show that the question was not discussed, or even stated, according to its *real drift* and *bearings*; and we should be very unwilling prematurely and precipitately to *identify* any one with opinions which may have been expressed *by-the-by* without adequate forethought and reflection.

Let us explain our meaning. It was alleged that government aid is not limited to schools connected with the Church; that it is extended to those affiliated with the British and Foreign School Society, *whence all creeds and catechisms are excluded*; and finally, that it is conceded now to those of the *Wesleyan connexion*. True, it is added, the Authorized Version of the Scriptures is used in these schools, and the use of the Authorized Version is at present exacted as generally necessary to establish a claim to a government grant; but, for consistency's sake, having gone so far, we must, it is said, go further. We cannot stop here. We cannot refuse aid to *Romanist* schools. No doubt we may, personally, disapprove and abhor the popish creed. We may recoil from papists as heretics as well as schismatics. But, it is asked, is not the *Trent* creed better than *no* creed? Is the schism of Wesley less destructive than that of Pius the Fourth? And then, though *we*, who are Protestant Christians, unite in our approval and use of the Authorized Version, yet the English Romanists have also a version of the Bible, one made *before* ours,—the version of Douay and Rheims<sup>2</sup>,—they use that version in their schools; cheap editions of it are circulated in England and Ireland. We *prefer*, to be sure, our own admirable translation, but still *their* version is *the Bible*, and can we, therefore, refuse, on the ground of some verbal *discrepancies of translation*, to accord to

<sup>2</sup> The Old Testament at Douay in 1609, the New at Rheims, 1582. Our Authorized Version was first published in the year 1611.



them the same advantages, which we now grant to all Christians, who use the Bible in their schools?

Such is the argument employed, on behalf of our Romanist fellow-Christians, and in advocacy of their claims to public aid for their schools. We would now submit to the consideration of our readers some observations upon it.

*First*, we are by no means disposed to enter into any comparison of the respective claims of Methodism and Romanism. Some learned writers have drawn a parallel between them; and it must, we think, be allowed that in many particulars they bear a striking resemblance to each other. Nor will we take upon ourselves to determine, which of the two kinds of teaching is the worse,—that of a *corrupt* creed, or that of *no creed at all*. We are sure, that there is much that is true and necessary to salvation in the *Trent creed*, for it contains the whole of the Nicene; and we are also certain, that there is a great deal of good and wholesome doctrine in the *Trent catechism*, for it comprises the Lord's Prayer and the Commandments; and we are not prepared dogmatically to decide, whether it is better to put the doctrinal ore and scoria unsmelted together into a child's hands, and to require him to take *both*, in the Tridentine symbol of faith, or to set him to work without any direction, to dig with his spade by himself in the mine of his Bible, and to extract from it whatever he can or will, according to his own power or caprice.

The faithful members of the Church *cannot*, we think, lend their aid or approval, *either*, on the one hand, to the system which teaches unscriptural dogmas as necessary to salvation; or, on the other, to that mode of instruction which is founded on the repudiation of *that* great doctrine of the Bible—the key of that golden treasure—that the “Church of the living God” is “the pillar and ground of truth,” the divinely-appointed Keeper, Witness, and Interpreter of Holy Writ.

Perhaps, however, the candid reasoner would allow, that a child who had been instructed in his Bible “without any sectarian bias” as it is called—supposing the thing to be possible—would be a less unfit subject for the subsequent teaching of the Church, than one who had been early trained to believe all the additions of the Trent council to the creed of the Catholic Church.

*Secondly*, we are by no means prepared to grant that, because we have made *one* false step, we should, therefore, *take another*: we can never allow that, because we have been infatuated enough to endow a system which separates the Bible from the Church, we should therefore be justified in endowing a Church which sets herself *against* and *above* the Bible. We, if we are true members of the Church, never *have been* parties to the former

of these acts; and we must not appropriate to ourselves its guilt by concurring in, or conniving at, the *latter*. We must bear our testimony, that the folly of the past is no reason for the phrenzy of the future; that the *only* thing which *ought* to follow sin, is *repentance*; and that it would be as absurd to say, that the endowment of Wesleyanism justifies that of Popery, as it would be to maintain that the rash oath of Herod Antipas was a good reason for his murder of the Baptist.

*Thirdly*, we deny altogether that the question at issue in the present discussion is one about *Versions* of Scripture. It is *not*—whether the Douay or the Authorized Bible is a better translation; it does not respect the *form*, but the *substance*, of Holy Writ: it is, in fact, concerning one of the most important questions which can be presented to a Christian—*What is Scripture?* And, can we unite in teaching *as the word of God*, what we can prove to be of *human origin*? *This* is the real question.

It is well known to our readers that in the year A.D. 1546 the Church of Rome framed a decree at the council of Trent, in which she affirmed, that the *fourteen books*, which we term *Apocrypha*, are *inspired*, and of *equal authority* with the *Canonical books* of the Old and New Testament, for establishing Articles of Faith.

Nor was this all: she proceeded to pronounce an *anathema* on all who do not, and cannot, receive the *Apocrypha* as the Word of God: and this *anathema* is a part of that *doctrine*, to which all her *clergy* and *schoolmasters* subscribe; and “out of which” she affirms, and makes them affirm, “there can be no salvation.”

Accordingly, she does not print the Apocryphal books by themselves, but *intersperses* them in her Bible with the other books of Scripture.

The main question, therefore, between Romanists and the Protestant Christians of England, is not concerning *Versions* of the Bible at all, but concerning the *Canon of Scripture*.

All Protestant Christians of this country, happily for them, agree in receiving certain books as the Word of God; and in *not* receiving as such, those *fourteen books* which Romanists receive, and which the Church of Rome would *impose* on all, under a *curse*, as *divine*.

We are by no means disposed to join with those who would disparage the Apocryphal books, or would persuade us to eject them from our Bibles and our Churches; we hold fast to the language of our own sixth article, “The other books”—i. e. the Apocrypha—“as *Hierome* saith—the Church doth read for example of life and instruction of manners, but yet doth it not apply them to *establish any doctrine*.” They were no part of the

sacred deposit of Holy Writ received by God's ancient people, to whom "were committed the oracles of God<sup>3</sup>," and they were never acknowledged as Scripture by Christ and His Apostles; and knowing the heavy curse<sup>4</sup> denounced on those who *add* to the Word of God, we must stand far aloof from those who are guilty of ascribing the word of *man* to the dictation of the *Holy Spirit*; and we should fear God's fierce wrath and heavy judgments upon us and our country, if she should take into her hands a *new* Bible, as of equal value with the *old*; and should receive and teach in her schools, the word of man as of equal value and authority with that of God; and should encourage and endow those who *anathematise* all who do not so receive it and read it.

Besides—let it be supposed that we grant endowments to the schools of those who *add fourteen books* to the *Old Testament*; where then shall we *stop*? Shall we not then be accosted by those who altogether *reject* the *New Testament*? Shall we not be required, we say, to endow the schools of the *Jews*? Already even the *discussion* of this question has excited a movement among *them*; and we read in the public journals, that "*the Jews* have presented a memorial to Lord J. Russell against the exclusion of Jewish schools from participation in the benefit of the grant made by parliament for educational purposes."

We think that we have now established the fact, that the matter at issue is not a question of *Versions*; and that persons very much misconceive and mis-state the question when they argue it as such. It will prove, we predict, neither more nor less, than a question concerning the *Christianity* of England.

*Fourthly*,—there is another important inquiry, to which, as far as we are aware, no attention has been given as yet in the public discussions on this topic. This is briefly as follows: Are the statesmen of England, we inquire, prepared to vote away our money to those who are the sworn servants of a *foreign* master,—one who regards all Protestants as *heretics*, and, as such, liable to severe pains and penalties, by *his* laws, which he will execute, as he has already executed them, whenever and wheresoever he is able?

It does not seem to have been remembered by some of our public men, that *all Roman Catholic schoolmasters* are obliged to take an OATH of absolute obedience to the Pope; by which they pledge themselves to maintain the papal interests, as well as to propagate the popish doctrines, in preference and opposition to all other considerations; and that no one can be admitted to the office of teacher in any Roman Catholic school, or to an academic degree in any Roman Catholic college, without such a stipula-

<sup>3</sup> Rom. iii. 2.    <sup>4</sup> Rev. xxii. 18. Gal. i. 9. Deut. iv. 2; xii. 32. Prov. xxx. 6.

tion<sup>5</sup>. In fact, the Pope claims universal *academic* and *scholastic* supremacy, as well as *spiritual* and *temporal*.

We would, therefore, respectfully suggest to our Legislators and electoral Constituencies this question,—Whether *they*, who voluntarily contract an obligation of allegiance to an *extra-national* and *anti-national* power, do not, *ipso facto*, *disqualify* themselves from national privileges, and do not, *by their own act*, forfeit all claims to *national endowments*?

We content ourselves, at present, with thus having briefly specified what appear to us the real points at issue in the question now pending concerning the extension of national grants to Roman Catholic schools. When the subject comes to be debated,—as it probably will in a very short time,—these which we have now stated will, we believe, be *the* grounds on which it will be argued; and either we greatly mistake, or it will then be found that this matter, which has grown out of the general question of national education, will rise to an importance at least equal to that of the main subject itself. In the mean time we cannot forbear expressing our gratification that there is one bond of union, and that of the most sacred character, among *all the Christian Protestants of England*,—the AUTHORIZED VERSION of HOLY SCRIPTURE. This, be it observed, is a *double* bond; one both of form and of substance, one both of language and of matter. May this bond, dear to them as Englishmen and Christians, long remain unimpaired! Any thing which weakens it is to be deprecated as a great public calamity. To it we look as one of the most efficient means, in the hands of a merciful Providence, for the healing of our unhappy divisions, and for the promotion of our unity and strength as a Church, and of our peace and happiness as a Nation.

<sup>5</sup> See the bull of Pope Pius IV. "In Sacrosancta." "Forma professionis fidei Catholice observanda a quibuscunque promotis et promovendis ad aliquam liberarium Artium facultatem, electisque et eligendis ad cathedras lecturas et regimen publicorum gymnasiorum." — Libri Symbolici Eccl. Romano-Catholice, vol. ii. p. 317. Gotting. 1838.

- ART. VI.—1. *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis : Ecclesie Cathedralis Aberdonensis regesta que extant, in unum collecta.* 2 vols. 4to. Edinburgh, 1845.
2. *Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen, 1398—1570.* Aberdeen, 1844.
3. *Selections from the Records of the Kirk Session, Presbytery, and Synod of Aberdeen.* Aberdeen, 1846.
4. *Extracts from the Presbytery Book of Strathbogie, 1631—1654.* Aberdeen, 1843.

IN noticing the amusing memoirs of Father Blackhal<sup>1</sup>, we mentioned the object for which the “Spalding Club” was established, and gave some account of its operations.

While our article was in the press, the “Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis” made its appearance—the most extensive and important of the works which the Club has yet put forth. It consists of documents relating to the see of Aberdeen in the times before the Reformation; the first volume “throwing light chiefly on the ancient territorial state of the bishopric, its lands, churches, and revenues; while the second illustrates the Church law of Scotland, the particular institutions of the diocese of Aberdeen, its cathedral constitution and customs, its ritual and Church service and ceremonies, the interior of the choir, the treasury, and chapter-house<sup>2</sup>.”

The editor, Mr. Cosmo Innes, has prefixed a very learned and elaborate sketch of the history of the see and its bishops; and his task has been altogether most carefully executed, although, for our own part, we could wish that his ideas of an editor's duty were somewhat less severe, and must suppose the bulk of the Spalding associates to be persons of rather uncommon acquirements, if they have never felt the want of any historical or glossarial explanations<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Eng. Rev. No. VII. Art. I.

<sup>2</sup> Pref. p. lxxxii.

<sup>3</sup> This remark applies to other Spalding books also; and we protest altogether against the sort of index which the Club (following the example of some Clarendon Press editors) is in the habit of sending forth. An index of names only, without any mention of facts, is of exceedingly little service.

The printing and embellishments of the "Registrum" are very remarkably handsome; and it appears that, although the volumes were delivered in return for the subscription of one year, the expense of producing them had exceeded the income of two. The feast of 1845, however, did not draw after it the sad natural consequence of a fast in 1846; for the munificence of Lord Ellesmere supplied the volume of Extracts from the Ecclesiastical Registers (No. 3); and a miscellaneous volume—chiefly remarkable for some letters of Lord Grange<sup>4</sup>, a hypocritical old intriguer of the last century—has been printed at the expense of eighteen gentlemen, and presented to their brother-members.

We intend to draw from the works named at the head of our article some illustrations of the ecclesiastical history of the district to which they refer; and, before entering on the subject, we beg the reader to observe the connexion which exists between them. The *Registrum* extends from the eleventh century (the documents of which date, however, are very suspicious) to the Reformation, about the year 1560. The *Burgh Registers*, in which the affairs of the Church bear a large share, begin in 1398, and end ten years later than the *Registrum*. The *Ecclesiastical Records* (No. 3) take up the story from the establishment of presbytery in 1562, and end in 1681; while the *Strathbogie* volume illustrates in more minute detail the state of the country during a remarkable portion of this last period—the years from 1631 to 1654. The four works, therefore, may be said to present a view, more or less distinct, of the religious condition of the north-east of Scotland from very early times to within a few years of the Revolution.

It is related that Machar, an Irish disciple of St. Columba, received episcopal consecration, and was sent forth to preach the Gospel in the northern parts of the Pictish kingdom. His master had directed him "to found his church when he should arrive on the bank of a river where it formed by its windings the figure of

<sup>4</sup> He is chiefly remembered for having caused his wife to be transported to the remote island of St. Kilda, and detained there many years. And, as we have been led to mention this affair, we must take the opportunity of expressing our dissent from a remark of the editor, Mr. Stuart, that "the letters now printed may be held conclusively to refute the supposition that the affair had any connexion with the political intrigues of the period." (p. ix.) To us they appear strongly to confirm it. For, if (as the letters show) the lady's habits of drunkenness and violence were such as, in the opinion of her own friends, to justify the putting her under some restraint, why, instead of being openly placed in such a seclusion as all parties would have agreed to, was she mysteriously removed to St. Kilda, by her husband's contrivance, and through the agency of the notorious Lord Lovat? We can only explain it by assuming the truth of Sir Walter Scott's story,—that "she is said to have thrown out hints that she knew as much as would cost Lord Grange his life." (Note on Boswell, ed. 1835, iv. 246.)

a bishop's crozier<sup>5</sup>." The place thus mysteriously indicated was found near the mouth of the Don; and there Machar established himself in the end of the sixth century.

Saints still more nebulous are mentioned as having lived within the diocese in earlier times—Wolok, Nachlan, Eddran, and others; while St. Machar himself is removed by Hector Boëce, a writer as lying as any legend, into the ninth century<sup>6</sup>. The more authentic Church history of Aberdeen cannot be said to begin before the year 1125, when the see was either founded, or transferred from an earlier foundation, by King David I.—that "sore saint for the crown," as one of his descendants termed him—the most munificent patron of the Scottish Church.

The successors of St. Nectan, the bishop of King David's time, are commemorated in order by Mr. Innes. The most eminent among them was William Elphinstone, who filled the see from 1484 to 1514. He was Chancellor of Scotland, highly distinguished in the politics of his age, and repeatedly employed in important missions to foreign countries; while as a Churchman he is memorable for having founded the University of Aberdeen, for having built the central tower of his cathedral, for having revised the Breviary<sup>7</sup> and superintended its publication, and for having carried through a wise and effective reformation of his Church.

But, in truth, although the volumes of the "Registrum" are the most elaborate and imposing of the Spalding publications, they are by no means the most interesting to ordinary tastes. The antiquary may luxuriate in their copies of charters, leases, and endowments, their lists of church furniture, books, plate, and jewels, their orders for the regulation of the cathedral, its prebendaries, chaplains, and all its other officers; and one who, like ourselves, has no pretensions to the antiquarian character, may find much in the details to engage his attention, and may, in particular, read with interest the canons of the Scottish Church in the thirteenth century,—the origin of which Mr. Innes is disposed to refer to a gradual accumulation of rules and usages, rather than to the enactment of any particular council<sup>8</sup>. We apprehend, however, that all but the professed disciples of Dryasdust will

<sup>5</sup> Registr. i. Pref. p. x. The ecclesiologists might perhaps rebuke Mr. Innes for confounding an archbishop's crozier with a bishop's crook.

<sup>6</sup> "Collections for the History of Aberdeen and Banff," presented to the Spalding Club by the Earl of Aberdeen, 1843, pp. 128—138.

<sup>7</sup> Of the *Breviarium Aberdonense* we believe that no complete copy now exists, but that the fragments afford the means of making a complete transcript. It is, as we have already mentioned, on the list of books to be published by the Spalding Club.

<sup>8</sup> Registr. i. pp. lxxvi., lxxvii. The canons were before printed in Wilkins's Concilia, from one of the MSS. which contain the originals of the *Registrum*.

agree with us in preferring the human life of the Burgh Registers and the later Ecclesiastical Records, to the more dignified and solemn documents of the Registrum.

The Burgh Registers, as we have already intimated, agree in date with the *Registrum* for more than a century and a half; and while the one collection relates mainly to the cathedral, situated in *Old* Aberdeen, on the south bank of the Don, the other has for its subject the concerns of *New* Aberdeen, a populous and flourishing town on the river Dee, about a mile and a half distant; as to the antiquity and importance of which we are told by Mr. Innes, that "long before Edinburgh had acquired the precedence of a capital, or even the first place among the Four Burghs of Southern Scotland—while Glasgow was yet an insignificant dependent on its bishop—Aberdeen had taken its place as a great and independent royal burgh, and a port of extensive foreign trade<sup>9</sup>."

We probably owe to the taste of the editor, Mr. Stuart, the circumstance that the extracts from the records of a civic body relate in so large a measure to ecclesiastical subjects. Certain it is, that while much light is thrown by them on other affairs, those of the Church may be said to be their principal theme. And, if we are struck with the fact that Church matters fill so large a space in the story of the Aberdeen corporation, we must be no less struck with the very great concern which the corporation takes in the management of the Church.

New Aberdeen was under the patronage of St. Nicolas; and it possessed a church, called by his name, which was confessedly "the finest parish church in Scotland<sup>1</sup>." The nave was, we believe, taken down in the last century, and a building by the well-known architect Gibbs (a native of Aberdeen) was erected on its site. The choir was demolished within the last few years, for no better reason, it is said, than the fancy of a popular preacher (who has since joined the "Free" Secession), that a place of worship built under his own direction would be more conducive to the edification of his flock. The cross portion of the ancient church is all that now remains.

The building of the choir thus wantonly destroyed, and the maintenance and repairs of the whole fabric, are the subjects of many entries in the Burgh Register. Dues on imports from foreign countries and on exports are assigned in aid of the building. Fines imposed for various offences are disposed of towards the same purpose. In 1477 "all fees of alderman<sup>2</sup>, bailies, dean

<sup>9</sup> Pref. to Gordon's "Description of Both Towns of Aberdeen," 1842, p. viii.

<sup>1</sup> Gordon's Description, 14. Collections, 205.

<sup>2</sup> The chief magistrate was in those days so styled. The title of *provost* was afterwards substituted.



of guild, abbot, and prior of this burgh<sup>3</sup>, with the common good, and all other profits that may be gotten, for seven years to come, *and mair gif it needs,*” are allotted to the “bigging of the choir;” and we find frequent mention of other gifts. Rents of fisheries and other portions of the public income; voluntary offerings, chiefly in kind, collected under municipal authority; presents of plate and various ornaments,—appear to have been contributed with a truly exemplary liberality, in the feeling that the house of God ought to exhibit a character answerable to the dignity and prosperity of the town.

But, on the other hand, the authorities of Aberdeen did not thus bestow their substance on the Church without receiving a considerable return in the shape of patronage and control. We find them acting with an exercise of power vastly more extensive and more absolute than that of Mr. Alderman Gibbs, in Walbrook, or that of Lady Catherine de Bourgh, in the parish celebrated by Miss Austen. Imagine a modern corporation appointing all the clergy, choristers, and other functionaries of a great Church, assigning the portions of the service which each should perform, directing the clergy in the discharge of their duties, “correcking” and depriving them for negligence or insufficiency, sentencing offenders to do penance in the church, and prescribing the manner of it, administering the money received by way of offerings, fixing the fees to be taken for the various offices, holding visitations of the church, inspecting its furniture, appropriating to public purposes the money due to it, and disposing at pleasure of its materials! Yet all these things, and many others of a like kind, were done by the alderman of Aberdeen and his brethren throughout the period from the beginning of these Records to the Reformation. They appear to have combined the functions of churchwardens, vestry meeting, Doctors’ Commons, rural dean, and archdeacon, with a large portion of those which we are accustomed to regard as especially belonging to the bishop.

Their relations with their neighbours the bishops appear to have been in general friendly. On the few occasions when “my lord of Aberdeen” appears in these pages, the mention of him is commonly respectful. Bishop Dunbar, in particular, is celebrated and thanked in the most flattering manner, for having built a bridge over the Dee—the river of *New Aberdeen*—“at his ain great, high, exorbitand, and sumptuiss expenses<sup>4</sup>.” The jurisdictions of the two powers do not appear to have clashed; most pro-

<sup>3</sup> We shall see hereafter what these dignitaries were.

<sup>4</sup> Burgh Reg. 116, 117, 127.

bably because the bishops were careful not to assert any claims to which the alderman and bailies would have objected. The only instance of a quarrel which we have noticed was in 1481, when a bishop-elect "shewed him unkindly" in refusing to continue the gift of certain monies which his predecessor had been in the habit of devoting to the choir of St. Nicolas; whereupon the town-council put him under a sort of ban, by ordering that the inhabitants should "mak na firmas [*sic*] to the said Robert elect, nor yet to nane of his factors on his behalf<sup>5</sup>."

A curious notice of communication between the spiritual and temporal authorities is recorded under the date of 1530, when my lord of Aberdeen's bailie

"askit license at William Rolland, ane of the bailzies of this burgh, to hang ane theif quhilk was convickt in my lord of Aberdeen's court; quhilk license the said William Rolland grantit, protestand that it suld nocht hurt the town's privileges in na sort<sup>6</sup>."

In 1546 there is mention of a case involving the question which led to Becket's troubles—whether clerks committing outrages against the public peace should be subject to secular tribunals; but the magistrates appear to have overruled the protests of the culprits, and there was no Becket to oppose them.

It is not until 1603, in the days of the titular Protestant bishops<sup>7</sup>, that a man is found to have defied a reproving bailie, by declaring "that the said bailie ought not to speak to him nor admonish him, but only the bishop<sup>8</sup>;" and the manner in which this individual was dealt with, must have discouraged further attempts to refuse any moral or spiritual correction, which the civic dignitaries might be pleased to administer.

It is due to the magistrates of the earlier days to state, that if they exercised somewhat more than a proper degree of superintendence over ecclesiastical affairs, they appear on the whole to have managed them well. The building of the choir was carried on with spirit. The repairs and sustentation of the church were

<sup>5</sup> Burgh Reg. 411.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* 446. A charter in the Registrum, i. 312, shows that in the fifteenth century New Aberdeen boasted at least two hangmen, as a piece of land is described as lying "inter terram Thome Gra carnificis," on the west; and "terram Alexandri Scherar carnificis," on the east.

<sup>7</sup> These, as the reader may remember, were styled *Tulchan*—a word which is said to mean a stuffed figure of a cow, set up to minister a delusive consolation to orphan calves. Mr. Carlyle, in his "Cromwell," has thrown away much merriment by applying the term to the bishops consecrated in the reigns of James I. and Charles I.; whereas the want of consecration was the very thing which gave point to it, as applied to the bishops in the interval between the Reformation and 1610.

<sup>8</sup> Eccl. Rec. 24, 25.

handsomely provided for. And, while in one place it is complained as to the cathedral that the prebendaries omitted to pay the stipends of the chaplains, and that these, in consequence, deserted the service, the "Schir Jhons" and "Schir Andrews" of St. Nicolas' Church were regularly paid by their lay patrons, were kept to the due discharge of their functions, were removed from them in case of insufficiency, and were kindly and considerately pensioned off in age.

We have mentioned that the town-council was in the habit of ordering penances to be performed in the church; and the notices of some of these are among the most curious things in the volume of Burgh Registers.

One of the first entries of this kind relates to the penance of Davy Patrikson, in 1463, for an offence which must doubtless have seemed especially enormous to the tribunal by which he was sentenced—nothing less than "rebellion done by him to the alderman<sup>1</sup>." The delinquent was, first, to be imprisoned for a day,

"And thereafter, on the Sunday next to come, the said Davy sall come barefoot, with his gown loose, and a candle of a pound of wax in his hand, to St. Nicolas kirk in the time of the high messe, and offer that candle there to the altar, and ask the alderman and his counsel forgiveness for the love of God, and never to do sic thing again; and syne [then] thereafter the said Davy, fra that day forth, sall give weekly for the hail year, a pint of wine to the kirk for his said rebellion."

We may next notice the penance of Christian Lilburne, in 1490<sup>2</sup>, for disturbing the nightly slumbers of a clergyman, "openly glammerand him," and telling him that she would effect his banishment from the town—"whilk," says the record, "the said Schir Jhon would not have sustained for a hundred crowns." The virago is sentenced to ask pardon of Sir John in the presence of the council, and on the following Sunday to put an offering of a pound of wax into his hand at the time of high mass.

In 1496, we meet with a variety which is often repeated. William Belty, in expiation of an offence against Thomas Waus, is condemned to

"Offer and present his crag [neck] to the goyf [pillory, we suppose], and his knife in his hand, there to stand, at the will of the said Thomas; and the said Willam sall come on Sunday in the time of high messe, in linen clothes, bare leg, foot, and head, with ane loose gown, and j candle of ane pound of wax in his hand, and his drawn knife in his tother hand, offering the candle to holy kirk, and the knife to the said

<sup>1</sup> Registr. ii. 68, A. D. 1440.

<sup>2</sup> P. 24.

<sup>3</sup> P. 46.

Thomas, in token of repentance of the said offence, asking the said Thomas and his friends on his knees forgiveness; and attour [more-over] the said William shall pay half ane stane of wax to the Holy Blood light," &c.<sup>3</sup>

A tailor, by name John Pill, was very disorderly on the occasion of the Candlemas procession in 1523, refusing to keep to the place appointed for his craft, abusing a bailie who remonstrated with him, and mocking "the merchants of the said good town, calling them *Coffeis* [whatever that may mean], and bidding of them to tak the salt pork and herbs in their hands"—as a symbol of their commerce, we presume. The refractory needleman is sentenced to do penance in church after the usual form, with the ensign of his craft (which he had refused to wear on Candlemas-day),—"ane pair of patent [i. e. open] shears"—displayed on his breast<sup>4</sup>.

In 1539, Margaret Porter was convicted of grossly defaming a married woman, as having a criminal intimacy with a friar. By way of penance, she was ordered to appear at high mass,

"Clad in linen clothes, with ane torch burning in her hand of three pounds of wax, bare leg, and there, afore the pulpit, and the provost and good men of the town, revoke her words, and confess them very false and untrue, and said but of malice and in ire; and to sit down on her knees, and ask the said Jonat forgiveness, and request the good men of the town to cause the said Jonat to forgive her<sup>5</sup>."

The order to request the intercession of the notables is generally a feature in the sentences about this time.

In 1555, one married pair assaulted and hurt another. The culprits were condemned to be fined, and "to pay the barbour for mending and curing of the wounds;" and, moreover, to do public penance with the usual circumstances<sup>6</sup>.

Acts of violence and sins of the tongue were the two great classes of offences which the magistrates visited with penance; the latter—slander, scolding, foul abuse, and the like,—being generally committed by delinquents of the gentler sex; which we must add, also bore no small share in the charges of assault and other rougher outbreaks. Whether the transgressions of a different kind, which are the main subjects of censure in the Kirk-session and Strathbogie Records, were allowed in earlier days to pass without public punishment—or whether they were investigated and punished by some other court—we have no time at present to inquire. But on the whole it may be said, that the misdemeanors punished by the magistrates, were such as properly fell

<sup>3</sup> P. 59. This is repeated in the Appendix, p. 417, with the date of 1489. There would seem to be a mistake somewhere.

<sup>4</sup> P. 445.

<sup>5</sup> P. 160.

<sup>6</sup> P. 282.

within their cognizance; the only strange thing is, that the civic tribunal undertook to visit them with ecclesiastical punishments.

There are, indeed, instances of a similar kind even after the Reformation. Thus, in 1562, Margaret Forbes having been convicted of "stroubling, striking, and blood-drawing of Elizabeth Wood," is ordered by the council to pay 26s. 8d. of Scotch money as damages, to pay the "barbour" for his attendance, and further, "to appear on Sunday that next comes, [not at high mass, but] immediately after the preaching, within the parish kirk, and there, in presence of the congregation, ask God and the party offended forgiveness, with a contrite and penitent mind."

The Reformation was carried through at Aberdeen with but little of the turbulence which, for the most part, marked its course in Scotland. There are in the various records before us, several entries which give token of an approaching change. In 1525, we find a letter from the king to the sheriffs of Aberdeen<sup>7</sup>, directing them to enforce an act which had just been passed in parliament, for suppressing the errors of "that heretic Luther and his disciples," by seizing all such books of theirs as might be found in the hands of any person, and preventing the importation of similar works from the continent. In 1543, provision is made by the magistrates for the lodging and maintenance of two preaching friars, who had been sent to the town by the governor, Arran, for the purpose, as Mr. Stuart thinks, of advancing the new opinions, to which the governor was at that time favourable<sup>8</sup>. The following year, a number of persons were convicted of an injury to the black friars. The nature of this is not specified, but we may pretty safely suppose it to have been some outrage encouraged by the general movement against the existing religious system; and shortly after, there is notice of an investigation as to the persons who had been guilty of hanging an image of St. Francis<sup>1</sup>.

We next meet with an attempt to set up a champion who must have had enough to do in the discharge of his office:—

"On the 9th of July, 1547," writes Mr. Innes, "the bishop and chapter admitted Master John Watson as a preaching canon, though without prebend, in a remarkable deed setting forth the greatness of the harvest, and the scarcity of labourers—the spread of heresy and heretics, and the necessity of supplying the food of the Word of God, to their confusion and the safety of the Christian people—the insufficiency of the bishop to preach in all the parishes of his diocese, and the neces-

<sup>7</sup> P. 352.

<sup>8</sup> Burgh Reg. 110.  
<sup>1</sup> Ibid. 211.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. 189. xxix.

sity of supplying his place with men fit for preaching the Word of God, hearing confessions, enjoining penance, and all else that pertains to the safety of souls. The new canon was bound to give two lectures in theology weekly, in the cathedral, and to preach once a month to the people; and once every year to visit and preach in each of the common churches of the chapter<sup>2</sup>."

Eleven years later, the movement had advanced much further. Mr. Innes has printed, in his preface to the *Registrum*, a very curious paper,—the counsel given to the Bishop of Aberdeen by the dean and chapter of his cathedral, "for reformation to be made, and stanching of heresies pullulant within the diocie<sup>3</sup>." The first article urges, "that my lord of Aberdeen cause the kirkmen within his lordship's diocie to reform themselves in all their scandalous manner of living, and to remove their open concubines, as well great as small;" and this is followed by recommendations of a general system of preaching, of enforcement of residence, of inquisition as to heretics, of requiring the secular aid of the Church's tenants in defence of the faith, of commissions of inquiry into outrages committed in various places against churches and images. My lord of Aberdeen himself—Bishop William Gordon—was not one whose personal character could lend any strength to the cause with which he was connected; and this the dean and chapter very plainly intimate to him in the conclusion of their advice. They state that all the adversaries of the faith "promise faithful obedience to the prelates, so that they will mend their own lives and their inferiors, conform to the law of God and holy kirk;" and therefore they exhort the bishop,

"For the honour of God, relief of his own conscience, and weal of his lordship's diocie, avoiding of great slander," to "be so gude as to show gude and edificative example, and specially in removing and discharging himself of company of the gentlewoman by whom he is greatly slandered; without the quhilk be done, divers that are partinars says they cannot accept counsel and correction of him quhilk will not correct himself. And in like manner, not to be familiar with them that are suspect contrarious to the kirk, and of the new law, and that his lordship avoid the same; that when his lordship please to vesity the fields, to repose himself, he choose such company as effeiris [belongs] to his own estate; and cause his lordship's servants to reform themselves, because, next himself, it seems him to begin at his own household."

Bishop Gordon did not die until the year 1577, when he left behind him a character which is thus summed up by Spottiswoode:—

"Some hopes he gave at first of a virtuous man, but afterwards

<sup>2</sup> *Registr.* Pref. lix. The document itself is printed in vol. ii. p. 317.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. lxi—lxv.

turned a very epicure, spending all his time in drinking and ———. He dilapidated the whole rents by feuing [leasing] the lands, and converted the victual-duties into money, a great part whereof he spent upon his base children and their mothers; a man not worthy to be placed in this catalogue<sup>4</sup>."

The change of character ascribed to this prelate has led some writers to divide him into two, as ancient commentators divided the personages of their mythology. But although there *may* have been a plurality of Jupiters and Herculeses; although there is reason to believe that there *were* two contemporary John Wiclifs, both doctors of divinity and members of the same university; although there *were*, in the beginning of the last century, two Alexander Cunninghams, both literary Scotchmen, both travelling tutors, both at once resident at the Hague, both acquainted with the same public men, and possessing some tastes and accomplishments in common; although there *are* at this day two William Palmers, both clergymen of Oxford, and known to the world as theological writers—the idea of two William Gordons, successively bishops of Aberdeen, in the middle of the sixteenth century, appears to be a mere chimera.

On the 16th of June, 1559, the chaplains of St. Nicolas represented to the town-council the disorderly proceedings of persons in the southern parts of Scotland, who were destroying churches, religious houses, "and the ornaments and policie of the same;" and they prayed, that "until the said uproar and tumult were put to tranquillity," the plate and most precious ornaments of the church might be committed to safe keeping. Four citizens were chosen in consequence, who undertook the charge of the church's property<sup>5</sup>.

About the same time, we meet with various orders, that the chaplains should be supported in distraining for monies due to them. We may suppose that the movements then in progress encouraged their debtors to withhold these dues; but the magistrates were determined to maintain the rights of the clergy<sup>6</sup>.

On the 29th of December, 1559, the provost called the inhabitants together, and stated that a mob from the south was expected to visit the town, for the purpose of "casting down the kirks and religious places thereof, under colour and pretence of godly reformation<sup>7</sup>." He required the people to aid in resisting the illegal violence of this rabble, and protested that the blame of any damage which might result should rest on those who refused to concur with him. The mob attacked the cathedral, attempted to pull down the great tower, burnt the library, "no book being

<sup>4</sup> Quoted in Regist. Pref. p. lxxi.  
<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 322—325.

<sup>6</sup> Burgh Reg. 323.  
<sup>7</sup> Ibid. 326.

spared wherein any red letter was to be seen<sup>8</sup>," and did much other damage in Old Aberdeen, whence they were at length driven off by some retainers of the Earl of Huntly. The great church of New Aberdeen was saved from their fury by the zeal of the inhabitants; but on the 4th of January they reduced some religious houses to ruins<sup>9</sup>.

A question then arose in the council as to the disposal of the friars' property. It was agreed that it should be appropriated to public purposes; but a strong protest was afterwards entered by the provost, Thomas Menzies, who had been absent on the day of the discussion<sup>1</sup>.

On the 11th of March, 1559 (i. e. 1560), it was agreed that the town should give in its adhesion to the party of "the Congregation;" one member of the council, Gilbert Collison, alone protesting<sup>2</sup>.

In September, 1560, there is an entry of an oath to be taken by the chief magistrate, which shows by its terms that the Reformation was then established. In December, the ornaments and plate of the church were delivered up by the persons in whose keeping they had been; and in January, 1561, they were sold by auction. The price was applied to the improvement of the harbour and other public works; and on this occasion the sturdy Collison, with one of the Menzies family, again protested<sup>3</sup>.

The settlement of the Reformed kirk reminds us strongly of the state of our own Church in the reign of Elizabeth. The supply of persons qualified to preach was very insufficient. One "minister," therefore, was usually appointed over several parishes, with a "reader" under him in each, who read the common prayers and Scriptures, and catechized the children<sup>4</sup>. The service-book used

<sup>8</sup> Gordon's Description, 22.

<sup>9</sup> We have been much puzzled to make out the order of events in this place. Historians in general (*e. g.* Bp. Keith, vol. i. p. 265, ed. 1844,) represent the attack on the cathedral as having taken place on Dec. 29, 1559, and the demolition of the monasteries on the 4th of January following; but in the Burgh Records we find the destruction of the monasteries placed first, in January, 1559, almost a year before the provost announces the expected attack on the town. After the best consideration which we have been able to give to the matter, we are inclined to think that the transcriber of the extracts must have misplaced those belonging to the months from January to March, 1559, and that these really belong to the year which we should call 1560. (The beginning of the year was altered from Lady-day to January 1, in Scotland, A. D. 1600. Nicolas, Chronology, p. 43.) The course of the events in general agrees with this supposition; and it is particularly confirmed by the entries as to the successive transfers of the church ornaments.

<sup>1</sup> Menzies himself conformed to the Reformation; but his family adhered to the Roman communion until the death of the last representative in 1843. Burgh Records, p. xxxi.

<sup>2</sup> Burgh Reg. 322.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 328, 329.

<sup>4</sup> In the "Collections," pp. 226—230, are given the names of the ministers and



at this time was the second Liturgy of Edward VI. Mr. Adam Heriot was appointed minister of New Aberdeen, and John Leslie, reader.

But there are still curious traces of a connexion with the earlier state of things. The chaplains are backed in exacting their rents in 1563; and Mr. Stuart has noted a remarkable fact, of so late a date as 1577. Sir John Collison resigned the *vicarage* of Aberdeen, in favour of his nephew, Walter Cullen; "and he, though a zealous reformer, and holding an ecclesiastical charge in the Reformed kirk, takes collation to the vicarage from the hands of the bishop of the proscribed Church. 'Thereafter, my lord of Aberdeen gave the said Walter collation by ane ring on his finger.'" "The bishop," says Mr. Stuart, "notwithstanding the Reformation, continued to the day of his death in the exercise of all his temporal powers, and occasionally also of his spiritual functions<sup>5</sup>."

Some of the dispossessed members of religious orders sought a refuge in foreign countries<sup>6</sup>; others of them, and of the secular clergy, appear to have remained unmolested at Aberdeen, probably conforming to the new order of things, although unable to take a part in spiritual duties. In 1565, *Sir* John Walker is appointed bell-ringer; and in the following year, *Sir* John Wright receives the charge of the beacon-light on St. Ninian's chapel; and we may suppose that these inferior posts were conferred on them by way of providing them with a livelihood. So, in 1568, the claim of an old ex-carmelite to maintenance is recognized by an order, that he shall receive board "day about" from the "maist honest men of the burgh," until other provision be found for him. Cullen, in his Chronicle of Aberdeen, mentions the deaths of one who had been "some time a white friar, and [afterwards] servant to Thomas Menzies, provost<sup>8</sup>," and of several other members of the suppressed orders.

The opening of the Kirk-session Book is solemn and imposing<sup>9</sup>. The congregation is constituted in November, 1562, by the appointment of a minister, elders, and deacons; and these begin by setting forth a code of orders and regulations for purity of faith

readers of the diocese in 1567. Each of the former has generally three or four parishes.

<sup>5</sup> Pref. to Spald. Miscellany, ii. p. xxv.

<sup>6</sup> Collections, 201.

<sup>7</sup> Burgh Reg. 354. *Honest*, in these documents, has the meaning of *substantial*; its opposite is *sober*.

<sup>8</sup> Spald. Misc. ii. 43.

<sup>9</sup> It may be well to remark that, of the three bodies whose registers have contributed to the volume of Ecclesiastical Records, the *kirk session* is parochial; the *presbytery* is an association of parishes, somewhat like our *deanery*; while the *synod* answers to a *diocese*. The eldership and deaconship were lay offices,

and manners, founded, as they profess, on the Decalogue. They denounce idolaters, and all who favour such. Swearers are to be fined or pilloried, according to their degree. Blasphemers are to be thrice set in the stocks, with a paper crown expressing their offence, and, if incorrigible, are to be banished. The Lord's day is to be strictly observed. Slander, foul language, and all sorts of uncleanness are to be severely punished. Adulterers are to be carted and banished—the session regretting that it cannot inflict on them the Mosaic punishment of death, “for that the princes have not received the law of God in that part.” Obedience to bailies is deduced from the fifth commandment; and the eighth is the warrant for an ordinance against vagrants<sup>1</sup>.

In 1568 the kirk session made a resolution that the members should not divulge such matters as might come before them<sup>2</sup>. But the whole tone of the records indicates any thing but a close and secret tribunal. The session met weekly in the chapter-house of St. Nicolas, and it became at once the holy inquisition and the mart for scandal of Aberdeen. A curious variety of matters came under its cognizance. Very often its proceedings remind us of a police-court rather than of any other modern thing; and not unfrequently the evidence goes far beyond the point at which the modern police-reporter, veiling with expanded notebook his downcast and blushing countenance, pronounces “the details totally unfit for publication.”

The change which had taken place rendered many things criminal which before were highly meritorious; and, although the dogmas of the Reformation were pretty generally accepted or allowed, it was found that the practices of the earlier times were not to be at once rooted out. Many persons—*not*, perhaps, the most religious—still clung to the celebration of abolished holidays; and the suppression of certain pageants, which had before been celebrated with great pomp for the honour of the town and the edification of the inhabitants, excited a spirit on the part of Young Aberdeen which would have intensely delighted the heart of Lord John Manners.

These pageants, indeed, were in the earlier time no unimportant matters. Thus, in the Burgh Records we meet with frequent orders by the magistrates for the celebration of Candlemas-day by the various crafts of the town. Their places in the procession are appointed, and it is settled what personages each craft shall furnish for the mystery performed on the occasion. The weavers and fullers were to contribute Symeon; the smiths, the three Kings of Cologne; the dyers, the Emperor; the masons, the three

<sup>1</sup> Eccl. Rec. 4—12.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 13.

Knights; the tailors, our Lady, St. Bride, and St. Elene; the skimmers, the twa Bishops<sup>3</sup>, and so forth. Corpus Christi and the feast of the patron saint were also high days of procession and display; the election of the "boy bishop" forming a part of the ceremonies on St. Nicolas-day<sup>4</sup>.

Much, too, is said of certain dignitaries who answered to the English Abbots of Unreason, and were styled, from the motto of the Aberdeen town arms, Abbot and Prior of *Bon Accord*<sup>5</sup>. Frequent grants are made towards the expenses of those elected to these offices; and when it was found that a succession of abbots had striven each to outdo his predecessor in cost and splendour, sumptuary laws were enacted for the purpose of restraining such extravagances. The abbot and prior were chosen from the young men of the principal families; all persons who were able were bound to "pass through the town" with them on the days of their display; mystery plays were performed under their superintendence, and banquets given at their expense; to disturb their procession was a highly-punishable offence; and, if the abbots and their companions were themselves now and then disorderly<sup>6</sup>, the institution would probably not be on that account the less popular with the multitude.

Observances of this kind were suppressed by the legislature in 1555, some years before the Reformation reached the town of Bon Accord. But the taste for amusements was not to be so easily put down. In 1562, "John Kelo, bellman," was charged with convoking the inhabitants by the sound of his bell "to pass to the wood, to bring in summer, upon the first Sunday of May." He and two of his accomplices denied that they had done any wrong, and pleaded ancient custom in their behalf; the council, however, sentenced them to do penance by owning their offence, and asking pardon on their knees, after the sermon, on the following Sunday<sup>7</sup>.

Mr. Kelo's next appearance in the Register exhibits him as ringing his bell in May, 1565, and proclaiming, by order of the provost and bailies,

"to all burghsmen, craftsmen, and all others, inhabitants and indwellers of the said town, that nane of them tak upon hand to mak ony convention, with tabor-playing, or pipe, or fiddle, or have ensignes, to convene the Queen's lieges, in choosing of Robin Hood, Little John, Abbot of Reason, or Queen of May<sup>8</sup>."

But it appears from a subsequent entry, that, notwithstanding the

<sup>3</sup> Burgh Reg. 431.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* xxv.

<sup>5</sup> About 1508 these names were for a time changed to Robin Hood and Little John. Burgh Reg. 440.

<sup>6</sup> Burgh Reg. p. 14.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* 344.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* 459.

monitions of the reclaimed bellman, six persons "came through the town on [the following] Sunday afternoon, with ane minstrel playing before them."

The kirk session had, of course, no indulgence for persons guilty of such offences. In 1574, fourteen women were brought before them for "playing, dancing, and singing of filthie carols on Yule-day at even, and on Sunday at even thereafter<sup>9</sup>." The following year, a woman was fined for dressing in male attire at a wake, and three others were threatened with exclusion "from all benefit of the kirk" if they should relapse into the practices of disguising themselves and dancing<sup>1</sup>. All craftsmen were strictly and repeatedly commanded to observe no other day but the Lord's day; and, by a provision which must have gone far to enlist the sympathies of the rising generation on the side of the proscribed religion, schoolmasters were ordered to allow no "play" at festival seasons, but to keep the children closely to their lessons<sup>2</sup>.

But, in spite of all that could be done by yearly warnings beforehand and punishments after, it is found that people *will* persist in being merry at Christmas and New Year. The gravity of the town is disturbed at such times by pipes and fiddles, songs which are stigmatized as filthy and idolatrous, carols, dancing, and masking. The suppression of pie-baking on Yule-day defies the most earnest and repeated efforts. Whole crafts are obstinately idle, Christmas after Christmas. The ecclesiastical powers cannot prevail on millers to work as they ought to do; when very closely questioned, they profess themselves not unwilling, but allege that their mills *will* somehow always get out of order precisely at these critical times<sup>3</sup>. The unfortunate kirk session hardly knows whether to be more afflicted at the desecration of the Sabbath, or at the consecration of Christmas; and, curiously enough, some things, such as the sale of pies and performances of music about the streets, are held alike to desecrate the one and to consecrate the other.

The attachment to the old festivals appears down to the latest period of which these volumes treat. Quaint old Spalding, the tutelary genius of the Club, tells us how the Young Old-Aberdeen of 1642 behaved:—

"This year Yule-day fell upon Sunday. Our ministers preached against all merriness, play, and pastime; and the night before, throughout Aberdeen, the townsmen were commanded to keep themselves sober, and flee all superstitious keeping of days. Upon Monday the bell went through the Old Town, commanding all manner of men to open their booth-doors and go to work; but the students fell upon the

<sup>9</sup> Eccl. Rec. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 16.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. 22.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 138.

bellman, and took the bell from him, for giving such an unusual charge. So the people made good cheer and banqueting, according to their estates, and passed their times, Monday and Tuesday both, for all thir [these] threatenings<sup>4</sup>."

In the following year,

"upon Candlemas-day, the bairns of the Old Town grammar-school came up the gate, with candles lighted in their hands, crying and rejoicing, glad enough; and thus came up to the cross, and round about goes divers times, climbs to the head thereof, and set on a burning torch thereupon. They went down from the cross, convoying John Keith, brother to the Earl Marischall, who was their king, to his lodging in the chanonry, with lighted candles<sup>5</sup>."

And at the end of the year:—

"Upon good Yule-day, no work wrought in Old Aberdeen, nor yet upon St. James's [John's?] day, nor St. Stephen's day, for all the thundering of the ministers could do against it. And upon the 27th of December, the Old Town collegianers got eight days' play, whether the masters would or not<sup>6</sup>."

In 1649, the very "kirk-officer" of a country parish is "de-lated for singing of New-Year songs on New-Year's even, through sundry houses and towns of the parish"; and in 1656, there was sad trouble with millers, "baxters," and others at Aberdeen. One woman was charged with saying that Mr. Cant, in speaking against Yule, "spak like ane old fool." She got off by making oath that she had called Yule-day an old-fool day<sup>7</sup>.

In 1608, a number of persons were brought before the kirk session on a charge of having kindled bonfires on Midsummer-eve<sup>8</sup>. The first of the accused, Gilbert Keith, of the Earl Marischal's family, a wild young man whose irregularities found much work for the session, confessed himself guilty; but after him appeared a company of grave burghers—among them no less a personage than the provost himself—each charged with having superstitiously kindled, or caused to be kindled, a fire on the causeway in front of his house. It proved that the fires had, in all these cases, been made without the knowledge of the accused. In short, Keith, or some one else, had played off a practical joke on them, which would probably have told equally well, whether the particular victim were a rigid enemy of "superstition," or a person suspected of inclination to it.

<sup>4</sup> P. 318, ed. 1829. The "History of the Troubles" is about to appear in an improved edition, under the care of a very skilful editor, Mr. Joseph Robertson.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, 322.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, 365.

<sup>7</sup> Strathb. Pref. xiii.

<sup>8</sup> Eccl. Rec. 138.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. 61.

- ART. VII.—1. *Some Remarks on a Letter addressed by the Rev. Dr. Hook to the Lord Bishop of St. David's, "On the Means of rendering more efficient the Education of the People."* By One of the "Clergy of the Manufacturing District" and Parish of Manchester. London: Rivingtons. Manchester: T. Sowler. 1847.
2. *Letters to the Right Hon. Lord John Russell on State Education.* By EDWARD BAINES, Jun., Author of the "History of the Cotton Manufacture." Eighth edition. Published, with the permission of the Author, by the Committee appointed in London to superintend its cheap circulation, at the price of Sixpence. London: Ward and Co.; Simpkin, Marshall, and Co. 1847.
3. *The School in its Relations to the State, the Church, and the Congregation. Being an Explanation of the Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, in August and December, 1846. Third thousand.* London: John Murray. 1847.
4. *Narrative of the Proceedings and Resolutions of the United Wesleyan Committees of Privileges and Education, in reference to the recent Minutes of the Committee of Privy Council on Education, with the Correspondence between the United Committees and the Committee of Council on Education, in March and April, 1847.* London: John Mason. 1847.
5. *The Congregational Year Book for 1846, containing the Proceedings of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, and its Confederated Societies, for that Year; together with Supplementary Information respecting the Churches, Associations, Colleges, Ministers, and Publications of the Congregational Body throughout the United Kingdom.* London: Jackson and Walford.
6. *Letter to Lord Lyndhurst, from Lord BROUGHAM, on Criminal Police and National Education. Second edition, with a Postscript.* London: James Ridgway. 1847.
7. *A Letter to the Most Noble the Marquis of Lansdowne, Presi-*

- dent of the Council, on the Government Plan of Education: with an Appendix, containing the Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, in December, 1846. Presented to both Houses of Parliament, Feb. 5, 1847. By EDWARD BAINES, Jun. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co. 1847.*
8. *An Alarm to the Nation, on the Unjust, Unconstitutional, and Dangerous Measure of State Education proposed by the Government. By EDWARD BAINES, Jun. London: Ward and Co.; Simpkin, Marshall, and Co. 1847.*
  9. *The Nonconformist's Plea for Freedom of Education. A Letter and a Lecture to the Marquis of Lansdowne and the People of Manchester, demonstrating the Government Scheme of Education to be an Encroachment on Liberty and Religion. By J. W. MASSIE, D.D. Second edition. London: John Snow.*
  10. *An Analysis and Exposure of the new Government Scheme of Education; showing its precise Nature, its objectionable Character, and its mischievous Tendencies. By JOHN MIDDLETON HARE, Author of the "Analytical Digest of Sir James Graham's Factories Education Bill." Second edition. London: John Snow. 1847.*
  11. *Government Plan of Education. A Speech delivered by the Right Hon. T. B. MACAULAY, M.P. for Edinburgh, in the House of Commons on Monday evening, April 19, 1847, on the Motion of Lord John Russell that the sum of 100,000*l.* should be voted to defray the Charges of carrying out the Minutes of the Council on Education. London: Chapman and Hall.*
  12. *Calm Thoughts on the recent Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, and on their supposed bearing on the Interests of Civil Freedom and Protestant Nonconformity. By HENRY DUNN. London: Houlston and Stoneman.*
  13. *National Education. Observations on the "Minutes of the Committee of the Privy Council," showing that the Complaints of Dissenters are groundless. By the Author of "Some Remarks on Dr. Hook's Letter." London: Rivingtons. Manchester: T. Sowler.*
  14. *National Education: what it is, and what it should be. By JOHN DUFTON, M.A., Rector of Warehorne, Kent. London: John W. Parker. 1847.*
  15. *Practical Remarks on Popular Education in England and Wales. By HENRY PARR HAMILTON, M.A., F.R.S., late*

*Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Rector of Wash.*  
London: John W. Parker. 1847.

16. *A Few Plain Words to the People on the Education Question.*  
London: John W. Parker. 1847.
17. *Education: What is it? and who are its Friends? A Sermon preached at St. Paul's Chapel, Great Portland-street, on behalf of the All Souls' and Trinity Districts National, Infant, and Sunday Schools. By the Rev. GEORGE POCOCK, LL.B., Minister of the Chapel.* London: W. E. Painter.
18. *The Night School; or, Educate the People. A Sermon preached at Sutton Courtney, Berks. By the Rev. J. GREGSON, M.A., of Brasenose College, Oxford, and Vicar of Sutton Courtney. Published May 3rd, 1847.* London: J. Hatchard and Son; A. Newling, Liverpool; Payne, Abingdon. 1847.
19. *The Duty of Government to educate, and what kind of an Education our Government should give. Two Lectures on National Education recently delivered at the Town Hall, Sheffield. By the Rev. R. S. BAYLEY, F.S.A.* Sheffield: Ridge and Jackson; Groombridge and Son, London.

WHEN the stirring scenes of the present shall have ceased to exist but as the sober memories of the past, few subjects will be found to furnish a richer repast to the philosopher or the satirist than the mode in which the Educational Minutes of August and December, '46, have been received both *in* and *out* of Parliament. A scheme, which, whatever be its merits or demerits, honestly and practically aims at improving the education of one portion of the community, and transforming another portion from heathen savages into civilized Christians, is produced by the Council of Education, and promulgated with all the authority of a ministerial measure: the regulations are so framed as to allow the greatest possible liberty, not only of conscience, but of action, (things really very distinct, though frequently confounded,) to every body of professing Christians, inviting not merely the Church, but every sect of Protestant dissenters to come forward and educate their own people, and offering to assist them in the work with funds proportionate to their exertions and their needs. And how is the measure treated? Within the House an overwhelming majority sanctions it—Whigs propose it—Tories acquiesce in it—Conservatives outbid their former opponents in the warmth of their enthusiasm and the expansiveness of their liberalism; whilst the



more enlightened of the Radicals give it their cordial and consistent support: the more enlightened, we say; for amongst the motley tribes of this disunited though powerful race, there is a section which, with a fiery zeal deserving a better cause, if not a better fate, throws itself desperately into the breach, and makes up for its want of numbers by fruitless resistance and clamour.

And how is this desperate opposition supported from *without*?—for here, too, a vigorous attempt is made to obstruct and defeat the measure. By whom are the anti-educational fanatics backed? Whence arise the sinews of their strength, or the materials of their warfare?

The alarm has been given from the outposts of nonconformity—the bells of dissenting meeting-houses have rung out the tocsin—the advocates of “civil and religious liberty” are found in opposition to the elevation of the people—the Protestant Separatists of Great Britain obstruct the diffusion of the Bible.

The objections urged against the Educational Minutes may be divided into two classes—those which are levelled against all State interference with education, and those which apply especially to the present scheme. Those, therefore, who support or acquiesce in the measure under discussion will have to make out

Firstly, That the present state of education throughout the country is very unsatisfactory.

Secondly, That there is no reasonable hope of its rising to the necessary level by the voluntary system.

Thirdly, That these premises justify the interference of the state.

These points being established, all that remains to be proved is *not* that the minutes are theoretically perfect, but that they will be practically useful—*not* that they are liable to no objection, but that they are liable to no objection of so grave a nature, as to render it necessary to oppose a measure which will, we firmly believe, have a powerful effect in raising the moral and physical condition of our people.

For our own part we desire to see all classes, high and low, rich and poor, educated to the very highest point which they are severally capable of attaining. We hold such a state of things to be most in accordance with the design of our Creator—if we may use the expression without being misapprehended—and consequently, best suited to the well-being of His creatures.

The human soul is the fairest temple of the Godhead, and it is surely right and our bounden duty to adorn His chosen dwelling-place, with all the works of science and all the treasures of philosophy, with all the products of art and with all the glories of

nature—to deck it with the gems of fancy, to enrich it with the hues of feeling, to strengthen it with judgment and reason.

Again—education has a natural tendency to promote the welfare of the individual, it increases his efficiency in the performance of his work whatever that work may be ; for

“ It is admitted upon good authority [i. e. *Report on the Physical and Moral Condition of Children and Young Persons, &c.*, p. 265] that the ‘ best educated men are the most valuable workmen, and the most regular in their habits.’ Nor is this the less true because exceptions may be found of an unsatisfactory character.”—*Some Remarks on Dr. Hook's Letter, by one of the Clergy, &c.*, pp. 20, 21.

It gives him besides this the chance and the opportunity of bettering his condition ; and whilst enabling him to do his duty in that state of life to which God has called him, with greater benefit both to himself and others, and giving him the opportunity of rising beyond his original station, it furnishes him with new sources of enjoyment which will increase his happiness, whether he remain in the lot he was born to, or rise above it ; which are not only an absolute gain in themselves, but have an additional advantage in their tendency to withdraw him from debasing and brutalizing pleasures.

The effects of education on raising the national character, and increasing national prosperity, have been ably shown by Mr. Macaulay in his brilliant and powerful speech—

“ It is notorious, (says he,) that 200 years ago, and even later, Scotland and Scotchmen were proverbs of contempt in London. Even great Scottish statesmen looked with despair upon the barbarous rudeness and ignorance of their poorer countrymen. Already in the course of this session, the House has heard a remarkable extract from the writings of Fletcher of Daltoun. Fletcher was a brave man, an able man, a passionate lover of liberty. Yet he was so much dispirited and bewildered by the lawless and miserable state of his country 150 years ago, that he actually recommended the establishment of a system of slavery. He could devise no other way of preserving order and stimulating industry. Happily, a few months only before the publication of this pamphlet of Fletcher's, the Scotch parliament passed the celebrated Act of 1695, for the settlement of parochial schools. From the day on which that Act was passed, dates an improvement to which the history of human affairs furnishes no parallel. In spite of the sterility of the earth, in spite of the inclemency of the air, Scotland soon had no reason to envy those portions of the globe for which nature had done most. And observe, that the improvement of Scotland was the effect of the improvement which had taken place in the Scotchman. Soon, wherever the Scotchman went—and there were few regions to which he did not go—he carried with him the signs of the intellectual and moral culture

which he had received. If he opened a shop, it thrived more than any other in the street. If he enlisted in the army, he soon became a non-commissioned officer. Nor was this from any natural superiority. For in the previous century the people of Scotland were regarded by the inhabitants of more favoured climates as mere savages, as mere Esquimaux."—pp. 16, 17.

But the education of the people—the universal education of the poorer classes of the people as well as the richer, on a continually increasing standard, keeping pace with the advance of knowledge and improvement amongst the wealthier portion of the nation, will restore, cement, and preserve the union of all the orders of the community. All wise men lament the estrangement which exists at the present day between the various ranks of our fellow-citizens. Universal education will pave the way to the removal of this cancer of our social state, which will, if unchecked, destroy the body politic. Whatever were the evils of past ages—their darkness, their ignorance, their misery, their crimes—and we are not disposed to underrate them in the thankless and puerile spirit, which, instead of thanking God for the real blessings which we enjoy, sighs after ideal advantages which He has thought proper to withhold: still there was this advantage, so to speak, in the almost *universal* ignorance of those days, that men were, for the most part, more nearly equal in matters of mind than they are now; and thus one of the barriers to free intercourse between the different classes of society, which now appears so formidable, had then scarcely any existence. We are aware that the education of the more polished classes is frequently more superficial than substantial, more apparent than real; and that *vice versâ* many a practically philosophic mind resides beneath a clown's cap, many a refined heart throbs beneath a rustic garb. Yet still generally, practically speaking, the difficulty which we speak of is felt—a difficulty which has only existed of late years:

"For till within a century or two all ranks were nearly upon a level as to the learning in question. The art of printing appears to have been providentially reserved till these latter ages, and then providentially brought into use, as what was to be instrumental for the future in carrying on the appointed course of things. The alterations which this art has even already made in the face of the world are not inconsiderable. By means of it, whether immediately or remotely, the methods of carrying on business are, in several respects, improved, *knowledge has been increased*, (Dan. xii. 4,) and some sort of literature is become general. And if this be a blessing, we ought to let the poor in their degree share it with us. The present state of things and course of providence plainly leads us to do so."

And now let us inquire, what is the condition—what are the prospects—of the education of the poor at this present time?

Although the quotation has become a hackneyed one, we cannot in justice to the cause avoid citing the statement published in the Educational Report of the Congregational Union:—

“If it were necessary to disclose facts to such an assembly as this as to the ignorance and debasement of the neglected portions of our population in towns and rural districts, both adult and juvenile, it could easily be done. Private information communicated to the Board, personal observation and investigation of various localities, with the published documents of the Registrar-General, and the reports of the state of prisons in England and Wales, published by order of the House of Commons, would furnish enough to make us modest in speaking of what has been done for the humbler classes, and make us ashamed that England—the sons of the soil of England—should have been so long neglected, and should present to the enlightened traveller from other shores such a sad spectacle of neglected cultivation, lost mental power, and spiritual degradation.”—*The Congregational Year Book for 1846*, p. 47.

Such is the statement put forth by Edward Baines, Jun.

Let us summon another witness—Lord John Russell. In the course of his high-minded and effective speech, the premier said,

“Sir, the statements made by members of the Church of England, by Dr. Hook, by the Rev. Mr. Burgess, and various clergymen who have written on this subject, and who, without naming them, I may say have shown a great understanding of this subject, are all to the same effect. They name various amounts of the number of children attending schools; but all their statements are in opposition to the statements made by Mr. Baines, and prove that the education of this country is extremely deficient. (Hear, hear.) But the proof of this does not rest solely on the calculations of these writers, although made by statistical societies with very great minuteness. It is found, also, in the persons who come before the registrars of marriages, and with respect to others who come under the operation of the registration Acts. The returns furnished by the Registrar-General show, that with regard to men, forty out of every hundred who are married cannot write their names, and thirty out of every hundred cannot read. (Hear, hear.) This, Sir, is, I think, an immense proportion, when it is considered that the schools of the National and Lancastrian Societies have been established, the Lancastrian upwards of forty years, and the National Schools not very much less (hear), and that voluntary education has been during the whole of that time doing its utmost to overturn and subdue the ignorance that has prevailed. (Hear.) But, Sir, every one must have seen in many other documents of various kinds statements with respect to the gross ignorance in which a great portion of the youth of this

country are with respect to the duties of religion, and with respect also to every kind of secular learning. (Hear.) We have the reports of assistant-commissioners, of voluntary missionaries who have gone forth to examine the state of persons living in particular districts, and who state that there are great numbers who have no knowledge of a religious kind, who are not in the habit of attending any place of worship, and to whom the names of God and of Christ are either unknown or unconnected with any sentiment of religious devotion. (Hear, hear.) Many years ago I referred upon this subject to statements made by a reverend gentleman, the chaplain of the Preston House of Correction (the Rev. Mr. Clay), who has taken great pains to inquire into the condition of the prisoners who have been brought into that place of confinement. (Cheers.) The statements made by this gentleman must convince every one who doubts whether the people of this country are sufficiently educated. He says:—

“ Let me present a short summary of three years’ observation,—hard, naked statistics, which I will clothe in but little commentary. During the period I name, the performance of my duty has brought me into contact with 1733 men and boys, and 387 women and girls, altogether unable to read ; with 1301 men and boys, and 287 women and girls, who knew not the name of the reigning sovereign ; with 1290 men and boys, and 293 women and girls, so incapable of receiving moral or religious instruction, that to speak to them of ‘ virtue,’ ‘ vice,’ ‘ iniquity,’ or ‘ holiness,’ was to speak to them in an unknown tongue ; and with 1120 men and boys, and 257 women and girls, so destitute of the merest rudiments of Christian knowledge, so untaught in religious forms and practice, that they knew not the name of Him who died for their sins, nor could they utter a prayer to their Father in heaven.’ (Hear.)

“ He goes on to say, that, with respect to many of those who had received school instruction, no ideas were attached by them to what they had learned. For instance, having read about the marriage at Cana in Galilee, it appeared that the word ‘ marriage ’ was totally unintelligible to them. With respect to the education of the male prisoners, Mr. Clay gives the following table:—

“ ‘ Unable to read, 104 ; read only, 41 ; read and write ill, 79 ; read and write well, 2 ; superior education, none.’

“ Then, with respect to religious knowledge, we find—

“ ‘ Ignorance of the Saviour’s name, and unable to repeat the Lord’s Prayer, 58 ; knowing the Saviour’s name, and able to repeat the Lord’s Prayer more or less imperfectly, 136 ; acquainted with the elementary truths of religion, 31 ; possessing that general knowledge level to the capacities of the uneducated, 1 ; familiar with the Scriptures, and well instructed, none.’

“ In another table he gives the secular knowledge possessed by the male prisoners,—

“ ‘ Unable to name the months of the year, 90 ; ignorant of the name of the reigning sovereign, 104 ; ignorant of the words ‘ virtue,’ ‘ vice,’ &c., 88 ; unable to count a hundred, seven.’ ”

The state of the case is placed in a yet more forcible light by Mr. Dufton, in his very able pamphlet:—

“Men argue as if the question at issue was between education and non-education; but a more grievous error could hardly be committed. There is no such thing as non-education. Every human being is educated . . . . The thief is educated, the poacher is educated, and the pickpocket most sedulously educated. There is no school in the world where more heed is given to the progress of the pupils than that in which a Fagin acts as master, and an Artful Dodger as head-assistant! Obscenity and blasphemy have their professors, whose lectures are very effective in training efficient pupils.”—p. 3.

“Take a juvenile delinquent just convicted of crime. . . . Examine the question . . . . and you will be perfectly astounded at the extraordinary pains bestowed on the education of this accomplished criminal. The child is an admirable actor; his affectation of innocence and self-possession could not be surpassed on any stage; his hypocritical whine of pretended grief or suffering has every cadence as fixed and graduated in the musical scale as the notes of the best vocalist; he has some skill in law, and much more in logic; the magistrate himself does not surpass him in apprehending and estimating the force of evidence.”—p. 7.

“But this is not the case only in large towns. . . . Go to that lazy, loitering booby, sauntering by the hedge-row, and enter into conversation with him if you can. You will find him sullen and suspicious, and he is so because he has been sedulously educated in both qualities; if you can penetrate through the obstinacy which he has been taught to use, as the tortoise does its shell, for the defence of conscious weakness, you will find him in all probability totally ignorant of principles, but marvellously well informed in prejudices, unlearned in religious doctrines, but thoroughly imbued with vulgar superstitions; perhaps unable to tell you in what country he resides, or under what sovereign he lives, but quite capable of informing you where you can snare a hare or net a partridge,” &c.—p. 8.

Such then is the case. A large, a very large portion of our population are without any education whatever. And despite the good schools which exist in various places, the general standard of education in the schools intended for the poorer classes is miserably below the lowest level, which any person who advocates universal education, however meagre, could possibly consider sufficient.

How are these evils to be remedied? By increasing the number of schools—by improving the instruction given in them—by obtaining a larger attendance of children. No one, we fancy, will deny these positions.

But how are these desirable results to be obtained? “By the voluntary principle,” exclaim Mr. Baines and Dr. Massie, in

sweet and persuasive strains varied here and there by little exquisite allusions to the overgrown wealth and bigotry of the Establishment, and similar topics.

"We gather our manna daily, like the Israelites in the desert; and still through uplifted hands and a descending blessing, we beat the Amalekites."—*Letters, &c., by Edward Baines, Jun., p. 118.*

We recommend these gentlemen, when suffering from any deeply-seated and dangerous malady, to deny the voluntary principle; let them leave every thing to nature, and wait for physic till they obtain it after some miraculous manner: to call in a physician would be to distrust Providence—to listen to his advice, an abandonment of the right of private judgment—to obey his directions, a desertion of all the principles of civil and religious liberty.

The voluntary principle of course *ought* to be sufficient; and if the owners of property duly estimated the duties of property, the voluntary principle would be sufficient; for the capitalists of Great Britain could spare a sufficient sum not merely to *support*, but actually to *endow* a sufficient number of efficient schools, could spare it without the loss of a comfort,—ay, without feeling the sacrifice of even a luxury.

But the words of Him, who knew the heart better than man knows it, would seem to intimate that we have no right to expect that the rich, as a body, will feel, much less act, upon such convictions. No: the camel and the needle's eye still retain their relative proportion; and still do the youthful rulers of our land—even those who have kept themselves from gross and open breaches of the laws of God and man—turn away very sorrowful; or, worse, without shame or sorrow, when the ministers of Christ command them, in His name, to sell even a portion of their goods, and give unto the poor.

The absurd notion that the schools for the working classes can, at any rate for a long time to come, or, in fact, *ever*, be generally supported by the children's pence—generally we say, for in certain special cases they may—scarcely needs refutation. For the poor cannot afford to give a sum adequate to the proper support of a sufficient number of good teachers; to say nothing of other necessary expenses attending on the school.

As Mr. Macaulay remarks, if the voluntary, or the self-supporting, system were capable of doing what is required to be done, we ought to be the best-educated people on the face of the earth: nay, more.

"Let us look at the facts. What is the existing state in England? There has, for years, been nothing except the principle of non-inter-

ference. If therefore the principle of free competition were in reality a principle of the same potency in education as we all admit it to be in matters of trade, we ought to see education as prosperous under this system of free competition as trade itself is. If we could by possibility have had the principle of free competition fairly tried in any country, it would be in our own. It has been tried for a long time with perfect liberty in the richest country under the heavens, and where the people are not unfriendly to it. If the principle of free competition could show itself sufficient, it ought to be here: our schools ought to be the models of common schools; the people who have been educated in them ought to show the most perfect intelligence; every school ought to have its excellent little library, and its mechanical apparatus; and, instead of there being such a thing as a grown person being unable to read or to write, such an individual ought to be one at whom the people would stare, and who should be noted in the newspapers; whilst the schoolmaster ought to be as well acquainted with his important duties as the cutler with knives, or the engineer with machinery; moreover, he ought to be amply remunerated (cheers), and the highest respect of the public ought to be extended to him."

We shall not at present enter at any length into the abstract question, whether it be, or be not, *à priori* the absolute duty of the State to educate the people, but content ourselves with vindicating its interference on the present occasion.

First, we assert, then, the right and the duty of the State to help the helpless, to defend the defenceless, to break every yoke, and to right every wrong. Hence our Poor Laws, our Negro Emancipation, our Factory Bill, and the many other enactments founded on a similar principle.

And, secondly, "it is the sacred duty of every Government to protect the persons and property of the community;" and we have shown that ignorance is dangerous to the persons and property of the community; nay, more, that the continuance of ignorance threatens the existence of the community itself.

On these grounds, amongst others, we hold it to be the right and the duty of the State to interfere in the present crisis.

But when the right and the duty of the State to interfere in the present crisis has been established, the further question arises as to what shall be the nature or character of that education which the State shall support or sanction. Shall it be a purely secular education, or an education based upon religion? If it be secular, should religious instruction be altogether excluded and neglected; or should it be enforced according to Dr. Hook's plan, or paid as Mr. Dufton would have it?

If religious instruction be totally excluded, as a certain party would urge, the purely secular education will become an actually



godless education. Look at the general run of our public schools before the appearance of that great and holy man—great, despite his weakness; holy, despite his errors—Dr. Arnold, of Rugby. With deep shame we confess it, that the Church, though entrusted with the education of the higher orders of the male sex, had become, practically speaking, content with an *almost* secular education; and surely its fruits were not such as to lead us to extend any thing of a similar nature to the working classes.

But the evils of a purely secular education given to the working classes are far greater than those which would result to the rich; because, in the present sad state of things, the parents of the children, from the press of labour, would not be able to give religious instruction to them, even if they were able and willing to do it. And, again, the children would not so easily receive religious instruction from those who were not as good scholars as themselves, if they did not receive it from their master or teacher; for it would come to them dressed in a homelier, ruder garb, than their own studies. And, again, if the children are accustomed to consider secular instruction as the more essential portion of their education, (and this they will do, if it be the only instruction given in the schools,) besides the absolute evil of the thing, they will be led to undervalue, and consequently to neglect, religious instruction—neglect it altogether. And if it is said, in answer to this, that they would obtain religious instruction on Sundays at church, or school, or meeting-house, we may well ask whether it is probable that a purely secular education during the week would render the scholar likely to listen to the exhortation of either authorized priest or unauthorized teacher on the Lord's-day! No, if the education is not religious, it must be irreligious, —if not Christian, un-Christian,—both in fact and in effect.

And even supposing, that, in some cases, a certain quantity of religious instruction were acquired out of the school, the disjunction of secular and religious teaching would (in addition to the objections hitherto urged) necessarily produce a hiatus in the thought, and a want of symmetry in the mind, injurious to the moral and even intellectual welfare of the scholar; besides encouraging the habit, alas! already so prevalent, of keeping our religion on the shelf with our Bibles and Prayer-books, or stowing it away in the drawer with our Sunday clothes, and never having recourse to it in the common occasions of every-day life.

Mr. Dufton's notion, that the various expenses of the religious teachers should be paid by local assessment, as well as the support of the school, besides the absurdity and impropriety of the notion, would offer a direct premium to dissent, and, by assisting to support dissenting teachers, actually and absolutely propagate schism

and heresy, at the expense of the State, and render the central board a species of college *de propagandâ fide hæreticorum*.

We sincerely regret that one so able and earnest as Mr. Dufton should have shown himself so totally unfit for a seat at the educational board. His pamphlet is like a beautiful piece of shot silk,—the warp is of heavenly texture, the woof of a darker material.

We perceive, then, that, whether we consider the question as one of principle or practice, the State is in duty bound to support no education which is not based upon and permeated by religious instruction; because, in supporting any other system, it would be supporting a nuisance,—a civil, social, moral, and religious nuisance; a philosophical anomaly, and a political blunder.

And here, again, arises the question, as to what extent of religious instruction the State is either bound to demand, or justified in demanding, and what guarantee of religious truth it may lawfully impose; and on this again there are several projects or theories.

There is the comprehensive theory, which would establish a uniform system of national education on the basis of the Bible, and the Bible only.

There is the exclusive theory, which would make the support of the State coincident with and dependent upon the sanction of the Church; in other words, according to which the Government would confine its bounty to such schools as were in connexion with the Church of England.

And there is the theory, which has for some time been carried into practice, of assisting both Churchmen and Dissenters with grants for their schools; allowing them each to educate their own children in their own principles, on condition that the authorized version of the Scripture is read every day.

To the well-meaning latitudinarian, the first system promises that cordial union, on the fundamental principles of Christianity, which is his idea of perfection; but, without entering into the theoretical faults of the system, we may safely say, that it is, as a national system, perfectly impracticable; for neither the Church nor the Dissenters would agree to, or could co-operate in it; and, supposing that they could and did, the religion taught therein would not only be deficient in many points taught from the beginning by the Church, but would gradually melt away into inanity, or sink into Bibliolatrous formalism.

Now, of course, the only one of these schemes which possesses theoretical perfection, is the second. Had this been done in the latter end of the last century, or the early part of the present, we should have no trouble now; but it was *not* done. The successive ministries which, despite of the "glorious revolution," so

long refused to grant the political demands of Dissenters, have always been ready to listen to their religious clamours; whilst the narrow-minded jealousy of the FEW too long remained morbidly watchful against the moral and intellectual, as well as the social and political elevation of the MANY. The so-called friends of the Church were ready enough, so long as it suited their purpose, to place her between them and their opponents, as the object of odium and the point of attack; and whilst pretending a zeal for her safety, really to place her in the breach; but they were not so ready to grant her either the means or the power of feeding her flock, or controlling her resources. And whilst remorselessly applying the money of "conscientious Dissenters" to vanity and vice, they were tenderly scrupulous of distributing it to the spiritual, moral, and intellectual wants of their brethren.

A short time since, it was in the power of the Conservative Government to have essentially served the Church, both on the education question and on other points; and such a course might have been expected, inasmuch as the ministry owed its elevation to the influence of THE CHURCH. The Maynooth ministry, however, did no service to the Church and the poor of England.

The Minutes of 1846, the production of their successors, come before us as the last development of the existing system. They admit the necessity of a religious education; but they give a great laxity to the religion required, offering the bounty of Government to all schools in which the authorized version of Scripture is daily read. Inasmuch, then, as they admit the truth of the Christian Revelation, and impose that version of the Written Word, which is sanctioned by the Church; inasmuch as the State thus declares the necessity of Christian faith and Christian practice, and acknowledges its own duty to see that its children are brought up in the nurture and fear of the Lord; the measure must be received with thankfulness. Inasmuch as, in these Minutes, the State neglects to assert the full claims of our Church, and of that "whole counsel of God," which she teaches; we look on them with sorrow, and lament the defective views of those who, at least in this instance, are really and earnestly desirous to promote the glory of God, and the well-being of His creatures.

These objections, however, apply, almost equally, to the *Minutes* of 1839, the only difference in the two cases being, that whereas by the 9th Regulation of the 24th September, 1839, it was enacted, that

"In every application for aid to the erection of a School-house in

England or Wales, it must be stated, Whether the School is in connexion with the National Society, or the British and Foreign Society ; and if the said School be not in connexion with either of those Societies, the Committee will not entertain the case, unless some special circumstances be exhibited, to induce their Lordships to treat the case as special.”—

the Council will make no such requirement for the future ; so that the Wesleyans and others, hitherto excluded, will now participate in the bounty of the State.

Let us, then, briefly consider the present measure ; the principal objections made to it, and the probable results to be expected from it.

“ The general design of the measures resolved upon, in regard to primary education, may be described as being, first, to make a gradual increase of Government inspectors, so as to admit hereafter of every school under inspection being visited at least once a year ; secondly, to train up and adequately remunerate a superior class of teachers ; and, thirdly, to encourage the combination of works of industry with the ordinary course of school instruction.

“ The utility of the first of these measures will be acknowledged without a dissentient voice. The second and third are admirably adapted to remove two of the greatest obstacles in the way of education ; the want of good teachers and assistant teachers, and the premature withdrawal of the children of the poor from school. We shall attempt nothing more than a rude outline of the expedients to be employed for these purposes ; referring for more detailed information to the Minutes themselves, which are drawn up with singular clearness and precision.

“ I. To ensure a supply of skilful teachers, it is necessary to provide a succession of suitable candidates for the office ; to support the normal schools where they are to be trained, and to allot a just reward to their services.

“ Towards the attainment of these objects the following means are to be adopted :—

“ (1) It is intended to choose from among the elementary scholars a certain number of those who are the most distinguished for their proficiency and good conduct, and to apprentice them to teachers duly qualified to instruct them. On the completion of their apprenticeship, a certain number will be annually selected according to merit, and as many of them as the Lord President may think fit, will be appointed, under the denomination of Queen’s scholars, exhibitioners to normal schools.

“ A twofold advantage will arise from this arrangement ; teachers will obtain assistants, and a nursery for future teachers will be established.

“Those apprentices who evince no aptitude for teaching, but who nevertheless are of approved conduct and respectable attainments, will receive employment in the revenue departments.

“In certain specified cases, where the qualifications of the teacher may be inadequate to the instruction of apprentices, stipendiary monitors are to be allowed for a few years.”—*Practical Remarks, &c., by Henry Parr Hamilton*, pp. 55—57.

“Upon application being made to their Lordships from the trustees or managers of any school under inspection, requesting that one or more of the most proficient scholars be selected to be apprenticed to the master or mistress, the application will be referred to the inspector, and will be entertained, if he report,—

“That the master or mistress of the school is competent to conduct the apprentice through the course of instruction to be required :

“That the school is well furnished and well supplied with books and apparatus :

“That it is divided into classes ; and that the instruction is skilful, and is graduated according to the age of the children and the time they have been at school, so as to show that equal care has been bestowed on each class :

“That the discipline is mild and firm, and conducive to good order :

“That there is a fair prospect that the salary of the master and mistress, and the ordinary expenses of the school, will be provided for during the period of apprenticeship.

“The following qualifications will be required from candidates for apprenticeship :—

“They must be at least thirteen years of age, and must not be subject to any bodily infirmity likely to impair their usefulness as pupil teachers.

“In schools connected with the Church of England, the clergyman and managers, and, in other schools, the managers, must certify that the moral character of the candidates and of their families justify an expectation that the instruction and training of the school will be seconded by their own efforts and by the example of their parents. If this cannot be certified of the family, the apprentice will be required to board in some approved household.

“Candidates will also be required,—

“1. To read with fluency, ease, and expression.

“2. To write in a neat hand, with correct spelling and punctuation, a simple prose narrative, slowly read to them.

“3. To write from dictation sums in the first four rules of arithmetic, simple and compound ; to work them correctly, and to know the tables of weights and measures.

“4. To point out the parts of speech in a simple sentence.

“5. To have an elementary knowledge of geography.

“6. *In schools connected with the Church of England, they will be*

required to repeat the Catechism, and to show that they understand its meaning, and are acquainted with the outline of Scripture history. The parochial clergyman will assist in this part of the examination.

"*In other schools*, the state of the religious knowledge will be certified by the managers.

"7. To teach a junior class to the satisfaction of the inspector.

"8. Girls should also be able to sew neatly and to knit."

The qualifications required at the end of each year of apprenticeship gradually rise ; as is the case with the stipendiary monitors.

"At the close of each year, pupil teachers or stipendiary monitors will be required to present certificates of good conduct from the managers of the school, and of punctuality, diligence, obedience, and attention to their duties from the master or mistress.

"*In Church of England schools*, the parochial clergyman, and, *in other schools*, the managers, will also certify that the pupil teachers or stipendiary monitors have been attentive to their religious duties.

"If these certificates be presented, and if the inspector certify, at the close of each year, that he is satisfied with the oral examination and the examination papers of the pupil teachers or stipendiary monitors, and if those papers be satisfactory to their Lordships, the following stipends will be paid, irrespectively of any sum that may be received from the school or from any other source :—

		" PUPIL TEACHER.		STIPENDIARY MONITOR.		
" At the end of the 1st year	£10	0	0	£5	0	0
" " 2nd year	12	10	0	7	10	0
" " 3rd year	15	0	0	10	0	0
" " 4th year	17	10	0	12	10	0
" " 5th year	20	0	0	0	0	0

To make use of Mr. Hamilton's very clear and concise language once more :—

"(2) The next provision relates to the support of normal schools. The cost of the maintenance of each Queen's scholar, who becomes a pupil in one of these, will be defrayed by his exhibition. But the institution incurs a further expense to the same amount. To meet this, there will be granted, not only for every Queen's scholar, but for every pupil favourably reported on, the sums of 20*l.*, 25*l.*, and 30*l.*, at the close of the first, second, and third years respectively.

"(3) The last and most essential object, the requital of the teacher, is thus provided for : 1st, An annual grant, in aid of salary, to every teacher of a school under inspection, who has been trained at a normal school under inspection ; the salary progressively increasing according to the length of time he has been under training. This grant is made conditional, on the managers of the school securing to the teacher a rent-free house, and a salary equal to at least twice the amount of the grant. 2ndly, A retiring pension, in the case of age or infirmity,

is to be allowed after fifteen years' service. 3rdly, Small gratuities are to be annually awarded to such teachers as may be reported to be successful and zealous in the performance of their duties. 4thly, A certain annual allowance, in proportion to the number, is to be granted for the instruction of apprentices and monitors."—p. 58.

The Committee have further resolved to make grants in aid,

"1st, Towards the rent of school gardens, and the purchase of tools, in the first year; 2ndly, Towards the erection of workshops, and towards the purchase of tools, in the first year; 3rdly, Towards the erection of school-kitchens and wash-houses."

Besides these regulations, the Council have decided on the establishment of normal and model schools, for the training of masters of schools for pauper and for criminal children; and consequently it was

"Resolved—That a building be erected for the normal school, providing accommodation for a principal, vice-principal, two masters, and for 100 candidate teachers.

"That it be referred to the Lord President and Secretary of State for the Home Department, to cause plans to be prepared for this purpose.

"That, as two years must elapse before this building can be ready for occupation, premises be in the mean time procured, in which the normal school may be temporarily conducted; and that these premises be situated, if possible, near some workhouse or other school, which may serve as a practising school during the interval.

"That, in connexion with the normal school, a model school of industry be erected, for the pauper children of some of the London Unions, who may be received into this school, either on contract by a steward with the Unions, or by letting the building to a district of Unions for the reception of children, under the direction of a board of management, according to the provisions of the 7 and 8 Vict. c. 101.

"That, in connexion with the normal school, but distinct and separate from the school for pauper children, a school be erected for criminal children; and that plans of buildings for the school of industry for pauper children, and for this separate penal school, be prepared and submitted to the Secretary of State for the Home Department.

"That it be referred to the Lord President and Secretary of State for the Home Department, to cause regulations to be prepared for the management of the normal school, and of the practising schools as connected with it, as well as for the pauper school of industry and the penal school.

"That an area of at least ten acres is desirable for the normal school, ten acres for the pauper school, and ten for the penal school, in order that training in gardening, and the management of a cottage farm, may be successfully pursued."

And, moreover, it was

“*Resolved*—That it was desirable to train the pauper children, now in workhouses, in habits of industry.

“That, with this view, and for the purpose of improving workhouse schools, four inspectors be appointed, with authority to examine the condition of schools for the education of pauper children; and to ascertain the character and qualifications of the persons employed as schoolmasters and mistresses, in order that unfit and incompetent persons may no longer be employed in that capacity, and that measures may be taken for awarding salaries according to the qualifications of the masters or mistresses, and the extent of the duties they have to perform.

“That instructions be prepared for the guidance of such inspectors.”

Now, we confidently assert, that there is no person in any degree, whether theoretically or practically, conversant with the subject, but must welcome these regulations with that applause which they deserve, unless he be totally devoid either of candour or common sense. For our own part, we have no hesitation in declaring our mature conviction, that they are the very best which could possibly be produced to meet the circumstances of the case.

Mr. Edward Baines, Jun., however, is of a different opinion:—

“In my view,” says he, “the measure is liable to the following objections:—

“1. The enormous extension of Government influence—88,000 new *employés*.

“2. The prodigal expenditure of public money—1,742,500*l.* a year.

“3. The despotic power given to the Committee of Council.

“4. The servile bondage into which all the schoolmasters, their pupil-teachers, and monitors, will be brought.

“5. The effect of this on the principles and character of the rising generation.

“6. The new religious Establishment formed in the country, as an appendage to the Church, and the new legislative sanction given to the teaching of the Church Catechism, &c.

“7. The fearful amount of influence and patronage given to the parochial clergy.

“8. The shameful injustice to Dissenters, in taxing them for a new religious establishment.

“9. The certain effect of the measure to destroy the schools of the Dissenters—not only their day-schools, but even their Sunday-schools, and of course to weaken their congregations.

“10. The introduction of the practice of bringing all forms of religious teaching under State-pay.

“11. The monstrous violation of the constitution, in effecting these mighty changes—as new in principle as in detail—by a mere Minute of the Committee of Council, and a vote of the House of Commons on the estimates, without an Act of Parliament.”

Mr. Baines, Mr. Hare, Dr. Massie, and the other opponents



of the measure have been so ably answered both in and out<sup>1</sup> of parliament, that it is almost superfluous for us to say any thing on the subject, especially as the mere perusal of the Minutes of Council shows the groundlessness of many of the charges preferred against the measure. Let us, however, briefly consider them :—

1. Our answer to this is simply, that it is a gross and stupid, or else a cunning and wicked falsehood, to represent the 88,000—even supposing the number as large, which we heartily pray that it may become—as government *employés*, at least in the sense intended to be conveyed. Neither the schoolmasters, nor their assistants, are appointed by the government : they are sanctioned, it is true, by the inspector, that is, the government requires a guarantee that its money is not improperly applied ;—that there is no *Job* in the matter ;—that though the inspector is appointed by the government, he is removable if he lose the confidence of those whose schools he inspects. We recollect a friend facetiously observing that J, O, B, were the *Literæ Humaniores* of the nineteenth century. We suppose that this must account for the zeal evinced in their cause by a PRACTICAL EDUCATOR.

2. We cannot answer this better than in the language of Mr. Kaye Shuttleworth, whose pamphlet we strongly recommend :—

“ The whole apparatus of criminal jurisprudence and of secondary punishments, including the outlay on the constabulary force, involves an expenditure of two millions per annum. . . . Those who would create an alarm at the expenditure required for an efficient system of education, keep out of sight how much the national industry has been obstructed by combinations resulting from ignorance ; what has been the cost of military establishments for the protection of society in periods of turbulence—how many millions have been annually expended on those forms of indigence which result from immorality or listless improvidence—how many millions the police force, the machinery of criminal jurisprudence and of secondary punishments engulf—and what is the annual waste in improvident expenditure occasioned by the immoral excesses and crimes of an uneducated people. Those who pretend that public liberty is endangered by the rewards which government desires to give efficient schoolmasters and their assistants, (representing it as the invasion of an army of government stipendiaries,) appear to forget how many thousand troops of the line are employed to protect the institutions of the country—how many thousand police to watch their houses and protect their persons—how many gaolers, warders, and officers of the hulks have charge of the victims of popular ignorance and excess—how many ships are annually freighted with their frightful cargoes to the pandemonium of crime in Van Diemen’s Land

<sup>1</sup> Amongst these we would notice Mr. Dunn’s very able and straightforward pamphlet.

—how many overseers have charge of the convict gangs—and how vast is the outlay which sustains the indigence of orphanage and bastardy, of improvident youth, sensual maturity, and premature age.

“The statesman who endeavours to substitute instruction for coercion; to procure obedience to the law by intelligence rather than by fear; to employ a system of encouragement to virtuous exertion, instead of the dark code of penalties against crime; to use the public resources rather in building schools than barracks and convict ships; to replace the constable, the soldier, and the gaoler by the schoolmaster, cannot be justly suspected of any serious design against the liberties of his country, or charged with an improvident employment of the resources of the State.”

Nos. 3, 4, and 5, are little more than expansions of No. 1, clothed in the same violent language which characterizes most of the anti-educational writers. Dr. Massie is particularly fluent on these topics; but the Minutes themselves show the groundlessness of the charges. That in all schools placed under government sanction, means will be taken to prevent the appointment of inefficient or immoral teachers, and to see that those already appointed keep up to their duty, is to us matter of rejoicing.

No. 6.—*We* cannot be expected to sympathize with Mr. Baines in his nervous excitement on this point. One of his statements we extract with great pleasure, and recommend it to the especial notice of all churchmen:—

“The Minutes of the Committee of Council provide in several parts for the teaching of the Church Catechism in Church Schools. That formulary inculcates in the most distinct terms the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, which all Dissenters, and (strange though it be) the evangelical Church too, regard with solemn disapprobation.”

No. 7 shows either great unfairness, or great ignorance, or both. For, first, the same power will be given in Dissenting Schools to the managers and ministers<sup>2</sup>; and secondly, one would suppose, from the following passage, that the author was altogether ignorant of the present state of things:—

“The clergy will have to certify concerning all candidates for the office of pupil-teacher or stipendiary monitor, and concerning the conduct of those school-assistants every year: they will have to be satisfied as to the *families* of all the candidates: they will in general have the patronage of the boarding-houses; and they are required to take part in all the religious examinations. All this will give the clergy an influence over the schoolmasters, pupil-teachers, monitors, candidates, and their families, which might be used for political or ecclesiastical

<sup>2</sup> We are only prevented by want of space from quoting an extremely clever passage upon this question, which occurs in the very valuable pamphlet by the author of “Some remarks on Dr. Hook’s Letter:” it occurs at pp. 20—23.

purposes in the most objectionable manner. It would unquestionably be exercised to the prejudice of liberal measures and a liberal government."

Again, we answer in Mr. Shuttleworth's words:—

"It has also been represented, that, by these Minutes, the clergy of the Established Church will enjoy a large amount of patronage and influence. The fact that they are required to assist the inspector in examining the religious knowledge of the pupil-teachers in Church of England schools, and, at the close of every year, to certify that the apprentices have been attentive to their religious duties, has been represented as conferring on the clergy an inordinate power, and a patronage so extensive as to threaten religious liberty. But the parochial minister has no authority in Church of England schools, in this or any other particular, which is not confided to the managers in British or Dissenting schools. Whatever patronage or influence is to be enjoyed by the clergy in the one case, is conferred on the managers in the other. In the arrangement itself there is a perfect equality.

"We have made these remarks, without questioning whether it is in any degree fair to represent this power to award certificates of the state of the religious knowledge of pupil-teachers, and of their attention to their religious duties, as a means of dispensing patronage and exercising influence. Such a representation involves a charge of corruption against the parochial clergy, and not less, by inference, against the managers of British and Dissenting schools. The zeal of the clergy and managers of schools for the religious instruction of the children of their congregations, is, in the mind of a controversialist, a corrupt ingenuity in entangling souls in the meshes of a spiritual policy. Her Majesty's advisers have not doubted that the predominating feeling among the clergy, as well as among the managers of Dissenting schools, would be a simple desire that the scholars should become thoroughly grounded in the doctrines, precepts, and evidences of Christianity, and should derive from their acquaintance with the material world a confirmation of their faith, and weapons with which to repel infidelity; but they have not conceived, that they could resort to a perversion of the authority confided to them, simply to bribe poor children to be of their party, without being of their faith."

"We are glad of the opportunity, afforded us by No. 8, of expressing our opinions on a point upon which misconceptions appear to be widely prevalent. In the first place, we would observe that it is no violation of the rights of conscience to apply a portion of the revenues of the State to the support of a religion which is not held by all, or by any of those who pay them. When OUR LORD paid the tribute-money Himself; or again, when He sanctioned its payment by others, it was to the officers of a heathen state; and in His omniscience He knew that a portion of the taxes then gathered would be appropriated to the purposes of heathen worship. And His disciples, therefore, though they refused to join

in heathen sacrifices, or in the games in honour of idols, never refused to give the tribute-money on the ground that a part, or the whole of it, would rebuild a pagan temple, or defray a pagan festival.

We hold, then, that the State does in no degree violate the rights of conscience by the application of its revenues either to religious purposes or to any others. We hold that the State (whatever be its form) has a right *de jure divino* to apply its funds to whatsoever objects it chooses to select. It is, of course, accountable to God for such application; and it is the duty of all who in any degree share in the government, either directly or indirectly, to spend its funds, or see that they be spent, in a way which shall promote the glory of God, and the happiness of His creatures. But a farmer might as well complain of the manner in which his landlord spent his rent as a violation of the rights of his conscience, as a citizen of the same grievance at the hands of the State, because he objected to the manner in which the taxes were employed. It would be no violation of the rights of conscience, were the government of this country to spend a large annual income in supporting heathenism, but it would be a great *national sin*.

For our own part, we always suspect the cry of conscience, when it comes from a man's breeches pocket.

We answer No. 9 by a quotation from the Preface to Mr. Pocock's Sermon:—

“The principle upon which it is proposed that government aid shall be afforded to schools is, in proportion to the amount of local support they can obtain for themselves. But this principle is found to work very inconveniently for the dissenting interest. It has been common for those who separate themselves from the religion of the nation, of late years, to put forward strong and positive assertions respecting the extent and influence of the dissenting body; and they have even gone so far as to state that the National Church numbers within its pale only a minority of the people of this great country, and that the Dissenters form the numerical majority of the population, including a large proportion of its wealth and respectability. Now, the granting of assistance to schools, in proportion to the support they obtain from other sources, brings this matter to a positive, and, for the dissenting party, to a very inconvenient test; for it appears, from the relative amount of aid claimed upon this principle by the Church and the Dissenters respectively, that, so far from forming the majority and respectability of the nation, the Dissenters, including every species of nonconformity, are a very insignificant minority—a mere faction, in short; not exceeding, if I mistake not, above one-seventh of the community. Yea, if their numbers are to be estimated by the extent of their schools, (and, judging from their noisy pretensions to activity and zeal, this should be no unfair criterion, so far as they are concerned,) the extent and influence of Dissent is infinitely less than is above stated; since, while the Church, in her national schools alone, (independently of her universities, endowed, and other private seminaries of learning throughout the kingdom,)—whilst independently of these, the Church, in her national schools alone, is educating nearly a *million* of the population, the whole dissenting body only claims to be doing the same kind office for about *seventy thousand*, rather less than one-fourteenth of those receiving the benefits of education through the medium of the Church in her parochial schools only.

“This, as has been observed, is a very inconvenient result to have been brought

out by the principle of proportionate aid adopted by the State. Hence the opposition and clamour, not very unnaturally raised against it, by those whose cause will not bear the light, and the cry, now reiterated from day to day, against any State assistance at all for the promotion of education; evidencing, as it does, a desire that the people should rather be left in ignorance, than that the weaker party should be thus exposed to view."—p. 5.

As to the general conduct of the dissenting body, let Lord Brougham be heard:—

"In 1820, my first Education Bill, a General Parish School Bill, was brought forward; it gave a superintendence in some particulars to the Church; and it provided that no Dissenters should be excluded; for while the parson was to have a veto on the election of the schoolmaster, no Catechism, no Liturgy, no Church Service was to be enforced, and only the Bible to be taught. From the Church no objection proceeded; but the Dissenters rose in a body, and defeated the Bill. If it had contained provisions for persecution, it could not have been more vehemently opposed. I was compelled to withdraw it.

"Then came the repayment of the million and upwards by Austria, and half of it was allotted to the building of churches; consequently, to the exclusive use of the Establishment, and no Dissenter could possibly benefit by it, although all the Dissenters had paid their share of the taxes by which the money advanced to the Emperor had been raised. Did the Dissenters, who had defeated the bill of 1820, make any objection? Nothing of the kind; or if they did, it was urged in so low a tone, in such feeble accents, that Lord Liverpool, who I know was prepared to give them their share for their own education purposes, had they made the least effort for their own protection, saw no occasion whatever to make any promise, and I believe the god-send (as our friend Lord Ripon called it) was directed in a very different channel, going to the building and furnishing of a palace, not the handsomest in Europe. So much for consistency! So much for a strenuous love of education! So much for even uniformity in opposing the Established Church!"—*Lord Brougham's Letter to Lord Lyndhurst*, pp. 34, 35.

No. 11 may be answered in Mr. Macaulay's words:—

"He says that we ought to have an Act of Parliament; but I must say that this is one of the very acts which do not call for any power to be conferred by Parliament. For why is an Act of Parliament, at any time in such a case, required? It is in order to give to the Crown a power of acting which it did not already possess; but in this case the Crown is perfectly qualified to act without any parliamentary sanction. It is quite competent for the Crown as for anybody else to do all that has been proposed to be done by the Committee of Privy Council, and all that this house is required to do is to give the money to enable the Crown to carry out the plan of the Committee of the Council. Surely, this is acting upon a most constitutional principle. Anybody may do all that the Council have proposed to do, provided they had the money wherewith to do it. Are the acts, as proposed by the Minutes of Council, illegal? Is there the slightest doubt that anybody might do them if they possessed the money? May I not educate children—appoint stipendiary scholars—maintain pupil teachers—provide monitors—make provision for schoolmasters, and give to them, after years of service, pensions for the remainder of their days? All these acts are perfectly legal, and require no Act of Parliament to sanction them. To pass an Act of Parliament for such a case, would be absurd and insane. What the Crown wants is money. Whose province is it to give it?"

It is the business of this house. To it belongs the peculiar privilege, as in all analogous cases; and can there be any thing more analogous than in the provisions which are made every year for the military schools? It did not require an Act of Parliament to establish the military asylum at Chelsea. When I was Secretary of War, I proposed the establishment of a girls' school in every regiment, but no Act of Parliament was required; and why should there be, when it was in anybody's power to have done the same thing? Therefore is it, in the present case, in the power of Her Majesty to make these regulations for educating the people; and all that she requires of Parliament is the money to enable her to carry out her plans. If the Crown were to ask for money for a purpose which was illegal, then there must be an Act of Parliament to sanction its appropriation. I believe this is the sound constitutional definition of the power both of the Crown and of Parliament."

And we may add the following from Mr. Shuttleworth:—

"The Education Committee is composed solely of responsible Ministers of State, acting under their oaths of office, all of them in Parliament, and liable to be there questioned, or even impeached for their acts as members of this Committee. Its proceedings, also, are under the check of publicity; for all its correspondence and minutes might, by a vote of either house, be required to be submitted to Parliament without reserve, if the Committee did not always anticipate such a motion, by laying every document of any importance on the tables of both houses. Lastly, no powers whatever are confided to the Committee of Council, other than to superintend the application of any sums voted by Parliament for the promotion of education in Great Britain. The regulations by which the distribution of these grants are determined are laid before both houses, before the grant is submitted to the consideration of the House of Commons."

Such are the Minutes of August and December, 1846; and after an impartial consideration of them, we concur with Mr. Hamilton in his opinion that—

"From measures framed in so cautious, yet liberal a spirit, and susceptible of such wide application, we may reasonably augur the happiest results for the steady advancement and the progressive improvement of popular education."

Before we conclude these remarks, we shall offer a few additional observations on the beneficial results which the *Minutes* appear calculated to effect.

1. By the regulations concerning inspection, apprenticeship, &c., the mode of instruction will be generally improved, and the standard greatly raised; whilst the encouragement given to industrial occupations, as part of the school routine, will not only greatly benefit the working classes by giving them an acquaintance with the occupations in question, but will also prevent the system of education from becoming too purely intellectual, and

thus unpractical,—a result strongly to be deprecated in every grade of society.

2. The rewards also held out for proficiency combined with morality, will at once kindle the exertions of the whole school, and teach its members that the State, whilst desiring to cultivate the minds of the people, sets a higher value on good conduct than on good scholarship. The encouragement equally offered both to Churchmen and Dissenters, whatever be the abstract objections to such a measure, will stimulate both of them to further exertions and greater sacrifices in the cause of education, whilst the conditional character of the grants will, in opening the resources of the State to the use of the poor, keep alive and encourage that charitable spirit, which almost any other scheme would have a tendency to diminish.

3. The effect of improving the education of the working classes will be felt before long in the wealthier grades of society; and a general improvement of the whole system of education throughout the country will be the result,—a result, the desirableness of which all who are acquainted with the subject will readily allow.

4. On the social effect of the measure we have already spoken by anticipation, when treating the general question. One point, however, requires notice, as being peculiar to the present Minutes. The *apprentice* system will have a tendency to make social elevation the natural and general result of moral and intellectual superiority. By the customs and institutions of our country, the highest prizes of rank and power are open to every Englishman; and it is desirable that our aristocracy should continually receive recruits (if we may be allowed the expression) from the less exalted ranks of their fellow-countrymen. Hitherto, however, with very few exceptions, (and those principally naval or military commanders,) the only avenues by which the peasant could attain distinction were the roads of trade or patent invention; and, without wishing to depreciate the one or the other, we confess that in our opinion the result has not been perfectly harmless. Besides other effects, it has tended to foster and increase that love of money which has become our national disease. By the present measure a road will be opened to native genius, when combined with moral excellence; for it is scarcely to be supposed that a man with those high gifts—now so frequently thrown away—would remain all his life a village schoolmaster.

5. The constitutional bearings of the measure are not, we think, duly appreciated. It was laid down by the great Montesquieu that the education of the people should have a relation to the form and principle of the government under which they are to live. Now, the educational system of each school under inspection will afford constitutional training to all who are con-

nected with it, accustoming the scholars from their earliest years to contemplate that liberty of action and limited authority which are the boast of England. If the system had been produced solely with the view and for the purpose of impressing the principle of equipoise, or a balance of power, as the ruling idea on the minds of the young, it could not have been more skilfully contrived.

6. We conceive that the results of the measure to the Church, both immediate and final, will be the consolidation of her system, and the extension of her influence. The Church schools will teach the Church system of doctrine and practice far more accurately and fully than they do at present, and they will also become more attractive in proportion to their increased efficiency; and, as the number of Church schools receiving the grant will be greater than that of Dissenting schools doing so, they will gradually absorb a large portion of the people.

And the raising the standard in the Dissenting schools which receive the grant will naturally open the minds of the children to the errors of their teachers, and render them more capable of appreciating the excellence of the Church's teaching. We believe, indeed, that the raising the standard of secular instruction in the Dissenting schools will naturally tend to destroy Dissent\*. It would be unkind even to suggest that the same idea may have occurred to the Dissenting opponents of the measure.

It rests with Churchmen, however, to turn the far greater portion of the public bounty into Church channels. It has always been their duty; but there is now an especial call upon them to come forward and support schools in all the rural districts, and, by a *vast subscription especially for that purpose*, amply to endow schools in the neglected parts of our great cities and large towns.

The laity have already done something; the clergy have in many instances done much. Let them *do more*. Let every clergyman consider it a disgrace not to have an efficient school in his parish, and let his brethren show by their conduct that they share in the feeling. If the landed proprietors hold back, let the clergy shame them into munificence. *No clergyman has a right to complain that he cannot raise funds for a school, so long as he can raise funds for a horse: THE KEEP OF A HORSE WOULD SUPPORT A SCHOOL.*

Let us all, then, on to the work. If we do our part, the State will do its part. Wherever the priest and the Levite endeavour to do their duty, they will be amply assisted by the State: where they neglect it, it is surely not *their* part to find fault with the government for aiding the Good Samaritan in his work of mercy.

\* Mr. Dunn is naturally of the opposite opinion.



ART. VIII.—*First Report of the Additional Bishops' Commission.* 1847.

THAT much has occurred in the course of the last few years, which has been calculated to dispirit and to depress the sincerely attached members of the Church of England, cannot but be felt by every one who has bestowed any thought on the subject. But there are, at the same time, so many encouragements to persevere in the effort to maintain that most sacred cause, that it would be deeply criminal to permit any relaxations in the exertions, which have been, in so many instances, already crowned with success. Amongst the most cheering of the results to which we allude, are those which concern the increase of the episcopate—an object to which we have frequently called the attention of our readers, under the conviction, that the efficiency of the Church of England would be most extensively promoted, and that a very large portion of the disorders and divisions which trouble us would be removed, by affording to the episcopate of the Church, the full exercise of those powers of inspection and active supervision which its constitution includes. The want of efficient control arising from the immense extent of the present dioceses, is, we are persuaded, one chief reason of our present divisions. Let our bishops be brought into more frequent intercourse with their clergy—let them be seen by the laity in the light of spiritual pastors, lending strength and force to the exhortations of the parochial clergy—let them be found in the parochial schools, inspecting the progress of the young in the elements of Christian knowledge—let them be seen and heard in the parish churches, announcing the Word of God, administering the Sacraments, inspecting the regulations and arrangements for the performance of Divine Service—let them by example as well as precept stimulate the negligent and the careless, and direct energies which are misapplied—let such an episcopate as this be seen and felt throughout the land, and we should find an impulse given to the cause of truth and order, which would, we believe, put a new face on society. The Church is the great instrument for renovating the national mind and heart, but she cannot do her work while she is virtually deprived, in great measure, of her proper organization. We have indeed an episcopate, but it is so overburdened

by the extent of its duties, that it cannot discharge them except very imperfectly. With the most laudable intentions, and in many instances with most admirable zeal, the episcopal body apply themselves to the performances of their sacred duties; but with all their exertions, they are unable to accomplish the ministry which has been placed in their hands. Twenty-six bishops cannot, with all their efforts, do the work which ought to be allotted to a hundred.

The increase of the episcopate has this happy pre-eminence above many other questions, that it is not in any degree mixed up with religious *party*. Men of all parties and views in the Church, equally feel the importance and desirableness of the measure. No one has attempted to offer any opposition to the notion in the abstract. We have never heard a dissentient voice in the Church, and even the opponents of the Church have scarcely ventured to speak against it. The difficulty has arisen only in the practical details; such, for instance, as the question of seats in parliament, or the endowments. Doubts and difficulties of this kind have been permitted for several years to prevent the accomplishment of the great work in England, which has, under the patronage and direction of the heads of the Church, made such remarkable progress in the colonies. We trust, however, that as the subject becomes more familiar to the public mind, and as it engages more of the attention of the authorities in Church and State, it will be found that many of the difficulties which appeared at first sight insurmountable, are in reality of very little weight.

The question of seats in the House of Lords, which a few years ago was the principal cause which prevented an increase in the episcopate, appears now to be in a great degree cleared from its difficulties. No one now dreams of calling for the expulsion of the bishops from the House of Lords. That revolutionary cry is at an end. We believe that the country would not wish to see a large number of additional bishops introduced into the House of Lords; but we are firmly convinced, that if to-morrow the government were to say that *fifty* additional bishops ought to be appointed, and that *ten* seats in the House of Lords should be appropriated to those bishops, there could not be a more popular measure. If, indeed, *incomes* were demanded from the public purse for the prelates, we do not feel so sure that John Bull would take the proposal in good part. But if means could be found for supporting fifty bishops, in addition to our present number; and if it were judged necessary for the dignity of these prelates that they should sit in parliament in rotation, we do not believe that a single word would be said against such a proposal.

The present minister has certainly done much to earn the gratitude of the Church. We will not now dwell on the painful contrast exhibited by the last ministry, which, elevated to power by the Church, deserted its interests on every occasion, and refused the most earnest petitions of the Church for the preservation of the Welsh sees. To the present minister we cannot but feel most deeply indebted as Churchmen. We cannot help judging of men by their actions rather than by their names or professions; and we believe, that had Sir R. Peel been minister for fifty years to come, the Church would never have gained a single bishopric from him. Lord John Russell has had the high honour of preserving the ancient sees of Wales in their integrity. He has listened with sympathy, and, we trust, with a conscientious feeling of the duties of the high office which he holds, to the earnest and often-repeated entreaties of the clergy and people of Wales, so ably and so perseveringly sustained by the Earl of Powis. And we feel assured, that whatever differences of opinion may arise with reference to other measures of the present ministry, this most laudable concession to the wishes of the Church will have established a claim on her gratitude which will not readily be forgotten.

The appointment of a commission for the purpose of considering the best mode of appointing additional bishops in England, is also a very strong proof of the favourable disposition of the minister towards the Church of England. The mere fact of the appointment of such a commission is of the highest possible importance. It is at once an admission that additional episcopal superintendence is wanting; that the Church is not destined to remain for ever with merely twenty-six bishops, no matter what may be the extent of its necessities. Up to this period the only decision on the subject was that of the Ecclesiastical Commission in 1835, which had declined to advise the appointment of any additional sees, under the apprehension that if they were without seats in parliament, they would not hold a position of sufficient dignity, and that a precedent of a dangerous character would be created. But now that decision of the commission of 1835 is set aside; it cannot be any longer used as an extinguisher—a use to which the Duke of Wellington and others have frequently applied it.

And then comes the positive boon which has been held out to the Church in the offer of *four* new bishoprics, including the see of Manchester. We most heartily congratulate the Church on a measure so excellent in itself, as far as it goes. True it is that *four* sees will do little or nothing in the way of relieving the wants of the Church, but still it is impossible not to express the most lively gratitude for the gift. We feel that it is offered in a spirit

of good-will to the Church. It concedes the fact of her wants. It seeks to provide for them. If it does not provide for them *sufficiently*, we trust that there is at least no want of inclination to do so, when a case of necessity has been showed, and the means have been pointed out. But of course no one can look on this measure as final. Four bishoprics are granted at present; but the mere fact that a commission is necessary to determine where these bishoprics are to be erected, is a proof that the concession is not founded on the conviction that *four* bishoprics only are *requisite*, in addition to the present number, but that four may be safely granted. The measure is not grounded on any examination of the particular wants of the Church, because, if it had been, the districts would have been specified; but on a general admission of the wants of the Church. Here, then, it would be altogether impossible to dream of any doctrine of "Finality." Lord John Russell himself does not assert that *four* bishoprics would fully meet the actual wants of the Church. Let his measure be well received, and we shall probably find some future minister making a similar concession. When the precedent is once established, there is every probability that such gifts will be made to the Church from time to time, if the Church herself should continue to express an interest on the subject. Lord Stanley is already of opinion that *twenty* or *thirty* bishops ought to be added to our present number; and, as we have said on former occasions, we feel convinced that the Church has it in her own power to obtain as many bishops as she may require. Let ministers see that the Church is in earnest in desiring a large increase in the episcopate, and it is morally certain that she will obtain it. Self-interest will lead political parties and ministers to support such a measure.

But, to revert to the subject of the royal commission for new bishoprics, which is now in existence, and which is constituted with a view to determine the localities of the new sees to be appointed, we have a few words to say on the general objects and mode of proceeding of that commission. At first sight, one might be disposed to think that the labours of such a commission must necessarily be very protracted and arduous. It might seem necessary to enter on a re-arrangement of all the dioceses of England and Wales, in order to divide the Church into *thirty* dioceses, of about equal dimensions, &c., instead of *twenty-six*. But, on further examination, it would not seem likely that the commission would enter on so laborious a work as this, because it is impossible to say that the dioceses will long continue to be merely *thirty* in number. No one can predict that *four* will be the whole extent of the addition which will be made in the course of ten

years. Would there not, therefore, be a manifest inconvenience in redistributing the whole of England and Wales into dioceses, when, perhaps, in three or four years, it may have to be divided again? Under the whole circumstances of the case, we should suppose that the commission would not attempt to redistribute the whole Church into dioceses; but that, looking to the probability of a sufficient number of dioceses being established hereafter, they would content themselves with dividing three or four of the largest dioceses, such as London, Chester, Lincoln, Norwich, Lichfield, or Exeter, leaving the remainder of the dioceses for future arrangements. We should say, that *thirty* additional bishoprics would be hardly sufficient for the proper management of the Church of England; and there is every probability that such a number may, ere long, be created. When such men as Lord Stanley and Lord Fitzwilliam maintain that a *very large* increase is requisite, and when no one dissents from this position, it is not without reason that we look on Lord John Russell's present measure as a mere "instalment" of what is due to the Church. It is really impossible, when public opinion is fairly brought to bear upon the Church, that merely *four* bishoprics should be the whole limit of the addition. When those four sees have been founded—one of them being Manchester—the very first thing which it will be necessary to do, will be to divide the see of Manchester. Look at the new see of Ripon, including an enormous population, and urgently requiring division,—the huge see of Manchester,—Lichfield, with Derbyshire, Stafford, and Shropshire, each of which needs a bishop,—the large and important county of Nottingham, joined to the still larger county of Lincoln, in one diocese,—Suffolk, Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Surrey, Berkshire, Warwick, Dorsetshire, Cornwall, Devonshire, and many other large and important districts; and surely it is not to be supposed that the measure of Lord John Russell will be a *final* one.

It is, we observe, a matter agreed on, at present, that no addition shall be made to the number of episcopal seats in the House of Lords. As far as we can gather, the Bishop of Salisbury's plan of making the bishops succeed to parliamentary seats as vacancies take place in the episcopal bench, seems likely to be adopted. We do not see any material objection to this plan. It certainly would have the advantage of placing the new bishoprics entirely on an equality with the old; and this is a benefit so great, that it perhaps counterbalances some objections which might be urged against it. This plan would also have the advantage of leaving a bishop free from parliamentary duties during the earlier part of his episcopate, when it is of the utmost importance that he should

be in the midst of his diocese. Yet, we must say, that the plan in question seems better adapted to meet the case of a small extension in the episcopate than a large one, because, if the number of bishops not sitting in parliament was large, the parliamentary bishops would be generally very far advanced in life,—more so, in general, than they now are; and so far, the plan would not work very well. This is, however, a consideration to which, perhaps, little weight need be attached. It is a disadvantage, but it does not seem to counterbalance the advantages of the plan. The Church might lose something in a temporal point of view, but it would gain in more important respects.

And with reference to the endowment of a considerable number of additional bishoprics in England, it would seem that there are no very insurmountable difficulties in the way. Of course provision could only be gradually made for the new sees, nor would it be desirable, perhaps, that a large body of bishops should be appointed at once. But considering that the available income of the episcopate at present is about 170,000*l.*, we cannot help thinking that more than twenty-six bishops might be, and ought to be, supported by that income; which, after the deductions and equalizations that have taken place, gives on an average 6500*l.* to each of the bishops. And we know that the episcopal income is increasing, and that probably in the course of a few years, it will considerably exceed the above amount. We should greatly regret to see any measure carried into effect which would so far narrow the income of the episcopate, as to deprive it of the power of contributing to charitable and religious objects with its usual liberality. But at the same time, we cannot help thinking that smaller incomes might be found sufficient for the support of the episcopal body. If 4000*l.* a year is an income which has been judged adequate for the support of any bishop, a precedent has been established which might be applied elsewhere. Many bishops have possessed even smaller means than this; and we feel persuaded that 4000*l.* per annum would be, in most cases, fully adequate to the maintenance of the episcopal dignity. If this opinion be correct, there are funds at the disposal of the Church for the endowment of fourteen additional bishoprics; and there is little doubt, that the episcopal revenues may and will, under judicious management, and by the exercise of powers possessed by the Ecclesiastical Commission, furnish a still larger surplus, and thus provide for a greater number of bishops. It may be that an income of 4000*l.* is insufficient for a bishop; this is a question which ought to be investigated and determined by the proper authorities. All we would say is, that the utmost possible economy should be observed in applying the revenues of the epis-

copal body—that incomes should be fixed at the lowest rate which would be adequate to decent and sufficient maintenance. It can scarcely be said that this question has as yet been considered. The Ecclesiastical Commission of 1835 did not, we believe, enter on the examination of what incomes are actually necessary to the support of the episcopate. The object of that Commission was simply to distribute the revenues of the episcopate in such a manner, as to remove the excessive inequalities which had previously existed. This object was very satisfactorily accomplished, and very great benefit has resulted from the exertions of that Commission; but we do not see that either that Commission, or any authorized body in Church or State, or any minister of state, has ever fairly considered the important practical question which we have here ventured to submit. And yet it seems that with any view towards the increase of the episcopate, the very first step should be to ascertain what are the incomes requisite for maintaining bishops. It is impossible now to stand on the ground of the inviolability of the incomes attached to particular sees, and to contend that every bishopric must always retain the exact amount of revenue assigned to it by the Ecclesiastical Commission in 1835. The real practical question ought to be, what amount of income is *necessary* to render the episcopate beneficial to the Church.

That the present and prospective revenue from bishops' lands would be sufficient to provide a considerable addition to the episcopal body, we are persuaded; but still it might not be fully adequate. In such a case, however, there are means of supporting an episcopate, which would probably be found sufficient until provision were made from other sources. And here we allude to the large parochial benefices which are to be found in various parts of the country, and which might be annexed to bishoprics as their endowments. We subjoin a list of such benefices in public patronage—that is, in the gift of the crown, the bishops, and the chapters:—

DERBYSHIRE . . . .	Eckington . . . .	£1595
YORKSHIRE . . . .	Halifax . . . .	1678
	Barwick . . . .	1352
	Bolton Percy . . . .	1540
CORNWALL . . . .	St. Buryan . . . .	1004
ESSEX . . . .	Stanford Rivers . . . .	1007
LANCASTER . . . .	Rochdale . . . .	1730
DENBIGH . . . .	Wrexham . . . .	1224
NORTHUMBERLAND . . . .	Rothbury . . . .	1106
DURHAM . . . .	Bishop Wearmouth . . . .	2899
	Stanhope . . . .	4843

HERTFORDSHIRE . . .	Whethampstead . . .	£1356
	Hadham . . . . .	1621
HAMPSHIRE . . . . .	Alverstoke . . . . .	1287
	Fawley . . . . .	1179
SURREY . . . . .	Newington . . . . .	1160
CAMBRIDGE . . . . .	Mepal . . . . .	1267
	Sutton . . . . .	1200
RUTLAND . . . . .	Hambleton . . . . .	1154

We now proceed to select a few instances of benefices in private patronage which are of considerable value, and which might be made available by exchange of advowsons for the prospective endowment of bishoprics:—

CHESHIRE . . . . .	Astbury . . . . .	£1485
WARWICK . . . . .	Aston . . . . .	2075
NORFOLK . . . . .	Attleborough . . . . .	1226
NOTTS . . . . .	Aversham . . . . .	1435
	Bingham . . . . .	1503
YORK . . . . .	Bedale . . . . .	1936
ESSEX . . . . .	Bradwell . . . . .	1624
LANCASHIRE . . . . .	Bury . . . . .	1937
GLOUCESTER . . . . .	Bishop's Cleeve . . . . .	1574
CORNWALL . . . . .	St. Columb . . . . .	1515
SHROPSHIRE . . . . .	Edmond . . . . .	2600

We will not proceed any further in our researches in the Clergy List, as it has been shown, we trust, that there is at least ground for *inquiry* how far the parochial benefices of England may be made available for the endowment of new bishoprics. The combination of parochial with episcopal duties is strictly in accordance with the ancient discipline of the Church. It is well known that for a long series of ages the bishop regularly administered the sacraments in the cathedral church, and acted as the chief pastor of his whole diocese. In fact, to the present day, the ordinations of bishops refer quite as much to their pastoral office in the care of souls, as to their authority and jurisdiction. Thus, then, there would not be any impropriety or inconsistency in annexing parochial duties to the episcopate; and if this be the case, there would be means at the disposal of the Church for the endowment of additional bishoprics amply sufficient for all her wants; for all that would be necessary would be to annex one of the larger benefices within the diocese to any new see, and to make up the income of the bishop by an addition from the episcopal fund. We can, of course, imagine many difficulties in detail in carrying out such a plan, but still it appears to be deserving of examination and inquiry.



In the recent debate in the House of Lords on occasion of the Bill for erecting the See of Manchester, it was urged by Lord Stanley that the office of suffragans might be revived with advantage to the Church. In this doctrine we do not concur exactly with the noble lord, while we rejoice to observe the justice of his views in reference to the extent of the addition which ought to be made to the episcopate. The office of suffragan might perhaps be revived in special cases, such as the old age and infirmity of a bishop, with much benefit. But to establish suffragans in every diocese, as an ordinary branch of the Church's polity, would, we think, be a mistake. Such bishops could not really possess the full authority of bishops, inasmuch as they would act by delegated powers, and would not be the bishops of those whom they ministered to. In case of *necessity* such an arrangement is, doubtless, allowable; but it should be restricted to such cases. An anomaly, and an exception, it could never become an ordinary and established system without impairing the efficacy of the episcopal office. We would not be understood as objecting positively under all circumstances to the appointment of suffragans: if, indeed, we had no option allowed us between the establishment of a sufficient number of suffragans in addition to the present episcopal body, and *no addition at all*, we should thankfully accept suffragans, because there can be very little doubt, that after the experiment had been tried for a certain time, the suffragans would be converted into diocesan bishops. But we think it would be a subject of regret, if, merely to obviate the difficulty about seats in parliament, or to meet the difficulty of providing funds, a less perfect system of Church government were established in the Church than now exists.

A bishop ought to be the head of his own diocese, according to the notion of the Church. He ought not to act by mere delegated powers. He ought to be really the pastor of those to whom he ministers. And this is not the case when he is a suffragan. A suffragan is indeed a bishop, but he is not the bishop of the diocese where he ministers. He has no jurisdiction of his own. He has not even ordinary jurisdiction like an archdeacon. All this must very much impair his influence and efficiency. If he is not really the head of a diocese—if he merely acts by powers derived from another, he has not the same responsibility which would rest on him if he were a diocesan bishop. It is possible, also, that differences and jealousies may arise when there are two bishops in the same diocese. These, and other considerations, induce us to deprecate the establishment of the suffragan system as a substitute for a regular episcopate.

One of the difficulties expressed by Lord Stanley and other

peers, in the recent debates on the subject of an increase in the episcopate, relates to seats in the House of Lords. There is an unwillingness to see any bishops excluded from the House of Lords, and an objection is felt to the Bishop of Salisbury's plan as bringing bishops into the House of Lords at a too advanced period of life. On the subject of this plan we have already freely expressed an opinion. It seems to us, that there are advantages as well as disadvantages connected with it. But we would here throw out a suggestion, which might possibly tend to meet the difficulties of the case. Why should not the *representative* system be applied to the new sees about to be created in England, as it has been to the Irish sees, or to the Scottish peerage? What occurs to us is this—let the existing sees in England retain their immemorial privilege of parliamentary seats; and let four of the new bishops sit in parliament, either by rotation, as in the case of the Irish bishops; or by election, as in the case of the Scottish peers. From the present feeling of political parties we should think that no objection of any importance would be made to the creation of four additional spiritual peers, provided it was judged by the government really necessary for the efficiency of the measure of extending the episcopate. If four spiritual peerages were created, we should greatly prefer the system of election to that of mere rotation, because it would secure for the Church the most efficient representation.

We now pass on from the probable extension of the English episcopate, to the cheering and gratifying subject of the Colonial episcopate. The thanks of the Church are eminently due to the eminent prelates who conceived, and who have so ably and efficiently managed the Colonial Bishops' Fund, from which such striking results have arisen. Ten or twelve new bishoprics have already, within a few years, been the consequence of this admirable measure; and the impulse which the cause of the Church has thus received throughout the Colonies, and even in England, is incalculable. We must not withhold the expression of our opinion, that the success which has attended these measures is to be attributed very much to the judicious selection of the prelates who have been appointed to the new sees—men of truly apostolical zeal, of the highest attainments, and the most devoted piety.

But there is one more topic connected with the increase of the episcopate which affords us at least as much gratification as either of those on which we have briefly touched. We allude to the effort which is being made for the restoration of some of the suppressed sees of Ireland. This is, indeed, a measure of justice which has been long withheld. We shall never cease to condemn the suppression of the Irish sees as an act of oppression,

and of the most criminal indifference to the interests of religion. It was a blow dealt at the Established Church in Ireland, and therefore in England. It was a weak and unprincipled concession to the wishes of the enemies of the Church—intended merely for the gratification of Romanism,—and put forward under the pretence of finding means for repairing churches, on the abolition of the church-rates. What should we think, if the ministry were to abolish the church-rates in England, and then extinguish half the bishoprics, in order to apply their incomes to make up the deficiency? If bishops are any essential part of the Church,—if their ministrations are of any value,—it is plain that the Church loses spiritually by any diminution in their number, as it would lose by a diminution in the number of its priests. And this blow was struck against the defenceless Church of Ireland at a time when its efficiency was daily becoming greater. Under that most cruel blow—the injustice and evil of which will never be forgotten—the Church of Ireland has, amidst the severest discouragements, steadily advanced in zeal and in efficiency. But its episcopate is wholly inadequate to its wants. The great extent of the Irish dioceses renders them unmanageable. The number of the bishops is so diminished, that, allowing for the absence of some from ill health or old age, there must be and is very great difficulty in visiting the churches, confirming, or discharging the other ordinary duties. Most earnestly do we wish success to the Archbishop of Dublin's bill, now before the House of Lords, empowering the Crown to restore any of the suppressed sees which it may judge advisable to revive. We feel assured, that even if the measure should not be carried at once, it cannot be very long delayed. Let the Church in England and Ireland petition in support of the measure, if necessary; and we sincerely trust, that the eminent prelate who has so laudably brought forward the subject will not cease his exertions until justice is obtained for the Irish Church. If the attempt should fail at this moment, we trust and hope that it will be renewed again and again. We have before us most cheering examples of what may be effected by patience and perseverance under the most trying circumstances. Twice has the voice of the Church succeeded in saving bishoprics which had been doomed to extinction. The see of Sodor and Man, and the Welsh sees, ought to encourage the Church of Ireland to persevere in seeking the restoration of her hierarchy. And we must here be permitted to observe, that the revenues of the Irish sees seem to have been providentially preserved to so great an extent, that there would be, at this moment, no difficulty in finding incomes for the support of the Irish episcopate *in its full integrity of numbers*. About 70,000*l.* per annum has been left to the

episcopate in Ireland; and this ought to maintain, with ease and comfort, the twenty-two bishops, of whom the Irish hierarchy properly and rightfully consists. We can never recognize the law which has suppressed ten bishoprics, except as an act of the most odious oppression, and the most extreme injustice and iniquity. Every one who has the interests of the Church at heart, and who is anxious to maintain her cause against the aggressions of Romanism and dissent, and the indifference of statesmen, is bound to use his efforts for the removal of an enactment which was the severest blow to the Church in this empire which has occurred since its foundation, and which could only have become law at a period when the national mind was in a temporary delirium of reform and of revolution.

P.S.—Since the above pages were written, we observe with regret, though without the slightest surprise, that the Archbishop of Dublin's bill for the restoration of the suppressed bishoprics in Ireland has been thrown out, after a vigorous opposition by the present government. It must, of course, take some time before the question can be fairly considered in parliament, and years may elapse before justice will be done to the Church. We would only say to the friends of the Irish Church as an establishment, that if they wish to maintain its property and its civil rights, the best course they can pursue is to interest the Church of England in its cause, by showing their determination not to sit down tamely and feebly in submission to the measure of 1833, which despoiled their Church of its highest privileges. Let the Church of Ireland show to the Church of England that it truly values the episcopate,—not for the sake of its revenues or its temporal dignities, but as an apostolical institution, and a means of spiritual blessings and privileges,—and the Irish Church will find in England a sympathy and a support which does not at present sufficiently exist. Let the clergy and the laity of Ireland urge again and again on parliament the restoration of their *bishoprics*, and they will be able to preserve their *parishes*. The Church of England will join them in the struggle for their rights, when they show that they are prepared to assert and maintain them, without flinching from the contest. Let them take as their model the admirable and judicious conduct of the Earl of Powis and the Church of North Wales, and their success will be certain at no distant period.

## NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS,

ETC.

1. Hare on Unity.
2. Sermons by Baker, Sullivan, Kennaway, Exton.
3. Blunt's Undesigned Coincidences.
4. Maclean's Unity of God's Moral Law.
5. Thom's Dialogues on Universal Salvation.
6. Plummer on the Common Prayer.
7. Bishop Mant's *Feriae Anniversariæ*.
8. Sandford's Vindication of the Church of England.
9. Lives of the Saints, edited by Bennett—Hook's Ecclesiastical Biography.
10. Simeon's Life, by Carus.
11. The Commonitory of Vincentius.
12. Burgh's Hebrew Grammar.
13. The Pilgrimage, by Wildenhahn.
14. The Unseen World.
15. Starkey's *Theoria*—The Book of Poetry.
16. A Wreath of Lilies—Tales for the Young—Book of Fable.
17. Year of Consolation, by Mrs. Butler.
18. Meadows on China.
19. Journal of a Residence in Portugal and Spain.
20. Tales of Adventure.
21. Select Poetry, by Farr.
22. History of the French Revolution.
23. Birds of Jamaica, by Gosse.
24. Edge's Vision of Peace.
25. Miscellaneous.

- 1.—*The Means of Unity: a Charge to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Lewes; delivered at the Ordinary Visitation in 1842: with Notes, &c.* By JULIUS CHARLES HARE, M.A. London: Parker. 1847.

THIS volume is composed of a charge, delivered so much as five years ago, occupying 45 pages, and of notes, extending, in small type, over no fewer than 121 pages. The subjects treated of in the charge and in the notes are most various, ranging from orthodoxy, heresy, and unity in doctrine, down to missionary and educational effects, rural chapters and convocation, Dr. Pusey and Martin Luther, the Jerusalem bishopric and illegitimate births.

The Archdeacon of Lewes does, indeed, at p. 23, utter a few words which may be good-naturedly construed into something like an apology for speaking on these subjects; and, from his commencing lamentations over the absence of any episcopal charge to his brethren, in consequence of the proximate deaths of two prelates, it might be imagined that, in charging as he does, he is only yielding a reluctant obedience to duties which have devolved, by the force of circumstances, upon him—the *oculus episcopi* in those parts. However, Mr. Hare's former charges prove that such a supposition would be most erroneous; and the error we complain of has become so general, that we feel bound to notice it as a

modern abuse; an usurpation of the right and duty of the first order of the ministry. We have some little acquaintance with the canon law, and we are much mistaken if there be a single sentence which can fairly give countenance to the usurpation in question. On the contrary, "vestiendi altaris"—"sacrificii necessaria"—"solicitudo parochiarum"—"reparandis diocesanis basilicis"—"ornamenta vel res basilicarum parochiarum"<sup>1</sup>—"de (clerorum) conversatione, sive honore et restauratione ecclesiarum, sive doctrina ecclesiasticorum"—"delinquentium rationem redditurus";—these, and such as these, are the points into which archdeacons are to inquire; and if to kindred subjects they would confine their charges, there would be less chance of so much of their own and of their brethren's time being annually wasted. On subjects connected with the temporalities of the Church, on which the clergy, as a body, are generally ignorant, an archdeacon would speak with authority, and be listened to with respect. The present Bishop of Oxford, when Archdeacon of Surrey, set an example in this respect, which we could heartily desire to see more generally followed.

Having entered this protest, *in limine*, against archidiaconal charges of a doctrinal kind generally, we may advert to the intrinsic merits of that immediately before us: and here we must own to being agreeably disappointed. Generally speaking, we are no lovers of Archdeacon Hare's writings; and we find some things on which we disagree with him in these pages; still, he comes before us so completely in the character of a peace-maker; there is so much kindness of heart and good feeling displayed throughout, that, though it carries him to some lengths at times, we cannot help being favourably impressed with his production. An extract or two will show its tone.

"Above all, there are religious journals, and that strange anomaly and nuisance, religious newspapers, a sort of vermin springing up in the stagnant mud of the press, which live almost by fostering and inflaming animosities. . . . Not one person in a hundred, among those who speak with the greatest confidence and heat on the theological disputes of the day, will ever pretend that he has attentively and candidly examined a single one of the more elaborate works, against which he is in the habit of inveying (*sic*). But our favourite magazine or newspaper supplies us, every now and then, with an extract, which, standing by itself, seems to offend against our views of the Gospel; while railing, with more or less of salt, more or less of venom in it, is served up daily and weekly and monthly and quarterly, as a substitute for argument."

<sup>1</sup> 25 dist. c. 1. Perlectis.

<sup>2</sup> c. Ut Archidiaconus, l. X. de offic. Archid. Vide etiam canon. Card. Othon. apud Gibson, p. 967.

The archdeacon follows this up by a piece of advice, which we would recommend to all our readers; viz. (what has been his own practice for many years,)

“To confine my reading mainly to those journals, the general line of opinions in which is adverse to my own. . . . Thus your reading, instead of increasing any prejudice that you may be conscious of, would rather tend to allay it, and would, at all events, give you an insight into the character and purport of the opinions you impugn.”—pp. 18, 19.

In note A, the author successfully refutes one of the many sophistries, by the help of which Mr. Newman has elaborated his late Essay,—that, namely, of trying to make it appear that “development under infallible authority” is the true “hypothesis” by which to account for “the rise of Christianity, and the formation of its theology;” trying to make this appear by “placing it in contrast with hypotheses grossly absurd, as though these were the only alternatives.” Note H is occupied with an investigation of the Jerusalem bishopric. Of course, we cannot, in these short notices, follow Mr. Hare through all the intricacies of so long an argument, or enter upon a question that, take which side we will, is unquestionably beset with difficulties. Several pages are consumed in an attempt, in some respects successful, to overthrow Mr. Hope’s arguments; but if he have succeeded in disproving that learned gentleman’s assertion, that “the German Protestants who ‘desire to be admitted to communion, must come, not as a body, but as individuals; not asserting an independent collective existence, but desiring to be adopted by and incorporated into the Church,’”—we must avow our belief that he has thereby cut from under their feet the ground upon which the advocates for the measure must, as Churchmen, have taken their stand. One of the archdeacon’s great guns, which he evidently flatters himself he has turned most effectively against “our modern Romanizers” (by which expression he designates—we know now not whether less ingeniously or ingenuously—those who are not satisfied to adopt the name of Protestant as expressive of all which constitutes their religious *status*); one of these mighty engines of polemical warfare, is an extract from Cardwell’s *Synodalia* of the report of the lower house of convocation, in 1705, touching “a project closely akin to that which we are discussing,—the plan of introducing the English Liturgy and Episcopacy, by means of English ordinations, into Prussia.” Now, a certain document, put forward not very long ago by the Chevalier Bunsen, considerably opened the eyes of those among us, who had till then looked favourably upon the great scheme, to the true nature of the Prussian intentions; and which, by the way, rather turned the

tables as to the "scandalous fraud" and "shameful piece of swindling," which Mr. Hare alleges to have been "practised." This document, indeed, we cannot just now lay hand upon; but, unless we are much mistaken, it went to prove that the two cases are not so parallel; for that the Prussians now *refuse* to receive "Episcopacy by English ordination." And if so, we are at a loss to comprehend how it can be thought—we say not advisable, but possible—for an English bishop to exercise jurisdiction over missionaries of this sort.

Archdeacon Hare is very facetious at Mr. Hope's expense, and somewhat hard upon Dr. Pusey; he talks glibly of "strait-waistcoats" and "unlookt for bandages"—of the "slavery" to which "the Canonists would bring us," and of "crampt and narrow bigotry:" but we confess that, much as we admire the tone and temper of his charge, when in the notes he descends into particulars, we think his zeal outstrips his discretion; his desire for unity has blinded him to the distinction between differences in mere forms and ceremonies, and differences in such practices as relate to, if not the "integrity," at least "the perfection of a Church."

- II.—1. *Sermons on Holy Joy, the Spiritual Affections, and the Saintly Character.* By ARTHUR BAKER, B.A. London: Rivingtons. 1847.
2. *Parish Sermons.* By the Rev. HENRY W. SULLIVAN, M.A. Second edition, enlarged. Oxford. 1847.
3. *Sermons to the Young.* By the Rev. C. E. KENNAWAY, M.A. London: Rivingtons. 1847.
4. *Sixty Lectures on the several portions of the Psalms, as they are appointed to be read in the Morning and Evening Services of the Church of England.* By the Rev. R. B. EXTON, &c. London: Longmans. 1847.

OF the *first* three of these volumes we may say, that they are all above par; all are characterized by brevity, practicalness, simplicity, and fervour. In the preface to the *first* we are informed, that they "embrace confessedly a partial, and that the cheerful, view of Christian doctrine;" for insisting upon which more particularly, "there are many reasons at the present day." We think them certainly good sermons—much better than many which often pass under our eye. The author we should take to be a man of sensibility, and of a poetic turn of mind; but (we are loath to say it) there appears to us to be a little dash of affectation in some of his sermons.



How two sermons may be both good, and yet one be better than the other, that is, the subject be better handled, and the style more likely to engage and interest the attention, is shown by comparing the mode in which the authors of the *second* and *third* volumes have respectively treated the history of Ruth. Mr. Kennaway, indeed, has evidently great power of drawing out the instruction which a passage of Scripture is capable of affording, much facility of illustration, and skill in adapting himself to the particular class whom he is addressing; witness, for instance, his sermon on the little captive maid of Naaman's wife. We have much pleasure in particularly commending these "Sermons to the Young."

The fourth volume professes to be designed by its author as "a work equally useful to his younger ministering brethren in the pulpit, for the devotional exercises of the family circle, and for the closet of the meditative Christian;" and we are inclined to think that too high a claim has perhaps, upon the whole, not been advanced; though we should say, that the author's expectations are likely to be more fully realized in the last of the three cases mentioned by him.

III.—*Undesigned Coincidences in the Writings both of the Old and New Testament, an Argument of their Veracity: with an Appendix, containing Undesigned Coincidences between the Gospels and Acts, and Josephus.* By the Rev. J. J. BLUNT, B.D., Margaret Professor of Divinity. A new edition, re-arranged, corrected, and enlarged. London, 1847.

WE well remember the intense pleasure with which, some years ago, we read one of the little books, out of which the present portly volume has grown. The species of argument here employed is one of which we, individually, happen to be particularly fond; and the manner in which the Professor has worked it out demands our highest meed of praise. He has perhaps driven it rather hard here and there; though, in a work of this kind, it is a fault on the right side. To Mr. Blunt we look as one likely to be of great use to our university of Cambridge.

IV.—*The Unity of God's Moral Law, as revealed in the Old and New Testament.* By the Rev. ARTHUR JOHN MACLEANE, B.A. London: Bell. 1847.

THE object of this volume is to prove that the moral standard of the Mosaic dispensation was as pure and exalted as that of the new covenant. The author conceives the principles of the moral

law to be so objective in their nature, as to admit of no variation. He commences with the proposition, that the "holiness of God is the only standard of true morality." From the Creation to the revelation on Mount Sinai, the standard of morality, though more faintly written, was not the less pure and perfect in its nature: nor were the precepts of Mount Sinai, though needing the sanctions and explanations of Our Lord's teaching, of less perfect morality than their own commands. There was a want of distinctness in the earlier, compared with the later revelations, but no want of perfect morality and purity.

"But it is said, if the morality of the Gospel is not different from that of the Mosaic law, why was not that law delivered with the same distinctness at first, that its spiritual meaning might be known and appreciated? The same question may as properly be asked in respect to the second revelation as of the last. Since the moral precepts of Moses are only the embodying of the eternal law of God in a clearer form than the *natural* revelation given to the whole world, why was not the first revelation as plain as that by which it was superseded? Therefore, the objection amounts to this: why was the full light of the Gospel, in respect to the moral obligations of man, reserved for a period four thousand years subsequent to the fall of Adam?—and, indeed, why has it not always shone with equal lustre in every part of the world at every period of its existence? I do not profess to be able to answer this question."—pp. 32, 33.

The argument is simple enough. The author conceives the moral code to be an *objective*, not a *subjective* system. At different periods of the world this code may have been more faintly or more distinctly revealed, more partially or more perfectly appreciated; but, however revealed or however understood, it remains still the same pure and perfect "emanation" from the Divine nature. The proposition appears self-evident, especially when fortified by such quotations as the author brings forward from the Psalms of David,—a writer (be it remembered) living under the Mosaic covenant, and deriving his notions of morality from the precepts of Mount Sinai.

"Can the law of God," asks Mr. Maclean, after referring to Pss. xix. xii. and li., "be more spiritually understood than it was by the king of Israel? And what light had he which was not open to all people? The reply to this, perhaps, will be, that David knew these truths only by direct inward revelation, which were not vouchsafed to all, or to any but a favoured few; and the mass of the people were quite ignorant of this view of the moral law. They had no excuse for this ignorance. They might have reaped the fruits of David's experience; for he published his Psalms, and they were repeated by thousands who professed to enter into their spirit; but, like tens of thousands who repeat them

still, they knew nothing, felt nothing of their application and meaning."  
—pp. 33—35.

The question appears so simple and so clear, that we are at first tempted to wonder wherefore it should have been deemed necessary to demonstrate it at such length. We can understand that Socinians, and a certain class of theologians extinct, we trust, within the pale of the Church, should have grasped at this view of things entirely founded upon expediency; but why so long a treatise to set forth a proposition, which a Churchman, addressing other members of the Catholic Church, might so easily enforce upon their convictions? However, our author finds, or imagines he finds, opponents to his view in Grotius, and (strange to say, not in Paley or his followers, but) in Bishop Taylor. From the *Ductor Dubitantium* of that holy prelate he selects a passage (which is, indeed, a free translation from Grotius) for condemnation. The original passage from Grotius is the chief object of his attack, while the quotation from the bishop is placed in the appendix. But we willingly pass over the German philosopher, to vindicate the English divine. Now, certain as it is, that the great principles of good and evil are immutable,—that morality is objective, and not subjective,—that virtue is rather an emanation from divinity, than a varying operation of Omnipotence,—it is equally certain that a code of laws, having for its object the sanction and encouragement of morality and virtue, (for a law is a precept *with* a sanction,) is mutable, subjective, and an independent operation of the law-giver. The difference between our author and Jeremy Taylor lies in this, that the one confuses, while the other apprehends, the distinction between morality and law. Morality is objective, and of all time; law is the creature of circumstances. The Ten Commandments are *not* laws (properly so called), but precepts. The Book of Leviticus is chiefly composed of laws, in the true sense of the term,—that is, of injunctions made binding with direct sanctions. In this sense, Our Lord may be said to have given a *new law*, and to have *changed* the law of Moses. The morality remains the same, but the sanctions (without which, according to Bishop Taylor's sense, there can be *no law*) are altered. But we may let the bishop speak for himself:—

“ For God, being the supreme lawgiver, hath power over his own laws,—as, being a Creator, he hath over his own creation: He that gave being, can take it away; and the law may be changed, though God cannot; for God is immutable in his attributes, but his works have variety, and can change every day.” — *Ductor Dubitantium*, chap. ii. rule i. § 2.—pp. 178, 179, of *Mackeane*.

There was, we repeat, no need of this minute disquisition. The question has been already settled by the Church. Had Mr. Maclean referred to the Catechism of our Church, he would have found how highly the Mosaic dispensation has been esteemed in the Catholic polity. While the Christian learns his rule of faith in the creed of the Church, and his mode of prayer from Our Lord's own lips, he derives his whole system of morality from the tables first given to the Hebrew prophet on Mount Sinai.

The work, however, is powerfully written, and may be perused with advantage.

v.—*Dialogues on Universal Salvation, and Topics connected therewith.* By DAVID THOM, Minister of Bold-street Chapel, Liverpool. London: Lewis. 1847—

Is the second edition of a very pernicious book, with great parade of argument, by a dissenting teacher of (to judge from his work) ultra-Calvinistic views. The volume abounds in such sentences as the following:—

“Now every one of these views is erroneous. Sanctioned by the highest names in theological literature unquestionably they are, but they all stand condemned by the Holy Ghost.”—p. 137.

Tolerably confident language this! But the reader shall judge for himself, what right Mr. Thom has to employ it, and to arrogate for himself the certain possession of “the mind of the Spirit.”

In the Advertisement we are favoured with two or three pages upon the words *Sheol* and *Hades*; wherein we are informed, that “now in the light of the New Testament Scriptures, especially in that of the Epistles,” these terms are

“shown to denote the state of soul as, after its separation from the body, undergoing the second death, by being excluded from the heavenly kingdom.”

In this sense, he says, the regenerate do not descend to Hades; but (we call attention to this, in order to show the lengths to which, in this age of boasted light, self-constituted teachers, despising the wisdom of “the ancients,” may be—shall we say judicially—permitted to run)—the regenerate among men do not “descend to Hades;” but to do so

“was the fate of our Blessed Lord, as having died the just for the unjust; . . . and is the fate of the unregenerate.”—p. xxvi.

The author thinks, that

“To have the knowledge of sin taken away by Christ's atoning

sacrifice, is not merely to have an apprehension, for the first time, of what sin is, as that which God hateth; but also to have the conscience personally purged from a sense of guilt."—p. 139.

But perhaps the worst piece of heresy relates to the eternity of future punishments. This (according to the minister of Boldstreet conventicle) "cannot be maintained consistently with the declarations of Scripture:"—

"1st, Because the grandest conceivable and possible display of God's abhorrence of sin has been afforded in the sufferings and death of Jesus *the Creator*; whereas the doctrine of eternal torments implies, that a still greater display of the hatred of God towards evil is capable of being, and remains to be afforded in the sufferings of *mere creatures*. . . . God having declared the object of the Lord Jesus in dying to have been to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself, we impeach his veracity when we assert that, in the case of the eternally tormented, sin remains unput away for ever!"—pp. 140, 141.

Could one have conceived such a confusion of ideas, and perversion of language? it is really like playing upon the words. But let us hear him again:—

"I may now mention one argument which, to him who is gifted with a very moderate share of divine knowledge, and possessed of any capacity whatever for reflection," [this is positively the most humiliating sentence we ever read; we feel quite convinced that *we* possess no capacity for reflection, for we have failed to be struck in the same way by what he says,] "must be productive of an entire conviction that the infliction of eternal torments upon man is an utter impossibility. . . . They mean, that man *as such* is capable of being tormented for ever. Now, unlimited torments no human being, *as a man*, is capable in his present state of undergoing. Therefore if to these torments he who is *now* a man shall *hereafter* be subjected, it cannot be that *as a man* he shall undergo them. . . . Do you not perceive that by this simple, obvious, and conclusive reasoning, eternal torments are necessarily excluded from the catalogue of the punishments to which *man as such* may be subjected?"—p. 143.

Very simple, obvious, and conclusive, no doubt! The fallacy is, of course, evident. He tells you that man's capability of suffering is limited, he is only to endure for a time, and therefore he cannot be punished with unlimited, everlasting torments; that is, man *as he is now*—as we see him—this mortal body, cannot endure immortal torments; but there is nothing in the nature of man, *as man*, as it is human and not angelic, which is incompatible with eternal punishment. Neither is there anything in the nature of man, *as man*—although there is in man *as he now is*—which confines his existence to a body constituted exactly as

that body, which we at present see, is constituted. "Flesh and blood" (we read) "cannot inherit the kingdom of heaven;" yet we presume that Mr. Thom would not exclude all the elect from heaven and eternal happiness; neither would he say that they cannot go there *as men*. In point of fact, our present bodies must undergo a change of some sort, to fit them either for heaven or hell: they must in some way be rendered immortal: a single text sets it all clear; "It is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body: there is a natural body, and there is a spiritual body." (1 Cor. xv. 44.) Yet it will still be *as men*—human beings, as distinguished from angelic or any other creatures—that they will be rewarded or punished. Mr. Thom confuses *the present mode of existence of man* with *man in its generic sense*, that is, *humanity*; and hence the inconclusiveness of his heretical argument. Thus he says in so many words in the following page:—

"My proposition is just briefly this, that '*the being* who is supposed to be eternally tormented hereafter cannot be a *human being*.'"

And then, by way of a clencher, (we must cite this one passage more, just to show the puzzle-headedness of the man,) he adds:—

"Aye! and what is still more, the nature so tormented would be actually *the nature of the Lord Jesus* himself! . . . Thus, by representing God as inflicting eternal torments on beings who are possessed of everlasting existence, *divines* [the italics here are his own], actually and blasphemously, although ignorantly, represent God as torturing for ever the nature of his own well-beloved Son!"

So that this sneerer at "divines," this confident antagonist of "the highest names in theological literature," this setter-forth of "simple, obvious, and conclusive reasoning," who so condescendingly adapts his arguments to the comprehension of "those who are possessed of any capacity whatever for reflection,"—this "minister of Bold-street Chapel" actually cannot distinguish between the *person* and the *nature* of any one—that One being, in the present instance, God's own Son! To speak of God's own well-beloved Son as tortured with eternal torments were at once absurd and blasphemous; to represent His nature, i. e. persons of the like nature, as so punished, would be (we should have thought) no more than giving utterance to the conclusion of all who believe that our blessed Saviour was "made of a woman"—"made in the likeness of men"—"took not on Him the nature of angels, but took on him the seed of Abraham."

But we have done. We do not remember to have ever met with so fallacious, and yet so confident, a writer. By the bye, it

may be as well to state, that this same David Thom represents himself as "Corresponding Secretary for England to the American *Universalist* Historical Society," and as editor of "The *Universalist's* Library."

VI.—*Observations on the Book of Common Prayer. By the Rev. MATTHEW PLUMMER, M.A.* London: Cleaver. 1847—

— Is a reprint (if we be not mistaken) of a series of papers which appeared from time to time, under the signature "P.," in the *English Churchman*. These observations are the result of inquiries made, when the author

"being only in deacon's orders, and without much communication with his clerical brethren, was necessarily ignorant of many things, the knowledge of which is now happily considered essential to the correct performance of Divine worship, according to the use of the Church of England."

We have quoted this passage for the sake of the concluding words. We are indeed rejoiced, when we hear clergy implying the duty of celebrating Divine service *according to the use of the Church of England*; that is, according to the exact rubrics of the Prayer-book; for how else are we to arrive at the knowledge of what that "use" is? it being the use—not of A, B, and C, individual priests—but of the Church. Now we are a little puzzled to understand, how Mr. Plummer's book will, in all respects, fulfil this intention. The greater part of it is, indeed, excellent; but here and there he introduces matter which, it seems to us, will be likely to have the contrary effect to that which he intends; will rather puzzle and distract, than readily direct the reader. He publishes his book for the sake of "the Deacons" of our Church; for the purpose "of lightening their labours at the commencement of their ministry, and of enabling them to perform the offices of the Church with decency, solemnity, and devotion, *and strictly in accordance with the Rubric*" (the italics are his own). We would beg then to ask Mr. Plummer, whether he considers the *admixture of water* with the wine at the Eucharist, or the *washing of his hands* by the celebrant, to be necessary in order "to perform the offices of the Church with decency, solemnity, and devotion, and strictly in accordance with the Rubric?" That either or both of these actions is necessary for the former three conditions, we, individually, do not believe; though we are far from denying that both are compatible with them. But that either or both of them is even compatible with the latter condition, we are disposed to deny. Where is the Rubric which gives

—we will not say a direction for, but—so much as a hint at such proceedings? Most probably the cup which our Saviour blessed did contain water mixed with wine: it is quite certain that the custom of mingling water with the wine did prevail in the Christian Church from the earliest times; nay, it is true that the Anglo-Saxon canons, and the rubric in the first book of King Edward VI., enjoined the same practice; but what then? when we have heaped all these testimonies together, and allowed them, what step have we advanced towards a correct performance of the service according to the use of the Church of England—the *present* use, let us remember—the *existing* rubric? The Prayer-book of 1662 is that (as Mr. P. reminds us in his Introduction) to which the clergy have given their assent and consent, and to which we are bound by the Act of Uniformity; the customs, therefore, of the early Church, and the rubric of 1547, may be exceedingly interesting in an antiquarian point of view, but they can be of no more authority now to us who are but ministers, not rulers, than the Extravagants of John XXII., or the canons of the council of Trent. Mr. Plummer refers to Mr. Palmer's *Origines Liturgicæ*; and we would commend the following sentence from that work, in reference to the present subject, to his attentive consideration:—"As this rite was removed from the ritual of the English Church by authority, together with several other rites, . . . and as it undoubtedly does not affect the validity of the Sacrament, its revival by individuals cannot be recommended." These remarks, *mutatis mutandis*, apply equally to the other rite of *washing the hands*; except that, while for this there is even less pretence of authority than for the former, Mr. P. appears to advise it, by taking pains to point out "the best time for it to be done in our service."

We observe that the question of lay, heretical, and schismatical baptisms is entered into. Mr. P. decides that by our present rubric—taken in its plain and obvious sense—they are all forbidden: but then follows a curious piece of reasoning:—

"The bishops in England, both before and since the Reformation, have granted licences to the laity to baptize; but not since the passing of this rubric. Lay baptism is therefore, at present, invalid in England."—p. 204.

Had Mr. P. written, "is therefore at present *illegal* in England," we could have understood his reasoning, though we are not sure that we should have been disposed to concur even then in his conclusion. But to say that it is *invalid* is neither historically true, nor logically correct, as a deduction from his premiss. "Valid," the dictionary tells us, means "effective;"



and Mr. P. explains it himself just afterwards, by a quotation from Jeremy Taylor, by the expression  $\chi\epsilon\rho\ \acute{\alpha}\kappa\rho\omicron\varsigma$ , "an ineffective hand." This depends entirely on the grace of God, and of it *we* can judge only by a reference to history touching the judgment of the Catholic Church; consequently, validity of an ordinance cannot, either "at present" or in time past, depend upon the licence of a bishop to execute it.

We are unable to devote more space to this little work. What we have pointed out may appear to be trifling; yet trifles, it should be recollected, cease to be trifling when occurring in a work which assumes the office of a guide. Upon the whole, the book seems likely to prove useful as a manual; but it would doubtless be more so, were it carefully revised, and difficult and doubtful points treated with less assumption of certainty.

VII.—*Ferivæ Anniversariæ: Observance of the Church's Holy-Days no Symptom of Popery; shown from testimonies of her most approved children, in continuance 1547—1800. By the Right Rev. RICHARD MANT, D.D., Lord Bishop of Down and Connor, and Dromore. In 2 vols.; Vol. I. The Feasts. Vol. II. The Fasts. London: Parker. 1847.*

THE diocesan successor of two of the saintliest luminaries of the British Churches has written much to uphold and to revive those great ecclesiastical principles, for which Leslie and Taylor contended. While we regret the necessity which appears to exist for thus enforcing things which, to churchmen, ought to be matters of obvious duty; still—as the necessity *does* exist—it is encouraging to find an episcopal pen so ready; and especially an Irish bishop zealous in urging on the sons of his church, to revert from their actual puritanism to the more earnest and venerative faith of his predecessor in the see, Jeremy Taylor. And here we must object to the line of argument adopted by many excellent writers of the present day, who prefer appealing to expediency rather than to obedience. *The Church has a right to claim obedience from her children*—This is the axiom to establish. When once this great Catholic verity is accepted, all the rest follows in due course. The Fasts and Festivals will be observed, *not* because they are found expedient in promoting devotion, but because they are ordained by Christ's Catholic Church. The argument from expediency is not to be rejected, but postponed. Obedience is the first motive, and expediency the second. A child is taught to obey its parents, before it can comprehend the expediency of their commands. Were the necessity of *obedience to the rule of the church*, rather than the expediency and utility of

each particular practice which she enjoins, made the groundwork of argument by those writers who seek to reclaim schismatics into her pale, or revive primitive discipline among her children, much toil and paper might be spared. By asserting obedience, we in no wise deny the utility of the particular practices; while, on the other hand, those who give a primary consideration to the expediency of the observances, waive the appeal to authority.

This work of Bishop Mant's is not altogether free from this defect; for although, at the outset, some consideration is given to the usages of the Church, and to the ordination-vow of her priesthood to observe them, yet no such authoritative tone pervades the book as that for which we contend. It is rather in the nature of an apology for, or a justification of, these usages of the Church, than an assertion of their necessity. However, we will quote the author's own words, from the introduction, explaining the objects of the work:—

“ Upon a matter which gives occasion to such diversity of sentiment and practice, no reasonable decision can be formed without careful investigation, adequate information, and calm and dispassionate deliberation, under the guidance of God's Holy Spirit. With humble prayer for his grace, it will be my endeavour, in the following Treatise, to assist the reader in forming a proper conclusion upon the subject, by means of a plain exposition of the enactments of the Church; founded, as those enactments were, on the authority of Holy Scripture, and of the usages of Christ's primitive and apostolical Church, and supported as they have been, successively, by the official and authoritative acts of her rulers, and by the explicit interpretations, and solemn admonitions, and avowed practices of the same, and of others her most exemplary, best instructed, and most venerated children.

“ The members of the Church, they at least who profess to call themselves her members, are the persons, to whose edification I would fain devote such ability as God may give me.

“ With such persons, indeed, I might take it for an axiom, that a vindication of any particular usage from blame, from the taint, for instance, of Romish superstition, and its claim to the allegiance of her *members*, are at once established by the identification of such usage with the CHURCH'S ORDERS: which, at all events, must be admitted by her *ministers*, who are pledged to ‘faithful diligence,’ both in their own observance of them, and in teaching to their people the keeping and observing of the same. With such persons, also, I would fain take it for granted, that, next to the plain institutions of the Church, and the authoritative enforcement of her governors, no more satisfactory defence and justification of a particular usage can be adduced, than the example and commendation of her most illustrious ministers and members in the times coincident with, or most nearly succeeding to, the Reformation.”

—vol. i. pp. 3, 4.

We entirely coincide with the views expressed in the above extract, but cannot help thinking that the obedience there insisted upon is rather waived, than strengthened by two volumes of examples and precedents—giving instances of persons who have kept the holy-days and fasts in their generation, and the various motives which induced them to do so. However, the most scrupulous churchman could find no other fault in the work than this. In all respects it deserves to be hailed as a worthy addition to the religious literature of the day.

VIII.—*A Vindication of the Church of England from Charges brought against her in the Christian's Penny Magazine. By the Rev. G. B. SANDFORD, M.A.* London: Rivingtons. 1847.

THIS *Vindication* is written in the form of a letter to the Rev. Dr. Jeremiah Smith. The letter commences thus:—

"My dear Sir,—I have found a dissenting periodical, named THE CHRISTIAN'S PENNY MAGAZINE, in the houses of several Church people of this parish. That same publication is very violent in its language against the Church. She is there represented as vile and odious; we are told that she is not a safe way of salvation; and every sinew is exerted to induce her members to forsake and leave her."—p. 1.

Mr. Sandford proceeds, first, to answer generally various objections interspersed throughout the publication; and afterwards, more specifically to reply to certain stated reasons brought against the English Church in an article (which appeared in No. I. of the Magazine) headed, "WHY DARE I NOT CONFORM TO THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND?"

"Which," he says, "may be considered a fair summary of the objections brought against her by these Dissenters."—p. 21.

The *first objection* is worded thus:—

"That the Church of England 'is not a proper Scriptural Church, but a political system instituted by worldly men for worldly ends, and is altogether a worldly body.'"—p. 21.

Mr. Sandford divides this objection under five heads, and proceeds to refute each separately. The accusation is one of Erastianism, wherefore he commences by a brief history of the English Church from its first establishment in Britain, and its existence here in the fourth century. But it were vain to attempt a complete analysis of the work. We will content ourselves with enumerating the objections which the author has undertaken to disprove.

The *second objection* is to the authority claimed by the priesthood of the Church; and to their being appointed independently of the wishes of the people. (p. 75.)

The *third objection* is to the power of the Church to decree rites and ceremonies, and to her authority in controversies of faith. (p. 88.)

The *fourth objection* is to our "religious mummery," as they term it, in bowing to the east; wearing a *surplice for prayers, and black gown for the sermon (!)*; going to the altar for the Communion Service; signing the cross in Baptism; kneeling at the Lord's Supper, and changing posture during the Service. The "mummery" is, according to this publication, *not* in wearing the surplice, but in changing it for the black gown. (p. 108.)

The *fifth objection* (the most important of all to overrule and disprove) is to the doctrine of *Baptismal Regeneration*. Mr. Sandford argues the point clearly, and at sufficient length, without becoming wearisome. It is perhaps the most successful passage in his book. (p. 123.)

The *sixth objection* is to the holy rites of Confirmation and Ordination, by which, exclaims the Dissenter, the

"Lord Bishop (poor sinning, mitred mortal!) pretends to give the Holy Ghost. O, what a fearful mockery! What an awful sin!" —p. 144.

The author treats this objection with great brevity, and chiefly repels it by quoting the well-known passage from the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles to Timothy and the Hebrews.

The *seventh objection* is to the power of Absolution, and especially to that form of it contained in the Office for the Visitation of the Sick. (p. 152.)

The *eighth objection* is the last and most confused of all. It is worded thus:—

"Lastly, I might condemn its teaching us transubstantiation, its excommunicating good men of other Churches, and its forbidding me to hear the Gospel; but these are nothing to the evil of the Burial Service, which has often been read over the corpse of an atheist, an infidel, a thief, a drunkard, a prostitute, as though it were that of an eminent Christian."—p. 167.

If these are the objections brought against the English Church by Dissenters, how is it that those puritans, within her bosom, who seek an alliance with schismatics, imagine they shall overcome their prejudices? By what compromise of Catholic verity do they hope to gain the amity of these foes to our discipline and doctrine? *They* are included as well as others in the general

charges of *Erastianism, Church authority, religious mummery, Ordination, and Confirmation, and that most grievous of all—the Burial Service.* Is it, then, by a compromise of the question of *Baptismal regeneration* that they imagine they shall succeed?

Mr. Sandford's book is well worthy of perusal, especially by those who are thrown in the way of Dissenters, and accustomed to hear their objections.

ix.—1. *Lives of Certain Fathers of the Church in the Fourth Century. For the Instruction of the Young. Edited by the Rev. W. J. E. BENNETT, M.A.* Vol. I. London: Cleaver. 1847.

2. *An Ecclesiastical Biography, containing the Lives of Ancient Fathers and Modern Divines, interspersed with Notices of Heretics and Schismatics, forming a brief history of the Church in every age.* By WALTER FARQUHAR HOOK, D.D. Vol. III. London: Rivingtons. 1847.

WE cannot say that much care seems to have been bestowed upon the volume by its "editor." For instance, to begin with the title-page, it is disfigured with a very ugly and badly-executed monogram. The LAMB carries a cross, instead of the usual labarum in its simpler form. He stands upon what looks like (we have at last discovered what it is meant for; but it is so ill-drawn, that we take to ourselves some credit for so doing) a very odd platform, from the upper edge of which drop seven pendulums of unequal lengths. There is a further blemish, in the shape, here and there, of careless writing, and—still worse—of bad grammar. As instances of the latter fault, we read of "wonderful soothing" eloquence; the Church "had began;" and in the preface, "as though, because there may be errors in some points, there *is* truth in none:" the conclusion of the paragraph in p. viii. furnishes us with an example of a carelessly expressed sentiment; for the sentence *might* be taken to imply, that "the promise" is not now with the Church. These are, after all, minor points; still, they are faults: and when a man sets up to act Mæcenas, he should not allow it to be said that lending one's *name* is *all* that is required of a patron.

The Preface is, on the whole, well written, and we agree with the general drift of it; but at p. xiii. the writer tells us, that a mind which had received its "mould from the primitive ages,"

"would equally demolish the novel idea of the papal supremacy, as surely as it would *the still more novel idea of a state supremacy,* and the government of a Church by Acts of Parliament."

Certainly the tone of mind which he describes, would considerably modify some modern notions about the relations of Church and State; and it is possible that Mr. Bennett may intend nothing more than this by the sentence just cited. There are many very crude notions afloat on the subject of the royal supremacy; and High Churchmen sometimes play unconsciously into the hands of Romanists and Dissenters, by their ill-advised sayings on this subject. If any person have subscribed to the XXXVIIth Article in a non-natural sense, we recommend to his serious attention Archbishop Bramhall's Works, Hooker, and Field; and among Romanists, Rechberger and Febronius.

We are sorry to have been obliged to make the foregoing remarks; but, as reviewers, we had no alternative. Nothing remains for us to do at present, but to say that the present volume contains the lives of SS. Athanasius, Basil, Chrysostom, Jerome, Ambrose, and Augustine; and that they appear to us to be written in a good spirit and in an interesting style.

2. The lives in the second of the two works named above are, from the nature of the work, of a much shorter cast; a more condensed and rather dry summary of facts: the book, however, is both interesting and useful, as the compiler's name would guarantee; and is written (so far as we have looked into it) on the soundest principles. Nor does Dr. Hook shrink from applying these principles to our own times, and, whenever opportunity presents itself, comparing deeds of yore with deeds of to-day. We hope that a supplementary volume will be given, as in all works of this nature certain omissions are sure to be discovered. We have ourselves remarked one or two, but cannot just now lay hands upon the paper on which we noted them.

x.—*Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. Charles Simeon, M.A., &c.: with a Selection from his Writings and Correspondence. Edited by the Rev. WILLIAM CARUS, M.A. London: Hatchards. 1847.*

No one, we should suppose, can rise from the perusal of these memoirs of a well-known and remarkable man, without having one of two alternatives strongly impressed upon his mind: either that Mr. Simeon, notwithstanding certain defects of character and errors in opinion, was a truly good and devoted servant of God; or that he was a most skilful and consistent hypocrite from first to last. There is no medium course. Each portion of the history, open it where you will, dovetails exactly with those portions which precede and follow it. The old man, whom we re-

member, was precisely that which we should have expected, as the development of the youthful elements herein depicted. Differing, as we undoubtedly do, from the late Mr. Simeon in very many points; educated, as we have been, in a totally different school from that of which he was perhaps the most remarkable disciple; sympathizing but little, as we must confess to be the case, in many of his hopes and fears; we nevertheless cannot but embrace the former, and more charitable, of the two alternatives suggested; and own to having our heart warmed towards the subject of these memoirs, in no ordinary degree; warmed, as the heart of the Christian must be warmed towards all whom it sees zealously persevering through evil report and good report, in spite of difficulties, disappointment, and ridicule, at a sacrifice of much that man ordinarily holds dear, in obedience to what—no matter whether rightly or wrongly—they deem to be commandments of God Most High.

The following extracts will prove the religious spirit which animated the subject of these memoirs. So far back as the year 1790 Mr. Simeon established an evening lecture in Trinity Church, at Cambridge; but it was not till after much opposition from both churchwardens and parishioners, manifested by looking up the pews, &c. He tells us that he had long before consulted Sir W. Scott about their right to do so, and obtained that eminent lawyer's opinion of the illegality of the action. He did "not, however, choose to exercise" his "right" in reference to them:—

"To this (says he) I was led by various considerations. My own natural disposition would have instigated me to maintain my rights by force; and I knew I never could do wrong in resisting my corrupt nature. Like a bowl with a strong bias, I could not go far out of the way on the side opposite to that bias; or if I did, I should have always something to bring me back; but if I leaned to the side where that force was in operation, I might be precipitated I knew not whither, and should have nothing to counteract the impulse, or to bring me back. There was no doubt, therefore, in my mind which was the safer and better path for me to pursue."—p. 86.

Twenty years later we see the same principle of self-watchfulness at work. A sermon at St. Mary's, animadverting strongly on the religion of the age, had drawn forth certain "Cautions" from Dr. Pearson, the Christian Advocate. "With his wonted promptness and energy (writes his biographer), in a few days Mr. Simeon prepared a reply, entitled 'Fresh Cautions.' But previous to its publication he submitted it to the judgment of his faithful and clear-sighted friend, the Rev. W. Farish." This gentleman found fault with the tone of a portion of the reply, in

consequence of which Mr. Simeon remodelled his rejoinder; and afterwards, not content with thus publicly vindicating himself, he addressed a private letter to the Master of Sidney, expressive of his feelings on the occasion. The conclusion of this letter is as follows:—

“In forbearing to answer your last publication, I have shown that I wish to avoid controversy: not that I desire to shun it on account of any apprehended weakness in my cause, but because I know and feel within myself (as most probably you do also) that controversy is hurtful to the spirit: it leads us to find pleasure in detecting and exposing the errors of an adversary, and gratifies, both in the writers and readers, some of the worst passions of the heart.”—p. 290.

Mr. Simeon does not appear to have been one who confounded times and seasons; every age and every situation has its own peculiar duties, which it will be the business of a religious man punctually to perform. Writing, in 1816, to a friend who was anxious to send a young man up to the University, he says—

“If he come without a full determination to conform in all things to college discipline and college studies, or with any idea of acting here as he might in a little country parish, he will do incalculable injury to religion. Pray let him understand this, and not come at all, if he is not prepared both to submit to authority, and to follow friendly advice.”—p. 433.

How profitably might this be read, *mutatis mutandis*, by some whose irregular efforts and indiscreet zeal do so much harm in many a parish!

We had marked for quotation an extract from a work of Mr. Simeon's, which would probably be read with astonishment by not a few of those who fancy themselves his followers; but it is too long for our present limits. The passage alluded to is to be found at pp. 302, 303, of the Memoirs, and is a defence of the Prayer-book doctrine of *Baptismal regeneration*. He read the Baptismal Service with no reservations; he understood it in no non-natural sense; he took it in its plain, grammatical meaning; and he brings forward several texts which “certainly do (as he says), in a very remarkable way, accord with the expressions in our Liturgy,” to the effect that “the thing signified accompanies the sign”—viz. “the remission of our sins, as well as the regeneration of our souls.” And he points out, what it is a pity the disputants around us do not oftener take heed to; we mean the fact, that a host of “modern divines” (i. e. of a peculiar class) “include in the term *regeneration*” what the Reformers never dreamt of including, viz. “the progressive *renovation* of the soul.”

In writing what we have now written, no one who knows us



will for a moment imagine that we have been influenced by any other motive than that of giving praise where praise is due, and where the award of it does not clash with our duty to truth. We remember the adage, *De mortuis nil nisi bonum*; but our desire to fulfil it cannot blind us to the defects in Mr. Simeon's character, and still less to the defects of the religious system and clique with which he identified himself. At the same time, we must avow our belief that his followers and imitators are chargeable (as so often is the case) with much more and much worse than their leader. The reader must of course expect to find a considerable sprinkling of the religious *jargon* of the clique<sup>1</sup>; and for the benefit of those who are as little accustomed to it as ourselves, we will refer to one expression which not a little puzzled us. It is in an extract (p. 24) from the diary of Mr. J. Venn:—

“13th.—Simeon of King's walked over from Cambridge to see me; walked on the terrace with him and in church. Family prayers extempore—his engagement.”

“His engagement”—what can this mean? Were it “*my* engagement,” it would be intelligible, though still rather queer English, viz. that Mr. Venn was under engagement to have family prayers. But it is “*his* engagement,” i. e. Mr. Simeon's engagement. Simple reader, it merely means that Mr. Simeon it was who on that occasion offered up some extempore prayers!

There is one painful subject which must always suggest itself to every Churchman's mind in connexion with Mr. Simeon; we mean his *purchase of advowsons*, for the purpose of securing in perpetuity (to employ his own phraseology) a Gospel ministry to the churches which he got possession of. We are not about to enter upon this subject now, further than to observe how little dependence can, after all, be placed on any collection of letters (one would have thought, the surest method of information) to give one an insight to the real history of the mind and projects of an individual. There are few acts of Mr. Simeon's life more noto-

<sup>1</sup> We might have said, the *Calvinistic* jargon of the clique; for it is grounded on an assumption which is the genuine offspring of the elective exclusiveness of Calvinism. For instance, such phrases as the following are for ever occurring:—*the Lord's people*, to denote the followers of the Simeon clique—*the kingdom of our blessed Lord* it is hoped *may be advanced*, that is, the preaching of Puritanism; and the *prosperity of Zion* is used to denote that this is done to some extent—while a *people full of love* means that crowds flocked to hear Mr. Simeon hold forth. So again another class of phrases:—“I had yesterday the *most profitable season* that I ever had for about three hours,” is a somewhat roundabout way of saying, that for three hours he talked without ceasing to some clergymen, who (we may presume) listened without interrupting: and that he made some impression on one of them is intimated by a “hope that Mr. Marsh's *hands were considerably strengthened*.” All these phrases occur within six pages of each other, and are a sample of what runs through the volume.

rious than this purchasing of livings; few points for information upon which one more eagerly turns to the Memoirs. And how much are we permitted to learn? Absolutely nothing! Mr. Carus and his party have (doubtless with the utmost prudence) kept back from the public eye as much as it was possible to withhold of this iniquitous scheme for placing in the hands of a "sect" more patronage than falls to the lot of half the bishops on the bench. To be silent altogether upon it, would have been manifestly imprudent. A few letters are therefore given by the editor, sufficient to show—what nobody doubted—Mr. Simeon's anxiety on the subject; but beyond this, and the names of one or two places in which he succeeded, we are told nothing. "The unrighteous editor" (as Mr. Simeon calls the late admirable Mr. Rose, in speaking of a letter of his [Mr. Simeon's] respecting these advowsons, inserted in the "British Magazine" for May 16, 1836; of which insertion Mr. Simeon complains bitterly, as likely to do much damage to, if not "to defeat, his plans"—Memoirs, pp. 778—781)—"the unrighteous editor" of these Memoirs has, with more kindness than justice to the memory of his late friend and master, withheld every one of the letters of which that one sent to the "British Magazine" was composed. And this is important; for, among other things which were contained in that "medley of injudicious matter" (truly, Mr. Simeon, *most* "injudicious" for any friend of thine to have let the world get sight of!), was a project to prevent "at any price" the patronage of "the great living at Northampton" from being vested in the hands of the Bishop of Lincoln, and this in spite of the desire of the corporation there. We believe that in this project Mr. Simeon succeeded. But with regard to the whole of this painful subject we have one ray of hope; viz. that, when looked into by competent authority, they may prove to be, what a writer in the "English Churchman" (April 29, 1847) hints that they are, illegal as "settlements in perpetuity." Let us hope that they may so be proved; for (as has been suggested) the transaction is nothing more or less than a second edition of the "Puritan feoffees;" and if the description of men who are now obtaining such a hold upon the doctrines and patronage of the Church be permitted to proceed in this unmolested, it can hardly "fail to reduce her a second time under the yoke of Puritan tyranny."

However, let us not part in bitterness. There are several faults, several omissions in these Memoirs, nor can we say that any extraordinary editorial skill has been displayed by Mr. Carus; we do,

<sup>2</sup> So early as 1810 Mr. Farish applies this term to Mr. Simeon's followers. See p. 282.

nevertheless, thank him for what he *has* done ; and we repeat, that persons of all grades and shades of religious opinion may peruse this volume to their profit. The subject of the Memoirs lived to a very advanced age in the full enjoyment of the powers of his active mind ; and it would be strange indeed, if after seventy-seven years he had left nothing behind him which could instruct and edify us who remain. We will, at the risk of wearying, conclude by an extract, which we specially commend to the attention of our brethren, in this age of reviving energy and zeal.

“It is with me a fixed principle, that it requires more deeply-rooted zeal for God to keep *within* our strength for *His sake*, than to exceed it. Look at all the young ministers ; they run themselves out of breath in a year or two, and in many instances never recover it. Is this wise ? I could easily break myself down in two or three days, and incapacitate myself for any future work. But would this be wise ? Health and life are but of little importance to me so far as *self* is concerned : but they are of great importance so far as the service of God is interested ; and it requires incomparably greater self-denial to restrain myself for Him, than it would do to expend my strength by imprudent exertions. Probably many say, ‘See, how strong he is ! he might surely do *more*.’ My answer is, ‘I am strong, because I do *not* do *more*. If I did *more*, I should soon do *nothing*. . . . . And I the rather say this, because I am a living witness to the things I utter. It is unwise to exceed our strength (I was laid by thirteen years). It is wise not to exceed it (I am now, through constant care, preaching at seventy-six with all the energy of youth).’”—pp. 762, 763.

x1.—*The Commonitory of Vincent of Lerins ; a new Translation, furnished with an Introduction from Bishop Jebb, an Appendix from Bishop Beveridge, and Notes by the Translator.* Baltimore : Joseph Robinson. 1847.

WE are rejoiced at being able to congratulate the American Church on furnishing a reprint of this excellent standard of Catholic principle. The work of Vincentius Lirinensis was appealed to by the reformers of our church, when they boldly relied upon the “*Quod ubique, quod semper, quod ad omnibus creditum est.*”

In reference to the corruptions of Rome, the editor says :—

“Those novelties cannot be maintained against the application of Vincent’s rule. The twelve articles profanely added to the Nicene Symbol by the creed of Pius IV., however they may be bolstered up by a vain pretence of *consent* and *universality*, are utterly destitute of proof of *antiquity*. To remedy the defect, resort has been had, first to the supposition of a *disciplina arcani*, by which Romish tenets must have

been held for four hundred years in studious concealment, to come out only one by one, through the course of the ten following centuries of distraction and decline, both secular and ecclesiastical; and then, that failing, more recently to the theory of an assumed *development*, by which the deposit once committed to the church, may enlarge itself and branch forth into new doctrines and practice, with progress of years and in the advancement of society. But these devices had been already exposed, by anticipation, as the fertile inventions of busy brains, seeking excuse for the inroads of 'profane novelties' upon 'hallowed antiquity,' in Vincent's simple, but cogent treatise."—Preface, pp. ix. x.

The edition is well printed, and in an apparently cheap form.

XII.—*A Compendium of Hebrew Grammar, designed to facilitate the study of the language, and simplify the system of the Vowel-points.* By the Rev. W. BURGH, M.A., T.C.D. Dublin: McGlashan. 1847.

WE quite agree with the author of this little work, that "a Grammar should be either very large or very small; either a Thesaurus or a Manual; either extending to the notice of every exception, in which case it is a book of reference for the library of the advanced student, or else a first book for the learner." The present work is a MANUAL, "intended to afford facilities to the learner, derived mainly from an examination into the Analogies of the grammatical forms and inflections," by which the author tells us that he

"has succeeded, in not a few instances, in substituting one general for several special rules, and in so far combining the advantages of a *Compendium* and a *Rationale* of the Grammar; which, it is hoped, will be found to render this the better adapted for the purpose for which it is designed—an Introduction to the larger works [of Gesenius, Stewart, Hurwitz, Lee, &c.]"—Preface, p. v.

To give an accurate opinion of the precise value of the book would require to have read it through. This we do not pretend to have done; but we have looked into it sufficiently to allow of our hazarding an opinion, that it seems to correspond with the author's description, as just cited; and will prove eminently useful to the class of learners for whom it is intended.

The author's fondness for analogies (a fondness in which we sympathize) may perhaps carry him, at times, a little too far; as for instance, in his "Table of the Vowel-points," at p. 4; but this is a small matter. And we believe that in his sections on *the Changes of the Vowels* in the process of inflection, and his *Rules for the Pointing of the Verbs*, he has considerably facilitated

the acquirement of a knowledge of the Sacred Tongue ; particularly in the case of adults, to whom the learning *memoriter* is ordinarily a work of labour. We are not sure that we prefer his plan, in the Paradigms of Verbs, of inserting a line, thus —, to mark the ground-form of the verb, to that which has been adopted in the modern editions, of printing it in *black* ink, while the mutable portions are in *red*.

XIII.—*The Pilgrimage: how God was found of him that sought Him not; or Rationalism in the Bud, the Blade, and the Ear. A Tale for our Times. Translated from the German of C. A. WILDENHAHN. By Mrs. STANLEY CARR. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd. 1847.*

THIS is a German religious novel, written for the purpose of showing how a Rationalist (of the German school) may return to faith in Christ. It is the work of a Lutheran, and is wanting in distinctness of tone. The author, evidently, does not hold the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration ; and is not particular whether people are Calvinists, Lutherans, or in the Roman communion, so long as they hold the "life-giving" doctrine of the Atonement. Respecting the study of Church history, he speaks of it, as "a conflict in which narrow-minded pedantry, or false unchristian dogmas, have alternately carried the day:" he appears to acknowledge *no* Church authority in controversies of faith, and declares that

"The Bible alone is the sole touchstone of religious truth."—  
p. 270.

Like many of the modern Lutherans, (who have in this forgotten the principle of their Reformer,) the author appears to regard the doctrine of the devil and the flames of hell as "biblical imagery, conveying a strong and vivid representation of a *soul-torment*." This view of the unreality of Satan and his kingdom is so strongly impressed on the minds of some of the modern Lutherans, that in one instance which we remember, a Lutheran lady who had lately entered the Roman church, expressed to us her wish that her new guides would dispense with her adherence to this one Catholic doctrine of the real personality of the devil.

Having made these few remarks on such portions of the work as we do not entirely approve, we feel bound to express our admiration of the earnest tone which pervades the whole story. We are almost led to imagine that the author is writing his own experiences. The plot is somewhat rambling and extravagant, but not more so than the generality of German romances; and the

religious tone is far preferable to the usual sentimentalism exhibited in such productions.

The translation is in indifferent English, however faithful it may be to the original.

XIV.—*The Unseen World; Communications with, real or imaginary, including Apparitions, Warnings, Haunted Places, Prophecies, Aerial Visions, Astrology, &c.* London: Burns. 1847.

WE really never were more puzzled as to how to speak of a book than of this one. To say that it is a tissue of absurdity, of assertions destitute of proof, and of narratives contrary to common sense, would not be the part of either a thoughtful or religiously-minded man. To declare our conviction of the truth of its various statements, and assign to it our unqualified approbation, would be as far removed as the other course, from the impression actually produced upon us by its perusal. We require more time and leisure to reflect upon the contents of the volume. On the general question we know of nothing terser than Dr. Johnson's answer to Miss Seward—"Yes, Madam: this is a question which, after 5000 years, is yet undecided; a question, whether in theology or philosophy, one of the most important that can come before the human understanding." Nor ought we to go too confidently to work; for it was finely said by Sir T. Brown, that "as in philosophy, so in divinity, the sturdy doubts and boisterous objections" which arise are to be overcome, "not in a martial posture, but on our knees."

For the volume itself, we are not particularly highly impressed with the philosophy, either natural or moral, of the writer. As a moral philosopher he does not appear sufficiently accustomed to weigh evidence, or alive to the fact that there may be odd coincidences which neither are, nor would any good purpose be subserved by supposing them to be, the result of the direct interference of a special Providence, or (as we commonly say) of supernatural agency. For instance, it may be perfectly true that in the year 1280 "a tremendous clap of thunder was heard in a clear sky, and that some few days after the greater part of the city was consumed by an accidental fire, and the inhabitants were put under the ban of the empire;" and again "in 1440 a similar clap of thunder was heard in the same town, and was followed shortly after by the civil war." But what then? The building of Tenterden steeple and the appearance of the Goodwin sands are said to have been nearly contemporaneous: but is there either proof or probability that the one was *connected* with the other, except as

mere coincidences in point of time? Could it be shown that the inhabitants, or any one of them, understood the clap of thunder to portend the coming fire or the coming war, and took measures accordingly whereby he escaped from the calamity, the story would wear more of the appearance of a providential interposition. Providence does nothing in vain, nothing superfluously; not that we are always able to discern the reason; still are we not bound to look for it? and, in the absence of any probable reason, to reserve our assent? "Try the spirits," is a rule which applies to more cases than one.

As a natural philosopher we cannot say that the author shows, at best, much readiness of illustration. Thus in "Night II." (he calls his chapters nights) in order to demonstrate the symbolism of nature to the mystery of the Trinity, he tells us, that "in colour we have three neutrals, black, white, and grey," which is about as unphilosophic an illustration as he could well have chosen. It is the more foolish, since one was ready to his hand philosophically true and beautifully adapted to his purpose. We need hardly say, that we mean the three primary colours of the prism—red, yellow, and blue, which, when united, produce the all-glorious white. And then, in place of some nonsense about *form*, which "can address itself to the eye but in three ways," he might with more propriety have turned to mechanics, and have shown that throughout the whole system of statics every thing is trine; all bodies rest on three points, and so on. Moreover we would beg to ask him, whether the cross is the *only* form which substances assume in crystallizing? if not, his illustration fails.

The author is of opinion that the well-known feeling of desire to throw oneself down from any great height, is "the immediate effect of *temptation*;" and he states that the same comet of 1680, which had appeared thrice before, viz. immediately after the death of Julius Cæsar, in the reign of Justinian, and during the Crusades, "may probably have accompanied, *if it did not occasion* (!), the flood."

That "there are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in" most men's "philosophy," with Shakspeare we quite believe. That there are many natural appearances which a pious mind may feed upon, and *may employ*, to remind him of heavenly matters,—as, for instance, a sailor may *employ* a mast, a railroad traveller the stationary signal-post, a botanist a certain order of plants, or a fowler a bird flying, in order to remind him of the cross of our salvation,—is quite true; but we cannot go along with certain persons, the author of this book among them, in thinking that all these things *were so made*, or caused to be made, by Providence, *in order that we might* be constantly reminded of

the cross. One writer,—and he a remarkably brilliant and instructive writer,—in alluding to this subject, goes so far as gravely to assure us that, “as modern anatomists have suggested, the whole animal world is framed upon this type—a central column with lateral processes.” Now, we confess it does seem to us a less inverted, more simple, and therefore more true way of viewing matters, to say that the cross was made to fit man, and not man to remind us of the cross. We never have been able to persuade ourselves that spires were invented *in order to* remind one of the upward-striving life, or a clergyman’s bands *in order to* signify the two covenants (though certain modern “ecclesiologists” would denounce us as heretics for such opinions), any more than that the Monument was built *in order to* remind one of “a tall bully.”

In conclusion, we may assure the reader, that of whatever measure of faith or credulity he may be possessed, he will find this little volume supply him with an ample fund for amusement, and, we are bound to add, an ample fund for graver thought.

xv.—1. *Theoria*. By DIGBY P. STARKEY, *Barrister-at-Law*.  
Dublin: M’Glashan. 1847.

2. *The Book of Poetry*. Second edition, enlarged. London:  
Burns. 1847.

1.—THE author of the former of these two works is at the pains to tell his readers that “*Theoria*” is derived from a Greek word, and has been adopted by a modern essayist to denote the operation of the faculty by which we receive the moral impressions of beauty; and he “ventures to hope that that faculty may be indulged, not merely with safety, but with advantage.” The volume consists of poems of every variety of length, from twenty pages to a sonnet. We have, upon the whole, been favourably impressed with it. Mr. Starkey is not as yet what we should call a poet, though certainly he every now and then gives vent to poetic thoughts, and clothes them in poetic words. The *disjecti membra poetæ* abound, while, as a whole, the poems fall short.

For instance, we think that

“Rough the blows roll round the dusky bole”

well echoes to the axes of the fellers of the princely oak: while one sticks for a moment in the hard wood, the others follow on in quick succession. The following is happily expressed:

“Oh, be it far from thee

To turn from forest altars † they may be



Rude, but like stones where Druid legends dwell,  
There's grandeur in the fables that they tell!"

We like the "Poplin Weaver," (imitated from the French of Beranger,) as also the "Fate of Ahab;" and particularly the "Three Visions of Cain." Here and there we find a line which it is most difficult to scan, but this seems to be a matter quite of secondary importance in modern poetry. Near the commencement of the first poem he uses "lay" for "lie"—as it appears to us, an unpardonable compromise between grammar and rhyme. But at p. 16 there is something worse than that: the poem is called "The Death of the Oak," and in the course of it we are pained by the following needless irreverence:—

"Stand away for many a span!  
His heavy head begins to sway—  
He reels like a drunken man—  
God! 'tis a mighty tree—  
Stand away!

A pause—we want to breathe more free [*lege*, freely]—  
A pause—we want to pray."

This equally unnecessary and unbecoming introduction of the sacred name is rendered even more glaringly improper by the close juxta-position of the concluding line. "May I never mention Thy venerable name, unless on solemn, just, and devout occasions," was the prayer of a holy bishop; and if it be shocking to one's feelings to hear it done in trivial conversation, it is far worse to find the irreverence carried into print.

2.—Whether the latter little volume has been much or little improved or enlarged since the first edition, we do not know; but, at any rate, it appears to be a very nice little book.

xvi.—1. *A Wreath of Lilies. A Gift for the Young. By the Writer of Infant Hymnings, Hymns and Scenes of Childhood, &c.* London: Burns. 1847.

2. *Tales for the Young.* By HANS CHRISTIAN ANDERSEN. A new translation. London: Burns. 1847.

3. *The Book of Fable and Allegory.* London: Burns.

ALL three are very pretty books; the two latter rather *younger* than the former one; and all three (it is almost superfluous to add, as coming from the shop of Mr. Burns) very prettily got up. We are not sure that *quite* sufficient discrimination has been exercised in regard of No. 2; we mean sufficient care not so to relate fiction that it may not (considering the, probably, extreme

youth of the reader) be mistaken for truth : for instance, in the touchingly beautiful tale of "The Angel."

With regard to No. 1, our readers will welcome a fresh publication from the authoress of "Hymns and Scenes of Childhood;" nor will their anticipations be disappointed in the tenderness of womanly feeling, the practical examples drawn from those of old, and the poetical simplicity of language in which deep and holy things are clothed for young and loving minds. Hence we the more regret that we are obliged to join with the objectors mentioned in the concluding note, in fearing lest the introduction of uncertain legends and traditions may not have the (by her, we are sure, unwished-for) effect of confusing authorized and unauthorized records in the minds of the young. Nor, indeed, can we heartily approve of the minute dwelling in detail on all the imagined and imaginary actions and feelings of the Blessed Virgin, about whom Holy Scripture has, doubtless not without a meaning, maintained a significant silence. At any rate, with the warning of a sister Church before us, it is surely a questionable step to imbue tender minds with what *may* ultimately facilitate their steps towards a path which has been fraught with so much danger to others of maturer growth.

The flowers strung upon this "Wreath" are well diversified, and occasionally a little poem lends a grateful assistance to the beauty of the whole. We would particularly specify "Home," at p. 125.

XVII.—*A Year of Consolation.* By Mrs. BUTLER, late FANNY KEMBLE. In 2 vols. London: Moxon. 1847.

THIS work is one of the many instances of "book-making" or writing for writing's sake by one who has nothing new to impart, and who finds it difficult to patch together materials sufficient for two octavo volumes. A journey to Rome, and a year spent in the Eternal City and its environs, is not altogether a novel theme, especially when treated with the light and thoughtless hand of a lady-tourist, whose views and opinions are rather those of a worldly-minded and frivolous person than of one who has been accustomed to associate with the more thoughtful or serious among her countrywomen. A tone of *marvish* sentiment pervades the volume; and, from time to time, allusions are made to the subject of her grief; which, unlike the ordinary manifestations of that passion, rather courts than shuns the public gaze. Mrs. Butler has the same liberal bigotry (for we know not how else to designate that Protestant turn of mind) which charac-

terizes the mass of our countrymen whom one meets on the Continent. She aims at liberality without being truly catholic. She glosses over the surface without reconciling fundamental principles. Such persons imagine that by toleration of hostile dogmas they are producing unity of thought. This is far from the truth. The Evangelical Alliance might exist through all eternity without producing catholic unity among the allied sectaries. The movement towards unity should spring from the foundation, and not be stretched over the surface. It should aim at singleness of thought before it strives for outward toleration and regard. We have noticed this especially, because of the use which Mrs. Butler (in common with a great many of our writers) makes of the word "Catholic." She evidently does not consider herself to be a "Catholic." She has no leaning towards the Church of Rome; and still less to the United Armenian Communion:—

" Monsignore — persuaded us to go to-day to the Armenian church, where, by his account, the celebrations and services were remarkably beautiful and imposing. Thither accordingly we went, and were conducted into a very small church or chapel, formed in every respect like a theatre. In front of the benches, which occupied the floor of the room, and which exactly resembled the arrangement and furnishing of a pit, was a row of arm-chairs, reserved for seats or stalls, for certain high Church dignitaries; immediately before these rose a sort of stage, with two columns forming exactly a proscenium, between which was hung a curtain of gaudy-coloured flowered calico. In front of this curtain was a small portable reading-desk; to the right and left of the walls were gaudy pictures and tawdry altars; and compared with the splendid decorations of the Roman Catholic churches, the whole thing appeared like one of the theatres on the Boulevards at Paris, compared with the Académie Royale. At the back of the pit was a low sort of wooden screen; and between this and the gate which opened upon the street, a numerous, noisy, dirty crowd of gaping spectators pressed themselves with unceremonious curiosity. After waiting a long while for the service to begin, a priest, in an extremely gay dress of pink and green satin, profusely embroidered with gold and silver, came from behind the curtain, and opening a book on the desk—the Scriptures, I believe—began reading, or rather chanting aloud in a most monotonous nasal tone, which was as unpleasant as ludicrous to ears unaccustomed to it. This chanting lasted a very long time, and towards the end of it five other priests came also from behind the curtain, and stationed themselves in front of it, joining their voices in alternate responses to the performance of their predecessor. At length the calico curtains were drawn aside, and the high altar was revealed, with the primate or high-priest most gorgeously adorned standing in front of it, supported by two other priests in almost equally splendid dresses. . . . The dresses of all the priests were extremely gorgeous; but it irked

me excessively, under the green and pink and yellow satin robes of the choristers and assistants, to detect the dirty stockings and coarse boots and shoes of common every-day modern attire; the whole thing was so like an indifferent theatrical spectacle, where the same show of dirty boots and shoes and trowser-legs obtrudes itself below the costumes of some splendid Eastern guard, or Roman senator's red-striped toga. The service now performed by these priests exceeded in the grotesqueness of the intonations in which it was chanted, any thing I ever heard, or could have surmised; and in spite of the most serious annoyance at experiencing such an effect from any worship, I found myself almost in convulsions of suppressed laughter, which I in vain endeavoured to control or conceal, and which painfully seized and shook me from head to foot at each renewal, after a pause, of these extraordinary sounds."—vol. i. p. 255, and following.

Such is Mrs. Butler's reverent account of a form of Christian worship. In her knowledge and appreciation of art, Mrs. Butler is scarcely more happy than in her theological observations. Her comments on the works of Cornelius and Overbeck afford us the best clue to the bent of her mind. The first has all the vagueness of Milton, the second all the catholicity of Dante. She, of course, prefers Cornelius. She informs us, that in the illustrations of the life of our Lord, by the latter,

"there was nothing sectarian, nothing especially revealing his own peculiar form of Christianity, nothing that was not the highest expression of the religion of Christ; not that of any particular body of his followers. It would have been impossible to tell, from contemplating these designs, to what denomination their author belonged, and equally impossible not to feel assured that he was a devout Christian."—vol. i. p. 185.

It is strange that the authoress, who says she prefers statuary to painting, makes no mention of the studios of Tenerani, Finelli, or Wolff, or of our own countrymen, Gibson, Wyatt, Theed, and so many others. In the studio of Tenerani she would have found a work of Christian statuary, in his "Descent from the Cross," which proves that painting and poetry, music and architecture, are not the only æsthetical media in which our faith may be symbolized.

Mrs. Butler's summer was spent at Frascati. The Pope died during her absence from Rome. She is in raptures with Pius IX., filling many pages with very amusing anecdotes about him; and all that she says respecting him is confirmatory of the public opinion he enjoys. We trust we have not been too severe in our animadversions upon this work: but, considering that the subject is so hackneyed, something more, either of *depth*, or of

humour, or of cleverness in sketching men and things, than Mrs. Butler has here shown, were requisite to make a book about a Year in Rome.

XVIII.—*Desultory Notes on the Government and People of China, and on the Chinese Language.* By THOMAS TAYLOR MEADOWS. London: Allen and Co.

IN the state of our present relations with the Chinese empire, a great desire has been felt to obtain a more perfect knowledge of the language; the difficulties of which, together with other causes, have much restricted our intercourse with that singular nation. Mr. Meadows's work will prove a valuable acquisition to the student. The author's situation of interpreter to the British consulate necessarily placed him in a favourable position for acquiring a practical knowledge of the peculiarities of the language.

The author particularly points out the difference between the *business style* and the *ancient style*;—the latter is peculiar for having a number of useless characters termed *hsü*, or *empty*, which are very difficult for the European to appreciate; while the former, from being terse and concise, offers to the student comparatively but few difficulties. It is easier of acquisition than the style *littéraire* or *wau ch'aug*; and in it all the statistical works are written, the penal and other codes, as well as all official addresses to the emperor. In note 3 will be found some useful observations on the difficulties which have to be encountered in learning to read and speak the Chinese; which, unlike the case with European languages, are literally distinct from each other.

Mr. Meadows complains of the great want of a good dictionary. Morrison's and Medhurst's, although valuable works for the period, he finds very deficient, and more especially because the pronunciation of the words is not given according to the Pekin colloquial, which, like London English, is the pure language of the empire. He recommends the student to abstain from acquiring more than one variety of the colloquial, that of the court being the most generally useful. The author's remarks upon the very peculiar attributes of the Chinese language, called *intonations*, or *shěng*, of which there are four, and which prove a most formidable stumbling-block to the European, are sufficiently interesting to be quoted from his own words:—

“The *shěng* are not produced by any alteration of the vowel-sound; for sounds which we can only write with one and the same vowel,—as,

for instance, a in faug, fau, u in chu,—are pronounced with all the different shěng; they are not formed by any modification of the consonants, for in words which contain no consonants at all, the shěng are perhaps most distinctly heard; neither do they consist in quickness or slowness, i. e. in a change of the duration of time taken to pronounce the words; and still less do they consist in loudness or lowness, i. e. that alteration which renders a sound audible at a distance, or only close at hand. The shěng are produced solely by the sinking, rising, or non-alteration of the sound, as it would stand in the gamut; i. e. supposing a word to be pitched at B, it will, with some of the shěng, rise higher in the scale, to C, D, or E; with others, it will maintain the B; and with others again, it will sink to A and G. It seems to me that the shěng give the words an *absolute* place in the gamut; i. e. that certain words, when properly pronounced, always commence with C, and rise gradually to E, and that, if pitched at B, and made to rise to D, they cease, to a Chinese ear, to be the words intended, and either become another word of the language, or no word at all. This is particularly perceptible in the Canton pronunciation of the provincial dialect; and if any one will listen to a coolie talking, he cannot fail to observe how the successive sounds take wide leaps up and down the gamut.”—pp. 59—61.

The following is an amusing instance of the ludicrous mistakes which may be made by not properly observing these puzzling shěng:—

“In making out a report to the superintendent of customs of the export cargo of a ship about to leave, I took the English manifest, and read aloud, in Chinese, the various articles, to a clerk, who was sitting by me with his writing implements. The last species of goods, of a very large cargo, happened to be ‘vitrified ware;’ this is called ‘tu<sup>3</sup> shau<sup>1</sup> leau<sup>4</sup>,’ in Chinese; I, however, gave a wrong intonation, and said, ‘tu<sup>1</sup> shau<sup>1</sup> leau<sup>3</sup>;’ whereupon the Chinese instantly lifted his hand from the paper, and looked at me with surprise, and only stared the more when I repeated the words; with great reason, too, for I was, in fact, deliberately and distinctly telling him, that the large and very valuable cargo I had just enumerated had been ‘all burnt up,’ such being the only meaning of the three words I uttered.”—p. 65.

Our space will not permit us to enter into the merits of Mr. Meadows’s plan for an improved orthography, adapted to the Pekin pronunciation of the colloquial Chinese; but it appears to us that his suggestions would much facilitate so difficult a matter. The author’s observations upon the best method of doing away with the general use of opium in China, merit attention. Both in a moral and political point of view, it is a subject of great importance. The coloured lithographs of Chinese costumes which accompany this volume, are beautiful specimens of the kind.

XIX.—*Journal of a Few Months' Residence in Portugal, and Glimpses of the South of Spain.* In 2 vols. London: Moxon.

Now-o-days, it is the fashion for many of our fair countrywomen to leave their English homes, and to rove about in different parts of the world, but without the slightest intention of writing a book—at least so they occasionally affirm in that sometimes necessary apology to the reading public, entitled the “Preface;” though, for the most part, the lively and brilliant scenes which our “lady travellers” so forcibly depict, render us indebted for many pleasant hours passed in perusing their works. The present volumes are modestly brought before the public in the form of notes, from a desultory journal prepared for the perusal of friends at home, and not intended to enter into competition with the numerous Guide and Hand-books which keep pace with the opening railways. The authoress’s main inducement, she tells us, is to remove many of the prejudices against the Portuguese people, and their beautiful country, and to induce other tourists to become familiar with a land replete with the most interesting historical recollections, and now as easy of access as the banks of the Rhine. The work before us is wanting in that brilliancy of description, which places the reader by the side of the tourist; but otherwise it appears to give a faithful description of the country and different objects of interest.

The illustration of the Magpie on the title-page, with the label in its beak, and the words “Por bem,” refers to one of the versions, as related by their guide, of the well-known anecdote of John the First chancing to meet one of the maids of honour in the great dining-room of the palace at Cintra, and presenting her with a rose, at the same time saluting her on the cheek. The queen unfortunately entered at the same moment at another door, and the king, in his confusion, could only say “Por bem, por bem,” meaning that he intended no harm. Her majesty, however, withdrew without saying a word, and revenged herself by having the ceiling of the room covered with magpies, each having a rose-branch in its claw, and the label in its beak, with the words on it that the king had uttered.

XX.—*Tales of Adventure by Sea and Land.* London: Burns.

DURING the last few years some very agreeable narratives have been received from our transatlantic neighbours, written by those who, from circumstances or choice, have voluntarily taken to the hardships of a sea-life, and that of the most arduous description, viz. before the mast. In reading these works, we have been

struck with the indomitable perseverance and energy which has enabled a young man to exchange the comforts of civilization, and to pass through so apparently hopeless a life.

The volume before us is an agreeable collection of "adventures," illustrating the perseverance and courage of different nations, and taken from the most authentic sources. The introductory chapter, chiefly compiled from an American work, will be read with interest; and the author's observations upon the utter neglect of the sailor by most owners and captains of merchant-vessels merit attention. No books of any kind are on board to relieve the monotony of a sea-life to those able to read them; but we trust, as the author remarks, that the period has arrived when wise and good men will commence the honourable work of improving the condition of the sailor both morally and physically; and this, not only at sea, but by providing him with some asylum ashore, where he may be saved from that dissipation and riot which very soon consume his hard-earned wages. Of course the foregoing remarks will be understood to apply to the American service, the case in our own navy being happily different.

XXI.—*Select Poetry, chiefly Sacred, of the Time of James the First: collected and edited by EDWARD FARR, Esq.* London: Parker.

THIS little volume forms an interesting addition to one already published—"Select Poetry of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth." In his preface Mr. Farr tells us, that, during his researches for his earlier work, he met with so many unknown writers of the reign of King James, whose poetical thoughts he conceived to be too beautiful to be lost to posterity, that he conceived he should be rendering a service by collecting and publishing them in their present form. Those who are at all familiar with the authors of sacred poetry of those times will find very many names totally unknown, but not less worthy of being remembered, as well for their poetic ideas as for the tone of pure devotional feeling which pervades them. Appended to the collection are some brief notices of those writers which the editor has selected. The following, by William Drummond, is one, amongst many others, which, did our space admit it, we should select as an interesting specimen of the poetry of by-gone times:—

" PROVIDENCE.

Of this fair volumne which wee World doe name,  
If we the sheetes and leaues could turne with care,  
Of him who it corrects, and did it frame,  
Wee cleare might read the art and wisdom rare;



Finde out his power which wildest pow'rs doth tame,  
 His providence extending euery where,  
 His iustice, which proud rebels doth not spare,  
 In euery page, no period of the same ;  
 But sillie wee, like foolish children, rest  
 Well pleased with coloured velumne, leaues of gold,  
 Faire dangling ribbones, leauing what is best,  
 Of the great writer's sense ne'er taking hold ;  
 Or if by chance we stay our mindes on ought,  
 It is some picture on the margine wrought."—p. 290.

XXII.—*A History of the French Revolution.* London: Burns.

A CLEAR and concise account of the principal facts which occurred during the French Revolution, from the rise of the Girondists to the fall of Robespierre, which forms the first part. To this is added the rise and fall of Napoleon, from the period when he assumed the command of the army by order of the Convention on the 13th Vendémiaire, to the close of his extraordinary career at St. Helena. This short work will form a useful introduction to the study of the more elaborate histories from which the present compiler has drawn his materials.

XXIII.—*The Birds of Jamaica.* By PHILIP HENRY GOSSE.  
 London: Van Voorst.

MR. GOSSE has already made himself so favourably known by his "Canadian Naturalist," that we were prepared to find the present volume an acceptable addition to other works upon ornithology; nor have our expectations been disappointed. It displays a close and accurate observation; and the information is conveyed in an easy and agreeable manner, and abounds in interesting anecdotes of the feathered tribe of that part of the world. We have hitherto known but little of the habits of the birds of Jamaica; and it appears that nearly two hundred are now ascertained to belong to that Fauna. The author's efforts to domesticate some of the exquisite species of humming-birds, with the view of bringing them to England, will be read with much interest. From their great delicacy, (reminding one of the transient life of many beautiful wild flowers, which upon being gathered fade and die before their tender colours can be transferred to the sketch-book,) all his attempts proved abortive; for though he succeeded so far as to inure them to the confinement of a room, directly they were transferred to a cage, they began to pine away, not so much from

the confinement (so Mr. Gosse suggests), as from their inability to supply themselves with flies, which form a large portion of their food; at least such appeared to be the case on examining the stomach of one or two of them after death, which in a healthy state is almost the size of a pea, and distended with insects, but had collapsed, and could with difficulty be distinguished, notwithstanding they frequently sipped the syrup which was placed in their cage. The following extract gives an interesting description of these "tropical gems" during the period they were suffered to go at large in the author's room:—

"In the autumn, however, they began to be numerous again on the mountain; and having on the 13th of November captured two young males" (of the species termed *Polytmus*) "sucking the pretty pink flowers of *Urena lobata*, I brought them home in a covered basket. The tail feathers of the one were undeveloped, those of the other half their full length. I did not cage them, but turned them out into the open room, in which the daily work of preparing specimens was carried on, having first secured the doors and windows. They were lively, but not wild; playful towards each other, and tame with respect to myself, sitting unrestrained for several seconds at a time on my finger. I collected a few flowers, and placed them in a vase on a high shelf; and to these they resorted immediately. But I soon found that they paid attention to none but *Asclepias curassavica*, and slightly to a large *Ipomea*. On this I went out and gathered a large bunch of *Asclepias*, and was pleased to observe that on the moment of my entering the room one flew to the nosegay and sucked while I held it in my hand. The other soon followed, and then both these lovely creatures were buzzing together within an inch of my face, probing the flowers so eagerly as to allow their bodies to be touched without alarm. These flowers being placed in another glass, they visited each bouquet in turn, now and then flying after each other playfully through the room, or alighting on various objects."

One of them struck itself while flying, and died.

"The other continued its vivacity: perceiving that he had exhausted the flowers, I prepared a tube made of the barrel of a goose-quill, which I inserted into the cork of a bottle to secure its steadiness and upright position, and filled with juice of sugar-cane. I then took a large *Ipomea*, and having cut off the bottom, I slipped the flower over the tube, so that the quill took the place of the nectary of the flower. The bird flew to it in a moment, clung to the bottle rim, and bringing his beak perpendicular, thrust it into the tube. It was at once evident that the repast was agreeable; for he continued pumping for several seconds, and on his flying off, I found the quill emptied. As he had torn off the flower in his eagerness for more, and even followed the fragments of the corolla, as they lay on the table, to search them, I

refilled the quill, and put a blossom of the marvel of Peru into it, so that the flower expanded over the top. The little toper found it again, and after drinking freely, withdrew his beak, but the blossom was adhering to it as a sheath. This incumbrance he presently got rid of, and then (which was most interesting to me) he returned immediately, and inserting his beak into the bare quill, finished its contents. He slept as they all do, with the head not behind the wing, but slightly drawn back on the shoulders. After some hours he fled through a door which I had incautiously left open, and darting through the window of the next room, escaped, to my no small chagrin."—pp. 114—116.

The peculiar and melodious notes of the Solitaire are described with much interest. At the first dawn of day these minstrels of the forest commence their anthems, for such is the term which may be applied to their sweet and lengthened notes, blending with those of their own species in solemn cadence. What a contrast to the crow, whose deep guttural tones resemble the intonations of some savage language—but each in their way examples of the beautiful and admirable design of the great Creator! We cannot dwell further upon the interesting matter contained in this volume, but must recommend it for general perusal. The notes by Mr. Hill, which continually occur, are replete with information.

XXIV.—*A Vision of Peace; or, Thoughts in Verse on the late Secessions from the English Church.* By WILLIAM JOHN EDGE, M.A., Rector of Waldringfield. London: Churton.

THE title of this poem at once explains its object. The tone throughout is so thoroughly Christian, the style so unaffected, that no one who can justly appreciate piety and humility will peruse the *Vision of Peace* without feeling his heart warm towards the author. The poetical merits of the work are considerable, and the allusions to Scripture very felicitous. As an example of the doctrine and style, we take the following passage, in which Mr. Edge speaks of the Communion of Saints:—

“ With joy we realize in thought  
 That we in very deed are brought  
 Into a holy brotherhood  
 With all things perfect, pure, and good ;  
 Joined by one Spirit and one Head  
 To angels and the righteous dead,  
 And every denizen of earth  
 To whom is given the second birth.  
 Like to a house by God’s own hands  
 Built with materials from all lands,

Of which the choicest and the best  
 In deep majestic silence rest.  
 As strong foundations low they lie  
 Beyond the ken of mortal eye ;  
 Firmly concreted into one  
 Upon a well-tried corner Stone !  
 No winds the topmost turret shake,  
 But those deep-laid foundations quake ;  
 No shock can e'en one stone befall,  
 But quick vibration runs through all.

“ Or like a tree whose strength is found  
 To lie in roots deep under ground ;  
 Severed from them its lofty head,  
 No more in countless boughs would spread ;  
 Sapless and sere, its arms would fly ]  
 The sport of each wind passing by ;  
 Its bare trunk rotting day by day,  
 By slow degrees would drop away ;  
 And the dissevered roots, denied  
 A channel for the rushing tide,  
 (Which in its quickening upward course  
 Was wont a vigorous life to force  
 Into the swelling budding wood,)  
 Are fain to die for loss of blood !  
 Close commerce must exist between  
 Visible branch and root unseen ;  
 The former on expanding leaves  
 The sparkling nut'rous dew receives ;  
 And through the pores, in gentle gales,  
 Th' 'impalpable, soft air' inhales ;  
 The latter, running deep and low,  
 In search of luscious food doth go ;  
 Which with ten thousand fibrous lips  
 Insatiably it ever sips.  
 Thence nourishment and strength ascend,  
 And with the downward juices blend,  
 Till bursting streams of liquid life  
 In every bow and twig are rife !  
 So saints on earth and saints at rest  
 With closest sympathy are blest ;  
 God's breath on us can never blow,  
 Nor showers of grace descend, but lo !  
 Through the bright sea of blissful souls  
 A wave of joy and glory rolls !  
 For branch and root like profit gain  
 From freshening breeze and genial rain.”—pp. 25—27.

## XXV.—MISCELLANEOUS PUBLICATIONS.

DR. HOOK has put forth a new edition, with notes and preface, of Dean Comber's *Advice to Roman Catholics in England*; and Mr. Bohn has reprinted Dr. Ockley's *History of the Saracens*, in his Standard Library. Among sermons, we ought to mention one on "*The only authorized Christian Ministry*," by Rev. W. H. Tyndall, F.S.S. (Seeley.) We really are surprised that any one can have the assurance at this time of day, to go on urging arguments which have been long since urged and refuted, *ad nauseam*. Mr. T. asks, after stating the theory of the Apostolical Succession,—since "miracles, the credentials of the Apostolic age, have long since ceased,—where shall be found the Father's recognition, where the recognition by the Son, where the recognition by the Holy Ghost, as his ambassadors, of the pope's cardinals, bishops, and other clergy, who have assumed the title of his representatives?" "*The Church's Confession of Sin*," by the Rev. W. E. Rawstone, is a Visitation Sermon, the import of which is not very happily designated by the title, but which nevertheless will well repay perusal. Without pledging ourselves to agree with every word, we have received higher gratification from this discourse, than from any which has come under our eyes for some time past. "*The Church, the teacher of Christ's little children*," by Bishop Doane, is a faithful address on an important topic. This reminds us of a Letter, addressed to Dr. Hook, by the Rev. J. Hamilton, having for its title, "*Can the Church accept the Government Plan of Education?*" (Rivingtons.) The spirit of the answer which Mr. Hamilton makes to this question may be readily understood, when we find him describing the Government Plan (and truly describing it, as we believe) as "a measure so extensive, that when carried out it will be equal to the necessities of the population; so liberal, that contending political parties may accept it without scruple; so guarded, that it shall provide sufficient security for religious teaching; so adapted to the Church, that it may be grafted upon her parochial system; yet sufficiently unfettered to leave Dissenters to the freedom of their religious principles; one, in short, which will recognize what is common to all religious men, and leave them ground to run an equal race for what is distinctive." As he says elsewhere, "It meets the voluntary system at its failing point, and gives it permanency and vigour. It is assistive, not supplantive; it is to aid and stimulate, not to repress." We recommend this Letter to the attention of all; together with an able pamphlet, full of statistical information, drawn up by

the Rev. W. J. E. Bennett, entitled "*Crime and Education*." On this most important subject we desire to direct attention to the "*English Journal of Education*;" the more we see of it, the better we like it: and the May number contains an useful abstract of a publication (for a copy of which we are indebted to Mr. Murray) which will be read with interest by all connected with our National Schools; we mean, "*The School, in its relation to the State, the Church, and the Congregation*;" being an explanation of the Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education.

A deputation, sent to several of our bishops, from those Scotch congregations of schismatics which use the Prayer-book, but disown the jurisdiction of "the Scottish Episcopal Church," has published a Report of their proceedings; 'in which—while all previous impeachments are repeated—the claims of the Scottish episcopate are attacked on novel ground. The Rev. Francis Garden (well-known already to the public) has, with his usual zeal, promptness, and ability, published a reply to this; entitled, "*A Vindication of the Scottish Episcopate, and those adhering thereto; . . . with some Remarks on Prevalent Schools among us*." He distributes his Vindication under the following heads:—I. Our Apostolical Succession. II. Our Constitution and Discipline. III. Our Doctrine. IV. The Actual State of the Question<sup>1</sup>. The "*New Church Quarterly Review*;" or, "*Philosophical Examiner*," No. II., has been sent to us. It is edited, we believe, by the Rev. Augustus Clissold: at all events, it appears to advocate the heresy of Swedenborg. We have also received a large parcel, containing the "*Calcutta Review*;" the "*Calcutta Christian Observer*;" and a volume of the "*Encyclopædia Bengalensis*,"—a series of works in English and Bengali, edited by the Rev. K. M. Banerjea. We hope these publications do good, in the lack of any thing better; they seem not to be destitute of ability, but (like, as we understand, all the religious publications of an ephemeral character in the Bengal presidency) they advocate (so, at least, it appears on a cursory inspection) very *low* views. The Calcutta Review affords a favourable specimen of the progress which type-founding has made in that portion of the empire. The best printed volume, however, which we have met with from an Indian press, is a very valuable, laborious, and much-needed work on the criminal law of the country, by Francis L. Beaufort, Esq., B.C.S.; under the following title: "*A Digest of the Criminal Law of the Presidency of Fort William, and Guide to all Criminal Authorities therein*."

<sup>1</sup> If this *Vindication* reach a second edition, we would beg Mr. Garden to supply a word, whose omission makes him appear to say the exact opposite to what he intends. P. 27, l. 35, "as at this moment they are, Papists;" it ought to be, "they are called, Papists."

The First Part only is published as yet, but the other will shortly make its appearance. From what we have seen of it, we conceive that it must form a *sine qua non* in the books for instruction in our college at Haileybury, at home, as well as in the library of every one actually serving, in a civil capacity, under the Honourable Company abroad.

Sharpe's Magazine and Burns's Anthems keep up the character they have established. The latter has reached the fourteenth number; twelve of which form Vol. I. From the same house we have received also a second series of halfpenny books.

Several books remain unnoticed; for which we ought to apologize to both authors and publishers: but they came to hand at so very late a period, that it was impossible to do them justice. They must therefore stand over till the next quarter.

## Foreign and Colonial Intelligence.

CANADA.—*Visitation of the Diocese of Quebec.*—The Journal of a Visitation, extending over a portion of the diocese of Quebec, held in 1846, by the Lord Bishop of Montreal, has been published by the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*, as No. 18 of the series entitled, “the Church in the Colonies.” In addition to the usual topics connected with the record of a Visitation, this journal contains a variety of interesting particulars respecting the state of the Church in that diocese. The difficulties which obstruct the progress of Church extension arise, it appears, chiefly from two causes; the pre-occupation of the ground by the Romish Church, and the opposition of the different sects. The cause of the former seems to have been much strengthened by the zealous exertions of the late Bishop of Nancy, M. de Forbin-Janson; who, having been superseded in his functions by a coadjutor after the Revolution of 1830, devoted himself to missionary labours, and among others visited Canada. Nevertheless, cases of conversion from the Romish Church occur from time to time; and a very interesting one is mentioned in the journal, of a respectable French Canadian, who was led to embrace the communion of the English Church by the study of an English Liturgy in French, which fell providentially into his hands, and who, of his own accord, insisted on making a public recantation on the occasion of the bishop's visit. In connexion with this case his lordship observes:—

“Wherever there is a door thus opened, I conceive that it is our duty to enter in, and I regard it as a call to us which, according to our ability, we are bound to answer; but the successive governors of the Church of England in Canada have been unadvisedly censured by some impatient spirits, not perhaps fully masters of their subject, for not having carried the war right and left, with colours flying and trumpets sounding, into the camp of the Roman Catholic population—a proceeding which, even if God had placed resources at command by which it could have been attempted, would, in the judgment of many persons, not wanting in zeal for the truth of God, have served rather to retard than advance the cause. But it is well known that with the utmost toil and watchfulness, and with the most strained efforts to eke out the means at their disposal, in order to cover our own proper ground, those who have been charged with the interests of the Church of England in this country have not been able to accomplish *this* point; and often have had anxiety and work enough to keep the ill-provided and dispersed members of that Church in different places, from being ensnared by the enticements of Rome, and absorbed in the mass of her followers.



And I think that it has not been sufficiently considered by some parties, that the effectual planting of the Church of England, and the exhibition of that Church under a favourable aspect in the sober decencies of her ritual and her well-ordered services, and, above all, in the fruits of scriptural religion, shown in the temper, the dealings, the principles, the habits, the whole character and conduct of her faithful and consistent members, constitute a recommendation of their belief which cannot and does not fail of its effect upon the Roman Catholic mind, and not only form a barrier against the encroachments of Rome, but silently and indirectly do more towards operating a change of religious sentiments in her disciples, than some of the zealous efforts which have been used for making inroads among them. Certain it is, that in proportion as it pleases God that we prosper among ourselves, and gather in one stray sheep, who in many parts of the country carry, as it were, no owner's mark, we weaken the cause of Rome,—since there is no one thing which holds the Romanist so fast to his religion as the contemplation of those most unhappy distractions, and those most humiliating errors and excesses which it would be too easy for me to indicate among the Protestants in some portions of the land."

To these distractions the Bishop is in other parts of his Journal repeatedly led to advert, in consequence of the efforts made in different parts by dissenters to oppose the establishment or extension of Church missions. It is a painful fact, but one which ought to be recorded, that the activity of dissenters is chiefly directed upon those points where the Church is labouring efficiently to plant the Gospel, while in other parts, where the Church has taken the field but feebly, they show little or no interest in the missionary work. In illustration of this, two cases are mentioned in the Journal, of meeting-houses unappropriated to the use of any particular body of Christians, in which the Bishop performed Divine service. One of these is at Russell-town Flats; of which "at present," his lordship says, "we have the benefit; and there are not wanting examples in the diocese, of buildings put up in this kind of way, which have passed ultimately into our hands." The other instance occurred at a small village at the outlet of Lake Memphragog, where "there is a small place of worship, with a steeple, which might be taken for the church of the village; but it is assigned over to no religious body whatever, and is at present served only by a coloured man, a Baptist by profession, who comes from a distance to preach in it once in four weeks, exciting, from all that I could learn, very little interest, in any shape, upon the subject of religion. The building is much out of repair. Had the government of Christian Britain done its duty before God for its transatlantic subjects, or even kept its pledges to the Church, there might, by the Divine blessing, have been formed here, and in many other unprovided spots where religion is running to waste, a company of united faithful worshippers, *walking in the commandments and ordinances blameless.*"

While the ground is thus abandoned by dissenters in places which

they had pre-occupied, in other places the Bishop has to complain of the "opposition immediately set on foot when the Church plants her banner with good auguries of success, and displaying itself in forced measures for the erection of a rival place of worship, and, in the present instance (at Sutton Flats) by a coalition, for this object, of two sects, holding utterly irreconcilable opinions. We may well deplore whatever faults in the Church at large may originally have tended to the production or multiplication of dissent; but here, and in other instances among us, too marked to be mistaken, it is precisely the zeal of the Church, and the promise of her efficiency, which have provoked competition, and prompted the obstruction of her work—and this without any possible plea of arrogant or aggressive proceeding on her part." Another, and still more grievous case of this kind is noticed in the Journal, at the missionary station of Melbourne. There the house of the missionary "stands upon a line and in close proximity with a row of meeting-houses, belonging to different denominations, of whom, within the limits of his whole mission, there are eleven varieties—fostered, unfortunately, in some quarters, by an influence and by resources which might be turned to account in a manner more consonant with the real advancement and hopeful stability of gospel truth. And," the Bishop adds, "there are persons among ourselves who actually persuade their own minds that this is the Christian Church in its legitimate aspect, and that the multiplication of these separately organized bodies, one after another, upon new grounds taken for holding an independent existence, involves neither breach of spiritual unity nor mutual imputation of serious error! Christ may be divided *ad libitum*: one may be of Paul, another of Cephas, another of Apollos, and so on *ad infinitum*—but this is not schism; the spirit of schism is rather seen in the disapproval of it, which is presumed to carry a feeling of unchristian ill-will toward those who differ from us!—There are, however, characteristics attaching, in some particular instances, to the divisions here immediately in view, which no sober and well-principled mind could complacently regard."

In the course of his visitation the Bishop inspected the college of Lennoxville, near Sherbrook, and M'Gill College, at Montreal. At the former an examination of the students, the result of which was highly satisfactory, took place on the occasion of the Bishop's visit. With regard to M'Gill College, his lordship was engaged for two days in conference with the other governors, with a view to the adjustment of its affairs, under the circumstances detailed in the following statement:—

"There has been what is often called a *fatality* attending this institution—the bequest of the founder having been for about twenty years in litigation, and difficulties without end having since arisen to impede its prosperity. It is not yet settled how far the claim of the Church of England to give it the character of an episcopal institution can be asserted, or I should rather say, perhaps, how far it can be maintained. Its affairs, however, apart from this question, appear to be, at last, in better train; but it is still weighed down by great embarrassments. It has, thus far, been chiefly efficient as a school of medicine. The build-

ings are partially completed, and are upon a handsome scale, and in a noble situation, overlooking the city, and screened in the rear by the abrupt and wooded rise of the mountain which gives name to it,—the *royal mountain*. The delays, discouragements, and doubts which have obstructed the advancement and clouded the prospects of this college, have been especially of a nature to forbid the idea of making it available as a nursery for the Church in the diocese; and it is to the College at Lennoxville, which by the charter is under the complete control of the Bishop, that we must look for this object. Perhaps, also, the situation of Lennoxville is better suited to a course of preparation for the ministry than the city of Montreal—a gay, wealthy, bustling, busy place, with a large garrison within its limits. Lennoxville, at present, is almost too obscure and backward a retreat; but the scene, and probably at no distant day, will be much changed. The railroad which is to connect Montreal with Portland in the State of Maine, and so with the Atlantic, and which is now [October] proceeding, will pass directly through it, and is expected to give a great impulse to the whole of the eastern townships.

“If M’Gill College should hereafter be so far under the direction of the Church of England, as to make it a proper seminary for a race of clergy in the country, it will then serve for, what it must be hoped will before any great length of time be, the diocese of Montreal; and Bishop’s College will still be the reliance for that of Quebec.”

With regard to popular education, the Bishop states that there is a provincial statute, entitled “The Elementary Act,” which provides for the establishment of schools in the country missions, but on condition that wherever a minority are dissatisfied, on account of the mixture of creeds, with the principal school of the locality, they shall be entitled to claim support for a school of their own, if they have a specified number of scholars of a proper age to send to it. In its practical working, however, this act is found too complicated and difficult of application, the consequence of which is, that many of the settlements are but badly provided with means of education. Some efforts, of which the Bishop speaks in terms of commendation, appear to have been made by the British and North American School Society, to alleviate the wants of the people of Lower Canada in this respect.

The Church statistics of the diocese, given by his lordship, are as follows:—There are in all 102 churches and other buildings exclusively appropriated to the performance of the Church service, of which 27 are of stone, 11 of brick, 64 of wood; 12 are only in progress, 13 in an unfinished state, but used for Divine service, and “a good many others are imperfectly finished, and deficient in appendages which ought to be found in the churches of the English Establishment.” Of these 102 churches, 43 have been assisted within the last ten years by the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*, and 29 by the *Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge*. To 23 of them there are parsonage-houses annexed, 7 of which have more or less glebe-land attached to them; both the houses and the glebe having been provided mainly by the instrumen-

talities of the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*. The number of missionary stations at which service is regularly performed, either in consecrated or in unconsecrated buildings, is 220, exclusively of the places which are only occasionally visited by travelling missionaries. The number of clergymen holding charge in the diocese is 73, of whom 52 are missionaries of the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*. The total extent of ground to be gone over by the Bishop in order to a complete visitation of the diocese is 4000 miles, of which about one-half was accomplished by his lordship in different journeys during the year 1846; and in the course of these journeys nine churches and four burial-grounds were consecrated, and the rite of confirmation administered, in 54 places, to 1570 persons.

On a review of the whole of his journey, the Bishop speaks of it as "replete with grounds of thankfulness," yet "shaded also with many saddening thoughts. There must always be a mixture of vexations, discouragements, and difficulties in carrying on the work of the Gospel in the world; and there are here local causes of depression peculiar in their kind. The Church, associated in the minds of men with the crown and empire of Britain, originally encouraged to believe that she should occupy her appropriate footing in the land, and command resources adequate to her task, and invested with a character which often creates expectations to which she would be but too happy to be able to respond, is, taken as a whole, a poor and struggling Church, straining herself to meet, in an imperfect manner, the wants of her widely-dispersed members, and standing in humiliating juxtaposition with the powerful and prosperous establishment of the Church of Rome. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, with much help also from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, has been, humanly speaking, our hope and stay. We bless God, who raised up such friends; and we learn that it is better to trust in HIM than to put any confidence in princes."

We cannot, in the interest of his diocese, and of the Colonial Church generally, do better, in conclusion, than transcribe the Bishop's appeal to the sympathies of the Church at home:—

"The establishments of the Church," he says, "in this diocese are upon a very humble scale; but I feel more and more, what I have often expressed to the Society, the vast importance of the foundation now to be laid, and the need of faith, in order to look, with such powers as my own and such resources as lie at my command, for any effects at all commensurate with the demand. I am also led to reflect more and more every day upon the incalculable blessings which, by the providence of God, have been procured to the Protestant inhabitants of all these colonies, by means of the Society's operations; and if there be persons in England who hold back their hands from the support of the Society under the idea that it is not an effectual instrument in promoting the cause of the Gospel, I fervently pray God that their minds may be disabused. Those have much to answer for who, from defect of information, (since that is the most charitable construction to put upon their proceeding,) propagate or adopt such a notion: it is very easy for 'gen-

men of England, who live at home at ease,' to pass a sweeping judgment upon poor soldiers of Jesus Christ, who are enduring hardships in the obscurity of Canadian woods. These, however, stand or fall to their own Master; but if the means of the Society (which God avert!) should be really impaired by such representations, many sheep will be left without a shepherd, many souls will have to charge upon unkind brethren in the land of their fathers their spiritual destitution and advancing debasement."

FRANCE.—*Receipts and Expenditure of the Propaganda.*—The following is an abstract of the receipts and expenditure, for the year 1846, of the French Propaganda, taken from the official records in the *Ami de la Religion* :—

*Receipts, from the following countries :*

	Francs.	Cents.
France (including her colonies) . . . . .	2,054,535	14
Pontifical States . . . . .	102,373	37
Other Italian States . . . . .	490,668	91
Great Britain and Ireland . . . . .	204,652	62
The Island of Malta . . . . .	12,390	—
The Ionian Islands . . . . .	1,028	55
North America (including British possessions)	84,047	13
Prussia . . . . .	203,677	47
The rest of Germany . . . . .	55,453	64
Belgium . . . . .	174,376	86
Holland . . . . .	93,336	90
Switzerland . . . . .	37,853	83
Portugal . . . . .	24,595	—
Spain . . . . .	21,507	16
Greece . . . . .	1,602	40
North of Europe . . . . .	371	84
The Levant . . . . .	3,407	1
South America . . . . .	9,897	45
Total . . . . .	3,575,775	28

*Expenditure, for*

	Francs.	Cents.
Missions in Europe . . . . .	643,816	—
"    Asia . . . . .	1,099,324	35
"    Africa . . . . .	367,732	—
"    America . . . . .	1,018,507	32
"    Oceania . . . . .	486,660	65
Printing Expenses . . . . .	224,943	45
Expenses of administration . . . . .	41,290	16
Total . . . . .	3,882,273	93

*False Miracles of the Romish Church.*—The controverted story of the miraculous appearance of the Virgin to some children in the diocese of Grenoble<sup>1</sup> has given rise to a momentary bout between the *Ami de la Religion* and the *Constitutionnel*, and to an explanation from the Bishop of Gap; which afford curious samples of the effrontery with which the Romish Church at one and the same moment vends her miraculous tales to the credulous multitudes, and disavows them in quarters where they may prove inconvenient. It appears that the notice of some contributor or correspondent of the *Constitutionnel* was attracted by a placard affixed to the portal of one of the Paris churches, of which the following is a literal translation:—"Appearance of the most Holy Virgin to two shepherd boys; on the mountain of Salette, canton of Corps, diocese of Grenoble. Miraculous healing of a woman who had been sick 23 years; accompanied by the letters of the Lord Bishop of Gap and the Abbé Chabrand, Grand Vicar, &c. &c., respecting these miracles; with fine engravings, representing, 1, the appearance; 2, the healing; 3, the blessing of the fruits of the earth. With a prayer by the Lord Archbishop of Paris."

The *Constitutionnel*, in its honest ignorance, conceived that a placard of this nature, affixed, in the diocese of Paris, to a church-door, (to which, of course, nothing can be affixed without the consent of the ecclesiastical authorities,) was proof positive of the countenance given by the Romish priesthood in France, and more particularly by the Bishop of Gap and the Archbishop of Paris, to the miraculous tale in question. Labouring under this impression, and thinking it desirable, at a moment when the Romish priesthood are clamouring, under the name of *liberté d'enseignement*, for an uncontrolled licence to make education subservient to the designs of Romanism, that the public should be made aware of the sort of knowledge likely to be inculcated in schools under the exclusive control of the Romish priesthood, the *Constitutionnel* transcribed the placard, and subjoined to it the following pithy note:—"The whole affair, approved by the prelate, is distributed at the door of the church of Saint-Merry. The woman who sells holy-water jars and rosaries has charge of the sale. We have been asked whether it would not be desirable to have a copy of this edifying production sent to each of the deputies, along with the draft of the proposed law on public instruction which has been announced. Indeed, we think it ought to be known what one has to expect from the men who demand with so much ardour 'freedom of instruction.'"

The *Constitutionnel* thought it had caught Rome tripping; but it was mistaken. In the face of this public sale of the publication, under circumstances calculated to lead not only the ignorant multitude, but the very editor of the *Constitutionnel* himself, to suppose that it had the sanction of the episcopate, the *Ami de la Religion* replies in the most contemptuous tone:—"We shall not ask this vigilant and sensitive defender of the faith, if he is quite sure that the Archbishop of Paris

<sup>1</sup> See our last Number, pp. 219, 220.

has approved this publication. But we should be very much obliged to him if he would tell us what the '*liberté d'enseignement*' has to do with the *petty industry* (*la petite industrie*) of a dealer in holy-water jars, or the draft of a proposed law on secondary instruction with the placard of an image manufacturer, or Catholic teaching with the accounts of some extraordinary facts on which the ecclesiastical authority has not yet pronounced an opinion? Surely the *Constitutionnel* must be reduced to a great dearth of objections, when it has nothing but such paltry stories (*de pareilles pauvretés*) to produce before the Chamber, against the clergy and those men who demand the fulfilment of a promise of the charter."

But this was not sufficient; there remained still the letters of the Bishop of Gap and his grand vicaire, which it seems were not forgeries. The responsibility of these was to be got rid of; and the prelate, having been applied to, no doubt, on the subject, furnished the *Ami de la Religion* with the following letter for insertion :

"Sir,

Gap, April 20, 1847.

"Since report has made known far and wide the fact of the appearance of the Holy Virgin to two shepherds on Mount Salette, diocese of Grenoble, on the confines of the diocese of Gap, letters have reached me by the thousand<sup>2</sup>, asking me for a detailed account of those events.

"The wise and prudent conduct of the Lord Bishop of Grenoble imposed upon myself, also, a great reserve. I have, therefore, answered only two or three, confining myself to a recital of the reports that were current; and even that I did only in confidence. Indeed, it is easy to understand that the simple narrative of even an important fact may be written confidentially by a bishop as a private individual, without any consequence being attached to it; but that such a communication changes its nature, and assumes an importance which it was not destined to have, when it is given to the public with the name and quality of the author.

"As BISHOP I HAVE HAD NO INTENTION OF GIVING ANY AUTHENTICITY TO WHAT MAY HAVE TAKEN PLACE AT SALETTE; AS A PRIVATE INDIVIDUAL, I HAVE A RIGHT TO ENTERTAIN MY OWN OPINION, and like every other Catholic I await the judgment of the Church, to which to submit my faith.

"I make the same declaration in the name of M. Chabrand, my grand vicaire, in reference to a letter written to one of his friends, which the person to whom it was addressed has *strangely abused, by causing it to be inserted in a pamphlet exposed for public sale.*

"I beg of you to insert this my letter into your journal; and have the honour to be, &c.  
+ IRENEUS, Bishop of Gap."

Upon this declaration it must be confessed that it is impossible to fix the bishop either with the affirmative or with the negative, in answer to the two questions involved; viz. 1. Whether the Bishop of Gap believes that the Virgin appeared to the two shepherd boys? 2. Whether

<sup>2</sup> We should like to see a return from the Post-office at Gap, on this subject.

the Bishop of Gap has stated the alleged appearance of the Virgin to the two shepherd boys as a fact. To both these questions the bishop coolly replies, "Yes, or no, as the case may be."

GERMANY.—*The Prussian Edict of Toleration.*—The measure of toleration which had been announced<sup>3</sup>, as the necessary result of the spread of nonconformity, both among the Roman Catholics and among the Protestants of Prussia, has since appeared, consisting of an edict, promulgated to the whole country, and a royal mandate, addressed to the ministry, which explains the edict and gives directions how its provisions are to be applied. The edict itself runs thus :

"We, Frederic William, by the grace of God King of Prussia, &c. &c., hereby do declare and make known as follows: Annexed we publish an abstract of the rules contained in the general law of the land, touching the freedom of religious belief and worship, which has been handed to us by our minister of state, and at the same time we feel ourselves called upon hereby to declare, 1. That it is our determination, henceforward as heretofore, to give our most efficient sovereign protection to the two churches, which as a matter of fact are enjoying, and by public treaties are entitled to enjoy, certain privileges; viz., the Evangelic and the Roman Catholic Churches, and to maintain them in the possession of their peculiar rights; 2. That it is no less our unalterable will, to maintain our subjects in the undisturbed enjoyment of the liberty of faith and conscience, provided for in the general law of the land; and moreover, as far as it can be done consistently with the provisions of the general law of the land, to grant to them the liberty of uniting in a common confession and worship. Those, therefore, who are unable to reconcile their consciences to continued agreement in the faith and confession of their Church, and who in consequence of this their inability, unite together in a separate religious community, or join one already existing, are not only at perfect liberty to withdraw from the communion of their Church, but in the event of such community having obtained the sanction of the state, they continue to enjoy their civil rights and dignities; subject, however, to §§ 5, 6, 27—31, and 112, tit. 11, p. 2, of the general law of the land<sup>4</sup>; while, on the other hand, they have no further claim to share in the constitutional privileges of the Church from which they have withdrawn. If any new religious community shall, in respect of doctrine and confession, be in substantial agreement with one or other of the religious bodies professing the Christian faith, which are recognized in Germany by the peace of West-

<sup>3</sup> See our last Number, p. 235.

<sup>4</sup> The passages here cited provide that religious dissent exempts from the ordinary consequences of non-compliance with the regulations of the state, only so far as exemption has been expressly granted to a particular dissenting community; and that individuals refusing to comply, on the allegation of conscientious scruples, must submit to those consequences.



phalia, and if within such community an ecclesiastical ministry shall have been organized, the community shall obtain, at the same time with the sanction of the state, the right of performing, with full legal validity, such functions appertaining by law to the ministerial office, as establish or determine the civil *status* in all those provinces, in which the general law of the land, or the common law of Germany, is in force. How far in addition to this, particular and specific privileges are to be granted to any new religious community of this kind, is a point which we reserve for our consideration, according to the circumstances of each case. In all other cases, in which new religious communities may, according to the principles of the general law of the land, be entitled to solicit the sanction of the state, the persons employed by them in the celebration of their religious worship shall not be authorized to perform with legal validity any of the functions before mentioned, having reference to the civil *status*. In such cases, the civil *status* connected with the said functions, is to be secured by a declaration before the civil magistrate, in conformity with the rules specified in an ordinance published by us this day on this subject; at the same time the parties shall be at liberty to have the said functions performed with full legal validity by a clergyman of one of the publicly-recognized Christian Churches, if a clergyman willing to perform them can be found. The recent movements in the Church having induced us to declare in a general way our principles respecting the toleration and formation of new religious communities, we reserve to ourselves the completion, hereafter, of the rules of the general law of the land contained in the annexed abstract, by such special legislative provisions as occasion may require, and the experience of the practical working of those principles may suggest. Given under our hand and seal, Berlin, March 30, 1847.

“FREDERIC WILLIAM.”

To this edict the following instruction to the Ministry of State was appended by way of “rider:”—

“Having, in a public edict of this day, respecting the formation of religious communities, expressly guaranteed to those who shall leave their own Church, and assist in forming, or else join, a separate religious community, the continued enjoyment of their civil rights and dignities, only on condition that their community shall have the sanction of the state, I desire the ministry, with a view to avoid possible misapprehension, to take notice, that the provision aforesaid is not to be construed as if entrance into a religious community, which has not yet obtained the sanction of the state, involved, as a matter of course, the forfeiture of those rights and privileges. Such a construction would be wholly at variance with my intention. In particular I desire it to be understood, that no military or civil officer is to suffer any diminution of the privileges attached to his office merely on the ground of his having separated himself from his Church, and joined a religious community not yet sanctioned by the state, unless the tenure of the office itself should, as in the case of schoolmasters, &c., be dependent

on a particular confession. I leave it to the heads of the different departments to instruct the respective authorities accordingly.

“*Berlin, March 30, 1847.*”

“*FREDERIC WILLIAM.*”

The abstract of the general law of the land, “*Allgemeines Landrecht*,” to which the edict refers in the preamble, is a summary of the provisions already in force, touching the liberty of conscience, which in the edict are more fully developed and applied to the special circumstances of the recent religious movements. Among those provisions is one which defines the limits beyond which toleration is not to be carried, viz. that no one shall be permitted to promulgate religious principles at variance with reverence towards God, obedience to the laws, fidelity to the state, and with the general rules of morality. A royal ordinance, also referred to in the edict, is added, which regulates the mode of contracting marriage before the civil magistrate, and provides for the civil registration of marriages so contracted, as well as of births and deaths occurring among the Separatists.

*Official recognition of the distinction between teaching and holding in the Evangelic Church.*—Two documents have just found their way into the public prints which we transcribe with the utmost pain, because they not only afford a most extraordinary confirmation of the already well-known fact of the prevalence of rationalism in the Protestant Church of Germany, but at the same time furnish a most alarming illustration of the firm footing which a principle, at once the most destructive of all true religion, and singularly characteristic of the present age—the principle of equivocation and practical untruth in matters of faith and doctrine—is gaining every where; so much so, that in the present instance it has extorted a formal recognition at the hands of the highest authority. The first of the documents in question is a petition, or rather remonstrance, addressed to the King of Prussia by Pastor Uhlich, who, since the deposition of Wislicenus, is the leader of that portion of the “friends of light,” which still continues in outward communion with the Church; and who, since his appointment by election to the Church of St. Catherine, at Magdeburg, has variously come into collision with the ecclesiastical authorities, both on account of his liturgical irregularities, chiefly the omission or mutilation of the Creed, and on account of the doctrinal views broached by him in the pulpit, of which his sermon on Easter-day may serve as a specimen, when he explained away at once the death and the resurrection of our Blessed Lord, stating it as the result of his careful examination of the subject, that He was only in a state of asphyxia, from which the aromatic odour of the spices and the coolness of the sepulchre restored him. Finding himself for these very sufficient causes hard-pressed by the Consistory, and being no way inclined to throw himself, like Wislicenus and Rupp, on the voluntary principle for his support, he addressed the king himself, as follows:—

“My King and my Lord,                      “*Magdeburg, April 16, 1847.*”

“The purpose for which I approach your Majesty, is to solicit Christian forbearance and patience; and I know that I do so in accordance

with the wishes of many thousand hearts. Your Majesty sees in the Evangelic Church of your kingdom an institution based unalterably upon the confession of faith of the Reformers. Your Majesty is therefore disposed to view the conduct of clergymen who can no longer adopt that confession for their own, and who discharge their ministry in accordance with this persuasion, as unfaithfulness and rebellion against the ordinance of God and man. Your Majesty's consistory proceeds accordingly; consequently my position, in regard to that authority, has become such, that I may be tolerated in my office to-day, but to-morrow perhaps may be in danger of being cast out from it. Here then it is that I ask for forbearance and patience.

*"I have been educated for the ministry in the Royal University of Halle by rationalists; I have been instituted to my ecclesiastical offices under a clear knowledge of the view which I take of Christianity, and which I have always openly declared; for twenty-three years I have laboured in the ministry not without profit, and neither my experience nor my studies have led me to abandon my rationalism. Many clergymen are in the same case with myself; many thousands of your Majesty's subjects share our view of Christianity; and our life may testify whether on that account we are worse subjects.*

"We may be mistaken, and your Majesty may be right in wishing rationalism to vanish before the faith of the Reformers. Rationalism will certainly succumb and vanish if it is really hostile to Christianity. But the Gospel furnishes but one weapon for its conflicts, the sword of the Spirit; that is, demonstration, conviction by argument; its sharp edge is directed against one class of men only, against hypocrites.

*"We, the rationalistic clergy, find ourselves in the heart of the Evangelic Church; we have not crept in surreptitiously, but have been called in by the constituted authorities; nor can we to this day arrive at the conclusion that we are not, with our rationalism, her legally qualified servants. Is it, then, not hard that we should be oppressed and threatened by our superior authority, and thereby driven to the evil alternative of either playing the hypocrite or else renouncing our sphere of usefulness contrary to our conviction? Are not those among us who, in spite of all the threatening indications, have still remained what they were before, after all more profitable servants of the Church and the state, than those who find it easy to alter their convictions according to circumstances? What is the use of confession, where faith, and therefore honesty of purpose and faithfulness, are wanting?"*

"Most humbly do I supplicate your Majesty, to lay your commands upon the authorities acting in your name, that they may desist from the course in which they are engaged, and to have patience with us. Are we not your subjects? Cause us to see in the king whom God has set over us, our fatherly protector. Assuredly the Evangelic Church cannot be endangered by such forbearance. If we are in error, our voice will be drowned by the force of truth; we shall either be brought to a better mind, or die out, and orthodoxy will achieve a slow victory it is true, but a victory in accordance with the rules of Christian

warfare. That voice which was singular of old in the Council of Jerusalem, has surely a right to be heard in the councils of Christian rulers, the voice of Gamaliel: 'If this counsel or this work be of men, it will come to nought; but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it; lest haply ye be found even to fight against God.' With the most profound submission, I remain your Majesty's faithful subject,

"PASTOR UHLICH."

In reply to this petition Pastor Uhlich received a communication from the Minister of Worship, which is but an echo of the royal rescript addressed to the minister on the subject. A copy of this document was enclosed in the ministerial communication; and as it contains a most important exposition of the principles on which the Evangelic Church is governed, we subjoin a translation of it:—

"I transmit you herewith an address of Pastor Uhlich at Magdeburg, to which you are to reply, communicating to him the present order. Uhlich calls himself a rationalist. *I know that there are many rationalists among the clergy of the Evangelic Church, and among them men worthy of all honour.* The ecclesiastical authority leaves them unmolested, because their religious view enables them to preserve obedience to the ordinances of the Church without stepping forward as the open opponents both of the Church and of her doctrine: as regards *individual conviction, the ecclesiastical authority knows of no inquisition; but it is in duty bound to take measures against those teachers of the Church who assume an attitude hostile to her confession in their writings and their sermons, in common prayer or administration of the sacraments, or, lastly, in popular addresses in which they step beyond the limits of their calling; and Pastor Uhlich has placed himself for a long time past in the front ranks of the agitators.*

"Since Uhlich appeals to his conscience, his conscience ought to have informed him that it is no less inconsistent with a good conscience to abuse the name and authority of a servant of the Evangelic Church, for the purpose of endeavouring to trouble that Church and to undermine the faith of her members. He is quite free to continue the servant of his own doctrine if he cannot agree with the doctrine of the Evangelic Church, but not in the capacity of a teacher of that Church which has another confession of faith than his, a confession which she does not intend to abandon, and in which it is my duty to protect her.

"My edict of the 30th of March of this year has opened for every man, whom his conscience will not permit to establish his congregation in the confession of the Church, a way of escaping from this conflict without falling into the other inconsistency mentioned by Uhlich.

"It rests therefore with Pastor Uhlich to decide whether he will choose this way, or *whether he will, like the multitude of rationalistic clergymen, accommodate himself, peaceably and without attempts at agitation, to the ordinances of the Church and the requirements of the office of which he bears the name. In either case he will be perfectly secure from all molestation.* Berlin, April 30, 1847.

"FREDERIC WILLIAM."

"To the Minister of State Eichhorn."

INDIA.—*Tinnevelly Missions.*—We are happy to find from the third report of the Rev. G. U. Pope, published by the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*, in No. 16 of the series entitled “Missions to the Heathen,” that the important mission of Sawyerpooram has been subdivided, and the northern part of it committed to the charge of a second missionary in August last. The remaining district of Sawyerpooram, to which Mr. Pope’s report refers, extends over a space of about sixteen square miles, and comprises fifteen villages. The following is a statistical summary of the mission, exclusive of the students of the missionary institution and the English members of the congregation, up to the close of the year 1846:—Number of baptized Christians, 205; confirmed, 86; communicants, 54; catechumens, 196; baptisms during the year, 24; scholars in the adult Sunday-school, men, 59; women, 26; children of Christian parents receiving instruction in the day-school, boys, 53; girls, 34.

Mr. Pope states that a large number of people within a few miles of his station, after placing themselves for a time under Christian instruction, have again withdrawn, alleging as their reason the objection they feel to some of the regulations of the mission which require the attendance at the mission school of all, and especially the female children of adult catechumens, and that of the young men at the adult Sunday-school; and which prohibit intermarriages between Christians and heathen. While Mr. Pope expresses a hope that the prejudices against the mission arising from these causes will ere long be dispelled, he does not consider this diminution of the numbers under instruction as a ground for discouragement. “Comparatively small,” he says, “as is the number of people now in connexion with this mission, I can scarcely express a wish for its increase until I have a larger number of suitable native assistants. Without these a great deal must be left undone. A good native assistant is invaluable. European agency can never entirely, I feel persuaded, supersede native agency in the Indian Church. As the directing and impelling power, the European clergyman is most essential, but a good body of native agents,—if in holy orders so much the better, but if not, as laymen,—is always necessary.

“Meanwhile, the mischiefs resulting from the employment of young, partially instructed, and undisciplined men, as teachers of Christianity amongst a people but little acquainted with its spirit, are apparent to every one; and I feel determined not in any case to receive or retain a congregation whose connexion with me would involve the necessity of employing such an agency. In this particular, I believe that a little well done is far better than a great deal partially or ill done. Had I really well-educated and trustworthy catechists, I could, I am persuaded, readily treble my numbers in a very short time. To the training up of such agents I am, therefore, directing very much of my attention. Without this, our success can be but hollow and temporary.”

While the want of a sufficiently numerous native agency thus retards the progress of the Gospel, there are other circumstances of a most encouraging nature mentioned by Mr. Pope. These are, the exemplary regularity of the people in their attendance on public worship; the

decrease of caste feeling; the increasing desire of the people to learn to read, and to obtain copies of the Holy Scriptures, of Prayer-books, and other printed books; their willingness to contribute to the funds established among them for Church purposes; their increasing willingness to send their children to school, and the value which they begin to set upon education; and the great increase of correct moral feeling, not only among the Christians themselves, but even among the surrounding heathen.

In his report of the operations of the mission agents, Mr. Pope dwells on the fact of his confining his catechists to their own legitimate work of teaching the people lessons, and preparing them for baptism under the close supervision of the clergyman himself; a fact which, he says, he mentions particularly, in order to obviate the idea entertained by some that the catechists are in fact ministers in all but ordination and the name. The mission schools are few in number, owing to the want of persons qualified both by their education and their character to take charge of them; the existing schools, however, are in a satisfactory condition. The two local Societies, a native Church Building Society, and a native Gospel Society, are receiving increased support from the native population.

*Barripûr Mission.*—An interesting history of this Mission has just been published by the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*, in No. 15 of the series entitled "Missions to the Heathen." The Barripûr Mission, situated sixteen miles south of Calcutta, in a district scarcely ever visited by Europeans, is one of the first-fruits of Bishop's College. In the year 1829, the Society's Missionary at Tallygunge was applied to by some native Christians in the village of Sulkea, to undertake the spiritual charge of that district, where the reign of Hindooism had never before been disturbed. From that time the Barripûr district was attended to, principally by the Missionary and Catechist resident at Tallygunge, until the year 1835, when the district was placed under the permanent charge of the Rev. C. E. Driberg, whose narrative, bringing the history of the Mission down to the year 1845, is now lying before us. As regards the physical aspect of the country in which this Mission has been established, the preface prefixed to the narrative observes, that "to do full justice to the self-denying labours of the Society's Missionaries in this district, it must be remembered that it lies amidst a most unwholesome and swampy country, shut out from European society; and that for full one-half of the year the various villages can only be reached in 'saltees,' or hollowed trunks of trees, punted across the flooded fields, and that under the burning heat of a tropical sun. One of the most distant villages, that of Narkoldunga, is described as peculiarly unhealthy, and much infested with tigers. The land is so impregnated with salt, that the people in the hot season are forced to procure water from a distance, and even the crops of rice will not grow well upon it."

Previously to the erection of the new church, which was opened in December 1845, and consecrated in December 1846, under the name of

St. Peter's Church, the village of Barripûr, containing sixteen Christian families, was the central place for worship, to which 600 native Christians, 200 of whom were communicants, were in the habit of resorting from the various villages in the Mission, on Christmas-day, and other great festivals, and on Sundays when the Holy Communion was administered. Besides the church at Barripûr, another church was consecrated, at the same period, under the name of St. Andrew's, in the adjoining Mission of Mogra-Hât, by the Bishop of Madras, who officiated on the occasion in the absence of the Bishop of Calcutta. From the sketches of the church at Barripûr, and the porch and font of the Mogra-Hât church, transmitted to the Society by his lordship, and published with the narrative, it is indeed evident, that "there is in India likewise, a hearty desire to erect houses to God, worthy of the endearing name of a parish church."

The congregations in connexion with these two churches are scattered through fifty-four villages, in which, according to the returns at the close of the year 1845, there were 855 baptized Christians, of whom 363 were communicants; and 588 catechumens. There were five schools, conducted by four schoolmasters and twenty-five native teachers.

The foundation-stone of Barripûr church was laid on the Feast of St. Peter, 1842; its cost is between 18,000 and 19,000 rupees. The dimensions of the edifice are,—length, 80 feet; breadth, 42 feet; height of clerestory roof,  $35\frac{1}{2}$  feet; height of roof of aisles, 23 feet; height of tower, 71 feet; of bell turret, 84 feet. The church of St. Andrew Mogra-Hât cost about 6500 rupees. The design for it was made by the Rev. J. G. Driberg, the Missionary of the district, and much of the building itself is stated by the Bishop to be "literally the work of his own hands."

In his account of the consecration of these two churches, which forms part of the publication before us, the Bishop dwells strongly on the necessity of sending out from England a supply of "*many, many more Missionary Clergymen.*" This," continues his lordship, "is what British India chiefly desiderates of our native land. Give us but clergy enough, and congregations will soon be gathered together, and churches will soon be raised up for their reception. And what a field of missionary labour is still opened to the Church, still utterly unoccupied! No sooner do you quit the immediate neighbourhood of European dwellings at Calcutta, or at Madras, than you enter into a wilderness of heathenism. Hundreds upon hundreds, and thousands upon thousands meet your eyes, to whom God, as revealed in his Book, is utterly unknown; who have never been told of a Saviour; who 'have not so much as heard whether there be any Holy Ghost.' It is indeed true, that we are now endeavouring to educate some of the many millions committed by Providence to our care; that we have manifested some anxiety for their *minds*: but have we, as a nation, manifested any anxiety for their *souls*? While we acknowledge, and to a certain extent act upon the acknowledgment, that they have minds capable of intellectual culture

(a fact which has been in these latter days most satisfactorily demonstrated), have we not, as a nation, shown ourselves utterly indifferent to the fact, as unquestionable as I presume it to be unquestioned, that they have souls to be saved ?

“ I am fully aware, and I subscribe to the truth of the assertion, that the answer is, ‘ We are precluded as a nation from interfering with their religion, by the compact on which we hold the country.’ This is undoubtedly true ; and I do not see how the British Government, under existing treaties, could give more to the natives of India than a good secular education ; which, undoubtedly, it is very desirous of giving to them. But that which is prohibited to the Government, is, therefore, *the more urgently and solemnly imposed upon the Church* : and it is the Church’s especial business ; it is purely a spiritual warfare ; and only with ‘ the sword of the Spirit ’ is the battle to be fought and won. No act of the legislature can make this people Christian. The word of God preached to them in power, may, and I hope, believe, and trust, will.

“ But what are the eleven thousand parishes of England about ? Is the spiritual life or death of a hundred millions of fellow-creatures and fellow-subjects nothing to them ? Generation after generation passes away in India, as elsewhere ; and the author of lies, Satan, continually sends forth *his* apostles to teach the Hindoos to trust in their dumb idols. Latterly, indeed, his kingdom has been somewhat shaken in this country ; the native of the land has been somewhat awakened to imitate the European. But if he has been brought to see that the European despises his false worship, he has likewise seen that the European himself is too often a slave to another kind of idolatry ; that while he bows not himself indeed before the molten image, he is a worshipper of mammon ; and consequently, in the cities of India the Hindoo has too often learned from the European to transfer his homage from his ancestral idolatry to the idolatry which *we* have introduced into the land. Nor is mammon the only idol we have encouraged the Hindoos to worship ; we are teaching them, by precept and example, the deification of intellect and talent.

“ It is the custom to say that the Hindoo mind is in a state of transition, and I do not deny the fact. But to what is it passing over ? It is from a foolish, ridiculous, degrading, vicious, heart-corrupting, and soul-destroying worship of graven and molten images and dumb stones, to a worship of the world, as it is now in the nineteenth century, in all its pride of ‘ philosophy falsely so called,’ and in all its hungering after gold. I am far from saying, that it is not a very gratifying sight to see the native mind ‘ casting to the moles and to the bats ’ the apathy which has hitherto crushed it down, and arousing itself to the love and pursuit of knowledge. I am a philanthropist in every just and true sense of the term ; and I therefore rejoice to see the Hindoo raised in the scale of intellectual dignity. But as a Christian, as a minister of Christ, as a lover and seeker of souls, that they may be brought to Him and saved by Him for ever, I cannot be content to see the Hindoo made *merely* an



intellectual creature: I earnestly covet his being made a Christian. Together with his ignorance and his apathy, would that we Christians would do our utmost to persuade him to 'cast to the moles and to the bats' his false religion, if he can still retain it in the face of the worldly knowledge he is acquiring; and his Deism, or even Atheism; to which mental culture without Christian training must, I fear, conduct him. Upon the mere possibility of such a result, it is plainly the duty of the Church to exert herself to the very utmost on behalf of the Hindoos. Nor is she without blessed encouragement to the work. Witness, not to mention many other stations rich in promise, and not poor in fruit, Tinnevely and Kishnagur."

We make no apology for the length of this extract from his lordship's stirring appeal on behalf of our Indian Missions; for in the present state of the Missionary cause, there and elsewhere, we feel that the "Intelligence" needed on this subject in England is not so much what is being done as what is *required to be done*.

RUSSIA.—*Religious Statistics*.—The report of the Minister of the Interior, who has charge of all the religious communions which are merely tolerated in the Russian empire, (the Greek Church being under the administration of her own synod,) gives the following data, at the close of the year 1845.

	<i>Number of inhabitants professing each religion.</i>	<i>Places of worship.</i>	<i>Ministers of religion.</i>
Roman Catholics	2,699,427	2,378	2,037
Armenians	346,002	225	2,247
R. C. Armenians	20,230	52	52
Lutherans	1,669,456	220	444
Reformed	40,893	32	33
Jews	1,166,570	643	18,807
Mahometans	2,320,576	6,163	1,017
Buddhists	2,023,643	156	3,651
Idolaters	171,928	273	449
	<hr/> 10,458,725	<hr/> 10,142	<hr/> 28,737

SWITZERLAND.—*Appointment of an Atheist to a Theological Professorship at Berne*.—The anti-religious tendencies of political radicalism are becoming more and more manifest every day in the little Swiss republics, where the fierce spirit of democracy has no sufficient counterpoise to keep it in check, and where the very smallness of the political bodies facilitates revolutions, and gives them a character of greater acrimony. Our readers will, no doubt, recollect the effects produced upon the national Church of the Canton de Vaud by the revolution which placed the democratic party at the head of affairs there. Since then, another scandalous act of official irreligion, if possible yet more outrageous, has been perpetrated in the canton of Berne by the democratic party, which, since the last revolution of the canton, wields the sovereign power. The history of the transaction is briefly this:—

Two chairs of Divinity, that of practical theology, and that of Old and New Testament Exegesis, had become vacant in the early part of the year 1844, and had not been filled up, partly in consequence of the difficulty of procuring a man thoroughly qualified for the exposition of the Old Testament, which was felt the more important, as a second exegetical chair for the interpretation of the New Testament alone had long existed, and a third had been recently created. The subject having been in abeyance for some time, the faculty of theology was all at once called upon, about the middle of the year 1845, to report (according to the regular course of proceeding on such occasions) on the qualifications of Dr. Zeller, who had for some years read theological lectures as *Privat Dozent*, or licensed lecturer, at Tübingen, where he had made himself conspicuous as the representative of the most offensive form of rationalism, *out-Bauering* even Bruno Bauer himself; the reason assigned for the application being to enable the government to judge of the propriety of his being appointed to a professorship of New Testament Exegesis. The report of the faculty, while it did full justice to the high intellectual and literary attainments of Dr. Zeller, pointed out, at the same time, the utter inconsistency of the opinions advocated both in his more abstruse and in his more popular writings, and especially in his contributions to the "Annals of the Times" (*Jahrbücher der Gegenwart*), a journal for the diffusion of rationalism among the middle and lower classes, with the fundamental articles of the Christian faith generally, and specifically with the doctrines of the personal existence of the Deity, and of the immortality of the soul; in addition to which, the faculty reminded the government that what the academy of Berne required, was exegesis of the Old Testament and practical theology; whereas Dr. Zeller had distinguished himself chiefly by his critical labours on the New Testament. By this report, the faculty thought that the matter was finally set at rest, and, amidst the political convulsions of the canton, it seemed to have been lost sight of; when, towards the close of 1846, reports began to be circulated that the appointment of Dr. Zeller was actually under the consideration of the government. This called forth from the pen of Archdeacon Baggesen, the president of the cantonal synod, a formal remonstrance, in the form of an address to the government; in which, acknowledging the abstract right of the government to appoint to the different chairs of the academy, he maintained that the government were morally bound to exercise that right in such a manner as not to endanger the faith and the peace of the national Church. Upon this ground, he urged very strongly upon the government the impropriety of an appointment, which would have the effect of placing the future ministers of the national Church, who pass straight from the academy into the pastoral office, under the instruction of a man, the anti-Christian, and, in fact, absolutely atheistical tendency of whose opinions was undeniably apparent from his own writings. Of this remonstrance the government took no notice, but proceeded to make the appointment, which became officially known by the insertion, in the programme of

the academy, of the notice of Dr. Zeller's lectures during the ensuing term; the subjects chosen by him being, the Epistle to the Romans, with a general introduction to the doctrinal views of St. Paul, and the history of Protestant theology since the rise of Deism, and especially of the systems of Schleiermacher and Hegel.

The character of Dr. Zeller's opinions, and the conduct of the government in making the appointment, became now a subject of general discussion. Two pamphlets from the pens of two clergymen appeared, under the auspices of the "Evangelic Society," by whose extensive ramifications through the canton they obtained a rapid circulation. The first of these, entitled "Dr. Zeller and his doctrine," consisted chiefly of extracts from the writings of Dr. Zeller, demonstrating the fact of his being in direct opposition to almost every article of the Protestant faith; while the second, under the title "The appointment of Dr. Zeller," went into the history of the whole transaction, and showed the necessity of active steps being taken, for the purpose of calling upon the great council of the canton which was about to assemble, to cancel the obnoxious appointment. The author of this pamphlet, M. de Fellenberg, hesitated not to designate the appointment as anti-Christian, applying to the case in hand the passage of St. John: "He is Antichrist, that denieth the Father and the Son; let that, therefore, abide in you which ye have heard from the beginning. If that which ye have heard from the beginning shall remain in you, ye also shall continue in the Son and in the Father." He stated without circumlocution, that there was a sin, designated by Holy Scripture as a "partaking of other men's sins," and that this sin the government was committing in making itself a partaker of Dr. Zeller's anti-Christian attempts to overthrow the foundation of the apostles and prophets, and to cast aside the head cornerstone, Jesus, the Son of God. Under these circumstances, he maintained it was the duty of all, as members of the Church and as citizens, to make use of all constitutional means for preventing the appointment from taking effect. And after adducing Rom. xiii. 1, 2, as the principle by which those efforts must be controlled and kept within legal bounds, he added in conclusion: "Let us then pray for our governors, and honour them as such, to the end that the blessing of the Lord may be with us, and that He may direct the matter to a profitable issue: at the same time our duty as Christian subjects and our submission must not be carried so far as to restrain us from rendering honour above all to the King of kings, and from offering the most decided opposition to the presumptuous attempt made by the government to violate the sanctuary, and to undermine the faith of future generations of the Church by poisoning the fountain of instruction." In this last passage the "liberal" government of Berne discovered a political offence, and having dismissed M. de Fellenberg from his office of chaplain to the house of correction, by way of preliminary, instituted a prosecution against him for high treason. Several other persons, also, who had taken an active part in the dissemination of his pamphlet, were summarily visited with fines and imprisonment.

Notwithstanding these rigorous measures, and the crafty endeavour to represent the objections raised against Dr. Zeller's appointment as a mere stalking-horse for a conservative reaction, the suggestion thrown out by M. de Fellenberg was taken up by the people at large, and even by the democratic party in the country districts of the canton. This was the more significant, considering the prejudice which exists among a large portion of the population against the "Evangelic Society," but which could not prevent the plain proofs of Dr. Zeller's anti-Christian opinions, and the powerful arguments of M. de Fellenberg in favour of an organized opposition, from taking effect. The common people who are still attached to the faith of their forefathers, readily arrived at the conclusion, that if Dr. Zeller really held the opinions imputed to him, he must not be suffered to become the teacher of their future ministers. In one instance, in a remote country parish, the people, feeling their incompetency to enter into the merits of the controversy, deputed two of the most intelligent amongst them to go to Berne, for the purpose of ascertaining the rights of the case. They did so, and having procured a copy of Dr. Zeller's works referred to in the pamphlet,—"*Dr. Zeller and his doctrine*,"—they compared the quotations with the original, and having found them correct, returned home and made a report to their fellow-parishioners, which immediately produced a parochial petition against the appointment. Similar circumstances took place in other parishes; in one place, the congregation, after the conclusion of Divine service, called upon their minister to tell them plainly, whether Dr. Zeller held the doctrines described; and having had the matter explained to them, they also unanimously signed a petition. This sudden alarm of "the sovereign people" for their hereditary faith came quite unexpectedly upon the radical government, which found itself in danger of being beaten with its own weapons; and, indeed, it is quite clear, that if the clergy and the conservative party had not acted with the utmost moderation, and the most scrupulous determination to keep within constitutional limits, a storm would have been raised which would have placed the very existence of the government in jeopardy. The Evangelical Society, more particularly, put forth an official declaration, acknowledging the share it had taken in the dissemination of the two pamphlets, disavowing all intention of turning the matter into a political movement, and entreating the public to take no illegal steps, but to confine themselves to the exercise of the undoubted right of petitioning the Great Council against the acts of the government.

With a view to counteract the effect of the two pamphlets, the government procured a pamphlet to be written under the title, "*The Zeller danger to religion in the canton of Berne*," which, by its scurrilous abuse of the religious party, did more harm than good to the cause which it was intended to serve. It was distributed gratuitously to the number of 30,000 copies, through the instrumentality of the government officers and of the schoolmasters, who are for the most part

infected with the rationalistic leaven, and opposed to the clergy<sup>5</sup>, and who in some instances sent it to the parents by their children on their return from school. Another champion for Dr. Zeller started up, in the person of Professor Ries, a personal friend of Zeller, and a demirationalistic disciple of the Hegel school, who has an official position in the academy as professor of philosophy. But his advocacy, too, did Dr. Zeller little good; for as the line of argument he took, was to show that Dr. Zeller was not more heterodox than himself, he gave his opponents the opportunity of beating him on two grounds; first, by showing that his own opinions were of a nature to disqualify the person holding them for a theological professorship; and, secondly, by proving that Dr. Zeller's heterodoxy is of a far more infidel and dangerous character than that of Professor Ries. Meanwhile, Archdeacon Baggesen published a larger pamphlet, under the title, "Objections against the appointment of Dr. E. Zeller to a chair of divinity, developed and supported with proofs from Dr. Zeller's writings, by C. Baggesen, archdeacon of the cathedral of Berne;" to which he appended a copy of the remonstrance originally addressed by him to the government; and which was followed soon after by a shorter pamphlet, in the shape of a letter to Professor Ries, for the specific purpose of demolishing his arguments. Other parties, also, besides the archdeacon, came to the rescue of the cause of religion against the attacks of the government pamphlets and journals.

While the controversy was at its height, the government published a proclamation, which all the ministers of the Canton were directed to read from the pulpit on Sunday, the 21st of March. This document, after charging the conservative and the evangelical party with sinister designs and wilful agitation, cunningly shifted the question from the foundation of religious truth, on which it had arisen, to that of ecclesiastical right, on which there was no dispute, assuring the people that they had been entirely misled, that the rights of the

<sup>5</sup> The following extract from the "Bildungsfreund," the "Friend of Education," a paper which styles itself "a liberal school-journal," may serve as a specimen of the spirit which animates "the schoolmaster" in Switzerland:—"Above all let the school be wrenched from the talons of priestcraft, completely, and summarily, and without concessions. Then let the masters have a university education (without *queue*, of course), and sufficient salaries, for which purpose those of the priestly drones must be curtailed. Instruction must be purged of all religious bombast, and in the matter of ethics absolutely restricted to the needful, i. e. morality. In order not to deprive youth, by early confinement, of its natural liveliness and mirth, let there be institutions founded for games and amusements, and let instruction be confined to the age between ten and sixteen. Up to the twenty-fourth year let the minds of young men and women be expanded by the gratuitous distribution of instructive and entertaining writings, and by free discourses and discussions on Sundays, between teachers and pupils, on more serious and important matters, and let their joyous sense of life be preserved by promoting their bodily development, and providing amusements for them. The parsons, as was said before, not to be suffered to come into play at all." We strongly recommend this passage to the attention of the champions on both sides of the "secular education" question. *Tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet.*

national Church were exposed to no manner of danger, and asking them, in reference to the opinions of Dr. Zeller, to suspend their judgment, and to leave them to be developed in the course of his teaching. If the government intended, which there is reason to believe, to provoke by this proclamation a resistance on the part of the clergy similar to that which has proved so disastrous to the Church in the Canton de Vaud, they were disappointed. With a single exception, followed by immediate suspension for six months, the clergy obeyed the mandate of the government, and read the proclamation; but on the very same day the deans of the six districts into which the clergy of Berne are divided, held a meeting, and drew up a memorial to the government, on the state of the country with regard to religion and the Church. On the following day the Great Council opened their spring session: the majority being in the interest of the radical government under whose influence they were elected, and feeling at the same time the very great awkwardness of a democratic assembly disregarding the voice of the people, resolved to proceed at once, on the morrow, to the consideration of the petitions respecting Dr. Zeller's appointment. By this indecently hasty attention to the wishes of their constituents, the Great Council saved appearances, having before them a comparatively small number of petitions, while a much larger number were in course of preparation. The debate lasted two days, and was occasionally marked by great violence of language. The opponents of Dr. Zeller's appointment endeavoured in the first place to obtain the postponement of the question; this proposition being lost, they proposed two instructions to the government; 1. to obtain from the faculties of theology in three German Universities an opinion as to the fitness of Dr. Zeller to fill a chair of divinity; 2. to devise means for preventing Dr. Zeller from entering on his professorship, without doing violence either to the honour of the country, or to that of Dr. Zeller. The committee, on the contrary, to which the petitions were referred, proposed in their report that the Great Council should pass to the order of the day, for the following reasons: 1. that there was no ground for cancelling the appointment, since the government, in making it, had not exceeded their constitutional powers, or violated the forms of law; 2. that no person appointed to a public office could be removed from it, without a judicial sentence; 3. that there were no grounds for apprehending danger to the religion of the people from the appointment of Dr. Zeller; the allegation that he denied God, the immortality of the soul, and Christ, being untrue. The first two points in this report were universally admitted; the debate turned chiefly upon the third, and when the matter was put to the vote, 118 voted for the order of the day, in accordance with the report of the committee, 23 voted against it, and 80 abstained from voting, being for the most part men who felt equally unwilling to vote against their own party on the one hand, and against their own faith and the religious sense of the country on the other.

By this decision the question is set at rest for the present. The minority in-doors, and the more influential and enlightened portion of

the majority out of doors, by which that minority is supported, consisting of the friends of peace and order, there is no danger of violent means being resorted to for disturbing the acts of the government and the decision of the Great Council; and as a matter of fact, Dr. Zeller opened his course on the 15th of April, without let or hindrance. Nevertheless, the question is far from being finally settled. On the one hand, there are not wanting in the government and the Great Council those who advocate the adoption of further measures of persecution against the authors and distributors of the different pamphlets, and even against the clergy generally. A resolution was proposed, but lost, in the Great Council, to declare all the ecclesiastical offices in the canton vacant, and to proceed to a general re-appointment of the clergy. On the other hand, the government and Dr. Zeller have entangled themselves in difficulties from which they will find it hard to extricate themselves. The former, and with them their majority in the Great Council, have placed themselves in open opposition to the sense of the whole country, which on this subject appears, happily, to be much sounder and stronger than had been anticipated. They have, moreover, vouched for the orthodoxy, up to a certain point, of their nominee. As for Dr. Zeller, he must give a *démenti*, either to his radical patrons, by continuing to hold the same language as heretofore on the great questions which it is his office to handle, or to his whole previous career, by adopting a more orthodox system, or observing a significant silence on the points at issue. In the former case his position, in the latter his character, is in the utmost jeopardy. An attempt which has been made by his friend, Professor Ries, in a counter-reply to the pamphlets of Archdeacon Baggesen and others, to extricate him from the dilemma in which he is placed, has not only not mended the matter, but made it a great deal worse. Unable to refute the quotations from Dr. Zeller's own writings, the Professor takes another line, and, reasoning on the hypothesis that Dr. Zeller should actually hold pantheistic opinions, and question the immortality of the soul, he says he does not see why even such opinions should be thought inconsistent with Christian piety; an argument adopted by Dr. Zeller himself in a declaration which is annexed to the Professor's pamphlet, and in which he says "he is not conscious of any substantial difference between his views and those of Professor Ries."

With these difficulties upon their hands the government have to meet two momentous questions which must shortly be brought under consideration, and which will, under existing circumstances, excite the deepest interest and attention throughout the country,—the projected reorganization of the Academy, and the revision of the constitution of the national Church. It is on these two fields that the champions of religion and revealed truth hope to fight the battle over again with better success.

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