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THEOLOGY, POLITICS, AND LITERATURE.

It seems strange that a people so advanced as our own, favoured, as a nation, with so many and clear indications respecting the right direction of human inquiry and the comparative value of human pursuits, should at this day be so indisposed as it is to a union of the two great departments of research,—Moral and Physical Science. Is it not true that the main body of thinkers is employed in investigating the various combinations of material substances, in exploring the wonders of chemical, and displaying the powers of mechanical science, while the great ends for which these investigations are pursued, are left almost unnoticed? Is not physical science made the first object in all our associations for promoting the enlightenment of the lower classes? Is any thing comprehended under the name of useful knowledge, but the facts which belong to this kind of research? Do the great body of the people ever hear, out of church, of any other kind of knowledge which would be good for them, than that which relates to sensible objects? And is there any counterpoising influence in such of our institutions, as either from their long standing, or from their congeniality with the spirit of the age, are supposed to exercise power over public opinion? What are our universities doing, and our schools, and our pulpits, and our periodical press? Are they aiding or counteracting the bias? They are not directly aiding, but they are much further from counteracting it. They profess to be the organs of moral science, some exclusively, others in union with physical research. But, falling far short of their profession, they injure the cause they profess to espouse. The three great paths of research by which moral truth may be approached are not explored by them with a diligence proportioned to their comparative importance. Theology, Politics, Literature, the three phases of illuminating truth, are not watched and philosophised upon, like the greater and lesser lights of the material firmament. Literature, the lowest in the gradation, has the greatest attention paid to it. Our universities have, for the most part, no higher aim; and such as have, fail to make it good. Classical learning

is all in all within their walls, and our very bishops are chosen from out of them for their accomplishments in Greek. The partial pursuit of physical science forms the only exception to this general character; for, what is the political attainment of our universities, and what their theological enlightenment? The classics are the one great object in our public schools. Our periodical press is at work upon politics as well as literature; but in what way?—stumbling on amidst a dark accumulation of facts, or finding an uncertain and perilous way by the light of passing events. Political science, as taught by our periodical press, is in as crude a state as physical science two centuries and a half ago; and though the existence of a regenerator among us gives us hope of a rapid and certain advance, the *Novum Organon* with which he has furnished us, will not be in full use, till his grey hairs have descended to the grave. Few as yet, in our free and enlightened nation, know any thing of broad political principles and fundamental political truths; and those few have reached them by so many individual processes of induction. Providence is, by its own methods of education, teaching us politics; but we do not yet come to politics to teach us of Providence.

As for theology,—who can pretend that it is a national study? Who can look at its present state, and believe that a multitude of intellects have been guided towards it by any steady impulse, or fixed upon it by any prevailing energy? If it has been pursued as a science, never before was science pursued so unavailingly. It has not been so pursued; for the primary dogma of its professors has been that theological truth differs essentially from all other truth in not being an object of induction, a subject of reason, a matter of research. We wonder that in so teaching, they have ventured to speak of *truth* in relation to theology; for we have no clear conceptions of truth otherwise than as an object of reason arrived at by a process of induction. But, it may be said, there has been research—there has been induction. Witness the vast libraries of theological learning which our institutions can boast. We reply, if an age of the world should come, when physical science shall be at such a stand, that the philosophers of the time shall be wholly occupied with ascertaining the authenticity and credibility of our *Philosophical Transactions*, will any criticism or controversy on the records alone, merit the name of research into physical science? Such labours may be very valuable in their way, and infinitely preferable to those of some contemporaries,—if such there should be,—who would neglect or pervert facts, for the sake of building irrational theories on insulated expressions; but neither set of inquirers would do much for the advancement of science. They would leave unsought the grand principles, capable of indefinite developement, of consistent application, of unbounded co-operation, which are precisely what is wanting in the popular theology of our day.

Such then is the state of inquiry among us. Physical science is advancing steadily, and with an accelerating rapidity, under the guidance of philosophical principles. Moral science is lagging behind, blinded, thwarted, led astray by a thousand phantoms of ancient ignorance and error, which would have disappeared long ago, if the dawn of philosophy had not arisen as cloudily upon this region as brightly upon the other. What is to be done?

Let it be ascertained what are the true objects of research, and what is their natural connexion, instead of proposing to split men into parties whose object shall be,—not a division of labour which shall benefit the whole,—but to magnify one science at the expense of another, and to persuade as many novices as they can to pursue one to the exclusion of all others. Let it be ascertained whether material science, useful, wonderful, beautiful as it is, be not meant to derive its fullest lustre from its subservience to the science of mind; and whether moral science, in its turn, may not supply new principles to physical research, and important aids to its prosecution. The natural gradation, the true proportion of all the sciences, must be understood before the value of any one can be estimated; and nature, not prejudice, must be the demonstrator.

Place man on this globe with a perfect frame and full of unperverted intelligence—what will he wish to learn? He will seek to know how he came there; and this discovered, for what purpose, and under what law. His most direct path to the first aim of his inquiries may be physical research; but he is not satisfied with it, till it leads him to the point he seeks. He may reach his theology by means of physical inquiry; but it is theology which is his aim. He next asks, for what purpose he is made? He explores the past and the actual state of nature, and especially of man, and his inquiries again lead him back to the Fount of Being. Then he must know under what law he lives? He traces the manifestations of Providence in all that exists around him, and yet more in the home of his own consciousness; and as these things can only be understood by a reference to his great first principle, he is once more led back to Deity as his primary study, and that through which, and for the sake of which, every other is to be pursued. Henceforth, moral and physical science are to him connected in an indissoluble union. He studies Man, his nature, his interests, his destination; but it is with a reference to the First Cause; in other words, he studies theology through politics. He also studies Nature, the sky above, the sea around, the earth beneath, the passing winds, the changing lights, and the fathomless mysteries which dwell within them all; but he studies them for the sake of Him who made all; or, in other words, he enriches his theology with the treasures of physical science. Theology is, with him, the beginning, middle, and end of his researches. Not the theology of the schools, or of

the dark ages, or of any who would lord it over God's heritage ; but the theology which is chanted by the waves, and illuminated by the stars, and pictured forth in the history of his race ; the theology which, having hovered in peerless majesty over the peculiar people, sprang, strong in its immortality, from the fires of their holy temple. Next to God, his study is Man ; next to man, his study is Nature.

Look back and see whether such is not the natural order of inquiry. Observe whether the great lights of the world, of whatever age and nation, have not united the things of the spirit with those of the senses in their contemplations. Zoroaster made the study of the elements subservient to worship. Pythagoras came down from contemplating the starry skies to expatiate on the immortality of the soul. Solon founded his moral on natural law ; and Moses used the learning of the Egyptians as a qualification for the service of the God of the Hebrews. It was his broad gaze over the expanse of nature, and his penetrating glance into the intimate connexions of things, that made Socrates the sun of the heathen world, and enabled him to intimate what invisibly exists from what visibly appears. Plato studied geometry and poetry in conjunction,—travelled into Sicily to examine its volcanos, and into Egypt to master its mathematical sciences,—and then returned to discourse of the realities of which these were the shadows,—of the eternal principle which dwells alone, and sends its emanations hither and thither, through the universe. His stern pupil, at whose feet the world lay for centuries, founded his logic on his search after “ every star that heaven can show, and every herb that sips the dew.” The Stoic philosophy was based on the observation of the immutability of the laws of the universe ; and it was the harmonious flow of the tide of being, which filled the soul of Epicurus with serenity and love. Archimedes united metaphysics with his deepest researches into matter. The service which Bacon rendered to mankind, was the furnishing philosophical principles to the pursuit of physical science ; and Newton spiritualized his mighty discoveries by a perpetual reference of all that is to Him who made it. Thus far experience confirms reason in her decision respecting what ought to be the objects of human inquiry, and in what order they should be pursued.

Nor is this contradicted by the fact that revealed religion has, thus far, been held as a truth severed, by an original difference of constitution, from all other truth. If it be so, if Christianity have thus far done nothing for any truth but its own, it still does not follow that such aid is impossible, or not designed by its Author to be eventually afforded. Is it not clear that Christianity has been long and widely misapprehended ? Is it not clear that, while our religion is held separate from our politics, separate from our literature, separate from our science, it no more puts forth its full power, than if it were held separate from our daily actions and



thoughts? If our religious teachers are right in telling our artizans that their faith should go with them into their workshops,—as well to animate the hand as to control the spirit,—it must also be right for our naturalists to carry theirs into the fields and along the caverned shore; for our scientific men to infuse theirs into their researches, and to let it preside over their experimental philosophy. The one may perchance find illustrations that he dreamed not of, among the roosting birds, or the recovered treasures of the deeps; and the others may be struck by relations they could not anticipate between truths which had appeared unconnected. There may be something in the silent motions of the firmament, or in the unvarying and multitudinous relations of number and quantity, or in the illimitable extent and mighty power of transmutation and affinity, which may suggest new and high thoughts of the administrations of Providence, of the share which man has in them, and of the modes in which the most marvellous of its wonders, and the most precious of its promises, have been and shall be fulfilled. It is at least certain that there is an everlasting relation between the highest stimulus to exertion, and the modes and results of that exertion, whatever be its nature and direction.

If it be a fact that the balance of truth is so unequal as we have represented it, it is high time that something was done to restore it. It is time that the students of moral science were preparing themselves to become masters. It is time that they were gathering disciples about them. It is time that they who would learn should at least be offered a choice as to what they should learn. If we cannot at once form societies, and send forth libraries, and diffuse through the kingdom a spirit of research, whose object shall be the promotion of moral science, we can, each in our way, show what that science is, its high obligation upon the race, its benignant influence upon nations, its attractiveness to individuals. There are few who, like Milton, can recognize and display this truth in all three of its great manifestations—who can “reconcile the ways of God to man,”—who can reason on the rights and defend the liberties of his race, and, retiring to “behold the bright countenance of truth in the quiet and still air of delightful studies,” woo others with the “soft and solemn-breathing sound,” which issued from his retreat, to come and join him in his worship. Long will it be before we shall meet with an individual who can do this; but by a combination of powers, much may be effected to which individuals are unequal. Let it be shown what there is true and beautiful in the study of

#### THEOLOGY,

which teaches the existence and attributes and providence of Deity, not only by cold abstractions of the reason, but by the living facts which are ever stirring within and around every

rational being. Theology is not understood till it is seen to comprehend all that relates to the cause of all. It teaches the purposes of creation; it leads to the study of the laws of mind, and reveals the operation of Providence in the history of the human race and of individuals; it shows how Providence has now guided nations by a uniform impulse to a certain point of enlightenment, and now startled them into perceptions of a higher truth by the passing gleams of some new philosophy; now uniting them in the profession of a general faith, more or less pure, and now breaking them up into parties of adherents to different schools. It shows how individuals are led on by vicissitudes acting upon their springs of thought and feeling, and opens a prophetic view into the future of another world as well as this. In displaying the workings, it shows the will, of God; and comprehends the study of the eternal principles of morals; and—ever blending the exhibition with the perception, ever furnishing the illustration with the truth—presents to us the holy, the benignant, form of him, the moral image of the Father, whose name it is our high privilege to bear. Theology has ever included whatever belonged to the highest interests of man: since it became Christian, it has been the depository of the best treasures of the human spirit, where its hopes are stored up, where its joys are renovated, where its griefs are soothed, where its fears are annihilated, where it may find that all things are its own, as surely as itself is Christ's, and Christ is God's.

Let it be shown what there is true and beautiful in

#### POLITICS:

in that science which treats, not of this or that measure, as if its results concerned only the parties expressly contemplated in it; not of this or that statesman, as if his influence was bounded to a certain tract of country, and to the period of his ascendancy; nor even of this or that country, disconnected from the rest of the world. Let the grand principles be ever reverted to on which hang, more or less, the destinies of every man that breathes; and by these principles let every decree of the legislatures of Europe and America, every act of the executive, every movement of the people, be watched and tried. Under the pervading spirit of philanthropy, let the advances of society be stimulated, its errors exposed, its sins mourned, its triumphs hailed; and this, not only within our own borders, but wherever men and brethren exist. Let it be felt as a degradation when the negro kisses the feet of his white tyrant, and commemorated as an era when he sails away to establish himself in freedom on the shore of another continent. Let it be mourned as a general calamity when a patriot council dissolves at the nod of a despot, whether a narrow sea or a broad ocean intervene. Let the cry for reformation be echoed, whether it come from the streets of our own metropolis,

or from the prisons of Lisbon, or from the charnel-houses of Juggernaut. Let philanthropy be watchful and meditative and active; secure of observing and thinking and doing aright, while guided by the two great principles of the equality of man's rights, and the progression of his destiny.

Let it be shown what there is true and beautiful in

#### LITERATURE.

Let its influence in working out and consolidating opinions, and in refining the taste, be amply exhibited and carefully guarded. Let the resources of various nations, the treasures of many languages, be laid open to general use. Let philosophy be honoured in this mode of her manifestation; let criticism be gentle in its integrity; let poetry be worshipped as a concentration of all intellectual power, and cherished as an incarnation of all moral beauty. Let this be done with a view to higher ends than temporary purposes; and it may be found that the necessities of the lower ranks may be reached through the luxuries of the higher; and that in feeding the imagination and taste of the mortal, we are strengthening the embryo faculties of the seraph.

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#### BEARD'S FAMILY SERMONS\*.

MR. BEARD has diverged a little in the execution of his plan, perhaps unavoidably, from his original purpose. The sermons before us have still less, than those in the former volume, of the qualities which point out a discourse as adapted to family use rather than congregational. They were evidently intended and composed for delivery from the pulpit. They are not accommodated to their new destination. But they have, amply sufficient merit to recommend them to all lovers of sermon reading; and moreover they accomplish another purpose, of no little interest, for they present the best picture, so far as we know, which yet exists, of the Unitarian pulpit, both at home and abroad. This picture the editor will probably be induced to complete; for he intimates his intention, should the reception of this volume be sufficiently favourable, of using "his efforts for inserting in a third and last volume discourses from those Anti-Trinitarian communions from which he has not yet obtained contributions."

The list of authors contains names connected with England, Scotland, Ireland, Geneva, and America. There are the names of some, too, who belong to that country towards which all the rest are journeying. Three discourses—on the New Year, the Frailty of Human Life, and the House of Mourning—to which

\* Sermons, accompanied by suitable Prayers, designed to be used in Families. Vol. II. Edited by the Rev. J. R. Beard. 8vo. pp. 503.

are attached, respectively, the names of Worthington, J. Hincks, and Wawne, will be read with mournful interest. They are a touching memorial of early excellence, "no sooner blown but blasted."

There are many reasons which render us not disposed to treat this volume critically. The reader must not suppose that a low opinion of its moral and literary merit is amongst the number. It is superior, in the general tone of composition, to the first volume, which one of our correspondents reviewed with commendations that were amply merited. It shows that Unitarian sermonizers may fearlessly be put into competition with those of any other communion, however numerous, highly privileged, or amply endowed. Having given this general expression of our opinion, we shall briefly describe the contents of the volume, and notice two or three particulars which excite our admiration, or call for our animadversion.

The contribution of England to this volume, besides the posthumous discourses just mentioned, consists of those of Rev. Messrs. J. J. Taylor (on the Humility of Christ), N. Jones (Self-Recollection), J. R. Wreford (the Parable of Nathan), J. Johns (the Act of Creation an emblem of the Christian's duty), E. Higginson (Moral Influences of Christ's Death), E. Tagart (the Parables), J. R. Beard (to Persons in the Middle Period of Life), R. Scott (the Inconsistency, Absurdity, and Sin of professing Religion, without a corresponding conduct), W. Turner (the Connexion of the Resurrection of Christ with a General Resurrection), J. G. Robberds (Christ the Giver of Life), W. Gaskell (Spiritual Blessings in Christ); W. J. Fox (the Connexion of Universal Being, and its Dependence upon a benignant Providence), and Dr. Carpenter (on the Import and Application of Glorifying God through Jesus Christ).

The Unitarian Preachers in Scotland are represented by the Rev. G. Harris (a Message from God).

From Ireland we have the Rev. Dr. Ledlie (the Bereaved Parent Comforted), J. Martineau (the Father's Name Glorified in Christ), W. H. Drummond, D.D. (on Sincerity), and H. Montgomery (Christ the Saviour).

The following are from Geneva:—M. Duby, Professor of Theology and Eloquence (Shame of the Gospel Reproved, and the Good of Affliction), M. Cellérier, jun., Professor of Criticism and Antiquities (Simon the Magician, and Thoughtfulness in the House of God), and M. Munier, Professor of Interpretation and Hebrew (on Watchfulness, and Charity a two-fold Blessing).

The Americans are Rev. Dr. Tuckerman (the Gospel a Blessing to the Poor), H. Ware (the Religion of Principle and the Religion of the Affections), and F. Parkman (the Formation and Progress of the Christian Character).

A remarkable feature of this volume is the harmony of senti-

ment, opinion, and feeling, which it exhibits. Without referring to the contents, or detecting an individual by some peculiarity of manner, no one could distinguish the Arian from the Humanitarian, the American from the English, or (but for their bolder and more fervid style) the Genevese from either. The volume cannot be parcelled out into sub-sectarian divisions: there is one spirit. It is a reply to those who sometimes praise Unitarians of one class or country, for the purpose of depreciating those of another class or country. We see here that they are truly one fraternity—they are all one in Christ Jesus. In this sense the Sermons are indeed 'Family' Sermons; they are the holy effusions of the diversified, yet agreeing, members of a family whose Father is in heaven.

In a collection of thirty sermons, by almost as many authors, each individual may expect to have his taste gratified, and almost every reader will have his preferences and partialities. Three Sermons have, above the rest, impressed the mind of the writer of this notice. The first is that of Mr. Ware, on the 'Religion of Principle and the Religion of the Affections.' It is evidently the composition of a man both of principle and of feeling; of one who combines them to an unusual extent; who understands the worth of each, the reciprocal influences which they exert, and the necessity of uniting and cultivating both in order to advance towards Christian perfection. This discourse is the brightest gem in the volume. Sermon 17, the 'Father's Name Glorified in Christ,' is a very striking and beautiful composition, and one which could not have failed to arrest our attention, even had it not come from so young a preacher as Mr. Martineau. It indicates a pure, rich, and elevated mind. In it we seem to behold Philosophy and Poetry holding reverential communion with Theology on the holy mount, and around them is a glory. The third discourse to which reference was made is that of M. Cell  rier, entitled 'Simon the Magician, or the Worldling subject to two Masters.' It is original and eloquent. It lays hold of the mind at the very outset, and retains its vigour unabated to the end. It hurries us along with the preacher. He startles, moves, subdues, appals, and elevates. It is to the credit of the Editor that we can scarcely fancy ourselves to be reading a translation. We insert an extract; but the power of the sermon can only be felt by reading it entire:—

'I ask, again, where is their faith?—By what does it make its presence known?—It produces nothing; it modifies nothing; it never struggles. Do you not see, that this is that dead faith of which the Apostle speaks? They are friends of the world, and faith becomes to them a stranger, soon perhaps an enemy. They are friends of the world; and whatever is not the lust of the eyes, the lust of the flesh, the pride of life, is insipid to them; they can neither understand, nor endure it. Ah! if, realizing the wish of the vile man we now contemplate, faith set a price on its precious disclosures, its energetic influence—all the gift of God—you would then, perhaps, see them



eagerly pursue this new source of gain. Possessions, which they could touch and see, and the graces, which they could buy and sell, would have some value in their eyes, and the religion of the Redeemer would then be worth some attention. But religion has neither silver nor gold. It does not ornament, or flatter, or embellish the body. It secures no joys, but those that are eternal; it has no other end, but to transform men from glory to glory, in the image of the Lord. Let it, therefore, give place, everywhere, to the interests of the senses and of passion. No, friends of the world, no! light and darkness cannot be united. You cannot serve God and Mammon. Behold the worldling, then, my brethren, such as passion makes him! Poor infatuated man!—What a life! What a career! What wandering! In order to engrave on your memory all the features of this disagreeable but useful picture, contemplate a brief sketch of this unfortunate being; place him in thought between the two masters whom he has pretended to serve; and by the light of eternal truth, judge of the use that he makes of existence, and the fruit that he gathers from it.

‘Born in the church, instructed in religion, he has seen what so many holy men and prophets in vain desired to know. Faith has invited him; it has said to him, “My son, give me thy heart; I will make thee an heir of God, and a joint heir with Jesus Christ.” But passion held him back, cast her chains on him, put into his hands the playthings of infancy, and forbade him to raise his heart on high. He obeyed; he trampled under foot the blood of the Son of God; laboured for what profited not, and walked amid vain shows. Meanwhile the storms of life fell upon him, and threatened him with adverse fortune. Faith invited him, and said, “Come unto me, ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest;” but passion held him back; it stopped him in the midst of suffering; threw him on a rock; withheld all aid. He obeyed; he remained to the end, beaten by the tempest; in the midst of those clouds without water, those raging waves of the sea, those wandering stars, of which an Apostle speaks. The enemy of his salvation drew up against him, in array of battle, his various temptations. Faith invited him; it offered every spiritual and divine weapon, and said, “I am the victory over the world.” But passion held him back, disarmed him, and led him defenceless to the monster sin. He obeyed; he prostituted, in the service of the creature, that heart where the creator wished to dwell, and sullied and defaced the image of his maker.

‘At last the king of terrors stretched out his sceptre and summoned him to appear. Faith invited him, and said, “I am the resurrection and the life; though thy sins be red like scarlet, they shall be white as snow.” But passion held him back, darkened his understanding, oppressed his heart, commanded him to descend alone, and without support, into the valley of the death-shade. He obeyed; he rushed into the depths of eternity, seeking his gold, his pleasures, his luxury: and the miserable man found only the hymns of Seraphim—only the holy and virtuous emotions of the children of God! Meanwhile the judgment-seat is prepared: the law of liberty is opened for a testimony; and that law to which he had voluntarily submitted himself. He had never thought of it; scarcely did he know it. Oh! at the sight of this excess of folly and misfortune, the imagination is troubled; the

mind is confused; and the soul, in amazement, 'can only exclaim, "Oh! inconceivable error! Oh! unfortunate man! Oh! just judge!"'—p. 369—372.

A few expressions having appeared to us objectionable, we feel it a duty to notice them. It is said of our Saviour, 'he tastes not the commonest blessings, and partakes not of the simplest meal, without first offering his solemn tribute of thanksgiving to the Universal Father.'—(p. 51.) Has not the author here betrayed himself into an obvious exaggeration? Is this assertion borne out by the facts of the sacred record? Is it not an utter impossibility? The feeling of thankfulness might be permanent; but to make the 'commonest blessings,' which are of incessant occurrence, occasions for a 'solemn tribute of thanksgiving,' would be to reduce the functions of existence to the perpetual enunciation of praise. Restricting the assertion to the partaking of food, the author is still beyond the bounds of proof; there is no evidence as to the universality of our Lord's practice but that of inference from Jewish custom,—evidence which defeats the object of the writer, which is to illustrate the peculiar devotion of Christ. 'Grace before meat' is an external form of devotion not selected by the author, in this connexion, with his usual felicity. It is a relic of times when either the precariousness of obtaining food, or the value set upon the enjoyment of consuming it, made the excitements of devotional feeling somewhat different from what they have been in later ages. Of all forms this has the most lost its vitality and become a mere mummy. An habitual sense of dependence ought to be kept up; habitual thankfulness ought to be cherished; but does not Christian experience universally testify that this practice has less heart in it than almost every other expression of devotion? The objection, be it remembered, is not made to the custom, but to the stress which seems, perhaps unconsciously, to have been laid upon it in this instance.

In p. 70, we find the question—'If a Christian should unfortunately find himself, by some unaccountable agency, engaged in the act of gambling, or entering the portals of a theatre, and were seriously to put these questions to himself, What can you imagine would be the result? If he were really to say to himself, Where am I going? What am I about? What do I here? Can you believe it possible for him to proceed with any degree of self-approbation?' This broad condemnation of theatrical amusement requires a few observations, to which the writer hopes he is not impelled by some unaccountable agency, but by the dictates of Christian sincerity and frankness.

If by 'gambling' be meant, as we presume, something considerably beyond the chances of twopenny backgammon, or sixpenny long whist, there is no little misrepresentation in the juxtaposition of the two actions censured by the author. Although

both should be sinful, they yet must needs belong to very different classes and degrees of crime. The gambler is a knave, who covets and purposes to appropriate his neighbour's money. That guilt is essential to the action ; while it has many incidental aggravations, varying according to circumstances. Now the purpose of the playgoer is not, necessarily, to plunder anybody, or to inflict any other kind of injury upon anybody ; he goes to witness the recitation of poetical, witty, humorous, or pathetic composition, by persons dressed in appropriate costume, using appropriate gesture, and surrounded by mimic paintings of appropriate scenery. In this it is difficult to perceive any sinfulness ; nor is it usually alleged that there is any. The censure is directed to the supposed character of actors in general, the consumption of time, the excitement, the lateness of the hours, the miscellaneous description of the audience, &c. ; that is, to the circumstances, and not the essentials, of the action. Accordingly many professors of religion, in different denominations—many ministers even—and we know the fact of more orthodox than unitarian ones—have been occasionally seen ‘entering the portals of a theatre,’ who were as incapable of gambling as of felony. There should at least be a classification of the accused. The worst offence, of the detection of which we are sure, would perhaps be amongst those who are called evangelical, that of hypocritical concealment occasioned by the vehement denunciations of the anti-dramatists. The opinion of a party, like the law of a country, sometimes creates an undoubted crime in the violent attempt to suppress one which is only questionable. In the metropolis, where chiefly the theatre has any very strong attraction, it may safely be predicted of educated families that their young people—not only the young unitarian, but the young churchman, the young calvinist, the young quaker, and quakeress too—will some time or other, when opportunity offers, peep within those portals. Let their seniors consider what is best to be done ; let them beware of creating temptations to insincerity ; and let them not confound the absence of desire or enjoyment with moral condemnation.

There is an application of the parable of Nathan, in page 93, which is objectionable because the logical failure injures the effect of the exhortation. ‘In what does the despotic head of a family differ from the despotic head of a state, except that his power is more limited ? yet, perhaps, he is the loudest in condemning acts of kingly tyranny, suspecting neither that he thereby condemns himself, nor that he would doubtless be the perpetrator of the same acts, were his fellow-despot and he to exchange situations.’ The preacher has reversed the course which Nathan employed with David. He, by exciting the monarch's anger for the lesser offence, inspired him with self-aborrence for the greater offence which he had committed. Such is the unhappy peculiarity of

sovereignty, that its possessor is tempted to crimes which the family despot *cannot* have committed; it may be (and it may not) only because 'his power is more limited'—his actual perpetration is that of the lesser offence,—and to tell him that, therefore, he would 'doubtless' commit the greater, is less likely to move him to penitence than to rouse his conscience to repel what he will consider an unjust accusation, and which, from the nature of the case, is incapable of proof. Nathan's judgment would have been less celebrated had he gone to the man that stole the lamb, told him of David's committing adultery and murder, and then exclaimed, 'thou doubtless wouldst have been the man.'

In the description of a man of sincerity, page 272, one quality is introduced, which has so much more the air of particular allusion than of general portraiture, that it might as well have been omitted. 'He makes no pharisaical statements, nor publishes exaggerated reports of the growing prosperity of a favourite cause, or of the decline of an obnoxious cause.' This is a palpable hit; but not given at a proper time. There is a time for all things, and amongst the rest for exposing the pretensions, the misrepresentations, the calumnies, and the hypocrisy of bigots; but it scarcely coincides with the time when Family Sermons are indited for the benefit of the heads of households.

In finding only blemishes so trivial to note, a strong commendation and recommendation of this volume must needs be implied. There are still remaining some names, celebrated in our societies, which are not in the Editor's index; and he has before him, in which to collect materials for his third volume, the mines of Transylvania, the forests of Germany, and the wide prairie-lands of the American Christians. We expect his return from his mental exploration of them in search of Unitarian treasures, like the Israelitish spies, with a huge cluster of the grapes of Eshcol.

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#### SONNET.

IN the pale shadows of the silent night,  
Oh! friend belov'd! thy form once more I saw;  
Not as restor'd from death, with trembling awe,  
But still in all thy living beauty bright:  
'Thy smile was breathing still its calm delight,—  
Thine eye with purest beams of genius shone,—  
The music of thy voice—all was thine own;  
And fear and sorrow vanish'd at thy sight.  
Again, as in the years gone by, I turn'd  
To hear thee speak the words of trust and love,  
Till my thoughts soar'd all earthly griefs above,  
And in my heart a holier spirit burn'd.  
Ah! friend belov'd, too soon I woke to shed  
The tears of memory on thy narrow bed.

J. E. R.

# HERDER'S THOUGHTS ON THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE HISTORY OF MANKIND.

## ART. II.

‘It may be laid down as an universal axiom, that the portion of literature, which addresses itself to the people, must have a popular spirit and character, or it will be a mere classical air-bubble: nor can it be otherwise, than that, in communities, where there is no *people*, there can be no public and no nation—no language and poetry—that is properly our own and has a living agency in our hearts. We can then write only for chamber-students and fastidious critics, who take upon them to re-cast what we have written—and under whose dictation we fabricate all kinds of verse, odes, romances, epic poems and songs, which no one understands, or feels, or cares for. A literature, which is fashioned after classical models, is like the bird of paradise, graceful and gay—ever on the wing and always soaring—but never setting foot on our native soil\*.’ This extract, from an Essay of Herder’s on the similarity of the earlier German and English poetry, exhibits his taste in literature; but it may equally well serve as a key to the principles of his philosophy.

In every varied form of society, his object was to seize the popular spirit—the national character; from that point of view to survey and estimate its laws, institutions, manners and literature; and so, instead of framing *à priori* an abstract theory of what human nature must be, and ought to be, to proceed, after a copious induction of facts, and a comparison of the various aspects of society in different ages and countries, and at different grades of civilization, to the recognition of those laws and tendencies which are universally distinctive of the race. The diversities observable in mankind, Herder traces not to an original distinction of species, but to the influence of climate operating so constantly and so powerfully on the organization, as in time to create differences, which are transmissible by generation, and become the permanent characters of races.

According to him, there are two agencies concerned in determining the make and constitution of each individual—the generative power, which is co-extensive with the species, and derived from their common origin†; and the influence of climate which modifies the operation of this inherent power. ‘Climate,’ he observes‡, ‘is a chaos of causes operating irregularly, variously, and slowly, till at last they penetrate into the interior of the system, and, fixed in a constitutional habitude, affect even the birth

\* Aehnlichkeit der Mittlern Englischen und Deutschen Dichtkunst. Werke. Band. xxii. s. 57.

† Die genetische Kraft ist die Mutter aller Bildungen auf der Erde, vii. 4, 91.

‡ Ibid. 5, 105.



itself. The vital energy of the species, active, uniform, and always consistent with itself, long resists the influence of these causes; but as it is not independent of outward affections, it must in time accommodate itself to them.'

As the most effectual method for a satisfactory solution of this long-agitated question, concerning the origin of those remarkable differences which distinguish the various tribes of the human race, he recommends that an exact account should be gathered, from authentic sources, of the changes which those colonists have gradually undergone, who have passed, at a comparatively recent period, from Europe to remote quarters of the globe, such as Africa, America, and the East Indies: that then the same inquiry should be instituted in regard to the more ancient migrations, as those of the Malays, Arabs, Tartars, and of the mighty swarm of nations which covered Europe on the fall of the Western Empire; that in such inquiries, there should be a constant reference to these points,—from what climate a people came, what modes of life they brought with them, what lands they entered, with what tribes they mixed, and what revolutions they passed through in their new seats; and from these results, obtained from an examination of periods that fall within the range of historical certainty, he conceives that conclusions may be drawn respecting those more ancient migratory movements, to which the traditions of the oldest writers, the coincidences of mythology, and the affinities of speech, bear witness, and in which there is every reason to think that, perhaps, all the nations of the earth have, at an earlier or later period, participated. 'We should thus,' to use his own language, 'with the assistance of some charts for inspection, be furnished with a physico-geographical history of the derivation of our race, and of the varieties impressed upon it in the course of time by climate, that must substantiate step by step the most important results\*.'

These varieties once produced, having become inherent in a race, and transmissible by generation, Herder regarded as a second nature; and, justly considering that there was a harmony established by Providence between the influence of climate, and the constitution and habitudes that were destined to subsist under it, thought that these secondary laws of nature were entitled to a sort of religious reverence, and could not be broken in upon and reversed with impunity. 'The next thousand years,' he remarks, 'will decide, in what respect the genius of Europe has injured or benefited other climates, and in what respects other climates have injured or benefited the genius of Europe†.' Perhaps, in the warmth of his imagination, he carried this feeling of a reverence for the distinctions of climate too far; but it is quite in unison with that predominant bias of his genius, which led him to delight

\* Die genetische Kraft ist die Mutter aller Bildungen auf der Erde, vii. p. 106.

† Ibid. p. 112.

in contemplating the various phases of human nature, and to search for some fixed point in the character of a people or an age, to which climate, physical geography, manners, laws, and literature, all stood in a common relation, as a consistent and harmonious whole.

His philosophy is, in this respect, conceived in a spirit diametrically opposite to that of Voltaire. The French philosopher sees no traces of a common nature among the several tribes of mankind, beneficially adjusted by the moulding influences of climate to the place which those tribes severally occupy on the surface of the globe; but even forces facts beyond their legitimate inferences\*, in order to draw a stronger line of demarcation between the different races, and to assimilate the laws, by which the human race is dispersed over all the earth, to those by which we have reason to think, that the brute and vegetable creation have been universally distributed. On some of these topics, Voltaire must be confessed, by his warmest admirers, (and no doubt there are admirable things in his historical writings,) to have as many prejudices, and to be as much of a bigot, as any priest who ever wrote. Facts and reasonings weigh as nothing with him; he settles the point at once by a bold assertion and the false application of a general principle, or dismisses everything like serious argument in the flash of an epigram. That there are very great difficulties respecting the origin of the diversities of the human race, every candid mind, that has reflected on the subject, must admit; but they cannot be disposed of by observing, 'On ne devait pas être plus surpris de trouver en Amérique des hommes que des mouches†; or by reasoning from a case, that is not parallel, 'On ne s'avise point de penser que les chenilles et les limaçons d'une partie du monde soient originaires d'une autre partie; pourquoi s'étonner, qu'il y ait en Amérique quelques races d'hommes semblables aux nôtres‡?' The power with which man alone, of all animals, is exclusively endowed of adapting himself, by the exercise of intelligence and skill, to every variety of climate, the laws which seem to have governed universally the dispersion of the arts of civilized life, and the fact of kindred traditions and practices prevailing amongst the most distant tribes of the human race, are phænomena which indicate so marked a distinction between man and the inferior tribes of animal and vegetable life, and plead so strongly in favour of the supposition of a common origin, that they ought to have checked the rash and petulant dogmatism, by which this question has been sometimes attempted to be settled.

The views of Herder and Voltaire on the subject of the negro

\* See his remarks on the Albinos, in different parts of his *Essai sur les Mœurs*, tome i. p. 7, and also tome vi. 158.

† *Essai*, &c. tome i. Introduction, p. 35.

‡ *Essai*, &c. tome vi. p. 156.

race are, as might be expected, altogether at variance, and strikingly contrast the spirit of the two writers. On the physiology of the question, we are not competent to decide; we therefore give their opinions without further comment. 'There cannot be a doubt,' says Voltaire, 'that the negroes form a perfectly distinct race;' and in proof of this assertion, he appeals to the *reticulum mucosum* of a negro, dissected by Ruysch, which he had himself examined at Leyden, and which was black. The blackness of this membrane, imparting its permanent colour to the skin, and only in certain diseases giving way, and allowing the whiteness of the fat to become visible, appears to him a manifest proof that the negroes form a race specifically distinct from other men\*. What, on the other hand, is the doctrine of Herder? He agrees with Voltaire in ascribing the blackness of negroes to the *reticulum*, which lies under the epidermis, and which is common to all mankind; but this reticulum, he further observes from Camper, is, under many circumstances, at least in some parts of the body, more or less tinged with colour; so that all men have the necessary elements in their constitution for becoming negroes. The colouring matter in negroes, according to him, is a kind of oil, which is secreted by the influence of the sun's heat under the reticulum, and which gives it its black glossy hue.

Herder, therefore, finds in this theory a confirmation of his own views concerning the action of climate on the human constitution,—that is, climate taken in its widest sense, and comprehending the auxiliary and concurring influences of the habitual modes of life and kinds of nourishment. 'Let us now consider,' he says, 'that these blacks have lived for thousands of years in their quarter of the globe, and have even, by their modes of life, become quite incorporated with it—let us further reflect, that many circumstances, which now exert a feebleness of influence, in earlier times, when all the elements were as yet in their first rude strength, must have operated far more powerfully, and that, in the lapse of thousands of years, the entire wheel, as it were, of accident completes its revolution, and developes, at one time or another, every thing that can be developed on earth,—and we shall cease to be surprised that the skin of some nations should be dark. Nature, in the course of her ceaseless and secret workings, has accomplished other and far greater variations than this†.'

Admitting that in negroes the higher intellectual powers are not developed, and that nature has compensated them for this deficiency by a greater relish and capacity of sensual pleasures, Herder benevolently adds—'let us then, if we will, compassionate the negro for being deprived by his climate of nobler gifts, but

\* Essai, &c., tome 1, p. 6; tome 6, p. 149.

† Book VI. iv. p. 39. That the heat of the sun was the cause of the blackness of negroes was long ago doubted by Sir Thomas Brown; and the grounds of his doubts may be found set forth at length in his own quaint and fanciful way, in his *Inquiries into Vulgar and Common Errors*.—Book VI. ch. x. xi. xii.

not despise him ; and let us honour the impartiality of the universal mother, who makes up in one direction for what she takes away in another. Thoughtless and happy, in the vigorous and unfettered exercise of all his animal powers, the negro passes his life in a region where nature supplies all his wants in overflowing abundance. Why should he be troubled with the sense of higher pleasures that were not made for him ? The materials for those higher pleasures were indeed within him, but Nature applied her hand, and wrought out of them what was better adapted to his country, and more necessary for the happiness of his existence. Either there should have been no Africa, or there must be negroes to dwell in it\*.'

Perhaps the views of Dr. Prichard†, as quoted in the article Physical Geography in the Library of Useful Knowledge, (Part II. p. 63,) most satisfactorily reconcile the varieties of the human race with the supposition of a common origin. In the earlier period of the world, when mankind were very few in number, it may easily be conceived that those varieties of colour, form, and structure, which even now spring up occasionally, though they do not propagate themselves, but are soon lost in the surrounding mass of population, would naturally, as society multiplied, become the characteristics of a whole nation ; especially if it be considered, that only those varieties would keep a permanent footing in a country that were associated with a constitution suited to the climate and local circumstances ; just as men of the *Xanthous* variety sometimes occur among the negroes in Africa, but, their constitution being entirely unsuited to the climate, can never become numerous on that continent.

After all, whether the human race, in all its varieties, has descended from a common origin or not, the fact is indisputable, that those varieties have now become the distinctive characters of different races, have their peculiar moral, intellectual, and social attributes, are transmissible from generation to generation, and perpetuate themselves after a removal to a different climate and an adoption of new modes of life. It is much to be regretted, that the question has ever been taken up in a theological sense. Whichever way it be settled, the credit of the Mosaic account of the creation does not appear to us to be compromised. Let it be supposed, that there were separate creations of a human pair at different points on the surface of the globe, the Mosaic record, supported as it is by such a body of internal and external evidence, would still be entitled to the firmest belief, as an authentic deduction, from its origin, of the history and progress of that portion of the human race, with which the fortunes of the Jewish people were connected, and over which the successive dispensations of the Almighty, through a long line of patriarchs

\* Book VI. iv. pp. 42, 43.

† Researches into the Physical History of Mankind.

and prophets, were destined to exert an immediate influence. The question, therefore, as we conceive it, stands disencumbered of any liability to endanger the interests of revelation. Its determination, if it ever can be determined by physiology or history, involves, in our judgment, consequences far more important and interesting in a moral and social, than in a simply theological, point of view. The most sacred duties of man to man are founded on the fraternal relation between them—on the clear and distinct recognition of their common nature. Admit an original distinction of races, and how will it be easy to show that there are not in those different races differences of capacity and organization, which entitle one, by a natural superiority, to hold another in subjection? Voltaire himself, with all his zeal for the rights of humanity, has helped us to this conclusion:—‘*La nature,*’ says he, ‘*à subordonné à ce principe (un principe qui différencie les hommes) ces différents degrés de génie et ces caractères des nations, qu’on voit si rarement changer. C’est par là que les Nègres sont les esclaves des autres hommes. On les achète sur les côtes d’Afrique comme des bêtes; et les multitudes de ces noirs transplantés dans nos Colonies d’Amérique servent un très petit nombre d’Européans\*.*’ We must confess, therefore, that, from our deep sympathy with human nature in all its forms, our wish is, to believe to the very letter, that glorious declaration of the apostle, ‘that God hath made of *one blood* all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth.’ But we know how presumptuous it is to determine, *à priori*, what must be best in the purposes of infinite wisdom; and would rather wait to see, from evidence afforded, what is *true*, convinced that whatever is true, must also be wisest and best. Wherever truth shows itself, there is a revelation of the Infinite Mind; and we trust that the time is approaching, when this will be universally acknowledged—and when the discussion of questions, on which important consequences depend, will be no longer embarrassed by the bigotry either of scepticism or of credulity.

Having established, on what appear to him sufficient grounds, an identity of origin and species in the whole human race, Herder proceeds to develop the gradual progress of society, in accordance with this fundamental principle. He shows that the sensitive organization of man varies with the influence of climate; but that everywhere, in tribes the most unlike each other, there is an use of the organs of sense appropriate to man, which leads him onward to the moral ends of his being. The imagination, and that more practical function of the intellect which is exercised upon the necessities of existence, in like manner assume among all nations a development, that corresponds to the climate and the exigencies of their physical condition; and this development is

\* *Essai sur les Mœurs*, tome 6, p. 149. The same sentiment is still more strongly expressed in the *Resumé de l’Histoire*, tome 8, p. 187.



further modified by the wide diffusion of inherited notions and traditional usages. Herder is thus led to the inquiry, how far the happiness of individual man is dependent upon the progress of what is usually called civilization? and here, without giving any countenance to the wild theories of Rousseau, by extolling savage above civilized life, Herder eloquently vindicates the impartiality of Providence in the unequal distribution of its gifts, and contends that individual happiness does not depend on the fortuitous circumstance of belonging to a state of society, where the means of sensual and intellectual gratification have been greatly and artificially multiplied,—where, consequently, much is necessary, and much must often be wanting, to happiness,—but on that development of the moral nature, that growth of the affections and sentiments, which, proportioned to the circumstances in which he is placed, is the universal heritage of man, and apart from which, even in the most advanced stages of social culture, genuine happiness cannot exist. His doctrine, in fact, is this: that the moral powers of man may be unfolded in very different states of civilization, and that, where they are unfolded, man will be happy. ‘Happiness,’ he observes, ‘is rather a silent feeling than a brilliant thought; everywhere the emotions of the heart contribute far more than the workings of a profound intellect to pervade existence with the delightful spirit of love and joy. The feelings of mankind have assumed every variety of form that could subsist upon the earth under all the varieties of climate, external circumstance, and organization; everywhere, however, the happiness of life does not consist in a stimulating multitude of thoughts and feelings, but rather in the relation which these thoughts and feelings bear to the solid and inward enjoyment of our existence, and of all that we identify with it. Nowhere upon earth does the rose of human bliss blossom without thorns; but that which springs up amidst these thorns is, everywhere and under all shapes, the fair though short-lived flower of human happiness. Millions are living upon the globe, who know nothing of the artificial refinement of our modern states; and in the most civilized community, if we would be happy, we must begin where uncivilized man begins,—in seeking and maintaining, not from the artificial helps of society, but from ourselves, the healthful enjoyment of our souls and bodies, and the happiness of our hearts and homes. Father and mother, husband and wife, child and brother, friend and fellow-man,—these are the friendships of nature, and in these relationships we must find our happiness. The institutions of society may place at our disposal more abundant instruments of artificial good; but may, alas! take from us, what is far more essential, the command and enjoyment of ourselves\*.’

\* Book VIII. v., p. 176—180.

The formation and development of individual character are then shown\* to depend on the feelings, opinions, and usages that have been handed down from former generations, and thus to constitute a necessary link in that vast traditional chain which connects the universal history of the species. Herder, however, will not, with some modern philosophers, sacrifice the individual to the species; in other words, a reality to an abstraction. There is no point which he labours more earnestly to establish, than that the improvement of individual man is an end simultaneously accomplished by Providence with the progress of society. The education of the race he cannot distinguish from the successive education of individuals. 'There is this peculiarity,' he observes, 'in all the works of God, that, though they all belong to an immeasurable whole, yet each is perfect in itself, and bears impressed upon it the godlike characters of its destination. It is so with plants and brutes; can it be otherwise with man? Can it be that thousands should be brought into being for only one?—that all preceding generations should have an exclusive reference to the last?—that every individual should exist only for the race; that is to say, for the phantom of a mere name? The All-wise acts not thus; he sets forth no dreamy abstractions in his works; in every one of his children he enjoys as full and perfect a consciousness of his paternal love, as if that child were his only creation. All his means are ends; all his ends are means to still greater ends, which unfold the accomplishment of his infinite plans. Thus, what each individual man is and may become, that also must be the purpose of the species. And what is this? The perfection and bliss of man, in the place and rank assigned him, as an appointed link in that chain of education which stretches through the whole race. Man is educated by man. His body moulders in the grave, and his name soon becomes a mere shade upon the earth; but his thoughts and character, long after he himself is forgotten, incorporated with that traditional heritage which passes from generation to generation, perpetuate their influence on the future destinies of his race†.'

On the instrumentality of language in developing the moral and intellectual nature of man, Herder has the following remarks. 'One of the most interesting inquiries into the history and manifold characteristics of the human understanding and heart would be found in a philosophical comparison of languages; since on each of these the mind and character of a people are strongly impressed. Not only the organs of speech vary in different regions, and almost every nation has some sounds and letters peculiar to it; but the naming of objects, even of such as are audible, and the direct expression of the feelings in interjections, are marked by great differences over all the earth. In objects of sight and simple

\* Book IX. i., pp. 189, 190.

† Book IX. i., p. 191.

apprehension, these differences are still more conspicuous; and in figurative expressions, in the general structure of language, in relation, arrangement, and syntax, they are almost incalculable; so that the genius of a people is nowhere more decisively indicated than in the physiognomy of its speech. Would that the wish of Bacon, Leibnitz, and others, for a general physiognomy of nations, drawn from their languages, had been only in any degree fulfilled! A task of like kind would be a history of the language of a single people, traced through their revolutions. A comparison of different cultivated languages with the different revolutions which the nations speaking them have undergone, would exhibit, in the successive alternations of light and shade, a varying picture, as it were, of that manifold development of the human mind and character, which, as I believe, in very different dialects, has always taken place in all ages of the world. Then there is writing; the most effectual of all the vehicles of tradition, and the only means of refined intellectual education. He who devised this method of fettering the fugitive spirit, not only in words but in letters, did the work of a god amongst men. What, however, was perceptible in regard to speech, is still more so in regard to writing,—viz., that this means of perpetuating our thoughts, while it gives them precision, at the same time confines and in various ways shackles them; not only because the use of letters gradually extinguishes that living light of accent and gesture, with which speech was once so irresistibly flashed into the heart; not only because the dialects and idiomatic peculiarities of different tribes and nations are hereby rendered less striking and effective; but because even the memories of men and the vitality of their spiritual powers are enfeebled by the artificial assistance of these prescribed formulas of thought. The human mind would long ago have sunk under the load of books and learning, had not Providence from time to time revived and excited it anew by various destructive revolutions. Chained down by letters, the understanding creeps slowly and painfully onward to its object, and its best thoughts are dumbly enunciated in the deadness of a written character. Notwithstanding this, we must still look upon a written vehicle of our thoughts as the most lasting and powerful of the silent agencies, by which God has provided that nation should act on nation and age on age, and through the ultimate diffusion of which perhaps the whole human race will at last find itself linked together in one vast chain of brotherly tradition\*.

There are few, probably, of our readers that will subscribe to the very unqualified terms in which Herder states this most invidious comparison of written with oral language, and seems almost to deprecate learning, as a weight that crushes the native

\* Book IX. ch. ii., p. 205—208.

energies of the human soul; but when due allowance is made for that imaginative enthusiasm by which he is sometimes led astray in pursuing a favourite idea, and when this passage is viewed in connexion with the general spirit of his philosophy, we can only consider him as expressing his hearty sympathy with every free and natural development of the heart and character, especially as it is seen in traditionary legends and in the simplest forms of popular poetry, to the disparagement of those more laboured and artificial productions, in which the free play of the native faculties is checked by rules, in which the heart speaks not, and in which no individual feeling and genius can be recognized. On this topic Herder certainly carried his notions to an extreme; but, on the other hand, it may perhaps be justly contended, that many writers on the philosophy both of history and of literature, have too arbitrarily assumed one particular state of manners, civilization, and taste, as an absolute standard of perfection, by which the claims of other nations and other ages must be judged; without perceiving that, under the most diversified forms of social life, the Almighty has benevolently provided for such a development of the heart, affections, and intellect, as best conduces to the well-being and happiness of individual man, in the circumstances in which he is actually placed; and that literature, which is the embodying of the popular voice, must always stand in a marked relation to those circumstances, and can be fairly estimated only by a constant reference to them. In combating this narrow prejudice, by which many critics, particularly of the French school, have been infected, Herder was betrayed, perhaps unconsciously, into an extravagance of the opposite kind; but his writings have still had a most salutary effect; and perhaps their influence may be traced in that more enlightened spirit of criticism which the Schlegels have carried into literature, and which his friend Heyne, and others since his time, have so successfully adopted in antiquities and history.

It would thus appear, from the views unfolded by Herder, in the two first volumes of his work, that the three great influences which most powerfully operate on the human race—at once developing individual character, and carrying forward the progressive improvement of the species—are those of constitutional temperament inherited from the birth; of climate and physical condition; and lastly, of tradition in its most comprehensive sense, as including that common heritage of feelings, opinions, and knowledge, of arts, usages, and institutions, which descends, modifying and modified, through successive generations, bringing the spirit of the past to act on the present and the future, and giving to men of the remotest ages and nations an interest in each other's improvement and happiness. Laws and governments, arts and inventions, are all swept along this broad stream of tradition. But of all the treasures thus handed down to mankind

from a remote antiquity, religion is the most venerable for its age and its sanctity.

Religion, under some form or other, is co-extensive with the human race ; but all the earliest indications of its existence prove it to have been, not so much the product of an inquiring reason, as an inherited possession. Whencesoever it came, it was transmitted from age to age by means of symbols ; with these symbols traditional expositions were originally connected, which in time ceased to be understood even by the priests, and thus a dead form was left in place of a living doctrine. To religion, however, notwithstanding its subsequent corruption, mankind are indebted for their earliest science and civilization. In the infancy of the world, no division of intellectual, any more than of manual, labour existed ;—whatever man knew, whatever he thought, whatever he had discovered or invented, was thrown into one general depository, was given up to the keeping of the sacerdotal caste, and then delivered over, under the consecrated name of religion, for the benefit of coming generations. ‘ All the most polished nations of antiquity,’—it is remarked by Herder,—‘ the Etruscans, Greeks, and Romans—received their knowledge out of the bosom and under the veil of religious traditions ; from this source they derived their poetry and arts, their music and writing, their history and medicine, their natural philosophy and metaphysics, their astronomy and chronology, and even their ethics and political wisdom. The most ancient sages did nothing more than separate the seeds which were thus put into their hands, and then rear them as plants of their own ; by which means a development was commenced that afterwards went on with the course of centuries. Even the northern nations have had their knowledge conveyed to them in the dress of religion\*.’

These views, which are in unison with the most accurate researches of history, altogether refute the specious reasonings of those philosophers who suppose the human race to have been originally placed on the earth in a condition little superior to the brutes—to have made all their subsequent advances in civilization by the unaided exercise of their native powers—and, by the working of an innate and spontaneous intelligence, to have raised themselves through all the intermediate gradations to that state of knowledge and refinement in which we now find the nations of modern Europe. ‘ Were this the case,’ as Herder very justly observes, ‘ we should still meet with nations devoid of reason and speech, and without any sense of religion or morals, since men continue to subsist in their original condition on the earth. But, in fact, the inhabitants of Greenland, Kamschatka, and Terra del Fuego, all have their peculiar modes of expressing their moral and religious feelings, as their legends and usages show ; and even should a few solitary instances be adduced from

\* Book IX. v. p. 235.



the savages of the Indian islands, of people without any notion of religion, they would only prove the extremity of barbarism to which want and suffering had reduced those wretched beings\*.' But these religious ideas, rude and diversified as they may be, are proved, by the very nature of the influence which they possess, not to be the spontaneous growth of the uncultivated mind; they come to it from without. Man, indeed, in the course of his moral and intellectual development, is wholly unlike the inferior orders of creation—thriving on their native soils, and reaching a rapid maturity under the climate originally assigned them. For his higher perfection he requires the aid and co-operation of a foreign influence. The seeds of improvement are all within him—speech, memory, and reason;—but, when he has once fallen below a certain grade of culture, they seem incapable of fructifying, till some external stimulus has been applied—till an accession of arts and usages, before unknown, brought down upon them by the wide stream of tradition, leaves behind, as it were, a rich and fertilizing soil, which shortly quickens them into life. Whence this mysterious stream had its source—through what regions it has passed—and what elements of life and fertility it has carried down and dispersed with its waters—these are the questions which now lie before us; and these an examination of Herder's remaining volumes may perhaps, in some degree, enable us to answer.

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## LOVE.

Love is a germ, a feeling that can ne'er  
Be banish'd wholly from the human breast,  
It lingers still through pleasure, crime, or care,  
However little nurs'd, or much oppress'd;—  
The beacon-star of all that's pure and fair,  
It points for ever to the port of rest!  
'The world may dim, but ne'er can darken quite,  
That holy ray of God's eternal light.

The veriest wretch who wars against his kind,  
In whom the echo of Love's voice seems mute,  
Keeps yet some little corner of his mind  
Warm with affection for a bird or brute!  
There dimly lies th' etherial gem enshrined—  
There lives the dwarf-plant of a heavenly root—  
Revealing still that *that* can never die,  
Which has its birth and beauty from on high!

The charity, that envy and the wear  
Of jarring interests in their blighting course  
Aye chill, a common peril, or despair,  
Revives in all its purity and force.

\* Book IX. v. p. 231—237.

Witness that melancholy shipwreck \*, where  
 (Affections rushing from the one same source)  
 Those stranger women, 'mid the storm's alarms,  
 Met death, like sisters, in each other's arms.

O Love! thou art most beautiful!—thy light  
 Is heaven's best blessing on this world below,—  
 Its moral sun by day,—its moon by night,—  
 Its joy's enhancement, and the balm of woe!  
 There's not a soul,—a thing in depth or height,—  
 But takes a hue and vigour from thy glow.  
 Thou beautifiest hearts with bliss, the clod  
 With flowers!—Thou art the omnipotence of God!

T. N.

#### THE QUESTION BETWEEN THE NATION AND THE CHURCH.

IN reply to the impeachment which, in the name of the nation, we made against the Church not long since, it may be urged in behalf and in the person of the establishment—'Advert to the moral and spiritual influence which I exert throughout the land. What district of the country is there—what secluded village, in which I have not placed the means of moral instruction? I have prepared, set apart, and sent into all parts of the country, men distinguished for education and virtue, who, by the mere force of example, if not by actual teaching, cannot fail to be ministers of God to thousands.' 'Yet,' the nation urges in rejoinder, 'I see another system in full and active operation throughout the land. If the substance of your reply be well founded, how has it come to pass that the several bodies of dissenters divide with you the spiritual empire of the nation? Them too I find in every city, town, and hamlet; often, indeed, when I see no trace of thee, except in the tithe-gatherer. They have established an instrumentality equally wide-spreading as thine, supported by agents who, at the least, will not suffer in comparison with thee, in education, moral worth, and moral influence. How is this?—In consequence of the aid of the Government?—By the dispensation of honours and emoluments?—Through the favouring breezes of popularity and fashion? In direct opposition to them all; in direct opposition to thy own mighty and strenuously-exerted influence. How is this? How have these millions been led to quit thy pale, in direct opposition to all the force of fashion, popular favour, interest? How have they found the way to support their own system, while they bear no mean part of the burden of supporting thee? By what moral miracle have they waxed strong and numerous, and do they daily thicken their ranks, while most of those influences are against them which are the ordinary pledges of success? How is this? Men

\* The Rothsay Castle.

do not easily leave an institution which age and art have alike consecrated—which the civil power fosters with immunities, opulence, and privileges—and which opens to the lowliest a path to the highest ranks in the commonwealth. The amazing extent to which dissent is gone is of itself an indubitable evidence that thy boasted influence is more in name than deed ; that thy spiritual machinery, however widely extended, is seriously defective in its workings. The nation, it would seem, has created for itself the good thou didst not impart.

‘ Let us look back on times past, and see how thou hast demeaned thyself. The nation seems deserting thee : the reasons which actuate myriads in successive generations can hardly be wholly unjustifiable. Hast thou been the friend of religious liberty ? Thou art the child, thou shouldst in thy turn have been the parent, of spiritual freedom. But history declares that thou didst abuse, as soon as thou hadst possession of power. How large a portion of the statute-book is a record of thy intolerance ! Even death thou didst not deem too severe a punishment for those who were honest enough to think for themselves, and bold enough to differ from thee. Rather than put away some of the corruptions thou didst borrow from the Pope, thou didst deluge a nation in blood ; and to maintain thy own tottering, because ill-founded, dominion, thou becamest the abettor of civil tyranny—taughtest that kings, bad or good, bear rule by divine right, and are to be obeyed as God’s ministers. Thou the friend of religious liberty ! What act of coercion is there for diversities of faith thou hast not coveted, exerted—which thou hast of thyself resigned—to which thou hast not clung ? Whatever liberty the country enjoys has been extorted from thee. Was a voice raised out of thy pale in favour of the rights of Christians, thou sparedst no effort till it was silenced. The liberal of thy own body thou hast neglected, decried—yes, persecuted. It is yet scarcely more than a century since, in imitation of thy papal mother in her treatment of Galileo, thou didst compel one whose name is an honour to his country, and who will survive and be esteemed in men’s memories when the herd of thy prelates shall be covered in congenial and merited oblivion—didst compel the learned and virtuous Dr. Whitby to recant, and seek pardon—for what ? For a breach of the Divine laws ? No—them he might have broken, and, with many others, been preferred by thee to stations of eminent wealth—but for daring to surmise that thou wast not entirely without spot or wrinkle, and to reassert a position which finds its original and sanction in apostolic authority. “ I, Daniel Whitby, having been the author of a book ”—these are the words thou dictatedst to him—“ called the Protestant Recorder, which, through want of prudence and *deference to authority*, I have caused to be published, am truly and heartily sorry for the same ; and whereas it containeth several

passages which are *obnoxious to the canons, and do reflect upon the governors of the said Church*, I do hereby openly revoke and renounce all by which I have justly incurred the *displeasure of my superiors*. And furthermore, whereas these two propositions have been deduced in the same book; *first*, that it is not lawful for superiors to impose anything in the worship of God that is not antecedently necessary; and *secondly*, that the duty of not offending a weak brother is inconsistent with all human authority of making laws concerning things indifferent; I do hereby openly renounce both the said propositions, being false, erroneous, and schismatical; and whereinsoever I have offended therein, I do heartily beg pardon of God and the Church for the same." More than this, the book was condemned by a formal decree of the University of Oxford, and burnt by the University marshal within its precincts. Who could expect religious liberty from a Church that would do an act so tyrannical as this? And who does not see that the liberty now enjoyed by the nation is not in consequence of the tender mercies of a Church capable so recently of such an act, but of the irresistible influence of its own enlightenment and liberality? Yes, the Church has continued its yoke on those who were obnoxious to her, to the last possible moment. How long is it since the Catholics were emancipated—since the Dissenters were exonerated from their disqualifications? And did the Church relax its grasp till compelled? It was the Nation, not the Church, that set these captives free.

' Look at institutions, where thou art enabled to follow the bent of thy own will. Have they the badge of freedom on them? What! those Universities into which an Englishman cannot enter, or from whose lowest honours he is precluded, except he first declare his assent to what he does neither understand nor believe—which he must be singularly fortunate if he ever does understand, and singularly besotted if he ever does believe?—that Church in which no one can honestly minister, but such as take up their sentiments on trust—preach as truth what, for want of investigation, is no truth to them—are content to pass their lives hoodwinked and biassed in their scriptural inquiries;—that Church which makes the decisions of barbarous ages the standards of religious truth to the most enlightened times;—which in religion does all it can to arrest the onward progress of the human mind—which fears to leave the Scripture to speak for itself—which assails, not with the weapons of fair argument, but with the once deadly and still baneful cry of heresy, every departure from its determinations—and, not content with all the influence of wealth, honour, and privilege, with all the power of earth, seeks to wield the stupendous agencies of eternity, and to scare the mind from its quest of truth, by declaring that it will perish everlastingly, should it be led by its inquiries to deny what the Church falsely terms the universal faith? What! that Church favourable to religious

liberty which uses bribes and threats instead of arguments—which, if not infallible, is never wrong—and would rather break all the laws of charity than allow the idea that its doctrines are not equally pure and true with the Scriptures themselves? No: in the past thou hast used persecution instead of persuasion—in the present, thou dost use what varies but in name and degree—what shows that thou wantest rather the power than the disposition to persecute again;—thou dost use disqualification. Alas! the land is ill at ease because of thy narrow spirit. Society is broken into jarring portions—these honoured, those dishonoured; these borne easily onward and upward to places of honour and emolument—those pressed down by a weight of disqualification; amerced in their good name, their rank, their usefulness—not for moral delinquencies—not for civil misdemeanours—but for a diversity of sentiment. They have had vigour of mind to think, and strength of principle to avow their convictions; and this is their fault. O! when shall these practical hallucinations cease? When shall thought be unshackled, unbribed? When shall honesty be no longer punished? When shall truth have fair play? When shall human society be unimpeded in the exercise of the mental faculties? When shall he be the greatest who is the best man?—Not till a Church has perished, which, forgetful of its own true interests, seeks, at whatever cost of obstruction and animosity to the nation,—seeks to retain an ill-gotten opulence, by the bonds of creeds and disqualifications.

‘I know not why, of the equally deserving, some should be honoured above others. I know not why a portion of my people should possess a monopoly in the Church, and a predominance in the State. I know not why any one set of religious functionaries should bear their heads proudly above all others, and should entwine themselves with the essential elements of the Constitution, to their own aggrandisement, and the exclusion of others at least equally worthy. If a reason for thy supremacy ever existed, thou hast parted with it in allowing, by thy apathy and corruption, one half of the nation to quit thy pale, and provide spiritual instruction for themselves. Why shouldst thou retain the whole of thy pay, when thou dost but half of the work? Why should the nation be compelled to support thee in opulence, and almost uselessness, and another system of spiritual instruction, which proves itself valuable and efficient? Why both? And if one may be removed,—which? The useful or the useless? That of the people’s choice and formation, or that of which some care little, others nothing, and which most dislike, if not detest? What hast thou to say in bar of the sentence long thought of—in mercy delayed—yet tarrying in hope thou wilt reform thyself:—“Cut it down; why cumbereth it the ground?” Canst thou expect the nation much longer to endure the sight of privilege on the one side, and exclusion on the other?—of consequent



haughtiness and depression ; of sectarian animosities ; the march of truth obstructed ; the force of intellect cowed ; the originality of superior minds amerced ; the priest in opulence—the people in penury ?

‘ Canst thou expect to delude the nation yet much longer with the notion that the Church of England is coincident with the Church of Christ ; that thou hast the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth ; that the welfare of religion is involved in the welfare of a sect ? The nation is beginning to feel a doubt even of the value of religion, if, as thou sayest, religion and thou art one—if it is only to be purchased at the cost of freedom and brotherly love—if with it the nation must take also maimed and crippled liberty, and all the debasing and malignant passions which an unjust domination engenders equally in the lord and the serf. O ! why should not this great nation live together over the face of the land in mutual love, with minds as free in their exercise as the winds of heaven, striving one with another,—not by monopolies, exclusion, and privilege,—not by princely wealth and abject poverty,—not by the favour and coercion of the magistrate, and the anger and combination of the people,—not by the decisions of selfish and ignorant and bigoted councils, in opposition to the sole and pure records of the gospel,—but by the conflict of mind with mind—a mutual interchange of good will and free thought and free speech,—by honourable, because unbridled and unchecked, competition,—by comparing scripture with scripture, and gathering light in all quarters of the horizon, wherever the smallest particle is found, gathering and combining its rays, not with opposing aims,—not with malevolent words,—not with injury to character,—not as the Jews in rebuilding their temple, each with arms in his hands, and the Samaritans, albeit their brothers, reviling, hindering, envying,—not thus, not as now, but harmoniously, as fellow-citizens and fellow-Christians, as fellow-seekers of truth, each interested in every discovery, and each honoured in proportion to his actual merit. But this pleasing vision never can be realized while a dominant and powerful hierarchy have an interest in existing abuses—in a particular system of doctrines—in privileges both in church and state, which gratify at once the love of power and the love of opulence.

‘ Why should there not take place at the present a revision of the practices and sentiments which we have inherited from the past ? The voice of analogy suggests the revision. What department of knowledge is there but theology, and what system of discipline but that of the Church, in which the increase of knowledge, the improvement of the mind, the vigour and activity of intellect, for which the age is distinguished, have not made most valuable discoveries, and effected most extensive and valuable changes. But, inverting the miracle of Egypt, the

whole land is full of light, except the one spot occupied by the Church. *There* is monkish barbarism, there is darkness that may be felt, there is the folly of ages whose wisdom, at least in part, consisted in spurious miracles, the worship of dead men's bones, the canonization of heathen divinities by Christian names, the introduction of persecution, the invention of purgatory, the acknowledgment of witchcraft, the dreams of astrology. These monstrosities and puerilities of opinion and practice all the world has now outgrown; but in the Church there still are found creeds, practices, and principles, breathing the very spirit of the times from which they came. Why should these things be sheltered from scrutiny?—Why not be weighed in the balance without partiality, without hatred; and if they are found wanting, why not be discarded, if genuine truth, embraced and recommended? Would truth be a loser? Would the nation be a loser? No; but the Church would. Its craft would be endangered, and therefore they screen their system from inquiry, and attempt to drown the many-tongued outcry of a people for reformation, by exclaiming, “Away! away with these pestilent fellows! crucify them, crucify them—Great is Diana of the Ephesians.”

‘Thou hast boasted of the extent of thy spiritual influence. What is its kind and degree? The most extended system is sometimes found the most useless. The Egyptian priesthood made their rule co-extensive with the borders of their country, and yet the people groped in thick darkness. Paganism, prior to the introduction of Christianity, pervaded the civilized world, going from the palace to the city, and the city to the town, and the town to the village, and from the village to each abode, adorning all things but enlightening none, and concealing within a fair exterior—in whited sepulchres—things more revolting than dead men's bones. Thy extensive diffusion proves nothing but the greatness of the nation's munificence and of thy responsibility. It is a trust, in the acceptance of which thou hast given a pledge. In the words of Pharaoh's daughter, the genius of this nation has said unto thee, “Take this child and nurse it for me, and I will give thee thy wages.” And into thy lap, what a profusion of good has it poured! and an affluence still greater hast thou at various times, and by various ways,—yet most of them, but too exceptionable,—used thy delegated influence to acquire. How then hast thou kept the sacred deposit? How hast thou redeemed thy pledge?

‘What was the condition of the country when Wesley began his labours? He found the great body of the people ignorant and brutal. They lived in a Christian country, and loosely they were called Christians; but this is all the share that most of them had in Christianity. He went throughout the land, and found, wherever he went, appalling proofs of thy indifference and neglect. Dost thou plead ignorance of the fact? Admit what

is improbable; yet why wert thou ignorant, except because thou wert careless? But thy alleged ignorance Wesley took away. He displayed to thee the actual state of the people; he solemnly admonished thee; and how didst thou act? No effort didst thou spare to decry the man, to traverse his plans, to keep from the people the good he was ready to communicate. And as no effort was spared to put him down, so none was made to atone for thy past neglects—to meet actual wants—to dissipate the darkness in which thou knewest the minds of the people to be enveloped. And, therefore, in spite of all opposition, he went through the kingdom in a proud and rapid triumph, giving present and future happiness to thousands, whom thou hadst left in the gall of bitterness and the bonds of iniquity. To him and others, not to thee, the labouring classes of this land owe most of the religious good which they now possess. It is painful, however, to think how small a portion of these classes that good embraces. No; thou hast not been eyes to the blind; for the bulk of the people, of those who before all others need, in consequence of their bodily toil and many privations, need and claim the aid of religion, are devoid of the rudiments of religious knowledge and the elements of a religious character—being as foul and boisterous in their bosoms as they were dark in their minds. Go into the streets and lanes of my cities, traverse the districts of the agricultural population, enter the hovel, once a cottage, notice the disorder and filth, the ragged and half-starved children, the wife in tears, the husband in despair,—muttering his discontent upon all about him, upon those very beings that nature meant to be the joy of his heart,—and perhaps his curses on that Church which I meant to be his instructor—guide of his mind—but which he knows of almost only as luxuriating in the tenth of the land's produce, and greedy to exact the fee for every trivial service. Go—see—hear these things—they exist on all sides in wretched abundance—go and lay them to heart!

‘If the poor are ignorant and vicious, are the rich instructed? The theological education of the instructed part of the community is, as far as thy influence extends, insignificant in the extreme, whether its nature or extent be regarded. There was a time when theology, as a science, flourished out of the church,—when a Newton and a Locke deemed the study worthy of the highest efforts of their highest powers; but since churchmen have, with a few exceptions, discontinued to study theology,—since but too many proofs have made it apparent, that divinity is in practice degraded to a trade, in which he was most prosperous, not who enlarged the boundaries of knowledge, not who threw light on what was obscure, not who, by the free and vigorous exercise of his own powers, encouraged and fostered the mental energy of others,—but who best defended existing institutions,—who most plausibly extenuated existing abuses, who most effectively drowned

the voice of opposition and the outcry of indignant and outraged virtue, by boisterous clamour and storms of abuse—since these things have been apparent, the mitre placed on the head of the dexterous and unscrupulous polemic, or the spiritual politician making a gain of godliness—laymen have been disgusted with a study which was associated with meanness and sycophancy, which brought no honour,—and would, if attended with any valuable results, if it led to the discovery of new views or to deviations from established formularies, bring certain disqualification and disesteem.

‘The worldliness and indifference of thy clergy have led to yet worse results: they have, as was natural, created a congenial worldliness and indifference in the people. Thousands frequent thy churches, not because they feel the value of religion, but because the voice of custom, of fashion, of decency, is too powerful for their indifference. And others, in numbers painfully great, whom thou by thy abuses hast converted to infidelity, or filled with doubts, or rendered sceptical, or caused to throw away religion altogether, find it convenient with the actual observances of society, to take shelter under thy wide-spread mantle, where, if they sleep, thy voice disturbs not their slumbers; if they sin, thou givest thyself no concern, and art anxious only to make them as tributary as circumstances will allow to the increase of thy goods.

‘Yes, to the establishment are ascribable most of the indifference and infidelity which prevail throughout the land. It is but too true, that the labouring classes are ignorant and vicious; the intelligent classes, indifferent, sceptical, and irreligious. And what wonder! Men have been all but wholly neglected by those whose business it was to give them education: neglected in private, neglected in public; in private treated with the loftiness and distance which unmerited privileges engender; in public supplied with food distasteful, if not pernicious. In how many of thy churches is the solemn worship of Almighty God but a formal pomp, a frigid, heartless ceremonial, or, worse still, a hypocritical mockery. O, it offends the soul, it rouses the indignation of virtue, to witness the insult which is thus offered at once to God and man, by those whose sole business seems to be to get through at the least cost that by which they get their bread; to be present at a sermon which you might consider yourself fortunate to hear, did it prove when heard to contain anything worthy of attention. Yes, even the discourses of thy dignitaries are poor in matter, and tame in manner, and would scarcely be tolerated but for the recommendation they receive from the station of the preacher. What a contrast between the actual state of the church, and those apostles from whom it pretends to derive its authority! Where is the evidence of that derivation? In the obscurities—the falsifications of history? How much better were it in a moral resemblance—this all could feel, this all would allow. To establish the

apostolicity of thy origin, there would then need no lengthened detail of argument. Every good man would carry conviction of the fact in his own breast. But now it is universally felt, that if thou art descended, thou art equally degenerated from the apostles. They were poor ; thou rich : they simple in their manners and in their worship ; thou clothed in purple and fine linen, faring sumptuously every day, bearing thyself haughtily, and investing the ceremonial of thy worship with pomp and pageantry : they supplied their wants by their own labours, or, having food and raiment gratuitously communicated, were therewith content ; thou 'teachest for hire, and thy prophets divine for money' : they were as disinterested as thou art selfish, as much given to labour as thou art to ease, as earnest about the welfare of man as thou art indifferent. No wonder that, under thy influence, the state of professors now is so different from what it was in the apostles' days. No wonder that strife, discontent, and vice, prevail on every hand. No wonder that society is disjointed. The spirit of Christianity is not among the people ; but of wrath and unholiness, because of thy corruptions. And if I do but advert to Ireland, where thy influence has been less counteracted than here, what scenes of disorder do I behold ! The priest and the people not only in direct collision, but in hostile array ; thy taxes levied by force of arms, by slaughter, and to the engendering of lasting hatred ; fair fields left uncultivated, or rich harvests unreaped, to avoid thy unjust claims ; the whole of society disorganized, convulsed, each man's hand against his brother, labouring to cast thee as a monstrous abortion, and paralysing incubus, labouring and heaving to cast thee from off its bosom.

'Yes, the alternative lies between thy regeneration or downfall, and the nation's ruin. Genuine and full religious liberty cannot be enjoyed under thy auspices, religion cannot flourish with thee as its steward. If the nation is to be at rest, and make improvement in mind and heart, to enjoy time, and prepare for eternity ; if prevailing discord is to be removed, the hungry to be fed, the ignorant enlightened, and the vicious reformed ; if industry is to meet with its reward, and a new impulse be given to trade ; thou, the great antagonist of improvement, must be regenerated, or destroyed.'

### THE INVALID EXILE.

O BEAR him from his country, gentle wind,  
 And make us lose him, that we still may find.  
 Ship, set thy sails, and take thy stately leave ;  
 Thou dost but grieve us, that we may not grieve.  
 And you, ye billows, quick, between us dart,  
 We bid ye part us, that we may not part.  
 Absence is death, they say ; but not so here :  
 'This death saves life ; this absence keeps more near.



## NOTES ON PASSAGES OF SCRIPTURE.

Matt. i. 1—17.

ONE of the greatest difficulties to be encountered by those who acknowledge the genuineness of the introductory chapters both of Matthew and of Luke, is how to reconcile the two genealogies; and none of the hypotheses proposed with this view, perfectly gratuitous as they all confessedly are, appear to me in any degree satisfactory. That Joseph was the son of Jacob by descent and of Heli by adoption, is a mere arbitrary assumption, without any evidence except the explanation it is supposed to afford; that Luke's is the genealogy, not of Joseph, but of Mary, is in direct and obvious contradiction of the statement itself. It must also be remarked, that a repetition of similar difficulties, to be removed by similar conjectures and assumptions, occurs at the name of Salathiel, at least if we suppose, as is most probable, that this name denotes the same individual in both accounts. But independently of the difficulty of proving, upon either of these suppositions, that the two genealogies relate to different persons, it may be doubted whether they are compatible with each other, when it is considered that, at any rate, they both extend through the same series of years. Now, according to Matthew, we have from David to Salathiel, fifteen generations, while Luke's account exhibits twenty-one. Again, from Salathiel to Jesus we have in Matthew twelve generations only, in Luke twenty-one, making a total, for the same interval, of twenty-seven generations by the one account, and forty-two by the other. How far such a diversity, as this implies, in the average length of so long a course of generations in a pedigree, can be reconciled to the results of general experience, I submit to the consideration of those who are more learned than myself in researches of this nature. But, upon general principles, I should be much disposed to doubt it. Differences, and great differences, in individual cases, are of course observable, in the same manner as differences, and great differences, present themselves in the rate of mortality, and in all other events that depend upon the action of uniform laws, modified, to a certain extent, by the influence of varying circumstances; but I apprehend that in this, as in all similar cases, when a number of examples, or a long series such as this, is taken, we approach very near to a certain fixed standard, and any wide deviation from that standard renders the whole suspicious. In the present instance, the interval from Salathiel to Jesus is probably from 570 to 600 years; which, divided by Matthew's number, 12, gives from 48 to 50 years for each descent; a result, if I am not much mistaken, without a parallel in the history of mankind. The same period, divided by the number in Luke's

genealogy, gives the more probable quotient of 27 or 28 years for each descent.

It is observable, that this discrepancy has no reference to any of the hypotheses devised for reconciling the genealogies in other respects; but applies to them when considered as independent documents.

Matt. iii. 1.

Εν δε ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις.—‘In *those* days;’—in *what* days?—Certainly not the days which are mentioned at the close of the preceding chapter, which were nearly thirty years before; an interval, which though to us, at this distance of time, it may appear comparatively short, to the Evangelist, as some believe not more than eight or ten years after the resurrection, must have been quite too long to allow of the two periods being identified in this manner. The days of the preaching of John the Baptist were *not* the days of the birth of Christ. There is an abruptness here from the absence of an antecedent, which it is not easy to account for, on the supposition that the Gospel of Matthew is read by us in its original form, and it is difficult to remove it except by supposing that the first two chapters of this book, as they now stand, did not originally form part of it, but being inserted by some very early transcriber, have excluded the original introduction, which would have supplied the connexion. So that the awkwardness of supposing the third chapter to be the beginning of the book, which is sometimes urged as a ground of argument for the genuineness of the first and second, in reality furnishes an argument against them. The particle δε, with which it sets out, could scarcely be found at the beginning of any composition, but implies a reference of some kind to what has gone before. The reference, however, cannot be to what is actually found there, for the reason already stated; there must consequently have been originally something else which no longer exists. The third chapter has no connexion of any kind with the first and second; it makes no reference to them whatever; and, indeed, there is not a text in the whole gospel from which, if these two chapters were not extant, we should have any ground to suspect that they had ever existed.

It may be observed, that this is an argument against the genuineness, and consequent authenticity, of the first two chapters of *Matthew only*; not to those of Luke, which are quite differently circumstanced, and which may be received without acknowledging the authority of the others; or the reality of the extraordinary history which they are commonly supposed to contain.

W. T.

## THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY.

## PART I. CONCLUDED.

THE process of the deification of Christ was aided by another and a most powerful principle of the human breast. The offence of the cross was among the earliest impediments of the Gospel. The Jews accounted him accursed that was hanged on a tree. The Gentiles despised the whole nation of Israelites, and held in supreme contempt a teacher of that nation, who had, by the confession of his followers, suffered capital punishment in its most degrading shape. How could he be the Messiah, the one argued, whose unacceptance with God was declared by the sufferings which he underwent? Is it likely, thought the other, that I should relinquish the teachings of Plato and Pythagoras, of Aristotle and Cicero, to take up with the delusions of a crucified Jew? These difficulties, we know, were felt. Constantly were they thrown in the way of the Christian missionaries. What is there surprising in the fact that they should meet them by declaring, that the outward meanness was compensated by an inward glory? Their pride would prompt them to rank their master as highly as they could; and their benevolence, too, would be concerned to remove as far as possible every stumbling-block. At first, they would be content to appeal to the mighty deeds and eminent wisdom of the crucified Teacher. When it was replied that still he was but a crucified Jew, how natural the rejoinder, that he was the Son of God, understanding that phrase rather in a heathenish than a Gospel sense, and straining it to signify a mysterious relationship of nature between the Creator and the Redeemer. Thus the offence of the cross would be removed, the objector silenced, and pride and benevolence alike gratified. How objectionable to many of the early converts was the fact of Christ's crucifixion, may be easily gathered from the visionary notions of the Gnostics respecting his person. Rather than believe that the Messiah had suffered the death of a malefactor, they maintained that he had been crucified only in appearance—that a mere phantom of Jesus had been tortured unto death. The indisposition to receive a palpable fact which drove the Gnostics to this most groundless and absurd imagination, might, it is easy to see, lead others to ascribe that dignity to his nature which belonged exclusively to his character. Of the two resources the latter was the more plausible. That pre-eminent greatness did belong to Jesus, no one could for a moment doubt. Whether it sprung from the Deity within his breast, or the Deity in the universe, was a metaphysical question, which might be determined either way without leading to absurdity, and which those whose pride was concerned in the solution of it might, with no great difficulty, answer in agreement with their inclina-

tions. At all events, the fact that recourse was had to the notion of Christ being a man merely in appearance, in order to avoid the scandal of the cross, shows the possibility, not to say the probability, of a less unreasonable fiction being ventured on in order to secure the same, and what was deemed a desirable, end. That the early Christians were capable of thus straining a point in order to rebut the objections of adversaries is beyond a question. Out of several, we choose one instance in proof. Those without the pale of Christianity charged it with being a novel system. The Fathers of the Church, instead of admitting the allegation, and putting the objector on the proof of the imputation which he held it to involve, thought proper to maintain in effect, though not in words, that 'Christianity was as old as the creation.' And how did they prove it?—Christianity enjoins the love of God; therefore, all who loved God in all past ages were Christians. Men who could thus argue would easily be led, in striving to remove the scandal of the cross, to hit on the idea, and then to discover corroborations of it, and then to publish it, and then strenuously to maintain it,—that Jesus, as well as his religion, was as old as the creation—nay, was the instrument of God in the creation, and still further, was a constituent part of the divine essence.

The metamorphosis of which we have spoken was greatly facilitated by the prevalence of a mystical philosophy. All the Grecian teachers, with the exception of Socrates, and his influence was comparatively small, with much pretence at explanation made nothing plain. Moral science was little to their taste. In the abstruse questions of the existence and nature of imagined superior intelligences—their functions, orders, and gradations; of the essence of beauty, honour, and virtue;—in these and kindred questions, they spent their time, seeking rather topics of disputation and the excitement of novelty, than what was true and useful. The sublime genius of Plato led him to soar into the very empyrean of mystery, and, aided by a poetical and creative fancy, he disclosed, in the tone of a master, the discoveries which he fancied he had made in the world of spirits. By his followers, through many an age, his philosophic dreams were augmented in number and in obscurity, till, mingling their own darkness with the darkness of the oriental philosophy—a darkness which had for ages been accumulating—they constituted a system, a parallel to which can be found nowhere but in the writings of Baron Swedenborg, and which could not fail to extend the empire and the love of mysticism, and to render those notions respecting the person of Jesus Christ most acceptable which were the most remote from the simple realities of fact and experience. We shall form a most erroneous judgment, if we imagine that this mystical spirit was restricted in its influence to the philosophic few. Setting aside the fact, that the mis-called science of

philosophy was, at the period of Christ's advent, more extensively cultivated than it had previously been, we remark that the public mind was, to a considerable extent, imbued with the spirit of philosophic mysticism. The many, as was natural, imbibed the notions and caught the spirit of the few; and Jew, as well as Gentile, was more ready to entertain a system of mystery than a system of common sense. Nothing could be more plain and practical than the Gospel, as taught by Christ and his Apostles; and nothing was more improbable than that such a system should very long retain its purity, in passing through the minds and the pens of the majority of the early converts. Was it likely that those who had sat at the feet of Plato or Philo—who had received from these mystics 'wings to their minds' with which they could soar into the invisible world—who prided themselves on the sublimity of their fancied knowledge respecting the ideas of the divine mind, the nature of the soul, and the powers of the celestial hierarchies, could content themselves with the simple facts of the life, death, and resurrection of the man Christ Jesus? 'A clear and unpoluted fountain'—we use the words of Dr. Jortin—'fed by secret channels with the dew of heaven, when it grows a large river, and takes a long and winding course, receives a tincture from the various soils through which it passes.' This sentence contains the leading fact observable in the history of the corruptions of Christianity respecting the person of our Lord. The spirit of mysticism which prevailed at, and for ages after, the promulgation of the Christian religion gave its own character to no few of the great truths of the Gospel, but to none so much as to its teachings relative to the Creator and the Saviour. A mystical philosophy had made men fond of abstruse reasonings and lofty speculations; and this indisposed them to receive anything but aspiring and visionary illusions. It had bewildered men's minds, so that they could not see and desire unadorned truth, nor accurately judge of evidence, nor rest satisfied with the simplicity of the Gospel. Even in the days of the Apostles the spirit of mystery was in active operation, and the most strenuous efforts were needed to keep it in check. On their demise, others undertook to withstand its encroachments on the primitive simplicity of the Gospel. At first, the friends of unadulterated truth contended not in vain. But soon, alas! the best of them became infected; and while they in some things counteracted, in others they, perhaps unconsciously, favoured the progress of corruption. Even in the most simple, grave, and practical writer after the Apostles, Clement, a Unitarian, we find, in the following story, a love of the wonderful, and a degree of credulity, which breathe altogether a different spirit from that of 'power and a sound mind,' by which the sacred books are characterized. 'Let us consider that wonderful type of the resurrection, which is seen in



the eastern countries, that is to say, in Arabia. There is a certain bird called a phoenix. Of this there is never but one at a time, and that lives five hundred years. And when the time of its dissolution draws near, that it must die, it makes itself a nest of frankincense and myrrh, and other spices, into which, when its time is fulfilled, it enters and dies. But its flesh putrefying, breeds a certain worm, which being nourished with the juice of the dead bird, brings forth feathers, and when it is grown to a perfect state, it takes up the nest in which the bones of its parent lie, and carries it from Arabia into Egypt, to a city called Heliopolis, and flying in open day in the sight of all men, lays it upon the altar of the sun, and so returns from whence it came. The priests then search into the records of time, and find that it returned precisely at the end of five hundred years. And shall we then think it to be any very great and strange thing for the Lord of all to raise up those that religiously serve him in the assurance of a good faith, when, even by a bird, he shows us the greatness of his power to fulfil his promise?' Nor is this illustration confined to Clement. Most of the Christian Fathers have made use of the same story for the same purpose. While, however, even the purest writer of Christian antiquity could indulge in what is so manifest an absurdity, the many were in a state of mind so mystified that, though in a far different sense from that which they were meant to convey, they realised the words of the prophecy, 'Your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams.' As a specimen of a style of reasoning but too prevalent in the early Church, we may adduce an argument used by Christian priests in favour of their taking tithe. Tithes were not, they contended, peculiar to the Jewish Church, for the very first letter in the name of Jesus, I, stood (in the Greek) for ten. Jortin terms the Jewish tradition 'the muddy fountain of everlasting nonsense.' Surely the phrase, whatever may be thought of its original application, is not too strong to characterise a system which added to the traditions of the Jewish doctors the darkness of the Platonists, and the thick darkness of the Philonic and Alexandrian schools. What can we think of the intellect of an age, in which the following story could gain currency? Simon Magus, spoken of in the Gospel, was the father of all heresies. In the Testament, we have an account of the rebuke that he met with from the Apostle Peter. In the Apostolical constitutions, Peter is introduced telling his own tale, how that, having come into contact with him, and overcome him in argument, the magician was compelled to retire into a distant country. Owing Peter a grudge for injuring his professional character, Simon hit upon a plan for baffling the Apostle. In the city of Rome, he gives the Apostle a challenge to a public trial of skill. Accordingly Simon, aided by demons, mounts up into the air, and travels through it as though it had been his native

element. His party, highly delighted with his success, rend the heavens with applause. But their triumph was short-lived. Peter appeals to the Almighty—prays that the power of the demons might be withdrawn—and the magician left to his fate. Down headlong, in consequence, falls the discomfited Simon ‘with a great noise, and was violently dashed against the ground, and had his hip and ancle bones broken.’ The favour of the populace quickly changes sides. Peter, as he is made to tell us, is now their favourite; and they cry out, ‘There is only one God, whom Peter rightly preaches in truth.’ Easy would it be to multiply instances of the mental weakness of the early Christians—incomparably more easy to fill our pages with such, than to adduce a small number of specimens of intellectual soundness and vigour.

Amidst the prevalence of mysticism of which we have spoken, utterly unlikely was it that a sound method should prevail of interpreting the Scriptures. The art of writing, what is now often called poetry, is the art of saying *quidlibet de quolibet*—anything on any subject. So with many of the early Christians. They could prove you any doctrine out of any chapter. If the obvious sense did not serve their purpose, a hidden and allegorical meaning was discovered. Often what was logically termed the secondary sense, was made the primary in importance of meaning and preference of choice. Thus language the most foreign to the subject, writers forced into their service, utterly disregarding the purpose of their author and the connexion of the cited passage. Quotations are made, the relation of which to the matter in hand is merely of a verbal nature, while the sense which they actually convey is alien from, or opposite to, that which they are constrained to afford. How often is the clear expounded by the dark—the simple by the mysterious! How often is the ambiguous and the wonderful preferred to the simple and obvious. There are not, at the most, more than two or three writers, even of the first ages of the church, whom we can exonerate from these charges. Judging them by the light we now enjoy, we must declare that darkness covered the land, and gross darkness the minds of the people. The true principles of scriptural interpretation were to the early Fathers a profound secret. Observe how Barnabas speaks on the passage which represents Christ as a corner stone. ‘What then, is our hope built on a stone? God forbid. But because the Lord hath hardened his flesh against sufferings he saith, “I have put me as a firm rock.”’ ‘The Lord,’ says the same writer, ‘declared, “I will put into them hearts of flesh,” because he was about to be made manifest in the flesh, and to dwell in us.’ Moses, we learn on the same authority, forbade ‘the swine to be eaten,’ meaning, ‘thou shalt not join thyself to persons who are like unto swine.’ ‘Neither shalt thou eat of the hyena,’ that is, ‘be not an adulterer, nor a corrupter

of others.' And wherefore so? because 'that creature every year changes its kind, and is sometimes male and sometimes female.' From the words 'Lift up your heads, O ye gates; and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors, and the King of Glory shall come in,' Jortin, in his dialogue with Trypho, a Jew whom he wished to convert, undertakes to prove, what?—our readers will be astonished—to prove that our Lord's ascension to heaven from earth was predicted by David. And to succeed, he does not scruple a little pious fraud, quoting as though the passage was 'Lift up the gates of heaven.'

There was a notion prevalent in the primitive age, derived from the Platonic fountain, that the souls of all men were of the same essence as that of God himself, which gave no inconsiderable assistance to the transmutation which the corrupters of the Gospel too thoroughly effected. To assert that Jesus was personally united with his Father would, in the minds of believers, in this Platonic dream, excite no feeling of surprise. The same might be asserted of themselves. The basis of corruption was laid. Change but a little the meaning of the term personal—infuse a tincture of quintessential mystery, and the unwary were led into an admission of the essential deity of Christ.

Add to this another philosophical vision, namely, that the souls of men had existed before they came into this world. Now the deification of Jesus Christ commenced by the assertion of his pre-existence. To deny the alleged doctrine was to deny what was believed of all men. Surely if all souls pre-existed, Jesus Christ pre-existed. And the superiority, which all Christians concurred to ascribe to him, easily gave occasion for interpreting his acknowledged pre-existence in an extraordinary and transcendental manner, and thus from his simple pre-existence to deduce his essential Deity. But mystery gave a more direct and a more efficient aid than we have yet mentioned. It so happened that the meditation, both of Plato and Philo, had been devoted to the nature of the medium by which God held intercourse with man. Plato asserted that this medium was an attribute of the divine nature: Philo, while he maintained the same notion, affirmed in addition, that this attribute had on occasions, in the Jewish dispensation, been sent forth from God, placed in some visible agent, and again, when the design of its emission was answered, received back into Deity. In these philosophic fictions is the germ of the deity of Jesus Christ. The Logos of Philo became the Logos, not of the Testament, but of philosophizing Christians. The mysticism which Christianity would have subverted, grafted itself in the Gospel vine, and brought forth fruit, alas! how abundant after its kind. To render the reception of the Philonic Logos more easy, reasoning, such as it was, lent an unwilling aid. Objectors could not doubt that the divine wisdom had been largely imparted to Jesus, to him more than to any other member of the

human race. How then could it be denied that he was pre-eminently the Logos (wisdom) of God, seeing all the wise, in every age, had been partakers of the divine Logos—wisdom? What Abraham and Socrates possessed, Jesus surely enjoyed, and that without measure. Jesus then was the divine Logos. Now, it was in due time added, the Logos of God was the Son of God, because generated of himself,—as speech may be termed the son of the understanding. But the son of God must be God, as a ray from the sun must, like its source, be light. And by this process, the man Christ Jesus came to be raised to an equality with his creator. We may learn from this detail, not only that a prevalent mysticism lent its aid to the corruption of the Gospel; but that the deification of our Lord was not a sudden effort, but a lengthened process. The doctrine of Christ's deity grew up by degrees, and crept almost insensibly into the Church. Otherwise, it could scarcely, notwithstanding the circumstances favourable to its introduction that we have noticed, have been established at all. As it is, we can trace the whole of the work from its commencement in the Platonic attribute, and the Philonic emanation, to its completion in the Athanasian consubstantiality; we can trace the making of the imaginary God, the objections raised against the change, and the answers by which the objections were met.

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## SONNET.

OH ! lead me by thy hand where living streams  
Of purest pleasure flow, and to the heart  
A fadeless and eternal hope impart;  
And kindle in my soul the holy beams  
Of heavenly light, which o'er the cares and woes  
And toils of earth shed such a blessed peace—  
Bid earth's vain fears and vainer sorrows cease,  
And one blest trust the trembling thoughts enclose.  
So shall I gaze with eye undimm'd, and calm,  
On the vain pageants of this fleeting scene—  
So shrined in faith unchanging and serene,  
Drink deep from fountains of the holiest balm,  
Those living waters ! Let me hear thy voice  
Call to their sources, and I will rejoice.

J. E. R.

## RELIGION WITHOUT TAXATION.

(Public Declaration at Cork, for the Voluntary Support of Religion.)

THE noble example of the Rev. James Martineau, in sacrificing a highly respectable situation, extended influence, and desirable prospects, rather than, by the acceptance of the royal bounty, that is to say, of the public money, give his sanction to the pretended support of religion by government taxation, has not been without its immediate effect in Ireland; unless, indeed, we must suppose the declaration for the voluntary support of religion, which has been forwarded to us from Cork, to be an independent emanation of a spirit already widely diffused in that country, and which must soon show itself in this country also. We rather incline to the latter supposition, and take Mr. Martineau's resignation of the pastoral office over the congregation of Eustace Street, Dublin, to be not so much the cause as the occasion of the proceedings which have so promptly followed, and which are, as we have reason to believe, only the harbinger of similar manifestations on a more extended scale. The work has begun in the right way, not by the non-recipients attacking the recipients, but by those who were legally entitled to the spoil, washing their hands of the pollution. Mr. Martineau has never touched it. From the nature of his connexion with the congregation he only became entitled to a portion of it, (nearly 100*l.* per annum, we believe,) on the decease of the late Rev. P. Taylor, the senior pastor of the congregation. His determination was then announced, and the consequence followed, for which he was prepared. The Cork Declaration, which we shall presently give at length, is a parochial document. The first name to it, that of Mr. Richard Dowden (R<sup>d</sup>), is known to many of our readers, as are some others which are appended; but the subscribers, who were upwards of a hundred when it was printed, and whose numbers were increasing, are of all denominations—Churchmen, Dissenters, and Catholics. They declare against either receiving or paying taxes levied under religious pretences. They affirm their own readiness to support their own churches. We are glad to see this from Dissenters, for they really renounce what, in Ireland, must be to them, in a pecuniary sense, a valuable consideration. We are glad to see it from Catholics, for their expectancy of payment from the state has had much to cherish it. The statesmen who have befriended their emancipation on the ground of political expediency have been understood generally to look forward to the completion of that measure (in their view of it) by linking the Catholic hierarchy to the government with a golden chain: and we most of all rejoice in such a declaration from members of the Church of Ireland, for that is the great receiving and absorbing body, and therefore the last that



was likely to be touched with any qualms of conscience. With what face can the clergy of that Church demand the continuance of imposts which even their own laity declare to be impolitic, unjust, and anti-Christian !

We now place before our readers a copy of the Declaration as printed in the Southern Reporter and Cork Commercial Courier for Saturday, Jan. 7, when it was still in course of signature.

**‘DECLARATION FOR THE VOLUNTARY SUPPORT OF RELIGION.**

‘ We, the Undersigned Parishioners of the Parish of CHRIST CHURCH, in the City of Cork, thinking it both our duty and interest, voluntarily to support our own several Churches, desire to be unaided, and uninterfered with, by Government ; and also Declare, that no man should be compelled to contribute to religious purposes, under which denomination *Tithes, Church Rates, and Minister’s Money* are now imposed on the People of Ireland, which sytem we protest against, as impolitic, unjust, and anti-Christian.

‘ We consider constrained Taxes for Religion “ impolitic,” because Religion itself is charged with the iniquity attending the levy of Church Taxes, and men are offered the “ perfect law of liberty” associated with the tyranny of Church Rate Collectors and Tithe Proctors, which, as far as bad laws can, make Christianity burdensome and grievous to the people.

‘ We consider constrained Taxes for Religion unnecessary, because whatever ignorant slanderers, or interested Tax-devourers may allege to the contrary, men, if not unreasonably burdened otherwise, will cheerfully maintain the religion of their choice in sufficient affluence for the purposes of utility. History shows that mankind, savage and civilized, in heathen and in Christian lands, have always, when permitted to act freely, voluntarily yielded to a working priesthood a respectable competency. The accumulation of ecclesiastical property in former times was principally the result of free-will offerings ; but the fact which is of most consequence, in a practical point of view, is the religious affluence of the Republic of AMERICA, which proves beyond question, that the multiplication of Churches and Clergy, and all the aids of Religion, are most liberally promoted by leaving the people to their own unembarrassed exertions.

‘ Having shown, that constrained Taxes, even for a National Religion, are inexpedient, it is manifest, that an impost for the religious expenditure of a favourite sect, is, though legal, grossly unjust. ‘ These Taxes, levied without the consent of the people, arbitrarily place a very small minority in the uncontrolled enjoyment and use of the property of the majority of the nation.

‘ Even the Sovereign has, perhaps, now, but a nominal title to dictate in matters of religious faith and practice ; consequently, it is an odious infraction of civil and religious liberty—of every man’s right of conscience and property—to compel him to support a Church he disapproves. Episcopalians of the Church of England would feel it an intolerable grievance to be compelled to support a Roman Catholic Hierarchy, or a Protestant Dissenting Ministry ; neither can the Congregations of these teachers be justly coerced to support the State religion.

‘The evils which enforced taxation, under a colour of religious “ways and means,” inflicts on the prosperity of the commonwealth are too numerous for this Declaration to comprise; consequently, we conclude by declaring, that Tithes and Church Rates are not justified by the Christian Religion; and it is quite apparent that Minister’s Money and the *sectarian* part of the Church-Rates will speedily produce in towns the same ill will and excitement which Tithes have brought about in the country. Constraining one man to support another man’s Religion must provoke sectarian exasperation, and continue to exalt contention and jealousy into hatred and violence, destined to terminate in demoralization and murder.

‘We then, as good Citizens, desirous to adopt and bring about a Christian mode of supporting the Christian Religion, publicly declare our utter reprobation of a money tyranny, which, under the fiction of sustaining religion, extinguishes every benevolent feeling, and causes the nation to discredit Christianity; instead of, by public virtue, and brotherly kindness, giving glory “to God in the highest,” and promoting “on earth peace and good will to men.”’

The editor of the Southern Reporter observes, that ‘it is a singular feature in this document that it may be, and in point of fact is, signed by persons of all religious persuasions, by Protestants, Dissenters, and Catholics. It is natural enough that the two latter should wish to be relieved from hardships bearing alike on their spiritual and temporal interests. But, in addition, we find that almost every enlightened member of the former believing in the scriptural nature of his system, and in the omnipotence of truth, wishes his opinions to stand solely on the foundation of their own rectitude, and scorns the assertion that they need to be supported by penal statutes, and by exactions from those professing Christians who cannot accede to them.’

Many such men there undoubtedly are, both in the Irish and English branches of the Established Church. It is time for them to come forward and exercise their legitimate influence in the settlement of this important question. They ought to protest against its being represented as a question between the religious and the non-religious part of the community, or between the established and the non-established religionists. Those who have no care about religion, in any of its forms, but who are heavily taxed for the support of its ministers, will, of course, endeavour to throw off the burden. Those who do prize religion, but who have a religion of their own, which their consciences prefer, and which they pay for the support of, will, of course, endeavour, as opportunity serves, to be rid of the pecuniary pressure of another religion which they disapprove. These classes, although on very different principles, may be deemed natural enemies of taxation for an establishment. The religion of the one, and the indifference of the other, alike make them feel the impost an imposition and an oppression. And it is a condemnatory fact against an establishment when these classes are so nu-

merous as to give them any formidable measure of power and influence in the community. That fact is alone sufficient to show that the religion of the establishment is not a national religion, and, therefore, that it ought not to be, or to remain established. Religion is the supply of a want in human nature ; but the religion which is situated as we have described does not supply that want, or it would be more generally acceptable, more prevalent, more popular. The non-religious hate tithes ; but how is it that so many are not religious ? They abound simply because the Church is inefficient. Their defence is that of the American, against whom an action was brought by his preacher, who had sermonized him for two years without payment :—‘ You have not done your work, and do not deserve your wages. You have not made me religious, or I should have paid you cheerfully. My resistance to your claim is a proof of its invalidity.’ The establishment which leaves any large portion of the people irreligious ought to abdicate. It has been tried, and found wanting. There is some radical defect in its system. It does not work well. To cry out against the irreligion of the discontented is sheer folly. The argument tells the other way. It indicates neglect, feebleness, and defeat ; and cannot be urged for claims to the remuneration of diligence, efficiency, and success.

And so the fact, that any considerable portion of the religionists of a country is to be found in the ranks of dissent, and in circumstances having a natural tendency to generate hostility towards the temporal claims of the establishment, is a serious impeachment of the justice of those claims. The nation at large ought not, on any principle, to be taxed for a system which, to a great extent, fails either to convert the indifferent, or to retain the converted. If it cannot conciliate the irreligious, it ought at least to satisfy the religious. The existence of dissent, of respectable and influential dissent, shows that the favoured Church wants something essential to its pretensions. We will not now stop to inquire what. It may be truth in its creeds, it may be piety in its worship, it may be zeal in its ministers, it may be comprehensiveness in its spirit ; whatever it be, it is something which deprives that Church of a national character. Complain of dissent ! The nation has a right to arraign the Church for the existence of dissent. Ask for support against the hostility of dissenters ! That very hostility is evidence that the Church does not deserve support.

But although such are the fair deductions from the present state of things ; deductions which would, we think, commend themselves to the impartial judgment of a looker on, could any uninterested spectator be found ; it might be unreasonable to expect that they should at once be admitted by members of the established Church, however religious, liberal, and enlightened. Nor do we ourselves wish that the question should be only mooted on these grounds. There is another view of it, in which the subject comes home to the bosom of every sincere churchman,

who is also a sincere Christian. We ask him which position is best for the spiritual character and interests of his own Church? Does it accomplish more or less good to the souls of men in consequence of being provided for by national taxation? Let him forget, if he will, that there is an individual throughout the wide extent of the British empire, whose circumstances have generated any feeling approaching towards hostility to the temporal privileges of his Church, and confine his thoughts to that single question. We are content to rest it on that ground. We prefer placing it on that ground. The deepest interest in this subject ought to be that of the enlightened churchman. He should interpose to prevent the discussion of this topic in a spirit of hostility. He should come forward, as some have done at Cork, on behalf of the Church itself. He should do justice by a voluntary act, which would deserve and receive the praise of generosity. The real friend of episcopacy should look to America, and follow the guidance of facts in the path of duty, and of right.

The Declaration appeals to America, to show the liberality with which religion is supported when the support is voluntary. The churchman may learn a yet further lesson, by attention to the religious history and condition of that country. He may see an offshoot of his own Church there; and one which affords a double contrast to the parent institution. It is not, like that, supported by the state; and it is not, like that, losing ground before every sectarian invader, and sinking out of the faith and affections of the people. It has thriven, and it is thriving; while here it declines, there it advances; while here it attracts hatred, there it conciliates affection; while here its existence is said to be in daily-increasing danger, there its influence is daily strengthening and widening. It has vitality, power, progressiveness; for it is free.

An extract from Ingersoll's 'Discourse concerning the Influence of America on the Mind, including a Statistical Account of the United States,' which was delivered before, and printed by order of, the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia, in October, 1823, gives, in short compass, a review of the Anglican Church in America, which proves the truth of our position.

'But it is on the American Church of England and the American Church of Rome, that we may dwell with most complacency. Here,—where no political predominance, no peculiar, above all, no mysterious, inquisitorial, arbitrary, or occult polity,—no tithes, no titles, peerage, crown, or other such appliances sustain the ministry,—where the crosier is as plain as the original cross itself, and the mitre does not sparkle with a single brilliant torn from involuntary contribution,—it is here, I venture to say, that, within the last century, the Church of England and the Church of Rome have constructed more places of worship, (relatively speaking,) endowed more dioceses, founded more religious houses, and planted a stronger pastoral influence, than in any other part of the globe. It is in the United States of America, under the power of American religion, that the English and Roman Catholic churches are flourishing.

‘Until the revolution, the Church of England was the established church in all the American colonies. In Maryland and Virginia, where it was most firmly seated, a sort of modus, or composition for tithes, was assessed by law, either on the parishes or by the polls. In Virginia there were, moreover, glebes annexed to the parish churches. In New York there was also a fund taken from the public money, appropriated to the few parishes established there. Throughout New England, Pennsylvania, and the other colonies, if I am not misinformed, though the Church of England was the national church, yet it languished in great infirmity, having no other support than the few rents and voluntary assessments, which now, under a very different regimen, supply adequate resources for all the occasions of an establishment which has no rich and no very poor pastorates.

‘The whole of these vast regions, by a gross ordinance of colonial misrule, were attached to the London diocese. Most of the incumbents, it may be supposed, those especially supported by tithes, at such a distance from the diocesan, were supine and licentious. As soon as the revolution put a stop to their stipends, they generally ceased to officiate; and in Maryland and Virginia, particularly, the Methodists and Baptists stepped into their deserted places. The crisis for the Church of England, at this conjuncture, was vital. Several of its ministers at first joined their compatriots for the independence declared; but few endured unto the end of the struggle. When the enemy were in possession of Philadelphia, then the capital of the country, where Congress sat, and that inimitable assembly was driven to resume its deliberations at the village of Yorktown, they elected for their chaplain, a clergyman of the Church of England, who had been expelled his home in this city by its capture. Every ingenuous mind will do justice to the predicament in which such an election placed an American pastor of the English church. The cause of independence, to which he was attached, was in ruin; the government forced from its seat; the army routed and disheartened; the country prostrate and nearly subdued by a triumphant enemy in undisputed occupation of the capital. The chaplain elected by Congress, under such circumstances, proved worthy of their confidence. Without other attendant, protection, or encouragement, than the consciousness of a good cause, he repaired to the retreat of his country’s abject fortunes, to offer daily prayers, from the bosom of that immortal assembly which never despaired of them, to the Almighty Providence. The chaplain of Congress, at Yorktown, has been rewarded for those days of trial. Already, in the compass of his own life and ministry, he is at the head of the bishoprics into which the American Church of England has since been expanded in the United States, with three hundred and fifty clergymen, about seven hundred churches, a theological seminary, and every other assurance of substantial prosperity. Within his lifetime there was but one, and, at the commencement of his ministry, but three, episcopal churches in Philadelphia, and they in jeopardy of the desecration from which they were saved by his patriotic example and pious influence. It would be an unjust and unacceptable homage, however, to him, not to declare that the intrinsic temperance and resource of popular government mainly contributed to the preservation of the English Church in America, where it has since advanced far



more than in the mother-country, during the same period, and where it is probably destined to flourish greatly beyond the English example. Of this there can be no doubt, if it thrives henceforth as it has done heretofore; for, under the presidency of a single prelate, still in the effective performance of all the duties of a good bishop, and a good citizen, the American Church of England, without a particle of political support, has, as we have seen, extended itself. Within a few years a million of pounds sterling were appropriated by Parliament, on the special recommendation of the crown of Great Britain, for the repair and construction of churches; with views, doubtless, to political as much as to religious consequences. I venture to predict, that, within the period to elapse from that appropriation to its expenditure, a larger sum of money will have been raised in the United States by voluntary subscriptions, and expended for similar purposes, and to greater effect.'—p. 61—65.

Time has already amply verified the predictions of the orator. By the 'American Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge for the Year 1831,' we find that in seven years the ten dioceses had become fifteen; the three hundred and fifty clergymen had increased to five hundred and twenty-eight; for one theological seminary there are two; and though the number of churches be not included in the return, we cannot but infer that they bear some proportion to the other indications of prosperity. Is not this a more creditable, a more useful and happy condition than that of the same church in Great Britain, dishonoured and crippled by the treasures which it exacts from a reluctant, disgusted, and increasingly-disaffected nation?

And this prosperity is shared in common with other forms of Christianity. It is a part of the general progress of religion. They all 'increase, and multiply, and replenish the earth.' The Church of England ought to be compared, not merely with episcopalianism in America, but with what may be called the American Church,—by which we mean the aggregate of religious denominations in the United States, considered as forming one whole—a great, free, prosperous, rich, mighty, and growing church, untaxing and untaxed, which yields efficient support to the order of society, and diffuses intelligence, piety, and morality through the population. The hireling shepherd may wish to draw a veil over the picture; but what say the sheep to it? What are rich livings and lordly honours in the opposite balance, even without the weight, which yet must be thrown into the scale, of public opprobrium and indignation?

The Church of England, as a church, has not fair play. Its honest members and ministers are '*swamped*' by the flood of those who belong to its communion from interested motives, and who change what might, perhaps, be its fair and fertile fields into a corrupt and stagnant marsh. The blight is on it of aristocracy, sycophancy, and cupidity. Its sincere friends, if they will but open their eyes, must see that there is but one hope for it,

that of cutting the moorings which fasten it to the state, and making it support itself. All would respect the zeal, which was evidently disinterested. None would murmur at the wealth which was accumulated by the liberality of its own members. The ignorant, the worldly, and the sceptical, would be far more accessible to a religion, which not only came without taxation, but, having possessed it, had voluntarily renounced taxation. Laymen of the establishment, here is a noble work for you to do! You may deserve well of religion and your country to all coming ages. You may even yet correct the errors of your prelates and of your clergy. The opportunity is precious. It may never occur again. Time presses. The days of revision, reformation, and perhaps of retribution, are at hand.

The path of Dissenters is very plain. The immediate renunciation of whatever pittance of the public money may reach them is their imperative duty. The five-pound almsgiving in England, and the half-salary grant of Ireland, should be alike and totally relinquished. The three denominations in this country can easily raise a charitable fund for poor preachers. The Irish Presbyterians can have no need of government aid for their ministers, as they ought not to tolerate the right (however long it may slumber) of interference with their choice. The principles of the Cork Declaration ought to be everywhere adopted, and openly professed. And they soon will be. The editor of this periodical already feels some of the gratification which he anticipated when, about nine months since, he ventured thus to address his Irish brethren: 'Proud shall I be in that day, which, to judge from the feelings expressed to me by some of you, I trust will come, when you, the Unitarians of Ireland, shall declare as one man, that you will, throughout your congregations and churches, tax yourselves to the utmost that is required for the support of the ministers of your choice, and not accept any portion, however small, of the public money for that purpose. It is not for dissenters to furnish what may be some day made a pretext and a precedent for augmenting the intolerable burden of ecclesiastical taxation, by adding to it the support of the Catholic priesthood. Little room, indeed, is there for addition; be your hands clear, and your voices free, to aid the righteous, and soon resistless, call of an impoverished people for relief from the rapacity of a nominally Protestant hierarchy\*.'

Although we are not arrived at this point, yet happily the spirit which has been roused extends beyond the boundaries of the Unitarian communion. So much the better. We rejoice to see good men and true, of all denominations, doing their duty by their country. Nor can we conclude without adding some

\* Address to the Unitarians of Ireland, prefixed to 'The Practical Importance of the Unitarian Controversy, a Sermon delivered in Strand-street Chapel, Dublin, April 3, 1831 before the Irish Unitarian Christian Society, by W. J. Fox.'

very significant speculations from the Journal which published the foregoing declaration.

‘ When men make a declaration against a system, it does not therefore follow that they should take any practical measure in order to give it effect. Opinions are as often registered that governments and statesmen may know how subjects and citizens feel on matters affecting the public interests, as with any intention of enforcing them by ulterior steps. The latter course, however, is sometimes taken ; but it may be safely assumed, that if those respectable householders who have signed the document to which we have been referring, should go a step further, it would only be in the shape of a passive resistance to the compulsory enforcement, such as that offered by the Quakers, who are generally supposed to act with great mildness and discretion. They submit to be distrained rather than pay what their consciences tell them is an unjust demand. Heretofore, though their firmness was approved of, there was little more than a lip-sympathy for what they endured. It would not be so, however, if men of all sects were resolved to follow their example. If the resolution to submit to distress and restraint, rather than yield to what was considered an unwarrantable demand, should become general, it is likely that a determination not to purchase a neighbour’s goods would become correspondingly universal. How desirable it would be if such a change in the law were made as would prevent any understanding from being acted upon of the nature to which we point—and so we hope there will ! ’

#### ON THE STATE OF RELIGION IN FRANCE.

WHEN the revolution of Eighty-nine took place in France, the liberal and serious part of the English nation looked with an extreme anxiety to the result of it, as it would affect the religious feelings and habits of the people. That revolution was hailed as the rising of the ‘ day-star of liberty,’ which would enlighten mankind, not in France only, but beyond those ‘ everlasting hills ’ which on two sides bound its view, and over the waters of the magnificent Rhine ; it was thought, too, that it would shed a yet brighter light across the channel which divides it from a land whose inhabitants had long boasted of their civil and religious privileges. Not only did we expect that the abodes of man would have to rejoice in the possession of peace and plenty, freed from the oppressions of tyranny and the shackles of superstition, but also that minds long shut up in a heathenish darkness, would become free, would open upon the rich and beautiful works of God, would appreciate their value, and would rise from the contemplation of them to that ALMIGHTY ONE, who, in the returns of gratitude, would become the only object of adoration and of praise to the intellectual work of his hands.

The shackles of tyranny did fall off ; the oppressions of superstition ceased—man became free. But the revulsion which his

mind underwent threw him into a state more dreadful than even that of debasement from which he had escaped. As, from a condition of tyrannical oppression, under a long line of licentious sovereigns, the French people rushed into the wildness of anarchy, so, from a low state of mind, in which everything is believed or professed to be believed, in which it might, with perfect truth, be said, that a man dared not say his soul was his own, they threw off altogether the profession of religion, despised its injunctions, and laughed at its rites,—a circumstance which has been deeply regretted.

Still they owned a sovereign power. On the altar on which an object resembling a heathen divinity had been placed, Reason was exalted. The suggestions of the human intellect, in the maddest state of its irritation, were regarded as the rule of the social compact and the guide of their lawgivers.

Man, in his general character, is not a being made to submit to no superior. Even in his civil capacity he must have a ruler, though it be one of his own choosing, and he the least exceptionable; and above him there is One to whose decrees he must submit, and whose will he must perform. It is wise for him to shape his course under the conviction that there is One who rules over all; and no society of mankind has yet been known which has long denied the authority of that One.

Harassed, indeed, as the French nation long were by the evils under which they groaned, it was not a matter of surprise to many that, from a state of abject submission, they had hastily run into the opposite extreme of licentiousness. The spring which is strongly bent will fly off in the contrary direction. From the profession of belief in what was absurd, contradictory, and debasing to the mind, a large proportion of the people passed into a state of perfect infidelity, admitting no religious creed, and acknowledging no divine authority. The frequent recurrence of changes in the government, the perpetual interference of the governments around them, and the violent and arbitrary parties which sprang up from time to time in the capital of the kingdom, kept the entire people in such a state of agitation during a period of forty years, that all this time we have heard little of the thoughts of their minds on the subject of religion, and have seen scarcely any efforts openly made to establish a sense of it among them. We are not, however, to suppose that the French nation have been, during this long period, so unlike other people as not to indulge some thoughts on a subject of such high importance to human happiness. Religion was not so entirely crushed by the violence of revolutionary measures as not still to live in the hearts of many, even amidst the ruins of dismantled churches and the suppression of all outward signs of devotion.

Although, until of late, little can be said of its revival, there are strong indications now apparent in many parts of the king-

dom of an attachment to religious observances and a desire of religious instruction. The opinion prevails, that there must be a religion. It has been said, and seen in the experience of many sensible persons, that a man without religion is deprived of his best guide in the day of prosperity, and of his only solace in disappointment and adversity; the result has been, of course, that attempts have been made to revive a moral and a devotional spirit. The Catholics have been active in their own sphere, not only to re-establish the old system, and renew the authority of their priesthood and their mother-church, but to form new communities in the bosom of the larger community, and also to draw off its members into a kind of dissenting societies.

I have said, that a large part of the male population of France have felt it as a point of honour, not to pay any regard to the external forms of religion. They are not now disposed to return to those idle ceremonies, those painful austerities, those expensive mummeries, to which their forefathers submitted. Yet it has been acknowledged by many of their periodical and by others of their distinguished writers, that the want is felt of the restraints of religion, of that social gratification and good will which its rites are calculated to promote, and of that moral guidance and consolation, which the worship of the God of truth and of righteousness furnishes to creatures so imperfect, so frail, and so feeble as man.

Efforts have been, therefore, made to form new societies, religious and moral, in France; yet, while the authority of bishops can scarcely be said to exist, it is not a little extraordinary, that in these formations an authoritative and ruling power is recognized; and these people, who had thrown off the government of the Bishop of Rome, have chosen a head, not extremely unlike that whose power they have denied. They have now several associations of believers, each of which has a head,—a patriarch, a primate, a pope, or by some such name. ‘They depend upon a chief, towards whom rise, so to say, the social steps. They all unite in one point—they have chosen to place a man at their head, and to give a visible chief to their system.’—(v. *Le Protestant*.) There are no means of ascertaining, at present, to what extent these new schemes have reached. The partisans of each are busy in making converts; and the success they have met with leads us to the remark, that it is therefore evident the thought of religion is awake, and the people have discovered their want of it.

Yet, with all the activity which these new apostles are discovering, and the strivings of the Catholic priesthood to bring back the ancient state of things, it is found, and generally acknowledged, that the thoughtful part of the community will not be put off with anything so little satisfactory to the reasoning powers as what is thus offered in the name and under the character of



religion. Something less mysterious, more calm, more in accordance with the independent principles which still bear sway in their minds; something which reason can embrace with cordiality, and reflection can approve, is still looked for with anxiety. But, 'How shall they hear without a preacher; and how shall he preach unless he be sent?' The calm, the rational, the enlivening principles of Unitarian Christianity, those which are found in the Acts of the Apostles and in the teachings of Jesus, have not been held up to their view. They have no notion of the Christian doctrine, in so pure, so animating, so satisfactory a form. It has often fallen out to us who reside among them, to give in conversation an outline of this primitive religion; and their avowal has been generally ready: *That is exactly what we want.—Or, These are the thoughts I have long entertained, but I did not know whether I might believe them.* Men out of number, and women too, freely avow, that their views of God are those which the Unitarian receives. But there is no centre of gravity towards which they can draw together—there is no nucleus to which they can attach themselves; and it will require a certain time—we cannot say how long—to bring them to a conviction, that the profession of good principles is a duty enjoined upon them by the authority of reason and of God, and by a regard to social order and happiness. To convert a nation is a heavy, and will be a protracted, task. To form new habits is not an easy work for those who are settled in habits of life; and to incur expenses which may be avoided, may not be thought prudent in the present depressed state of things in France.

Yet the seed might be sown without great exertion or great expense. They who think at all about religion will listen to its voice when it addresses itself to their understanding, and will gradually, especially if they are young, be brought to unite in its duties; and when the fields appear so nearly ripe for the harvest, as they certainly do in many of the great towns of France, efforts might be made with great prospect of success, to spread among them those pure and simple and acceptable truths, which have met with so great a multitude of confessors in England, both in and out of the national church, and in America, where the work is going on with accelerating speed.

Something should here be said of the present state of the Protestant Church of France—it was originally Calvinistic, as has been its parent at Geneva—but it is well known that a majority of the ministers of the latter church are decidedly of Unitarian principles, and that among their flocks these principles are spreading fast. This is also true to a certain extent among the former; but the notion is entertained in both churches, that it is yet too soon to speak out upon this delicate subject, and that a little more time must be allowed for the secret and

silent operation of the press. M. Chenevière, one of the most respectable of the professors and pastors of Geneva, writes thus.—‘ I am glad, sir, that you have seen my Theological Essays. I have long wished to break the silence which has been so long kept by the men of our party, who are here prodigiously fearful. I was assured that I should meet with insult on all sides, because I know well the class of Methodists. I have not been deceived. I rejoice that they have nothing but abuse to reply to my reasonings ; I am not discouraged ; the fourth essay proves it ; it is the beginning of the second volume, and I reckon that there will be three of them.’ Were it not that we have in England so great an abundance of excellent theological publications, I should think it desirable to publish in our own language these plain and well-written exposures of primitive Christianity. There is a strong and active party in the Church of Geneva, which, assisted by English money, has also taken deep root in France, usually called Methodists. This party should be distinguished from the English Methodists, and with us would rather bear the name of Evangelical ; they hold high Calvinistic principles. They have met with two distinguished opponents at Geneva, in M. Chenevière, theological professor, and a young preacher of the name of Pouzait. Three years ago a French gentleman, residing at Rouen, caused to be printed, *Passages of the Holy Scripture which prove the unity of God*, and now expresses the hope which is entertained in that city, of one day forming a Unitarian society there. The same hope has been expressed by an English manufacturer living at Lille, where a service has been for some time conducted in English by a Methodist class-leader. Some differences have arisen among the hearers, and a spirit of inquiry is abroad, which induces him to think ‘ there is an excellent opportunity for making an attempt in favour of Unitarianism.’ He solicits tracts, and adds, ‘ I feel confident of success, especially among the French ; many of them have expressed to me their satisfaction at the simplicity and reasonableness of our doctrine. One highly respectable gentleman gave me his opinion yesterday, that the majority of the French might soon be turned from Catholicism and infidelity, if Unitarian missionaries could be sent to preach to them.’ Similar information has been received from Saint Quentin, where are many Protestants, English and French. In other and distant places also our friends have met with many respectable and influential persons, who have expressed the same thoughts on the present movement of the mind in the kingdom of France.

That opinion, therefore, which is held by the Unitarian ministers in the Genevese and French churches, that it is too soon for the friends of truth to stir in this great duty, cannot be true. It was held too long in England, and much too long in

the north of Ireland. But no sooner was it brought out, voluntarily or involuntarily, than the proof was manifest that a good leader in a good cause will not fail of finding followers; and now, with boldness may we say, that nothing is wanting to give to Unitarian Christianity a splendid and an extensive spread in France, but the formation in its capital of an association similar to those of America and of England. Its station will be of course at Paris, where it will find firm supporters. The objects immediately in view are these—to print in the French language and circulate small tracts, translated from the English and American publications—to obtain a French preacher, in order to open a French church in Paris in connexion with the English church—to find, or to assist in the education of, a proper person who shall act, under the direction of the committee, as a missionary—and to form a correspondence with those parts of France, in which are persons, who have a regard for the truth as we believe it to be in Jesus, and are willing to put their hand to the plough, and labour in this rich and promising soil.

It is thought that we may begin with the greater prospect of success, because an English Unitarian church is already formed in Paris, and in a condition which fully answers the expectation of the persons with whom it originated. In the same room the French society may hold their first meetings. A gentleman, highly respectable and well educated, has proposed to take the pastoral care. But the same facilities are not offered for this object as presented themselves accidentally for the opening of the English church; nor is it seen to be prudent in the persons who now assemble there, to undertake the accomplishment of this very desirable work. It is hoped that, by the formation of a French, in connexion with an English social worship, they will be of a mutual benefit; the one will make the other better known; and that united, with the aid of the fund, they will cause to flow out streams of light and knowledge—at present much desired and greatly needed by this interesting people—who, like the heathen inhabitants of ancient Athens, are now busied in inquiring after some new thing. This is certainly true in what relates to religion.

We shall not, therefore, be blamed for asking pecuniary assistance from our friends in England and America, in order to set on foot, and to carry on, a work which, we are assured, will interest their feelings and be approved by their judgment.

I. W.

## WHO KILLED COLONEL BRERETON?

WE do not see why, in cases of violent death, there should not be a moral inquest, as well as that inquest, chiefly physical, which is held by the coroner's jury, in order to investigate the causes, immediate or remote, of a catastrophe which has attracted public attention. Something of the kind is occasionally done by the newspapers; but it is done in a very hasty, superficial, and partial manner. A little more time for reflection, and a much more enlarged view of the influences which operate upon individuals, than the writers in daily or weekly journals are accustomed to take, is needful to render such investigations useful to society. And that they may be rendered very useful, there can be no doubt. By the melancholy events of this description which occur from time to time, many moral and political truths may be deeply impressed upon the mind, and brought home to the feelings. Persons may be made to think who never thought before on such topics, and who had no proper sense of their practical importance. Through curiosity or sympathy, an avenue may be found to the judgment. Convictions may be produced which will infuse some degree of activity into those who had been conscientiously inert in public matters; and the often misguided charity of kind temper may be elevated into the philanthropy of intelligent principle. A new view of our individual responsibilities may open upon the mind, and an enlarged sense of duty become the source of useful action.

The death of Colonel Brereton is an occurrence well fitted to illustrate our meaning, and to be made the occasion of inquiries and remarks by which, in his death, he may render important service to the living. It is seldom that the inducements to self-destruction are of so obvious a description, or can be traced with so much certainty. It is seldom that those inducements have so little in them that is referable to the peculiar constitution and circumstances of the individual; or that they connect themselves so immediately, or so extensively, with institutions, opinions, manners, in relation to which every enlightened member of the community has 'a voice potential.'

The readers of this publication are indebted to our friend and correspondent, Dr. Carpenter, for the most lucid statement which has hitherto been published of the late riots at Bristol. With the subsequent occurrences; the trials and convictions of some of the parties concerned; the urgent calls for investigation, and the yet unheeded cry for a reformation in the local magistracy; the proceedings of the court-martial upon the conduct of Colonel Brereton, and their sudden interruption by the death of the accused:—with these events, and their various attendant circumstances, we suppose our readers to have made themselves acquainted. We have

no peculiar facts to communicate ; our purpose is to comment upon what is already generally known.

That this unfortunate man fell by his own hand there can be no doubt. As little can it be doubted that the motives which prompted the act had their origin in sources external to, and independent on, himself. Most military men who had found themselves involved in a similar entanglement would have been likely to resort to the same fatal means of extrication. He was the victim of circumstances ; and of circumstances which only acted upon the common notions and temperament of persons of his profession. We do not mean in his, or in any case, to apologize for the act of suicide ; a man under the influence of religious principle can only commit it when reason is driven from her seat ; but neither sanity nor religion could exempt from feeling the temptations to which he succumbed ; and a very brief withdrawal of the counteraction would ensure their triumph.

He who, knowingly, presents to the mind of another a motive to the commission of murder, is himself a murderer. It avails not, for exculpation, that another hand pulled the trigger, or wielded the sabre ; the question is, whose *will* put the mechanism in motion for that purpose ? The arm has no more moral responsibility than the pistol or the bullet ; we must come to the mind ; and if that mind was influenced from without, we must come to the external agency and the agent. And when the motive has not been presented for the immediate purpose of exciting to that particular murder, still if it be the result of a system which has been set up for selfish ends, careless of the incidental production of crime and suffering, we cannot hold them guiltless by whom that system was established, is continued, or might be altered. In this view, there are numbers who ought to feel that they are by no means free from culpability. Some stain will attach, however much the quantum of guilt may be supposed to be reduced, by participation. But we think not of persons,—we refer to systems : we select three of these,—the aristocratic, the corporate, and the military,—and we charge them with the death of Colonel Brereton. They murdered him. Would to heaven that he had been their only victim, or that he might be their last !

True, these are intangible agents ; they cannot be brought bodily to the bar of justice ; but there is a court in which they are amenable, and into that court it is that we summon them. They are the creatures of human society ; they are answerable to public opinion ; and when judgment goes forth against them, they may be disgraced, they may be fettered, they may be destroyed.

The aristocratic spirit caught Colonel Brereton in the toils of popular tumult ; the corporate, instead of aiding his liberation, drew the snare tighter around him till he was helpless ; and the military spirit gave the victim his death-blow.

Such is the nature and order of the causes which conspired for



his destruction,—we will drop the personification a while in tracing their operation.

The scenes which occurred at Bristol presuppose for their existence,—first, a strong and wide-spread feeling of political discontent ; second, the aggravation of that discontent into a state of violent excitement ; and third, the existence of a number of dissolute and desperate characters, ready to take advantage of any temporary confusion for purposes of plunder. All these facts are attributable to that species of misrule which has just been spoken of under the designation of the spirit of aristocracy. If a long course of oppression and heavy taxation had not convinced the people that their affairs would thrive better in the hands of their own nominees, than in those of the nominees of a privileged class ; if when the measure of reform was at length brought forward, with the concurrence even of royalty, it had not been pertinaciously and vexatiously delayed ; if gross insult had not been offered to feelings irritated by that delay, and the ermined robe paraded as a flag of party triumph ; if that education which is the universal right of man, born in a Christian community, had not been withheld by society from its poor and outcast children, destined by its criminal neglect to grow up vagabonds, wretches, and thieves ; and even if this evil had not been aggravated by that training to drunkenness, violence, and outrage, which, at Bristol especially, has been profusely and systematically bestowed by electioneering corruption :—why then the Mansion-house, the Custom-house, and the Gaol, might have been standing at this moment with not a stone dislodged nor a window broken ; Queen-square would have remained in its entirety ; and those whose doom has been the flames, the hulks, or the gibbet, might have been gazing with friendly eyes on Colonel Brereton, as he paraded along the streets in peaceful pageantry.

Nor can there be any reasonable doubt, that, notwithstanding the provocation given, and the existence of materials ready for an explosion, had the magistracy of Bristol been intelligent, active, familiar with the people, and possessed of the people's confidence, as all magistracy ought to be, that the riot might have been promptly and easily suppressed. Towns and cities can only be permanently safe from tumult, by means of popular municipal institutions. The military cannot always be at hand in sufficient force for the suppression of local disturbances ; and if they could, the end would be a costly attainment by such means. The police can only be proportioned to ordinary circumstances. But let the magistracy emanate from the people, be in frequent and friendly contact with the people, and a mutual good understanding and confidence subsist between them, and there is no riot, however sudden, extensive, or violent, that may not be at once put down. On the first symptoms of such disorder as the common constabulary could not deal with, individuals would turn out, in their

several streets, parishes, and wards,—each knowing his place, his neighbour, and his leader,—a spontaneous army called into existence by the occasion for its existence, and presenting the extended front of all who had anything to lose, against those who should attempt to take anything by violence. This is what might be, but what cannot be, while municipal authority, instead of being a public institution for the public security, is a private monopoly, a club property, a vested interest.

Bristol is a close corporation ; and it might be expected, as was evidently the fact, that its magistrates, as a body, and in their official capacity, had no hold on the minds of the inhabitants generally, who, in turn, were distrusted by them. Dr. Carpenter has shown (see p. 842 of our last volume) that had the magistrates, at the outset, fairly thrown themselves upon the people, the whole might have been prevented. And again (p. 847), that had such confidence existed, had it not been that ‘on the part of the authorities all was uncertainty and indecision,’ an end might have been put to the riot on Sunday morning, when comparatively little mischief had been effected. We blame not the men ; it was the close-corporation-system which blinded them, which paralyzed them, which led them, after the irritating conflict of their hired special constables with the multitude, to cry out, as their only resource, for Colonel Brereton to save them by instant military execution. No such responsibility should have been cast upon any military man, so situated. The unfortunate commander was now in toils from which there was no escape. His proper post was at the back of the civic authorities with their civic force. But everything was devolved upon him and his little band. His conduct does credit to his heart ; and the soundness of his judgment is yet to be disproved. He could not, at the first, have put down the multitude by military attack without a great effusion of blood ; and it is far from clear that he could have put them down at all. The employment of the troops, before the political excitement had subsided, might have transformed the riot into an insurrection, and his little corps might have been speedily annihilated. The peril to which soldiers are exposed in the streets of a city has ceased to be a secret. No inference can be drawn from the fact that the troops did stop the havoc on the Monday morning. They had then been reinforced. The inhabitants had rallied, and they had only to contend with the drunken remnant of a gang of thieves. This was easy work. And even this was not done without the loss of innocent blood. The city was in a very different state from that which it presented on the evening of Saturday.

If Colonel Brereton really erred—which is not yet proved—it was no dishonourable error for a soldier to commit ; it was on the side of humanity. There was positive fault in that which placed him in his most unaccustomed, difficult, and perilous position.

Irresponsible and unpopular, and therefore inefficient magistracy, was the power that bound him for the sacrifice.

And, then, he was a soldier. The prospect of *losing caste* was before him. Too many of those who wear the sword know no immorality like that of allowing the sword to remain an instant longer in the scabbard than they think becoming. Opinion governs the world. But it is the opinion of those who constitute the world to each individual. The soldier's world is not that of the citizen, the philosopher, the moralist. These classes have no right of suffrage in it. Their approval does not even mitigate judgment. Colonel Brereton felt that in *his* world opinion would be against him. It was no world for him; and he had no other. Suicide is no new thing under such influences.

Our question is answered. Let the Christian, in his horror of suicide, meditate on its causes. Let him strive to make individuals so religious, that they may resist any inducements to its commission; but let him not think that his duty is done, while permanent temptations exist which produce this, and a mighty host of other and wide-spread evils. Let Christianity assert the supremacy of its moral principles over all regulations, national or municipal, and over all prejudices of class or station. When the operation of any of our institutions for the production of vice or misery has been fairly pointed out, we become all guilty, as a people, until those institutions are reformed.

## CRITICAL NOTICES.

### THEOLOGY.

*The Funeral Discourse and Farewell Address, delivered in Strand Chapel, on Sunday Afternoon, December 18th, 1831. By Arthur Dean.*

WE suppose Mr. Dean entered on the ministry late in life, as we learn from the discourse that he has been engaged in it only twenty years. In vain have we looked through his discourse and address for any other reason of his retirement. Every sentence breathes an attachment to, and an eminent fitness for, the sacred office. Nor, when we regard the vigour and elegance displayed, are we sure that we have hit on the right cause. The indirect indications are rather of a mind in full and active maturity, than one debilitated by age. Whatever may be the reason, every reader of this piece will, we are sure, deeply regret that a mind so vigorous and well-disciplined, and a heart so pure and devout as those of the writer, should be severed, till compelled by the hard necessity of death, from the sacred and benign work of the Christian ministry. As only 'a few copies' of the discourse have been printed, we shall extract more largely from it than our custom is, preferring that part which relates to the author's retirement from public duty:—

‘ When the Apostle of the Gentiles took leave of the Church at Ephesus, he said, “ I take you to record this day that I am pure from the blood of all men, for I have not shunned to declare unto you all the counsel of God.” And on what other ground can any minister of Christ assert a claim to faithfulness, or appeal to the flock over which he has been appointed overseer, (than) that he has kept back nothing from them? He who undertakes to unfold the oracles of God, to deliver a solemn message from the other world, and to speak for God to his people, is called with a holy calling. His is a great and awful responsibility; for if he warn not those to whom he speaks, that they may turn and repent, God hath said, that their souls shall be required at his hand. I have, to the best of my ability, and with a sincere desire to know “ the truth as it is in Jesus,” searched the Scriptures. The result of my inquiries into the great and interesting subjects contained in them, I have from time to time laid before you. In asserting what I conceived to be the doctrines of the Gospel,—in appealing to the law and to the testimony in their support,—I always warned you of your own individual responsibility, and referred you from my own opinion to the great authority of Christians. The more I have seen of the controversy, the more I have looked at the testimony of Jesus and his apostles, the more firm and satisfactory has been my conviction that “ to us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things;” that he is “ the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ,” and the sole undivided object of Christian worship. “ I take you to record this day” that I have frequently insisted on this grand doctrine of the Gospel; on the clearness with which it is set forth; on its necessity to the divine unity, both in person and character, and on its sovereign efficacy to the collectedness, the spirituality, and the comfort of your worship.

‘ Again,—I declare, that the more I have attended to the subject, the more I have been convinced, from the same authority, of the subordination to the Father, both in his person and office, of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ. And “ I take you to record this day,” how often and earnestly I have maintained on this ground the authority of his instructions, the efficacy of his example, his claims on our reverence, obedience, and affection; pleading with your spirit, by his spotless purity; by his devoted piety; by his overflowing tenderness; and urging the sublime lessons which come, with more than the eloquence of language, from the mount, the desert, from the garden, and from his cross, and from his throne.’ . . . ‘ If there be anything from which I derive peculiar satisfaction, on which I can look back with joy of heart, and which I can associate more especially with the fulfilment of my duty, it is that I have planted the Unitarian doctrine on this spot. I rejoice that it has been embraced by you with gladness, and cherished as “ the truth in Jesus,” from inquiry, and evidence, and conviction; because, being assured of its truth, I should have been unfaithful had I not inculcated its principles; and because, knowing well its superior excellence, its saving power, and gladdening efficacy, I should have wronged your souls had I not earnestly exhorted you to come and eat of the “ bread from heaven,” and take of “ the living water,” and be satisfied.’ . . .

‘ How truly of the pastor may be applied the words, so beautifully used, of the poet:—

Posts themselves must fall, like those they sung,  
 Deaf the pleased ear, and hush'd the tuneful tongue ;  
 E'en he whose soul now melts in mournful lays  
 Shall shortly want the generous tear he pays.

' Yet shall it not be said, that in vain the servants of Christ, for your sake, laboured in their generation, and when "the shadows came," rested, like the pilgrim on the top of his staff, looking for the reward of their work. The valley still smiles in the peace and beauty of its "green pastures," though the water thereof, which caused its fertility, faileth, and the flood decayeth and drieth up. So may the servant of his Lord pass away on the tide of oblivion, and the place that hath known him, not know him any more, yet may the good which he has done remain ; yet may the word which he has preached grow to a fair harvest, and the "seed cast upon the waters be found after many days."

' And now, brethren, it only remains that I pronounce one more sentence, venerable from its antiquity, sacred by its apostolic authority, and expressing my sentiments towards every individual of my flock—"My love be with you all, in Christ Jesus. Amen." '

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## POLITICAL ECONOMY AND LEGISLATION.

*Illustrations of Political Economy. No. I. Life in the Wilds. A Tale. By Harriet Martineau, 12mo., 1s. 6d.*

If an acquaintance with political economy be of importance,—and we would refer any who are sceptical on this point to the article on Cooper's lectures in our last number,—it should follow, that it is desirable to extend such acquaintance as widely as possible through the great mass of society. Not only the blunders of legislators, but those of merchants and manufacturers,—and not only those of the capitalist, but of the operatives also,—produce mischievous results under which the community suffers ; and suffers the more from its ignorance (often with a persuasion of its knowledge) of the cause and the remedy. If political economy be a science at all, it ought to be a popular science. It should be understood by those whose interests are to be promoted, and their conduct guided, by the application of its principles. Treatises upon this subject have hitherto been anything but popular and attractive. Some, and those perhaps amongst the soundest, have been positively repulsive. This may not much matter to men, the chief object of whose life is to study ; but it does matter much to men, the chief object of whose study is to live. Between them and the masters of the science some intermediate agency is required,—the interposition of one who can bring truth down from the clouds, and by simplification, illustration, and example, render palpable the meaning and evidence of propositions, which were obscure to the many in their general and scientific enunciation. The time is come, and the need is felt, for this interposition. The author of the little volume before us has undertaken the office. Miss Martineau, who is a disciple of Mill, proposes to become an evangelist of his doctrines, and teach them to the people in parables framed not to veil, but to illustrate the truths which they convey. We need



not add, to those acquainted with her writings, that she is likely to be neither a servile follower nor a dogmatical teacher. The present little volume is put forth as the first of a series of illustrative tales. It is introduced by an explanatory preface, and a statement of the principles which it is intended to elucidate. We heartily wish it such success as shall stimulate the author to the immediate and energetic completion of her plan.

This is no attempt to trick the idle into knowledge, by offering it in the semblance of mere amusement. The design is fairly avowed. The object is to impart instruction in the mode best adapted to reach and enlighten the minds of those who have not been accustomed to continued and severe thought. They are previously told the truths of which the nature and proofs are to be evolved by the narrative. Political economy was first learned by the study of history and the observation of facts: why should it not be taught in a similar way, and communicated by tales which are substantially true, though circumstantially fictitious?

For showing the nature of wealth, and the power and progress of unaided labour in its production, the author has framed a story which may be read with interest on its own account. She has imagined a colony of Crusoes! They are not shipwrecked indeed; the storm which makes their settlement a desert, is the irruption of a tribe of savages. Their cattle are carried off; their stores, tools, and houses demolished; no help can be had till after an interval of many months; and they are completely thrown upon their natural resources, their limbs and their wits, to preserve them from perishing with cold or hunger. The reader must get the book to see how they managed.

The obvious dangers of such a plan are, that either the inculcation of the principle should be lost sight of, in endeavouring to maintain the interest of the story; or that the interest of the story should be destroyed by incessant effort to exhibit the principle. Those who have noted the characteristics of the writer's mind in former publications, will deem her safe from the first; and those who are anxious about the second, may be in some measure relieved by the following description of the death of an intelligent boy, who has been bitten by a horned-snake in a wood, at a considerable distance from the settlement. Arnall, his companion, had been the shopkeeper of the village, when it *was* a village; had disgusted his comrades by endeavouring to sustain the respectability of idleness when all were reduced to dependence upon manual labour; and had at length compromised between his dignity and his hunger, and discovered the best sphere for his capabilities in becoming (with no better weapons than the primeval bow and arrow) the hunter and forester of the community.

‘ Arnall was too much grieved to speak. He examined the wound, and tried to ease the swollen limb by cutting off the trowser which confined it. He gathered some leaves of a particular plant, and bruised them, and applied them to the part, as he had seen the natives do on such an occasion, and then told George that he would carry him home as fast as possible.

‘ Can you carry me three miles?’ said George. ‘ I do not feel as if I could help myself at all, but I will try. I should like to see father and mother again,’

‘They shall come to you if we cannot reach home,’ replied Arnall, ‘but let us try without losing more time. I want that Hill should see your leg.’

‘There would be little use in that,’ said poor George, faintly, as on trying to sit up he felt sick and dizzy.

‘Put your arm round my neck, and I will lift you up,’ said Arnall; but George did not move. His companion put the arm over his shoulder; but it fell again. George seemed insensible. Arnall made one more trial.

‘Will you not make an effort to see your mother?’

George opened his eyes, raised himself, and made a sort of spring upon his companion’s shoulder, and then laid his head down, clinging with all his remaining strength. Arnall used all the speed he could with so heavy a burden, and was comforted by finding that either the air or the motion seemed to rouse the poor patient, who appeared better able to keep his hold, and even spoke from time to time.

‘Mr. Arnall,’ said he.

‘Well, George.’

‘There is a thing I want to tell you about making arrows. Bring me a reed when you put me down, and I will shew you how the natives barb them. I meant to have made the first myself; but as I can’t, I will teach you.’

‘Thank you, but do not tire yourself with talking.’

After a while, however, George began again:—

‘Do you know, Mr. Arnall, I think when the crops are got in, and the houses built, and some cattle in the fields again, you will have the bushmen down upon you some night?’

‘Well, we have sent for arms and powder from Cape Town.’

‘I know, but they will be of no use, if everybody is asleep. I meant to ask to be a watchman with as many as would join me, and to take it in turn, three or four every night. I wish you would see it done, and have all the boys taught to fire a gun.’

Arnall promised, and again urged him to be silent.

‘I will, when I have said one other thing about my mother. I wish you would tell her—’

‘Here his head drooped over Arnall’s shoulder, and presently, being unable to hold on any longer, he fell gently on the grass, and his companion saw with grief, that it was impossible to move further.

‘The dogs will stay and take care of you, George,’ said he, ‘while I run for your parents and Hill. I will be back the first moment I can. Here, I will put the sack under your head for a pillow. In less than an hour you will see us. God bless you.’

‘Stay one moment,’ said George. ‘Tell little Mary the whistle I promised to make her is just finished; and it lies in the hollow of the chestnut-tree,—call it my cupboard, and she will know.’

‘All this will do when I come back,’ said Arnall, who was impatient to be gone. He wiped the boy’s moist forehead and kissed it. George gave his hand and whispered,—

‘Let me say one thing more, only this one. If my father had seen

you do that, he would never call you proud again ; and if you would only play with Mary Stone sometimes, and speak a little kinder to Dame Fulton, you can't think what a difference it would make. Do, for my sake. I want them to know how kind you are, and I do not think I shall live to tell them. You are not crying for me, surely. No ; 'tis for mother. God bless you for those tears then. Good bye, Mr. Arnall.'

' Arnall looked back once or twice, and then George feebly waved his hand.

' As many as were near enough to hear the sad news, Arnall brought to the settlement, followed with those he came to seek. They made all speed ; but the whining of the dogs as soon as they approached, made them fear that they were too late. It was indeed so, though at the first moment it seemed doubtful whether George was not asleep. One arm was about the neck of his favourite, Rover. The other hand was over his eyes, as if the light had been too much for him. He did not move when the dog was released. He never moved again.'—p. 67—70.

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*The Rights of Morality ; an Essay on the Present State of Society, Moral, Political, and Physical, in England.* By Junius Redivivus. 12mo. E. Wilson. 1832.

If this be Junius risen from the dead, his sojourn in the cold grave has not cooled down his temperament. His ardour is the same ; but his principles are improved, and, we are sorry to say, his style impaired. It has lost some of its epigrammatic terseness. Its venomous brevity has given place to a rather declamatory diffuseness. And yet the style is not a bad style ; nor should we have said a syllable about it, but for the author's claim to pre-existence. That claim was not wisely made. Judging him by his book, he is too good a man himself to need the credit of having been another man. Another time let him leave Junius quiet in his grave : his business is with the living, not the dead ; and he has told some truths so unpalatable, that there are those who not only will withhold their assent from him, but who would not admit them ' though one should rise from the dead.' Whoever he be, he is a ' fellow of some mark and likelihood.' He shall introduce himself:—

' I am one of the productive classes ; but in consequence of ill health have been for considerable periods, at different times, a wide wanderer over the earth's surface, gleaning knowledge as I best could, both from the civilized man and the savage, and applying it, as far as my reason enabled me, for the purpose of extracting wisdom. The theory and practice of prime costs and estimates have at times given place to the analyzation of the human heart ; and my hand has been as conversant with the sabre and the bridle-rein, as it has been with pen, ink, and mechanical drawing instruments. I have lived long in lands where a stab with the knife was the price of a blow ; but I have seen the hand which was reddened in the blood of one fellow-creature, freely raised to save the life of another ; and I remarked, that human nature was not all evil. I found that ignorance entailed misery, and that misery begat crime. The young and the buoyant learned the lessons

of love and joy. The experienced and the old acquired the dogmas of treachery and tyranny. Even from them the gleams of a better nature would at times break forth, clinging fondly to kindness, till the harsh feelings of self-preservation again "froze the genial current of the soul." Long and deeply have I pondered on these things, and ardently have I longed to free my species from the shackles of ignorance, the source of all the evils which they mutually inflict and suffer. I have returned to my "father-land," and deeply do I grieve to behold in the descendants of the free Saxon race, brutality—coarse, cold-blooded brutality—such as a red Indian would scorn to descend to, whatever he might do when the lashing of his injuries urged him to the mad cry of havoc and revenge. Loathing the trade of war and bloodshed, which ignorance thus helps to perpetuate, I would fain contribute my mite towards the suppression of it, and shall rejoice if any more capable teacher shall cause my lesson to be forgotten, in the greater utility and eloquence of his own. I have learned the lesson of love, and am a believer in the perfectability of man. Would the majority of the species but believe the same thing, the creed would be realized.'—p. 4—6.

Starting from what, scriptural as it is, we may call the generally-denied principle, that all men are heirs in common of the grant of the earth, which Providence conferred upon our first progenitor, the author takes a rapid survey of the condition of the people of this country. His soul is in his subject; and if many of his positions be questionable, the freedom of his intellect and the warmth of his patriotism are indisputable. He animadverts with peculiar, but not undeserved severity, on the revenue laws. 'The indirect taxes of England are most abhorrent and mischievous. Fifty times their amount might be paid directly, and the people might still be gainers, even in a pecuniary point of view. But how infinitely greater would be their gain in their estrangement from their present demoralization!' We give the passage in which his comment upon this topic concludes with a denunciation against the taxes upon knowledge.

'To think on the bare physical injury inflicted, makes the blood of a freeman boil. The virtual privation of the light of day. The virtual privation of the means of cleansing the person and clothing. The virtual privation of artificial light. The virtual privation of the food and luxuries which are superfluities in other countries. The virtual privation of sale for the productions of art. And last, and most abhorrent of all, the virtual privation of knowledge gained by reading. Light, air, cleanliness, food, and knowledge are most essential things to human existence. Whoever attempts to lessen their supply is a vampyre to his species. Annually are thrown away whole streams of the light wines of France. We might drink them, but there interferes—the duty. We might be cleanly even to prolixity, but there interferes—the duty. And we might be the most intelligent people in the whole world, but the accursed, blighting duty again interferes, to check the civilization to which every citizen would otherwise aspire. The sale of gin is encouraged, and the sale of knowledge is half prohibited. A philosopher could scarcely require any other comment on a government. Londonderries, Eldons, Wynfords, and Wharncliffes are, after that, superfluous as examples.

'The first thing that is done after laying out a new town in the

United States is, to cut a road to it, and establish a newspaper. The means for the diffusion of intelligence are thus provided, and everything of importance is sure to advance well in spite of agues, arising from breaking up new lands, which should rather be called old, seeing that they have been so many years untouched. The newspapers of a free country really spread intelligence, and that very rapidly; but the newspapers of England, highly taxed, are thereby a monopoly to their owners, and really prevent intelligence. They give, it is true, the details of what is passing in the world, but with the exception of one or two, they merely echo the leading talk of the day; and instead of being leading journals, as some of them call themselves, that is to say, leading the public to the right, and warning them against the wrong, they pander to the popular cry, because by that means they increase the number of their customers, and thereby enlarge their profits. They are mercantile speculations, in short, and literary men are hired to write for them, just as a vender of gin employs working distillers. The proprietors of one of the principal journals, on one occasion, decided by vote which side of a great public question should be taken, and the hireling scribe, equally ready to write on either side, received his orders from the majority. It is clear that there could only be a right and a wrong course. The reasoning process is an infallible guide to the right, yet all reason was abandoned, and the matter was settled by a process very similar to that of settling, by a vote of bricklayers' labourers, what should be the shape of a building. Yet such publications as these are called the teachers of the people. Philosophic-minded people, really capable of teaching the public at large, are shut out from the channel of newspapers, because they are rarely wealthy people; and to establish a newspaper requires a large capital, on account of the duties which are to be paid to government. Thus the purely mercantile newspapers maintain by wealth a monopoly which they would not be able to maintain by talent. One newspaper only—*The Examiner*—takes pains to expose this iniquity. The newspapers could be sold at less than half price were it not for the duties; but as the taking off the duties will throw the trade open, those who enjoy the monopoly prefer it as it is. Were the trade thrown open a great part of the daily press would probably really become vehicles of public instruction, instead of mere caterers for public amusement. At present they are almost mischievous, for they retard public improvement, being, instead of honest censors, generally the sycophantic applauders of whatever may be the system of the time being, praisers of the "wisdom of our ancestors," and resisters of all improvement, till the voice of the majority of the public forces it upon them. They are the barrers-out of better men; and their only opponents are a species of half desperate political adventurers, some of whom from ignorance, and others from desire of profit, run all risks of government prosecution, and pander to the passions of the poorest classes, just as the "respectable part of the press" panders to the middle classes.'—p. 68—72.



*Facts relating to the Punishment of Death in the Metropolis.* By E. G. Wakefield. Second Edition. *With an Appendix, concerning Murder for the Sale of the Dead Body.* London. Wilson, 1832.

EVERY legislator, every magistrate, every philosopher, every philanthropist, should study Mr. Wakefield's book; and every one also who feels any interest in knowing how young children are entrapped by old thieves into the commission of crime; what time, pains, and money are expended in their seduction; what instruction they get in Newgate and its school; what becomes of them when they are turned out pennyless and characterless into the world again; how long an average career of plunder lasts; what proportion of the sexes, and of different ages, is engaged in the profession of thievery; how the chances of impunity are calculated; what a total absence of prevention there is all through; how prosecutors, judges, and juries, are managed; what a lottery of life and death follows capital conviction; how humanity appears in the condemned cells, and on the scaffold; and what a disgusting travesty of religion introduces the final scene. All this, and more, Mr. Wakefield has told, interspersing facts, which are not less important or authentic from having been unknown and unsuspected, with most judicious reflections and most graphic descriptions.

The Appendix to this edition consists only of a few pages, but they are well timed and well written. For the last seven or eight years resurrection-men have been hunted by the public much in the same way that cats used to be by mischievous schoolboys and their dogs. The old winking system has vanished, and, from the watchman to the justice, all have been on the alert. Schools of anatomy have been treated as if they were the world's deadly enemies; and subjects being necessary for their usefulness, the war has been waged in the most efficient way, by cutting off their supplies. Surgeons have been criminally convicted of endeavouring to qualify themselves for their vocation, and found guilty of compassing the preservation of their patients' limbs and lives. The agents—bad enough, no doubt,—whom the state of the law compelled them to employ, have been pursued with the utmost fury for, probably, the most beneficial act they ever did. The prejudice—not an unnatural one, but which might have been mitigated—has been ministered to by senators, magistrates, and newspaper-writers, till it became perfectly insane. Not the murderer himself passed from the police-office to the gaol amid deeper howlings or fiercer peltings than the detected body-snatcher.—As might have been expected, he became a murderer.

The Times of the 13th of January copies the following paragraph from the Dublin Freeman's Journal:—

'On Saturday night, a resurrectionist, who went to pillage the graves in the churchyard of Hollywood, was shot dead, in the act of raising the body of Mr. Fitzgerald of Ardenode.'

The resurrectionist, had he decoyed Mr. Fitzgerald of Ardenode, a month before, into some lonely place, and there suffocated him, might still have been a living man, with some remains of the ten guineas in his pocket. With some friendless wretch, who has no name

and is of nowhere, the chance of impunity would have been increased to a high degree of probability. Around the unknown living there stand no guards with guns to shoot dead him who shall lay a hostile finger on them. They are not missed; or if they be, nobody is the wiser. They may be found in the neighbourhood where they are wanted, and thus the perils be avoided of book-keepers' noses, and excisemen's fingers. No ground is broken; no alarm is given; there is no chase, no handcuffs, no peltings, no treadmill. It is only keeping the laudanum and the well in readiness; snaring the prey at intervals; pocketing the price, which the public excitement keeps at the highest; and eat, drink, and be merry. True, there is the gallows at the end of the vista; but every thief takes his chance of that; and its terrors are wonderfully diminished by the increased length of the perspective. The body-snatcher is, on the one hand, drawn towards burking by its greater ease, security, and profit; and if that be not enough to reconcile him to crime, he is, on the other, all but driven to it in self-defence.

Something must be done; and the object of Mr. Wakefield's Appendix is, to show that nothing efficient can be done until the common prejudice is abated. He therefore says, and very justly, no longer allow dissection to be connected with punishment. Cease to tell the people that there are crimes which deserve something worse than hanging, and that that something worse is dissection. 'Sentence of dissection was passed on Bishop and Williams, for the express purpose, one might almost think, of strengthening the vulgar prejudice against dissection.' The proposal to send all unclaimed bodies to the anatomical schools would, he contends, be objectionable, on account of a similar influence. If the law now makes it the worst punishment of the criminal, it would then represent it as the worst calamity of the friendless. 'There appears but one way in which to deprive dead bodies of a murderous value, viz. by the removal of the vulgar prejudice against dissection.'

'At present, those classes which affect superior sense and liberality of opinion, are, with some few honourable exceptions, quite as much prejudiced on this point, as the most ignorant and stupid of the populace. In vain does the wise, benevolent, and illustrious Bentham talk with the utmost cheerfulness of having left his body for dissection; in vain do a few generous men direct that their remains shall be made of service to the public; in vain do we preach to the poor of the unreasonableness of caring for mere flesh, which the worms will dissect at all events; in vain is it to strive against this prejudice amongst the poor, so long as the prejudice shall be cherished by the rich. Wealth always was, and always will be, respected. Let the wealthy set an example of rational conduct to the poor, and in the course of a very short time, the murderous value of dead bodies will be at an end. But the wealthy, who run little or no risk of being *burked*, are without the motive for setting such an example. Let a law, then, create the motive. This might be done in various ways; such as, for example, by directing that the bodies of all who receive above a certain amount of public money shall be liable to be claimed for the public good; and (what would clash less with our system of government), by excusing from payment of legacy duty the representatives

of those persons who had bequeathed their bodies for dissection, and whose bodies had actually been dissected. Considering the immense value which is, in this country, attached to money, even by the dying, the adoption of this last suggestion might soon diminish the revenue. But by then, the object in view would have been accomplished ; and the law might be repealed, without any risk that the prejudice would revive, if, meanwhile, every law were repealed which causes dissection to be considered the most ignominious of punishments.'—pp. 211, 213.

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#### NOTICE OF THE UNITARIAN CHRONICLE.

THE Editor presents his readers this month, with an addition of sixteen octavo pages to the usual quantity of the Repository, under the title of the 'Unitarian Chronicle, and Companion to the Monthly Repository.' He intends that addition for the first number of a distinct, but yet connected work, (which will appear on the 1st of each month, price threepence,) to serve peculiarly as a vehicle for Unitarian Intelligence. His reasons will be found stated in the Address with which it commences. He hopes they will not only be thought satisfactory, but that they will procure for him increased co-operation, by literary contributions, the communication of interesting intelligence, and exertions to extend the circulation both of the Repository and its companion.

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#### CORRESPONDENCE.

SEVERAL Communications, especially those of the Rev. W. Turner, jun., to whom we have been indebted for many valuable hints, and Mr. James Young, required a notice which want of space compels us to postpone. 'Power' is found. Thanks to C. who shall hear from us. A private letter of inquiry may find some answer in the Unitarian Chronicle. When the topics are not temporary, Correspondents increase the favour by allowing us to retain their communications for what must often seem, to all but Editors, an unreasonable time.

The Rev. N. S. Heineken, requests us to add the mention of his residence (at Collumpton, Devon,) to the Obituary of Mrs. Heineken in our last Number.