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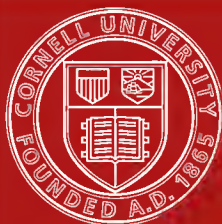
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# REASONS

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WHY WE SHOULD

BELIEVE IN GOD

LOVE GOD

AND

OBEY GOD

BY

PETER H. BURNETT

*Author of "The Path which Led a Protestant Lawyer to the Catholic Church," and "Recollections and Opinions of an Old Pioneer"*

"Why should it be thought a thing incredible to you, that God should raise the dead?"

—ACTS xxvi.

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## PREFACE.

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THE theory of Christianity not only inculcates the purest morality, but it plainly teaches the strictly just and clearly reasonable doctrine that all men will be ultimately most *certainly* and *adequately* rewarded or punished according to their merits or demerits. There is, therefore, something so utterly inconsistent between the belief in Christianity and the deliberate and habitual practice of immorality that the two can hardly be found together. There may possibly be some rare exceptions to this rule; but they are so few, if any, as to be unworthy of consideration. The faith of such persons must be exceedingly weak.

It would seem plain that, with the rarest possible exceptions, all the deliberately and habitually bad and immoral men in Christendom are, at heart, infidels. The natural and logical impulses of their conduct lead them there, because vice follows an infallible instinct in choosing a theory to suit its own practice—a theory that offers no *adequate* motives for the practice of virtue, and provides no *efficient* checks to vice. It is true that many men who do not believe in Christianity are yet good men as citizens and neighbors; but, so far as I am advised, they never attain the highest state of virtue. They do not possess the virtue of humility or the patient and resolute spirit of the martyr. But it is a great and gratifying fact, and a most unanswerable evidence of the truth of Christianity, that the bad and wicked men are on *one* side and at heart *opposed* to it, whatever may be their professions; for it must be clear that the theory of infidelity, which draws to itself the worst elements of society, cannot be true.

“The law of Christ has to contend against all the vices—all the

changes and novelties of each and every age—and all the vicissitudes of every condition in life. The duties to be performed and the truths to be believed are ‘hard to flesh and blood.’ The Kingdom takes a wide sweep. It is only bounded by the limits of the habitable earth, and includes the entire race, and extends through all time. And the perfect sphere of its duties includes all the virtues our race can possess, and the elevated circle of its faith, the highest and sublimest truths they can believe. Everything morally good must be believed and practised, and everything evil must be hated and avoided. The Christian is to live for the bright future more than for the tempting present. He must leave to God the revenge of his wrongs and the reward of his merits. The man that injures him, he must pray for—that hates him, he must love. And not only must all these things be believed and done, but the consequences are as enduring as the system is boundless and as eternity is endless. A few short years of pleasure constitute not its rewards, and the temporary terrors of the scaffold, not its punishments” (*The Path*, p. 141).

While truth must always be *one*, the forms of error are multitudinous—almost infinite. Their name is emphatically *legion*. All the various and changing forms of error are opposed to Christianity. It encounters at one point vague, misty, and inconsistent deism; from another quarter wild, fanciful, and specious pantheism; and from a third point consistent yet dismal atheism—that dark and dreary desert in which no beast of earth ever made a track and “no bird of heaven ever built a nest.” But that which is the most difficult to overcome, the worst mental disease of this age, is the *leprosy of indifference*. There is more hope of convincing an earnest, manly, and bold opponent. At all events, he can be found and understood. There is something admirable in the conduct of an earnest, sincere man, even when he is in the wrong. St. Paul, while a bitter persecutor, exhibited the noble traits of sincerity and earnestness. Such men as the polished and sarcastic Gibbon, the profound and philosophical Hume, and even the coarse and bitter Paine, are worthy of respectful consideration. These men speak out boldly what they think, and give their reasons for their opinions.

Whatever may be the nature and number of opposing theories, I am well assured that Christianity will be amply able to meet them all. In such a contest, from the very nature of the system itself, the Christian religion has no apologies to make—no compromises to offer, none to accept. I believe that the Catholic Church can neither die nor

change, but that she will always firmly maintain the unchangeable faith once delivered to the saints.

Having commenced the present work at an advanced period of life, when my capacity to labor was so much abridged and my remaining time so limited, I have very freely availed myself of the labors of others. But while this work will be largely composed of extracts from other writers, I think it will be found that the line of argument pursued is new in some important respects.



PART I.

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THE EXISTENCE OF GOD.





# REASONS

WHY WE SHOULD

## BELIEVE IN GOD, LOVE GOD, AND OBEY GOD.

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### CHAPTER I.

PROOFS OF PURPOSE—THE BASIS OF DISCUSSION.

**T**O trace the unknown from the known, the complex from the simple, is the peculiar province and delight of reason—the very purpose of its existence.

How can we reason but from what we know ?

As every superstructure must of necessity have a basis upon which to rest, so all discussion must begin from one or more positions assumed as true. Were all possible positions disputable there would be no point from which discussion could begin. Human intellect, from the very nature of its being, must have certain limits beyond which it cannot go. It cannot possibly descend below the positively and plainly certain, nor rise above the infinite. By the very act of composing and publishing a work an author absolutely assumes his own existence and that of the external world. I shall, therefore, waste no time in the attempt to prove facts that I think require no proof. I begin by assuming my own existence and that of the external world around me. Should any one dispute these positions I must remain silent. I can make no reply.

THAT ORDER AND SYSTEM ARE THE LEGITIMATE AND IMMEDIATE PRODUCTS OF INTELLECT AND INSTINCT, BUT WERE THE ORIGINAL PRODUCTS OF INTELLECT ALONE.

We are certain that the works of man are the results of intellectual forecast and design. From the rudest stone hammer and flint arrow-head, up through all the various grades of human production to the grandest triumphs of man's genius, there is the most certain proof of the existence of an intellect that designed its work and foresaw from the beginning the probable result of its labors. But the fact that man cannot infuse life into any of his works, but can only use materials already existing, and in the creation of which he has had no agency whatever, is a clear proof that his mind is limited. Man's works are

clearly distinguishable from those of all inferior beings. He may, in a few cases, make similar structures to theirs; but they have never in any case, so far as I am advised, successfully imitated his. If, in passing over a plain covered with cobble-stones, we should find one lately broken and the fresh mark of the broken stone upon another beside it, showing clearly that one was violently dashed against the other, we should know, with unerring certainty, that it is the work of man, and not that of any beast.

Of the various works of man I shall mention only two.

Take, for example, a magnificent stone temple. All its several apartments bear to each other a relation so harmonious as to show the existence of intelligent design in the mind of the architect who projected its plan. Then see the number and different forms and sizes of the stones, columns, and other ornaments composing its grand exterior, and observe the proportion of each to all the others; and then reflect that every one of these stones, columns, and ornaments was separately cut with such minute and exact accuracy upon the ground,\* according to a working model made by the architect, that, when each was lifted up and placed in its position, it fitted its proper place precisely in this grand and harmonious whole, and we can then form some idea of the intellect of that being who can produce such grand results.

But, in my judgment, no structure of man can give us a more just conception of the grandeur of his intellect than a majestic steamship making its straight and triumphant way, for thousands of miles, across the pathless ocean,

"Where the stormy winds do blow  
And the scattered waters rave."

There is in no work of man a greater combination of different inventions, made by so many different men, in ages so remote from each other, than in the steamship. From the sturdy woodcutter and delving miner, up through all the various grades of artisans and artists to the commander of the vessel himself, there are found the greatest number and variety of men, of different trades and professions. By one delicate and beautiful instrument the pilot knows the exact course he must steer from the port of departure to the port of destination; and by the aid of another superb invention he is able to ascertain, with substantial accuracy, the position of his ship upon the surface of a vast globe some twenty-five thousand miles in circumference. The engineer, with his hand upon the valve, turns on or shuts off at will that giant power which drives the vast and complex,

\* In speaking of the temple built by Solomon it is stated in the sixth chapter of Third Kings:

"And the house, when it was in building, was built of stones hewed and made ready: so that there was neither hammer nor axe nor any tool of iron heard in the house when it was in building."

but perfectly harmonious and accurately-adjusted, machinery which propels this queen of marine architecture through the waves. If a being were suddenly created, not in the form of man, but with a mind equal to the matured intellect of a Watt, and were placed on board, with no knowledge of the origin of the vessel and no knowledge of the language spoken, and were permitted, without any instruction, to fully inspect the ship, her machinery and appointments, I think he would never commit the gross mistake of supposing that all this perfect order and system were accidental.

When we see the works of the ant, the bee, the spider, the silkworm, and of many other beings inferior to man, and find in these productions so much order and system, we cannot conclude that such results are accidental, but we are sure that they are the products of instinct.

We have clear and undoubted knowledge of the origin of the works of man, and of those of inferior beings; and we have evidence sufficient to convince us, beyond all reasonable doubt, that they are the products of intellect in the first case, and of instinct in the second. We can only measure the capacity of man or that of an inferior being by his works; as capacity is something intangible and invisible, that cannot be seen by the eye, or measured by a rule, or weighed in a balance. While we cannot fix any *exact* limits to what man may accomplish in the future, we know what he has done in the past, and to that extent we can estimate his capacity.

Now, as we find in all man's works the clear and unmistakable evidences of design, and hence draw the logical conclusion that he is an intellectual being, then, if we shall find in other works than his a greater display of capacity and purpose, the plain and obvious conclusion would seem inevitable that these works are the products of a *greater mind*. And this conclusion is not in any material degree weakened by the fact that we have no positive personal knowledge of the origin of these greater works, since we can only measure the capacity of the architect by his performance, there being no other *possible* way by which we can judge.

As we know by our own positive and affirmative, not negative, experience that order and system are the legitimate and immediate products of intellect in the works of man, and of instinct in those of inferior beings, can we logically infer that results of a like character can be produced by some *other* power in the universe which possesses neither intellect nor instinct? Especially should we find other existing works vastly superior to the highest achievements of man's splendid intellect, could we justly conclude that some *inferior* power has produced these *greater* results? To say that superior productions can be the legitimate results of inferior capacity would be reversing all the logical rules of right reason. We must refer greater results

to greater powers, and intellectual results to intellectual powers. I think that order and system are the legitimate products, either *immediate* or *original*, of intellect *alone*; that in their very nature they could be produced by no other than *intellectual* capacity, which sees the end from the beginning. Every effect must have its adequate cause, and no cause but intellect can produce intellectual results.

THE FORM AND CONSTITUENT ELEMENTS OF THE EARTH EVIDENCES  
OF PURPOSE.

If the earth were, say, thirty thousand miles long, twenty-five thousand miles wide, and two thousand miles thick, with one of the larger surfaces always squarely facing the sun, there would be no day on one side and no night on the other, and but two main climates—one so hot and the other so cold as to render most of it uninhabitable. Again, if our earth were of its present bulk, but in the form of a cylinder a little rounded at the ends, the length of the cylinder, say, ten times as great as that of its short diameter, one of which ends was the north and the other the south pole, and the earth rotated around its long axis once in twenty-four hours from west to east, as at present, and made its annual revolution around the sun with its short diameter always perpendicular to that great central luminary, so that the earth would make one rotation around its short axis in making its yearly, as the moon does in making its monthly, revolution, then there would be no distinction of climate, except in the small spaces at the ends; and the climate, with these exceptions, would be tropical.

But the earth is, in fact, substantially a sphere, and this form gives rise to a great variety of climates, with all the benefits naturally flowing therefrom. These advantages are too numerous to be correctly estimated or fully appreciated. I can only mention a few of the more apparent.

If the earth had no variety in climate and productions it would become dull and oppressively monotonous, and its beauty and value would be far inferior to what they are now; and, therefore, variety is one of its most predominant features. If variety be truly the "spice of life," it is equally the soul of beauty.\* If all visible objects in the

\* "It would be to doubt the evidence of our senses and of our reason, or else to assume hypotheses of which there is no proof whatever, if we were to doubt that mere ornament, mere variety, are as much an end and aim in the workshop of Nature as they are known to be in the workshop of the goldsmith and the jeweller. Why should they not? The love and desire of these is universal in the mind of Man. It is seen not more in the highest forms of civilized art than in the habits of the rudest savage, who covers with elaborate carving the handle of his war-club, or the prow of his canoe. Is it likely that this universal aim and purpose of the mind of Man should be wholly without relation to the aims and purposes of his Creator? He that formed the eye to see beauty, shall He not see it? He that gave the human hand its cunning to work for beauty, shall His hand never work for it? How then shall we account for the beauty of the world—for the provision made for it when it is only the secondary object, not the first? Even in those cases, for example, where concealment is the main object in view, ornament is never forgotten, but lies as it were underneath, carried into effect under the conditions and limitations imposed by the higher law and the more special purpose. Thus the feathers of the Ptarmigan, though confined by the law of assimilation

world were of one color only, the want of variety would be appalling. If the rainbow, for example, had but a single color, how inferior would be its beauty! There would be none of that exquisitely soft and delicate blending of colors which now gives the bow its loveliest aspect. Without different climates and soils we could not at the same time have the rich verdure, luscious fruits, gorgeous birds, and majestic and beautiful animals of the tropics; the stately forests, nutritious grasses, superior flowers,\* feathered songsters, and useful animals of the temperate zones; and the huge polar bears and fur-bearing animals of the north.

But this great variety in the climates and soils, and consequent productions of the earth, has had and still has the most beneficial influence upon the welfare of the human race in other respects. It has given rise to commerce, one of the great agents in the civilization of mankind. Mr. Alfred Russel Wallace, in his work, *The Malay Archipelago*, in speaking of Dobbo, a trading village in the Aru Islands, where there were about "five hundred people of various races, all met in that remote corner of the East, as they express it, 'to look after their fortunes,'" makes these remarks upon the subject of commerce:

Here we may behold in its simplest form the genius of Commerce at the work of civilization. Trade is the magic that keeps all at peace, and unites these dis-

lative colouring to a mixture of black and white or grey, have those simple colours disposed in crescent bars and mottlings of beautiful form, even as the lichens which they imitate spread in radiating lines and semi-circular ripples over the weather-beaten stones. It is the same with all other birds whose colour is the colour of their homes. For the purpose of concealment, their colouring would be equally effective if it were laid on without order or regularity of form. But this is never done. The required tints are always disposed in patterns, each varying with the genus and species; varying for the sake of variation, and for the beauty which belongs to ornament. And where this purpose is not under the restraint of any other purpose controlling it and keeping it down as it were within comparatively narrow limits, how gorgeous are the results attained! What shall we say of flowers—those banners of the vegetable world, which march in such varied and splendid triumph before the coming of its fruits? What shall we say of the Humming-Birds—whose feathers are made to return the light which falls upon them, as if rekindled from interior fires, and coloured with more than all the colours of all the gems?" (Duke of Argyll, *The Reign of Law*, p. 191).

"But although the laws which determine both form and colouring are here seen to be subservient to use, we shall never understand the phenomena of Nature unless we admit that mere ornament or beauty is in itself a purpose, an object and an end" (*id.* p. 188).

\* Mr. Alfred Russel Wallace, in his work, *The Malay Archipelago*, on page 245, has these remarks:

"I have done so frequently, and the result of these examinations has convinced me that the bright colors of flowers have a much greater influence on the general aspect of nature in temperate than in tropical climates. During twelve years spent amidst the grandest tropical vegetation I have seen nothing comparable to the effect produced on our landscapes by gorse, broom, heather, wild hyacinths, hawthorn, purple orchises, and buttercups."

The birds of the tropical regions are the most beautiful in the world, but they generally have very harsh notes, while those of the temperate zones are plainer in plumage but superior in song.

"Every tree was full of birds, variegated with an infinity of colours, but destitute of song; others, of a more homely and European appearance, diverted us with a variety of wild notes, in a style of music still distinct and peculiar to Africa; as different in the composition from our linnet and goldfinch as our English language is to that of Abyssinia. Yet, from very attentive and frequent observation, I find that the skylark at Masnah sang the same note as in England. It was observable that the greatest part of the beautiful painted birds were of the jay and magpie kind. Nature seemed by the fineness of their dress, to have marked them for children of noise and impertinence, but never to have intended them for pleasure or meditation" (Head's *Life of Bruce*, p. 158).

cordant elements in a well-behaved community. All are traders, and all know that peace and order are essential to successful trade, and thus a public opinion is created that puts down all lawlessness \* (p. 444).

The good effects of commerce are not confined to individuals, but extend to nations. It is a great agent for the diffusion of information, thus conveying the knowledge of one people to another; and this leads to emulation and imitation. It is a great check upon war, and creates a friendly intercourse between different races of men. As the same touch of nature makes us all men, so commerce brings us together and induces us to admit our kinship. Commerce is continually extending its influence further and further into barbarous nations, and has suppressed cannibalism in many places. It, in a certain sense, makes all commercial nations financially and commercially one people. Each country has some commodity peculiar to its climate and soil, or some common product in much greater abundance than is found in other localities; and in times of local famines commerce comes to the aid of famishing millions. Productions once local have, by the aid of commerce, become general. Wheat was only found in a wild state in Chaldea,† Indian corn in North America, Irish potatoes in South America, and apricots in Armenia.

This great variety in the climates and productions of our earth would be much less beneficial to man were it not for the easy combustibility of all vegetation. While it draws its support from the earth and its atmosphere—neither of which is combustible—vegetation itself is readily subjected to combustion. Possessing this quality, it enables man the more easily to open fields in the forest by consuming with fire the surplus timber in his way, supplies him with fuel to cook his food, warm and light his habitation, smelt the ores, work the metals, and use the giant power of steam and the terrible force of firearms. Man has *exclusive* control over the element of fire, and enjoys alone all the many benefits of the great number of purposes to which it is applied. Without fire the greater portion of the dry land would be practically uninhabitable by man.

In regard to the constituent elements of the earth, I must refer to the late edition of the able lectures of Josiah Parsons Cooke, Ewing professor of chemistry and mineralogy in Harvard University, enti-

\* Stanley says, in the second volume of *Through the Dark Continent*, p. 334:

"The people no longer resist our advance. Trade has tamed their natural ferocity, until they no longer resent our approach with the fury of beasts of prey."

† "According to native tradition, wheat was indigenous in Chaldea; and the first comers thus found themselves provided by the bountiful hand of nature with the chief necessary of life" (Rawlinson, i. p. 33).

"No such fertility is known anywhere in modern times; and, unless the accounts are exaggerated, we must ascribe it, in part, to the extraordinary vigor of a virgin soil, and a deep and rich alluvium; in part, perhaps to a peculiar adaptation of the soil to the wheat plant, which the providence of God made to grow spontaneously in this region, and no where else, so far as we know, on the whole face of the earth" (*id.* ii. p. 484).

tled *Religion and Chemistry*. The tone and temper of this work are admirable, and the language accurate, clear, concise, and strong. While I must differ from the learned author as to a few of his positions, I can heartily approve the main portions of his work.

I have only room for a few extracts :

Moreover, we must carefully avoid the error of considering air as a distinct substance, like water or coal. On the contrary, it is merely a mechanical mixture of its constituent gases, and in no sense a definite chemical compound. Indeed, we may regard the globe as surrounded by at least three separate atmospheres,—one of oxygen, one of nitrogen, and one of aqueous vapor,—all existing simultaneously in the same space, yet each entirely distinct from the other two, and only very slightly influenced by their presence. To each of these atmospheres, the Author of nature has assigned separate and different functions. They are like so many servants in a household, each with a distinct set of duties, which are discharged with a fidelity and diligence unknown to any earthly service (p. 71).

In regard to the wonderful properties and uses of water I will make several extracts from this most valuable work :

From the whole surface of the globe water is constantly evaporating into the aqueous atmosphere which surrounds it. The heated air from the tropics, heavily charged with moisture, is continually moving towards the colder regions, both of the North and of the South; and as the current thus becomes chilled, the vapor is slowly condensed, and the water showered down in fertilizing rains. Thus it is that those beautiful provisions which we see in the rain all depend on the presence of the air, and result from a careful adjustment of the properties of aqueous vapor to the exact density of our atmosphere (p. 125).

The rills from numerous adjacent springs unite to form a brook, which increases as it flows, until it finally becomes the majestic river, rolling silently on its course. Every drop of water has been an incessant wanderer since the dawn of creation, and it will soon be merged again in the vast ocean, only to begin anew its familiar journey (p. 126).

Water has been the great agent of geological changes: here washing away continents, and there building them up; here gullyng out valleys, and there smoothing away inequalities of surface; here dissolving out the particles of metals from the solid rocks, and there collecting them together in beds of useful ores. It has covered the earth with verdure and animal life, by conveying nourishment to the plant and food to the animal. It sustains our own bodies, for it is a portion of this very circulation which ebbs and flows in our veins, and whose pulsations beat out the moments of our lives; and could I bring together in one picture the infinite number of beneficial ends which it has been made by Providence to subserve, I am sure that you would agree with me that there is not in nature stronger evidence of design than in the adaptations of this simple and familiar liquid (p. 127).

The physical man has been described by one writer as consisting of merely a few pounds of solid matter distributed through six pailfuls of water, and it is a fact that no less than four-fifths of these bodies of ours are made up of water (p. 129).

It is a remarkable fact of physical geography that the distribution of water by the aqueous circulation is rendered more effective by the peculiar structure of the continents, and the position of the great mountain chains.

“The mountain chains,” writes Professor Guyot in his excellent work *Earth and Man*, “are great condensers, placed here and there along the continents to

rob the winds of their treasures, and to serve as reservoirs for the rain-waters, and to distribute them afterwards as they are needed over the surrounding plains. Their wet and cloudy summits are untiringly occupied with this important work, and from their sides flow numberless torrents and rivers, carrying in all directions wealth and life" \* (p. 130).

The earth, as I stated in the second lecture, is moving with immense rapidity through a space whose temperature is at least two hundred and seventy degrees below the zero of Fahrenheit's thermometer, and, like a heated cannon-ball hung in the middle of a cold room, it is continually losing heat by radiation. The dense atmosphere with which it is enveloped, like a blanket, protects the earth from the intense cold of space, to a certain extent; but still the constant loss of heat is so great, that, were the sun's rays withheld for a few days, the temperature of the surface-land, even in the tropics, would fall as low as it is now at the poles during the long night of the arctic winter. In the daytime the earth receives from the sun more heat than it loses; but when this great thermal source is temporarily withdrawn, the loss of heat continuing as rapidly as before, the surface becomes quickly cooled, and the deposition of dew follows, as just explained; or, if the temperature falls below the freezing-point, the dew is changed to frost (p. 132).

Man combines numerous means in order to produce a single end; but in nature the most varied and apparently incompatible results flow from a single design. In God's works the means are employed, not as we use them in the poverty of our resources, but from the exuberance of riches. To use the language of another: "All the means are ends, and all the ends are means"; and the grand result is an harmonious system, in which every part is a whole, and where the whole that is known is felt to be only a very insignificant part (p. 138).

It would be foreign to my plan to consider these evidences here; but, assuming the succession of the seasons as a part of the order of creation, and as a means of adapting a larger portion of the earth's surface to the habitation of organized beings, it is evident that the higher forms of organic life could be sustained in these northern regions only by furnishing to the plants and animals an adequate protection against the intense cold of winter, and thus preserving the growth of one summer until the returning sun awakened new life in the succeeding spring.

The required protection has been provided by making a most marked exception to the general laws of expansion in the case of water. It is the general law of nature that all substances are expanded by heat and contracted by cold; and water forms no exception to the general rule, except within certain very narrow limits of temperature, shortly to be noticed. Indeed, were it not for the expansion, we could not readily either heat or cool a large mass of liquid matter. All liquids are very poor conductors of heat, and can be heated only by bringing their particles successively in contact with the source of heat. When you set a tea-kettle over a fire, the first effect of the heat is to expand the particles of water on the bottom of the

\*As the atmosphere becomes thinner and colder as we ascend above the level of the sea, the snow, which falls in greater quantities in high elevations than in lower levels, will remain unmelted much longer, and thus supply the streams by its gradual thawing during the spring and summer months, when the rains in the valleys mainly cease. Another effect of the increasing thinness and coolness of the air in proportion to height is the benefit it confers upon birds of long voyages. The wild goose and the vulture, for example, fly at great heights, far above all danger, where the air is so cool that they need no water and do not become too warm by exertion, and where the thin atmosphere permits a more rapid flight to the wild goose and crane. In his most beautiful address to a wild fowl Bryant alludes to this fact:

" All day thy wings have fanned,  
At that far height, the cold, thin atmosphere,  
Yet stoop not, weary, to the welcome land,  
Though the dark night is near."



kettle, which, being thus rendered specifically lighter, rise, and are succeeded by colder particles, which are heated and rise in their turn; and thus the circulation is established by which all the particles are successively brought in contact with the heated bottom of the kettle, and in course of time the temperature of the whole mass is raised to the boiling-point. The case is similar when you add ice to a pitcher of water to cool it. The water at the top of the pitcher, in contact with the ice, is, of course, cooled, and, being thus rendered specifically heavier than the water below, sinks and gives place to the warmer water, which is cooled and sinks in its turn, and thus, as before, a circulation is established, which continues until the temperature of the whole water is reduced to  $40^{\circ}$ . But at this point the circulation is entirely arrested; for, in consequence of its singular constitution, water at  $39^{\circ}$  is lighter than water at  $40^{\circ}$ , and consequently remains at the top. And so it is as the temperature sinks toward the freezing-point. The colder the water, the lighter it becomes, and the more persistently it remains at the surface. Hence, although the upper layers of water may be readily cooled to the freezing-point, yet, in consequence of its poor conducting power, the great body of the liquid below will remain at the temperature of  $40^{\circ}$ .

The cold atmosphere of winter acts upon the ponds and lakes exactly as the ice on the water in the pitcher. They also are cooled from the surface, and a circulation is established by the constant sinking of the chilled water until the temperature falls to  $40^{\circ}$ . But at this point, still eight degrees above the freezing-point, the circulation stops. The surface-water, as it cools below this temperature, remains at the top, and in the end freezes; but then comes into play still another provision in the property of water. Most substances are heavier in their solid than in their liquid state; but ice, on the contrary, is lighter than water, and therefore floats on the surface. Moreover, as ice is a very poor conductor of heat, it serves as a protection to the lake, so that at the depth of a few feet, at most, the temperature of the water during winter is never under  $40^{\circ}$ , although the atmosphere may continue for weeks below zero.

If water resembled other liquids, and continued to contract with cold to its freezing-point,—if this exception had not been made, the whole order of nature would have been reversed. The circulation just described would continue until the whole mass of water in the lake had fallen to the freezing-point. The ice would then first form at the bottom, and the congelation would continue until the whole lake had been changed to one mass of solid ice.\* Upon such a mass the hottest summer would have but little effect; for the poor conducting power would then prevent its melting, and instead of ponds and lakes we should have large masses of ice, which during the summer months would melt to the depth of only a few feet. It is unnecessary to state that this condition of things would be utterly inconsistent with the existence of aquatic plants or animals, and would be almost as fatal to organic life everywhere; for not only are all parts of the creation so indissolubly bound together that if one member suffers, all the other members suffer with it, but moreover the soil itself would, to a certain extent, share in the fate of the ponds. The soil is always more or less saturated with water, and, under existing conditions, in our temperate zone the frost does not penetrate to a sufficient depth to kill the

\* I have seen *small rivulets* flowing from springs frozen to the bottom. The water from the spring would then overflow the first layer of ice and freeze, then overflow and freeze again, until by the time a general thaw occurred there would be a large accumulation of ice. Without the existence of the apparently exceptional quality of water mentioned, what would be the effect of winter upon the streams, large and small, in our temperate and cold climates?

If ice were heavier than water it would sink to the bottom of the stream, and either rest there or float down the current in ever-increasing quantities, until the whole volume of the stream would become a mass of solid ice. What would be the effect of such a condition cannot be precisely defined, but every one can see that it would be disastrous.

roots and seeds of plants which are buried under it. But were water constituted like other liquids, the soil would remain frozen to the depth of many feet, and the only effect of the summer's heat would be to melt a few inches at the surface. It would be, perhaps, possible to cultivate some hardy annuals in such a climate, but this would be all. Trees and shrubs could not bear the severity of the winter. Thus, then, it appears that the very existence of life in these temperate regions of the earth depends on an apparent exception to a general law of nature, so slight and limited in its extent that it can only be detected by the most refined scientific observation.

Moreover, this exceptional property is united with another quality, which greatly aids in preserving vegetable life during the winter months. We shudder at the thought of snow, but nevertheless it affords a most effectual protection to the soil, forming as warm a covering as would the softest wool. Water in all its conditions has been made a very bad conductor of heat, and snow is ranked with wool among the poorest of conductors. Heat, therefore, cannot readily escape from a snow-covered soil, and thus its temperature is prevented from falling materially below the freezing-point, however great the severity of the season. Notice now, that, when winter sets in and the cold increases in such a degree as to endanger the tender plants, Nature promptly spreads her great frost-blanket over forest, prairie, meadow, and garden alike, so that all may slumber on in safety until the sun returns and melts away the downy covering, when the buds break forth again and the trees put on a new mantle of living green (p. 147).

It is a very common mistake to suppose that the grand in nature is to be seen only in its great waterfalls and its lofty mountains; for, to the intellectual eye, there is more real grandeur, more evidence of omnipotence, in a single raindrop than in the rush of Niagara or the magnitude of Mont Blanc. The more I study the evidence of design in this simple liquid, the more I find there is to learn, and I feel the utter inadequacy of any language to convey the full and complete idea. Review, for a moment, the examples of adaptation which have been so briefly noticed. Remember that water is the liquid of our globe, and the only liquid which exists in abundance on its surface. The total amount of all other liquids is in comparison but as "a drop of a bucket." Consider, next, that its specific gravity has been so adjusted that our ships float, and the oceans are made great highways for the nations; that it is easily converted into vapor, and easily condensed to fertilizing rains and refreshing dew, which nourish the growing plants, fill the springs, and keep the rivers—the great arteries of the globe—in circulation; that at a comparatively low temperature it is changed into highly elastic steam, which, imprisoned by man in his iron boilers, has become the great civilizer of the world; that it has been so exceptionally constituted that the great mass cannot be cooled below forty degrees, and again has been made such a poor conductor of heat that, when the surface is frozen, the very ice becomes a protection against the cold; that to this same liquid there has been given a very great capacity for heat, and that thus it has been made the means of tempering materially the climates of the globe. Add to this that water has been made an almost universal solvent; that from the substances in solution the crustacea form their shells and the coral polyps build their reefs; that it fills the cavities of the rocks with gems, and their fissures with useful ores. In connection with this host of wonderful mechanical adaptations, remember that water has been made a chemical agent of great energy and power; that there have been united in it the apparently incompatible qualities of blandness and great chemical force; that, although in the laboratory of nature it corrodes the most resisting rocks, it also circulates through the leaflets of the rose and still more delicate human lungs; that it forms the greater part of all organized beings, from the lichen

to the oak, and from the polyp to man. Reflect, now, that these are only a few of the grosser qualities and functions of this remarkable compound, gleaned here and there from many others no less wonderful, and you will form still but a very imperfect conception of the amount of design which has been crowded into it. Attempt to find a liquid, which, if in sufficient quantity, might supply its place, and you will be still further impressed by this evidence of intelligence and forethought. Of all the materials of our globe, water bears most conspicuously the stamp of the Great Designer, and as in the Book of Nature it teaches the most impressive lesson of His wisdom and power, so in the Book of Grace it has been made a token of God's eternal covenant with man, and still reflects His never-fading promise from the painted bow (p. 160).

These extracts will give some general idea of the force and beauty of the author's arguments. In my judgment the work contains as much interesting matter, in some three hundred pages, as can be found within the same space in any scientific work in our language.

#### THE EXISTENCE OF PLANTS AND ANIMALS EVIDENCE OF PURPOSE.

Organisms are divided into two great classes, animals and plants; and animals are divided into four great orders—articulates, mollusks, radiates, and vertebrates. Animals are also divided into two classes, carnivorous and herbivorous. All animals, either directly or indirectly, receive their support from the vegetable productions of the earth.

Were the world only filled with plants, and contained no animals, its utility would be far inferior to what it is in its present condition. If all animals lived only upon vegetable food, then the variety and beauty of the earth's inhabitants would be lessened to a great extent, and there would be a painful break in the vast chain of existence. We would then not see the royal lion, the magnificent tiger, the beautiful leopard, the faithful dog, the golden eagle, the swift hawk, and other carnivorous animals that please us so much by their wonderful forms and movements.

Though it may seem, at first view, a harsh and cruel law of nature that animals of one class should prey upon those of another, thus subjecting the weak to the strong, yet, in point of fact, it is a most wise and beneficent provision. In virtue of this law the earth supports a greater number and variety of animals than it would were they all herbivorous. It adds, upon the whole, to the happiness of the herbivorous class itself. This may seem a strange position to some; but is it not true?

In order to fill the earth with animals within a reasonable time it was necessary to give them a fecundity that causes their rapid increase. But this rapid increase would *ultimately* lead to such a great multiplication of their number that myriads would die of starvation,

and the remainder would be much deteriorated, were it not that the increase beyond the proper limit is prevented by the carnivorous class. The undue increase of the carnivorous class itself is checked by want of food.

Suppose we had found an uninhabited island, one thousand miles long and five hundred miles wide, possessing a semi-tropical climate, and a soil as fertile as that of the queen tropical island of the world—Java—our supposed island being well watered with genial rains and covered with the richest grasses; and suppose we had placed upon it a few horses, cattle, and rabbits of both sexes, and then had revisited it in ten years thereafter to see how our new colony was progressing. We should have found the island teeming with life, and have seen droves of cattle, bands of horses, and millions of rabbits. Suppose we then had returned ten years later, what a terrible change we should have found! There would have been increased millions and billions of famishing rabbits, and possibly a few poor horses and cattle which had been able to eke out a miserable existence by browsing upon the tops of shrubs which the rabbits could not reach. But it is a matter of doubt whether any horses or cattle would have been found, as the starving rabbits would have eaten the bark off the shrubs, and thus caused their destruction. The rabbits, being able to graze much closer than horses or cattle, could live where they must perish. Should we at this visit have placed upon the island a few wildcats of both sexes, and then have returned twenty years thereafter, we should have found the island full of beauty and verdure, and have seen fewer rabbits, and those much improved in size, action, and condition; and should any of the horses and cattle have survived, we should have found them greatly increased in number and improved in appearance.

This supposed case shows substantially what would be the condition of the world in a state of nature and without carnivorous animals. The small herbivorous mammals, especially the little rodents, which can live upon the bark of shrubs and the blades and roots of most nutritious plants, and which can graze much closer than larger animals can do, would, by their numbers, destroy the larger and nobler forms; and in the end it is most probable that the mouse would be the sole survivor. It may be thought that the monkey and other arboreal animals might escape, as they would have access to the leaves and fruits of trees too high to be reached by the little mouse. But we must remember that while the mouse has *now* so many carnivorous enemies to fear, and is not so numerous as to require extra exertions and risks to procure food, it would then be free to seek supplies anywhere without fear of molestation, and would be impelled by extreme hunger to do so; and it would certainly, under the new circumstances, be easier for this active little rodent, with all its feet fur-

nished with sharp claws, to climb trees than for the tree-kangaroo\* to do so, with only *two* of its feet supplied with claws.

As the mice would have no limit to their multiplication but the want of food, and as these little creatures can not only graze closer than any of the larger animals, but also subsist upon the roots of vegetation, it is quite probable that they would in time destroy the nutritious and accessible plants, and the earth thus become comparatively a desert. We know that alfalfa, a species of clover indigenous to Chili, is a nutritious grass that grows most luxuriantly in California; but unless it is flooded at short intervals, so as to drown out the gophers, which are very fond of both its blades and roots, it will all die—not for want of moisture, as the grass sends its roots deep into the soil, but because the gopher will destroy the roots themselves.

In a few centuries, under the existing order of things and the ordinary rate of increase of population, the earth will be full of people, and very few wild land mammals will be left, as man can, as a general rule, live where they can find a home and support. With all the carnivorous animals domesticated by man for his own protection, I think the mouse and rat will be among the last survivors of wild mammals.

It seems plain, after all that has been or can be said, that in a wild state the presence of carnivorous animals in the world is only a *partial*, while their total absence would be a *general*, evil to the herbivorous class itself.

#### THE LAW OF COMPENSATION.

And here I think it is proper to speak of the law of compensation. There must, in my judgment, be such a law where a great variety of inferior and mortal beings exist. Its existence is consistent with the nature and reason of the case. It is true that it is very difficult to find a law of nature without one or more exceptions; but these exceptions, like those of law, establish the general rule. They always exist for special reasons which require a departure from the general rule. I can only remember two laws of nature without any exceptions: among mammals and birds the largest of the class are not the most beautiful; and among birds the sex that has the most beautiful plumage is the most pugnacious. There are no doubt others.

Among mammals inferior to man those forms which are largest in size and greatest in strength are generally deficient in beauty of form and color, as the elephant, the hippopotamus, the rhinoceros, the

\* “A much more extraordinary creature is the tree-kangaroo, two species of which are known from New Guinea. These animals do not differ very strikingly in form from the terrestrial kangaroos, and appear to be imperfectly adapted to an arboreal life, as they move rather slowly, and do not seem to have a very secure footing on a limb of a tree. The leaping power of the muscular tail is lost, and powerful claws have been acquired to assist in climbing, but in other respects the animal seems better adapted to walk on *terra firma*.”

“This imperfect adaptation may be due to the fact of there being no carnivora in New Guinea, and no enemies of any kind from which these animals have to escape by rapid climbing” (*Malay Archipelago*, by Alfred Russel Wallace, p. 577).

camel, the bear, and the whale. These are compensated for their lack of beauty by the possession of great size and strength, and by great powers of endurance, as in the case of the camel. So mammals of inferior size are compensated by fleetness of foot and beauty of form, or by some other advantage, as the giraffe, the gazelle, the leopard, the fox, the deer, and the squirrel. The horse and the tiger are medium in size, but superior in beauty. The horse is among the fleetest of mammals, and the tiger moderate in this respect. These two creatures seem to be the favorites of nature. Taken as a whole, they are the most magnificent specimens of the carnivorous and herbivorous mammals inferior to man.

It is also a compensatory law of nature that birds of largest size, those of the most gorgeous plumage, and birds of prey have no musical notes, such as the ostrich, the jay, the parrot, the pigeon, the eagle, the hawk, and that queen of beauty, the bird-of-paradise.\* The little canary, with its neat plumage and modest song, seems to occupy a middle station and to be one of Nature's favorites, like the horse and tiger.

The young of birds which build elevated nests, and feed their offspring in the nests until they are able to fly, are generally blind when they are hatched, and remain so until they are nearly grown. Another feature in this class is the fact that they are not able to fly until they are fully grown. This blindness is intended to prevent their escape from the nest before the proper time. There appears to be one exception—and there may be others—to this rule. This exception is found in the case of the beautiful American wood-duck, so named because it builds its nest and hatches its eggs in a tree, and, as soon as the ducklings appear, bears them off to a lake or stream of water. This is the only duck in the world that builds its nest in a tree, so far as I know.

But in the case of birds which build their nests upon the ground, and whose young follow their mothers in search of food, the young are able to see when they leave the shell; and in the case of land birds they are able to fly for short distances at a very early age, and are most wonderfully skilful in hiding before that time. As examples I will mention the wild turkey, the quail, the grouse, and the prairie-chicken. The young hide so well, and so much resemble in color the dead leaves, that they cannot be seen, and can only be traced, if at all,

\* "It is remarkable that only small birds properly sing. The Australian genus *Menura*, however, must be excepted; for the *Menura Alberti*, which is about the size of a half-grown turkey, not only mocks other birds, but 'its own whistle is exceedingly beautiful and varied.' The males congregate and form 'corroborating places,' where they sing, raising and spreading their tails like peacocks and drooping their wings. It is also remarkable that birds which sing well are rarely decorated with brilliant colours or other ornaments. Of our British birds, excepting the bullfinch and goldfinch, the best songsters are plain-coloured. The kingfisher, bee-eater, roller, hoopoe, woodpeckers, etc., utter harsh cries; and the brilliant birds of the tropics are hardly ever songsters. Hence bright colours and the power of song seem to replace each other" (*Descent of Man*, p. 371).

by some keen-scented animal. About the time their size is likely to betray them their wings are fully fledged and they escape by flight.

As to wild aquatic birds, whose young follow their mothers in search of food and cannot fly until they are fully grown, Nature has given them ample protection in their web-feet and long legs. As examples I may mention the wild goose, duck, swan, and crane.

In this case we see a remarkable instance where Nature sets aside or overcomes inferior rules to accomplish her *main* purpose.

In the spring these birds take their flight to some northern region, far away from the ordinary haunts of men, and where the growing season is short, but where their enemies are not so many or so formidable, and there hatch their broods near the edge of some lake or pond, into which the young birds can readily escape, and among the reeds and along the margins of which they can find a most abundant supply of their proper food. No carnivorous animal can successfully pursue them into their liquid fortress. But as the warm season is short, and the young birds must attain their full growth in time to go south, so as to escape the early approaching severe winter, Nature has given them the most voracious appetites and the most efficient and rapid digestive powers, so that their growth is quick beyond example. It is surprising how large birds like the swan, wild goose, and large crane can attain their growth so early and at the same time possess muscles like iron, which enable these wanderers to sustain, at the first attempt, so long and continuous flights. It is a general rule in nature that the life of an animal bears a certain relation to the period of its growth. In man this period is twenty-one years, and his life is seventy; while in the elephant the infancy is thirty and the whole life ninety. But in the cases of these wild fowl the period of infancy is from four to five months, and the time of their whole lives much greater in proportion, especially in the case of the goose, which lives to a great age.

It is almost an universal law of nature that the leg-bones of animals are hollow cylinders, the cavities being filled with marrow. It is conceded that the hollow cylinder is the strongest possible form in proportion to the amount of material employed. Nature is generally the best of economists, and does not often waste her material or efforts.

But it is a most remarkable fact that the leg-bones of the elephant, giraffe, and hippopotamus are solid.\* Among the many thousands of different species of animals, these are the only exceptions to the general rule, so far as I am advised.

\*My main authority for this fact is Sir Samuel W. Baker, in his *Exploration of the Nile Tributaries of Abyssinia* :

"It would be natural to suppose that the long legs of this animal would furnish the perfection of marrow-bones; but these are a disappointment, as the bones of the giraffe are solid, like those of the elephant and hippopotamus" (p. 217).

As to the leg-bones of the elephant and hippopotamus, he is my only authority; but as to the giraffe, he is confirmed by the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, ninth and last edition, article "Giraffe."

This departure from a rule so general is doubtless based upon *special* reasons, though we may not be able to understand them all. I think the main reason was to obtain the greatest strength of bone in proportion to diameter.

The elephant is a huge creature, weighing some seven thousand pounds, and, in a wild state, generally sleeps standing, leaning against a tree, and therefore requires immense strength of leg to support his great bulk. Were his leg-bones hollow cylinders, possessing their present strength, his legs would be much larger than they are now.

So of the hippopotamus. As the legs of this enormous animal are remarkably small and short in proportion to the size of his body, and as he is required to make extreme exertions in stemming the rapids of rivers and in ascending high and steep banks, it was necessary to make the bones of his legs solid. We can readily see that his blunt, broad form would require great force to enable him to ascend the rapids of a stream.

In the case of the giraffe—the tallest creature in the world, with the longest and, in proportion to the size of his body, most probably the slenderest legs of all animals—the purpose seems obvious. To secure the necessary strength of the legs, and at the same time preserve their due symmetry as compared with other portions of the body, it was necessary to make the leg-bones solid. The great length of the leg-bones required more strength, in proportion to diameter, than would have been necessary had they been shorter. According to well-known mechanical principles, it requires a much lighter blow to break a long than a short cylinder of the same diameter. Thus a force that would readily break a cylinder two feet long would not break one of half the same length.

The existence and practical application of the great law of compensation I consider one of the clearest and most invincible proofs of purpose. To know when and what amount of compensation may be required can only be the act of mind and not of unthinking matter. To see in advance the defect requiring compensation, and to know the proper kind and quantity, is alone within the capacity of intellect. Such a law, I must think, cannot exist without intelligence.

#### FURTHER EVIDENCE OF PURPOSE.

The substantial equality of the numbers of the sexes, and the propagation of individuals by the union of the males with the females of animals, is one of the clearest evidences of purpose. The plan of perpetuating the races by generation having been adopted, it was proper that the numbers of the sexes of animals should be substantially equal. Among most large mammals inferior to man the love-season occurs in the fall in temperate and cold climates, and the young are dropped in the ensuing spring, when the supply of food is



most abundant and the chances of concealment of the offspring are greatest. Even in tropical climates the union of the sexes in some, if not in most, cases takes place at a certain period of the year.\* The difficulty of ascertaining the habits of wild animals renders it uncertain how far this rule applies to mammals in climates of perpetual summer. In regard to birds and the smaller mammals, the period of incubation and gestation being so much shorter, the love-season is the early spring, and the young appear late in spring or early in summer. For the reason that the love-season of the females of most races inferior to man occurs at the same time in most climates, if not in all, and lasts for only a short period, it was proper that the males should about equal the females in numbers, so as to furnish mates for all. In regard to the case of polygamous animals there may be fewer males than females; but assuming the equality of the sexes in this case, then Nature has refused to depart from her general rule, because the necessity for so doing was not so great as to require it. As to domestic animals, this substantial equality of the sexes is very beneficial to man, because a few of the best males can be reserved for breeding purposes, and the remainder slaughtered early for the table or kept for the same or other uses when full grown.

In respect to our own race we find great inequality in the relative numbers of the sexes in different families. Thus in one family we find ten girls and one boy, and in another nine sons and two daughters. And yet it is a remarkable fact that the aggregate result is the substantial equality of the sexes in a tribe or nation, and in the whole family of mankind.† *Partial* exceptions may exist, owing to local causes, but the main result is a fulfilment of the *main purpose*. And this is substantially so in regard to animals inferior to man. One mother may rear nearly all males, while another may rear nearly all females. But after all this inequality in families, the grand result

\* "The river has still risen; the weather is cooler, and the withered trees and bushes are giving signs of bursting into leaf. This season may be termed the spring of the country. The frightful simoom of April, May, and June burns everything as though parched by fire, and not a withered leaf hangs to a bough, but the trees wear a wintry appearance in the midst of intense heat. The wild geese have paired, the birds are building their nests, and, although not a drop of dew has fallen, all Nature seems to be aware of the approaching change, as the south wind blowing cool from the wet quarter is the harbinger of rain. Already some of the mimosa begin to afford a shade, under which the gazelles may be surely found at midday; the does are now in fawn, and the young will be dropped when this now withered land shall be green with herbage" (Sir S. W. Baker, *Explorations*, p. 76).

As this dry season affects all vegetation in Abyssinia, it is quite probable that the love-season of other animals besides those mentioned is equally influenced by the climate.

† "In England during ten years (from 1857 to 1866) the average number of children born alive yearly was 707,120, in the proportion of 104.5 males to 100 females." "In France during forty-four years the male to the female births have been 106.2 to 100." "In Russia the average proportion is as high as 108.9 to 100." "The average for Europe, deduced by Bickea from about seventy million births, is 106 males to 100 females" (*Descent of Man*, p. 242).

Now, it seems plain to me that as males of our race are more exposed to losses, especially in cold climates like that of Russia, Nature, to compensate this loss, has given us more male than female births.

is substantial equality in the sexes. How deservedly *purpose* will tell!

The general propagation of animals by the union of the sexes gives a greater number of individuals, increased variety and beauty, and more happiness and mutual dependence. The young are playful and affectionate, the full-grown admirable, and the old cautious. Among animals inferior to man the males do not forcibly attack the females, although perfectly able, in most races, to vanquish them with comparative ease. To this rule there may be a few exceptions where the males are impelled by extreme hunger or by excitement. On one occasion I saw two gobblers engaged in combat, and a hen, which for some time had been a spectator, determined to take part in the strife; but, having unsexed herself, the males ceased to respect her, and after an earnest combat of about twenty minutes the vanquished hen quit the field quite convinced of her incompetency for war with the superior sex.

The highest division of the animal kingdom, the vertebrates,\* are all formed upon one broad, comprehensive plan, easily modified to a slight extent to meet special wants and conditions.† We find the same substantial model in man with his four limbs, in the horse with its four legs, in the seal with its four flippers, in the fish with its fins, and in the bird and bat with their two feet and two wings. All the individuals of this great division require the power of locomotion to enable them to readily pass from place to place in search of food, shelter, and pleasure. To secure this ability to move with the necessary ease and quickness the vertebrate system was adopted; and it is the best *possible* method to secure the ends intended, as it combines *strength with flexibility*.

Were the backbone one long cylinder without joints it would necessarily be much heavier than the vertebrate form, in order to ob-

\* "Vertebrata, or vertebrate animals. The highest division of the animal kingdom, so called from the presence in most cases of a backbone composed of numerous joints, or *vertebrae*, which constitutes the centre of the skeleton, and at the same time supports and protects the central parts of the nervous system" (Glossary to Darwin's *Origin of Species*).

† "Among the many wonders of Nature there is nothing more wonderful than this—the adaptability of the one Vertebrate Type to the infinite variety of Life to which it serves as an organ and a home. Its *basement* has been so laid that every possible change or addition of superstructure could be built upon it. Creatures destined to live on the earth, on the sea or in the sea, under every variety of condition of existence, have all been made after that one pattern, and each of them with as close an adaptation to special function as if the pattern had been designed for itself alone. It is true that there are particular parts of it which are of no use to particular animals. But there is no part of it which is not of indispensable use to some member of the group; and there is one Supreme Form in which all its elements receive their highest interpretation and fulfilment. It is indeed wonderful to think that the feeble and sprawling paddles of the Newt, the ungainly flippers of the Seal, the long, leathery wings of the Bat, have all the same elements, bone for bone, with that human hand which is the supple instrument of Man's contrivance, and is alive, even to the finger-tips, with the power of expressing his Intellect and Will. Here again the Laws of Nature are seen to be nothing but combinations of Force with a view to Purpose—combinations which indicate complete knowledge not only of what is but of what is to be, and which foresees the End from the Beginning" (*The Reign of Law*, p. 206).

tain the same strength; and thus the animal would be compelled to carry an extra weight of bone. The backbone, being long and inflexible, would break more easily, as the force of the blow would be either *suddenly* arrested, thus requiring more power of immediate resistance, or the bone must break. But a backbone with joints yields a little to the first effect of the blow and breaks its force by degrees, so that the ultimate capacity for resistance is much greater, even were the power of each form to sustain a steady pressure the same. With a long and inflexible spine the movements of an animal would be comparatively more laborious, stiff, slow, and ungraceful. It would be unable to make long bounds and quick turns, and its speed would be greatly diminished. It could not reach certain portions of its body, either with its feet or teeth, and could not fully scratch itself. In the case of man he could scarcely stoop to the earth to pick up anything or make a graceful bow. Altogether the higher animals, without the vertebrate form, would be clumsy, awkward, and slow, and the value of their existence be greatly less than at present. In the case of birds, which are able to make quick, short turns, as they have only two feet, less lateral flexibility of the spine has been given, because less is required.

The proofs of purpose found in the vertebrate form of the higher animals seem to me exceedingly clear. There are found in this admirable form a consistency, efficiency, flexibility, and beauty so great as to point plainly to a Supreme Mind as its builder. Although we may be able to perceive only in part the skill manifested in the creation of the vertebrate system, we can see enough to excite our unbounded admiration. Could we only find an animal with the form, color, muscle, and size of the magnificent tiger, but with a stiff backbone, and witness its poor movements, we could, perhaps, form a more accurate conception of the decisive advantages of this most excellent form. How awkward and slow would be the movements of a fish without the vertebrate spine!

## CHAPTER II.

### PROOFS OF PURPOSE CONTINUED.

**B**ATS constitute one of the most interesting groups of the animal kingdom. Their whole structure is most skilfully adapted to their mode of life.

In all bats the wing-membrane affords a vast expansion of the sense of touch, which is of such exquisite delicacy that bats which have been deprived of their sight, and as far as possible of their hearing and smelling, are yet able by it alone to fly about in perfect security, avoiding, with apparent ease, all the obstacles that may be placed in their way. . . . Bats are nocturnal, or crepuscular, in their habits, remaining suspended by day in the darkest recesses of woods and caverns, or in the most inaccessible parts of unfrequented buildings, and coming forth at twilight in search of food. . . . In countries where the winter cold is sufficiently severe to cut off their usual sources of food, bats hibernate. Collecting in enormous numbers in their usual retreats, and suspending themselves by their hind limbs, they become torpid, and remain so until the return of spring, bringing with it a revival of insect life, restores them to their wonted activity. About one hundred and thirty species of bats are known, and these are widely distributed over every quarter of the globe, extending as far northward as latitude 60°; all the larger forms, however, occur in the warmer regions of the earth (*Encyc. Brit.*, ninth and last edition).

The kalong of Java, says the same authority, measures five feet between the tips of the wings.

Some five years since I saw a large bat from South America at Woodward's Gardens, in San Francisco. It was confined in a wire cage, and when a bird alighted on the top of the cage it made efforts to catch it. From this act, and from the fact that it possessed sharp canine teeth, I thought it probable that it preyed upon small birds as well as upon insects. Last summer I had the opportunity to see a large living specimen of the bat from India. I had no means of making an exact measurement, but, judging by my eye, it would have measured from fifteen to eighteen inches between the tips of the wings. Its body was covered with a thick coat of dark gray fur, and it hung by one foot, with its head downward. It was fierce and ready to snap at anything within its reach. I presented it my metallic spectacle-case, and it gave one vigorous bite, but declined to repeat it. It was very cleanly in its habits, and licked its coat of fur clean, like the domestic cat and the American beaver. When hanging with its head downward it carefully folded its long, delicate wings around its body, so as entirely to envelop it, except a narrow strip down the back.

But what most particularly arrested my attention was the peculiar form of the claws of its feet. There were five claws on each foot, and each claw was about three-quarters of an inch long, one-eighth of an inch wide, and one-sixteenth of an inch thick, with one edge inside and the other outside. These long, flat claws lay so close together and fitted so nicely to each other that they apparently formed but one claw, and they were all alike bent edgewise, so as to form the half of a circle about half an inch in diameter; and the claws of the feet did not taper gradually to a point, like those of the wings, but were as if cut off at the end at an angle of about forty-five degrees, so as to leave the outer point of each claw longer than the inner one. Owing to this simple yet peculiar form of the claws the creature was able to hang from a small twig or from a level surface with perfect ease and safety. No relaxation of the muscles could endanger its repose, as its simple weight would always prevent the claws from slipping off from even a level, smooth surface, as all the pressure would be upon the outer points of its claws, which pressure would only cause them to hold the tighter. The claws acted in the same way as the iron hooks used by painters to sustain their platform alongside of a house they are painting.

As the claws were stiff and bent edgewise, and the pressure on the edges and not on the sides, they possessed ample strength to sustain the suspended body without labor or danger. The creature could only sleep with its head downward, as it could not lie down without soiling and irritating its large, sensitive wings; and it could not rest without the cessation of labor and the consequent relaxation of the muscles of its legs; and hence its claws were specially formed to secure these ends.

In this connection I will notice that curious animal, the *sloth*.

There are two species—the two and the three-clawed sloth. The claws of the first are comparatively short, while those of the second are from three to four inches long, very sharp-pointed, and slightly curved. Both are arboreal in habit and are expert climbers, and not so slow as the name would imply. When upon the ground the three-clawed sloth moves slowly and awkwardly, because it doubles its claws under in walking; but in the trees it uses its claws for holding on and moves more freely.

I have seen one individual of each species alive, and I am satisfied, from the formation of the feet of the three-clawed sloth, that it sleeps suspended from a small branch. The one I saw was suspended from a smooth, hard pole about two and a half inches in diameter. The creature did not grasp the pole as a man would with his hands, but stuck the sharp points of its long claws perpendicularly in the centre of the top, and thus hung beneath. The joints of the toes to which the claws are attached are exceedingly flexible, so that the toes could

come almost parallel with the claws and touch them nearly to their points. While resting in this manner there was not the slightest exertion required and no danger incurred, as the weight of the body pulled directly down upon the points of the claws and thus kept them from slipping when the muscles of the toes relaxed. If the animal had grasped the pole as a man would, then continual muscular exertion would have been required to retain its hold, and sleep would have been impossible. But, owing to the peculiar construction of its toes and claws, it was able to fasten upon the pole in the manner stated, and remain suspended beneath in perfect repose and safety.

I am not aware that any other mammal fastens its claws upon a branch in the same way. I think this peculiarity was mainly intended for the animal's protection, as it could remain suspended from a small branch while sleeping that would hardly bear the additional weight of a carnivorous enemy. Besides, this position of the sloth would make it more difficult for an enemy to seize and hold it, and thus prevents the attempt. The jaguar lives in the same forests with the sloth, and climbs trees readily, and preys upon the monkeys and kiukajous, and most probably upon the sloth when it can. This peculiarity of its claws may also aid the sloth in reaching the fresh leaves near the end of the smaller branches, as the animal can go further out on the under than on the upper side of a small limb. Here we see another wise and peculiar adaptation of means to ends, clearly showing the existence of purpose in the organization of this strange animal.

#### THE CAMEL.

One of the most remarkable animals in the world, and one possessing the most skilful and effectual adaptations to its peculiar mode of life, is the camel.

In common with the llamas, and unlike all other ruminants, the camel has two upper incisor teeth, conical and laterally compressed, and somewhat resembling canine, of which in the upper jaw there are two, in addition to twelve molars. Beneath there are six incisors, two canines, and ten molar teeth, the whole forming a dentition admirably suited for the tearing asunder and mastication of the coarse, dry shrubs on which the camel usually feeds. It possesses, besides, many other peculiarities in form and structure specially adapted to its mode of life. Its nostrils are in the form of oblique slits, which can be opened or shut at will, and thus the organ of smell, which in the camel is of extraordinary acuteness, is preserved from contact with the hot, acrid sand that like a "pillar of cloud" frequently sweeps across the desert. . . . The hump or humps of the camel's back are mere masses of fat, without any corresponding curve on the vertebral column of the animal, and form a reserve of nourishment to be used when other supplies fail; consequently, during lengthened periods of privation, and during the rutting season, when the males almost cease to eat, these masses greatly diminish in size. The camel-driver knows well the value of the natural storehouse, and takes care, before starting on a lengthened journey, to have the humps of his beasts

well distended. In its native deserts, however, the camel is more liable to suffer from lack of water than of food, and accordingly the stomach is so modified as to allow of a certain quantity of water being stored for future use. On the walls of the paunch, or first stomach, little pouches with narrow mouths are developed; these are the so-called "water-cells," the biggest of which, in an adult camel, measures when dilated about three inches in width and depth, and these serve to strain off a considerable quantity of water from the contents of the paunch, retaining it for future use by means of powerful sphincter muscles. The upper lip of the camel is slightly extensile, and is used as a feeler with which to touch and examine its food before turning the same into its mouth. The animal is further characterized externally by its long neck, the dusky colour of its fur, the shaggy masses of long, woolly hair on certain parts of its body, and the disproportionate shortness of its legs. These, together with the peculiarities already mentioned, combine to make it one of the most ungainly of known animals, and almost justify the recent description given by Dr. Russell, the *Times* correspondent, as "an abominably ugly, necessary animal." Nevertheless it is indispensable where great deserts are to be traversed, as is a ship on the ocean highway; and this fact seems to have completely blinded the Arab to its undoubted deficiencies in form, for in his poetry allusion is sometimes made to the motions of the camel as to a recognized standard of elegance. . . . The gravid female carries her young for fully eleven months, and produces only one calf at a time, which she suckles for a year. Eight days after birth the Arabian camel stands three feet high, but does not reach its full growth till its sixteenth or seventeenth year. It lives from forty to fifty years. The flesh of the young camel resembles veal, and is a favorite food of the Arabs, while camel's milk forms an excellent and highly nutritious beverage, although, according to Layard, it does not furnish butter. . . . But it is as "the ship of the desert," without which vast tracts of the earth's surface would probably have remained for ever unexplored, that the camel is chiefly valuable. . . . When overtaken by the deadly simoom it falls on its knees, and, stretching its snake-like neck along the sand, closes its nostrils and remains thus motionless till the atmosphere clears; and in this position it affords some shelter to its driver, who, wrapping his face in his mantle, crouches behind his beast. Of still greater service is it when, the whole caravan being on the point of perishing for want of water, the acute sense of smell which the camel possesses enables it to perceive the presence of water more than a mile off; then it will break its halter and make an unerring track to the well. The food of the camel consists chiefly of the leaves of trees, shrubs, and dry, hard vegetables, which it is enabled to tear down and masticate by means of its upper incisors and powerful canine teeth. It is, however, fond of luxurious living when such is to be had, and according to Sir Samuel Baker, when it arrives in good pasture after several days of sharp desert marching, it often dies in a few hours of inflammation caused by repletion; but when other animals are starving, the camel, according to the same authority, thrives "on the ends of barren, leafless twigs, the dried sticks of certain shrubs, and the tough, dry, paper-like substance of the dome palm—about as succulent a breakfast as would be a green umbrella and a *Times* newspaper." . . . When crossing a desert the camels are expected to carry their load twenty-five miles a day for three days without drink, getting a supply of water, however, on the fourth; but the fleetier varieties will carry their rider and a bag of water fifty miles a day for five days without drinking (*Encyc. Brit.*, ninth and last edition).

Bruce, in describing his journey through the desert, says :

On the 27th, at half-past five in the morning, we attempted to raise our camels at Saffeha by every method that we could devise, but all in vain; only one of them

could get upon his legs, and that one did not stand two minutes till he kneeled down and could never be raised afterward. This the Arabs all declared to be the effects of cold; and yet Fahrenheit's thermometer, an hour before day, stood at 42°. Every way we turned ourselves death now stared us in the face. We had neither time nor strength to waste, nor provisions to support us. We then took the small skins that had contained our water, and filled them as far as we thought a man could carry them with ease; but, after all these shifts, there was not enough to serve us three days, at which I had estimated our journey to Syene, which still, however, was uncertain. Finding, therefore, the camels would not rise, we killed two of them, and took as much flesh as might serve for the deficiency of bread, and from the stomach of each of the camels got about four gallons of water, which the Bishareen Arah managed with great dexterity (cited, Head's *Life of Bruce*, p. 351).

The author then adds :

It is well known that the camel has within him reservoirs in which he can preserve water for a very considerable time. In caravans making long journeys from the Niger across the desert of Selima it has been said that each camel lays in a store of water sufficient to support him for forty days. This statement is probably exaggerated; but fourteen or sixteen days, it is well known, an ordinary camel will live, though he have no fresh supply of water; for when he eats one constantly sees him throw from his repository mouthfuls of water to dilute his food, and Nature has contrived this vessel with such properties that the water within it never putrefies nor turns unwholesome.

If I understand the narrative correctly, the camels that were killed on the 27th had been travelling without water for three days, the last water having been found on the 24th in a small pool (p. 349).

While the camel possesses little or no beauty of form, it is endowed with most wonderful powers precisely suited to its home and condition, and equally beneficial to itself and man. Nature would have been excessively partial to have bestowed upon it beauty in addition to its other qualities. To enable it to convey the extra amount of water and nourishment it was necessary to give it an increased size of the stomach and the hump upon its back. Beauty of form and color would not, in this case, have been in harmony with the fitness of things.

In a wild state the home of the camel was necessarily in the edges and oases of the desert, as it could thus only protect itself against the attacks of the lion, its greatest enemy.\* It is one of the oldest of mammals now living, as is shown by the fossil remains found in the miocene period. Thus for long ages before man's appearance upon the earth the camel lived and flourished in its native deserts, where it

\*The camel has an instinctive dread of the lion, and the lion loves to prey upon the undefended camel, which is noble game for the king of beasts, and captured without danger. Sir Samuel W. Baker, describing the hunting and killing of a lion, says: "At the first unexpected roar the camel had bolted with its rider" (*Ex.*, p. 440).

George Rawlinson, in his *History of the Five Great Monarchies*, describing the invasion of Greece by the great army of Xerxes, says: "In crossing the tract between the Strymon and the Axios some damage was suffered by the baggage-train from lions, which came down from the mountains and devoured many of the camels" (iii. p. 456).



could not be so successfully approached by the lion or any other formidable enemy. And when man did appear it became one of his earliest servants, and in places where no other animal could so efficiently serve him. Here we see a wise and wonderful purpose in the creation of that "abominably ugly, necessary animal," as Dr. Russell calls it. It is not surprising that the Arabs, those children of the desert, who know the camel better than all others, so much esteem it as to celebrate its noble qualities, and even its appearance and gait, in their poetry.

#### THE CONY—THE GECKO—THE FLY-CATCHERS.

The *cony* is a small, feeble, timid, gregarious animal, living in the clefts of rocks, and is an inhabitant of warm climates, such as Arabia, Syria, and Africa. It is remarkable for the peculiar structure of its feet. Verney Lovett Cameron, in his late work, *Across Africa*, says: "Owing to a peculiar formation of their feet these conies can cling to the face of the rocks like flies to a wall" (p. 92).

Stanley, in his second volume of *Through the Dark Continent*, speaks of conies being hunted by the negroes with their dogs (p. 415).

Another creature possessing this remarkable power is the *gecko*, described by Rawlinson, with an illustration, in the third volume of his *Five Monarchies* (p. 151). See also *Encyc. Brit.*, ninth and last edition :

The *gecko* is a kind of nocturnal lizard. Its eyes are large, and the pupil is extremely contractile. It hides itself during the day, and is lively only at night. It haunts rooms, especially kitchens, in Egypt, where it finds the insects which form its ordinary food. Its feet constitute its most marked characteristic. The five toes are enlarged and furnished with an apparatus of folds, which, by some peculiar action, enables it to adhere to perfectly smooth surfaces, to ascend perpendicular walls, cross ceilings, or hang suspended for hours on the under side of leaves.

The five toes of the *gecko* are not only enlarged, but each one terminates in a sharp, hooked claw, so that this wonderful reptile possesses two means of locomotion. In going up smooth walls and in passing under ceilings its movements must be slow, and I suppose it to be furnished with a long, flexible tongue like the frog, which it suddenly darts out and thus catches the fly while asleep. The claws enable the *gecko*, no doubt, to move rapidly, like other lizards, upon the upper surface of anything. While sticking to a wall or under a ceiling it could hardly make a sudden bound.

The fly-catchers, both birds and reptiles, generally have either wide mouths, or long tongues, or long necks, and often two of these features together. Those birds which catch their insect prey on the wing have wide mouths; so that when, for example, the swallow

makes a dive at a flying insect, and the insect dodges to escape its enemy, the chances of capture are greatly increased by the width of the swallow's mouth. In this case length of neck is not required. But in the case of the duck, another great fly-catcher, and which takes its prey on foot, Nature has supplied it with a long neck and broad, long bill, so as to give it more power to capture its prey by keeping its head drawn back until within reach of the fly. In the case of the wild crane, also a fly-catcher to a certain extent, Nature furnishes the bird with a long neck and long, slender beak, as the crane only catches flies in the dewy morning, when they are partially torpid; and flies only furnish the crane with a small portion of its food, and the long bill is best fitted for its *general* wants.

In the case of the frog Nature has supplied it with a wide mouth and mucus-coated tongue almost as long as its body. If a fly alights sufficiently near it to be taken with the tongue, that organ is suddenly thrust forward with such amazing quickness that the poor fly is surely caught. If the fly alights too far off to be reached by the tongue, but within reach of one leap, the frog will often patiently wait until one or more other flies come to keep that one company, when it makes a quick bound forward and catches the flies just as they start on the wing. A frog will sit as silent and motionless as a stone, but always with its eyes open, ready to snap up any insect that comes in its way. It sometimes makes mistakes and pays dearly for its prey. A gentleman of undoubted veracity informed me that one summer day, in the mountains of California, he was quietly standing near a pool of water about six feet in diameter, on one edge of which was a frog with its head just above water. While in that position a yellow-jacket gently alighted on the surface of the pool and commenced drinking, and while thus busily engaged in quenching its thirst a slight wind gradually wafted it within reach of the frog, which suddenly thrust out its tongue, caught and instantly swallowed its prey; but the spasmodic swelling of the puffy body, and the agonized rolling of the large eyes of the frog, plainly proved that the yellow-jacket had stung it.

I am not aware that any other mammal besides the cony, or any other reptile besides the gecko, possesses this peculiar power of locomotion. I think the true theory is this: the toe is first put flat upon the smooth surface, so as to exclude all air from under it, and then the centre of the toe is withdrawn by the contraction of some tendon or muscle in the toe, so as to create a vacuum under its centre, while its outer edge sticks fast, the pressure of the atmosphere to fill the vacuum keeping the toe in its position. But whatever may be the correct explanation, the fact shows a wise and admirable purpose. So of the cases of the fly-catchers just mentioned.

## THE WOODPECKER.

I think the peculiar structure of the woodpecker one of the clearest proofs of purpose. This bird, like the parrot family, has four toes on each foot, two long and two short ones, one long and one short one being before and the other long and short one behind. Each toe terminates in a sharp, curved claw capable of catching against any inequality in the surface of the bark or wood of the tree upon which it alights. In case these inequalities or crevices be close together, then the claws of the short toes catch; but if further apart, the claws of the long toes come into play. So if the inequality be such that the long toe holds on one side and the short toe on the other, the bird is still secure of its hold. And if the bird alight on a small twig it will hold by the claws on the short toes; and if on a larger limb, the claws of the long toes are used; and if the limb be of a medium size, then the claws of one short and one long toe take hold.

When the bird ascends the trunk of a tree it goes up by a succession of short jumps, its long, strong tail feathers forming a brace to prevent it from turning head backward, and especially when engaged in pecking off the bark of the tree seeking for worms, or boring into its decayed body for that or other purpose. In pecking the bird is compelled to throw its head far back, in order to make an effective blow with its long, strong, sharp-pointed bill; and were it not braced by its long, strong tail it would fall from the tree. I have been told, but cannot myself vouch for the truth of the statement, that if a grown woodpecker be caught alive uninjured, and its tail feathers plucked out, and the bird be then turned loose, it cannot stick to the side of a tree, as its head will fall backward and thus force it to quit its hold.

And then its long, slender tongue is pointed and barbed at its outer end, the outer ends of the little barbs pointing inward toward the root of the tongue; so that when the bird has bored a hole in the rotten wood so far that its long tongue can reach the worm, it can bring out its prey by thrusting this organ into the hole made by the worm, and into the worm, and thus draw it out, as the keen barbs at once lay fast hold of the soft insect. By this beautiful adaptation the bird is saved the additional labor of opening the orifice one or two inches deeper, perhaps in wood too hard to be penetrated.

It has been thought that the plainer plumage of the female in some species of the woodpecker was intended for her protection during the period of incubation. I cannot think this view correct, for two reasons:

*First.* The nest is generally in a pecked hole in a dead tree, but sometimes in a wall of soft stone, and this is quite a sufficient protection. A hawk or other bird of prey would hardly make a swoop at the head of the female woodpecker during the very short time she peeps out before flying away, as she could draw it in much too quickly;

and the danger of the enemy striking against the tree would prevent the attempt.

*Second.* So far as my experience and information go, I have never known or heard of a hawk, or even a cat, ever trying to catch a woodpecker. I think the bird is protected by a disagreeable smell, and that its flesh is unpalatable to these carnivorous creatures under all circumstances. I do not think that a wild Indian would eat a woodpecker, except in an extreme case. I think that, in those species of this bird where the male has the finer plumage, it was given him mainly to charm the female, he having stronger sexual passions than she.

#### THE GIRAFFE.

The superb *giraffe* is the tallest and perhaps the most peculiarly formed mammal in the world; and it is otherwise wonderfully endowed. It is found wild only in Africa, and its height is from fifteen to eighteen feet.

This exceptional elevation is chiefly due to its great length of neck and limb, the cervical vertebræ, although only seven in number as in other mammals, being in this case exceedingly long. Its body is proportionately short, measuring only seven feet between the breast and rump, and slants rapidly towards the tail—a peculiarity which has given rise to the erroneous impression that the fore legs of the giraffe are longer than the pair behind. Its feet terminate in a divided hoof, which, says Sir Samuel Baker, “is as beautifully proportioned as that of the smallest gazelle”; and the accessory hoofs found in most ruminants are entirely wanting. Its head is small, its eyes large and lustrous; and these, which give the giraffe its peculiarly gentle appearance, are capable of a certain degree of lateral projection, which enable the creature, without turning its head, to see around, and to a certain extent behind, it. The elevated eyes of the giraffe thus enjoy a wider range of vision than those of any other quadruped. Its nostrils are provided with a peculiar mechanism of sphincter muscles, by which they can be opened or closed at will, and the animal is thus enabled to avoid the injurious effects of the sand-storms which occasionally pass over its native haunts. Its tongue is remarkable for its great length, measuring about seventeen inches in the dead animal, and for its great elasticity and power of muscular contraction while living. It is covered with numerous large *papillæ*, and forms, like the trunk of the elephant, an admirable organ for the examination and prehension of its food. The graceful appearance presented by the giraffe, to which it owes its name through the Arabian *Xirapha*, is greatly heightened by the orange-red colour of its hide, mottled as it is all over with darker spots; while in its long tail, ending in a luxurious tuft of dark-coloured hair, it possesses an admirable fly-whipper, without which it would probably be impossible for the giraffe to maintain its ground against the scroot-fly and other stinging insects of central Africa. It lives in open plains in the neighborhood of low woods, high forests being scrupulously avoided, as depriving it of the extensive prospect which forms its chief defence against the attacks of its two great enemies—the lion and man. It feeds almost exclusively on the foliage of trees, showing a preference for certain varieties of the mimosa and for the young shoots of the prickly acacia, for browsing on which the prehensile tongue and large, free lips of the giraffe are specially adapted. It is gregarious in its habits, living in small

herds, rarely of more than twenty individuals, although Sir S. Baker, who hunted it in Abyssinia, states that he has seen as many as a hundred thus herding together.

There is probably no animal more difficult of approach than the giraffe, owing to that exceeding wariness which prompts it to place sentinels to give the herd timely warning of approaching danger, as well as to its ability, from the elevated positions of its eyes and the openness of the ground it frequents, to see danger, and from its keenness of scent to smell it from afar. It is a fleet though by no means a graceful runner, its awkward, shambling gait being due to its moving the fore and hind legs of the same side simultaneously.

I have taken the above extract from the ninth and last edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica's* excellent article, "Giraffe." When the animal is ranging on uneven ground it occupies elevated positions.

I had observed by my telescope that the giraffes were standing as usual upon an elevated position from which they could keep a good lookout (Sir S. W. Baker, *Ex.*, 207).

But the animal also freely ranges in open valleys.

Giraffes were numerous, feeding on the dwarf acacia, but the country was too open to permit my approaching them (Stanley, *Through the Dark Continent*, i. p. 135).

The scroot-fly was teasing them, and I remarked that several birds were fluttering about their heads, sometimes perching upon their noses and catching the fly that attacked their nostrils, while the giraffes appeared relieved by their attentions.

The eye of this animal is the most beautiful exaggeration of that of the gazelle, while the colour of the reddish-orange hide, mottled with darker spots, changes the tints of the skin with the differing rays of light, according to the muscular movement of the body. No one who has merely seen the giraffe in a cold climate can form the least idea of its beauty in its native land (Sir S. W. Baker, *Ex.*, pp. 209, 212).

These trees are often the acacia vera, or Egyptian thorn. They seldom grow above fifteen or sixteen feet high, then flatten, and, spreading at the top, touch each other, while the trunks are far asunder; and thus under a vertical sun, for many miles together, there is a free space, in which both men and beasts may walk in a cool, delicious shade\* (Head's *Life of Bruce*, p. 98).

These extended extracts will give a very correct idea of that wonderful animal. The dwarf acacia and the mimosa, upon the leaves of which it feeds in part, are not so high as the animal, while the Egyptian thorn, upon which it also feeds, is so high that the animal can just reach its top with its long neck.

I need not say an additional word to show the clear evidence of purpose in the formation of this noble and beautiful animal.

\*"The mimosas that are most common in the Soudan provinces are mere bushes, seldom exceeding sixteen feet in height; these spread out towards the top like mushrooms, but the branches commence within two feet of the ground; they are armed with thorns in the shape of fish-hooks, which they resemble in sharpness and strength" (Sir S. W. Baker, *Ex.*, p. 123).

## THE FELINE FAMILY.

In regard to this interesting family of carnivorous animals I take the clear and concise description of Mr. F. Gruber, the accomplished naturalist at Woodward's Gardens in San Francisco :

The *Felidæ*, or cat tribe, are all carnivorous, never touching vegetable food except when domesticated, and then only in small quantities. In the wild state they will rarely devour any flesh which they have not themselves killed or which is undergoing decomposition. They are consequently, of all mammalia, the most destructive in their propensities, and their bodily strength is in accordance with their instincts. Their frame is vigorous, and every motion is free, easy, and graceful. There is no superfluous flesh, but the whole body seems composed of bone, nerve, muscle, and sinew. They are surpassed in fleetness by many of the animals on which they prey—most of which are provided with longer limbs—but none approach them in power of leaping and bounding. Their footfall is rendered noiseless by the pads, and their senses are for the most part very acute. Their pupils are adapted for vision by night as well as by day; their organ of hearing is exquisite; and their sense of smell is also very perfect, though in this particular they are surpassed by the *Canidæ*. Their long whiskers are of the greatest service to these animals when stealing upon their prey at night through thick underbrush. Their tongue is furnished with rough, horny papillæ, directed backwards. These serve a very important purpose in enabling the animal to scrape off the minute particles of flesh adherent to the bones of its prey. In the moderate degree in which this peculiar conformation exists in the tongue of the common cat this is familiar to every one; in the lion and tiger, however, the roughness is so great that one stroke of the tongue would lick off the skin from a man's hand. The larger felines hunt mostly on the ground. The leopard, panther, and various species of tiger-cats sometimes spring upon their prey from the branches of trees, sometimes from the ground, while the wildcats are almost exclusively arboreal, seeking their food amongst trees, and comparatively seldom frequenting the ground. Most of the *felidæ* may be tamed when they are young; they are, however, liable to occasional outbreaks of ferocity, which shows that their natural instincts are repressed rather than subdued.

Besides the characteristics mentioned in this concise description, the feline family have large, broad feet, with strong retractile toes and long, sharp-pointed, hooked claws. This retractile power enables them to draw back their claws so as to keep their points from touching the ground, thus preventing any noise by the claws clattering on the ground like those of the bear, and also avoiding the sharp points of the claws being blunted like the nails of the canine tribe. Without this remarkable peculiarity the claws of the feline family would become so worn and blunted that they could not so well hold their prey or conquer their enemies.

The lion is the largest of the feline family, and "although so active and cat-like in its movements, a full-grown lion weighs about five hundred and fifty pounds," according to Sir S. W. Baker. This noble animal is now only found in a wild state in the southwest part of Asia and in Africa; although, according to ancient history, it was

once found in Europe. Its great rival, and perhaps superior, the magnificent tiger, is now only found wild in the southeast of Asia and the western portion of the Malay Archipelago. It seems that the lion and the tiger will not live in the same locality. There is not room enough for two such monarchs in the same territory.\*

Wherever the lion is found, there will be seen the hyena and the vulture. The voracious hyena will eat either fresh or putrid flesh, while the cleanly lion will not touch carrion. The keen-scented hyena is generally the first to find a fresh carcass; but, though the lion comes later, it is amply able to drive the hyena away and take the "lion's share." †

Sir Samuel W. Baker, in his *Explorations*, commencing on page 511, has given a most interesting account of several species of the vulture. They are found in immense numbers; fly at heights so great as to be mostly invisible to the eye; move in large circles, so as to command an extensive range of vision, the different species keeping to themselves, and each species sailing at different heights one above another, the smaller birds occupying the lower, and the larger the higher, strata. They are guided by sight more than by smell; and when one in the lowest circle discovers a carcass and makes a dive for it, all its companions at once follow, and then the others above descend in succession, the great marabou stork arriving last, but taking the larger share. These vultures invariably appear in this order: the crow, the common buzzard, the red-faced small vulture, the large, bare-throated vulture, the marabou stork. The small birds get the start, but the larger birds command the situation when they do arrive.

Each of these creatures is useful and happy in its proper place and

\* "In 1857 a tiger at Bromwich broke into the cage of a lion, and a fearful scene ensued; the lion's mane saved his neck and head from being much injured, but the tiger at last succeeded in ripping up his belly, and in a few minutes he was dead" (London *Times*, November 10, 1857; cited, Darwin, *Descent of Man*, 521).

I remember reading this account in the American papers. The claws and teeth of the tiger are longer, more slender, and sharper than those of the lion, and the tiger is more active; and as it is exceedingly doubtful whether the lion could conquer the tiger as a general rule, it may well be a mistake to call the lion "the king of beasts."

† "In his tremendous exertions to attack, the lion rolled over and over, gnashing his horrible jaws and tearing holes in the sandy ground at each blow of his tremendous paws that would have crushed a man's skull like an eggshell" (Sir S. W. Baker, *Exc.*, 439).

"Florian fired and missed; the lion immediately crouched for a spring. Florian fired his remaining barrel, but the ball merely grazed the lion, which almost in the same instant bounded forward and struck him upon the head with a fearful blow of the paw, at the same time seizing him by the throat.

"The Tokroori hunter, instead of flying from the danger, placed the muzzle of his rifle to the lion's ear and blew its brains out on the body of his master. The unfortunate Florian had been struck dead, and great difficulty was found in extracting the claws of the lion, which had penetrated the skull" (*id.*, 389).

"It appeared that during the night lions and hyenas had completely devoured one of the giraffes, not even leaving a vestige of skin or bone, but the immediate neighborhood of the spot where it lay had been trampled into mud by the savage crowd, that had left their footprints as witnesses to the robbery; the hide and bones had evidently been dragged away piecemeal" (*id.*, 219).

for its destined purpose.\* The lion is able mainly to keep the ugly but useful hyena to its proper food and functions, and the vultures have their share, each species in its turn. How beautifully things do fit into each other when created by Mind!

#### THE SEA-LION—THE OPOSSUM.

Some years ago I happened to be at Woodward's Gardens in San Francisco when a large sea-lion—a species of large seal—was received. It subsequently became a great attraction to visitors. It weighed from twelve to fifteen hundred pounds, and had been taken alive by lassoing on the Pacific coast some two hundred miles south of San Francisco. After capture it was put into a strong wooden box some twelve feet long, five feet wide, and five feet high, the boards securely fastened together with large nails, and the box further secured by many coils of rope drawn tightly around it, so that the huge and muscular animal could neither turn around nor break out.

While the men were engaged in unwinding the rope it lay still; but when they began to take off the top of the box it manifested much anxiety to get out, but exhibited not the slightest rage or fear. It had been imprisoned some ten or fifteen days, had eaten nothing during that time, and did not eat anything for one or two months after its arrival at the gardens. When finally released it quietly crawled out upon dry ground, and did not appear at all afraid of the crowd of people who stood near it. It was quite tame and docile, and at once commenced scratching its head and neck by means of a nail on one of its hind flippers. With its long, flexible neck and large, canine teeth it could reach and scratch every part of its body but its head and neck; and to compensate for that deficiency, Nature had given it a peculiar nail or claw on the hind flipper, which answered the purpose, but was wholly unfit for anything else. This nail could not aid the animal in swimming or in combat, and was undoubtedly given for the sole purpose of enabling it to scratch its head and neck. Here we see a special organ given for one use only, and I cannot but think it one of the clearest proofs of a wise purpose.

The opossum belongs to that group of inferior mammals, the marsupials, and yet it possesses most peculiar and wonderful qualities worthy of our attention. Having grown up to manhood in the then

\* "Cassala is rich in hyenas, and the night was passed in the discordant howling of these disgusting but useful animals; they are the scavengers of the country, devouring every species of filth and carrion. Without the hyenas and vultures the neighborhood of a Nubian village would be unbearable, as it is the idle custom of the people to leave unburied all the animals that die. Thus, among the numerous flocks and herds the casualties would create a pestilence, were it not for the birds and beasts of prey" (Sir S. W. Baker, *Ex.*, 92).

To bury so many carcasses in a hot country thinly settled would be no easy task to the natives; and in such a situation these animals and birds are very useful. In a thickly-settled country with a temperate climate they would not be needed, and the hyena is not there seen wild.



extreme West, I have had ample opportunities to know its habits and characteristics.

This creature is not handsome, but rather repulsive in its appearance. There is not a single beautiful feature about it, except, perhaps, its white, keen teeth. Its gait is slow and not graceful. It has an acute sense of hearing and a keen sense of smell, and can readily climb trees, and thus often escape its enemies. It will eat almost any animal or vegetable food, even the ripe fruit of the pawpaw-tree, which neither bird nor insect will touch, and no other mammal but man, not even that almost universal feeder, the hog.

But the opossum has wonderful qualities which effectually protect it against all enemies but man. No carnivorous animal will prey upon the opossum, so far as I am advised. The glutton, which will prey upon nearly all animals it is able to conquer, may do so, but I think not. No dog can be induced to eat the flesh of the opossum under any disguise, as the dog will instantly detect the cheat by the smell. Yet its flesh is eaten by man, and when the animal is young and in good condition, and roasted whole, the flesh is so much like that of a small pig as to deceive any one not aware of the fact. This I have seen tested myself, where the person was opposed to eating the flesh of this animal, and thought that he could not be deceived.

But the most wonderful instinct of this strange creature is that which impels it to simulate death the moment it is attacked openly by a superior animal. Wild carnivorous animals *generally* attack other creatures to gratify their hunger, and not from a feeling of revenge; but when the attack is for the purpose of revenge, that feeling is at once appeased by the death of the object of their anger. So effectual and complete is this simulation of death by the opossum that it entirely deceives all its enemies except man. Some other animals may assume death—like the crocodile to allure its prey, or like the fox to escape notice—but all other creatures, so far as I know, when actually *attacked*, will at once exhibit rage or fear. So long as the opossum is not actually molested it will not pretend to be dead, and will either try to escape or stand and await the attack. But the moment it receives a blow from a man, or a dog or other larger animal than itself attacks it on *open* ground, that instant it will fall down as if killed, and remain as perfectly passive as a dead carcass.\* It is very hardy and exceedingly tenacious of life; and I have seen many caught and worried by large dogs, though I never knew but one to be killed by them. In that very exceptional case three large, young, and fierce dogs caught an opossum and killed it in my presence; but such was the overwhelming force of this strange instinct that the ani-

\* I have been informed of one case where the opossum resisted the open attack of a single dog, which it bit severely. I have also been told of a case where the skunk used its teeth in defending itself against a dog. But although these instances are no doubt true, because stated to me by most reliable men, they are quite exceptional. I never witnessed anything like them myself.

mal made no resistance, uttered no growl of rage and no cry of pain, but died without a struggle, except the flapping of its tail upon the ground—a sure sign of death.

If the opossum be under cover, and thus able to successfully defend itself, or if it be attacked by another animal near its own size, it will fight most bravely, and will generally conquer. If it be in a hollow log or tree, for example, it will utter fierce, loud growls and defend itself so effectually with its keen teeth that no dog can draw it out. I have been told—and believe the statement to be true, though I cannot vouch for its truth from my own knowledge—that if the tails of a full-grown opossum and a large male domestic cat be tied together, and then the animals be thrown across a pole and thus suspended with their heads downward, the opossum will invariably conquer the cat, though using only its teeth, while the cat employs both its claws and teeth.

Not only will the opossum simulate death, but it will generally continue this disguise until the danger is past, when it will gradually return to its living attitude, look carefully around, and, seeing no enemy, quietly make off. But if thrown upwards or into the water, or placed near a fire, it will come to immediately. So it may be teased into a life-like attitude by long and patient tantalizing.

Here again we see the great law of compensation come into play, and the defects of this creature compensated by qualities that are most ample to protect it against all enemies except man, whose dominion is over all beasts.

#### THE APTERIX.

There are two specimens of this remarkable creature in the museum at Woodward's Gardens in San Francisco. This collection of stuffed specimens of birds is said by F. Gruber, the able naturalist at the Gardens, to be very complete. I copy his description of the apterix from his illustrated catalogue :

Notice particularly *Apterix Oweni*, gray kiwi, and *Apterix maxima*, great kiwi, of New Zealand, obtained by Mr. Surnam from the natives of Daggs Sound.

Of all the *cursor*es the kiwi departs most widely from the general type of birds. It is one of those anomalous creatures that partake of the character of several others; its head is in shape something like that of the ibis, with a long slender bill, fitted not alone for digging into the ground for worms and grubs, but also to lean upon in walking in ascending hills, and to use as a man would a cane. Its legs and feet are powerful, and resemble those of the common fowl, with a fourth toe or spur behind, in which it differs from its congeners; its wings, if wings they can be called, are exceedingly small, buried beneath the general plumage of the body, and not to be discovered without difficulty, and are each terminated by a hooked claw. The nostrils are not situated near the base of the bill, as in most other birds, but are minute, narrow fissures, one on each side of its tip. It is of nocturnal habits and pursues its prey on the ground, guided by smell rather

than by sight. In a specimen whose body measured nineteen inches, the wings, stripped of the feathers, were only an inch and a half long, ending in a hard, horny claw three inches long. There is no vestige of a tail. Around the base of the bill there are some hairs like bristles. This extraordinary bird is principally found in the southern parts of the middle islands of New Zealand, especially frequenting fern-brakes and seeking shelter in clefts of rocks, hollow trees, or in deep holes which it excavates in the ground. These holes are its breeding places, and conduct to a deep chamber in which the bird deposits its eggs upon a bed of fern. The food of the apterix is procured by thrusting its bill into the soil when soft, or by striking with its strong feet on the ground when hard, so as to disturb the worms; then, occasionally pausing to listen, it seizes them as soon as they make their appearance. The natives hunt them (by torchlight, attracted by their cry, sounding like "kiwi") for the sake of their skin, which is much valued as a material for the chief's dress. When it is pursued it elevates its head like an ostrich, and runs with great spirit and vigor, and inflicts dangerous blows with its spurred wings and feet.

It will readily be seen from this description how the form of this remarkable bird is peculiarly adapted to its mode of life. It has strong legs and claws, which enable it to excavate its nest in the ground; and as it is nocturnal in its habits, and as its prey is under ground, it must be guided more by smell than by sight, so its nostrils terminate at the tip of its long bill. This *most unusual* termination of the nostrils enables the bird, with its keen scent and with the end of its bill close to the ground when seeking its prey, to smell the worm beneath the surface, and thus to ascertain its exact position before thrusting its long, slender bill into the soft earth.

But the most remarkable feature of this wonderful bird (not, to my knowledge, hitherto noticed by any writer) is found in the peculiar construction of its bill. The bill is from five to seven inches long, and the length of the upper mandible exceeds that of the lower one about one-fourth of an inch. The upper mandible is pointed, so as to be easily thrust into soft earth; and one-quarter of an inch from its point there is a projection at right angles on the lower side, very much like that on the end of a crochet-needle. The lower mandible terminates at this projection or notch, to which it fits nicely; so that when both mandibles are closed the whole bill is one long, slender, smooth spear, like a bradawl, precisely suited to penetrate the soft earth without the danger of the mandibles being separated in their descent by roots or other obstructions.

Without this square projection near the end of the upper mandible the peculiar termination of the nostrils at the tip of the bill would be of very little, if any, use to the bird; because with its long, slender bill it could not possibly draw the earth-worm from its hole, as the worm would contract and swell its long form, so as to make it impossible to keep the ends of the smooth bill sufficiently tight upon the worm to draw it out. To enable the bird to push its bill into the earth with reasonable ease and facility to the proper depth, the bill

must necessarily be long, slender, and pointed, and therefore weak and flexible; but to cure this defect, and thus make the whole bill practically efficient to gain the main purpose intended, Nature has made this projection upon the upper mandible. So that when the bird, by means of its keen scent, finds the exact position of the worm, it thrusts its closed bill into the soft earth exactly above it; and when the bill reaches the worm the mandibles are opened a little, so as to let one slip on each side of it, the worm thus catching on the projection in the upper mandible; and the bird, by pushing its head forward, so as to place the now closed bill a little beyond the perpendicular, and by a slow, steady pull upon the resisting worm, is perfectly able to draw out its prey. A sudden pull would break the worm in two, but it has not muscular power enough to resist a long-continued pull, as it soon tires and yields.

I know no other bird with a similar projection, and the apterix seems to stand alone. In the case of birds of prey the upper mandible is hooked and longer than the lower one, to enable the bird to tear its prey. The upper mandible of the pelican is longer than the lower, and near the point is narrow and turned squarely down; but its bill, when shut, is not pointed, but blunt. I have often seen this large bird catching fish in the Bay of San Francisco. It would fly slowly along about forty or fifty feet above the water, and when just over some small fish sunning itself upon the surface, the pelican would turn with its head downward and rapidly dip into the water, scarcely ever failing to catch its prey. The slippery fish could not escape at the sides of the bill once fastened upon it, because of the sharp edges of the mandibles; nor slip out at the end of the bill, because of the hooked upper mandible. The bill of the albatross is of the same form substantially as that of the pelican. But the upper mandible of the apterix is not hooked, but projected and pointed. In this wonderful bird we see the adaptation and combination of means to ends, and here we discover the strongest proofs of purpose.

#### THE MALEO—THE HORNBILL.

The extraordinary *maleo* is one of those singular birds fitted for a novel and strange mode of existence. Its most peculiar characteristics will claim our attention. I will quote the extended description of this wonderful creature from the work of an eminent writer, whose opportunities for observation were most ample, and whose statements of facts within his personal knowledge I think reliable, while I differ from many of his conclusions and opinions:

Arrived at our destination, we built a hut for a stay of some days, I to shoot and skin "maleos," Mr. Goldman and the major to hunt wild pigs, babirusa, and sapiutan. The place is situated in the large bay between the islands of Limbe

and Banca, and consists of a steep beach more than a mile in length, of deep, loose, and coarse black volcanic sand, or rather gravel, very fatiguing to walk over. It is bounded at each extremity by a small river, with hilly ground beyond, while the forest behind the beach itself is tolerably level and its growth stunted. We have here probably an ancient lava-stream from the Klabat volcano, which has flowed down a valley into the sea, and the decomposition of which has formed the loose black sand. In confirmation of this view it may be mentioned that the beaches beyond the small rivers in both directions are of white sand.

It is in this loose, hot, black sand that those singular birds, the "maleos," deposit their eggs. In the months of August and September, when there is little or no rain, they come down in pairs from the interior to this or to one or two other favorite spots, and scratch holes three or four feet deep, just above high-water mark, where the female deposits a single large egg, which she covers over with about a foot of sand, and then returns to the forest. At the end of ten or twelve days she comes again to the same spot to lay another egg, and each female bird is supposed to lay six or eight eggs during the season. The male assists the female in making the hole, coming down and returning with her. The appearance of the bird when walking on the beach is very handsome. The glossy black and rosy white of the plumage, the helmeted head and elevated tail, like that of the common fowl, give a striking character, which their stately and somewhat sedate walk renders still more remarkable. There is hardly any difference between the sexes, except that the casque, or bonnet, at the back of the head, and the tubercles at the nostrils, are a little larger, and the beautiful rosy salmon colour a little deeper, in the male bird; but the difference is so slight that it is not always possible to tell a male from a female without dissection. They run quickly, but when shot at or suddenly disturbed take wing with a heavy, noisy flight to some neighbouring tree, where they settle on a low branch, and they probably roost at night in a similar situation. Many birds lay in the same hole, for a dozen eggs are found together; and these are so large that it is not possible for the body of the bird to contain more than one fully-developed egg at the same time. In all the female birds which I shot none of the eggs besides the one large one exceeded the size of peas, and there were only eight or nine of these, which is probably the extreme number a bird can lay in one season.

Every year the natives come for fifty miles round to obtain these eggs, which are esteemed a great delicacy, and, when quite fresh, are indeed delicious. They are richer than hen's eggs, and of a finer flavour; and each one fills an ordinary tea-cup, and forms, with bread or rice, a very good meal. The colour of the shell is a pale brick-red, or very rarely pure white. They are elongated, and very slightly smaller at one end, and from four to four and a half inches long by two and a quarter or two and a half wide.

After the eggs are deposited in the sand they are no further cared for by the mother. The young birds, on breaking the shell, work their way through the sand and run off at once to the forest; and I was assured by Mr. Duivenboden, of Ternate, that they can fly the very day they are hatched. He had taken some eggs on board his schooner, which hatched during the night, and in the morning the little birds flew readily across the cabin. Considering the great distances the birds come to deposit their eggs in a proper situation (often ten or fifteen miles), it seems extraordinary they should take no further care of them. It is, however, quite certain that they neither do nor can watch them. The eggs being deposited by a number of hens in succession in the same hole would render it impossible for each to distinguish its own, and the food necessary for such large birds (consisting entirely of fallen fruits) can only be obtained by roaming over an extensive district; so that if the numbers of birds which come down to this single beach in the breeding season,

amounting to many hundreds, were obliged to remain in the vicinity, many would perish of hunger.

In the structure of the feet of this bird we may detect a cause for its departing from the habits of its nearest allies, the Megapodii and Talegalli, which heap up earth, leaves, stones, and sticks into a large mound in which to bury their eggs. The feet of the males are not nearly so large or so strong in proportion as in these birds, while its claws are short and straight instead of being long and much curved. The toes are, however, strongly webbed at the base, forming a broad, powerful foot, which, with the rather long leg, is well adapted to scratch away the loose sand (which flies up in a perfect shower when the birds are at work), but which could not without much labor accumulate the heaps of miscellaneous rubbish which the large, grasping feet of the Megapodius bring together with ease.

We may also, I think, see in the peculiar organization of the entire family of the Megapodidea, or brush-turkeys, a reason why they depart so widely from the usual habits of the class of birds. Each egg being so large as entirely to fill up the abdominal cavity and with difficulty to pass the walls of the pelvis, a considerable interval is required before the successive eggs can be matured (the natives say about thirteen days). Each bird lays six or eight eggs, or even more, each season, so that between the first and the last there may be an interval of two or three months. Now, if these eggs were hatched in the ordinary way, either the parent must keep sitting continually for this long period, or, if they began to sit after the last egg was deposited, the first would be exposed to injury by the climate or to destruction by the large lizards, snakes, and other animals which abound in the district, because such large birds must roam about a good deal in search of food (Alfred Russel Wallace, *Malay Archipelago*, p. 272).

Lastly, in the gallinaceous tribe, the curious helmeted maleo (*Megacephalon rubripes*) is quite isolated, having its nearest (but still distant) allies in the brush-turkeys of Australia and New Guinea (*id.* p. 281).

This description is so full and clear, and the many peculiar and nice adaptations of this wonderful bird to its habits and surroundings are so well stated, that I need not recall the attention of the reader to them. As the organization of this bird must have been *prior* to its habits, and as these habits precisely suit the *particular* locality, it would seem to be a plain and incontrovertible conclusion that the bird was specially created with a wise purpose to live in its peculiar location. In other words, its Creator foresaw from the beginning the precise organization required to enable the bird to live in that vicinity, and gave it such organization accordingly.

I will take from the same writer his description of another remarkable bird, the *hornbill* :

I returned to Palembang by water, and, while staying a day at a village while a boat was being made water-tight, I had the good fortune to obtain a male, female, and young bird of one of the large hornbills. I had sent my hunters to shoot, and while I was at breakfast they returned, bringing me a fine large male of the *Buceros bicornis*, which one of them assured me he had shot while feeding the female, which was shut up in a hole in a tree. I had often read of this curious habit, and immediately returned to the place, accompanied by several of the natives. After crossing a stream and a bog we found a large tree leaning over some water, and on its lower side, at a height of about twenty feet, appeared a small hole, and what

looked like a quantity of mud, which I was assured had been used in stopping up the large hole. After a while we heard the harsh cry of a bird inside, and could see the white extremity of its beak put out. I offered a rupee to any one who would go up and get out the bird, with the egg or young one, but they all declared that it was too difficult and they were afraid to try. In about an hour afterward, much to my surprise, a tremendous loud, hoarse screaming was heard, and the bird was brought me, together with a young one which had been found in the hole. This was a most curious object, as large as a pigeon, but without a particle of plumage on any part of it. It was exceedingly plump and soft, and with a semi-transparent skin, so that it looked more like a bag of jelly, with head and feet stuck on, than like a real bird.

The extraordinary habit of the male in plastering up the female with her eggs and feeding her during the whole time of incubation and until the young one is fledged, is common to several of the large hornbills, and is one of those strange facts in natural history which are "stranger than fiction" (*Malay Archipelago*, p. 146).

The bill of this extraordinary bird is very large, but hollow, because if solid the creature would be unable to carry it. Though so ungainly, this huge bill is a great protection. As the hornbill only lays one egg during the breeding season, it cannot take the risk of loss, which another bird producing several eggs could do. It is true that a bird producing several eggs in a season may lose all her eggs at one deprecation, but another bird of the same family may save all, and thus the race be perpetuated. But the male hornbill, to secure the perpetuation of his kind, shuts up his partner and supports her, that she may not only hatch this one egg in safety, but warm and feed the naked chick, free from all risk and fear of enemies. No sly, hungry snake, or mischievous monkey, or other enemy except man will venture to attack that most formidable-looking bill, nor withstand that terribly harsh scream. No doubt the mother is happy in her voluntary imprisonment, and the father in his extra toil. The love of her offspring, the devotion of her mate, and the sense of security amply compensate the female for her temporary deprivation of liberty.

It is undoubtedly true, as Mr. Wallace says, that the facts in this and kindred cases are "stranger than fiction." We clearly see here the purpose of this strange organization and curiously resulting habits.

#### THE THEORY OF FLIGHT.

The Duke of Argyll, in the third chapter of his able work, *The Reign of Law*, has shown that "contrivance is a necessity arising out of the reign of law," and has given us, with ample illustrations, a description of "the machinery of flight" in language remarkable for its accuracy, clearness, and force. I have only room for some extracts relating to the main points :

Whatever the ultimate relation may be between mental and material Force, we can at least clearly see this: that in Nature there is the most elaborate machinery

to accomplish purpose through the instrumentality of means. It seems as if all that is done in Nature as well as in art were done *by knowing how to do it* (p. 127).

Every instance of contrivance which we can thoroughly follow and understand has an intense interest, as casting light upon this method of the Divine government, and upon the analogy between the operations of our own minds and the operations of the Creator (p. 128).

In the first place, it is remarkable that the force which seems so adverse—the Force of Gravitation drawing down all bodies to the earth—is the very Force which is the principal one concerned in flight, and without which flight would be impossible. It is curious how completely this has been forgotten in almost all human attempts to navigate the air. Birds are not lighter than the air, but immensely heavier. If they were lighter than the air they might float, but they could not fly. This is the difference between a bird and a balloon (p. 130).

The next law appealed to, and pressed into the service, is again a law which would seem an impediment in the way. This is the resisting force of the atmosphere in opposing any body moving through it. In this force an agent is sought and found for supplying the requisite balance of the Force of Gravity (p. 131).

In order, therefore, to solve the problem of flight, the resisting power of the air must be called into action as strongly as possible in the direction opposite to the Force of Gravity, and as little as possible in any other. Consequently a body capable of flight must present its maximum of surface to the resistance of the air in the perpendicular direction, and its minimum of surface in the horizontal direction. Now, both these conditions are satisfied (1) by the great breadth or length of surface presented to the air perpendicularly in a bird's expanded wings, and by (2) the narrow lines presented in its shape horizontally when in the act of forward motion through the air (p. 131).

Yet further, therefore, to accomplish flight, another law must be appealed to, and that is the immense elasticity of the air and the reacting force it exerts against compression. To enable an animal heavier than the air to support itself against the Force of Gravity, it must be able to strike the air downwards with such force as to occasion a rebound upwards of corresponding power. The wing of a flying animal must, therefore, do something more than barely balance Gravity. It must be able to strike the air with such violence as to call forth a reaction equally violent, and in the opposite direction. This is the function assigned to the powerful muscles by which the wings of Birds are flapped with such velocity and strength . . . . There is a greater concentration of muscular power in the organism of Birds than in most other animal frames, because it is an essential part of the problem to be solved in flight that the engine which works the wings should be very strong, very compact, of special form, and that, though heavier than the air, it should not have an excessive weight. These conditions are all met in the power, in the outline, and in the bulk of the pectoral muscles which move the wings of Birds (p. 132).

But there is another difficulty to be overcome—a difficulty opposed by natural laws, and which can only be met by another adjustment, if possible more ingenious and beautiful than the rest. It is obvious that if a Bird is to support itself by the downward blow of its wings upon the air, it must at the end of each downward stroke lift the wing upwards again, so as to be ready for the next. But each upward stroke is in danger of neutralising the effect of the downward stroke. It must be made with equal velocity, and, if it required equal force, it must produce equal resistance—an equal rebound from the elasticity of the air. If this difficulty were not evaded somehow, flight would be impossible. But it is evaded by two mechanical contrivances, which, as it were, triumph over the laws of aerial resistance by conforming to them. One of these contrivances is that the upper surface of the wing is made convex, whilst the under surface is concave. The enormous



difference which this makes in atmospheric resistance is familiarly known to us by the difference between the effect of the wind on an umbrella which is exposed to it on the under or the upper side. The air which is struck by a concave hollow surface is gathered up and prevented from escaping; whereas the air struck by a convex or bulging surface escapes readily on all sides, and comparatively little pressure or resistance is produced. And so, from the convexity of the upper surface of a Bird's wing, the upward stroke may be made with comparatively trifling injury to the force gained in the downward blow.

But this is only half of the provision made against a consequence which would be so fatal to the end in view. The other half consists in this: that the feathers of a Bird's wing are made to *underlap each other*, so that in the downward stroke the pressure of the air closes them upwards against each other, and converts the whole series of them into one connected membrane, through which there is no escape; whilst in the upward stroke the same pressure has precisely the reverse effect—it opens the feathers, separates them from each other, and converts each pair of feathers into a self-acting valve, through which the air rushes at every point. Thus the same implement is changed in the fraction of a second from a close and continuous membrane which is impervious to the air into a series of disconnected joints through which the air passes without the least resistance—the machine being so adjusted that when pressure is required the maximum of pressure is produced, and when pressure is to be avoided it is avoided in spite of rapid and violent action (p. 135).

The power of forward motion is given to Birds, first by the direction in which the whole wing-feathers are set, and next by the structure given to each feather in itself. The wing-feathers are all set backwards—that is, in the direction opposite to that in which the Bird moves; whilst each feather is at the same time so constructed as to be strong and rigid toward its base, and extremely flexible and elastic towards its end. On the other hand, the front of the wing, along the greater part of its length, is a stiff, hard edge, wholly unelastic and unyielding to the air. The anterior and posterior webs of each feather are adjusted on the same principle. The consequence of this disposition of the parts as a whole, and of this construction of each of the parts, is that the air which is struck and compressed in the hollow of the wing, being unable to escape *through* the wing, owing to the closing upwards of the feathers against each other, and being also unable to escape *forwards* owing to the rigidity of the bones and of the quills in that direction, it finds its easiest escape *backwards*. In passing backwards it lifts by its force the elastic ends of the feathers; and thus whilst effecting this escape in obedience to the law of action and reaction, it communicates, in its passage along the whole line of both wings, a corresponding push forwards to the body of the Bird. By this elaborate mechanical contrivance the same volume of air is made to perform the double duty of yielding pressure enough to sustain the Bird's weight against the Force of Gravity, and also of communicating to it a forward impulse. The Bird, therefore, has nothing to do but to repeat with the requisite velocity and strength its perpendicular blows upon the air, and by virtue of the structure of its wings the same blow both sustains and propels it (p. 138).

Every flying animal must have muscular force enough to work its own size of wing; that size of wing must be large enough to act upon a volume of air sufficient to lift the animal's whole weight; lastly, and consequently, the weight must not be too great or dispersed over too large a bulk (p. 146).

I do not know of any modern work that gives any account of the theory of flight which is even tolerably correct (p. 163).

The Humming Birds are perhaps the most remarkable examples in the world of the machinery of flight. The power of poisoning themselves in the air—remaining

absolutely stationary whilst they search the blossoms for insects—is a power essential to their life. It is a power, accordingly, which is enjoyed by them in the highest perfection (p. 166).

These are a few, and a few only, of the adjustments required in order to the giving of the power of flight; adjustments of organic growth to intensity of vital force, of external structure to external work, of shape in each separate feather to definite shape in the series as a whole, of material to resistance, of mass and form to required velocities; adjustments, in short, of law to law, of force to force, and of all to Purpose. . . . There can be no better example of this than a wing-feather. It is a production wholly unlike any other animal growth—an implement specially formed to combine strength with lightness, elasticity, and imperviousness to air. Again, the bones of a Bird's wing are the bones of the Mammalian arm and hand, specially modified to support the feathers (p. 168).

These extended extracts from a chapter of forty-five pages may give a general idea of the author's position and argument; but to appreciate them in their full force the work itself must be consulted. The author shows the different constructions in the wings of birds adapted for short and those for long flights. In the class of divers, the wings being used both for flight in the air and for moving under water, the wings are so small as barely to admit of flight, as large wings cannot be successfully employed as a means of propulsion under water. In the case of the penguin, perhaps the greatest of feathered divers, the wings are only large enough for paddles. But in all these various species of birds the wings are precisely adapted to their modes of life.

#### CONCLUSION.

We may be partial to our own species; but after making all due allowance for this natural partiality, man's majestic form and intellectual face at once plainly stamp him as the lord of the visible creation.

“So faultless is the frame, as if the whole  
Had been an emendation of the soul.”

Dr. C. R. Bree, a distinguished English physician, in his work, *The Fallacies of Darwinism*, has given, with illustrations, a minute description of that wonderful organ, the human ear:

Now, the series of small bones which I have just described are not only fully developed at birth in the human subject, *but they do not increase in size afterwards*. Mr. Holden, the anatomist, mentions a case (*Anatomy*, p. 245) in which “I have before me the tympanic bones of an infant at birth and those of a man who was seven feet high, and there is not much difference between them in point of size.” . . . All the organs of the internal ear are hewn, as it were, out of the solid rock, and it is a beautiful instance of forethought and adaptation that they should be found in the infant of such a size as to require no alteration in the future growth of the body (p. 353-4).

Other able writers have given us descriptions of the heart, that never ceases its pulsations from their commencement until death. So

other authors have written upon the lungs, with their multitudinous little air-cells; others have described the exquisite human eye, and others the hand, which is capable of such quick and varied movements. Each of these would require at least a long chapter to describe them properly. The description of man has, therefore, been practically exhausted by those far more competent than myself; and I will, for that reason, say no more upon the subject in this place.

I have endeavored to set forth in the two preceding chapters a portion of the reasons which go to prove the existence of God.\* As my effort *so far* has been simply to prove His existence, I have given only those evidences drawn from the visible creation, and such as are within our knowledge.

As I have already stated, we know from our own positive and affirmative—not negative—experience the origin of the works of man, and of those of beings inferior to him, and we do know that they are the *immediate* productions of intellect in the case of man, and of instinct in the case of his inferiors. Thus we discover—so far as ages of experience can establish anything—that where we see order and system, a substantially accurate adjustment of means to ends, there we find mind or instinct as their immediate authors. In other words, we know that in *these* cases order and system are not the products of chance or accident, but are the immediate results of intellect or instinct. Our long experience reveals the *nature* and *character* of that power which produces order and system in the works of man. We do know that it requires intellect, though limited, to produce these

\* Since I finished the text of the first five chapters, with the exception of a few additions and corrections, I have read a very late and most able work of Bishop Ullathorne, of England. I shall have occasion to make many extracts from it. The title of the work is *The Endowments of Man considered in their Relations with his Final End*.

"The action of God is clearly visible in the ordering of the world, and, where the light of reason is not utterly perverted, all men at times feel His power in the creation. What but the continuance of God's creative will upholds the world in existence? What but His regulating providence makes the elements of the world keep their place, their proportions, and their equable balance, so admirably tempered to human needs? What but His will and wisdom have ordained all things in number, weight, and measure? What makes the earth and the orbs of heaven to move in their appointed courses? What makes the sun to glow with a splendour softened to the requirements of human eyes and human life? What causes the moon and the glittering stars to illuminate our night? What causes the winds to breathe in gentle gales or to blow with purging vehemence? What makes the ever-changing clouds, those curtains from the solar heat and revivers of the earth, to muster in their squadrons and career before the winds; the showers to fall; the streams to flow; the seas to agitate their purifying waves; the earth to germinate in flowers and fruits; the air to feed the flame of mortal life; the waters to fertilize; all nature to bring forth? To give names to hidden causes is to confess their existence, but not to discover what they are. Science may trace the dependencies of things upon each other, at least on the visible side of them that is exposed to human sight, and may follow the links of the lower end of the chain of causation. But what and where is the primal force from which all causation springs? What primal force moves all material things that are in their nature passive? What keeps them orderly, temperate, and measured in their movements, whether worlds, or elements, or things that vegetate or that move with the force and harmony of animal life? We may ask what, and what, in vain, so long as we search for their causes in material nature. The Divine Author of all is the first mover of all, whilst He is Himself immovable; and the creation receives its energies and modes of movement from the most tranquil yet ever-acting will of God, 'who maketh His sun to shine over the good and the bad, and raineth upon the just and the unjust' " (*Endowments of Man*, p. 57).

works. Then system and order must be intellectual and not accidental products. Whatever produces intellectual results must necessarily be possessed of intellect.

Intellectual power may be greater in one class of beings than in another ; but it is only a difference in *degree* and not in *kind*, as there must be constituent elements in mind as in law. Though limited, intellect is still intellect, and possesses all those *essential* requisites which constitute that which we properly call mind. We can, as intelligent beings ourselves, only measure the degree or quality of the intellect possessed by a certain being by the character of his works.

" The poet's praise  
Lives in the music of his song !"

There is no other *possible* rule known to us. We cannot weigh mind in a balance, or measure it by a rule, or give its sum with mathematical certainty, but we can make an estimate of its capacity *substantially* correct. So if we be given the productions of a certain being, though we have no personal knowledge of him, we can form a substantially accurate estimate of his intellectual capacity *so far* as it is shown in the works before us. While we cannot with *exact* certainty determine how much he may accomplish in the future, we can know, at least in part, what he has already done, and to *that* extent we can judge him by his works.\*

We see that the intellect of man is immensely superior to the instinct of all inferior animals. Of this difference we are reasonably certain by estimating the value and character of their respective works. The being that constructs and navigates the steam-ship is vastly superior to the one that builds the honeycomb. But while we

\* " The argument is generally worded in the following terms : ' From the order of this universe the existence of a highly Intelligent Orderer is to be inferred.'

" That order exists in the universe nobody can deny. Are not in the minerals the atoms joined to one another in regular proportion ? Are not all organic bodies in general governed by constant laws in their formation as well as their activity ? If we call our attention to the organic bodies we find in them a great variety of organs, each one fitted for a certain vital function, and all of them united to one harmonious whole. The same form of organism regularly recurs in all individuals of the same species and in all those which are generated by them. Centuries of study and observation have verified this unity and harmony of organic life, and bring it daily more to our cognizance. But if each particular being of this world is worthy of our admiration, the whole of them is much more so. The heavenly bodies, being put in motion, though each one follows its own direction, yet all together constitute one great system, never disturbed, never getting into confusion. On earth the several bodies by mutual attraction increase in size or form new substances, always according to the same laws. What is still more astonishing, all of the numberless molecules of brute matter so combine with one another as to subservise the living beings and to furnish them with all the necessary means of their subsistence ; and the system of the heavenly bodies is so built up and set in motion as always to foster or to renew organic life. A similar subordination we observe among the living beings themselves ; for not only is one plant subservient to the other, and the lower species of animals to the higher, but also the whole mineral realm is subordinate to the vegetable, the vegetable to the animal, and the animal to man. This earth, indeed, is man's dwelling-place, adapted to his needs, and fitted to promote his well-being. In each single man, again, the lower faculties are subject to the higher, to the intellect and will, which tend to infuse truth and goodness ; and all men together naturally incline to society, in order to help one another in the pursuit of happiness" (Rev. J. Ming, S.J., in *Catholic Quarterly Review* for April, 1881, p. 242).

know that man's works are so far superior to those of his inferiors, we know that his great intellect is itself *limited*, as his life is limited. With all his noble powers he cannot create an atom, but is compelled to use materials already existing, and in the creation of which he has had no agency whatever; nor can he infuse the mysterious principle of life into any of his works, or resuscitate a dead fly.

The creator of material must be much greater than he who simply fashions it into certain forms. So the giver of life must be much greater than the receiver and user of the gift. How much superior is the living, intellectual man to anything he can himself produce! And if man's works are still systematic, and therefore the product of intellect, how could his own most skilful organization and his great though limited mind be the productions of chance? If it requires intellect to produce inferior system and order, must it not take *superior* mind to attain *superior* results? The greater may contain the less, but it is impossible for the less to embrace the greater.

Now, as man's intellectual productions are so much superior to those of instinct, and as the works of the visible creation are so far beyond the greatest achievements of man, it would seem to be a calm, plain, dispassionate, logical conclusion that man and all other animals have been themselves created, and that their Creator must be and is the Greater Mind. In other words, man and all his inferiors are alike the intellectual productions of a Mind infinitely superior to them and to all their works.

If the individuals of a race of animals must die the race itself is liable to extinction, as the race is composed of individuals, and when they are all dead the race is gone. We know that many races of animals once existing upon the earth have long since become extinct; and we have ample reason to believe that many others soon will be no more. The American bison once roamed in millions over nearly all of North America, and now but a small remnant is left, and that remnant in a few years will almost certainly be gone. So of the European auroch. The mammoth and the mastodon are gone, and all are liable to go. Then as all are liable to perish, all are inferior; and therefore all must have been created by a Superior Mind that knew *how* to create, and foresaw the *effect* and *end* from the *beginning*.

That which had no beginning will have no end. The Self-Existent will not die, because there is and can be no superior to cause His death; and He will not destroy Himself, as He will not do wrong or act unwisely, and has everything to enjoy and nothing to fear or suffer. That which is created, and therefore inferior, may live or die, because that depends upon the will of the superior. The power to prolong life is necessarily embraced in the greater and original power to create, and forms a part of it. For this reason the Creator can

prolong the life of His creature to all eternity, if in the exercise of His sovereign power He determines to do so.

Hence by the light of human reason alone, fairly and calmly weighing the proofs drawn from experience and observation in this visible world of ours, we arrive at the conclusion that there is and must be a God, the self-existent, necessary Being, the Creator and Governor of all things inferior to himself.\*

The great St. Augustine, speaking of the Platonists, has the following among other remarks :

These philosophers, then, whom we see not undeservedly exalted above the rest in fame and glory, have seen that no material body is God, and therefore they have transcended all bodies in seeking for God. They have seen that whatever is changeable is not the most high God, and therefore they have transcended every soul and all changeable spirits in seeking the Supreme. They have seen also that, in every changeable thing, the form which makes it what it is, whatever be its mode or nature, can only *be* through Him who truly *is* because He is unchangeable. And therefore, whether we consider the whole body of the world, its figure, qualities, and orderly movement, and also all the bodies which are in it; or whether we consider all life, either that which nourishes and maintains, as the life of trees; or that which, besides this, has also sensation, as the life of beasts; or that which adds to all these intelligence, as the life of man; or that which does not need the support of nutriment, but only maintains, feels, understands, as the life of angels—all can only *be* through Him who absolutely *is*. For to Him it is not one thing to *be* and another to live, as though He could *be*, not living; nor is it to Him one thing to live and another to understand, as though He could live, not understanding; nor is it to Him one thing to understand, another thing to be blessed, as though He could understand and not be blessed. But to Him to live, to understand, to be blessed, are to *be*. They have understood from this unchangeableness and this simplicity that all things must have been made by Him, and that He could Himself have been made by none. For they have considered that whatever *is* is either body or life, and that life is something better than body, and that the nature of body is sensible, and that of life intelligible. Therefore they have preferred the intelligible nature to the sensible. We mean by sensible things such things as can be perceived by the sight and touch of the body; by intelligible things such as can be understood by the sight of the mind (*City of God*, i. p. 314).

The translation from which I have made my quotations is that of Rev. Marcus Dods, A.M., published in Edinburgh. In regard to this work the editor says :

But the interest attaching to the *City of God* is not merely historical. It is the earnestness and ability with which he develops his own philosophical and theological views which gradually fascinate the reader and make him see why the world has set this among the few greatest books of all time. The fundamental lines of the Augustinian theology are here laid down in a comprehensive and interesting form. Never was thought so abstract expressed in language so popular. He handles metaphysical problems with the unembarrassed ease of Plato, with all Cicero's accuracy and acuteness, and more than Cicero's profundity.

\* "God is the one self-subsisting Being, the reason of whose being is Himself. He is the one all-perfect Being, than whom nothing more perfect can be thought of. His Being and Goodness are one and the same, without beginning, limitation, or end of being" (*Endowments of Man*, p. 81).

The following fine passage is taken from Bishop Ullathorne :

There is a fifth class who are fond of the word chance and ascribe most things to chance, finding the word very useful as a cover to their ignorance. With those who ascribe all things to chance the following anecdote may shorten argument. The leading French infidels of the last century were assembled in society and indulging in their atheism when Diderot exclaimed: "Let us appoint a defender of God." The Abbé Galiani was appointed to the office and said: "One day at Naples there was a man in our company who took six dice and bet that he would throw the number six. He did so, and this was within the limits of possibility. But six times running he threw the number six. Then every one cried out: 'The dice have been *dealt with*.' On examination this was found to be the case. Now, gentlemen philosophers, when I consider how the order of Nature perpetually returns, and how constant its movements are amidst such infinite diversities; when I also consider how this one chance preserves such a world as this which we see, notwithstanding a hundred millions of chances that might derange its order or destroy it altogether, I am led to exclaim that the world has been *dealt with*." This unexpected sally reduced the adversaries of God's providence to silence (*Endowments of Man*, p. 99).

The following beautiful extract is from the *Confessions* of St. Augustine :

And what is this? I asked the Earth, and it said, 'Tis not I. And all things therein confessed the same. I asked the Sea and the deeps, and the living things thereof; and they answered, We are not thy God; seek higher above us. I asked the fleeting air above; and the whole region of it with its inhabitants cried out, Anaximenes is *mistaken*; *I am not God*. I asked the Heavens, the Sun, the Moon, and the Stars; Neither are we, said they, the God whom thou seekest. And I said to all these things which stand around the doors of my flesh, You have told me, concerning my God, that you are not He; give me at least some tidings of Him. And they all cried out with a loud voice, *It is He that made us* (book x. chapter vi. sec. 3).

## CHAPTER III.

### PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

**H**E who denies the existence of God, and of course the manifestations of purpose in creation, points to certain alleged imperfections as negative proofs. The Duke of Argyll says :

Yet as we look at Nature the fact will force itself upon us that there are structures in which we cannot recognise any use; that there are contrivances which often fail of their effect; that there are others which appear to be separated from the conditions they were intended to meet, and under which alone their usefulness could arise. Such instances occur in many branches of inquiry; and although in the great mass of natural phenomena the supremacy of Purpose is evident enough, such cases do frequently come across our path as cases of exception—cases in which Law does not seem to be subservient to Will, but to be asserting a power and endurance of its own (*Reign of Law*, p. 172).

The first question is, What is meant by imperfections in the works of Nature? It must be clear that a thing may be correctly said to be perfect when it answers well the purpose intended. It may not be suited to accomplish a *different* purpose. But the true question is, Does it *substantially* accomplish the *particular* purpose or purposes for which it is alleged to have been made? The law of the land does not regard *little* things, but looks to the *main* result. “Was his vote right on the *main* question?” is often asked by practical, sensible men. Practical men go for substantial results. “Will it pan out well?” asks a practical, sensible miner in regard to a new mine. “Will it pay?” asks a practical business man in reference to a new business.

It is most easy to find fault, especially if we base our criticisms upon our own ignorance. An objection which appeals to ignorance is most to be distrusted. If we err at all let us at least lean to the side of apparent justice. When man accuses the creation of *material* imperfections he ought to be very certain he is right. He should never stand upon mere probability when he occupies the position of an accuser. His case ought to be made out by proofs clear beyond all reasonable doubt.

There are logical impossibilities with God under every theory which concedes His existence. The simultaneous existence and non-existence of bodies are impossible with Him. He cannot create His equal; and, therefore, all creatures, however exalted, are of necessity imper-



fect as compared with Him. They could not fill His place, because they are His inferiors and must fill a subordinate position.

If these positions be assumed as true for the sake of the argument only, then, as man and all other animals are imperfect, because possessed of but limited powers and life, why should an *absolutely*, not *relatively*, perfect world be created for their home? There is and should be a logical fitness in things. Sensible men would not build a courthouse, a hall of records, or a church of the same form, in the same style, and of the same size as a private residence. Structures of any kind should be made with a view to their proper uses, and suitable for the purpose or purposes intended. This, as I take it, is the dictate of common sense.

The second question which presents itself is, How far are we now competent to determine, with reasonable certainty, what are imperfections in the works of Nature?

The order of Nature is very complicated and very partially understood. It is to be expected, therefore, that there should be a vast variety of subordinate facts whose relation to each other and the whole must be a matter of perplexity to us. It is so with the relation in which different known laws of Nature stand to each other; much more must it be so with the far deeper subject of the relation which these laws bear to the will and intention of the Supreme.

In the first place, then, we must remember that results which may appear as exceptions to the attainment of one purpose may be nothing more than fulfillments of another. This follows from the truth which has been dealt with in a former page, that we are "greatly ignorant," as Bishop Butler says, how far anything in Nature is to be regarded as a means or as an end, and that ultimate or final purpose we can never see.

There may be, indeed, and there are, innumerable examples where the meaning of like "failures" is not equally evident to us—some which may be involved in utter and hopeless darkness; some which may run up into the great master difficulty—that which we are accustomed to call the "Origin of Evil." But the same argument applies to all. It is not that Purpose and Intention solve all difficulties. But it is that no difficulty in perceiving what may be the purpose and intention of a particular fact can affect the reality and truth of that perception in other cases where no such difficulty exists (*The Reign of Law*, pp. 173, 176).

It must always be remembered, however, that Contrivance in Nature can never be reduced to a single purpose, and to that alone. Almost every example of it is connected with a number of effects which fit into each other in endless ramifications of adjustment (*id.* p. 186).

There is a class of thinkers that we often hear called men of one idea—men who take such narrow views of great questions as to exclude one-half, if not more, of the truth. In our own case we often have many *concurring* reasons to support a single conclusion; and, on the contrary, by a single act we accomplish several purposes.\* A

\* "To this sort of objection it may be replied that even man has often *several* distinct intentions and motives for a *single* act; and any one who believes in God can have no difficulty in supposing that the purpose of any natural process, as it is apparent to the human observer, may be but an exceedingly subordinate one out of an infinite number of motives in the Divine Mind. Baden Powell

thief one evening crept into a gentleman's house in San Francisco and walked off with a small clock. The gentleman said he was not disposed to grumble for two very good reasons: first, the clock did not belong to him; second, it was not worth a cent. "I wish to kill two birds with one stone" is a familiar saying, expressing a common purpose.

It is just so in Nature. Many means may be employed to accomplish a single end, and many ends may be accomplished by a single means. There are many means for the distribution of seeds, as Mr. Darwin truly says:

Seeds are disseminated by their minuteness; by their capsule being converted into a light, balloon-like envelope; by being embedded in pulp or flesh formed of the most diverse parts, and rendered nutritious as well as conspicuously coloured, so as to attract and be devoured by birds; by having hooks and grapnels of many kinds, and serrated awns, so as to adhere to the fur of quadrupeds; and by being furnished with wings and plumes as different in shape as they are elegant in structure, so as to be wafted by every breeze (*Origin of Species*, p. 154).

So a single means may accomplish many purposes. For example, the two elements of air and water—how many different purposes does each of these elements separately accomplish!

But Mr. Darwin has a position in regard to the beauty of flowers, fruits, and animals, and the sweetness of the song of birds, which I must think erroneous, and which I believe belongs to the class of narrow views:

Flowers rank amongst the most beautiful productions of Nature; but they have been rendered conspicuous in contrast with green leaves,\* and, in consequence, at the same time beautiful, so that they may easily be observed by insects. I have come to this conclusion from finding it an invariable rule that when a flower is fertilised by the wind it never has a gaily-coloured corolla. Several plants habitually produce two kinds of flowers: one kind open and coloured, so as to attract insects; the other closed, not coloured, destitute of nectar, and never visited by insects. Hence we may conclude that if insects had not been developed on the face

has well asked: 'How can we undertake to affirm, amid all the possibilities of things of which we confessedly know so little, that a thousand ends and purposes may not be answered, because we can trace none which seem to short-sighted faculties to be answered in these particular arrangements?' (*Lessons from Nature*, p. 366).

Many organs are used for more than one purpose. Thus, the nose is used for smelling and breathing, the tongue for tasting and talking, and the human hand for a multitude of purposes.

\* There are but few rules in physical organizations to which no exceptions can be found. Flowers are almost universally so colored as to be conspicuously different from green leaves, and they are thus readily distinguished from them at a distance. In this we discover the clearest evidence of purpose. If the flowers were green like the leaves which surround them, their utility as objects of beauty would be greatly lessened. The great rule of *variety* would be thus violated.

But, as if to show the *fact* of purpose more clearly, God has exhibited His power in making some few exceptions to nearly all physical rules, and *may* have done so in *all* cases, as our limited knowledge will not justify us in assuming a positive negative in such cases.

It would have been just as easy for God to have created green flowers as green leaves. But this would have been to impair their general utility. There is a species of domesticated green rose. It is a general rule that there is no rose without a thorn. Yet to my own personal knowledge—if my memory does not deceive me—my uncle, John Hardeman, had in his garden in Howard County, Missouri, a species of wild rose without any thorns.

of the earth our plants would not have been decked with beautiful flowers, but would have produced only such poor flowers as we see on the fir, oak, nut, and ash trees, on grasses, spinach, docks, and nettles, which are all fertilised through the agency of the wind. A similar line of argument holds good with fruits; that a ripe strawberry or cherry is as pleasing to the eye as to the palate, that the gaily-coloured fruit of the spindle-wood tree and the scarlet berries of the holly are beautiful objects, will be admitted by every one. But this beauty serves merely as a guide to birds and beasts, in order that the fruit may be devoured and the matured seeds distributed. I infer that this is the case from having as yet found no exception to the rule that seeds are always thus disseminated when embedded within a fruit of any kind (that is, within a fleshy or pulpy envelope), if it be coloured of any brilliant tint, or rendered conspicuous by being white or black.

On the other hand, I willingly admit that a great number of male animals, as all our most gorgeous birds, some fishes, reptiles, and mammals, and a host of magnificently-coloured butterflies, have been rendered beautiful for beauty's sake; but this has been effected through sexual selection; that is, by the more beautiful males having been continually preferred by the females, and not for the delight of man. So it is with the music of birds. We may infer from all this that a nearly similar taste for beautiful colours and for musical sounds runs through a large part of the animal kingdom (*Origin of Species*, p. 161).

I understand Mr. Darwin to take the position that the beauty of flowers was given for the *sole* and *only* purpose of attracting insects. Upon this narrow theory how are we to account for the different beautiful forms as well as the varied colors of flowers? If the purpose had simply been, as alleged, to attract insects, then one form and one color would have produced the effect intended; but, according to this theory, Nature has wasted her resources, and has done an excess of work upon a *large* and *general* scale, and not as an *occasional exception*. His position seems to be a cruel irony upon man, who cultivates flowers for that beauty *alone* which was never intended for him by the Creator. So of the beautiful colors of fruits. The cultivator is allowed the taste, while the birds and beasts are permitted to enjoy both the taste and the beauty.

I maintain that the great difference of the forms and colors in the vast family of flowers and fruits was *intended* for all the effects it does, in fact, produce. One of these effects is variety, and consequently increased beauty—one of the most predominant features in the works of Nature. I readily concede that the bright colors and diversified forms of flowers and fruits were intended to attract insects, birds, and beasts; but they were *also* intended to gratify the taste of man and of all *other* creatures possessing the *capacity* for this enjoyment. So of the music of the feathered songster. It was intended to accomplish all the purposes to which it is *relevant*. It is true, "loves of his own and raptures swell the note"; but these are only the *immediate* cause, not the effect, of his song. While they are unsung his musical notes are his own; but the moment he pours them forth from his impassioned throat, that instant they become the pro-

perty of all that hear him. If the bird could know that those of other species than his own admired and enjoyed his sweet melody, the knowledge of this fact would hardly excite his anger or abate the vehemence and sweetness of his song. Their enjoyment does not impoverish him or injure his mate. Millions of listening ears might catch and enjoy the sound without diminishing in the slightest degree his own or his mate's happiness, or that of each other. There would be enough for all, and each would be equal. It is just that felicitous case, like the beauty of animals and flowers, like truths once promulgated, and like the infinite love of God, there is no deficiency in quantity; and for that grand reason music was intended for *all that can enjoy it*.

Mr. Darwin, like myself, concedes the existence of God as the Creator of all things. Then God, as such Creator, must have communicated to Nature what we call physical laws, as contradistinguished from moral laws intended only for intelligences possessing free-will. These physical laws are blind and entirely obedient to His will. That which He foresaw these physical laws would produce must, therefore, have been intended by Him. If they, in fact, have produced effects either not foreseen or not intended by Him, then He was not master of the situation and could not have been the Creator of all things. But if, as I maintain, He both foresaw and intended all the effects that these physical laws have, in point of *fact*, produced, then it is clear that beauty and music were intended for all creatures who have the capacity and opportunity to enjoy them.\* In other words, they were intended for all the purposes to which they are, in fact, relevant. I therefore quite agree with Mr. Darwin "that a nearly similar taste for beautiful colours and for musical sounds runs through a large part of the animal kingdom."

David Hume advanced the following narrow position in regard to the admissibility of miracles as evidence :

I beg the limitations here made may be remarked when I say that a miracle can never be proved so as to be the foundation of a system of religion. For I own that otherwise there may possibly be miracles, or violations of the usual course of Nature, of such a kind as to admit of proof from human testimony (ii. *Essays*, sec. 10, p. 134).

To this arbitrary and restrictive rule the profound and philosophical Starkie, in his learned Treatise on the Law of Evidence, made this conclusive reply:

\*"But the idea of God implies the one cause of *all* the processes of Nature. He wills and intends them *all*, and therefore whatever results *must* be a fulfilment of His intention. When the matter of the artist's or philosopher's brain comes to feed worms, it fulfils God's purpose no less than when it energises in creations of genius or wisdom. It is impossible for *any* accident to defeat the purpose of Him whose will ordains *every* process, as it is for the irreligious man, by his voluntary revolt and anti-religious efforts, to do other than stultify himself by hastening on the fulfilment of God's own purpose" (*Lessons from Nature*, p. 367).

In what way the use to be made of a fact when proved can affect the validity of the proof, or how it can be that a fact *proved* to be true is not true for all purposes to which it is relevant, I pretend not to understand (i. *Starkie on Evidence*, p. 555).

I pass over for the present the conclusion of Mr. Darwin that the beauty of certain males was caused by sexual selection, as that position has no bearing upon the point under consideration. The author's whole theory of evolution is simply another *mode* of creation, and nothing more. It is of not the slightest consequence, in my view, how or in what *manner* those males attained their beauty; they still possess it for all the purposes to which it is relevant. If this beauty adds to the happiness of man, or to that of other beings, it was *also* intended for him and them.

Mr. Alfred Russel Wallace, the distinguished naturalist, speaking of the king bird-of-paradise, makes, among others, these remarks :

I thought of the long ages of the past, during which the successive generations of this little creature had run their course, year by year being born, and living and dying amid these dark and gloomy woods, with no intelligent eye to gaze upon their loveliness—to all appearance such a wanton waste of beauty. Such ideas excite a feeling of melancholy. It seems sad that, on the one hand, such exquisite creatures should live out their lives and exhibit their charms only in these wild, inhospitable regions, doomed for ages yet to come to hopeless barbarism; while, on the other hand, should civilized man ever reach those distant lands, and bring moral, intellectual, and physical light into the recesses of these virgin forests, we may be sure that he will so disturb the nicely-balanced relations of organic and inorganic nature as to cause the disappearance, and finally the extinction, of these very beings whose wonderful structure and beauty he alone is fitted to appreciate and enjoy. This consideration must surely tell us that all living things were *not* made for man (*Malay Archipelago*, p. 448, Aru Islands).

At the time the author was insisting that "all living things were *not* made for man" he was himself engaged in securing 8,050 specimens of birds, 310 of mammalia, 100 reptiles, and in all, insects and shells included, 125,660 specimens of natural history. Among these were some of the bird-of-paradise.

Now, if the author intended to maintain the position—which his language seems to imply—that man has not *rightful* dominion over inferior animals, because they were *not* made for him, then by the authority of what *moral* code did the writer destroy so many creatures for man's *exclusive* benefit? The author has conclusively shown, by his own acts, that man, *in fact*, has dominion over living things, whether that dominion was or was not intended by the Creator. The conclusion the author draws seems to be precisely opposed to his own acts and to the facts he states.

But it may be that Mr. Wallace simply intended to take the ground that all "living things" were not made for man's *exclusive* benefit

without *any* regard to the happiness of the creatures themselves. If such was his intention I have nothing to say against that position.

There is, however, a certain position in this extract, even when thus interpreted, to which I cannot assent. Mr. Wallace has made a formidable charge against Nature as having done a certain idle and vain thing upon a large scale. He alleges that civilized man is alone fitted to appreciate and enjoy the wonderful structure and beauty of the exquisite creatures the writer describes; and yet civilized man was not permitted to behold them during the long ages of the past, and when he shall see them in the distant future he will be sure to finally exterminate the "very beings whose wonderful structure and beauty he alone is fitted to appreciate and enjoy." Were all these positions true the conclusion would be plain that there had been "a wanton waste of beauty." But Mr. Darwin will assure him that this beauty was effected "through sexual selection, and not for the delight of man." These authors occupy precisely opposite positions, both of which I think to be erroneous, because—for the reasons I have already given—each is alike too narrow to contain *all* the truth.

During the long ages of the past, and before the existence of man, various species of animals inhabited the earth in succession. They then had their "day in court" undisturbed by him. But when at length, after millions of years had expired, and man, the intellectual and the mighty, appeared upon the stage, he was given dominion over inferior creatures then existing, for the very purpose that he, too, might have *his* "day in court." There is poetical as well as logical, rigid justice in this.

And as all animals must, either directly or indirectly, live upon the vegetable productions of the earth, the great globe itself is *limited* in its capacity to sustain animal life. So long as man does not require certain portions of the world for his own habitation, so long the wild animals may live there and consume the food that increased numbers of the superior race will ultimately require for their own subsistence. But these wild creatures, having had their day in court, hold their places at sufferance, and must give way to man when he demands it; and of the propriety and time of this demand he is to be the judge. Should he abuse his power he is responsible to their common Creator, and not to them. How long his day in court may continue no finite mind can tell; but so long as it does last he has the right to occupy any spot of earth he can reach and retain.\*

\* "If we contemplate the created universe as a whole, the whole is made for God. If we consider it part by part, each part of the great whole has also its special and immediate end; for whatever is inferior in the nature of things is ordained to minister to what is superior. As the superior part of this world and as the subject of Heaven, man is immediately subject to God, and what is inferior to man is ordained to the immediate service of man.

"Yet whilst the inferior creation has its immediate end in the nobler creation of rational souls, whose direct end is God Himself, this does not prevent the inferior creatures from representing the

But it will almost certainly turn out to be a remarkable fact, and, I reverently believe, a providential provision, that the most beautiful wild animals in the world live in those countries which will be the last occupied by civilized man—such animals, for example, as the gazelle, the giraffe and zebra of Africa, the tiger of Asia, and the bird-of-paradise of the Malay Archipelago.

I do not sympathize with the author in his “feelings of melancholy” produced by the prospective ultimate extermination of the exquisite birds he has so well described. But *entire* extinction of these and other beautiful creatures may never occur. The birds-of-paradise, it is most probable, will be permitted to live in the public parks, where no harmless bird is ever disturbed. Even if ultimate entire extermination should take place we should not grieve over a race that had its fair day in court, obtained justice, and departed. When these beautiful creatures shall give way to man their places will be filled with forms more beautiful and with voices far more musical, whose soft notes

“Will come o’er the ear like the sweet South  
Breathing upon a bed of violets.”

And the history of these exquisite birds will go down to the latest posterity, and their form and beauty will be perpetuated by human art; so that all the future generations of our race will enjoy, through pictorial representation, as much of this beauty as we of this age. In fact, a knowledge of this wonderful family of gorgeous birds, I think,

being and goodness of God in what they are, or from having their final end in God. For although the material creature is made for the spiritual creature, it is not the less made for the Divine Goodness. For whilst the whole universe of created things forms one grand construction, reflecting in its countless dependencies and harmonies the manifold wisdom and glory of God, each part of this wonderful construction is made with reference to the whole; and whilst each inferior part is subject to what is superior, which gives an inexhaustible lesson to rational man, the whole creation is one complete organization, whose immediate end is the manifestation of God, and whose final end is the glory of God” (*Endowments of Man*, p. 54).

“If a reason is asked for this grand dispensation, the profoundest reason, as of all divine dispensations, is hidden with God in His eternity. But even our human reason has light enough to see that it is far more magnificent and glorious to God that He should create intelligent beings with a capacity to exercise dominion, and a power to rule the inferior creation, than if He had reserved all power and dominion in this world to Himself. To this we must add that the responsibility imposed on man, as the delegate of God’s authority, constitutes a large element in his moral training for the kingdom of heaven, where justice and mercy reign supreme.

“This delegated right of dominion over God’s creations is not a mere prerogative of human dignity; it is also a trust, to be exercised in dependence on God and with accountability to Him, not only as a great element of moral training, but as a source of moral worth, which is the true wealth of the soul. Yet over all things God holds the dominion in chief, and to every created thing He gives its force, its qualities, its limits, the order in which it acts or is acted upon, and His own overruling providence. But to men He likewise gives His law, in which the rightful use and ruling of His creatures is prescribed to them” (*id.* 57).

“How can things without intelligence or will be in any reasonable sense the subjects of law? Law is a moral rule existing in some mind” (*id.* 59).

“Let us, then, keep these fundamental truths in our constant view: First, the end that God proposes in creating is to manifest His attributes and to communicate of His goodness. Secondly, the final end of the creation is God Himself. Thirdly, every creature is made to receive good according to its nature, measure, capacity, and disposition” (*id.* 85).

will be more widely disseminated in the future than in the past or present, and will afford more pleasure to the race of man, as very few people of this generation ever saw one alive. So the form and beauty of these birds, though their home is in the gloomy forests, will increase the enjoyments of unborn millions of men in all future time. The ultimate result will be that man will have had his due share in the pleasure that such beauty is fitted to produce.

#### SEVERAL SPECIFIC OBJECTIONS.

About three-fourths of the globe are covered by water, and this ocean is the highway of commerce. But this vast expanse of water is subject to storms, which very often wreck single ships and sometimes engulf whole fleets. Why, then, if God exists, did He create such an imperfect pathway, when, as it is claimed, He had the power to do so much better? I have thus given, I think, this objection in its strongest form.

To answer it we must consider what degree of capacity is required to accomplish the *main* purpose of the Creator—the preservation, increase, and ultimate salvation of our race. Though, in our very imperfect view, there may exist *partial* imperfections, yet, if we find means ample enough to reach the *main* ends intended, we must conclude that there is no substantial weight in the objection. In this connection I must refer to my previous remarks, commencing on page 50.

Then the question arises, not is there *all* gain without expense or loss in commerce, but is there a reasonable *margin* of profit after deducting all expenses and losses? If so should not a finite creature be satisfied with fair success? That commerce is, in point of fact, profitable to the race under existing conditions is conclusively shown to be true by the practical action of mankind. The rate of insurance is a good test, as the actual losses are less upon an average than this rate would indicate, because the insurer must have a profit for himself. We read of severe losses at sea, and yet the percentage of loss is very small. So on railroads terrible destructions of life and property occur; and still the average percentage of loss is so small as not to prevent their construction and use, which are the *acts of man*. There is probably more risk of life in riding in an ordinary vehicle on land than in travel by sea and on railroads. There is risk of loss everywhere, as “in the midst of life we are in death.” But after all that has been or can yet be said in the most plausible and complaining manner possible, the simple, clear, practical question will still be asked by sensible men: *Are the gains greater or less than the losses, taken as a whole?*

But let us look a little deeper into this matter. We will suppose, for the sake of the argument only, that Nature had been so consti-



tuted and the winds were so well regulated that they would be as regular in their recurrence as day and night, and could be as accurately foreseen, and that their force was just enough to well fill "the white and rustling sail" of commerce, and the sea, therefore, so calm at all times as never to destroy a sound ship; what then would be the probable, if not certain, *practical* result?

Men differ from each other in their mental capacities as much as in their faces. These gifts are variously distributed, so as to produce the varied results of human effort. One man is fitted for the sea, and his natural home is on the deep. Another inherits all the aptitudes of the ship-carpenter. But, with all his powers, man will not generally do more than is required of him. As God does not reveal the truths of science and art, necessity becomes the mother of invention. If man knew by instinct or revelation all science and art, what would give employment to men of genius, and for what purpose would human intellect exist? So if there were not dangers of navigation, requiring large, strong, staunch vessels and skilful seamanship to avoid or overcome them, where would we find our grand ships, hardy sailors, and accomplished sea-captains? What would become of the great arts of ship-building and navigation? The ocean being so calm and the winds so steady, we should have very poor vessels and very poor seamen. Our splendid marine architecture would not exist. One great opportunity for the exercise of human intellect would be wanting, and consequent stagnation of mind and effort to that extent would follow.

We have a practical proof of this upon a limited scale, but large enough to prove the rule. A shoemaker who can make one shoe can make a thousand like it. If one acre of a certain character of soil produces a good crop of a particular kind of grain, we may be sure that a thousand acres of the same soil will yield proportionately more.

Mr. Wallace—already quoted several times—describes the process of extracting sago, and the effect of the cheapness of this food upon the natives:

It is truly an extraordinary sight to witness a whole tree-trunk, perhaps twenty feet long and four or five in circumference, converted into food with so little labor and preparation. A good-sized tree will produce thirty toman, or bundles of thirty pounds each, and each toman will make sixty cakes of three to the pound. Two of these cakes are as much as a man can eat at one meal, and five are considered a full day's allowance; so that, reckoning a tree to produce eighteen hundred cakes, weighing six hundred pounds, it will supply a man with food for a whole year. The labor to produce this is very moderate. Two men will finish a tree in five days, and two women will hake the whole into cakes in five days more; but the raw sago will keep very well, and can be baked as wanted, so that we may estimate that in ten days a man may produce food for the whole year. This is on the supposition that he possesses sago-trees of his own, for they are now all private property. If he does not

he has to pay about seven-and-sixpence for one; and as labor here is fivepence a day, the total cost of a year's food for one man is about twelve shillings. The effect of this cheapness of food is decidedly prejudicial, for the inhabitants of the sago country are never so well off as those where rice is cultivated. Many of the people here have neither vegetables nor fruit, but live almost entirely on sago, with a little fish (*Malay Archipelago*, p. 385, Ceram).

The people of Muka live in that abject state of poverty that is almost always found where the sago-tree is abundant. Very few of them take the trouble to plant any vegetables or fruit, but live almost entirely on sago and fish, selling a little tripang or tortoise-shell to buy the scanty clothing they require (*id.* 533, Waigion).

If the navigation of the ocean were so safe and easy as this objection would require, then the same practical results would follow sooner or later as we see in the case of the people who live almost exclusively upon sago, which costs so little effort to procure. On the contrary, were the dangers of ocean navigation or railroad transportation so great as to leave no reasonable margin of profit, then such ways of commerce and travel would cease to be used. The happy medium has been attained by Nature; man's physical and mental ability has been called into full play, and his universal good secured at the expense of partial evil. Then what real force is there in this objection?

Another objection is that based upon the destruction of life and property caused by volcanic action. Mr. Wallace has given us a condensed history of the eruptions which took place in Java, the queen of tropical islands:

I can only briefly allude to the many fearful eruptions that have taken place in this region. In the amount of injury to life and property, and in the magnitude of their effects, they have not been surpassed by any upon record.

Forty villages were destroyed by the eruption of Papandayang, in Java, in 1772, when the whole mountain was blown up by repeated explosions and a large lake left in its place. By the great eruption of Tomboro, in Sumbawa, in 1815, 12,000 people were destroyed, and the ashes darkened the air and fell thickly upon the earth and the sea for 300 miles around. Even quite recently, since I quitted the country, a mountain which had been quiescent for more than 200 years suddenly burst into activity. The island of Makian, one of the Moluccas, was rent open in 1646 by a violent eruption, which left a huge chasm on one side, extending into the heart of the mountain. It was, when I last visited it, in 1860, clothed with vegetation to the summit, and contained twelve populous Malay villages. On the 29th of December, 1862, after 215 years of perfect inaction, it again suddenly burst forth, blowing up and completely altering the appearance of the mountain, destroying the greater part of the inhabitants, and sending forth such volumes of ashes as to darken the air at Ternate, forty miles off, and to almost entirely destroy the growing crops on that and the surrounding islands.

The island of Java contains more volcanoes, active and extinct, than any other known island of equal extent. They are about forty-five in number, and many of them exhibit most beautiful examples of the volcanic cone on a large scale, single or double, with entire or truncated summits, and averaging 10,000 feet high.

It is now well ascertained that almost all volcanoes have been slowly built

up by the accumulation of matter—mud, ashes, and lava—ejected by themselves (*Malay Archipelago*, p. 17).

The united length of these volcanic belts is about ninety degrees, or one-fourth of the entire circumference of the globe. Their width is about fifty miles; but for a space of two hundred on each side of them evidences of subterranean action are to be found in recently elevated coral rock, or in barrier coral reefs, indicating recent submergence (*id.* p. 18).

These terrible eruptions give us some idea, however inadequate, of the grand forces in Nature, whose power we are unable to estimate or resist. But at the same time they remind us of our own weakness and of the fact that we are liable to death at all times. The same author will give us *facts* which show how small were the *permanent* relative losses and injurious effects of these appalling displays of power :

It is universally admitted that when a country increases rapidly in population the people cannot be very greatly oppressed or very badly governed. The present system of raising a revenue by the cultivation of coffee and sugar, sold to government at a fixed price, began in 1832. Just before this, in 1826, the population by census was 5,500,000, while at the beginning of the century it was estimated at 3,500,000. In 1850, when the cultivation system had been in operation eighteen years, the population by census was over 9,500,000, or an increase of 73 per cent. in twenty-four years. At the last census, in 1865, it amounted to 14,168,416, an increase of very nearly 50 per cent. in fifteen years—a rate which would double the population in about twenty-six years. As Java (with Madura) contains about 38,000 geographical square miles, this will give an average of 368 persons to the square mile—just double that of the populous and fertile Bengal Presidency, as given in Thornton's *Gazetteer of India*, and fully one-third more than that of Great Britain and Ireland at the last census. . . .

Taking it as a whole, and surveying it from every point of view, Java is probably the finest and most interesting tropical island in the world. It is not first in size, but it is more than 600 miles long and from 60 to 120 miles wide, and in area is nearly equal to England; and it is undoubtedly the most fertile, the most productive, and the most populous island within the tropics. Its whole surface is magnificently varied with mountain and forest scenery. It possesses thirty-eight volcanic mountains, several of which rise to ten or twelve thousand feet high. Some of these are in constant activity, and one or other of them displays almost every phenomenon produced by the action of subterranean fires, except regular lava streams, which never occur in Java (pp. 108, 109).

When William H. Seward visited Java in 1871 the population had increased to seventeen millions, and must now—1881—amount to about twenty millions. I make the following extracts :

Java, thus governed, remains what the discoverers found it, "the garden of the world."\*

\*I make a few further extracts from Mr. Seward to show the mode of cultivating rice in Java:

"On the other hand, here each blade of rice is removed to a new bed, and from its planting until its ripening it is irrigated once every day. When it is gathered the kernels are separated from the husks by hand. Notwithstanding this vast labor, rice is the chief production, as it is the chief food, of all the Asiatic races, constituting half the population of the globe."

The island has an agriculture surpassing that of any other country, and has also a valuable and increasing commerce.

On the north shore or beach of this double lake open chasms send up, from fiery springs, through dense columns of smoke, a perpetual column of blazing sulphur (*Travels around the World*, pp. 323, 334, 339).

Mr. Seward substantially confirms Mr. Wallace, and these accounts show this volcanic island to be among the most fertile spots of the earth. Its tall, conical mountains densely covered with verdure, and its fertility, are the effects of these terrible eruptions. They give the extreme beauty and fertility it possesses. If it be true that population will not rapidly increase while oppressed by human government, it is equally true that such a rate of increase will not occur when the people are oppressed by Nature. The benefits conferred by these eruptions far exceed the injuries they inflict; and, upon the whole, they are a decided blessing. It is very true the volcanoes of Java only throw up clouds of ashes, while volcanoes in some other localities throw out both lava and ashes. Lava is not fertilizing to the soil like ashes; but, taken as a whole, these eruptions of mixed matter most probably prove, in the end, more beneficial than injurious. I think it is at least a safe conclusion that, regarding all volcanic eruptions taken together, they confer many more benefits than they inflict injuries.

So little is known in regard to earthquakes and as to their real origin that I shall not attempt to compare the injuries they inflict with the benefits they confer, but will make a few extracts from the ninth and last edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*:

Even at the present day, after all that has been written on the subject, but little is really known as to the origin of earthquakes. Probably several distinct causes should be recognized, for it is hardly to be supposed that all subterranean disturbances, differing as they do so widely in intensity and in duration, should be referable to one common mechanism.

After all, the origin of earthquakes is probably to be regarded as part only of a much wider question. Whatever causes are competent to produce volcanic action are, in all likelihood, equally competent to produce the ordinary manifestations of seismic energy. A relation is clearly traceable between the geographical distribution of volcanoes and the chief earthquake-areas; and although it is not for a moment to be supposed that the volcano and the earthquake stand to each other in the relation of cause and effect, it is nevertheless highly probable that they represent merely different expressions of the same subterranean forces.

It will be seen from these extracts that the writer thinks it highly probable that the same causes which produce volcanic action also produce earthquakes. If that opinion be correct, then earthquakes and volcanoes must be considered together as a whole when estimating

"The Koran commands the husbandman to cut off each individual stock singly. This injunction the pious Moslem never disobeys" (p. 319).

Java is under the government of Holland. Of the seventeen millions of inhabitants upon the island at the time of Mr. Seward's visit there were about twenty thousand Dutch colonists, the remainder of the population being nearly all Malay Moslems.

and comparing their beneficial and injurious effects. Another objection is based upon the excess of vegetable production over the legitimate demands for reproduction and the sustenance of animal life. It is alleged that Nature produces so many seeds "that of fifty she often brings but one to bear," and that "the prodigality of waste is far more conspicuous than the wise economy of which so much is said."

As seeds are generally intended both for reproduction and as food to sustain animal life, it must be evident that to always produce the exact quantity required, when they are to be applied under so many diversified and changeable circumstances and to several different uses at the *same* time, would be most difficult. While I would not say that such an exact production of the foreseen and needed quantity, in all the different localities of the earth, would be impossible with God, I do contend that it is much better to produce some excess at times, just as we now find to be the fact in Nature.

But what *substantial waste* is committed by an over-production of *vegetation*? No painful effort is required, because plants have no sensation, and their production requires no conscious labor. It costs the insensate and blind properties of Nature no wearisome exertion. No atom of matter is annihilated, as the seeds not needed return by painless decay to their constituent elements. A plant or tree in full bloom or in full fruit is more beautiful than one only partially filled. It may be that a plant is more healthy because permitted to bear a full crop. There may be other purposes intended, the existence and reason of which we cannot see. It is very true, as stated by the Duke of Argyll, "that we often mistake the purpose of particular structures in Nature, and connect them with intentions which are not and never were the intentions really in view."

But under any aspect of the case this surplus production causes no substantial injury. It is a principle of law and of common sense that no man has a right to legal redress until he has been injured. To complain without injury is idle. Then why should we complain of Nature for doing seemingly unnecessary work which does not, in fact, injure us and costs her no painful effort?

#### OBJECTIONS BASED UPON ANATOMY.

Those who object to the existence of a personal God allege that there are many useless structures in the bodies of animals, and they draw from this alleged fault the inference that no intelligent cause would have produced them. Mr. Darwin, in support of his theory of the origin of species, refers to many such cases.

The first question that arises is, How far are we competent to determine with reasonable certainty whether a particular organ is or is not useful?

The anatomist can well ascertain the *actual* structure of a subject by dissection. Mr. Wallace, speaking of the bird-of-paradise, says :

The young males of the first year exactly resemble the females, so that they can only be distinguished by dissection (*Malay Archipelago*, p. 554).

In this case dissection can show the difference in the structure of the male and female bird. But the task of deciding from mere inspection of an organ to what use it can be applied is more difficult. Thus Mr. Darwin says :

In the case of the water-ouzel the acutest observer, by examining its dead body, would never have suspected its sub-aquatic habits ; yet this bird, which is allied to the thrush family, subsists by diving—using its wings under water, and grasping stones with its feet (*Origin of Species*, p. 142).

Many other similar cases doubtless exist. Who, for example, could tell from simple inspection of the dead bird whether the extremely long toes of the jacana were intended for walking upon the floating leaves of marine plants, or upon very swampy ground ? Nothing but actual observation of the habits of an animal can decide, in many cases, as to how it uses its organs ; and where the organs are so minute, or where from their natural position they are concealed from view while the creature is in motion, the difficulty of determining whether they are useful or otherwise must be greatly enhanced, if it does not become impossible. There is far more certainty in the science of anatomy than in that of medicine ; but the reliable certainty of anatomy is in its ability to ascertain the actual structure rather than the uses of certain organs. To determine the use, in many cases, *other* sources of information must be sought ; and in some cases I have no doubt all sources will fail to reveal the true use. I think the opinions of naturalists upon this most obscure and difficult subject should be received with very great caution. In support of this view I will proceed to point out several instances of what I take to be mistakes made by eminent naturalists :

What can be plainer than that the webbed feet of ducks and geese are formed for swimming ? Yet there are upland geese with webbed feet which rarely go near the water ; and no one except Audubon has seen the frigate-bird, which has all of its four toes webbed, alight on the surface of the ocean. . . .

The webbed feet of the upland goose may be said to have become almost rudimentary in function, though not in structure (*Origin of Species*, p. 142).

The wild goose is a vegetable feeder and lives upon grass, and rarely, if ever, upon insects or fishes. Its webbed feet are given mainly for the purpose of protection while too young to fly, as I have shown on page 17. The webbed feet are of no benefit, but of no *injury*, while the bird is seeking its food, as its ready wings waft it easily to any point to which it pleases to go. It would, therefore, seem plain

that Mr. Darwin is mistaken in his opinion that "the webbed feet of the upland goose may be said to have become almost rudimentary in function," because they are *now* as useful to that species, as well as to all others of the wild-goose family, as they ever were, so far as we can see.

As to the frigate-bird, it is a large, tropical sea-fowl. The writer of the article "Frigate-Bird" in the ninth and last edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* says among other things :

Having a spread of wings equal to a Swan's and a comparatively small body, the buoyancy of these birds is very great. . . . Equally fine is the contrast afforded by these birds when engaged in fishing, or, as seems more often to happen, in robbing other birds, especially Boobies, as they are fishing.

It is plain from this description that, while the bird often robs the booby, it also engages in fishing. In robbing, as well as in fishing, it must dart down into the sea to secure its prey ; and its webbed toes enable it to rise more readily from the water, as all large sea-birds rise slowly and with difficulty. Its feet are not *entirely* webbed, like those of the heavy albatross, as the larger proportionate expanse of wing of the frigate-bird renders so much assistance unnecessary ; and because it builds its nest in a tree, and fully-webbed feet would not be so convenient ; and because of its powers of long-continued flight, which enable it to live almost entirely upon the wing. The whole construction of this bird is another instance of the beauty and skill of Nature's finely-balanced adjustments. We can well trace the habits of the bird to its organization. Instead of the webbed toes of this bird being rudimentary, they seem precisely fitted to its mode of life.

Mr. Darwin says "the wing of the Apterix, on the other hand, is quite useless and is quite rudimentary." The Duke of Argyll, as will be seen by future extracts, holds the same opinion. I have shown on page 36 that the wings of this bird are useful as weapons, like the long, sharp spurs on the wings of the spur-winged goose.

On page 23, *Descent of Man*, Mr. Darwin says :

It is well known that in the males of all mammals, including man, rudimentary mammæ exist.

As to the breasts of the males of our race, they are rudimentary as to the function of yielding milk, but they are useful in other respects, as well as ornamental. Mr. Darwin admits, as shown in extract on page 53, that the males of certain animals "have been rendered beautiful for beauty's sake." With equal justice he should concede that man, is entitled to as much favor in this respect as beings lower in the scale of existence. To say that these organs in our males are rudimentary in *all* respects (if such was intended) is, I think, a plain mistake.

In speaking of the human ear, on page 14 of his *Descent of Man*, Mr. Darwin says :

The whole external shell may be considered as a rudiment . . . as far as function is concerned.

Dr. C. R. Bree, in his work, *The Fallacies of Darwinism*, page 339, says :

Well, then, let the line marked A B be the passage of a wave of sound passing through the external ear, which Mr. Darwin says is useless in man, but which is a part of the whole perfect structure, and concentrates the waves of sound before they enter the passage (A) and pass down to the tympanum, or drum-membrane (B), against which they strike.

That the external ear of man is beautiful, and therefore useful in that respect, seems not intended to be denied ; but if such denial be intended the fact is too evident to require proof. That it is also useful in concentrating the waves of sound is fully shown by the argument and illustrations of Dr. Bree, and can readily be tested by any one, whose hearing is impaired but not destroyed, by putting the hand partially closed behind the ear, so as to present a larger concentrating surface to the waves of sound, and he will find that his capacity to hear is greatly aided.

The reason why man has not the power to move his ears backward and forward is that he has *other* ample means, offensive and defensive. His intellect enables him to furnish himself with weapons not only stronger and keener than teeth, claws, and horns, but such as he can use at a safe *distance* with *decisive* effect. He also knows and can use the power of disciplined numbers, under the guidance of a single will ; thus gaining the advantage of the combined strength of many without impairing the unity of purpose and direction. As to monkeys, whose ears are much like those of man, they are arboreal in their habits, and rely more upon their keenness of sight and their ability to climb for safety than upon their hearing, as their enemies lie in wait and make no noise. As for most grazing quadrupeds, such as the horse, deer, antelope, and zebra, they have long external ears, which can be moved in different directions, so as to catch and concentrate the waves of sound coming from every point more readily than their enemies ; and the fleetness, combined with the acute scent and keen sight, which most of them possess, constitutes additional means of protection.

For the reasons stated I think that it is almost impossible to prove that any organs found in animal forms are entirely useless. If useful in *any respect whatever*, either to them or to others, they are not strictly and properly rudimentary. I think the evidence not sufficient to prove the existence of rudimentary organs in animals inferior to man, and certainly not in him. I agree with the Duke of Argyll that



“no aborted member” can be found in man. I admit that there are organs found in some few creatures inferior to man for which there is no *apparent* use; but, from our extreme inability to judge properly as to this most intricate subject, I am in doubt whether there is a single clear case of such rudimentary organs made out by competent and sufficient proof. The Duke of Argyll believes that such aborted members exist in some of the lower animal forms, and treats the subject with great ability as follows:

There is, however, another department of natural phenomena which, much more than the one we have been considering, does at first sight suggest to the mind the subordination of Purpose and the supremacy of Law. It is the department of Comparative Anatomy. It is a fact well known and universally accepted that in many animal structures, perhaps in all except one, there are parts the presence of which cannot be explained from their serving any immediate use or discharging any actual function. For example, the limbs of all the Mammalia, and even of Lizards, terminate in five jointed bones or fingers. But in many animals the whole five are not needed, but only some one, two, or three. In such cases the remainder are indeed dwarfed, sometimes almost extinguished; but the curious fact is that rudimentally the whole number are always to be traced. Even in the Horse, where only one of the five is directly used, and where this one is enlarged and developed into a hoof, parts corresponding to the remaining four fingers can be detected in the anatomy of the limb. Other examples of the same principle might be given without number. Thus there are Monkeys which have no thumbs for use, but only thumb-bones hid beneath the skin; the wingless bird of New Zealand, the “Apterix,” has useless wing-bones similarly placed; Snakes, destined always to creep “upon their belly,” have nevertheless rudiments of legs, and the common “Slow-worm” has even the “blade-bone” and “collar-bone” of rudimentary or aborted limbs; the Narwhal has only one tusk, on the left side, developed for use, like the horn of an heraldic Unicorn, but the other tusk, on the right side, is present as a useless germ. The female Narwhal has both tusks reduced to the same unserviceable condition; young whalebone Whales are born with teeth which never cut the gum, and which are afterwards aborted as entirely useless to the creature’s life.

At first it may appear as if these were facts not to be reconciled with the supremacy of Purpose—at first sight, but at first sight only. For as we look at them, and wonder at them, and set ourselves to discover how many of a like nature can be found, our eye catches sight of an Order which had not been at first perceived. Exceptions to one narrow rule such as we might have laid down and followed for ourselves, they are now seen to be in strict subordination to a larger rule which it would never have entered into our imagination to conceive. These useless members, these rudimentary or aborted limbs, which puzzled us so much, are parts of an universal Plan. On this plan the bony skeletons of all living animals have been put together. The forces which have been combined for the moulding of Organic Forms have been so combined as to mould them after certain types or patterns. And when Comparative Anatomy has revealed this fact as affecting all the animals of the existing world, another branch of the same science comes in to conform the generalisation, and extend it over the innumerable creatures which have existed and have passed away. This one Plan of Organic Life has never been departed from since Time began.

When we have grasped this great fact, all the lesser facts which are subordinate to it assume a new significance. In the first place, a Plan of this kind is in itself a Purpose. An order so vast as this, including within itself such a variety of detail

and maintained through such periods of Time, implies continuation and adjustment founded upon, and carrying into effect, one vast conception. It is only as an Order of Thought that the doctrine of Animal Homologies is intelligible at all. It is a Mental Order, and can only be mentally perceived. For what do we mean when we say that this bone in one kind of animal corresponds to such another bone in another kind of animal? Corresponds in what sense? Not in the method of using it, for very often limbs which are homologically the same are put to the most diverse and opposite uses. To what standard, then, are we referring when we say that such and such two limbs are homologically the same? It is the standard of an Ideal Order—a Plan, a Type, a Pattern mentally conceived. This sounds very recondite and metaphysical; and yet the habit of referring physical facts to some ideal standard and order of thought is a universal instinct in the human mind. It is one of the earliest of our efforts in endeavouring to understand the phenomena around us. The science of Homologies, as developed by Cuvier and Hunter and Owen and Huxley, is indeed an intricate, almost a transcendental, science. Yet Dr. Livingstone found the natives of Africa debating a question which belongs essentially to that science and involves the whole principle of the mental process by which it is pursued. The debate was on the question “whether the two toes of the Ostrich represent the thumb and forefinger in Man, or the little and ring-finger.”\* This is purely a question of Comparative Anatomy. It is founded on the instinctive perception that even between two frames so widely separated as those of an Ostrich and a common Man there is a Plan of structure, with reference to which plan parts wholly dissimilar in appearance and in use can nevertheless be identified as “representative” of each other—that is, as holding the same relative place in one Ideal Order of arrangement.

The recognition of this idea in minds so rude is not the less remarkable from the fact that both sides in this African debate were wrong in their practical application of the idea to the particular case before them. Unity of design amidst variety of form is so conspicuous and universal in the works of Nature that the perception of it could not possibly escape recognition even by the rudest human mind, formed as that Mind is to see Order, and to work for it, and to admire it. But though instinct is enough to give us the general idea, and to trace it in a thousand instances where it can hardly be overlooked, yet it needs close and laborious study, and high powers of analysis and of thought, to trace correctly the true Order and Plan through the fine and subtle passages of Nature! It would have astonished those poor natives of Africa to be told, as is the truth, that if they wished to find in the Ostrich the parts corresponding to their own middle finger, or ring-finger, or any other finger, they must look, not to the toes of the Ostrich, but to her little aborted wings, which, though useless for the purpose of flight, are still retained as representing the wings of other Birds and the forearms of all the Mammals.

For here we come upon the interchange and crossing, as it were, of two distinct ideas, which seem to stand, the one as the warp and the other as the woof in the fabrics of Organic Life. There is the idea of Homology in Structure, and the idea of Analogy in Use. The one represents the Unity of Design, the other represents Variety of Function. It might have been supposed that these could not easily be reconciled; that where great differences in use and application are essential,

\* There are many mysteries in Nature for which it is hard, if not impossible, to give the correct reason. For example, medium-sized quadrupeds which are striped are the most ferocious, treacherous, and difficult to tame, as the tiger and zebra. Next to these in such qualities are the small-spotted, as the leopard of Africa and the jaguar of South America. Why such characteristics should be associated with peculiar variety of coloring is difficult to tell. We can only guess. As a mere opinion, I think such marks were intended to designate the true character of those species. Were I to visit a country, and for the first time see a striped wild animal (before unknown to man), I should at once infer that it was fierce, and act accordingly.

rigid adherence to one pattern of structure would be an impediment in the way. But it is not so. The same bones in different animals are made subservient to the widest possible diversity of function. The same limbs are converted into paddles, and wings, and legs, and arms. And so it is with every other part of the skeleton and every other organ of the body. Indeed, it is difficult to say whether the law of unity in design, or the law of variety in adaptation, is pushed to the greatest length. There are some cases in which the adaptation of form to special function is carried so far that all appearance of common structure is entirely lost. It is very difficult, for example, to persuade persons ignorant of the principles of anatomy that the Whale and the Porpoise are not fish, that they breathe with lungs, as Man breathes, that they would be drowned if kept long under water, and that, as they suckle their young, they belong to the same great class, Mammalia. Living in the same element as Fish, and feeding very much as fishes feed, a similar outward form has been given to them because that form is best adapted for progression through the water. But that form has been, so to speak, *put on* round the Mammalian skeleton, and covers all the organs proper to the Mammalian Class. Whales and Porpoises, notwithstanding their form, and their habit, and their food, are as separate from fishes as the Elephant, or the Hippopotamus, or the Giraffe.

And when we remember that the immense variety of Organic Forms in the existing world does not exhaust the adaptability of their Plan, but that the still vaster varieties of all the extinct creations have circled round the same central Types, it becomes evident that these Types have had from the first a Purpose which has been well and wonderfully fulfilled. As a matter of fact, we see that the original conception of the framework of Organic Life has included in itself provisions for applying the principle of adaptation in infinite degrees. Its last development is in Man. In his frame there is no aborted member. Every part is put to its highest use—highest, that is, in reference to the supremacy of Mind. There are stronger arms, there are swifter limbs, there are more powerful teeth, there are finer ears, there are sharper eyes. There are creatures which go where he cannot go, and can live where he would die. But all his members are co-ordinated with one power—the power of Thought. Through this he has dominion over all other created things, whilst yet as regards the type and pattern of his frame he has not a single bone or joint or organ which he does not share with some one or other of the Beasts that perish. It is not in any of the parts of his structure, but in their combination and adjustment, that he stands alone.

All these facts must convince us that we must enlarge our ideas as to what is meant by use in the Economy of Nature. In the first place, it must be so interpreted as to include ornament; and, in the second place, it must include also not merely Actual Use, but Potential Use, or the capacity of being turned to use in new creations. Of course this is one of the ideas which Philosophers of the Positive School denounce as “Metaphysical.” But here again their opposition is itself based upon metaphysics, only upon metaphysics which are bad. “Potential existence,” says Mr. Lewes, “is ideal, not real.” “A fact is not a fact until it is accomplished. Nothing exists before it exists. This truism is disregarded by those who talk of potential existence.” So it is, and it ought to be disregarded, because it has no bearing on the question. May not the formation of a plan or conspiracy to murder be “a fact,” although the murder is not “accomplished”? Is not the capacity in the different pieces of a puzzle of being fitted together a fact, even when the pieces are all huddled confusedly in a box? Is there no potential use in the udder of a cow-calf before it can have had any calves of its own? Is the idea of Potential use in all these cases an idea which has no reality? Are they mere “artifices of thought” or “preliminary falsifications of fact”? If the metaphysics of Positivism are available to establish this conclusion, they must be equally available to condemn

knowledge in all its forms as "Ideal," and not "real." Bad metaphysics of this kind are indeed, what Dr. Newman dreads the human mind may be, a "universal solvent," casting doubt on the most certain of its own conclusions, and landing itself in universal scepticism.

We have not far to go to find the same kind of reasoning, and the same methods of analysis, employed to establish the converse proposition, that, so far from Potentiality having no existence, it is the only form under which the existence of anything beyond ourselves can be known to us. No less eminent a thinker than Mr. J. S. Mill reduces Matter itself, and the very idea of the existence of an external world, to a "Permanent Possibility of Sensation." Nay, he is not sure—he only sees some "intrinsic difficulties" in the way—whether our knowledge of Self-existence may not be brought under the same "Potential" category, as a mere "Possibility of Sensation." In regard to Matter, Mr. Mill distinctly says that, so far from a mere Possibility having no real existence, it is the only reality—the one thing which is constant and abiding behind the flux and uncertainty of actual sensations. My own opinion is that the metaphysical process by which these opposite paradoxes are arrived at is nearly as worthless in the one case as in the other. Of the two I prefer the paradox of Mr. Mill to the paradox of Mr. Lewes, so far at least as the reality of Potential Existences is concerned. But I prefer it only in the very case to which Mr. Mill shrinks from applying it. I *can* think of my own mind or existence as a "Possibility of Sensation" (whether "permanent" or not). It is a method of conception, indeed, which casts no light on anything, and it is highly artificial; but at least it is not false. It involves no confounding of two different elements of thought. But I cannot transfer the word or the idea of sensation from myself to the external things which cause sensation in me. This transfer involves a fundamental confusion of thought, and of language as the instrument of thought. But such paradoxes are the natural result of one great error—the endeavour to get rid of, or to explain away, or to dissolve by analysis, such simple and elementary conceptions of the Mind as the idea of External Force and of Causation, or the idea of Purpose and Intention. Matter may very well be conceived as "that which produces, or has a possibility of producing, Sensation in sentient beings." But this is a definition which involves the idea of Causation. If this be rejected as an elementary conception (or as a distinct conception, whether elementary or not), then the paradox of Mr. Mill is the natural result. In like manner, if the idea of Purpose and Intention be repudiated, as representing no "reality" in Nature, then the opposite paradox of Mr. Lewes is reached along the same slippery and deceptive ways. We know, at least as matter of experience, that we are capable of forming plans which exist as such before they are carried into effect. We know, too, that one plan may be large enough to include another, and that even within the fractional limits of our foresight we can provide for contingent as well as for actual use. We can, therefore, easily conceive the existence of the same kind of prevision in the Mind which works in Nature, and we can easily understand how the apparent difference between actual and contingent use should be greater in proportion as the Plan is larger, and is designed to operate during vaster periods of Time.

In this point of view rudimentary or aborted organs need no longer puzzle us, for in respect to Purpose they may be read either in the light of History or in the light of Prophecy. They may be regarded as indicating always either what had already been, or was yet to be. Why new creations should never have been made wholly new; why they should have been always moulded on some pre-existing Forms; why one fundamental ground-plan should have been adhered to for all Vertebrate Animals, we cannot understand. But, as a matter of fact, it is so. For it appears that Creative Purpose has been effected through the instrumentality of

Forces so combined as to arrange the particles of organic matter in definite forms, which forms include many separate parts having a constant relation to each other and to the whole, but capable of arrestment or development according as special organs are required for the discharge of special functions. Each new creation seems to have been a new application of these old materials. Each new House of Life has been built on these old foundations (*Reign of Law*, pp. 194-206).

I have expressed the opinion on page 32 that the comprehensive vertebrate system is the best *possible* method to secure the ends intended, as it combines strength with flexibility. This, I think, was the reason why it was adopted by the Creator.

It would seem to be in the very nature of intellect, both finite and infinite, to first adopt a plan or pattern, and then work by it. This is the logical process in our own structures. The conception must first exist, and the execution follow. And this we find to be the fact in the works of Nature. After deducting from the whole mass of alleged rudimentary organs found in vertebrate animals those cases which are clearly not such, it will be seen how small, in comparative size, are those still *claimed* as aborted organs. In the horse, for example, there are the four small alleged aborted toes; but in comparison with the size of the entire body of the animal how little matter and creative effort have been used in their construction, when conceding, for the sake of the argument only, that they are useless! What *material* and *substantial* waste has been committed in the formation of these organs? Is it more than enough to show us that all vertebrates are formed upon the same model? And may not this have been *one* purpose of their retention? Then is not the objection one of those little things that the law of the land would disregard in human affairs, and common sense would not consider of any substantial force in estimating the works of Nature?

#### SEVERAL OTHER OBJECTIONS.

The existence of poisons is alleged as one objection against the existence of God.

The question arises, How far are we competent to decide with reasonable certainty whether a certain poison is more injurious than useful, taking into consideration the *whole* animal kingdom? How can we know that the production of one poisonous vegetable may not be beneficial to other creatures than man as a remedy for disease? We cannot tell how far wild animals may use remedies. We see dogs sometimes eating grass as a remedy for sickness. Our knowledge upon this subject being limited, our conclusions should be modest. We know that plants which are poisonous or offensive to most animals are nourishing to a few others. That which will taint the milk of the

cow and the flesh of the ox will not affect the taste of mutton, though eaten by both cattle and sheep ; such, for example, as the black mustard which grows wild in California. The tobacco-plant is poisonous to many insects and offensive to nearly all animals, and yet the tobacco-worm lives upon it. The grasshopper will devour almost every green herb and leaf, but will not touch the leaves of the pawpaw or those of the black walnut. Yet the first, as we have seen, bears a fruit which is eaten by some people and is nourishing to the opossum ; and the walnut is not only one of our very best trees for its valuable timber, but is a beautiful tree and also bears a fruit valuable to man. I have never known an insect to touch the leaves of the walnut, or a spider to weave its web or a bird to build its nest in this tree. Now, all creatures inferior to man might plausibly complain that this most useful tree to him was wholly useless to them, and could not, therefore, have been created by God.

There may be many poisonous vegetables the proper uses of which as medicines, or for coloring or other purposes, are now unknown ; but we know that the great majority of our medicines are poisons, and are thus useful to man, and many of them may be useful to animals in a wild state. Take away from our medicines all the poisons, and how little would be left ! The destruction of worms, one of the greatest triumphs of medical science, is effected by giving a certain quantity of poison, sufficient to kill the parasite—the smaller creature—but not enough to destroy the patient. Poisons are exceedingly useful to man, not only as remedies for disease, but for exterminating external as well as internal parasites, and wild animals that are nocturnal and shy in their habits, or defy destruction by other available means in consequence of their numbers and rapid rate of increase. Without the aid of poisons it would be very difficult to cultivate the earth successfully in many localities in California.

In a state of Nature we have every reason to believe that animals are seldom destroyed by poison ; certainly not in numbers sufficient to materially affect the preservation of their respective races. Were all poisons removed and other things remain in Nature as they are, there would be a great loss sustained by man, and his supremacy might be doubtful. Such a change would destroy the equilibrium of things.

Another objection is that the world is full of annoying and destructive agencies which render animal life both unhappy and precarious, and, therefore, there cannot exist any Creator.

I will notice this objection under two divisions. *First, as to creatures inferior to man.* I have already given my reasons, commencing on page 13, why animals should have been divided into the two great classes of herbivorous and carnivorous ; and have shown, I think, that such division was not only necessary to give creation the great and

beautiful variety it now possesses, but is beneficial to both classes themselves, as one could hardly exist without the other.\*

Inferior animals never suffer any mental pain, the most poignant of all sorrows. They have no knowledge that they must die, and thus escape all dread of the future. Some of them have certain senses in greater perfection than man. The eagle has a quicker sight, the hound a keener scent, and many of them a superior taste, but all of them an inferior sense of feeling. While they enjoy more pleasure in eating, they suffer less physical pain in death than man.

Mr. St. George Mivart says :

Who that has seen how a daddy-long-legs returns again and again to a lighted candle, after first one leg and then another has been burnt in the flame, can think that the creature really *suffers*? And if this spectacle does not console the compassionate observer, let him reflect that if a wasp, when enjoying a meal of honey, has its slender waist suddenly snipped through and its whole abdomen cut away, it does not allow such a trifle to interrupt for a moment its pleasurable repast, but it continues to rapidly devour the savory food, which escapes as rapidly from its mutilated thorax (*Lessons from Nature*, p. 369).

And Mr. Wallace says :

One day a boy brought me a butterfly between his fingers, perfectly unhurt. He caught it as it was sitting, with wings erect, sucking up the liquid from a muddy spot by the roadside. Many of the finest tropical butterflies have this habit, and they are generally so intent upon their meal that they can be approached and captured (*Malay Archipelago*, p. 123).

It is very true that we have every reason to believe that in most species of wild animals a large proportion, perhaps a majority, die by starvation or violence before arriving at maturity. In a wild state very few herbivorous creatures die of starvation, while very few of the carnivorous die by violence. The sufferings and enjoyments of the two classes are thus about equal in proportion to numbers.

But I maintain that God has not created any species of animals in whose *whole existence* there is more of pain than of pleasure. It would be difficult, if not impossible, for such a species to exist. And I believe, further, that there never has been one individual of any species that suffered more than it enjoyed, as the pleasure of existence—taken as a whole—even in the worst case, is always equal, if not superior, to the pain of dissolution. In a mixed existence of pleasure and pain, where the race enjoys more than it suffers, the *balance* is in favor of life, and the Creator has plainly conferred a benefit upon that species, whatever may or can be said to the contrary.

\* "It must always be remembered that animals of prey are as much intended to capture their food as their victims are intended to have some chances and facilities of escape. The purpose here is a double purpose—a purpose not in all cases to preserve life, but to maintain its balance and due proportion. In order to effect this purpose the means of aggression and of defence, or of escape, must bear a definite relation to each other both in kind and in degree" (*Reign of Law*, p. 180).

*Second, as to man.* In reference to the evils necessarily incident to our own present condition much might be said in detail. Many writers have dwelt at length upon these evils, especially upon the fact that people often suffer from intestinal worms and other parasites, and many persons, especially children, are thus destroyed. In regard to parasites one circumstance should not be overlooked: they compel people to be more careful and cleanly in their habits, and thus their general health is improved; and this benefit may be greater than the evil suffered. Miseries brought upon individuals by their own wilful misconduct or neglect can only be properly charged to themselves.

But in regard to all our unavoidable sufferings and reasonable enjoyments in this life, without going into long and almost endless enumerations of all the items on both sides of this complicated account, we must come at last to the plain, simple, practical question: *Is life of any value, taken as a whole from birth to death?*

That the *balance* of enjoyment is decisively in favor of existence, and that life as a *whole* is valuable, I appeal to the common sense of all mankind, and to the very objectors themselves, an overwhelming majority of whom cling to life like a deeply-rooted tree to the soil.

But if we take the theory of Christianity to be true, for the sake of the argument only, then human life is most valuable, and a treasure beyond all our power to estimate. This theory completely answers all objections based upon the *temporary* sufferings of this mere preparatory mode of existence, and gives us the opportunity to practise all the virtues that ennoble and dignify human nature. While it elevates, purifies, and refines the pleasures of home, wife, children, and friends (thus increasing the true joys of existence), it gives us that patience and hope which so much mitigate human suffering. In fact, these evils afford us the opportunity to exercise the virtues of charity, humility, and true heroism. Without some suffering there would be no room or cause to make self-sacrifices, and thus to show the sublime height to which true and heroic virtues can be carried.\* It is true, as Mr. Mivart has so well said:

Yet our intellect sees no difficulty in at once believing that, under certain conditions, what is disgusting to us may be really most admirable—e.g., that a filthy mendicant, loathsome with cutaneous disease, and intolerable to smell as much as to sight, but with a will most rightly directed, may really be one of the noblest and most glorious objects which the whole material universe presents to its Divine

\* It would seem to be obvious that no state of trial could well be found in this world without a mixed existence of pleasure and pain. There can be no victory without a combat, and no battle without suffering. Were there no one needing assistance there would be no room for charity or gratitude. Were there no dangers there could be no exhibition of true courage. Were there no trials and temptations where would be the glory and beauty of virtue? Were there no suffering there would be no patience. Pain is the sentinel which guards our lives by quickening our attention to our safety. It forces us to either avoid injuries or to cure them when received. Without pain what room would there be for the due exercise of the human mind? Suppose we were so constituted that no wound would give us any pain, though still as injurious as at present to our existence. How utterly careless we should become! How many more of our race would be destroyed



Author, and that angels would turn away with indifference from what men most admire to contemplate such a spectacle.

Can there, then, be any real difficulty in accepting the belief that the whole material universe, and all the actions (apart from human volition) preformed by it, are really beautiful from the superhuman point of view, however much the one-sidedness of our view of one part of it (through the associations of purely human feeling) may disguise the beauty of such part from us? (*Lessons from Nature*, p. 371).

But if we take the theory to be true, for the sake of the argument only, that

"It is all of life to live,  
And all of death to die,"

then human existence is of *much less* value. While the beast has no knowledge of death and suffers no pain from its contemplation, man, with this knowledge and with the dark and unfathomable gulf of annihilation before him, to which he is knowingly and constantly advancing, must suffer greatly where the beast does not. It is true that his superior power to protect himself while living may increase his enjoyments, so that they may exceed the pain he suffers; but still his condition as to *present* happiness, to say nothing of a future state, would be far below that of the true Christian.

than now! It is almost certain that the human family would become extinct. It is certain inferior animals would all be exterminated, if constituted in the same way.

I know that much plausible objection may be made by gifted and eloquent complainers against creation. It is very true, as Bishop Ullathorne has so well said:

"All things in the creation have their lights and shadows. There is nothing in this visible world, from the sun in the heavens to the pebble that rolls under our feet, from the man with whom we are familiar to the insect we examine with the microscope, that has not a side that is in light and another that is in obscurity. Whatever we know in this world, whether by perception or by the testimony of others, is partly known and partly unknown; yet we have sufficient knowledge to secure certainty, sufficient for conviction, for assent, for belief, and for our guidance. And nothing can be more irrational, nothing more unphilosophical, than to argue from the obscure against the clear side of any fact or truth, as if the one was the denial of the other; whereas it is that which is clear that vouches for that which is obscure in one and the same subject. Yet this is the common method of sceptics and unbelievers" (*Endowments of Man*, p. 311).

"God made the earth for man. He made it for the first stage of human life, and as a place of probation for a higher and nobler life in another sphere of existence. The earth with its surrounding atmosphere supplies him with his body, his habitation, his nourishment, his instruction, his pleasure, and his trials. As a place of probation and discipline it must, if it is to accomplish that object, present him with difficulties, both mental, physical, and moral; and with obstacles to be overcome; and with things to be denied as well as with things to be accepted; and with pains as well as pleasures; because all these things belong to probation and moral discipline, and to the exercise of the virtues, of which faith, hope, patience, self-denial, humility, and charity are the chief" (*id.* p. 29).



PART II.



EVOLUTION.



## CHAPTER IV.

### STATEMENT OF THE THEORY OF EVOLUTION.

THE article "Evolution" in the ninth and last edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, written by Mr. James Sully, contains a definition of that theory in its widest sense :

The most general meaning of evolution may be defined as follows: Evolution includes all theories respecting the origin and order of the world which regard the higher or more complex forms of existence as following and depending on the lower and simple forms, which represent the course of the world as a gradual transition from the indeterminate to the determinate, from the uniform to the varied, and which assume the cause of this process to be immanent in the world itself that is thus transformed. All theories of evolution, properly so called, regard the physical world as a gradual progress from the simple to the complex, look upon the development of organic life as conditioned by that of the inorganic world, and view the course of mental life both of the individual and of the race as correlated with a material process (p. 751).

The same writer says in reference to the "Modern Doctrine of Evolution":

It may be defined as a natural history of the cosmos including organic beings, expressed in physical terms as a mechanical process. In this record the cosmic system appears as a natural product of elementary matter and its laws. The various grades of life on our planet are the natural consequences of certain physical processes involved in the gradual transformation of the earth. Conscious life is viewed as conditioned by physical (organic and more especially nervous) processes, and as evolving itself in close correlation with organic evolution. Finally, human development, as exhibited in historical and prehistorical records, is regarded as the highest and most complex result of organic and physical evolution (p. 763).

These extracts give a substantially accurate view of the theory of evolution. It will appear at first sight that it is not necessarily opposed to the existence of God, because, in strict conformity to the theory itself, it might be assumed that God simply created the atoms of matter in the beginning, and communicated to, or infused into, them certain properties, the legitimate operation of which has produced all the physical and organic phenomena we see, and that this theory of evolution may be held either by a Theist, Agnostic, or Atheist.\* But as the theory (conceding the existence of God) assumes that He *delegated* the power of creation, it is, in my judgment, for reasons hereafter to be stated, incompatible with a proper conception of the nature and action of the Creator.

\* "There have been and are at least three schools of evolutionists,—those who deny the Divine existence, those who ignore it, and those who affirm it; or the atheistic, the agnostic, and the theistic" (Joseph Cook, *Lectures on Biology*, p. 6).

But the theory which I propose to examine briefly is that put forth by Mr. Charles Darwin in the latest editions of his *Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection* and his *Descent of Man*.

The title of Mr. Darwin's first work gives only a tolerable idea of his theory.

In regard to Natural Selection the author says :

This preservation of favourable individual differences and variations, and the destruction of those which are injurious, I have called Natural Selection, or the Survival of the Fittest.

Some have even imagined that natural selection induces variability, whereas it implies only the preservation of such variations as arise and are beneficial to the being under its conditions of life (*Origin of Species*, p. 63).

Natural selection acts only by the preservation and accumulation of small inherited modifications, each profitable to the preserved being (*id.* p. 75).

That natural selection generally acts with extreme slowness I fully admit (*id.* p. 84).

Natural selection acts solely through the preservation of variations in some way advantageous, which consequently endure (*id.* p. 85).

From these extracts it can be seen that Natural Selection is simply alleged to be the *preservation* and *slow* accumulation of *small, advantageous, individual* variations. The word "selection" is not a correct term, but the learned author has accurately defined the new sense in which he uses it.

Mr. Darwin explains more fully his view as to the relative power of natural selection :

Furthermore, I am convinced that Natural Selection has been the most important, but not the exclusive, means of modification (*Origin of Species*, p. 4).

Amongst many animals, sexual selection will have given its aid to ordinary selection, by assuring to the most vigorous and best adapted males the greatest number of offspring (*id.* p. 103).

I have now recapitulated the facts and considerations which have thoroughly convinced me that species have been modified, during a long course of descent. This has been effected chiefly through the natural selection of numerous successive, slight, favourable variations ; aided in an important manner by the inherited effects of the use and disuse of parts; and in an unimportant manner, that is in relation to adaptive structures, whether past or present, by the direct action of external conditions, and by variations which seem to us in our ignorance to arise spontaneously. It appears that I formerly underrated the frequency and value of these latter forms of variation, as leading to permanent modifications of structure independently of natural selection (*id.* p. 421).

It will be seen from these extracts that while the author considers natural selection to be the main cause in the production of new species, he concedes a subordinate effect to other agencies, sexual selection being one of them.

As to the *causes* which produce the alleged variations, which it is claimed are preserved and transmitted by natural selection and other means, the learned author says :

I have hitherto sometimes spoken as if the variations—so common and multi-form with organic beings under domestication, and in a lesser degree with those under nature—were due to chance. This, of course, is a wholly incorrect expression, but it serves to acknowledge plainly our ignorance of the cause of each particular variation.

In all cases there are two factors, the nature of the organism, which is much the most important of the two, and the nature of the conditions (*Origin of Species*, p. 106).

The *opportunity* which, it is claimed, allows natural selection to exert its preservative power, is caused by the struggle for existence :

As many more individuals of each species are born than can possibly survive ; and as, consequently, there is a frequently recurring struggle for existence, it follows that any being, if it vary however slightly in any manner profitable to itself, under the complex and sometimes varying conditions of life, will have a better chance of surviving, and thus be *naturally selected*. From the strong principle of inheritance, any selected variety will tend to propagate its new and modified form (*Origin of Species*, p. 3).

For it should be remembered that the competition will generally be most severe between those forms which are most nearly related to each other in habits, constitution, and structure (*id.* p. 93).

The *extreme intricacy* of the subject is freely admitted by the author :

This is an extremely intricate subject (*Origin of Species*, p. 80).

To sum up, as far as the extreme intricacy of the subject permits, the circumstances favourable and unfavourable for the production of new species through natural selection (*id.* p. 84).

As to the *origin* of animals and plants the author says :

I believe that animals are descended from at most only four or five progenitors, and plants from an equal or lesser number (*Origin of Species*, p. 424).

Authors of the highest eminence seem to be fully satisfied with the view that each species has been independently created. To my mind it accords better with what we know of the laws impressed on matter by the Creator, that the production and extinction of the past and present inhabitants of the world should have been due to secondary causes, like those determining the birth and death of the individual (*id.* p. 428).

There is grandeur in this view of life, with its several powers, having been originally breathed by the Creator into a few forms or into one, &c. (*id.* p. 429).

It will be seen that the author expressly admits the existence of God, and a few or one special act of creation by Him. As to religion, he states, on page 421 :

I see no good reason why the views given in this volume should shock the religious feelings of any one.

It is very true that the views expressed in the *Origin of Species* may not at first seem necessarily to conflict with Christianity, as the author admits a few or one independent creation, one of which might have been man. But in his *Descent of Man* the author denies the separate creation of our race, and hence seems to contradict the account of man's creation as stated in Genesis.

While I concede that the author's theory, as developed in both the works mentioned, may not *positively* conflict with our religion, I believe his view to be untrue in itself, and that it has an irreligious and materialistic tendency. As such I oppose it, and shall give my main reasons for my dissent as fully as my limited space will permit.

#### VARIATION UNDER DOMESTICATION.

The author devotes the first chapter of his *Origin of Species* to "Variations under Domestication." In regard to domestic animals and plants he has the following among other remarks :

It has often been assumed that man has chosen for domestication animals and plants having an extraordinary inherent tendency to vary, and likewise to withstand diverse climates. I do not dispute that these capacities have added largely to the value of most of our domesticated productions; but how could a savage possibly know, when he first tamed an animal, whether it would vary in succeeding generations, and whether it would endure other climates? Has the little variability of the ass and goose, or the small power of endurance of warmth by the reindeer, or of cold by the common camel, prevented their domestication? I cannot doubt that if other animals and plants, equal in number to our domesticated productions, and belonging to equally diverse classes and countries, were taken from a state of nature, and could be made to breed for an equal number of generations under domestication, they would on an average vary as largely as the parent species of our existing domesticated productions have varied (*Origin of Species*, p. 13).

I cannot here give the details which I have collected and elsewhere published on this curious subject; but to show how singular the laws are which determine the reproduction of animals under confinement, I may mention that carnivorous animals, even from the tropics, breed in this country pretty freely under confinement, with the exception of the plantigrades, or bear family, which seldom produce young; whereas carnivorous birds, with the rarest exceptions, hardly ever lay fertile eggs. Many exotic plants have pollen utterly worthless, in the same condition as in the most sterile hybrids. When, on the one hand, we see domesticated animals and plants, though often weak and sickly, breeding freely under confinement; and when, on the other hand, we see individuals, though taken young from a state of nature perfectly tamed, long-lived, and healthy (of which I could give numerous instances), yet having their reproductive system so seriously affected by unperceived causes as to fail to act, we need not be surprised at this system, when it does act under confinement, acting irregularly, and producing offspring somewhat unlike their parents (*id.* p. 7).

Let us now briefly consider the steps by which domestic races have been produced either from one or from several allied species. Some effect may be attributed to the direct and definite action of the external conditions of life, and some to habit; but he would be a bold man who would account by such agencies for the differences between a dray and race horse, a greyhound and bloodhound, a carrier and tumbler pigeon. One of the most remarkable features in our domesticated races is that we see in them adaptation, not indeed to the animal's or plant's own good, but to man's use or fancy. Some variations useful to him have probably arisen suddenly, or by one step; many botanists, for instance, believe that the fuller's teal, with its hooks, which cannot be rivalled by any mechanical contrivance, is only a variety of the wild *Dipsacus*; and this amount of change may have suddenly arisen in a seedling. So it has probably been with the turnspit dog; and this is known to



have been the case with the ancon sheep. But when we compare the dray-horse and race-horse, the dromedary and camel, the various breeds of sheep fitted either for cultivated land or mountain pasture, with the wool of one breed good for one purpose, and that of another breed for another purpose; when we compare the many breeds of dogs, each good for man in different ways; when we compare the game-cock, so pertinacious in battle, with other breeds so little quarrelsome, with "everlasting layers" which never desire to sit, and with the bantam so small and elegant; when we compare the host of agricultural, culinary, orchard, and flower-garden races of plants, most useful to man at different seasons and for different purposes, or so beautiful in his eyes, we must, I think, look further than to mere variability. We cannot suppose that all the breeds were suddenly produced as perfect and as useful as we now see them; indeed, in many cases, we know that this has not been their history. The key is man's power of accumulative selection; nature gives successive variations; man adds them up in certain directions useful to him. In this sense he may be said to have made for himself useful breeds (*id.* p. 22).

As we may infer that our domestic animals were originally chosen by uncivilised man because they were useful and because they bred readily under confinement, and not because they were subsequently found capable of far-extended transportation, the common and extraordinary capacity in our domestic animals of not only withstanding the most different climates, but of being perfectly fertile (a far severer test) under them, may be used as an argument that a large proportion of other animals now in a state of nature could easily be brought to bear widely different climates. We must not, however, push the foregoing argument too far, on account of the probable origin of some of our domestic animals from several wild stocks; the blood, for instance, of a tropical and arctic wolf may perhaps be mingled in our domestic breeds. The rat and mouse cannot be considered as domestic animals, but they have been transported by man to many parts of the world, and now have a far wider range than any other rodent; for they live under the cold climate of Faroe in the north and of the Falklands in the south, and on many an island in the torrid zones. Hence adaptation to any special climate may be looked at as a quality readily grafted on an innate wide flexibility of constitution, common to most animals (*id.* p. 113).

I have already more than once alluded to a large body of facts showing that, when animals and plants are removed from their natural conditions, they are extremely liable to have their reproductive systems seriously affected. This, in fact, is the great bar to the domestication of animals (*id.* p. 250).

He who is able to explain why the elephant and a multitude of other animals are incapable of breeding when kept under only partial confinement in their native country, will be able to explain the primary cause of hybrids being so generally sterile. He will at the same time be able to explain how it is that the races of some of our domesticated animals, which have often been subjected to new and not uniform conditions, are quite fertile together, although they are descended from distinct species, which would probably have been sterile if aboriginally crossed (*id.* p. 252).

It is, for instance, almost certain that our dogs are descended from several wild stocks; yet with perhaps the exception of certain indigenous domestic dogs of South America, all are quite fertile together; but analogy makes me greatly doubt, whether the several aboriginal species would at first have freely bred together and have produced quite fertile hybrids. So again I have lately acquired decisive evidence that the crossed offspring from the Indian humped and common cattle are *inter se* perfectly fertile; and from the observations of Rüttimeyer on their important osteological differences, as well as from those of Mr. Blyth on their differences in habits, voice, constitution, &c., these two forms must be regarded as good

and distinct species. The same remark may be extended to the two chief races of the pig. We must, therefore, either give up the belief of the universal sterility of species when crossed; or we must look at this sterility in animals, not as an indelible characteristic, but as one capable of being removed by domestication (*id.* p. 241).

If we turn to varieties, produced, or supposed to have been produced, under domestication, we are still involved in some doubt. For when it is stated, for instance, that certain South American indigenous domestic dogs do not readily unite with European dogs, the explanation which will occur to every one, and probably the true one, is that they are descended from aboriginally distinct species (*id.* p. 256).

I have given these extended extracts in close connection, because thus quoted together they convey a more correct idea of the author's views, and will be more convenient for future reference.

In answer to the position "that man has chosen for domestication animals and plants having an extraordinary inherent tendency to vary, and likewise to withstand diverse climates," the author asks the question: "But how could a savage possibly know, when he first tamed an animal, whether it would vary in succeeding generations, and whether it would endure other climates?"

Now, this question is not responsive to the position, because it did not allege that man *knew all* the good qualities of the forms chosen, but that he, in fact, had chosen such. The true question is, Did the forms chosen possess the qualities claimed? That they, as a class, did possess them is conceded by the author.

I readily concede, for the sake of the argument only, "that our domestic animals were originally chosen by uncivilized man because they were useful and because they bred readily under confinement, and not because they were subsequently found capable of far-extended transportation," and that they do possess the "extraordinary capacity . . . of not only withstanding the most different climates, but of being perfectly fertile (a far severer test) under them."

Now, the *plain, logical* conclusions to be drawn from the *facts* stated I take to be these:

*First.* That the animals chosen possessed such a superior and so rare a *combination* of good qualities that they were so chosen by man, when he was, *in fact*, ignorant of one-half of such good qualities; but that the qualities he *knew* they possessed did rightfully and wisely govern his choice, for the reason that their *known* good qualities were so far superior to *all* the qualities found in *other* wild animals as to leave no doubt as to what that choice should be. Here we see uncivilized man about to select certain wild animals for domestication, and he finds certain forms possessed of certain *known* good qualities so much superior to those found in other wild creatures that he readily selects the best forms because of their *known* superiority; and yet the chosen ones were, *in fact*, far superior to his own estimate, and

have been proved by time and ample experience to be far better, in all essential respects, than all their numerous competitors. *Second.* These being the plain, logical conclusions drawn from the facts stated, it follows invincibly that the animals chosen constituted a superior and distinct class, *specially and mainly* intended for man's benefit, and that they were so constituted as to accomplish the purpose intended.\*

It is true that a few individuals do not possess *all* the good requisites; but it is a remarkable fact that, *as a class*, our domestic animals are endowed with a beautiful *combination* of all those noble qualities which render them peculiarly fit for man's reasonable service. There is a wise relation between man and his domestic animals, he being competent by his intellect to protect, improve, and render happy his faithful servants; while they, on their part, are amply able to return him due service. This mutual relationship between the superior and inferior is highly beneficial to both.

The learned author, in the extract commencing on page 82, says: "One of the most remarkable features in our domestic races is that we see in them adaptation, not indeed to the animal's or plant's own good, but to man's use or fancy"; and then goes on to enumerate, concisely, many of the cases of beneficial improvement in our domestic productions, and near the close says: "The key is man's power of accumulative selection: nature gives successive variations; man adds them up in certain directions useful to him."

While I readily admit the capacity to vary which is inherent in our domestic productions, and that such capacity was mainly intended for man's use or fancy, I maintain and will endeavor in due time to show the reasons why such capacity, even in the peculiar and distinct class of our domestic races, is a limited quality and has its fixed and determined bounds, beyond which it cannot go. I readily admit that "nature gives successive variations"; and as to the causes of these, I also admit with the author, as stated in the extract on page 81, that "in all cases there are two factors, the nature of the organism, which is much the most important of the two, and the nature of the conditions."

Without the *capacity* to vary which has been bestowed upon the organization, and which is *much* the more important, the power of man to improve the breeds of his domesticated races would not exist. The organization is prior to the variations as their main cause. This

\*Of more than one thousand existing species of mammals, only some nine are really useful to man as domesticated productions: the ass, camel, cat, cow, dog, goat, horse, pig, and sheep; and of more than six thousand existing species of birds, only the chicken, duck, goose, guinea-fowl, peacock, pigeon, and turkey are really useful to him in a domestic state. The very fact that of more than seven thousand existing species only some sixteen are well fitted for useful domestication, shows that these *few* constitute a distinct and superior class for a given use; and the plain, clear, logical conclusion seems invincible that they were specially intended for the purpose they are known to fulfil so well.

power of man to "add up these variations in certain directions useful to him," great as it is, must therefore be subordinate to that found in "the nature of the organization." I think that the *capacity* to vary, possessed in such a high degree by our domesticated productions, was given by the Creator as a reward for man's labor and humanity expended and exercised by him in improving his animals and plants, and also for the increased happiness of the animals themselves—not that their structure is better fitted to live, but because the *ability* to improve his domestic breeds of animals induces man to esteem them more highly, use them with more care and kindness, and in this way to increase, upon an average, their happiness.

The great and remarkable distinction between domestic and wild animals in regard to the very nature of their organizations must be clear, I think, not only from all the facts and conclusions admitted by the author, but from other well-proven circumstances. The author speaks of the singular laws which determine the reproduction of animals under domestication, and states the fact that certain carnivorous animals breed in England under confinement, while carnivorous birds, with the rarest exceptions, hardly ever lay fertile eggs, but domesticated animals and plants, though often weak and sickly, breed freely under confinement; that other wild animals, though taken young from a state of nature, perfectly tamed, long-lived and healthy, yet have their reproductive systems so seriously affected by unperceived causes as to fail to act except in rare cases, and then irregularly, so as to produce offspring somewhat unlike their parents (see extract on page 82); that man originally chose his animals because they were useful and bred readily under confinement (extract on page 83); that when animals and plants are removed from their natural conditions they are extremely liable to have their reproductive systems seriously affected, and that this, in fact, is the great bar to the domestication of animals (extract on page 83). Yet, in conflict, as I am compelled to think, with these admissions, the author, in the close of the first extract found on page 82, says: "I cannot doubt that if other animals and plants, equal in number to our domesticated productions, and belonging to equally diverse classes and countries, were taken from a state of nature, and could be made to breed for an equal number of generations under domestication, they would on an average vary as largely as the parent species of our existing domesticated productions have varied."

This mere *opinion* is based upon two most improbable, if not impossible, cases: first, *if* the animals could be taken; and, second, *if* they could be made to breed in captivity. In other words, the author assumes substantially that *if* the wild animals could be taken, and *if* they possessed the qualities of our domestic races, they would be like them.

The learned author goes on to say, as will be seen in the fourth extract on page 83 :

He who is able to explain why the elephant and a multitude of other animals are incapable of breeding when kept under only partial confinement in their native country, will be able to explain the primary cause of hybrids being so generally sterile.

The sterility of certain animals under confinement, and that of hybrids, may be traced, I think, to *different* causes.

As to the sterility of certain wild animals in captivity, I shall give this explanation: they were intended to exist in a wild state, and were *so constituted* as to accomplish that *general* purpose. I maintain that the Creator (when He determined that certain classes of animals should generally exist in a state of nature, so long as they were not in man's way) put a bar to their general domestication by man, either in the form of sterility or in that of general unfitness for man's ordinary purposes.

Those animals which refuse to multiply under confinement generally have organizations requiring active out-door exercise to keep their reproductive systems in a fertile state. For example, the elephant, the bear, the fox, and other non-productive animals during captivity, have *constitutionally* active habits in a state of nature; and we can generally trace the habits of an animal to its organization as their cause, as in the notable case of the maleo, described on page 38. This is the reason why carnivorous birds are so sterile in captivity. In their native state they have free liberty of flight, and spend much of their time upon the wing. When caught and caged the change is too great, and Nature refuses to give offspring to exist as mere prisoners.

There seems to be one exception, and there may be several, to the rule—that of the wolf, which breeds in confinement; and yet in a wild state its habits appear to be active, so far as we are advised. There is doubtless a good reason for this apparent exception, but it is at present hidden from us.

As to wild animals which breed freely in confinement, as, for example, the lion and others of the feline family, and which lie in wait for their prey, and whose constitutional habits are not, therefore, so active, the change from freedom to confinement is not so great as to seriously impair their reproductive powers. It may be that the habits of the wolf, in a wild state, are not so active as is generally supposed. I have heard it stated, by persons worthy of credit, that wolves often quietly saunter around near their prey, apparently only intent upon some other purpose, until they gradually approach close enough to capture their unsuspecting victims by a sudden dash.

In reference to carnivorous wild animals which breed in confine-

ment, they are wholly unfit for man's general uses, and are kept simply as objects of curiosity; and this unfitness is a practical and efficient bar to their general domestication.

The subject of the sterility of hybrids will be noticed in its proper place.

In the first extract on page 82 the author speaks of "the little variability of the ass and goose"; but he substantially answers the objection himself:

Although I do not doubt that some domestic animals vary less than others, yet the rarity or absence of distinct breeds of the cat, the donkey, peacock, goose, &c., may be attributed in main part to selection not having been brought into play: in cats, from the difficulty of pairing them; in donkeys, from only a few being kept by poor people, and little attention paid to their breeding; for recently in certain parts of Spain and of the United States this animal has been surprisingly modified and improved by careful selection: in peacocks, from not being very easily reared and a large stock not kept; in geese, from being valuable only for two purposes, food and feathers, and more especially from no pleasure having been felt in the display of distinct breeds; but the goose, under the conditions to which it is exposed when domesticated, seems to have a singularly inflexible organisation, though it has varied to a slight extent, as I have elsewhere described (*Origin of Species*, p. 30).

I most fully concur in the opinion of the author "that some domestic animals vary less than others"; but I do not attribute such fact mainly to the causes alleged by him. I believe that such variations would not generally be useful to man or to that class of animals themselves; and for that reason the capacity to vary greatly has not been given to them. The cat varies in color, so as to give every variety in that respect, but not in size or beauty of form, for the reason that its size and form are ample for the very few purposes for which it is kept. The peacock does not vary, because it has reached the summit of beauty of form and plumage and cannot well be improved. The goose varies but little, because it is only valuable for food and feathers.

The author, in the same extract on page 82, speaks of the common camel and reindeer being only able to live in certain localities. The reasons for these facts are very simple.

The camel is fitted for the desert (as may be seen by reference to page 24), where no other animal can be so useful; but outside its proper range it cannot generally compete with the horse, ass, and ox. It is of slow growth, arriving at maturity at the age of seventeen years. So of the reindeer. It lives and is useful in a limited locality, where most other domestic animals cannot well exist. It has a broad, flat foot, which gives it a firm footing upon the ice, where many other animals cannot go. These two peculiar animals are fitted to exist in two peculiar but separate portions of the globe, while the other domestic creatures can follow man over nearly all parts of the habit-

able earth. For even in the cold regions of the north, where the Esquimau lives,

“His faithful dog can bear him company.”

## LIMITS TO VARIATION.

As regards the limits of variation, the author has these among other remarks :

Some authors have maintained that the amount of variation in our domestic productions is soon reached, and can never afterwards be exceeded. It would be somewhat rash to assert that the limit has been attained in any one case; for almost all our animals and plants have been greatly improved in many ways within a recent period; and this implies variation. It would be equally rash to assert that characters now increased to their utmost limit, could not, after remaining fixed for many centuries, again vary under new conditions of life. No doubt, as Mr. Wallace has remarked with much truth, a limit will be at last reached (*Origin of Species*, p. 31).

On the other hand, the ordinary belief that the amount of possible variation is a strictly limited quantity is likewise a simple assumption (*id.* p. 66).

The author concedes that “a limit will be at last reached,” and yet he contends that the position that “the amount of possible variation is a strictly limited quantity is a simple assumption.” If a limit will at last be reached, as conceded, then the only open questions are the *time* when this limit will be reached, and the *amount* and *character* of the variations, and not the fact that they are limited. If the limit will be reached, that limit must exist in the contemplation of the author, and the amount of possible variation must be a strictly limited quantity.

The amount of possible variation being a strictly limited quantity, how are we to ascertain that fixed limit ?

I maintain that the capacity to vary is confined to the production of varieties, and does not extend to the production of new species, as contended for by the author.

It seems to be quite an anomaly that an elaborate treatise upon a great scientific question should contain no definition of the subject discussed. Yet such is the fact as to the *Origin of Species*. In regard to this matter the author says :

Nor shall I here discuss the various definitions which have been given of the term species. No one definition has satisfied all naturalists; yet every naturalist knows vaguely what he means when he speaks of a species. Generally the term includes the unknown element of a distinct act of creation. The term “variety” is almost equally difficult to define; but here community of descent is almost universally implied, though it can rarely be proved (*Origin of Species*, p. 33).

While the author speaks of the definitions of others, he does not give us one of his own. The fact that naturalists have not been satisfied with the definitions heretofore given is a strong proof of the inherent intricacy of the subject. But, under the theory of the author,

I must think it would be still more difficult to give a definition clear, concise, and accurate. To express my own view, I give this definition : Species—A group of organisms, the individuals of which group may freely interbreed without materially impairing the fertility of the offspring.\*

In regard to species and varieties the author makes, among others, the following remarks :

Hence, in determining whether a form should be ranked as a species or a variety, the opinion of naturalists having sound judgment and wide experience seems the only guide to follow. We must, however, in many cases, decide by a majority of naturalists, for few well-marked and well-known varieties can be named which have not been ranked as species by at least some competent judges.

That varieties of this doubtful nature are far from uncommon cannot be disputed. Compare the several floras of Great Britain, of France, or of the United States, drawn up by different botanists, and see what a surprising number of forms have been ranked by one botanist as good species, and by another as mere varieties. Mr. H. C. Watson, to whom I lie under deep obligation for assistance of all kinds, has marked for me 182 British plants, which are generally considered as varieties, but which have all been ranked by botanists as species; and in making this list he has omitted many trifling varieties, but which nevertheless have been ranked by some botanists as species, and he has entirely omitted several highly polymorphic genera. Under genera, including the most polymorphic forms, Mr. Babington gives 251 species, whereas Mr. Bentham gives only 112,—a difference of 139 doubtful forms! Amongst animals which unite for each birth, and which are highly locomotive, doubtful forms, ranked by one zoologist as a species and by another as a variety, can rarely be found within the same country, but are common in separated areas. How many of the birds and insects in North America and Europe, which differ very slightly from each other, have been ranked by one eminent naturalist as undoubted species, and by another as varieties, or, as they are often called, geographical races! (*Origin of Species*, p. 37).

I give this extended extract to show the great liability to mistake on the part of naturalists when marking the distinction between species and varieties in many cases; and to indicate that due caution should be exercised in weighing their opinions in cases where they differ among themselves, or where their classifications conflict with some general law of nature.

Upon the subjects of the infertility of hybrids and the fertility of mongrels the author has these passages among others :

The view commonly entertained by naturalists is that species, when intercrossed, have been specially endowed with sterility, in order to prevent their confusion. This view certainly seems at first highly probable, for species living together could hardly have been kept distinct had they been capable of freely crossing (*Origin of Species*, p. 235).

\* Nothing is more necessary than good definitions. I think it may safely be assumed that a very large portion of the discussions of learned men has been wasted for want of accurate and clear definitions. A definition should contain all the elements (and no more) which necessarily enter into and constitute the thing defined. The language of a definition should be clear, concise, and accurate.

But while the necessity for correct definitions is obvious, it must be conceded that nothing is more difficult to frame. Among our great law-writers Blackstone deservedly stands very high;



First crosses between forms, sufficiently distinct to be ranked as species, and their hybrids, are very generally, but not universally sterile. The sterility is of all degrees, and is often so slight that the most careful experimentalists have arrived at diametrically opposite conclusions in ranking forms by this test (*id.* p. 262).

With respect to the almost universal sterility of species when first crossed, which forms so remarkable a contrast with the almost universal fertility of varieties when crossed, I must refer the reader to the recapitulation of the facts given at the end of the ninth chapter, which seems to me conclusively to show that this sterility is no more a special endowment than is the incapacity of two distinct kinds of trees to be grafted together; but that it is incidental on differences confined to the reproductive systems of the intercrossed species (*id.* p. 405).

First crosses between forms known to be varieties, or sufficiently alike to be considered as varieties, and their mongrel offspring, are very generally, but not, as is so often stated, invariably fertile (*id.* p. 263).

It will be seen that the author admits "the almost universal sterility of species when first crossed, which forms so remarkable a contrast with the almost universal fertility of varieties when crossed." Then sterility and fertility constitute the *general* rule according to our author's view.

Now, whether this sterility in the crosses between species be a special endowment, or be "incidental on differences confined to the reproductive systems of the intercrossed species," is, in my judgment, immaterial to the question at issue, as the *effect* is the same, produced by the same law of nature, and intended to accomplish the same purpose: the prevention of the *confusion* of species.

As sterility of first crosses between species, and fertility of those between varieties, constitute the *almost universal* rule, as conceded, it is clear that he who alleges an exception should prove it beyond all reasonable doubt. No mere opinions founded upon supposed analogies or upon other doubtful grounds will do. The proof, from the very nature and reason of the case, should be remarkably clear and conclusive.\*

and yet some of his definitions seem to be defective. He defines municipal law to be "A rule of civil conduct, prescribed by the supreme power in a State, commanding what is right, and prohibiting what is wrong." When the learned Commentator says, "commanding what is right, and prohibiting what is wrong," he means as judged by the theory of municipal law, of which he was treating; and, therefore, this latter clause is mere surplusage, the definition being complete without it.

\* "If evolutionists can by selective breeding produce from the same stock two varieties so widely differing that their crossing will produce sterile hybrids, then I will say that they have a scientific right to fill up by deduction the gaps in the direct evidences of evolution, and not till then" (Joseph Cook, *Lectures on Biology*, p. 68).

"It is notorious that evolutionists admit,—"

"7. That natural selection cannot have originated species, if the sterility of hybrids is a fact.

"8. That, in the present state of knowledge, the sterility of hybrids must be accepted as a fact.

"9. That it is fair to ask, as a proof of evolution, that there be formed by selective breeding two species so different that their intercourse will produce sterile hybrids.

"10. That no such species have as yet been formed by selective breeding, and that, until two such have been formed, the strongest proof of the doctrine of evolution is wanting.

"Who admits all this? Professor Huxley. Where? In his famous *Lay Sermons and Reviews*, where he cites (p. 308, American edition) Professor Kölliker, than whom there is no greater authority in embryology. This German says, 'Great weight must be attached to the objection brought forward by Huxley, otherwise a warm supporter of Darwin's hypothesis, that we know of no varieties which are sterile with one another, as is the rule among sharply distinguished animal forms. If Darwin is right, it must be demonstrated that forms may be produced by selection, which, like the present sharply distinguished animal forms, are infertile when coupled with one another; and this has not been done'" (*id.* pp. 41-2).

In the extract on page 83 the author says : "It is almost certain that our dogs are descended from several wild stocks"; and in his *Descent of Man*, page 176, he states : "It is a fit subject for discussion, whether all the domestic races of the dog, for instance, have acquired their present amount of difference since some one species was first domesticated by man ; or whether they owe some of their characters to inheritance from distinct species, which had already been differentiated in a state of nature." In his *Animals and Plants under Domestication*, as cited by Dr. Bree in his *Fallacies of Darwinism*, I find, among others, these passages in relation to dogs :

We shall probably never be able to ascertain their origin with certainty. . . . It is extremely improbable that every domestic breed has had its wild prototype (p. 15).

After going through the evidence upon which this latter opinion is grounded, says Dr. Bree, Mr. Darwin admits, "that at a period between four and five thousand years ago, various breeds, viz. pariah dogs, greyhounds, common hounds, mastiffs, house dogs, lap dogs, and turn-spits existed, more or less resembling our common brood" (*cited* p. 83).

In his *Descent of Man*, page 80, Mr. Darwin says : "Our domestic dogs are descended from wolves and jackals."

The experiments of the late M. Flourens, Dr. Bree continues, however, negative these suppositions of Mr. Darwin. M. Flourens was a member of the Royal Academy of France, and a perpetual secretary to the Académie des Sciences. He was fellow or member of all the learned societies of Europe; and his name stands second to none among the naturalists of the age.

In his *Examen du Livre de M. Darwin*, 1864—a work from which I have devoted a chapter of extracts in the Appendix—M. Flourens, who has had immense experience in the crossing of animals at the Jardin des Plantes, declares his solemn conviction, over and over again repeated, that "species are fixed" and not transmutable. His experiments led him to the conclusion, previously arrived at by Buffon, that the "character of species is continued fecundity," and the "character of genus is limited fecundity" (Dr. Bree, *Fallacies of Darwinism*, p. 86).

From these extracts found in the Appendix I take the following passages :

We have already mongrels of several species. We know that the species of the horse, ass, zebra, and hemoine can breed with each other. Those of the wolf, dog, and jackal do the same, as we have just seen; and it is the same with the goat and sheep, cow and hison, she-goat and ram (*cited* p. 410).

I give the name of mongrel to the product of these crossed unions, because it appears to me to share the character of each of the producing species. The mongrel between the dog and jackal partakes equally of both parents (*cited* p. 410).

If two distinct species, such as the dog and the jackal, wolf and dog, ram and goat, horse and ass, are united, they will produce offspring which is infertile, so that no durable intermediate species can be established. The horse and the ass have been united together for centuries; but the mulet and the mule do not give intermediate species. The same with the she-goat and ram. They produce mongrels, but these mongrels do not give intermediate species (*cited* p. 411).

The mongrels born from the union of two distinct species either unite between

themselves and soon become sterile, or they unite themselves with other primitive stocks and speedily return thereto. They never form in any case what can be called a new or intermediate species (*cited* p. 411).

We have seen from the extract on page 83 that Mr. Darwin substantially admits that the reason why certain South American indigenous domestic dogs do not readily unite with European dogs is that they are descended aboriginally from distinct species.

But besides this testimony of undoubted facts, there are other circumstances that go to negative the position assumed by the learned author.

That instinct is not infallible in all cases, but may err to some extent, I readily admit; but within its proper limits, and in regard to its proper objects, I believe it far more reliable than reason. Therefore I think the evidence which animals bear as to their true character, and the identity of individuals with their own species, is most reliable. However much our domestic dogs may differ from each other in size, form, fleetness, courage, and other respects, the moment they meet anywhere, that instant they recognize their kinship. Notwithstanding the differences between the many varieties of our breeds, they all essentially agree in all those most marked peculiarities which distinguish our domestic dogs from all other animals.

The power to know individuals belonging to their own race is common to all animals. I was informed by a lady of unquestionable veracity that a family, upon quitting a leased farm in California, unintentionally left a young male chicken behind. The family that succeeded had no chickens, and the cock grew up to maturity without any companions except some pigs that were kept at the barn about fifty yards from the dwelling-house. The bird was very fond of the pigs; and he learned to crow, but indulged the habit very sparingly. After he was fully grown two hens were brought upon the place and turned out at the house. The moment the cock saw them he recognized them and was almost frantic with joy. But soon his love for the society of the pigs returned, and then there was a conflict. He did his utmost to coax the hens to follow him to the barn, but in vain; and he finally gave up the society of his old friends for that of his own kind. The stronger instinct prevailed. Had turkey-hens, guinea-hens, or pea-hens been put upon the place, he would no doubt have instantly known that they were not of his blood.

For the reasons given I must think that Mr. Darwin's opinion that it is *almost* certain that our domestic dogs are descended from several wild stocks cannot overcome the *almost* universal rule he has admitted and his candid statement that the question of the origin of our breeds is still a fit subject for discussion. The rule based upon the sterility of crosses between species, and upon the fertility of crosses between varieties, is plain, intelligible, and logical, and for a wise pur-

pose. It is Nature's practical and efficient means of preventing endless confusion in her own wide dominions. In my best judgment it is very unsafe to base any theory upon alleged and uncertain exceptions to a rule conceded to be almost universal. Even if a few exceptions could be satisfactorily established, we must generally suppose that they are caused by special reasons hidden from us. It is far more prudent to found our theories upon the *main* facts of the case—the plain *general* rule. The central current of the mighty Mississippi rolls resistlessly onward, while a few eddies along the shore run up-stream for a short distance, but even their waters at last join the main body and thus find their way into the ocean. So it is with the stream of truth.

I quite agree with Mr. Darwin that we shall probably never be able to ascertain the origin of our dogs with certainty, and that it is extremely improbable that every domestic breed had its wild prototype. It is most probable that the dog was domesticated at an early period in man's history, as it is certain that four or five thousand years ago the most prominent of our breeds existed in a domestic state. From the wide diffusion of our domestic breeds among mankind, and from the nature and reason of the case, I think it most probable that the dog was among the earliest of man's domesticated animals. I think the race was then very few in number and confined to a limited locality. If I am right in this view, then it is very probable that the ancestors of our dogs, like those of the sheep and horse, have now no living posterity in a wild state.\* It is true that the wolf in many respects, especially as to structure, resembles the dog, but is about as different in *other* respects as individuals belonging to different species: for example, the horse and the ass, the cow and the bison, the zebra and the horse, the fox and the dog, the sheep and the goat, the hyena and the dog.

It will be seen from the extract on page 83 that Mr. Darwin has lately acquired decisive evidence that the crossed offspring from the Indian humped and common cattle are *inter se* perfectly fertile, and that he considers these two forms as good and true species. I think he is mistaken in this conclusion, as the facts alleged, if true, would contravene the almost universal rule so often mentioned. It will be seen from the extract on page 158 how often the best naturalists are mistaken, and that "amongst animals that unite for each birth, and which are highly locomotive, doubtful forms, ranked by one zoologist as a species and by another as a variety, are common in separated areas." I think that such is the case here. The two forms mentioned are inhabitants of widely different and separated areas, and it is much

\* There are now wild horses found in America and upon some islands and in other localities, but all these are known to be the descendants of the domesticated horse introduced by man. When America was discovered the horse was not found on this continent; but the animal was introduced by the Spaniards, and from this stock the wild horse is descended. It is exceedingly doubtful whether the ox has any living wild descendants.

more reasonable to suppose that Mr. Darwin is mistaken in his classification than that the great and general rule of nature should be violated in this particular case. I presume Mr. Darwin has had little personal knowledge of the habits of the Indian cow. I have seen several specimens myself, and especially one at Woodward's Gardens in this city, which I have carefully observed for several years; and, while I do not claim any intimate knowledge of the distinctive habits of this breed, and would not generally put my own judgment against that of Mr. Darwin, or that of any other eminent naturalist, yet, with all due deference to Mr. Darwin's opinion, I must say that, in my judgment, the Indian breed is a mere variety of the cow, from the evident resemblances between the two forms in all essential respects. The differences between these two forms are nothing like so great as those between the carrier and tumbler pigeon, which Mr. Darwin claims to be descended from the same original wild stock. And certainly the differences between the greyhound and the bull dog, the mastiff and the lap-dog, are much greater than those between the Indian and common cattle.

This is one of the late cases, and the alleged facts are of too recent a date, and not yet sufficiently known and understood; to justify any conclusions drawn from them against a rule of nature conceded by the author to be almost universal. There has not been time enough to test the question as to the offspring of the Indian and common cattle.

The author says :

Our oldest domesticated animals are still capable of rapid improvement or modification (*Origin of Species*, p. 5).

Pigeons have been domesticated for thousands of years in several quarters of the world; the earliest known record of pigeons is in the fifth Egyptian dynasty, about 3000 B.C., as was pointed out to me by Professor Lepsius; but Mr. Birch informs me that pigeons are given in a bill of fare in the previous dynasty. In the time of the Romans, as we hear from Pliny, immense prices were given for pigeons; " nay, they are come to this pass, that they can reckon up their pedigree and race " (*id.* p. 20).

No domestic creature varies more than the pigeon, except the dog, as these birds are easily paired for life; but while this variation is *rapid*, and they have been for many thousands of years domesticated and so highly esteemed, no variation has ever gone beyond the *pigeon*—all individuals still being simply pigeons, no new species ever having been produced. This remarkable fact goes to prove that, with all the possible skill and care of man, the amount of variation is strictly a limited quantity, even in our *domestic* races. When that limit will be reached no mortal can tell; but I have very little doubt that it has been substantially reached in some cases, and is not very far from it in others. I believe the cat, the guinea-fowl, the goose, the pigeon, and the peacock will not be improved much in the future; and I think

our breeds of the horse have nearly reached the summit of profitable variation. In proof of the probable and substantial correctness of this opinion I quote from the author as follows :

During eleven years a record was kept of the number of mares which proved barren or prematurely slipped their foals ; and it deserves notice, as showing how infertile these highly-nurtured and rather closely inter-bred animals have become, that not far from one-third of the mares failed to produce living foals. Thus during 1866, 809 male colts and 816 female colts were born, and 743 mares failed to produce offspring. During 1867, 836 males and 902 females were born, and 794 mares failed (*Descent of Man*, p. 245, note).

It will be so. To keep the finest breeds up to the standard attained high nurture and rather close interbreeding become necessary, and these produce sterility—Nature's inexorable bar to excessive variation. "Time," says Lord Hale, "is wiser than all the wits in the world," and will deservedly show who is right.

I have assumed the position, on page 85, that *our domestic animals constitute a superior and distinct class, specially and mainly intended for man's benefit ; and that they were so constituted as to accomplish the purpose intended.*

I quote from Mr. Darwin as follows :

It is remarkable how slight a change in the conditions often induces sterility in a wild animal when captured ; and this is the more strange as all our domesticated animals have become more fertile than they were in a state of nature ; and some of them can resist the most unnatural conditions with undiminished fertility (*Descent of Man*, p. 189).

That which appears strange under the theory of the author seems plain and simple under the view I have taken ; and the facts conceded constitute, I must think, a remarkably strong proof of the truth of my position. The marked differences in the very *nature* of wild and domesticated animals strongly indicate the line of separation between the two classes. Nature has put a practical bar against the general domestication of wild animals, either in the shape of sterility or in that of general unfitness for the domestic state.

How could we find substitutes among all the wild animals for our domesticated races, especially for the ox, the horse, the sheep, and the most faithful dog ? Each one of our domesticated creatures is precisely fitted to well fill its exact position in our domestic economy. What other animal possesses the peculiar and noble qualities of the dog ? Other domesticated creatures are more attached to the place than to the person of the owner ; while the predominant love of the dog is for his master, whom the devoted creature will follow anywhere and defend with his life. I quite agree with Mr. Darwin in his estimate of this faithful servant and friend :

The love of the dog for his master is notorious ; as an old writer quaintly says, "A dog is the only thing on this earth that luv's you more than he luv's himself."

In the agony of death a dog has been known to caress his master, and every one has heard of the dog suffering under vivisection who licked the hand of the operator (*Descent of Man*, p. 70).

No class of men have so fair an opportunity to know and duly appreciate the fidelity and services of the dog as pioneers in the settlement of new countries. I have been somewhat a pioneer myself, and my practical experience in this line has been ample. Without the aid of faithful dogs it would be most difficult to reduce new countries to cultivation, owing to the incessant depredations of the numerous wild animals.

"No animal," says Mr. Darwin, "will voluntarily attack the skunk." This statement, though substantially, is not strictly correct. No animal will voluntarily do so the *second* time. I have been informed by some of the early settlers in California that the huge grizzly bear will sometimes attack this small animal; but the bear is invariably vanquished in the fight. The skunk has no fear of any other beast, and very little of man. The case of attack by the bear most probably was when a hungry grizzly, for the first time, found a skunk already in possession of a carcass, and sought to take it away by force.

But the faithful dog, at the command of his master, will attack and kill the skunk, although the fetid odor makes the dog exceedingly sick. I have seen many skunks killed by dogs, but never saw two destroyed in quick succession by the same dog, except on one occasion. We were engaged drowning out some California squirrels, which burrow in the ground, and had their village near our orchard. We conveyed quite a stream of water to the spot by means of a ditch. I observed that one of the holes was somewhat larger than the others; and after we had turned the water into this hole, and it had been filled until the water stood in the bottom of it to the depth of some two inches, we saw two full-grown skunks appear at its mouth, side by side. We had a large and a small dog with us. The small dog was too wise to attack, but the large one stood about six feet from the mouth of the hole, intently watching the animals. At last, as the water continued slowly rising, one of them came out, and was instantly seized and soon killed by the large dog. But the dog was so exceedingly distressed that he vehemently wallowed and rolled in the sand in the vain effort to get clear of the terrible stench. At intervals the dog would pause and take an angry look at the other skunk, which stood on a little hillock at the mouth of the hole, calmly and bravely awaiting the attack. But the dog was so very sick that, brave as he was, he dreaded to make a second attack. The alternate wallowing and pausing were continued by the dog for about twenty minutes; when, finally, he became so much enraged that he seized and soon killed the second skunk. No one can well appreciate the true char-

acter of this most painful feat performed by a faithful and dutiful dog.

I have often admired the patience and forbearance of a dog, too old to play, exhibited in bearing the incessant and long-continued annoyances of puppies not his own progeny, and especially in mutely and kindly enduring the freaks of children in tying up his legs and mouth, hitching him to little sleds or carts, and driving him around for hours at a time, and in many other ways teasing and annoying the faithful creature, which manifested almost the martyr-spirit of a saint. I knew a dog of medium size so faithful that he would defend the little children of his master against the apprehended attacks of dogs twice his own size, and would doubtless have voluntarily died in their defence, if necessary. I saw this faithful creature just before his death, and when he was so weak that he could not wag his tail; but he looked into the face of his beloved master with the expression of the utmost affection. When I was a young man and a clerk in a hotel I knew a dog that never would allow any one but his master to caress him. For some two months different persons at the hotel tried in vain to secure the dog's confidence.

Now, I cannot believe that any wild animal in the world could be found to fill the place of the dog. All the possible training on earth, I think, could never produce such a result in any wild animal now existing.

I believe that God Almighty Himself created the domesticated animals and fitted them mainly for the use and benefit of man. For this plain reason our domesticated creatures constitute a distinct and separate class by themselves, and possess qualities peculiar to them, among which is the great capacity of variation under domestication. And the more fully these variations are set forth, the more plainly they widen the chasm between the domesticated and the wild.

#### NATURAL SELECTION.

If I am right in the position that our domesticated animals constitute a superior and distinct class, intended mainly for man's benefit, and that they have been endowed by the Creator with peculiar and efficient qualities to accomplish that purpose, and that the capacity to vary greatly under domestication is one of those peculiar qualities, then it follows as a logical result that we can draw no inference or conclusion from variation under domestication, either as to the fact or degree of alleged variation in other animals in a state of nature. On the contrary, the fact that sterility of wild animals generally follows their capture is a strong negative proof against the position that wild creatures possess a capacity to vary in any considerable degree.

In discussing briefly the question of natural selection I shall confine my attention to the condition of animal life in a state of nature,



and as near as may be as it was before man's appearance upon the earth. His power over other creatures has been so predominant as to leave natural selection no opportunity to act, so far as it depended upon his acts of destruction, as he is equally able to destroy all other creatures, including the fittest.

Mr. Darwin says :

The many slight differences which appear in the offspring from the same parents, or which it may be presumed have thus arisen, from being observed in the individuals of the same species inhabiting the same confined locality, may be called individual differences (*Origin of Species*, p. 34).

The individual differences among wild animals of the same species in the same locality, I think, are much fewer in number, and less important in character, than the learned author supposes. One individual may be a little larger and stronger than another, or possess a better constitution; but the differences are not of such a character as those appearing in our domesticated animals. When I was a young man I heard a celebrated old hunter remark that all deer were made alike and were equally fleet, and were not differently formed, as were our horses. My attention being thus early called to the subject, I did not forget the remark, but could never, in after-life, discover any material differences in the structure of wild animals of the same species and in the same locality.

It will be seen from the third and fourth extracts on page 81 that the opportunity, as claimed by the author, which allows natural selection to exert its alleged conservative power, is caused by the struggle for existence, and that this struggle will be greatest among individuals of the same species.

This struggle for existence, in a state of nature, mainly occurs in two ways :

*First—The Destruction caused by Carnivora.*

As to carnivorous animals, the main destruction is caused by individuals of the feline family, which lie in wait for their prey. It is obvious that, in this case, the more vigorous forms of the subject species are just as apt to be captured as the less vigorous, as no test of speed is had. The beast of prey springs upon his unsuspecting victim so suddenly that flight and resistance are generally in vain. In the case of wolves a chase may occur occasionally; and then the stronger and fleetier animal pursued would have a greater chance to escape. Though this may be very doubtful, for the reason that wolves hunt in gangs when driven by extreme hunger to adopt the chase as a last resort; \* and then it is hardly probable that even the fittest animal pursued could escape, the hungry and tough wolves re-

\* The reasons why wolves only resort to the chase in the last extremity are these: first, when in good flesh they could not run down their prey; second, the race, though successful, costs them so much exhaustive effort that they only engage in it from sheer necessity.

lieving each other at intervals. All wild herbivorous animals have their accustomed haunts, and, when chased by wolves or hounds, will run in circles, thus giving their pursuers a great advantage. When the prey is taken by the foremost wolf he sets up a loud howl, which calls all his companions to the banquet.

As regards birds of prey, they sometimes pursue other birds upon the wing, but most generally they suddenly pounce upon their prey. This is always the case where small mammals are caught.

Taking the losses caused by carnivorous animals as a whole, they afford little opportunity for natural selection to act. The effect, in my judgment, is too uncertain and minute to be estimated. It would be a most perplexing and intricate task to show how so small an element could be weighed in such a case.

#### *Second—Destruction caused by Starvation.*

As carnivorous animals very seldom prey upon each other, their destruction in a state of nature, independent of that caused by man, is mainly the result of starvation. This deprivation of food would first destroy all the young without any regard to the fittest. If severe enough the famine would then cause the destruction of the weaker grown individuals, especially the aged and diseased.

In regard to those creatures which are subject to destruction by carnivorous animals, their excessive increase is generally prevented by their enemies; and, consequently, starvation is less usual among them than among the carnivorous races. But I am well satisfied that instances of starvation occur occasionally in many subject species.

For many years previous to the discovery of gold in January, 1848, the people of California were entirely pastoral, and possessed many horses, cattle, and sheep, all of which lived solely upon the natural pasturage of the country. In this State there is generally an extremely dry season once in thirteen years. At least this has been so during the last thirty-two years. There were years of famine in 1851, 1864, and 1877. During these periods of famine, especially before the country became well cultivated, about one-half of the horses and cattle perished for want of food. Large bands of horses, in some cases, were driven into the sea and drowned to preserve those which were left. All the calves and colts born in a year of famine died of starvation, and the cows and mares miscarried, so that two years' increase was lost. Only the stronger of the larger animals survived, both male and female.

In this case, undoubtedly, the fittest survived. But no improvement in the breeds of horses and cattle could be perceived. The plain, simple reason was that those animals which survived had suffered to such an extent that their constitutions were impaired and brought down to the average of the race. The supposed good effects

of natural selection in these cases were completely counterbalanced by the injury sustained by the surviving fittest. In these instances the animals, though comparatively tame, were in a state of nature so far as food was concerned. Each individual had the same capacity to obtain food, and each ate all it could find; and the survivors lived through the famine, not so much because of any difference in structure or form, but because of stronger constitutions.

Some individuals of the Donner party, who suffered so much from starvation and exposure in the winter of 1846-7 on their way to California, were injured for life in constitution and mind. This was especially the case with those survivors who were fully grown and suffered most. Several families were better fed and sheltered than others, and more of these escaped death and serious injury.

Now, I maintain that in all cases where starvation is so severe as to destroy considerable numbers of a certain species in a particular locality, the survivors are necessarily much injured. In other words, that where the struggle caused by starvation is severe enough to destroy numbers of healthy animals in the prime of life, it must be so serious as to impair the constitutions of the survivors; so that all the alleged good effects arising from the survival of the fittest are completely counterbalanced by the injury done to the constitutions of the surviving but *injured* fittest.\* I therefore think that the taking phrase, "the survival of the fittest," should be so amended as to read "the survival of the injured fittest." Thus amended it would substantially express the truth.

Mr. Darwin's views in regard to natural selection seem to have undergone some grave change. In his *Origin of Species* he seems to make natural selection the most important means of modification, as may be seen from the sixth extract on page 80 and from the title of the work itself, and he places sexual selection as a subordinate agent in the production of new species, as will appear from the seventh extract on page 80; but in his *Descent of Man* he appears to me to place the main emphasis upon sexual selection. Mr. St. George Mivart, in his *Lessons from Nature*, pages 280-8, makes many quotations from Mr. Darwin's works to prove that he had virtually abandoned his theory. Mr. Mivart says:

The assignment of the law of "natural selection" to a subordinate position is virtually an abandonment of the Darwinian theory; for the one distinguishing feature of that theory was the "most important" or "main" position assigned to "natural selection" (p. 283).

\* "Of all the physical evils that waylay and beset the thorny path of existence, there is none more appalling than starvation. It is not a sudden and violent assault upon life, that instinctive or mental courage may successfully resist; but it is a slowly wasting away, and an inexorable undermining of the vital forces, inch by inch." The power of this terrible but slowly advancing enemy to impair the constitution of any animal exposed to it *so long* as to approach near the point of utter exhaustion must, indeed, be great from the nature and reason of the case. Among the individuals of our own race, no intellect, no force of will, and no martyr-spirit can withstand this exhaustive deprivation. Insanity often occurs in cases of extreme destitution.

My limits forbid me to discuss this alleged change of position at any considerable length; but I will make a few additional quotations from Mr. Darwin which seem to me to very clearly show that his view in regard to natural selection has been at least materially modified, if not substantially abandoned.

I now admit, after reading the essay by Nägeli on plants, and the remarks by various authors with respect to animals, more especially those recently made by Professor Broca, that in the earlier editions of my *Origin of Species* I perhaps attributed too much to the action of natural selection or the survival of the fittest. . . . I may be permitted to say, as some excuse, that I had two distinct objects in view; firstly, to shew that species had not been separately created, and, secondly, that natural selection had been the chief agent of change, though largely aided by the inherited effects of habit, and slightly by the direct action of the surrounding conditions. I was not, however, able to annul the influence of my former belief, then almost universal, that each species had been purposely created; and this led to my tacit assumption that every detail of structure, excepting rudiments, was of some special, though unrecognised, service. Any one with this assumption in his mind would naturally extend too far the action of natural selection, either during past or present times. Some of those who admit the principle of evolution, but reject natural selection, seem to forget, when criticising my book, that I had the above two objects in view; hence if I have erred in giving to natural selection great power, which I am very far from admitting, or in having exaggerated its power, which is in itself probable, I have at least, as I hope, done good service in aiding to overthrow the dogma of separate creations (*Descent of Man*, p. 61).

For my own part I conclude that of all the causes which have led to the differences in external appearance between the races of man, and to a certain extent between man and the lower animals, sexual selection has been the most efficient (*id.* p. 606).

Professor Huxley, in his article "Evolution" in the ninth and last edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, in speaking of rudimentary structures, says:

The innumerable cases of structures, which are rudimentary and apparently useless, in species, the close allies of which possess well developed and functionally important homologous structures, are readily intelligible, on the theory of evolution, while it is hard to conceive their *raison d'être* on any other hypothesis. However, a cautious reasoner will probably rather explain such cases deductively from the doctrine of evolution, than endeavour to support the doctrine of evolution by them. For it is almost impossible to prove that any structure, however rudimentary, is useless—that is to say, that it plays no part whatever in the economy; and, if it is in the slightest degree useful, there is no reason why, on the hypothesis of direct creation, it should not have been created.\* Nevertheless,

\* The very fact that, among the innumerable structures, only a very few comparatively are even claimed as rudimentary, establishes the *general* rule of *usefulness*, and throws upon those who allege exceptions the burden of proof. In other words, he who alleges exceptions to a general rule must prove them to be true exceptions. Professor Huxley seems to admit very clearly that those who allege that certain structures are useless must show that position to be true by competent proof. And he concedes that "it is almost impossible" to do this. Whoever opposes a *prima facie* case must bring in rebutting testimony to overcome it, according to a well-known principle of evidence, as shown in note to page 164.

double-edged as is the argument from rudimentary organs, there is probably none which has produced a greater effect in promoting the general acceptance of the theory of evolution\* (vol. viii. p. 750).

\* In regard to organs alleged to be useless I have expressed my views on page 68. In other places I have shown the mistakes of Mr. Darwin in reference to the upland-goose, frigate-bird, and apterix. Some writers hold the hump of the camel to be a useless structure. On page 24 will be found a description of that most remarkable animal.

This creature has an external reservoir of fat, and an internal reservoir of water; and these most useful structures enable it to make its long journeys across the desert. It is a well-known fact that a fat animal will endure the deprivation of food much longer than a lean one of the same age, race, and constitution. So the tails of dogs, wolves, foxes, panthers, tigers, and lions have been considered as useless by some authors.

The tails of most animals are clearly useful as fly-flappers. But in the case of the dog the tail is not useful for this purpose. It is, however, useful as an ornament, and especially as an organ of expression. When the dog is approaching its master it manifests its love by wagging its tail; and when it reaches him it further shows its affection by licking his hands, and even his mouth, if permitted. When a dog meets a strange person with a friendly wag of the tail he may well fear no injury. Dogs also use their tails in greeting each other. So when a dog is cowed it tucks its tail between its legs as a token of submission. When a cat wishes to be petted or fed it raises its tail and utters a low, imploring cry. Both these means are used to make known its wants. Dogs have raised, and wolves and foxes pendent tails. The tails of wolves and foxes are highly ornamental, and are most probably employed as organs of expression in their greetings and quarrels with each other in a wild state. The tails of these animals may also be useful in swimming, and in other respects unknown to us. I have no question of their being useful myself. The lion, tiger, and leopard are inhabitants of tropical climates where insects, especially the seroot-fly, are so troublesome that no domestic animal can exist, unprotected, in certain localities during the rainy season, except the goat. Sir Samuel W. Baker in his *Explorations* has given a full description of this pest. I remember well when the small but fierce prairie-fly was so distressing in the wild prairies of the great West that horses could not pass through them, unprotected, except at night. I think the tails of lions, tigers, leopards, and panthers are useful as fly-flappers. These structures are at least ornamental. The most beautiful quadrupeds and birds are those which have tails. All the individuals of the feline family, except the wild cat, wag their tails when closely watching their prey. Whether this movement be useful to them, or to their intended victims in giving them notice of impending danger, it is, I think, clear that it is useful in one or in both respects. When I see animals using their tails I conclude that the tails must be useful. The short tail of the hyena would, at first sight, appear to be useless; yet when the animal is enraged it raises its tail and bristles, and thus shows its anger, and makes its appearance more formidable.

Mr. Darwin thinks the sting of the bee imperfect.

"Can we consider the sting of the bee as perfect, which, when used against many kinds of enemies, cannot be withdrawn, owing to the backward serratures, and thus inevitably causes the death of the insect by tearing out its viscera?" (*Origin of Species*, p. 163).

If the bee could use its sting repeatedly, like the wasp and hornet, it would be better for the insect, but much worse for man. The bee is one of the creatures intended for man's especial benefit, as it gathers honey as well for him as for itself. If this *now* useful little industrious worker could only use its sting often, without the necessary loss of its own life in the act, no man could keep a hive of bees about his place. The main purpose of its creation would thus be defeated. The peculiar fact stated by the author seems to show one instance where the peculiarity of the structure was intended *exclusively* for the benefit of another being. For Mr. Darwin has this passage:

"If it could be proved that any part of the structure of any one species had been formed for the exclusive good of another species, it would annihilate my theory, for such could not have been produced through natural selection" (*Origin of Species*, p. 162).

I readily agree with the learned author that the sting of the bee is imperfect, so far as the insect is concerned. The *barbs* upon the end of its sting are certainly *very important* "parts of the structure of the species," as they "inevitably cause the death of the insect when used against many kinds of enemies." These barbs are not at all *necessary* to the sting, as the weapon would be far more useful without them, so far as the welfare of the bee itself is *alone* concerned. Then, as these *barbs* cannot be of any conceivable use to the bee, but in fact cause its destruction, they must have been "formed for the exclusive use of another species." I am not aware that any other insect has a barbed sting like the bee; and no other creature, so far as I am advised, gathers a store of honey for man's benefit. When we reflect upon these facts, how beautifully clear it is that this little creature was mainly intended for man's use, and that its most peculiar structure is demonstrative evidence of a wise purpose in its creation! It is also a plain, and it would seem an indisputable, case where a most important "part of the structure of one species has been formed for the exclusive good of another species." I cannot perceive how these facts can be reconciled with the author's

I have no doubt but that the specious and captivating phrase, "the survival of the fittest," has had as much effect in promoting the acceptance of the theory of evolution as the cause mentioned by Professor Huxley. Thus one ground admitted by Mr. Darwin to have much less weight than he assigned to it, and a second ground conceded by Professor Huxley to be untenable because double-edged, were among the most efficient means in promoting the acceptance of a fascinating new theory. Will not the *other* grounds upon which it is still claimed to rest be in due time swept away? I think they will.

#### SEXUAL SELECTION.

It will be seen from the seventh extract on page 80 that sexual selection, in the view of the author's *Origin of Species*, gives its aid to ordinary selection "by assuring to the most vigorous and best adapted males the greatest number of offspring."

The advantages possessed by the superior males are substantially alleged to arise in two ways: *First*. Among those males which do not fight for the possession of the females, but captivate them by greater beauty and other peaceful means. *Second*. Among males which fight for the possession of the females, the most vigorous males will conquer their rivals upon an average, and thus gain a greater number of females and leave a more numerous offspring.

I will briefly discuss the subject of sexual selection under two heads: Birds and Mammals.

#### *First, as to Birds.*

When we come to inquire into the character and condition of animals in a state of nature, we are at once confronted with the great in-

theory. On the creational theory we can well understand why parts of the structure of one species should be formed for the exclusive good of another species. In this case the harms are not only useless but injurious to the bee.

There are some *few* cases of alleged useless organs for which we cannot as yet assign any use, owing, as I think, to our great ignorance of the habits of wild animals—such, for example, as the alleged rudimentary pelvis and hind legs found in the boa-constrictor and whale. While I readily admit that their specific use, if any, is hidden from me, I must believe, on general principles, that they are useful. At least there is no proof that they are either useless or injurious. So also the teeth found in the embryo of the calf and whale, and which disappear before birth, are apparently useless; but they may be necessary in the mysterious, obscure, and silent process of gestation. My remarks in reference to alleged useless organs do not include monstrosities or diseased structures, but only such as are found in whole classes of healthy individuals.

When I consider the multitudinous organs found in animal bodies, and that so *very few* of them, comparatively, have even been alleged as useless; and when I remember how far and how often learned men have been mistaken in this respect; and when I consider the intimate relations of things and their mutual and "nice dependencies," unless I could take the expanded view of the Deity Himself, and thus scan all creation at one single, all-comprehensive glance, I confess that I am not bold enough to decide that there is one single clear case of a useless animal structure proven by competent and sufficient evidence. Had I made an animal myself I would then have been the better able to judge discreetly. But when I come to criticise wonderful structures so utterly beyond my own limited power to originate, I feel my want of capacity to do the great and intricate subject full justice. Critics who judge the works of their *superiors* should be the most cautious, impartial, and modest men on this earth.

tricacy of the subject, owing to our want of definite information in regard to their habits. The author admits (*Descent of Man*, p. 523) that "little is known about the courtships of animals in a state of nature." Although this remark relates to mammals, yet I think it well applies to birds in a great degree. There may be some difference between our knowledge of wild birds and mammals, and we may know more about the habits of birds than of mammals, but still our knowledge of birds is very limited and uncertain. We may know their form, plumage, song, kind of food, and some other particulars; but as to their courtships, our information must, from the nature of the case, be more inferential and dubious. A case may be most plausible on paper, but wholly erroneous in fact. We should, therefore, be very cautious in our conclusions.

To show the author's view of sexual selection in general, and as to monogamous animals in particular, I make the following extended quotations. They contain, I think, the strongest case as to the monogamous class; the case of a supposed species of bird being simply put as an illustration:

Our difficulty in regard to sexual selection lies in understanding how it is that the males which conquer other males, or those which prove the most attractive to the females, leave a greater number of offspring to inherit their superiority than their beaten and less attractive rivals. Unless this result does follow, the characters which give to certain males an advantage over others, could not be perfected and augmented through sexual selection. When the sexes exist in exactly equal numbers, the worst-endowed males will (except where polygamy prevails) ultimately find females, and leave as many offspring, as well fitted for their general habits of life, as the best-endowed males. From various facts and considerations, I formerly inferred that with most animals, in which secondary sexual characters are well developed, the males considerably exceeded the females in number; but this is not by any means always true. If the males were to the females as two to one, or as three to two, or even in a somewhat lower ratio, the whole affair would be simple; for the better-armed or more attractive males would leave the largest number of offspring. But after investigating, as far as possible, the numerical proportion of the sexes, I do not believe that any great inequality in number commonly exists. In most cases sexual selection appears to have been effective in the following manner.

Let us take any species, a bird for instance, and divide the females inhabiting a district into two equal bodies, the one consisting of the more vigorous and better-nourished individuals, and the other of the less vigorous and healthy. The former, there can be little doubt, would be ready to breed in the spring before the others; and this is the opinion of Mr. Jenner Weir, who has carefully attended to the habits of birds during many years. There can also be no doubt that the most vigorous, best-nourished and earliest breeders would on an average succeed in rearing the largest number of fine offspring. The males, as we have seen, are generally ready to breed before the females; the strongest, and with some species the best armed of the males, drive away the weaker; and the former would then unite with the more vigorous and better-nourished females, because they are the first to breed. Such vigorous pairs would surely rear a larger number of offspring than the retarded females, which would be compelled to unite with the conquered and less powerful

males, supposing the sexes to be equal ; and this is all that is wanted to add, in the course of successive generations, to the size, strength and courage of the males, or to improve their weapons.

But in many cases the males which conquer their rivals, do not obtain possession of the females, independently of the choice of the latter. The courtship of animals is by no means so simple and short an affair as might be thought. The females are most excited by, or prefer pairing with, the more ornamented males, or those which are the best songsters, or play the best antics ; but it is obviously probable that they would at the same time prefer the more vigorous and lively males, and this has in some cases been confirmed by actual observation. Thus the more vigorous females, which are the first to breed, will have the choice of many males ; and though they may not always select the strongest or best armed, they will select those which are vigorous and well armed, and in other respects the most attractive. Both sexes, therefore, of such early pairs would, as above explained, have an advantage over others in rearing offspring ; and this apparently has sufficed during a long course of generations to add not only to the strength and fighting powers of the males but likewise to their various ornaments or other attractions (*Descent of Man*, p. 213).

The case is as plausibly and strongly stated by the learned author as it could well be done ; and yet it bears upon its face the marks of much complexity and uncertainty. It is only another evidence to show how little we can know of the habits of wild birds as well as of wild mammals. The writer admits the difficulty of ascertaining, with any certainty, the relative numbers of the sexes, but expresses the opinion that they are about equal. We will suppose that they are so.

The author says : “ Many mammals and some few birds are polygamous,” “ that the instinct of pairing with a single female is easily lost under domestication ” ; and that “ male birds sometimes, though rarely, possess special weapons for fighting with each other ” (*Descent of Man*, pp. 216, 220, 358).

As so few male birds are polygamous in a state of nature, and so very few are furnished with special weapons for combating with each other, it would seem to be a most reasonable conclusion that very few battles occur among the males for the possession of the females. In these few combats “ mere bodily strength and size would do little for victory, unless associated with courage, perseverance, and determined energy ” (*Descent of Man*, p. 564). These latter qualities are just as apt to be found in the less as in the more vigorous males. The gamecock is not so large and vigorous as the males of many other breeds ; and yet he invariably conquers. The little and brave bantam will vanquish a cock of a more peaceful breed twice as large and vigorous as himself. I think that the bravest and conquering breeds of our domestic fowls, like the finest of our domestic mammals, are not the most prolific. And I think that this is so with wild birds.

But after the victory has been won, as will be seen from the extract I have given, the females have their choice of many males, and may, for other reasons, prefer the vanquished males ; but in case they



should do so the writer states they would "select those which are vigorous and well armed, and in other respects the most attractive."

I must say, with all due respect, that this statement or opinion is hardly correct, for the reason that the female birds, having once rejected the victorious males, would be most likely to prefer those males which possess the *opposite* qualities of the hapless victors. We find large men often selecting small, and little men large, women for wives. We also find talkative persons preferring comparatively silent partners. The less vigorous females of our race are the more beautiful when young, and are often preferred by men of superior constitution. The disposition to admire and love the opposite seems to be a wise compensatory law of Nature, intended to keep the balance equal between the two classes mentioned by the author. I think the same taste would govern wild female birds in many cases when selecting their mates.

It is true that the females of our domestic fowls almost universally prefer the victorious males. This is due to several causes. The victorious males command the greater share of the food, the best places, and almost all other advantages, and are more respectful in their treatment of the females than are the vanquished cocks. These conditions do not exist in a state of nature.

But a much larger class of wild male birds are alleged to win their victory by their various ornaments, their sweet songs, or their charming antics. I agree with the author in the following statements :

When we behold a male bird elaborately displaying his graceful plumes or splendid colours before the female, whilst other birds not thus decorated, make no such display, it is impossible to doubt that she admires the beauty of her male partner. As women everywhere deck themselves with these plumes, the beauty of such ornaments cannot be doubted. . . . The sweet strains poured forth by many male birds during the season of love, are certainly admired by the females, of which fact evidence will hereafter be given (*Descent of Man*, p. 92).

The males sometimes pay their court by dancing, or by fantastic antics performed either on the ground or in the air (*id.* p. 359).

But, as the author admits that "their ornaments have been acquired at the expense of some loss of power" (*Descent of Man*, p. 421), it is clear that the more ornamented males are not the most vigorous or largest in size. It seems to be a compensatory law of nature that the largest forms among birds are not the most ornamented, as, for example, the ostrich and condor. So, among our domestic fowls, the most beautifully ornamented males are inferior in vigor and size to the less decorated; as, for example, the bantam and game-cocks.

In regard to singing birds, it may well be said that the most vigorous males may have the loudest but the harshest notes. Hence the most vigorous in constitution and the largest in size are just as

liable to be inferior in song as those of medium size and strength. Among the individuals of our own race musical capacity, either vocal or instrumental, does not seem to be dependent upon the greatest strength or size.

Then, as to the power to perform the most droll and pleasing antics, it is difficult to see wherein superior vigor and size would play any important part. It would seem that the more highly ornamented males (though inferior in size and vigor to the less decorated) would be just as competent to perform these fantastic airs. But in case the more ornamented males were not so competent in this respect, they would be superior in ornament; and hence the chances would be well balanced, and about equal numbers of both classes would most likely win.

Putting all these considerations together, it is most difficult to see how the females first ready to pair would secure the greater number of the most vigorous and largest males for mates.

It will be seen, from the extract I have given, that the author divides wild *female* birds into two classes: "the more vigorous and better-nourished individuals, and the other the less vigorous and healthy"; and that he takes the ground that "the former would be ready to breed in the spring before the others." In reference to this position I am constrained to differ from the learned author.

"As birds always breed when food is abundant" (*Descent of Man*, p. 403), it is clear that the want of it can only be felt after the *breeding* season has passed, and not during the infancy of the great majority of birds, as they mature in a single season, and before the approach of winter.

The author, speaking of insects, says: "The smaller males would be first matured, and would thus procreate a larger number of offspring" (*Descent of Man*, p. 278).

Now, if the smaller, as compared with the larger males of insects, are first matured, then the same law of nature would first mature the smaller and less vigorous females of birds; and the first matured would be most likely to be the first ready to breed in the spring. That smaller animals are more quickly matured as a general rule must be true. It is *equally* probable that when the breeding season arrived, and food became abundant, the smaller and less vigorous females would first fatten, and thus be first ready to breed.

But the earlier readiness to breed in the spring may be owing, in part, to the naturally more affectionate disposition of the individual, without any regard to vigor or size. Among members of our race we find some persons of both sexes naturally more affectionate than others of the same or different size and constitution. This natural temperament is not generally dependent upon size and vigor. I think this is so with birds.

For these reasons I think that Mr. Darwin and Mr. Jenner Weir are mistaken in their opinion that the more vigorous females, as a general rule, are the first ready to breed in the spring. From the fact that it is almost, if not quite, impossible to know the more from the less vigorous individuals in a state of nature, we are compelled to base our opinion upon general principles.

The author, as quoted on page 105, says: "When the sexes exist in exactly equal numbers, the worst-endowed males will (except where polygamy prevails) ultimately find females, and leave as many offspring, as well fitted for their general habits of life, as the best-endowed males."

It will be seen from the extract I have given on page 105 that the author admits the substantial equality in the numbers of the sexes, and contends that the first class of females mentioned by him "would on an average succeed in rearing the largest number of fine offspring."

There is an apparent, but no real, contradiction, as the author says *fine* offspring in one case and offspring in the other. His intention, as I understand him, is to say that while the second class would leave as *many*, they would not rear so *fine* offspring as the first.

Now, conceding that, in the cases where the most vigorous males unite with the most vigorous females (not being brother and sister), such pairs would most probably leave, not a *greater* number of offspring, but a large number of *fine* offspring, it is very difficult to see wherein sexual selection would, in the end, gain anything. As it is true and conceded that "the worst-endowed males would leave as many offspring, as well fitted for their general habits of life, as the best-endowed males," there would be no gain in point of numbers and very little in capacity; and the offspring of the best-endowed pairs, for the reasons I have already stated, would be just as likely to select inferior mates as to choose their equals, unless brother and sister paired with each other. Thus the advantage gained in one season by the union of two birds, not related, of the first class, would be subsequently lost by the pairing of their offspring with individuals of the second class, or by incestuous unions.

As stated on page 99, I am satisfied that the differences between individuals in a state of nature are much fewer in number, and much less important in character, than supposed by the author. All wild birds belonging to the same species, and inhabiting the same locality, are exposed to the same conditions; and, therefore, their individual differences must be very small.

The overwhelming majority of female birds rear a plurality of offspring during each breeding season. There are some few exceptions to this rule; as, for example, the hornbill and Fulmar petrel. There may be others. While the number of the sexes in each brood may

not be equal in all cases, there are nearly always some of both. Thus, "Usually the two birds reared from the two eggs laid in the same nest of the pigeon are a male and a female" (*Descent of Man*, p. 247). Judging from this case and my recollection of the partridge, wild turkey, and prairie chicken, I should think that the sexes of a brood are generally about equal in number.

Birds which build elevated nests, and feed their young in the nests until they are able to fly, generally, if not always, rear fewer in each breeding season than birds which make their nests upon the ground and lead forth their offspring in search of food soon after they leave the shell. This latter class rear from ten to twenty each season. Each brood generally constitutes a flock, and the birds remain together until they pair in the spring. This is the case with the partridge. The individuals composing the brood of a wild turkey-hen remain together until winter, when the gobblers separate in a body from the hens, and each flock, one of males and the other of females, remain separate until the sexes pair in the next spring.

It seems plain that the two pigeons, brother and sister, unite, and that birds are more apt to select their own brothers and sisters for their mates than strangers. They have their individual partialities, likes, dislikes, and friendships, and would naturally unite most readily with those they know, and with which they have associated from infancy to mature age. A great, if not the greater, number of matches must, therefore, be between brothers and sisters. When the sexes of a brood are not equal in number, from any cause, then some of them would be compelled to select mates from other flocks.

Now, if I am right in this view, then the contests of the males for the females first ready to breed in the spring would in many, if not in most, cases arise between brothers; and this being true, and the females having their free choice, they would most likely select their mates from other influences than those of victory or a slight superiority in size or plumage. The difference in plumage among males of the same species in the same locality is so slight as, in my judgment, to require "a microscopic eye" to appreciate it, and is far too small to materially influence the female in selecting her mate.

These incestuous unions are chargeable with all the evil effects of too close interbreeding, of which consequences I shall speak in another place.

I think the author is correct in his position that the male birds, as a general rule, are first ready to pair in the spring; but whether they are more eager is a question of some doubt. I think that in most cases where the males display their ornaments, play antics, or sing, the females, when ready to breed, are the more eager and seek the males. I have seen the female turkey and the peahen approach the male.

When the female is fully ready to pair I am well satisfied that in a great many cases, especially when she cannot pair with a brother, she accepts the first male she meets. Of course in such cases sexual selection plays no part.

For the reasons given, and after closely examining the case so plausibly and forcibly put by the author, I am unable to see anything in the theory of sexual selection applicable to birds in a state of nature. What the theory seems to gain in one case appears to be lost in another. Where two birds of the first class, not too closely related, unite, their offspring are certain, sooner or later, to form incestuous unions among themselves or pair with inferior strangers.

“All nature’s difference keeps all nature’s peace.”

The whole subject is so full of complexity, and the particulars are so multitudinous and obscure, that, in my best judgment, no theory of sexual selection can be wisely built upon such a speculative and airy foundation.

#### *Second—As to Mammals.*

The remarks I have made on page 104 in regard to the great intricacy of the subject are especially applicable to the case of mammals in a state of nature. “It is scarcely possible that much should be known about female quadrupeds in a state of nature making any choice in their marriage unions.” “As so little is known about the courtship of animals in a state of nature” (*Descent of Man*, pp. 522–3).

I make the following quotations :

With mammals, when, as is often the case, the sexes differ in size, the males are almost always larger and stronger (*Descent of Man*, p. 515).

With mammals the male appears to win the female much more through the law of battle than through the display of his charms. The most timid animals, not provided with any special weapons for fighting, engage in desperate conflicts during the season of love. Two male hares have been seen to fight together until one was killed; male moles often fight, and sometimes with fatal results; male squirrels engage in frequent contests, “and often wound each other severely,” as do male beavers, so that “hardly a skin is without scars.” I observed the same fact with the hides of the guanacoës in Patagonia; and on one occasion several were so absorbed in fighting that they fearlessly rushed close by me. Livingston speaks of the males of the many animals in Southern Africa as almost invariably shewing the scars received in former contests.

The law of battle prevails with aquatic as with terrestrial mammals. It is notorious how desperately male seals fight, both with their teeth and claws, during the breeding season; and their hides are often covered with scars. Male sperm-whales are very jealous at this season; and in their battles “they often lock their jaws together, and turn on their sides and twist about”; so that their lower jaws often become distorted (*id.* p. 500).

The law of battle for the possession of the female appears to prevail throughout the whole great class of mammals (*id.* p. 552).

The practice of polygamy leads to the same results as would follow from an actual inequality in the number of the sexes; for if each male secures two or more females, many males cannot pair; and the latter assuredly will be the weaker or less attractive individuals (*id.* p. 216).

We will first briefly run through the mammals, and then turn to birds. The gorilla seems to be polygamous, and the male differs considerably from the female; so it is with some baboons, which live in herds containing twice as many adult females as males. In South America the *Mycetes caraya* presents well-marked sexual differences, in colour, beard, and vocal organs; and the male generally lives with two or three wives: the male of the *Cebus capucinus* differs somewhat from the female, and appears to be polygamous. Little is known on this head with respect to most other monkeys, but some species are strictly monogamous. The ruminants are eminently polygamous, and they present sexual differences more frequently than almost any other group of mammals; this holds good, especially in their weapons, but also in other characters. Most deer, cattle, and sheep are polygamous; as are most antelopes, though some are monogamous. Sir Andrew Smith, in speaking of the antelopes of South Africa, says that in herds of about a dozen there was rarely more than one male. The Asiatic *Antilope saiga* appears to be the most inordinate polygamist in the world; for Pallas states that the male drives away all rivals, and collects a herd of about a hundred females and kids together; the female is hornless and has softer hair, but does not otherwise differ much from the male. The wild horse of the Falkland Islands and of the Western States of N. America is polygamous, but, except in his greater size and in the proportions of his body, differs but little from the mare. The wild boar presents well-marked sexual characters, in his great tusks and some other points. In Europe and in India he leads a solitary life, except during the breeding season; but as is believed by Sir W. Elliot, who has had many opportunities in India of observing this animal, he consorts at this season with several females. Whether this holds good in Europe is doubtful, but it is supported by some evidence. The adult male Indian elephant, like the boar, passes much of his time in solitude; but as Dr. Campbell states, when with others, "it is rare to find more than one male with a whole herd of females"; the larger males expelling or killing the smaller and weaker ones. The male differs from the female in his immense tusks, greater size, strength, and endurance; so great is the difference in these respects, that the males when caught are valued at one-fifth more than the females. The sexes of other pachydermatous animals differ very little or not at all, and, as far as known, they are not polygamists. Nor have I heard of any species in the Orders of Cheiroptera, Edentata, Insectivora and Rodents being polygamous, excepting that amongst the Rodents, the common rat, according to some rat-catchers, lives with several females. Nevertheless the two sexes of some sloths (Edentata) differ in the character and colour of certain patches of hair on their shoulders. And many kinds of bats (Cheiroptera) present well-marked sexual differences, chiefly in the males possessing odoriferous glands and pouches, and by their being of a lighter colour. In the great order of Rodents, as far as I can learn, the sexes rarely differ, and when they do so, it is but slightly in the tint of the fur.

As I hear from Sir Andrew Smith, the lion in South Africa sometimes lives with a single female, but generally with more, and, in one case, was found with as many as five females; so that he is polygamous. As far as I can discover, he is the only polygamist amongst all the terrestrial Carnivora, and he alone presents well-marked sexual characters. If, however, we turn to the marine Carnivora, as we shall hereafter see, the case is widely different; for many species of seals offer extraordinary sexual differences, and they are eminently polygamous (*Descent of Man*, pp. 217-18).

It will be seen that while few species of birds are polygamous, a very large, if not the larger, proportion of mammals are so, especially those of most importance. And while female birds generally have their choice of mates, female mammals very seldom have. Among carnivorous mammals there are very few polygamists, the lion being, so far as known, the only exception. This results from the difficulty of keeping the females together, as each individual of both sexes must seek food separately, and cannot hunt in packs, except in a very few extreme cases. But herbivorous mammals can just as well seek their food in herds, and, in most cases, be more secure from the attacks of their enemies, as they have more sentinels to watch for them; and in case of actual attack they can, if able, defend themselves by their *united* force.

Mammals being divided into two classes, monogamous and polygamous, I will consider them separately in the order stated.

As to the combats of male mammals for the possession of the females, my remarks on page 106 are as applicable to them as they are to the battles among male birds. As "mere bodily strength and size would do little for victory unless associated with courage, perseverance, and determined energy"; and as these qualities are not the more apt to be associated with "bodily strength and size," males of inferior bodily strength and size, in many cases, would win the female first ready to breed. And as to these female mammals themselves, they are, for the strong reasons I have given on page 108, just as likely, if not more likely, to be inferior in "bodily strength and size."

As "amongst animals there are very few which do not annually pair" (*Origin of Species*, p. 52), and as this pairing always occurs at the same period of the year with the same species, and when food is abundant, the love season must be short; and while a few females may be first ready to breed, the great majority must be ready at the same time. And as the few females first ready to pair are just as apt, if not more likely, to be inferior; as the inferior males may have the most "courage, perseverance, and determined energy," and be the victors; as the number of the sexes are conceded to be substantially equal, all the males must ultimately find mates, and "the worst-endowed males leave as many offspring, as well fitted for their general habits of life, as the best-endowed," as admitted in the extract on page 105; and as the males would often pair with their sisters, thus incurring all the evils of too close interbreeding, it is most difficult to understand how the theory of sexual selection can gain anything with the class of monogamous mammals. As "the male is generally eager to pair with any female" and "accepts any female" (*Descent of Man*, pp. 226, 522), he has as little practical choice as the female; and, conceding that in those cases where the most vigorous males happen to unite with the most vigorous females (not too closely related) such

pairs would most probably leave, not a greater number of offspring, but a larger number of *fine* offspring, such fine offspring, for reasons already stated, would be just as likely to unite with their relatives or with inferior as with superior strangers. Thus all the advantages gained in one season would be lost in the next, or in some succeeding period. Sooner or later the descendants of the best-endowed pairs would unite with their inferiors or with their too close relatives. So reciprocal crosses or too close interbreeding would continually take place between individuals belonging to *both* classes, and this would keep the balance even between them and prevent any material variation of the species.

The author evidently relies mainly upon the polygamous class to sustain his theory of sexual selection. In the first paragraph of the extract beginning on page 105 of this work, he admits that, unless the superior males leave a *greater number of offspring* than their rivals, the characters which give to certain males an advantage over others "could not be perfected and augmented through sexual selection"; that where the sexes exist in exactly equal numbers the worst-endowed monogamous males would leave as many offspring as the best-endowed; and that there is no substantial inequality in the numbers of the sexes. These plain admissions contain no more than the truth, so far as we can judge; and, when taken together, they seem entirely inconsistent with the theory of sexual selection, so far as the *monogamous* class is concerned.

But as to the polygamous class, it will be seen from the extract on page 112 that the author says: "The practice of polygamy leads to the same results as would follow from an actual inequality in the number of the sexes."

But is this true? I think not, and will give my reasons briefly.

The conquering males may not, for the reasons before stated, be the superiors in "bodily strength and size," and the females composing their several herds would consist of both classes, including the superior and inferior members, and there would be much more of too close interbreeding among the polygamists.

The matured vigorous life of animals is about twice as long as their infancy. Thus, for example, a creature which arrives at full age in four years will carry all its vigor up to about the age of twelve. We will suppose that a male mammal, at the age of four years, obtains dominion over the herd by either killing or expelling his aged father. The new lord of the harem would at once unite with his sisters, and his first offspring would be born when he was about five years old. When he had reached the age of nine years his first daughters would be grown, and he would unite with them. So, when he attained the age of ten, he would unite with *other* daughters, and so on until his term expired. Thus during from three to eight years



the master male would be annually breeding with his sisters and daughters. In the meantime, as his sons grew up and threatened his supremacy, he would either kill or expel them from the herd. At length one of his sons succeeds him by the same means he used to obtain his kingdom, and reigns in the same manner.

As the young males are not driven away until they are old enough to become troublesome, and are yet expelled before they are able to successfully resist, and as they are not allowed to enter a strange herd, it is most reasonable to suppose that they do not forget the herd they left, but keep in its vicinity until some one of them is able to obtain possession. It is not probable that this can be done until the power of resistance on the part of the master of the herd has been seriously impaired by age. Once in possession of the harem, the conquering male would make a most obstinate resistance against intruders, and would, in most cases, retain his supremacy until old age. Habituated as the expelled males would be to a state of celibacy, they would not have so ardent an impulse to acquire, as the master male to retain, possession of the herd. Power of that kind, once obtained and enjoyed, would be more vehemently esteemed by the possessor than by the inexperienced seeker. This is shown by two cases related by the author :

Lord Tankerville has given me a graphic description of the battles between the wild bulls in Chillingham Park, the descendants, degenerated in size but not in courage, of the gigantic *Bos primigenius*. In 1861 several contended for mastery ; and it was observed that two of the younger bulls attacked in concert the old leader of the herd, overthrew and disabled him, so that he was believed by the keeper to be lying mortally wounded in a neighbouring wood. But a few days afterwards one of the young bulls approached the wood alone ; and then the "monarch of the chase," who had been lashing himself up for vengeance, came out and, in a short time, killed his antagonist. He then quietly enjoyed the herd, and long held undisputed sway (*Descent of Man*, p. 501).

In Pembrokeshire a male goat, the master of a flock which during several generations had run wild, was known to have killed several males in single combat ; this goat possessed enormous horns, measuring thirty-nine inches in a straight line from tip to tip (*id.*, p. 508).

In the case of wild mammals, where two young males attack the master in concert and for a time subdue him, they must soon settle the question of supremacy, as between themselves, by the law of battle ; and this contest gives the old monarch the opportunity to regain his lost throne. The two younger ones will not act in concert again, as their combats with each other have made them determined enemies. While they were both excluded from the herd there was no cause for any war between them, and they were friends. I have been told, and believe the statement to be true, that if several cocks be put upon a place when young, and hens be excluded, the cocks will never fight each other.

As to the ill effects of too close interbreeding, I make these quotations :

In the first place, I have collected so large a body of facts, and made so many experiments, showing, in accordance with the almost universal belief of breeders, that with animals and plants a cross between different varieties, or between individuals of the same variety but of another strain, gives vigour and fertility to the offspring ; and on the other hand, that *close* interbreeding diminishes vigour and fertility (*Origin of Species*, p. 76).

When any species becomes very rare, close interbreeding will help to exterminate it (*id.* p. 102).

Again, both with plants and animals, there is the clearest evidence that a cross between individuals of the same species, which differ to a certain extent, gives vigour and fertility to the offspring ; and that close interbreeding continued during several generations between the nearest relations, if these be kept under the same conditions of life, almost always leads to decreased size, weakness, or sterility (*id.* p. 251).

I quite agree with the learned author as to the evil effects of too close interbreeding ; and there can be no case with wild mammals where these evil consequences are so fully realized as among the polygamous class. The author seems to have slightly anticipated the objection, as the following passage will show :

Or man may not have been a social animal, and yet have lived with several wives like the gorilla ; for all the natives "agree that but one adult male is seen in a band ; when the young male grows up, a contest takes place for mastery, and the strongest, by killing and driving out the others, establishes himself as the head of the community." The younger males, being thus expelled and wandering about, would, when at last successful in finding a partner, prevent too close interbreeding within the limits of the same family (*Descent of Man*, p. 591).

The author assumes that the younger males would wander about until they at last found a partner [partners], and thus prevent too close interbreeding. But as they were unable to remain in their native herds, the same causes would, in most cases, prevent their entrance into strange harems. Then, in the few cases where such expelled males would succeed in conquering the master males and their sons of strange herds, they would, in due time, unite with their own daughters and most likely be succeeded by their own sons ; and thus the evil effects of too close interbreeding would *not* be prevented.

In regard to the evils of too close interbreeding Dr. Bree says : "Innumerable instances are known where both parents were perfectly healthy, and free from any known taint of constitutional disease, and yet, being closely related by blood to each other, their offspring were consumptive, or idiotic, or deformed" (*Fallacies of Darwinism*, p. 100).

I can see nothing in the case of *polygamous* mammals to sustain any theory of sexual selection. The advantages alleged to be gained

by the conquering males becoming the propagators of the class seem to be clearly lost by the plain evils of too close interbreeding.

I maintain that the Creator intended certain animals for domestication, mainly for the benefit of man, and bestowed upon them the capacities necessary for that state, among which the capacity to vary within certain limits is one of the greatest; that this capacity to vary has been developed by man's genius and industry in greatly improving the conditions, by selecting the best-endowed individuals for breeding purposes, by judicious crosses, and by preventing too close interbreeding. In other words, by carefully securing all advantages and avoiding all evils man has been able to produce the variations and improvements made in our various domesticated productions.

In regard to wild animals, I believe that they were not intended by the Creator for domestication, and, for that reason, they do not possess the proper capacities for that state; that their capacity to vary is very slight, and that the limited variations that have occurred were caused by the nature of the organism acted upon by changed conditions, and not by sexual selection, either in whole or in part, as they have no power, as man has, to adopt the advantages and exclude the evils. In a word, what we see accomplished by man we never can find in a state of nature, the capacities, circumstances, and conditions being so *wholly different*. But variations, even in our domesticated productions, have their fixed limits, as we have seen, as no pigeon has ever been developed into any other bird, and no dog into another mammal.

In respect to the alleged effect of sexual selection upon our own race the author says: "The views here advanced, on the part which sexual selection has played in the history of man, want scientific precision" (*Descent of Man*, p. 605).

This part of the subject has been well and ably discussed by Mr. Mivart in his *Lessons from Nature*, pages 323-7, to which I must refer the reader.

## CHAPTER V.

### INTERMEDIATE FORMS.

A POSITION elaborately discussed by the author is most strongly and concisely stated by Professor T. H. Huxley in his article upon Evolution in the last edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* :

Both Mr. Darwin and Mr. Wallace lay great stress on the close relation which obtains between the existing fauna of any region and that of the immediately antecedent geological epoch in the same region ; and rightly, for it is in truth inconceivable that there should be no genetic connection between the two (vol. viii. p. 751).

Mr. Darwin gives a diagram (*Origin of Species*, p. 90) to illustrate his theory, divided into fourteen stages or periods. The position is that the forms of stage number eight will differ less from those of number seven than from those of numbers one and fourteen ; and the conclusion is thence drawn that the forms of number seven have been developed into those of number eight, so as to conform to the new conditions produced by *one* geological change. It is not contended that the forms of number eight belong to the same species with those of number seven, but that there is a close relation between them.

It must be conceded that the difference between the conditions and forms of one geological epoch and those of the immediately preceding one must be *less* than that between the two *most* remote from each other.

But as the whole theory of evolution, as advocated by those who concede the existence of God, is only a *mode* of creation, and nothing more, the question arises, Are the facts stated equally consistent with *both* theories ?

The theory of evolution assumes that the old species are modified into the next succeeding species to fit them to live under the new and changed conditions ; while the theory of special or new creations claims that the new species are not evolved, but created to suit the new order of things. If we, in turn, assume each theory to be true, for the sake of the argument only, we will see that the will of the Creator is carried out in each case with equal efficiency, the *mode* of accomplishing the same end only being different. Thus the wise Creator would make species for number eight different from those of number seven, but still bearing a close resemblance to them, for the simple reason that the changes produced in passing from one to the

next geological period would be much less than those produced by several geological epochs. In other words, *the Creator would create the new species precisely fitted for the new conditions*. It matters not how slowly or quickly the species of number seven passed away, the wisdom and power of God would be just as able to supply their places with new species, suited to the new conditions, in the one mode as in the other.

Passing by the too-confident conclusion of Professor Huxley as the expression of a mere *opinion*, I maintain that the facts stated are equally reconcilable with *both* theories ; and, therefore, they support neither as against the other.

## SERIAL HOMOLOGIES.

In relation to this subject I make these quotations :

There is another and equally curious branch of our subject ; namely, serial homologies, or the comparison of the different parts or organs in the same individual, and not of the same parts or organs in different members of the same class. Most physiologists believe that the bones of the skull are homologous—that is, correspond in number and relative connexion—with the elemental parts of a certain number of vertebræ.

How inexplicable are the cases of serial homologies on the ordinary view of creation ! Why should the brain be enclosed in a box composed of such numerous and such extraordinarily shaped pieces of bone, apparently representing vertebræ ? (*Origin of Species*, p. 384).

I will concede, for the sake of the argument only, that the bones of the skull are homologous:

It is not contended that the skull is a useless organ, or that its outward or inward surface is not properly adapted to the end intended, but simply that it is constructed by the union of various pieces of bone, apparently representing vertebræ.

I have on page 20 spoken of the plain advantages of the vertebrate form as combining *strength* with *flexibility*. I have shown, I think, that if the backbone were one long, inflexible cylinder the animal would be compelled to carry an extra weight of bone in order to secure the same power to resist a sudden blow upon the spine. I think the same principle will apply to the skull.

This organ protects the brain, one of the seats of life, and very liable to be assaulted ; and the construction of the skull in the manner stated gives it more flexibility than it could have were it one solid bone. This mode of construction, consequently, enables the skull to bear a blow that would crush a skull differently composed, though of the same material, weight, thickness, and outward form.

The skull being substantially round, a blow upon it with a long weapon, like a club, would first touch upon a single spot ; and, if the skull consisted of one solid, inflexible piece only, the whole force of

the blow would be spent upon the one projecting spot, and the skull, being brittle and inflexible, would be more readily crushed or fractured than under its present mode of construction. As now composed the blow would first fall upon the most prominent piece of bone, which would yield a little, and the adjoining pieces of bone would receive the blow; and thus the force of it would not be so *suddenly* arrested and would be spread over a larger resisting surface. We may not be able to perceive this flexibility of the skull and its consequently increased power of resistance; but that this flexibility exists seems reasonable from the mode of constructing the skull in pieces.

But conceding, for the sake of the argument only, that I may be wrong in this position, still, under any sound view of the case, the objection lies with as much force against the author's theory as against the ordinary view of creation.

I have shown on page 54 that, as the author concedes the existence of God as *Creator*, he must admit *purpose* in creation, and that, therefore, nothing physical has occurred without the foreknowledge and will of the Supreme; so that God has intended all the effects in fact produced by what we call the laws of nature. These positions being true; and the vertebrate form having been, according to his theory, evolved from the invertebrate and lower forms of animal life; and as natural selection only preserves *useful* variations, how will the author account for this mode of constructing the skull, except upon the ground that such mode is useful? He must concede its usefulness, as the organ itself is not rudimentary. If the skull, as a whole structure, be useful, the mere mode of its construction *must* be good, even if not the best; and being useful, then Professor Huxley is right when he says that "if in the slightest degree useful, there is no reason why, on the hypothesis of direct creation, it should not have been created."

If the author's theory has produced a skull improperly constructed, so much the worse for his theory. We claim that our theory has produced the existing skull, and that this organ performs and accomplishes well all the functions and purposes intended and required; and this being true, we conclude that the mere manner of its construction *must be right*, and this is the reason why the brain is "enclosed in a box composed of such numerous and such extraordinarily shaped pieces of bone, apparently representing vertebræ."

It may be possible that a better plan of construction might have been adopted; but, as there is no practical way of testing the matter, we are content to "let well done alone," as we remember a case where a man was hanged because he would not act upon that sensible maxim. The case is very much like that of a sensible old Mexican who owned a silver-mine in Mexico, and who told the late General

John Wilson, as the latter informed me, that "people very much criticised his simple, economical mode of working his mine; but, as the mine paid him twenty thousand dollars net per month, he thought he would be able to stand their criticisms."

For the reasons given I must say, with all due respect, that the author is mistaken in his opinion as to the facts stated being inexplicable on the ordinary view of creation.

## STRIPED HORSES.

In relation to certain stripes found upon several varieties of the horse the learned author has the following among other remarks:

With respect to the horse, I have collected cases in England of the spinal stripe in horses of the most distinct breeds, and of all colours: transverse bars on the legs are not rare in duns, mouse-duns, and in one instance in a chestnut: a faint shoulder-stripe may sometimes be seen in duns, and I have seen a trace in a bay horse. My son made a careful examination and sketch for me of a dun Belgian cart-horse with a double stripe on each shoulder and with leg-stripes; I have myself seen a dun Devonshire pony, and a small dun Welsh pony has been carefully described to me, both with *three* parallel stripes on each shoulder (*Origin of Species*, p. 128).

For myself, I venture confidently to look back thousands on thousands of generations, and I see an animal striped like a zebra, but perhaps otherwise very differently constructed, the common parent of our domestic horse (whether or not it be descended from one or more wild stocks), of the ass, the hemionus, quagga, and zebra (*id.* p. 130).

I have endeavored to show on page 84 and following pages that our domesticated animals constitute a peculiar and distinct class, mainly intended for man's benefit; and that for this very reason they have been endowed by the Creator with extraordinary adaptive qualities, among which the capacity to vary is one of the greatest.

The fact that the stripes mentioned appear "in horses of the most distinct breeds" has no significance, as all our breeds of the horse are but varieties, which freely interbreed without materially impairing the fertility of the offspring. There are various breeds of the ass, as well as various sizes. In the north of India, "where it is used by the lowest castes, it does not attain a height greater than that of a Newfoundland dog," and yet in Kentucky it reaches a height of from fifteen to sixteen hands.

Thus in Syria, according to Darwin, there are four distinct breeds:—"a light and graceful animal with agreeable gait used by ladies, an Arab breed reserved exclusively for the saddle, a stouter animal used for ploughing and various purposes, and the large Damascus breed with peculiarly long body and ears" (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, ii. p. 717).

There are also several breeds of the camel.

In regard to color I make the following extracts:

There can, however, be little doubt about many slight changes,—such as size from the amount of food, colour from the nature of the food, thickness of the skin and hair from climate, &c. . . . From passages in Genesis, it is clear that the colour of domestic animals was at that early period attended to . . . which differ only in colour, that most fleeting of all characters (*Origin of Species*, pp. 6, 25, 28).

The case referred to will be found in the thirtieth chapter of Genesis.

Laban possessed a flock of sheep and goats, consisting of some individuals of one uniform color, and some of various colors—striped, spotted, and speckled. The flock was divided by him into two portions, and all those of one uniform color were placed under the charge of Jacob, his son-in-law, and those variously colored were placed in the custody of Laban's sons, and the two separated flocks were put three days' journey apart. The compensation of Jacob was all the striped, spotted, and speckled offspring of those under his charge, both of sheep and goats. To cause a greater number of offspring to be variously colored, Jacob took green rods cut from living trees and cut white streaks in them, and then placed them in the watering-troughs during the love season, so that the animals might see the striped rods when they came to drink. Though none of the parents were striped, spotted, or speckled, many, if not most, of their offspring were so, this being caused by the sight of the striped rods.

This case shows that the author is right when he says color is the "most fleeting of all characters." In the north, where the snow lies upon the ground continuously for months, many wild animals become white in winter; and the author says:

Mr. Wallace remarks that "it is only in the tropics, among forests which never lose their foliage, that we find whole groups of birds, whose chief colour is green." In regard to birds which live on the ground every one admits that they are coloured so as to imitate the surrounding surface (*Descent of Man*, p. 489).

In these cases the image of the thing seen is painted upon the retina of the eye, and this image makes an impression upon the tender embryo, and thus produces a coloration more or less corresponding with that of the image. It matters not what may be the character of the coloration, whether uniform or various, striped or spotted; the result will be substantially the same. There may be, at the same time, other influences acting upon the mother during the period of gestation, but the main effect is to produce that character of coloration in the offspring which vividly impresses the mother; especially is this so among most of our domesticated animals, whose capacity to vary is *so great*.

Striped coloration is very common among animals; such, for example, as the tiger, wild cat, zebra, quagga, hyena, cat, and many others too numerous to mention, to say nothing of birds, insects, fishes, or reptiles. It is one of Nature's favorite modes of decoration,



and adds greatly to the variety and consequent beauty of the animal and *vegetable* kingdoms.

In the case of Jacob's flock the exciting cause of variation was undoubtedly the striped rods. Were the striped animals that fell to his share descended from the supposed striped ancestor described by the author? And are all the existing striped creatures descendants of that same supposed animal? Let the oldest man—one who has seen and closely observed as many horses as any other person—go through a large city and carefully examine all the horses he can, and he will find individuals differently colored, in *some* respects, from any which he had ever seen.

But if, on the contrary, *only* the horse, ass, hemionus, quagga, and zebra are descended from this alleged ancestor, then the other striped creatures must, upon the same theory, have been descended from *other* striped ancestors; and these *other* ancestors must have obtained their stripes *independently* of the supposed striped ancestor described by the author. And when we, in imagination, get back to the original striped ancestor, the question arises, How did he obtain his stripes? According to the author's theory of evolution, all vertebrates were evolved from not exceeding four or five invertebrates, the lowest forms of animal existence, and there must have been a time when the stripes were not found in *any* species. If, then, this supposed ancestor obtained his stripes in a certain way, why may not some variety of the horse (even according to the author's own theory of evolution) have secured stripes in the same manner, without having any genetic connection whatever with this supposed striped animal?

All wild turkeys of the same sex are colored alike, but domesticated turkeys are variously colored. We know our domesticated turkey is descended from the wild, because this bird was unknown to civilized man until after the discovery of America, where it was found in a wild state. Suppose the author had selected from our domesticated turkeys certain individuals colored somewhat like a species of wild bird, and had maintained that these specimens and the wild bird were alike the offspring of some supposed remote ancestor, colored like them, "but perhaps otherwise very differently constructed"; would not such a case be just as plausible as that of the horse?

Color being the most fleeting of all characters, especially among our domesticated animals, there are probably many causes for its variations among them—the nature of the food and climate, and more especially the colors of particular objects, as in the case of Jacob's flock. I believe it a wise provision, and another strong proof of purpose in creation, that color is so fleeting, so that adaptive coloration may be assumed so readily. The almost unlimited variety of coloration

among our domesticated productions gives increased beauty to the animals, and, consequently, increased pleasure to man. People differ so much in their tastes that one man prefers a bay, another a chestnut, another a black, and others variously colored horses ; and the variety is so great that all tastes can be gratified. It is so with pigeons, dogs, cattle, cats, and fowls.

We may not be able to trace, in all cases, special colors or styles of coloration to special causes ; but the fact that so many variously colored breeds are found among our domesticated animals is a proof that most of the colors and styles of coloration have been acquired during domestication. Take the case of the turkey, which has been domesticated only some three hundred years, and see how many differently colored individuals may be found, in some of which there are most probably very marked peculiarities. It would seem to be reasonable that if one color may be acquired another may also, except in regard to a few, such as red and green. It would also seem to be about as easy to acquire stripes (so common among animals and plants) as spots or speckles. We see numbers of horses with a white stripe, spot, or star in their faces and on other parts of their bodies. We cannot claim for these any particular ancestor. I believe it is just so with the stripes on the spine, shoulder, and legs. Minute stripes, almost invisible, may be found upon some black cats, as near like those of the zebra as they well can be. They are found on the shoulder and legs, as well as on other parts of the body. I have a black cat thus marked. Other striped cats are common ; and if they were of the same size and form of the zebra, they could hardly be distinguished, their style of coloration being so similar, except in the difference of color.

The strongest individual case mentioned by the author is the following :

In Lord Morton's famous hybrid from a chestnut mare and male quagga, the hybrid, and even the pure offspring subsequently produced from the same mare by a black Arabian sire, were much more plainly barred across the legs than is even the pure quagga (*Origin of Species*, p. 129).

The quagga is a most beautiful animal, found in South Africa, and very much resembles the zebra. I believe the marks upon the second foal mentioned were caused by the intense love of the mare for the quagga, and her recollection of him and of those marks of beauty which had most vividly impressed her. I admit with the author that animals inferior to man have memory, and I quite agree with him where he says :

We may infer from all this that a nearly similar taste for beautiful colours and for musical sounds runs through a large part of the animal kingdom (*Origin of Species*, p. 161).

I believe that animals sometimes have their individual likes and dislikes, preferences and partialities, and that these feelings are far more intense in some individuals than in others. I knew two geldings that were never found apart unless the separation was forced, and then one of them exhibited great distress. There were two celebrated male dogs in San Francisco that never separated and never quarrelled. The horse is a very nervous and sensitive creature, and this chestnut mare was most probably one of the most impressible of her race. This being a rare and exceptional case, we should be cautious in drawing our conclusions from it.

The great and known, plain and simple, fact that crosses between the zebra and horse, and those between the ass and horse, are sterile, is a very strong, if not conclusive proof that these animals are not *all* descended from a common ancestor, as supposed by the author. There seems to be a conflict between the author's several positions. After conceding that color is the "most fleeting of all characters," he then makes it one of the most permanent; for, in the case supposed, the ancestor described was "striped like the zebra, but perhaps otherwise very differently constructed"; yet this difference in construction is made fleeting to sustain the permanency of the coloration, though color is admitted to be the "most fleeting of all characters."

## DISTRIBUTION OF ANIMALS.

The author has most elaborately discussed the intricate question of geographical distribution:

According to these views, it is obvious that the several species of the same genus, though inhabiting the most distant quarters of the world must originally have proceeded from the same source, as they are descended from the same progenitor (*Origin of Species*, p. 319).

We are thus brought to the question which has been largely discussed by naturalists, namely, whether species have been created at one or more points of the earth's surface (*id.* p. 320).

Undoubtedly many cases occur, in which we cannot explain how the same species could have passed from one point to the other (*id.* p. 321).

Turning to geographical distribution, the difficulties encountered on the theory of descent with modification are serious enough (*id.* p. 406).

With respect to the absence of whole orders of animals on oceanic islands, Bory St. Vincent long ago remarked that Batrachians (frogs, toads, newts) are never found on any of the many islands with which the great oceans are studded. . . . But why, on the theory of creation, they should not have been created there, it would be very difficult to explain.

Mammals offer another and similar case (*id.* p. 350).

Although terrestrial mammals do not occur on oceanic islands, aerial mammals do occur on almost every island. New Zealand possesses two bats found nowhere else in the world: Norfolk Island, the Viti Archipelago, the Bonin Islands, the Caroline and Marianne Archipelagoes, and Mauritius, all possess their peculiar bats. Why, it may be asked, has the supposed creative force pro-

duced bats and no other mammals on remote islands? On my view this question can easily be answered; for no terrestrial mammal can be transported across a wide space of sea, but bats can fly across (*id.* p. 351).

I do not propose to discuss the question as to the geographical distribution of individuals belonging to the *same* species, as my limits are too short, and the author admits that the difficulties of his theory are serious enough, and that there are many cases that cannot be explained. I purpose only to examine briefly the objection he makes against the theory of direct creation in the last two extracts.

The objection does not assume that these remote islands have not been sufficiently populated in time past, but it is made against the character or kind of animals found thereon. It is simply an objection against the want of *variety* in the inhabitants, and not against the want of numbers.

This objection may take a much wider range, with about equal plausibility. Why are sloths and other species found only in South America, and the giraffe and others only in Africa? Why are marsupials almost the only mammals found in Australasia? Many more questions of the same character might be asked in regard to other animals, as the sapiutan, that large and curious creature so hard to classify, found only in one place upon the globe, and described by Mr. Alfred Russel Wallace (*Malay Archipelago*, p. 271).

The climates of most tropical regions are so much alike that no reason can be predicated upon this ground; but it may be very doubtful whether the giraffe could exist in South America or the sloth in Africa, owing to difference in food and other conditions. The marsupials might find it very difficult to live among the lions, leopards, and hyenas of Africa. "The carnivorous tribe of marsupials, the larger species at any rate, belong more to Tasmania, which has its 'tiger' and its 'devil.' But the native cat is common to every part of Australia." "Australia has no apes, monkeys, or baboons, and no ruminant beasts. The comparatively few indigenous placental mammals, besides the dingo, or wild dog—which, however, may have come from the islands north of this continent—are of the bat tribe and of the rodent or rat tribe" (*Encyc. Brit.*, iii. pp. 111-12).

But, entirely apart from such considerations, there is evidently a fitness, in the very nature of the case, that all the species competent to live in a certain locality (so far as climate and food are concerned) should not be thrown together, but different portions should be judiciously placed in separate areas. Suppose all the tropical species were placed together in Africa, they would be much in each other's way, and some would be exterminated. Instead of this confusion and extinction, a wise Creator has separated the species, giving to each continent its appropriate fauna and flora, thus producing variety while preserving the species. This is reasonable.

I take the plain position that these remote islands were intended by the Creator for the habitations of certain species, and will give my reasons briefly.

I have shown on page 17 that aquatic birds need some safe place, and where food is also abundant, in which to rear their young, as their progeny do not obtain their powers of flight until they are fully grown, and must, therefore, during their whole infancy remain exposed to the depredations of carnivorous animals. To secure this freedom from extermination during the breeding season, the parent birds are compelled either to go north or to some island where few or no mammals are found. Land wild birds go in separate pairs during the love season, and build separate concealed, elevated, or sheltered nests ; while all aquatic wild birds pair, but generally remain together in large flocks and build their nests upon the ground in the same locality. The wood-duck and frigate-bird build their nests in trees, but these are the only exceptions now remembered. As all the varieties of many aquatic birds, such, for example, as the wild swan, goose, and brant, are exorbitant grass-feeders, they do best by seeking localities where no grazing mammals can be found to consume the supply of food. So those numerous species which feed on fish prefer an island, as safer and yet well supplied with food within easy distance of their flightless young.

In these secure places, and centuries before man appeared upon the stage to assert his destructive powers, these birds lived and multiplied undisturbed by him. When they occupied an island so close to the main shore that carnivorous or other animals invaded their homes, they had only to retire to a more distant locality. When they had multiplied beyond the capacity of the island to support them, the surplus population sought other regions until all the best places were filled. Then portions of them went inland among the carnivorous animals in search of food ; and thus their too great multiplication was checked and their numbers confined within the proper limits.

But these remote islands not only afford the best homes for most aquatic birds, but they are the *only* places upon the earth where several species of birds and mammals can be found. For example, New Guinea is perhaps the largest island on the globe, being about fourteen hundred miles long, and in the widest part four hundred broad, and seems to be everywhere covered with luxuriant forests, and contains no carnivorous animals (*Malay Archipelago*, pp. 576-7). That most beautiful of all birds, the bird-of-paradise, is alone found in New Guinea and the adjacent islands. This most exquisite creature is finely and elaborately described by Mr. Alfred Russel Wallace in the above valuable work, pages 554 to 566. The tree-kangaroo is also found in New Guinea, "there being no carnivora in New Guinea, and

no enemies of any kind from which these animals have to escape by rapid climbing" (*id.* p. 577).

The profusion and character of the plumage of the male bird of paradise must greatly impede his flight; and, as he is so conspicuously marked, he would be thus doomed to extermination were there any carnivorous animals, such as hawks and cats, to be found in his home. These birds being "omnivorous feeders on fruits and insects" (*Malay Archipelago*, p. 557), were frogs (which are among the greatest of fly-catchers) found upon these islands, and their increase unchecked by the presence of carnivores, they would, by their numbers, consume the food needed by these birds. These seem to be ample reasons why frogs and carnivorous animals were not placed upon these islands by a wise Creator.

Considering all the facts relating to New Guinea and its inhabitants, it seems to be one of the clearest proofs of a wise purpose in creation. Its immense forests are necessary as a home for the tree-kangaroo and for this most exquisite of all birds, as well as for others; and the geographical position of the island and other conditions, especially the great difficulty of clearing away its interminable forests, will most probably prevent its settlement so long that it will be the last great island occupied by civilized man. It will not probably be settled by civilized men until their increasing numbers require its vast supply of timber.

I will refer to the case of the dodo of the island of Mauritius. The former existence of this bird, as well as that of several others, is now fully established. In regard to the dodo the writer of the article "Birds" in the last edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* says:

Clumsy, flightless, and defenceless, it soon succumbed, not so much to the human invaders of its realm as to the domestic beasts which accompanied them, and there gaining their liberty, unchecked by much of the wholesome discipline of nature, ran riot, to the utter destruction (as will be seen) of no inconsiderable portion of the Mauritian fauna (iii. p. 732).

The dodo survived until July, 1681.

Several other birds are mentioned as now extinct, but which certainly once lived upon different islands within the last three hundred years.

I will also refer to the fauna of Australia. Tasmania, a small separate island, has its "tiger" and "devil," two carnivorous marsupials. The marsupials of Australia "have been arranged in five tribes according to the food they eat, viz., the root-eaters (wombats), the fruit-eaters (phalangers), the grass-eaters (kangaroos), the insect-eaters (bandicoots), and the flesh-eaters (native cats and rats)" (*Encyc. Brit.*, iii. p. 111). There are no grass-eaters among the few placental mammals in Australia. The kangaroo is, therefore, the only grass-eater among the mammals of this continent. This is its pro-

per home, specially intended and fitted for it. I might also refer to many other cases, such as the apterix and ground parrot of New Zealand.

In regard to certain reptiles Mr. Darwin says :

This general absence of frogs, toads and newts on so many true oceanic islands cannot be accounted for by their physical conditions : indeed it seems that islands are peculiarly fitted for these animals ; for frogs have been introduced into Madeira, the Azores, and Mauritius, and have multiplied so as to become a nuisance. But as these animals and their spawn are immediately killed (with the exception, as far as known, of one Indian species) by sea-water, there would be great difficulty in their transportation across the sea, and therefore we can see why they do not exist on strictly oceanic islands (*Origin of Species*, p. 350).

These frogs have truly "become a nuisance" ; and this is not the only case, I believe, where wild animals have been put in localities by man, and where they were not placed by nature, and have proved a nuisance.\* But the cases mentioned only show why creative wisdom did *not* place them where they would "become a nuisance." If frogs, for example, had been placed on the island of Mauritius before man existed, and without any carnivorous animals to check excess of numbers, they would have been, most probably, injurious to the other creatures there ; and if carnivores had been put there the dodo would have been exterminated, as it has since been by the act of man.

But "there are forty or fifty different sorts of frogs" in Australia : "the commonest is distinguished by its blue legs and bronze or gold back ; the largest is bright green ; while the tree-frog has a loud shrill voice, always heard during rain" (*Encyc. Brit.*, iii. p. 112).

Now, as frogs and their spawn "are immediately killed by sea-water," how did so many different sorts of these reptiles reach distant Australia ? It cannot be truly said that Australia is not a proper island ; because there are no apes, monkeys, baboons, ruminants, hawks, or vultures there, and these, especially the hawks and vultures, are far more readily transported than frogs or their spawn. How can this case be explained according to the author's theory ? Upon the

\*In an article copied from the *St. James' Gazette* December 26, 1881, and republished in the *Daily Examiner* January 30, 1882, it is stated among other things :

"A premium of 6d. per dozen has been placed upon sparrows' heads by the Government of South Australia. . . . The bird, which only a few years ago such efforts were made to acclimatize in Australia . . . is now doomed to extermination, if that can possibly be achieved. So rapidly have the few pairs that were introduced a few years ago multiplied, . . . that the agriculturists complain of the serious injury done by them to their wheat and fruit crops, and have called upon the Government to devise some means for insuring their destruction. . . . Neither apricots, cherries, figs, apples, grapes, peaches, plums, pears, nectarines, loquats, olives, wheat, barley, oats, cabbage, cauliflowers, nor seeds nor fruit of any kind are spared by its omnivorous bill ; and all means of defence tried against its depredations, whether scare-crows, traps, netting, shooting, or poisoning are declared to be inefficient to cope with the enemy."

So far as my information extends, the introduction of other *wild* animals by man, such as the hare, has proved equally a "nuisance." So much for man's vain and idle attempt to improve upon the distribution of *wild* animals-made by God Himself.

theory of direct creation the fact is intelligible. There are "above twenty land-rats and five water-rats," as well as sixty-three species of snakes, to check the too great increase of the frogs in Australia.

In the last extract the author refers to certain bats only found on the islands mentioned, and thinks this fact can only be explained upon his theory, "for no terrestrial mammal can be transported across a wide space of sea, but bats can fly across."

But as these bats are *only* found on these remote islands, and as, according to the author's theory, their ancestors did fly from *other* localities to the spots where their posterity are now seen, the question may be asked why, after they had become numerous in their new homes, some of them did not fly away, either back again or to some other islands, and be *now* found in *other* places? Surely if these bats could fly to these islands they could fly *from* them. And it may well be asked why God could not create them in that as well as in any other locality. That these islands are fit homes for them is certain from the fact that they are found there; and this being true, will any one venture to say that there is a better locality for these creatures? And if these localities are the *best* for them, why should God have created them in *other* localities?

I most respectfully move to amend the author's bill by striking out the word "bats" in the several places where it occurs, and inserting, in lieu thereof, the words "dodo, apterix, and ground-parrot." These creatures are just as flightless as terrestrial mammals, and, if anything, more difficult of transportation "across a wide space of sea" than frogs and mammals. Then how did these birds, according to the author's theory, reach their isolated homes?

I maintain that in all cases where certain species are confined to one limited region they were, for the best of reasons, *there* created. It is true, the author speaks of some bats that have been seen at sea six hundred miles from their homes. But the bat family is most numerous, consisting of one hundred and thirty known species, and these differ most materially in size, disposition, and capacity to roam, just as the black swan, found only in Australia, differs from the white swan in these respects. "The Kalong bat of Java measures 5 feet between the tips of its wings." There are three hundred and fifty species of birds found upon the island of New Guinea—that paradise of birds—and of these, three hundred are *exclusively* peculiar to it. Then I take it to be clear that this is their fit and peculiar home. Some species, I think, were intended for wide dispersion, while others were only intended to inhabit more limited areas.

Whoever concedes the existence of God is rightly responsible for all the logical consequences flowing from that position; and, as Mr. Darwin admits the existence of God *as Creator*, and insists that his



theory is not opposed to the Christian religion, he must concede *purpose in creation; and if purpose, then wise purpose; and if wise purpose, then efficient purpose.*

Mr. Darwin must, therefore, logically concede that it was the will of God that these remote islands should have been populated in the manner they have been. I believe that they have been occupied precisely as He intended they should be; and that, for this conclusive reason, He did not *create* frogs and mammals for them, otherwise than as, *in fact*, found thereon. I maintain that the theory of direct creation produced the exact kind and number of animals, and in the localities where they were needed, to fill these remote islands just as they have been filled, and in the manner and to the extent foreseen and intended; and, therefore, that other and different species were not required; and, for that good reason, they were not created for these distant regions.

#### SPECIFIC OBJECTIONS AGAINST THE THEORY OF EVOLUTION.

On page 30 will be found a description of that wonderful animal, the giraffe, taken from the latest and best authorities. From a careful examination it will readily be seen how beautifully its organization has been adapted to its conditions of life, and how unlike all other creatures it is; and, therefore, how difficult to reconcile those most unusual features with the theory of evolution. On page 17 I have shown that its leg-bones are solid, like those of the elephant and hippopotamus, and that this peculiarity of structure is found only in these three animals.

The giraffe has the most peculiarly-shaped tongue; large eyes that can be so turned as to enable it, without turning its head, to almost see behind it; an acute sense of smell, a keen sight, swift gait, the longest neck, smallest head, and shortest body in proportion—and altogether a combination of endowments found in no other quadruped. One of its greatest peculiarities is its swiftest gait, which is that of a pace and not a leap. We have among horses what are called “natural pacers”; but these, when running at their best speed, go in leaps like all other quadrupeds except the giraffe.

Mr. Darwin has devoted several pages to this animal, from which I make the following extracts:

Man has modified some of his animals, without necessarily having attended to special points of structure, by simply preserving and breeding from the fleetest individuals, as with the race horse and greyhound, or as with the game-cock, by breeding from the victorious birds. So under nature with the nascent giraffe, the individuals which were the highest browsers and were able during dearths to reach even an inch or two above the others, will often have been preserved; for they will have roamed over the whole country in search of food. That the individuals of the same species often differ slightly in the relative lengths of their parts may be seen

in many works of natural history, in which careful measurements are given (*Origin of Species*, p. 177).

In every meadow in England in which trees grow, we see the lower branches trimmed or planed to an exact level by the browsing of the horses or cattle; and what advantage would it be, for instance, to sheep, if kept there, to acquire slightly longer necks? (*id.* p. 179).

This is certainly a most plausible explanation, on paper; but the author seems to have overlooked the fact that male giraffes, like most other males among quadrupeds, are several inches taller than the females, and of course "were able during dearths to reach even an inch or two above the" females, and "will often have been preserved" while the females will have been left to perish.

But as the author admits that in South Africa giraffes exist in large numbers, and that "some of the largest antelopes in the world, taller than an ox, abound there" (*Origin of Species*, p. 178), it is difficult to see why the necks of some of these tall creatures were not developed by the *same* means in the *same* locality.

The author says that the lower branches of trees are trimmed in England by horses and cattle. This is so in California, and must be so all over the world. The author also says that "in every district some one kind of animal will almost certainly be able to browse higher than the others; and it is almost equally certain that this one kind alone could have its neck elongated for this purpose, through natural selection and the effects of increased use" (*Origin of Species*, p. 179).

It is certain that animals with shorter necks would reach as high as they could, especially in the beginning of dearths; but, for the sake of the argument only, we will admit that the author is right in his assumed position that some one species of animal in every district would be able to browse higher than the others.

Now, as there were so many districts in the world, in each of which, before man appeared, there was some one kind of animal browsing higher than all the others of the district; and as these animals must have belonged to many different species, is it not most unaccountable that the same process which it is alleged elongated the neck of the giraffe in Africa should have wholly failed in all *other* portions of the wide earth, and where there were no giraffes to compete? It is plain that it could not have been the character of the food or climate, but the character of the elongating process, which, it is claimed, produced the long neck of the giraffe, and this process was precisely the *same* in all the supposed cases. It seems clear that, upon the doctrine of chances, there is only one chance in many hundreds that the author's explanation is true.

On page 32 will be found a description of the celebrated feline family, the characteristics of which are most marked and peculiar. As they belong to a very high order in the animal kingdom, they must

have been, according to the author's theory as shown in extracts on page 80, *slowly* evolved "by the preservation and accumulation of small inherited modifications, each profitable to the preserved being." This family must therefore have had ancestors, if the theory be true, of a lower order. How, then, did evolution change their characteristics and structure? We will suppose, for example, that the feline was evolved from the canine family. The members of the canine family have small feet, armed with slightly curved, blunt nails, which touch the ground at every step, and are most useful in running and also in digging in the ground. If a wild member of this family were deprived of its nails it would hardly be able to live. While necessarily using its feet and nails in exertions to supply its daily wants, there could be no change from the non-retractile to the retractile form *slowly effected* without impairing its means of living; and until the feet were enlarged, and the retractile claws were fully completed, they could be of no service. If this supposed change were effected suddenly it would amount, in substance, to a new creation, and be contrary to the theory of evolution. Thus, between the period when the alleged modifications commenced and their present state, each small variation would have been injurious to the creature, and how could it have lived during this long, slow period of transition? These observations will apply substantially to any other supposed ancestor.

On page 22 will be seen a description of the bat; and a careful consideration of its most peculiar structure will make it most difficult to imagine how the slow process of evolution could produce so strange a mammal from any other creature. The toes of the feet are peculiarly constructed, so as to allow it to hang with its head downward while in repose. But these feet, and the long claw on the second joint of each wing, are not fitted for progression, except at a very slow, awkward gait.

Let us, then, suppose any mammal we please, possessing four legs, each terminating in a foot armed with claws or nails, and capable of movements sufficient to secure its food; and then imagine, if we can, how the claws of the hind legs could be *gradually* changed in form and function, and how the forelegs and feet could be obliterated, and wings substituted, with bones so different in length and form from those of the lost legs, and with one single claw, not at the extremity of the wing, but at its second joint, and these long, separated wing-bones firmly connected together by a thin, silky, and most delicate membrane; and then, at last, form some theory compatible with sound common sense as to how all these immense, radical changes in the animal's organization and consequent habits could have been *gradually* produced by small, advantageous modifications made *before* its new organization was completed. In other words, consider the bat with its wings half formed, too large for land

progression and too small for flight, with the claws on the joints of its wings just beginning to grow, and say how the animal lived in this condition. We know that certain insects, such as the butterfly and silkmoth, pass through the chrysalid state, during which they remain dormant and fasting; but mammals are too high in the scale of being to pass through this process of change. A very warm imagination might *possibly* conceive some ideal theory by which such a strange result could be brought about, but my common sense tells me it is as illusory as the theory that a healthy man's arm may be so *gradually* amputated that he would not feel the operation, although no means had been used to deaden the sense of feeling.

On page 34 will be found some remarks in regard to the sea-lion and the opossum. It will be seen that the former animal has a peculiar nail upon the hind flipper, used *only* for scratching its head and neck. This is a feature most difficult to explain upon the theory of evolution. It could not have been produced by the use of the flipper for the purpose of scratching, as it is wholly unfit for such a purpose, and this is the reason this peculiar nail was placed on the only part competent to use it when formed. How this nail could have arisen *slowly* I think no one can tell. Then that most wonderfully protective and strange instinct of the opossum, found in no other creature, so far as I am advised, could not have been gradually acquired, as the animal, during its slow accumulation, would have been without the peculiar protection it needs. This instinct was not given for its protection against man, as it never deceives him, while it does deceive all other animals.

On page 27 will be seen a short description of the cony and gecko, the only mammal and reptile in the world, so far as I am advised, which possess this peculiar formation of the feet. By means of this most wonderful construction of the extremities the cony is able to stick to the side of a smooth, perpendicular wall of rock like a fly, and the gecko can also adhere to the under side of any smooth surface, as well as to the perpendicular side.

Now, were these striking peculiarities produced by the *slow* accumulation of small, profitable modifications? Until the structure was fully *completed* it is plain that the animal could not use its feet for the purpose intended. For rapidly moving upon the *upper* surface of anything they have ordinary claws or nails; and no small variation towards this peculiar, *ultimate* form could have been of any use to these creatures. Say that it required the sum total of one hundred of these small variations to complete the structure, then, at the ninetieth modification, nothing would have been gained for the then present use; and how can this state of the case be reconciled with the theory of evolution? And during this long, slow modification how did these beings manage to exist when they had not the

means now found *necessary* for their existence? In my judgment this is one of the plainest cases against the theory of evolution.

On page 36 will be found a description of that flightless but extraordinary bird, the apterix of New Zealand. It is peculiar in almost every feature of its strange structure; and if the theory of evolution be assumed as true for the sake of the argument only, how hard it is to see how such a form could possibly have been *slowly* evolved from some other being! This is one of those cases, as I take it, in which we can most clearly trace the peculiar habits of the bird to its organization.

Let us consider its most curious nostrils. Instead of terminating at or near the base of the upper mandible, as in all other cases, so far as I am advised, they extend to the lower end of its long, slender bill. Now, how can we imagine that this extension of the nostrils from the base to the farthest point of the upper mandible could have been *gradually* effected? And if it were possible for this to have been done, until completed this supposed extension would have been of no advantage to the creature. When *fully* completed we can well understand the purpose of this novel termination of the nostrils; but until complete a mere partial extension would not have answered the purpose intended.

Then that most wonderful projection near the end of the upper mandible, it would seem, could not *possibly* have been produced by *slow* degrees. We will suppose, for the sake of the argument only, that the bird had attained its present form with the exception of this strange projection, and that it was in the constant use of its long, slender bill in procuring its food; then it is clear that this use would have kept each mandible worn smooth, and thus effectually have prevented the slow growth of this projection.

On page 38 will be found a description of that remarkable bird, the hornbill, the facts in regard to which, as Mr. Wallace truly says, are "stranger than fiction." But these strange and extraordinary facts naturally give rise to the question, How are they to be reconciled with the theory of evolution? A fertile imagination might possibly conceive a plausible theory as to how the structure of this wonderful creature could have been evolved from some other bird; but how could that strange and yet necessary habit of fastening up the female have been acquired by slow degrees? We see here another clear case where, until this final result was fully attained, the many small changes would have been perfectly idle and vain. What a strange feat it would have been for the first male hornbill, slowly evolved from some other bird, to have walled up his mate, she meekly submitting to this then new and most extraordinary operation! And unless this enclosing process had been at *once* complete it would have been useless. The habits of the bird are most peculiar, and could never have been,

from the nature and reason of the case, acquired by the slow accumulation of small variations.

But the most wonderful of all birds is the maleo, so well described by Mr. Wallace, whose description is copied, commencing on page 38. A careful examination of this full and no doubt true account of this bird will show, I think, beyond any reasonable doubt, that it never could have been evolved from any other creature. It is only found in one small region of the globe, and its most peculiar structure and resulting habits prove it to be a direct creation for that particular locality.

Let us consider briefly its most peculiar structure. The eggs are very large, *richer* than hens' eggs, and laid at intervals of from ten to thirteen days. All these peculiarities are necessary to give the young bird strength sufficient to make its way from beneath the sand to the surface, to run or fly to the forest some miles away, and there to seek its food and security without the care of its parents. In order that this egg may be larger and richer than hens' eggs, the bird only lays one at comparatively long intervals. Then the "toes are strongly webbed at the base, forming a broad powerful foot," well adapted to scratch away the loose sand.

We will, for the sake of illustration, suppose the maleo to have been evolved from some other bird, and then try to see how this could possibly have been *slowly* done by the preservation and accumulation of small, advantageous modifications. The bird, to begin with, we will suppose laid her eggs in a nest; that they were of the usual size and quality; that one was deposited each day, and the eggs hatched by incubation. We will suppose that by degrees she enlarged and enriched her eggs and laid only one in two days, that her later descendants laid their eggs one in four days, until finally her very latest posterity deposited one large, rich egg in ten to thirteen days. How could any of these changes have been of any advantage to the bird until it was fully evolved into the complete maleo? In fact, this increase in the size and quality of the eggs, and that of the length of time of their deposition, would have been of decided injury to the bird until the period arrived when she could have deposited them in the sand, and thus have avoided the long incubation. And what advantage would the webbed toes have been to the creature until she was fully fitted for an entire change of habit? Like the gecko, she could have no possible use for her new organization until it was *wholly complete and ready for practical service*.

In the meantime how was the race preserved? As the interval *increased* in length between the laying of one set of eggs and that of the next, how were they hatched? If we suppose that only in the beginning, or even in the middle of this slow process of change, the eggs were deposited in the sand, then how was this done *successfully* before

the feet were enlarged? And how did the young bird, hatched from a small, poor egg, possess the strength to work its way to the surface, flee to the woods, and there support itself? And by what steps were the size and richness of the eggs increased? It would seem most difficult, if not impossible, under the theory of evolution, for the most exuberant imagination to give us definite, plain, and sensible answers to these questions. All the cases I have mentioned seem inexplicable upon the theory of evolution; but upon that of direct creation they are readily explainable. The power and wisdom of the great Creator were ample to form creatures in any number required, and precisely suited to the particular conditions.\* Mr. Darwin says:

If it could be demonstrated that any complex organ existed, which could not possibly have been formed by numerous, successive, slight modifications, my theory would absolutely break down. But I can find no such case (*Origin of Species*, p. 146).

\* Some four months after I had completed the text of the two chapters on Evolution, except a few additions and corrections, I procured a work written by A. Wilford Hall. Of the five hundred and twenty-four large pages of this work, some two hundred and sixty are devoted to the theory of sound. This large portion I have not read, as I did not consider it necessarily connected with the subject under discussion. I, therefore, express no opinion as to the author's view of that scientific question. I have read the other portion of this elaborate work; and while I think his style very objectionable, and his egotism and sarcasm excessive, and do not agree with him in several of his leading positions, I will say that he has, in my best judgment, sustained some of his grounds with great force and clearness. I make the following quotations:

"Before bringing this chapter to a close, I desire to call the attention of Prof. Haeckel and Mr. Darwin to a serious difficulty lying right in the path of their great law of development—natural selection and survival of the fittest;—a difficulty which they perhaps have never thought of, or at least one which I have never seen urged by any opponent of the theory of descent. I refer to the well known fact, as taught in the writings of these authorities, that the lower forms of invertebrate animals are *bisexual*;—that is, they contain the sexual functions and organs of procreation in one and the same individual, and consequently do not require the union of two individuals to perpetuate their kind as with all present vertebrate tribes.

"Now, if the present *unisexual* species have really descended from *bisexual* forms by natural selection and survival of the fittest, it becomes a first-class evolution puzzle to determine in what way natural selection, survival of the fittest, or any other law of Nature could go to work to make this radical change from a *singls animal* having both sexes in itself, with every facility for multiplying and perpetuating its kind, to a *couple of individuals*, each possessing half of this procreative function and half of the organic structure necessary to accomplish such a result."

"Thus it is perfectly plain that 'natural selection' could not *suddenly* have separated some bisexual animal, transforming it into two separate beings, male and female, as this would have been a 'great and sudden leap,' equal to any miracle possible to conceive of as the work of a personal God; and of course Mr. Darwin does not intend thus to stultify evolution by changing natural selection into a personal Creator."

"This settles the whole controversy, for it is certain that the slightest variation of the *bisexual* animal toward either the male or female side of its organism, would be injurious, as it would tend proportionately to weaken the other side of its sexual function, and thus unfit the individual for the work of perpetuating its kind. Any important sexual variation, therefore, of any individual would destroy itself by destroying the power of producing offspring and thus transmitting its peculiarities; while the very tendency to separation would thus die with the individual and no progress would be made. Every slight variation that might thus chance to occur in nature, would inevitably end with the individual in which it occurred, and thus the tendency toward a division of the *bisexual* form into two half-sexual forms would make no headway. The very law of the 'survival of the fittest' would thus utterly extirpate any *bisexual* individual in which the least weakening of either half of its procreative functions should occur; for it would necessarily deteriorate it, sinking it below the average normal status of the tribe. Hence the normal, perfect, bisexual forms, being the 'fittest' to procreate their kind, would survive, while the impotent individual in which one half of its procreative power was deteriorating, should any such tendency occur, being unfit to reproduce its kind, must perish with its unproductive tendency. This can hardly fail to be clear to the reader" (*Problems of Human Life*, pp. 382-4).

Now, with all due respect, I submit that I have not only shown one but ten such cases which I must think cannot be reasonably confuted; and I have no doubt that many others exist of like character. I will only refer to two additional cases.

I cannot conceive how that strange animal, the sloth, described on page 23, could have been formed "by numerous, successive, slight modifications." How these numerous *slight* modifications could have possibly been of any *advantage* I am unable to understand. When *complete* I can well comprehend the use of its strange organization.

But the case of the woodpecker, described on page 29, is still more difficult of satisfactory explanation upon any theory of evolution. Until the bird's organization was fully completed it could not act and live as it now does; nor does it seem possible that these peculiar structures could have been slowly formed "by numerous, successive, slight modifications," each slight change being in the meantime *beneficial* to the bird. Let us duly consider the very peculiar structures that enable it to successfully practise its mode of life.

It has four toes on each foot, two short and two long ones, one short and one long one on each side, so as exactly to balance each other. Other birds, with the exception of the parrot family (so far as I know), have three long toes on each foot for scratching in, and running upon, the ground, and one short toe behind to enable them to sit on the top of a twig or limb of a tree; and there being very little strain upon any of the toes owing to this position, the small toe behind has ample strength for the purpose intended. But in the case of the woodpecker the whole weight of the body, and the additional strain caused by its drawing its head so far back and making so powerful a stroke against the perpendicular trunk of the tree, are thrown upon the toes equally on each side of the foot; and, for this reason, they are *equally* strong and *equally divided*. Other birds cannot stick to the perpendicular trunk or limb of a tree for any *efficient* purpose, much less can they ascend, as the woodpecker does. While other birds run and scratch in and on the ground, the woodpecker moves there very slowly and awkwardly.

Other features of this bird are its bill and peculiarly shaped and barbed tongue, both necessary to enable it to live as it does. The bill is very long, strong, wedge-shaped, and sharp-pointed, thus enabling the bird to pry off the bark under which the insect lies concealed, and also to bore holes in decaying trees in search of worms or as a place for its nest. Then the long, slender, pointed, hard, and barbed tongue can be thrust into the hole made by the worm, and into the worm itself, and the insect drawn out.

And its long, strong tail-feathers form a peculiar brace which enables the bird not only to stick to and ascend the perpendicular trunk or limb of a tree, but to peck holes into it without falling back-



wards. Then, as the bird is rather slow of flight, it is protected, so far as I am advised, by an odor that saves it from the attacks of carnivorous animals.

Now, these questions and considerations naturally arise : How did this bird acquire its peculiar toes, and their peculiar *equal* division on each side of the foot, by the *slow* accumulation of *slight, successive, beneficial* variations? And how did it acquire its bill and peculiar tongue in the same way? And then, again, how did its tail-feathers become so long and strong as to act as a brace?

It would seem obvious that a slight modification could have been of no benefit. Until the feet and tail were *fully* completed the bird could not stick to or ascend the tree, much less support itself while pecking a hole in it. Nor could it peck successfully until the bill was fully formed. And then until the tongue was *fully* elongated, hardened, pointed, and barbed, it could not be used for the purpose intended. And how could all this be done so *gradually* as the theory of evolution demands? Between the structure of the woodpecker and its necessarily resulting habits, and those of other creatures, the chasm is so wide that nothing but a great and sudden leap can span it. Upon the creational theory it is easily explained; but in my opinion it is wholly inexplicable upon the theory of evolution.

It is very true Mr. Darwin says :

Can a more striking instance of adaptation be given than that of a woodpecker for climbing trees and seizing insects in the chinks of the bark? Yet in North America there are woodpeckers which feed largely on fruits, and others with elongated wings which chase insects on the wing. On the plains of La Plata, where hardly a tree grows, there is a woodpecker (*Colaptes campestris*) which has two toes before and two behind, a long pointed tongue, pointed tail-feathers, sufficiently stiff to support the bird in a vertical position on a post, but not so stiff as in the typical woodpeckers, and a straight, strong beak. The beak, however, is not so straight or so strong as in the typical woodpeckers, but it is strong enough to bore into wood. Hence this *Colaptes* in all the essential parts of its structure is a woodpecker. Even in such trifling characters as the colouring, the harsh tone of the voice, and the undulatory flight, its close blood-relationship to our common woodpecker is plainly declared; yet, as I can assert, not only from my own observations, but from those of the accurate Azara, in certain large districts it does not climb trees, and it makes its nest in holes in banks! In certain other districts, however, this same woodpecker, as Mr. Hudson states, frequents trees, and bores holes in the trunk for its nest. I may mention as another illustration of the varied habits of this genus, that a Mexican *Colaptes* has been described by De Saussure as boring holes into hard wood in order to lay up a store of acorns (*Origin of Species*, p. 141).

The fact that the colaptes can live in the almost treeless plains of La Plata, notwithstanding its comparatively slow, undulatory flight, seems to prove that my opinion, that the woodpecker is protected by an offensive odor, is most probably true; because, unless the colaptes is protected, either by this means or by its courage, strong claws, harsh voice, and sharp beak, or by all these means combined, it could not

escape the hawks in that locality. The bird being protected by these or *other* means, the only check to its increase would be the want of food ; and as its organization will enable it (in a warm climate where insects are found at all times upon the surface of the ground) to procure its food without resorting to worms found in trees, it could well live in the locality mentioned. Most wild birds liable to be caught on the wing by the swift hawk would be unable to live there for want of trees in which to build their nests and escape their enemies. This state of things would leave all the supply of food produced by those plains for the colaptes and the few ground-birds which might exist there under the protection afforded them by their color and their skill in dodging and hiding. Though this, like other woodpeckers, is slow of foot on the ground and unable to scratch for worms, it is still able to capture the slower insects found upon the surface. There being no serious check to its rapid increase except the want of food, the surplus numbers would naturally leave the woods where the supply was short, and seek the plains where it was abundant. It may also, like many other woodpeckers and most wild birds, feed upon both insects and fruits. In temperate climates the woodpecker's main reliance for food must generally be the insects found in trees (for the capture of which no other bird is so well fitted), as it could not compete with other birds in pursuing its prey upon the ground or on the wing. I think that no woodpecker can catch the nimble house-fly on the wing, but only large and slow insects, such as the locust, grasshopper, and some large moths.

We have in California, so far as I know, but very few species of the woodpecker, while in the States east of the Rocky Mountains the number of species is much greater. The species of this bird found in the mountains of California bore holes in the dry, soft, outside bark of the sugar-pine, and also in decaying trees, in order to lay up a store of acorns for the winter. I have spoken of the barbed tongue of the woodpecker, though I am not aware that this feature has been mentioned by any other writer. I only examined one subject, and that in California in July, 1880, and the tongue was barbed at the point ; and from this case I inferred that this peculiar structure is common to the whole family. But in this I may be mistaken.

It seems, however, that the tail-feathers of the colaptes are not so stiff, nor its beak so straight or so strong, as those of the typical woodpecker ; but still the tail is ample to support the bird in a vertical position on a post, and the beak strong and straight enough to bore into wood, and in all the *essential* parts of its structure it is a woodpecker ; and not only so, but this same colaptes "frequents trees, and bores holes in the trunk for its nest." Its organization is, then, sufficient to enable it to live, as the typical woodpecker does, in trees. Then, as this *same* colaptes still possesses all the *essential* structures common

to the family, is the fact that some colaptes live in plains and some in trees any evidence that its organization has changed in any respect? From the fact that woodpeckers are so widely distributed, especially in America, the plains of La Plata must have been inhabited by the colaptes soon after they appeared on earth, perhaps millions of years ago; and yet so little influence has the *locality* had upon the bird that those of the plains are the *same* with those which frequent and bore into trees, and *both* are still essentially woodpeckers. Then, if the *slight difference* between the tail and the beak of this bird and those of the typical woodpecker be the work of such immense periods of time, how long would it take to *essentially* change its organization? The fact that the tail-feathers are not so stiff and the beak not so straight nor so strong as those of the typical woodpecker (conceding there is no error in the comparison), is no certain evidence that the *locality* has had the slightest effect in producing these results, because the *same* bird frequents and bores into trees. It is far more reasonable, in my opinion, to suppose that these slight and trivial differences arise from other causes, as, perhaps, from the shorter form of the body. I believe this species has been created to suit the conditions. One fact is certain, that it is still *essentially* a woodpecker, "even in such trifling characters as the colouring, the harsh tone of the voice, and undulatory flight," and has still *ample* means to live in trees *just* as the "typical woodpeckers" do. And there would seem to be a clear distinction between *slightly* impairing the strength and changing the shape of an organ by non-use, and acquiring the new, peculiar, and complex structures in such a case as that of the woodpecker, where it is so manifestly hard to *begin*. As I have maintained, *until* the bird could support itself in a vertical position and ascend the tree, bore holes in the trunk, and pull out the worm, any slight, possible variations could not be of any use whatever. And I must think that the case so plausibly and strongly put by the learned author does not sustain his theory, but is against it when all the circumstances are carefully considered.

It will be seen from the extract on page 81 that Mr. Darwin believes that the mode of creation maintained by him "accords better with what we know of the laws impressed on matter by the Creator." But is this view correct? I think not.

It certainly must be conceded as a true principle that any intellectual being who, in virtue of his own nature, possesses a mass of powers, may generally delegate them, at least in part, to his agent, who then, for the purpose of such agency, becomes the simple instrument or servant of the principal. Although two men are equals in their private capacities, the moment the relation of principal and agent is established between them, that instant one becomes the master and the other his servant for all the purposes within the proper scope of such agency.

But God, who works without weariness and knows without investigation, being the sole Self-Existent, could not possibly delegate the power of creation in *full*, as He had necessarily *first* to create, by His own direct act, that which was intended to be made His agent. And as He could not possibly delegate this transcendent power in *full*, He could not, in the nature of His own being, delegate it even in *part* to a mere agent, as to do so would substantially be creating His own equal.

But without discussing further the abstract right of God to delegate the power of creation in *part*, and conceding such delegation to be possible, for the sake of the argument only, then the question arises, Is it reasonable that He should have done so ?

Now, as God, by His own direct act, created matter, it is not reasonable that He should have delegated the creative power to originate life—the immediate, intangible, and invisible builder of all derivative organisms. And if, as the author maintains, God did directly create certain animal forms, is it not far more reasonable that He should have continued the method He is conceded to have adopted at the beginning? The author's theory makes God start with one method of creation, and then abandon it for another and wholly different mode. If the Creator had the power and intended to make matter His agent to act for Him in the creation of anything, it is far more logical and consistent that He should have adopted that method *entire*, and have thus bestowed upon His agent the power of spontaneous generation. The author's theory is inconsistent with itself, as it makes God start with one method of creation and end with another. And not only so, but it makes Him *directly* create the simplest, but *indirectly*, by His agent, the highest, forms of life, including His noblest visible work—man.

But it is not reasonable that the great Creator should have delegated His power of creating animated beings, when He actually exercised the power directly Himself in the creation of mere insensate matter.

But the author thinks that Maupertuis' philosophical axiom of "least action" applies to his theory. If so, I maintain it is against it, because, under that theory, each small variation is nothing else than a substantial and distinct act in the process of gradual creation, either performed by God directly, or indirectly by His agent for Him; and the act of the agent is but the act of the principal by the use of an instrument. The *original* source from which the power flowed is the principal; and it is the same whether the work be done directly by the principal or indirectly by an agent—it is still that of the principal, and not, in substance, that of the agent, as he acted under delegated authority and as an instrument only.

Now, if these plain, luminous, and well established principles be

true, then the direct creational theory is more simple, prompt, and intelligible than the mixed and inconsistent theory of the author. We hold that God, by His own direct act, has always exercised the power of creation, while He has delegated the power of continuing a species by means of generation. In exercising this power of creation directly, God actually performs fewer acts of creation than He would be compelled to do under any theory of evolution.

Why the author, after having invoked the direct creative acts of God, should be so warmly opposed to the theory of direct creation, I am unable to understand, because with the author it is only a question of quantity, and not of kind. He admits direct creation in part, and then opposes its extension to all things created. His theory appears to be mixed and inconsistent, resting upon *opposite* bases. It rests upon direct creation in part, and in part upon evolution.

## MAN.

*His Physical Structure.*

No exception is, at this time, known to the general law, established upon an immense multitude of direct observations, that every living thing is evolved from a particle of matter in which no trace of the distinctive characters of the adult form of that living thing is discernible. This particle is termed a *germ*.

In the immense majority of both plants and animals, it is certain that the germ is not merely a body in which life is dormant or potential, but that it is itself simply a detached portion of the substance of a pre-existing living body, etc.

In the great majority of cases, at any rate, the full grown organism becomes what it is by the absorption of not-living matter, and its conversion into living matter of a specific type (Prof. Huxley, *Encyc. Brit.*, viii. p. 746).

The whole body of every animal with a distinct skull and backbone exists at first as a rounded almost structureless mass of tissue, in which the first clear indication of such animal is a longitudinal furrow marking the place of the future spinal marrow and brain (St. George Mivart, *Lessons from Nature*, p. 271).

It will be seen that the germ is the *exclusive* product of a pre-existing body and, therefore, it is only derivative and not original.\* It is part of the process of continuing an already existing race, and not the creation of a new one. On page 20 I have given the reasons why the plan of continuing a race by the union of the sexes was adopted by a wise Creator; and on page 21 I have given the reasons why the vertebrate form was the best possible for all animals of active habits.

Mr. Dārwin has given us one drawing of the human embryo, and another of the dog at about the same *early* stage of development.

\* The Boston Monday Lectures of Joseph Cook contain a clear and able discussion of the subject of Biology. But I must differ with him in regard to many of his positions. He has also unnecessarily introduced topics foreign to his subject. His style is too sensational for a scientific question. As a matter of taste it is objectionable that his publishers have inserted such expressions as [Laughter and applause], [Applause], [Laughter], [Much Applause], and [Sensation], as if reporting a popular political speech for a newspaper.

Though there are many points of resemblance between them, they are quite distinct from each other ; and Dr. Bree has pointed out several specific differences (*Fallacies of Darwinism*, p. 55). These drawings exhibit a side view of each embryo, showing the course of the already-outlined spine ; but the extremities and the heads are only partially developed, so as not to show the final form. In my judgment they show only those resemblances common to the vertebrates.\*

That all animals have many points of resemblance must be true, otherwise they could not be animals at all. This is especially true of the vertebrate order. The Duke of Argyll has well pointed out these resemblances :

There are some essential resemblances between all Forms of Life which it is impossible even in imagination to connect with community of blood by descent. For example, the Bilateral arrangement is common to all Organisms, down at least to the Radiata, and in this great class we have the same principle of Polarity developed in a circle. Again, the general mechanism of the digestive organs by which food is in part assimilated and in part rejected, is also common through a range of equal extent. Indeed, it may be said with truth, that never in all the changes of Time has there been any alteration throughout the whole scale of Organic Life, in the fundamental principles of chemical and mechanical adjustment, on which the great animal functions of Respiration, Circulation, and Reproduction have been provided for. These are fundamental similarities of plan, depending probably on the very nature of Forces which necessitate these adjustments in order to the production of the phenomena of Life—Forces of which we know nothing, but which we have not the slightest reason to suppose to be due to inheritance. Other similarities of plan may depend on the same laws, equally unconnected with inheritance by descent (*Reign of Law*, p. 268).

I have contended that it is in the very nature of intellect first to adopt a plan, and then to work by it. Were a mechanic required to invent and construct two machines for two *new* and *different* purposes, he would build the first one ; and then, in making the second, he would use all the mechanical contrivances found in the first that were well adapted to the second. He would not be silly enough to discard a good adjustment simply because he had already used it in the first instance. I think it is just so in creation. It has had a plan as well as a history. The great Creator first adopted the vertebrate form for a large order of creatures, because this one plan, with slight modifications, was the best possible form for that class of animals. So the theory of reproduction by the union of the sexes was the best for the purpose intended ; and having been once adopted, the plan of development from a germ was the best that could be used.

But the fact that man and the higher apes are vertebrates, and are developed from germs similar in *appearance*, is no evidence that

\* Mr. Hall has devoted several pages to the discussion of embryology (*Problems of Human Life*, pp. 371-5, 414), and has, in my judgment, completely confuted the arguments drawn from that source and so much relied upon by evolutionists. The passages are too extended for my limits, and I can only refer the reader to them.

they had a common origin, except as the work of a common Creator. Nor is the similarity of their *physical* forms in other respects any evidence of a community of blood. Assuming the existence of God, for the sake of the argument only, then, if these *same* forms be useful to *both* classes, "there is," as Professor Huxley so well says, "no reason why, on the hypothesis of direct creation, they should not have been created."

Take, for example, the ape. Its habits being arboreal (because it thus secures protection), and its food being mainly the fruits which grow upon trees in climates of perpetual summer, its organization is precisely fitted to its conditions. Its long arms, terminating in hands somewhat similar to those of men, enable it to hold to a branch with one, while it plucks the fruit with the other hand. The *length* of arm is necessary, because the weight of the animal is too great to permit it to go far enough out upon a branch of a tree to gather the fruit with its teeth, like the *small* squirrel; and the *hands* are equally necessary so that it can pluck and hold the fruit. The squirrel always takes an acorn from the cup, or a nut from the hull, with its teeth, and then holds it between its fore-paws while eating it, not being able to grasp the fruit with one paw alone, as does the ape with one hand.

The *long arms and flexible hands* being the best form for the ape, there is the best reason why a wise Creator should have created them. The mere fact that hands are used by the ape is not the slightest reason why they should not be used by man and all other creatures to whose habits they are most relevant. Upon the hypothesis of direct creation God would give to each creature its proper organization; and if hands were most useful to men and apes, He might well give them to *both* without forming any blood-relationship between them. That hands are most useful to man cannot be denied; and that they are equally necessary to the ape seems to be also clear. The ear of the ape is very much like that of man, and is immovable, because a movable ear would be of no use, as it could give no additional protection. The animal depends solely upon its quickness of sight, as its main enemy, the leopard, moves with a noiseless step upon a tree and quietly lies in wait for its prey.

I, therefore, maintain that the simple fact that man and the ape have hands and ears very much alike is no more proof of a community of blood than the fact that they have very similar hearts and lungs.

But there are marked differences in man's physical structure from those of all other animals; and these are but *adjustments to his intellect*. For example, the nails upon his fingers and toes grow fast enough for almost any use to which they are relevant; but generally they require paring to prevent them from growing too long. This

man is able to do. But with inferior creatures, in a state of nature, the nails and claws always grow up to, but never beyond, the wants of the animal, except when diseased. The claws of the lion and the nails of the wolf are always in good condition without any care of the animals themselves. Not possessing intelligence, these and other inferior beings could not pare their nails and claws if too long; but the Creator has wisely so adjusted His laws as to produce the same result that man effects by his intellect.

Professor Dana, in justifying his significant concessions, says (*Geology*, p. 608): "In the case of man, the abruptness of transition from preceding forms is still more extraordinary, and especially because it occurs so near the present time. In the highest man-ape, the nearest allied living species has the capacity of the cranium but thirty-four cubic inches; while the skeleton throughout is not fitted for an erect position, and the fore-limbs are essential to locomotion: but in the lowest of existing man, the capacity of the cranium is sixty-eight cubic inches; every bone is made and adjusted for the erect position; and the fore-limbs, instead of being required in locomotion, are wholly taken from the ground, and have other and higher uses." \*

Thirty-four cubic inches of cranial capacity on the animal side, sixty-eight on the human, and no link between the two! Forty years given to the search! All the agony of the defence of the Darwinian hypothesis engaged in all quarters of the globe in filling up this tremendous gap, and the colossal absence yet remaining! (Joseph Cook, *Lectures on Biology*, pp. 62-3).

No less a writer than Mr. Wallace, the independent originator and by far the best expounder of the theory of natural selection, differs widely from Mr. Darwin as to the question of man's origin. He contends that some special agency was needed to produce the human frame. He specially adverts to the peculiar disposition of the hair on man, especially that nakedness of the back which is common to all races of men; and to the peculiar construction of the foot and hand. He tells us, "the hand of man contains latent capacities and powers which are unused by savages, and must have been even less used by palæolithic man and his still ruder predecessors. It has all the appearance of an organ prepared for the use of civilised man, and one which was required to render civilisation possible." Again, speaking of the "wonderful power, range, flexibility, and sweetness of the musical sounds producible by the human larynx," he adds, "The habits of savages give no indication of how this faculty could have been developed;" . . . "the singing of savages is a more or less monotonous howling, and the females seldom sing at all." . . . "It seems as if the organ had been prepared in anticipation of the future progress of man, since it contains latent capacities which are useless to him in his earlier condition" (*Lessons from Nature*, p. 186).

Mr. Mivart has also given examples of differences and resemblances between the structure of man and apes on pages 174-5.

"Another most conspicuous difference," says Mr. Darwin, "between man and the lower animals is the nakedness of his skin"; and then further on says: "The view which seems to me the most proba-

\* The difference between the cranium of the highest man-ape and that of the lowest existing man is given in this quotation. The average capacity of the human skull, as given by Mr. Darwin (*Descent of Man*, p. 54), is, "Europeans 92.3 cubic inches; in Americans 87.5; in Asiatics 87.1; and in Australians only 81.9 cubic inches."



ble is that man, or rather primarily woman, became divested of hair for ornamental purposes," etc. (*Descent of Man*, pp. 56-8).

But as "we know that the unclothed Fuegians can exist under a wretched climate" (*Descent of Man*, p. 63), it is most strange that their hair did not grow again, if the author's theory be true. And as the elephant and rhinoceros are the only hairless wild land-mammals, so far as I am advised, which exist even in tropical climates; and as the northern extinct species of these animals were covered with long hair or wool; and as no existing wild land-mammal inhabiting a cold or even a temperate climate is hairless, it is still more surprising that man should *alone* constitute so conspicuous and solitary an example of nakedness, if it be true that he is descended from *hairy* ancestors. The fact of man's hairless condition only marks more strongly the radical difference between his physical structure and that of the lower animals; and the explanation, that the Creator gave the inferior creatures a covering because they could not furnish themselves, and gave none to man because he possessed intellect and could clothe himself, seems to be plain, simple, and true.

*Instinct and Intellect.*

Instinct is inheritable knowledge. As it exists prior to experience and independent of instruction, it must be inheritable. Both the capacity to know and the knowledge itself being inheritable, they are one and inseparable, and we cannot form an ideal difference between them. I have, therefore, defined instinct as inheritable knowledge. But intellect is only the capacity to learn by experience, instruction, and reflection.\* The difference between instinct and intellect is radical and plain. One is knowledge inheritable, the other capacity without knowledge. One is perfect without effort, the other requires long and patient exertion to attain all the ends it is at last able to reach. †

This inheritable knowledge is as full and perfect in the derivative

\* I have not included in these definitions of instinct and intellect the propensity or disposition to use the gifts, because such is necessarily incident to their possession. I have used the word *inheritable* in preference to *inherited* as a term wide enough to include the knowledge of the pairs created.

† As already stated, some months after I had mainly completed the text of the two chapters on Evolution I procured and partly read Mr. Hall's work. I was entirely unaware of the fact that he was the substantial originator of these definitions, as may be seen by reference to *Problems of Human Life*, pp. 426-7. This is another case of two independent minds arriving at substantially the same conclusion. He has treated the subject with much force and clearness, as the following short extract will indicate:

"That a young chicken, without being taught by experience, will pick up and swallow a *fly* but cautiously avoid a *bee* of the same size and nearly of the same form, while a little child, not having been taught to the contrary, will pick up a poisonous snake as readily as it would take in its hand a piece of ribbon, is a mystery which well may puzzle the brains of materialistic philosophers; for they have no conceivable answer within the range of their physical ideas which sheds a glimmer of light on these problems."

The reader will observe, however, that I have *not* defined human intellect as *inheritable*, but have simply defined it as "*capacity to learn*."

as in the original being. It is, therefore, as a general rule more certain and reliable than intellect, but its empire is more confined and its powers more limited.

The difference between instinct and intellect, I think, may be well illustrated in the case of the silk-worm and man. The worm, from a fine silken thread mysteriously spun and methodically reeled within its now large body, weaves its light, straw-colored cocoon with matchless skill, without mistake, and entirely independent of, and prior to, any experience or instruction, and encloses itself within its silken house in a most wonderful manner. The work this remarkable worm now does was just as well done by its ancestors many thousands of years ago, and not the slightest advance has been made by its race, so far as we know. Its work was perfect at the beginning for the purpose intended. Man himself cannot possibly do the work of the silk-worm ; but man,

“Poring, plodding, slow, industrious,”

after long centuries of experience, finally learned to unwind this small, soft thread of silk, to combine many threads together, and step by step to spin and weave the threads from the one-colored cocoon into a fabric of the most varied and exquisite figures and of the most gorgeous and splendid colors. By combining silk with gold-thread man is able to make the article of gold-cloth, so rich and magnificent that it is worth in India, where it is made, about three hundred dollars per yard. In regard to manufactured silk, Plutarch, in his life of Alexander the Great, who flourished 355 B.C., says :

Alexander having made himself master of Susa, found, among other things, purple of Hermoine, worth five thousand talents, which, though it had been laid up a hundred and ninety years, retained its first freshness and beauty (p. 319).

No one, I presume, doubts that the large proportion which the size of man's brain bears to his body, compared to the same proportion in the gorilla or orang, is closely connected with his higher mental powers. We meet with closely analogous facts with insects, for in ants the cerebral ganglia are of extraordinary dimensions, and in all the Hymenoptera these ganglia are many times larger than in the less intelligent orders, such as beetles. On the other hand, no one supposes that the intellect of any two animals or of any two men can be accurately gauged by the cubic contents of their skulls. It is certain that there may be extraordinary mental activity with an extremely small absolute mass of nervous matter : thus the wonderfully diversified instincts, mental powers, and affections of ants are notorious, yet their cerebral ganglia are not so large as the quarter of a small pin's head. Under this point of view, the brain of an ant is one of the most marvellous atoms of matter in the world, perhaps more so than the brain of a man (*Descent of Man*, p. 54).

While it must be conceded that the size of the brain bears a substantial relation to the mental capacity, it must also be admit-

ted that it is not an exact measure. But that ants should possess "wonderfully diversified mental powers," as distinct from instinct, is indeed most surprising, because it is irreconcilable with the theory that there is even a *substantial* relation between the size of the brain and the capacity of the intellect. Upon the plain, simple, and intelligible basis that ants mainly possess simply inherited knowledge, which requires no great activity of brain, the facts mentioned by the author cease to be "perhaps more marvellous than the brain of man." That which is, indeed, inexplicable upon the author's theory is readily explainable upon the ground that instinctive knowledge is inherited, and that the ant has little or no mind, and, therefore, its small brain is ample for its purposes. From the very nature and reason of the case it requires great activity of brain to *acquire* knowledge, but very little to use knowledge inherited. It is the acquisition of knowledge, or the application of existing knowledge to new and varied conditions, that requires activity of mind. The eminent jurist is compelled to exercise great activity of mind in applying well-understood principles of law to *new* predicaments of fact. The principles are old, but their application is new. But in *all* cases the activity required is caused by *new* circumstances. A man engaged in a regular routine of simple and fully-understood duties exercises very little activity of brain, if any; but put him to *new* employments, and then his brain must be active in proportion to the character of his new undertaking. If ants do possess the alleged "wonderfully diversified mental powers," I am unable to understand how their extremely diminutive brains can endure so much activity and perform so much work with so little brain-power, while man requires so large a brain. I maintain the position that nearly all the knowledge of ants is inherited, and, for that plain reason, requires little activity of brain. All their work from generation to generation is of the same character, and was as great in the beginning as it is now; and I think that they need very little acquired knowledge, and, for that good reason, a very small capacity to acquire knowledge has been bestowed upon them. The fact that ants possess such wonderful instincts with brains so diminutive only marks the more clearly the fundamental difference between instinct and intellect.

It is true, Mr. Darwin insists at length that certain species of ants acquired new instincts, and then transmitted these instincts to their posterity; but the facts do not, in my best judgment, sustain his conclusions. I had intended fully to discuss the cases mentioned by him, but I find my limits too short to admit of such investigation as the nature of the case demands. Besides, I do not think the cases given of very great importance; for the author, in his summary of the chapter devoted to these cases, states:

I do not pretend that the facts given in this chapter strengthen in any great degree my theory, but none of the cases of difficulty, to the best of my judgment, annihilate it (*Origin of Species*, p. 233).

But the question may well be asked whether the lower animals have the capacity to acquire knowledge ?

I have no doubt but that most of them possess such capacity to a very limited extent, and that it is as distinct from their instinct as the instinct of man is different from his intellect. I believe that those insects, such as the ant and bee, whose instincts are so large and their brains so small have very little power to acquire knowledge, but that most inferior creatures among the higher forms of life possess more of such capacity, but in different degrees; and that this power to acquire knowledge, though limited in all, is possessed in a greater degree by our domesticated animals, and mainly for the benefit of man.

But while this capacity to acquire knowledge is wholly different from their instinct, it is equally as distinct from the intellect of man. It is true, Mr. Darwin contends that "the difference in mind between man and the higher animals, great as it is, certainly is one of degree and not of kind" (*Descent of Man*, p. 126). But difference in degree is a difference in size or in intensity. Thus a large and small circle differ only in degree, because they are still both circles; and a low and loud sound differ only in degree, as they are still both sounds. In these cases the same essential laws or properties constitute both the things differing only in degree.

I maintain that the mind of animals inferior to man differs from his intellect, not in degree, but in substance. Oxygen is a very important element in the composition of water and other compounds; yet the compounds are wholly different in their *totality*, though made up, in *part*, of the same element. There must be identity in substance of the two things which only differ in degree; but such identity cannot be claimed for two compounds which differ in the number or nature of their properties and produce such different effects.

In regard to the senses and instincts of man and the lower animals Mr. Darwin says :

As man possesses the same senses as the lower animals, his fundamental intuitions must be the same. Man has also some few instincts in common, as that of self-preservation, sexual love, the love of the mother for her new-born offspring, the desire possessed by the latter to suck, and so forth (*Descent of Man*, p. 66).

But the great fundamental difference and the impassable chasm between man and the lower animals are found in the different characters of their minds. The plant lives, the animal lives and feels, and man lives, feels, and thinks. Matter has properties, mind has facul-

ties; and the mind of man has some superior faculties not possessed by that of the lower animals. The human intellect, in its totality, differs from the animal mind in substance. Man's natural superiority consists in his *capacity* to learn by experience, instruction, and reflection; and this capacity is not to be measured by the *actual existing* condition of some poor savages, who have little or no opportunity to learn.

“But Knowledge to their eyes her ample page,  
Rich with the spoils of time, did ne'er unroll;  
Chill penury repressed their noble rage,  
And froze the genial current of the soul.”

Suppose that ten male gorillas and ten male Fuegians of the best individuals were taken when quite young, and were given the best possible training and education, under the most favorable circumstances. What a difference there would be between the adults of the two classes!

No doubt our trained gorillas would learn to do many little things, but they would be as dumb as the silent grave. They no doubt could be trained even to put fuel upon the fire, as to learn this requires only the sense of sight and a small power of imitation; but to kindle a fire, and place the proper amount of fuel upon it from time to time, would be an act of intellect, though very simple to man, utterly beyond the mental power of the gorilla.

But the Fuegians would be learned men; some of them, perhaps, would make profound writers, orators, or statesmen competent to govern nations. What comparison can be made between the trained gorilla, which cannot kindle a fire or speak a word of rational language, and the great and just statesman, whose reasoning and sublime eloquence commands the applause of the civilized world, and

“Whom silence honors,  
Mute as e'er gazed upon orator or bard”?

And what comparison can be made between the trained but morally-blank gorilla and the true Christian, whom pain and ruin cannot conquer, and whose soul is “the intellectual full of love”? Has the cold, hard spirit of exclusively special pursuits frozen the naturally genial current of the soul?\*

\*I think that great injustice has often been done to savage men by writers whose comfortable situations at home rendered them incompetent judges of the natural and inevitable effects of such hard conditions upon human character. Such conditions have much the same power to brutalize man as inexorable slavery. The demands of hunger are irresistible, and no martyr-spirit can long withstand them. Before we severely blame these poor people we had better first be certain that we precisely understand all the circumstances.

“The astonishment which I felt on first seeing a party of Fuegians on a wild and broken shore will never be forgotten by me, for the reflection at once rushed into my mind—such were our ancestors. These men were absolutely naked and bedaubed with paint, their long hair was tangled, their mouths frothed with excitement, and their expression was wild, startled, and distrustful. They possessed hardly any arts, and, like wild animals, lived on what they could catch; they had no government, and were merciless to every one not of their own small tribe” (*Descent of Man*, p. 618).

I have chosen the word *mind* to designate the capacity of the lower animals to acquire knowledge, as I could find no term which would express my view, without my specifying the limited sense in which I used it. I maintain that the animal mind is as wholly different from that of man in its totality as it is from animal instinct itself, for the reason that the human mind contains higher and different faculties not found in that of inferior creatures.

That the lower animals have memory is true; and that they possess imagination to a limited extent is also true. The possession of instinct alone by animals of the vertebrate class, without memory, would hardly suffice to continue their existence. But the possession of these two powers, taken either singly or together, does not constitute intellect in the true sense of that term. They enable the animal to seemingly approach the results of true reasoning, but not actually to reach that end.

Mr. Darwin has given a great many instances in which animals are alleged to have shown what he contends is the power of rational action. But the following remarks of Prof. Bowen, in the *Princeton Review* for May, 1880, seem to be eminently just:

Not much light is thrown upon the discussion of this subject by the marvelous stories of which so many are current, of the signal forethought, feeling, and contrivance shown by particular animals on special occasions. Few of these anecdotes are so well authenticated as to deserve full credit; and they would not be reported but for their exceptional character. But only the habitual actions of the animal fully evince its real nature and capacities; feats which it may be trained to accomplish, and acts done under an unusual combination of circumstances, and seldom or never repeated, cannot be safely interpreted as proofs of intelligence.

My limited space will not allow me to notice the cases, in detail, mentioned by Mr. Darwin. They have been most ably reviewed by Prof. Mivart in his *Lessons from Nature*. Many of them, and especially the most unusual, depend upon the authority of a single writer. In cases of that kind, while I would not impute intentional misrepre-

The same wild excitement and distrust were manifested by the Indians on the island of San Salvador when it was discovered by Columbus; and it is not at all surprising when we consider all the circumstances. If a ship—totally unannounced, and before wholly unknown to the civilized world, and as much larger and as much more powerful than are our ships as H. B. M. ship *Beagle* was, compared with the *little* canoes of the Fuegians—were suddenly to appear in the harbor of London, so that the people could, at a glance, see that their city and themselves were at the mercy of this strange giant, there would be excitement and confusion equally great among the people of the greatest city in the world. This would surely be so, as the English are but men; and the very fact that the poor and utterly defenceless Fuegians acted as they did is proof that they were *men* and possessed the natural intellectual capacity to at once comprehend the situation.

But Mr. Darwin has elsewhere done more justice to these poor people, who inhabit a coast so cold and desolate:

“The Fuegians rank amongst the lowest barbarians; but I was continually struck with surprise how closely the three natives on board H. M. S. *Beagle*, who had lived some years in England, and could talk a little English, resembled us in disposition and in most of our mental faculties” (*Descent of Man*, p. 65).

If three gorillas had lived some years in some colony of England, how little would they have “resembled the English in disposition and in most of their mental faculties”!

sentation to any writer, I would generally suspend my opinion for the time; and would not give such isolated cases any weight, unless they were related by an author of conceded capacity and integrity, such as Mr. Wallace. In my best judgment it is very unwise to build a theory, either in whole or in part, upon doubtful cases. Whenever an instance of an exceptional or marvellous character depends upon the authority of one person only, it should be received with great caution, as there are so many reasons to fear mistake. Some travellers are enthusiasts, and their narrations are more or less colored.

Many of the lower animals undoubtedly possess one or more of the five senses in greater perfection than man. This is especially true as to sight, smell, and taste. How far their actions are influenced by this superiority is difficult to determine with certainty, but that it does have considerable effect seems most reasonable. This possession of some of the senses in greater perfection than man, joined to memory, imagination, and imitation, is ample, in my judgment, to account for all their known acts. The recollection of a simple event or effect will be in the exact order in which it occurred, and thus be a true picture.

I have seen an elephant eating hay; and when the animal had gathered a wisp of it, if flies were troublesome it would give a quick motion of the trunk with the hay over its back, and then transfer the hay into its mouth. In its wild state the elephant is a wood-eater, and I think, in gathering branches from the trees for food, whenever the flies would happen to annoy it while it held the branch in its trunk, the animal would instinctively whirl its trunk with the branch quickly over its back to drive away the flies. From a few repetitions the animal would come to use the branch and the trunk together as a fly-flapper. This action would commence, and then become habitual, without the exercise of any faculty higher than memory and instinct. So of the use of stones to crack nuts. If a baboon once, from any cause (being unable otherwise to crack the nut), happened to use a stone for that purpose, the recollection of its successful use would make the animal use it again; and as baboons are gregarious, others would learn from this one. The capacity of simple imitation is no indication of much mental power, as the parrot possesses it in a high degree.

There is one noticeable feature in regard to the knowledge man has imparted to animals in a state of domestication, and that is the fact that such training has generally been in restraint or suppression of some of their natural instincts. Take, for example, the dog. The predominant instinct of this most faithful and sagacious of all animals is its *love* for its master. The very best dogs only have to be trained so as to know the will of their masters to secure their obedience. Hunters in the early settlement of the great West in the

United States, when game was plentiful, had dogs trained to slow-track deer. The dog would follow the track slowly, and the hunter would keep close after the dog, and thus the hunter would not only find the deer the first time, but also follow it up until a shot was generally obtained. When I was about sixteen I trained my dog to follow quietly behind me while hunting deer. On one occasion I wounded a deer and started the dog after it; and, after an exciting race, the dog ran the animal into a small stream and caught it. After that I wounded another deer, and I could not restrain the eagerness of my dog; but it pursued the deer without my command and against all my efforts to restrain it. But other dogs have been successfully trained never to move until they were commanded to do so. Instances have occurred, as I have often learned upon reliable authority, where dogs were trained to guard alone meats for hours at a time; and they were so faithful that they would allow no one but their masters to touch the meats, nor would they do so themselves. These faithful creatures knew the will of their masters, and their supreme love for them secured the obedience of the dogs in the *absence* of the masters. Other animals can be trained to obey the master while he is present to at once enforce his will; but the dog is the only creature, so far as I am advised, that will obey the master in his absence and against the strong impulse of hunger. The true explanation of this superior fidelity is the instinctive love of the dog for its master. Other animals love the locality and themselves better than they love the master, and were intended simply as his servants; but the dog was intended for his companion, friend, and servant.

The stronger instinct will overcome the weaker where the two conflict. It often happens that the instinct of hunger and that of fear are so nearly balanced that animals hesitate, just as men do when in doubt. This has given rise to the belief with some persons that animals stop and reflect, compare and examine, in some cases, before acting. It is clear that a wild carnivorous animal will incur much greater danger when impelled by extreme hunger. As its appetite becomes more urgent its fears of danger become comparatively less, until they meet, like two steamers passing each other from opposite directions. I have seen partially wild pigs first dash up to food, then suddenly dash off again, and then quickly return, according as hunger or fear had the mastery for the moment. This hesitation and uncertainty were solely caused by conflicting and well-balanced instinctive impulses, and not by reasoning.

That monkeys, baboons, and apes, caged and kept in the continual presence of their keepers and under rigid discipline, can be trained, by long and persistent effort, accompanied by much coaxing and some force, to drink beer, coffee, and tea, and to smoke tobacco, and to do many other simple things, to learn which requires only the sense



of sight and a small power of imitation, is not at all surprising. Birds can be trained to perform many tricks, and even the so-called learned pig would select one card from others by its number, when commanded to do so by its keeper.

But what constitutes the impassable gulf which separates the human from the brute mind? It is the entire absence in the animal mind of those higher intellectual faculties found in that of man.

Prof. Bowen, in the *Princeton Review* for May, 1880, has these excellent remarks in his able article, "The Human and Brute Mind":

The phrase "the human understanding" is a pleonasm, since every understanding is human or divine. The brute has no understanding, because it is incapable of *thought* strictly so called; that is, of comparison, discernment, and classification. Through the force of habit, and of associating emotions, as of pain and pleasure, with their signs, the animal is capable of being *trained*; but it is not susceptible of *education*. Nothing can be brought out of its mind, because nothing pre-exists in it which partakes of the nature of thought. Then the gulf between the brute and the human mind can never be bridged over; the two things being radically unlike, one might as well attempt to develop a football into a syllogism (p. 328).

Many familiar facts seem to indicate that brutes have no sense of number. One puppy after another may be secretly abstracted from a numerous litter, and the mother shows no uneasiness or sense of loss; but she whines piteously after the last one is taken. The hen acts in a similar manner with a numerous brood of chickens (p. 329).

I have always understood that if only a portion of the eggs found in the nest of the guinea-hen be taken away secretly the bird will continue to lay her eggs in the nest, but if all be abstracted she at once abandons it.

The Duke of Argyll points out a marked distinction between the brute and human mind in the following clear language:

Some species of Monkey will even use any stone which may be at hand for the purpose of striking and breaking a nut. The elephant tears branches from trees and uses them as an artificial tail to fan himself and keep off the flies. But between these rudiments of intellectual perception and the next step—that of adapting and fashioning an instrument for a particular purpose,—there is a gulf in which lies the whole immeasurable distance between Man and brutes. In no case whatever do they use an implement made by themselves as an intermediate agency between their bodily organs and the work which they desire to do. Man, on the contrary, is so constructed that in almost everything he desires to do he must employ an agency intermediate between his bodily organs and the effect which he wishes to produce. But this necessity, which in one respect is a physical disability, is correlated with a mind capable of invention, and with certain implanted instincts which involve all the rudiments of mechanical skill (*Primeval Man*, p. 146).

Mr. Darwin (*Descent of Man*, p. 82) notices this position, and admits that it "is no doubt a very important distinction," but the answer he makes does not touch the question. He discusses the

question how man became an inventor, and not how he acquired the *capacity* to invent—the real question at issue. If apes or other inferior animals possess this capacity, why has it not been developed? and *especially* why is it that they cannot be trained by any amount of effort to construct the simplest instrument?

Mr. Wallace, says Prof. Mivart, also agrees with us concerning the value he attaches to man's "capacity to form ideal conceptions of space and time, of eternity and infinity—the capacity for intense artistic feelings of pleasure, in form, colour, and composition—and those abstract notions of form and number which render geometry and arithmetic possible," as also respecting the non-bestial origin of moral perception.

Yet more, he considers man as not only placed "apart, as the head and culminating point of the grand series of organic nature, but as in some degree a new and distinct order of being." . . . "When the first rude spear was formed to assist in the chase; when fire was first used to cook his food; when the first seed was sown or shoot planted, a grand revolution was effected in nature, a revolution which in all the previous ages of the earth's history has had no parallel, for a being had arisen who was no longer necessarily subject to change with the changing universe, a being who was in some degree superior to nature, inasmuch as he knew how to control and regulate her action, and could keep himself in harmony with her, not by a change in body, but by an advance in mind" (*Lessons from Nature*, p. 186).

"To each unthinking being Heaven, a friend,  
Gives not the useless knowledge of its end."

That animals inferior to man generally know when other animals are dead I do not doubt. The greyhound, which catches and kills a hare, knows when the victim is dead. Although animals often witness the deaths of their companions, they never have the mental power to draw the logical conclusion from what they see occur to *others* that they *themselves* must die. This is a rational act utterly beyond their mental capacity to perform. But no tribe of men, however wild, savage, and degraded, has as yet been found, so far as I am advised, wherein this knowledge was not possessed by every sane adult individual. This knowledge of their own future deaths is universal among men, and universally absent among brutes. They live a little in the past, and all the remainder in the present. The future, as the shadow of the past, is unknown to them. They cannot act where rational judgment is required. They have no idea of the fitness of things, or of due proportions, and no reflective or comparative faculties. They cannot trace effects from causes or causes from effects. In a state of nature they know how to select their food and how to avoid vegetable poisons (the *only* poisons accessible to them), because they have the senses of taste and smell in greater perfection than man, and they stop eating when the food ceases to be pleasant to their taste.

Suppose a man and the most sagacious dog in the world were to witness a grand and destructive battle between two armies. The dog

would have some recollection of the scene, but it could never reflect upon its causes or its consequences. But the man would not only retain a vivid recollection of the terrible and sanguinary struggle and its main incidents, but he would reflect and reason upon its causes and probable effects, and draw some conclusion as to whether the war was justifiable. Professor Mivart (*Lessons from Nature*, p. 224) makes a long extract from the *Dublin Review* illustrating this position most ably.

The Duke of Argyll, in speaking of Mr. Darwin's doctrine of the descent of man, makes the following forcible remarks :

And this is the ground of reasoning, besides the ground of feeling, on which we revolt from the doctrine as applied to man. We do so because we are conscious of an amount and of a kind of difference between ourselves and the lower animals, which is, in sober truth, immeasurable, in spite of the close affinities of bodily structure. Yet the closeness of these affinities is a fact; and it may with truth be said that in contrast with the gulf of separation in all resulting characters, these affinities are among the profoundest mysteries of Nature. Professor Huxley, in his work, *Man's Place in Nature*, has endeavoured to prove that so far as mere physical structure is concerned "the differences which separate him from the Gorilla and the Chimpanzee are not so great as those which separate the Gorilla from the lower apes." On the frontispiece of this work he exhibits in series the skeletons of the Anthropoid Apes and of Man. It is a grim and grotesque procession. The Form which leads it, however like the others in general structural plan, is wonderfully different in those lines and shapes of Matter which have such mysterious power of expressing the characters of Mind. And significant as those differences are in the skeleton, they are as nothing to the differences which emerge in the living creatures. Huxley himself admits that these differences amount to "an enormous gulf,"—to a "divergence immeasurable—practically infinite." What more striking proof could we have than this, that Organic Forms are but as clay in the hands of the Potter, and that the 'Law' of Structure is entirely subordinate to the 'Law' of Purpose and Intention under which the various parts of that structure are combined for use (*Reign of Law*, p. 264).

I do not consider the "affinities of bodily structure" between men and apes as "among the profoundest mysteries of Nature," as does the noble author, and have given the reasons in support of my position on pages 144-5.

While brutes have appropriate gestures and cries to express different states of feeling, they have no rational language, for the simple and conclusive reason that they have no rational ideas to express.\*

\* The following beautiful passages are taken from the noble work of Bishop Ullathorne: "Let us here briefly sum up the broad distinctions between man and the animal. Man has intelligence, the animal has but instinct; man has articulate speech, the animal is dumb; man reflects and knows himself, the animal does neither; man is the subject of truth, the animal of sense; man has the abstract notions of good and evil, the animal has but the sense of pleasure and pain; man has conscience, the animal has no sense of responsibility; man knows God and believes in a world to come, the animal has no knowledge of God, but after serving the requirements of man it perishes utterly. The soul of man is an immortal spirit; but, as the Scripture says, the soul of the animal is in its blood" (*Endowments of Man*, p. 10).

"What a gift is that of speech! What the body is to the soul, speech is to our intellectual light. It is the essential instrument both for apprehending and communicating truth, as well as

The dog has a growl for rage, a howl for loneliness, a whine for anxiety, a bark for eagerness, and a peculiar cry for pain, but it has no voice to utter rational language. To a believer in the existence of God it would seem unreasonable that He should create a race of rational beings, and yet give them no power by language to express their rational ideas.

Mr. Darwin says (*Descent of Man*, p. 89) :

The fact of the higher apes not using their vocal organs for speech, no doubt depends on their intelligence not having been sufficiently advanced.

Whether the absence of speech in the higher apes be owing to the want of development, or the want of capacity to be developed, is matter of opinion ; but there is one thing certain—they have not, *as yet*, the power of rational speech.

The following remarks of Professor Bowen, in the *Princeton Review* for May, 1880, seem to me very clear upon this subject :

There was as much argument as wit in the remark of a German naturalist, who said, "I will believe that animals have reason, when one of them shall tell me so." . . . Any attempt to teach animals to use language *meaningly* would deservedly excite equal ridicule, since their utter incapacity in this respect is obvious even to the vulgar. Laura Bridgman, blind, deaf, and dumb from infancy, and thus apparently less fitted for communication with the external world than any of the vertebrate brutes, was yet mentally endowed with an innate capacity for the use of language, which has been so far developed by skilful instruction, that she now keeps a diary, and writes letters, with as large a use of significant phraseology as most educated persons possess. There never was a better illustration than her case presents of the etymological meaning of the word "education," that it signifies *bringing out* of the mind its native capacities, and not merely *putting into it* any amount of useful information. But no Dr. Howe has ever been foolish enough to attempt to teach a parrot or a monkey to converse, to write a significant sentence, or to read what is thus written. Balaam's ass did not rebuke its master except by miracle (p. 326).

Professor Mivart (*Lessons from Nature*, p. 82) has most ably discussed the subject of language, and, in my opinion, has fully sustained his position that

Rational language is the bond of connexion between the mental and material world which is absolutely peculiar to man.

In regard to the moral sense Mr. Darwin says :

I fully subscribe to the judgment of those writers who maintain that of all the differences between man and the lower animals, the moral sense or conscience is by far the most important (*Descent of Man*, p. 97).

the bond of social life and of social religion. It was given by God to the intelligence and can only exist through intelligence. Through the gift of language we receive the revelations of God, the wisdom of past ages, the present communications of mind to mind, and the knowledge of what is distant from us in time and place. Through the gift of language we are able to know the course of God's providence through all the ages of the world. Through this gift all the traditions of past ages reach us in this present time, and every kind of knowledge both human and divine. As the body in due order is the obedient servant of the soul, speech in due order is the obedient servant of truth" (*Endowments of Man*, p. 395).

Professor Mivart (*Lessons from Nature*, p. 95) has most ably and fully discussed the proposition that

Perceptions of right and wrong, and of our power of choice, and consequent responsibility, are universally diffused amongst mankind, and constitute an absolute character separating man from all other animals.

Finally, Mr. Darwin says :

For my own part I would as soon be descended from that heroic little monkey, who braved his dreaded enemy in order to save the life of his keeper, or from that old baboon, who descending from the mountains carried away in triumph his young comrade from a crowd of astonished dogs—as from a savage who delights to torture his enemies, offers up bloody sacrifices, practises infanticide without remorse, treats his wives like slaves, knows no decency, and is haunted by the grossest superstitions (*Descent of Man*, p. 619).

For my own part I would prefer to be descended from *man*, however degraded—as I would, at least, possess the undisputed capacity to rise to the elevated and conceded position of civilized “man with all his noble qualities, with sympathy which feels for the most debased, with benevolence which extends not only to other men but to the humblest living creature, with his god-like intellect which has penetrated into the movements and constitution of the solar system” (*Descent of Man*, p. 619)—rather than from “that heroic little monkey,” or from “that old baboon,” against which no crime can be truly alleged, for the simple and conclusive reason that they are not competent to commit it.

“For crime supposes human soul and reason ;  
This animal’s below committing treason.”

It is God-like to possess great powers, but satanic to abuse them. Man possesses great and wonderful, but limited, capacities ; and, for that very reason, he has the power to abuse them. Virtue and vice cannot possibly exist without intellect ; and intellect cannot be found without free-will. As man possesses intellect and free-will, he can descend to lower acts than the brute. He is the only mammal in the world, so far as I am advised, that abuses the females of his own race. But the very fact that he is able to go down to the lowest depths of degradation or rise to the sublimest heights of virtue, while the brute is incapable of either, only marks the more clearly the gulf between him and the lower animals. There are, in this universe, two impassable gulfs. The first is that between God and creation ; the second is that between man and the brute. The first is infinite, the second immense.



PART III.



THE OLD DISPENSATION.





## CHAPTER VI.

### PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

THE first three chapters of this work are devoted to the task of proving the existence of God, the Supreme and Perfect Intelligence, the Creator of all things except Himself. The argument is based, *so far*, upon the sole ground of purpose as manifested in the visible creation, as purpose cannot possibly exist without a purposer any more than an effect can exist without an adequate cause. From the evidence adduced I take it to be clear that man is *not*

“The abandoned orphan of blind chance,  
Dropped by the wild atoms in disordered dance;  
Or from an endless chain of causes wrought,  
And from unthinking substance born with thought.”

I maintain the clear and distinct position that, in the absence of all *other* manifestations, we can only form a conception of the power and capacity of the workman from his work, and that, in such a case, there is and can be no other *possible* rule. Could we see the Divine Architect engaged in His work and observe the full process, we might, perhaps, form a more nearly complete idea of His capacity. But while we cannot do this, we can, with substantial accuracy, trace causes from their known effects, and form some conception of such causes as manifested in and by their effects. When we find order and system in anything, we may safely conclude that it is the product either of intellect or of a cause, itself produced by intelligence, competent to intend and foresee the result from the beginning. And we may not only conclude that such a thing is the product of intelligence, but, according to the *nature* of the work itself, we may form a substantially correct idea of the true character and capacity of the workman. It would be passing strange, indeed, that the evidence should be just enough to prove to us the mere existence of the Supreme Being, and at the same time give us no substantially accurate conception of His attributes; and, on the other hand, it would be equally surprising that a finite being, seeing only a portion of the works of the great Creator, could comprehend God in *all* His *infinite* powers. While limited intelligence, with its limited opportunities, cannot comprehend in *full*, it must be able to know in *part* to be intellect at all. I cannot, of myself, know the features of those portions of the earth I have never seen, but I can and do know those that are familiar to me. The capacity to understand the fact of God's existence must necessa-

rily be sufficient to know, by the light of reason and *known* facts, something of the power and character of that Supreme Being whose *existence can be known*.

There are many things of whose existence we are certain from their effects only — such, for example, as gravitation. We know that there is another side of the moon, although we never see it, as we are certain of the existence of the side next to us, and a thing cannot exist with one side only. While we cannot know the exact shape of the other side of this satellite, we can know something of its character by the effect produced by the *whole* body upon the tides of our oceans. We are certain that gravitation exists as a property in all bodies, and that the other side of the moon possesses this universal property of matter. As the moon has but little influence upon our globe, we can form but a partial estimate of its character. We also know that the fixed stars exist; but as they affect our earth so little, if at all, we can know but little of them. We conclude from the fact that our sun is the centre of our solar system that these stars are but centres of other similar systems.

But we have ample access to the surface of our globe, and we can penetrate the depths of its oceans, and explore a portion of the dry crust of the earth, and examine its constituent elements. We can also “penetrate into the movements and the constitution of the solar system.” We can, therefore, see an important portion of the works of God; and, so far as these glorious works are manifested to us, we can form some substantially correct conception not only of the character of the works, but of the Workman Himself.

As it is necessary to examine and carefully weigh evidence, I will here make some observations upon the nature and force of proofs.\*

\* “The wise and beneficent Author of Nature,” says Dr. Reid, “who intended that we should be social creatures, and that we should receive the greatest and most important part of our knowledge by the information of others, hath, for these purposes, implanted in our natures two principles, that tally with each other. The first of these principles is a propensity to speak truth and to use the signs of language, so as to convey our real sentiments. This principle has a powerful operation, even in the greatest liars; for where they lie once they speak truth a hundred times. . . . Another original principle, implanted in us by the Supreme Being, is a disposition to confide in the veracity of others, and to believe what they tell us. This is the counterpart to the former; and as that may be called the principle of veracity, we shall, for want of a more proper name, call this the principle of credulity. It is unlimited in children, until they meet with instances of deceit and falsehood; and it retains a very considerable degree of strength through life” (cited, *Greenleaf's Evidence*, sec. 7).

“While unbounded credulity is the attribute of weak minds, which seldom think or reason at all, unlimited skepticism belongs only to those who make their own knowledge and observation the exclusive standard of probability” (*id.* sec. 8).

“Neither is it necessary to prove . . . any matters of public history, affecting the whole people” (*id.* s. 5).

“In both civil and criminal cases, a verdict may well be founded on circumstances alone; and these often lead to a conclusion far more satisfactory than direct evidence can produce” (*id.* s. 18a).

“Thus also a sane man is conclusively presumed to contemplate the natural and probable consequences of his own acts; and therefore the intent to murder is conclusively inferred from the deliberate use of a deadly weapon” (*id.* s. 18).

“The production of evidence to the Jury is governed by certain principles, which may be treated

Some single facts are conclusive, others only presumptive when taken singly, and others again, when combined, are certain in their united force. *It depends upon the nature of the evidence and the conclusion to be established.* In many instances, from the very nature of the case, the proof must necessarily be circumstantial, as no direct evidence can be had. It often happens in judicial proceedings that a chain of facts, when once clearly established by a number of unimpeachable witnesses—though the evidence be purely circumstantial—is more certain than the positive and direct testimony of a few witnesses, because they may be mistaken or perjured.

For illustrative examples I will mention several cases. A burglar, in attempting to enter a house by cutting out the door-lock with a pocket-knife, broke the blade of the instrument and left the detached piece fast in the door. When arrested the handle of the knife, with a part of the blade attached, was found upon his person, and the two pieces of the blade, when put together, fitted precisely. If ten thousand knife-blades should be broken, no two pieces except the proper ones would precisely fit together. This evidence was conclusive to convict the prisoner in the absence of rebutting proof.

The dead body of a woman was found in her bed, and it was so disposed as to lead all who saw it to the conclusion that the deceased had committed suicide, until the bloody print of a right hand was discovered upon the back of her right hand. This fact led to the arrest, trial, conviction, and execution of the murderer.

A remarkable case occurred in the State of Missouri many years ago. The prisoner was indicted and tried for murder. Upon the trial it was shown that the accused had long been the bitter enemy of the deceased, and that the deceased came to his death from the effects of a gun-shot wound. The rifle and bullet-moulds belonging to the prisoner were found and fully identified as his; and the

under four general heads or rules. The *first* of these is, that the evidence must correspond with the allegations, and be confined to the point in issue. The *second* is, that it is sufficient, if the *substance* only of the issue be proved. The *third* is, that the burden of proving a proposition, or issue, lies on the party holding the affirmative. And the *fourth* is, that the best evidence, of which the case, in its nature, is susceptible, must always be produced" (*id.* sec. 50).

"But, in general, the allegation of *time, place, quantity, quality, and value*, when not descriptive of the identity of the subject of the action, will be found immaterial, and need not be proved strictly as alleged" (*id.* s. 61).

"In this mode, the law defines the nature and amount of the evidence which it deems sufficient to establish a *prima facie* case, and to throw the burden of proof on the other party; and if no opposing evidence is offered, the Jury are bound to find in favor of the presumption. A contrary verdict would be liable to be set aside, as being against evidence" (*id.* s. 33).

"In requiring the production of the best evidence applicable to each particular fact, it is meant, that no evidence shall be received which is merely substitutory in its nature, so long as the original evidence can be had" (*id.* s. 82).

I have given these extracts, as I shall apply the principles they announce to the further discussion of my subject.

bullet found in the body of the deceased, when compared with balls run in the moulds, was not only of the same calibre, but all the bullets had the same impression of a very peculiar flaw in the moulds, and this impression was upon the same portion of all the balls ; so that the resemblance was complete in every conceivable respect. This evidence was conclusive as to the fact that the ball which caused the death of the deceased had been run in the bullet-moulds of the prisoner. The only ground upon which he escaped conviction was that some other enemy of the deceased, knowing the enmity the prisoner entertained against the deceased, and wishing to turn suspicion from himself and thus escape punishment, might have secretly taken the rifle belonging to the prisoner, killed the deceased, and then returned the rifle to the house of the accused. Under the rigid rules of evidence in criminal cases, and the presumption of law that the accused is innocent until his guilt is established beyond any *reasonable* doubt, the jury acquitted the prisoner, as there was no *other* testimony to connect him with the crime.

As instances of circumstantial evidence I may mention the celebrated cases of Dr. Webster, of Massachusetts, and of Hamilton and Beauchamp, of Kentucky. I can only refer to these prominent cases, as the circumstances are far too numerous to be mentioned.

As further illustrations I will suppose that an explorer of a new country should find the *fresh* track of an unknown quadruped in the moist earth, the track being like that of his horse in shape, of the same depth, but of twice the size. Our explorer would have no difficulty in concluding that the strange animal was twice as heavy as his horse ; and in this he would be right. On the contrary, suppose the track was half the size but of twice the depth of that of his horse ; our traveller would be in doubt whether the unknown animal was heavier or lighter than his horse. But if the track was twice the size and twice the depth of that of his horse, he would know that the creature was more than twice as heavy as his horse ; but he could only make an estimate approximately correct.

It is so in creation. The great Maker has left His unmistakable impress upon the face of His works ; and we can see and examine them at our leisure, and we can and do know that they are great ; and we draw the plain, simple, logical conclusion that great works can only be the products of a great workman. The animal which makes a large and deep track must be a heavy creature ; and the workman who produces a great work can only be a great workman. Were a good judge of paintings to be shown a new picture by an unknown artist the judge would be able to form a substantially correct judgment as to the capacity of the painter.

I have mentioned these cases to show the general nature of evidence. I consider the existence of God proven by a chain of

circumstantial evidence as certain as any which ever led to the conviction of a prisoner charged with the crime of murder, and equally as strong as that which establishes the existence of gravitation. This evidence, it is true, consists of a multitude of particulars, but, like the numerous tributaries of the great Mississippi, they all flow into the same channel and ultimately reach the same destination. This circumstantial testimony will, in due time, be confirmed by that which I claim to be direct evidence.

As to the personality of God, I quote from the able works of Professor Mivart and Bishop Ullathorne :

Mr. Herbert Spencer is the most decided upholder of the necessity and truth of a conception of a First Cause. But this he speaks of as the Unknowable, and denies our right to ascribe to it any attribute other than existence, or to attribute to it personality. But, in the first place, not to speak of it by that term is practically to degrade it to a *lower* level than ourselves, though this is by no means Mr. Spencer's intention. It has this practical effect, because we cannot conceive anything as impersonal and yet of a higher nature than our own. And, indeed, this circumstance is not owing to a mere mental impotence, but to a positive and clear perception. For to be a person, means to be a being possessing knowledge and will ; and any being which has not these faculties must be indefinitely inferior to one which has them. The First Cause, as the cause of all knowledge—including knowledge of good and evil, and all power of will—must be adequate to their production. He must possess therefore attributes analogous to these qualities as known in ourselves, though of course infinite in degree. Personality therefore must be predicated of the First Cause, under pain of violating the primary dicta of our reason.

The inadequacy and, to speak plainly, the absurdity of this "Unknowable" has been considered in the twelfth chapter of the *Genesis of Species*, as also its bearing on our conceptions of religion, which Mr. Spencer pretends through it to reconcile with science ; though as to such reconciliations Mr. Lewes truly observes that we can never "successfully found a Religion on the admission of this unknowable ; for Religion, which is to explain the universe and regulate life, must be founded on the known and knowable relations." But, indeed, Mr. Spencer's system necessarily negatives every form of religion, since he distinctly affirms that "Theism" is "incredible," and that no "form of Religion" is "even thinkable" (*Lessons from Nature*, p. 361).

God is not a solitary Being. He has an infinite society in His own divine nature. His action is infinite, His knowledge of Himself is infinite, His love of His own most perfect Being and Intelligence is infinite. Here are three infinitudes in one perfect nature. The first principle of God's infinite action is His power ; the terminal of His knowledge is His wisdom ; the terminal of His power and wisdom is His goodness. His power is infinite, His wisdom is infinite, and His goodness is infinite ; yet these three distinctions exist in the one infinite spiritual nature and indivisible substance of the One Eternal God (*Endowments of Man*, p. 17).

IT IS REASONABLE THAT GOD SHOULD GOVERN HIS OWN CREATION.

The very fact of the existence of a Supreme Being is proof that He created the universe ; and the fact of creation by Him proves the fact of His government. These are plain, logical, and

inevitable conclusions. The theory that there can be a Self-Existent Being, and at the same time that matter is eternal and has an independent existence, is so manifestly illogical as not to merit discussion. There are only two theories consistent in themselves, and these are Christianity and atheism. Christianity is the direct affirmation of all religious truth, and atheism its direct negation. They are, therefore, both consistent, as one is all truth and the other all error. Only mixed theories of truth and error are inconsistent in themselves, as the truths they contain never can be consistent with their errors.

It is not only reasonable that God should govern that which He has created, but that He should govern it in a proper manner. In other words, His government should be adapted to the nature of the things governed. He would not govern insensate matter by the same law by which He would govern brutes, which live and feel; nor would He govern brutes by the same law by which He would govern intelligent man, who lives, feels, and thinks. He would govern matter by properties infused into or communicated to it, and which constitute its elements, without which it could not exist for the purposes foreseen and intended. So He would govern brutes by inheritable instinct, transmitted from sire to son, and constituting an inseparable and necessary part of their being. But He would *ultimately* govern intellectual man by laws promulgated *externally* to him, and addressed to his capacity to know the law and to obey or disobey.

While just government is the clear right of the Creator in virtue of the fact of creation, it is, at the same time, a great boon to the party governed. It enables the Ruler to carry out His wise and great purposes by doing justice, rewarding virtue, protecting the weak, and punishing the bad. It is most beneficial to the party under government, because it secures him the protection of a stronger arm and the guidance of a superior Mind.

But a law *externally* addressed to man would be idle and vain unless he had the power to obey or disobey. To prescribe a law for the government of a being who has no power of choice, or is without capacity to know the law, would be absurd in the highest degree. It is one of the maxims of the municipal law that the code itself never does an idle and vain thing, and never requires a party under government to do one. To act without purpose would be degrading to intellect.

#### IT IS REASONABLE TO EXPECT A REVELATION FROM GOD.

The intellect cannot exist without the will, nor the will without the mind. They are inseparable. Nor can the will itself exist unless it be free. Without this freedom the will would be like a court without any discretionary power—without any proper power to *de-*

*cide* at all.\* The moment the will ceases to be free, that instant it ceases to be will at all. The capacity to know and understand, to examine and compare, to deliberate and weigh, and yet have no choice, would seem to be a clear contradiction in terms. No theory of law, properly so called, could possibly exist unless based upon the conceded power of the party governed to obey or disobey at his election. A command that cannot be violated is idle and vain and is no law. Why do the idle and vain thing of giving a command which cannot possibly have any effect upon the acts of the party to whom it is given?

But what is properly free-will? The free-will of a limited intelligence is the *present* power, according as he may choose, to obey or to disobey the law under which he is governed. It is not the unlimited power to disobey the law without incurring any punishment, present or future. Such illimitable free-will can only exist in the Supreme Intelligence, who is too wise and good to abuse it. Man's free-will, as well quoted by the Duke of Argyll, is "Freedom within the bounds of Law" (*Reign of Law*, p. 51).†

It is very true that the mind of man is influenced by motives; but it is equally true that there are good and bad motives. Man, by the fair exercise of his capacity to learn, may know the law of God by which he is governed, and may ascertain in *full* from that law, and in *part* from the law of nature, what is just and right; and he may, therefore, at his own election, determine for himself to which motive he will yield—whether he will submit to the urgency of evil passions or dishonest motives, or to the calm, pure, conscientious dictates of

\*Such was the character of the English judiciary as to certain classes of cases before the judges were made independent of the crown.

As to the judges under Elizabeth Mr. Hallam says:

"I have found it impossible not to anticipate, in more places than one, some of those glaring transgressions of natural as well as positive law, that rendered our courts of justice in cases of treason little better than the caverns of murderers. Whoever was arraigned at their bar was almost certain to meet a virulent prosecution, a judge hardly distinguishable from the prosecutor except by his ermine, and a passive, pusillanimous jury" (*Constitutional History*, p. 138).

Under James I. the judges were no better:

"The courts of justice, it is hardly necessary to say, did not consist of men conscientiously impartial between the King and the subject; some corrupt with hope of promotion, many more fearful of removal, or awe-struck by the frowns of power" (*id.* p. 184). In the case of Peacham, "the King directed Bacon previously to confer with the judges of the King's Bench, one by one, in order to secure their determination for the crown." The prisoner was convicted, but died in prison (*id.* p. 198).

The independence of the judges was secured by the Act of Settlement (*id.* p. 597). Since then the conduct of the judges has been without reproach.

The Roman Senate, whose decrees the emperor dictated and obeyed, was a deliberative body in *name* only.

† "God makes our nature, but our own will makes our character. As the principle of human activity our will is the creation of God, but the use of its power is our own. The conduct of the will is the conduct of the man; the conduct of the man forms the habits of the man, and the habits of the man constitute his character. The whole moral man is reducible, therefore, to the conduct of his will" (*Endowments of Man*, p. 122).

"But within the soul is the free will, the most moveable, changeable, and independent of all creative activities, prone to take its own way, drawing the other human powers after it, and but too often taking the downward course below that which is good for human nature" (*id.* p. 179).

duty. In other words, he may choose his guide. Every man who is conscious of his own manhood is equally conscious of the substantial freedom of his own will.

The following clear and forcible extracts are from Professor Mi-vart :

Indeed, man being, as the mind of each man may tell him, a being not only conseious, but conseious of his own conseiousness; one not only acting on inference, but capable of analysing the *process* of inference; a creature not only capable of acting well or ill, but of understanding the ideas "virtue" and "moral obligation," with their correlatives, freedom of choice and responsibility—man being all this, it is at once obvious that the principal part of his being is his mental power.

" In nature there is nothing great but man,  
In man there is nothing great but mind "

(*Lessons from Nature*, p. 188).

To make clear our point, let us imagine a man formerly entangled in ties of affection which in justice to another his conscience has induced him to sever. The image of the distress his act of severance has caused may occasion him keen emotional sufferings for years, accompanied by a clear perception that his act has been right. Again, let us suppose another case: The struggling father of a family becomes aware that the property on which he lives really belongs to another, and he relinquishes it. He may continue to judge that he has done a proper action, whilst tortured by the trials in which his act of justice has involved him. To assert that these acts are merely instinctive would be absurdly false. In the cases supposed, obedience is paid to a clear intellectual perception and against the very strongest instincts (*id.* p. 112).

Creative action and absolute annihilation, miracle, response to prayer, and the apportionment in another world of rewards and chastisements according to the exercise in this of meritorious volitions, or of the reverse, harmonise thoroughly with that philosophy which asserts the freedom of the will. That they do so harmonise, the very objections of our modern Determinists serve to demonstrate; and it is daily becoming more apparent that to deny these is by implication to deny the existence of virtue, to uproot every possible basis of morality, and even, as we shall see, to eliminate from the social organism those legal sanctions, and even those modes of speech, the reasonableness of which depends upon the real existence of "rights" and "duties" as ordinarily understood. The bitter hostility which exists to the doctrine of man's free-will is not difficult to understand. It is impossible to assert it without implicitly asserting religion; and it is, in one respect at least, a trial to pride. It is indeed no small trial to the pride of a highly-cultured man of powerful intellect to feel that the poorest peasant is fully as capable as himself of performing the highest actions—those which are the special prerogative of man—namely, the exercise of rational meritorious volition and choice. If there is such a thing as morality, it is beyond comparison as to value with mere intellectual culture or capacity, and it necessarily follows that a poor paralysed old woman sitting in a chimney-corner may, by her good aspirations and volitions, be repeatedly performing mental acts compared with which the discovery by Newton of the law of gravitation is as nothing (*id.* p. 380).

#### THE NATURE OF LAW, STRICTLY SO CALLED.

In this place it is proper to make some observations upon the nature of law, strictly so called.



Law, in its broadest proper sense, is a rule prescribed by a superior to an inferior intelligence.

Municipal law is a rule of civil conduct prescribed by the supreme power in a State.

Divine law is a rule of faith and morals prescribed by God to man.

The word *prescribe* means both to make and publish. A bare resolution in the mind of the lawgiver is no law. Commands must be made known to the party governed before they can be rationally obeyed or disobeyed.

By the common usage of language we speak of the law of gravitation, the law of motion, and the law of nature. But these are strictly only *properties* of matter, and not laws in the proper sense of that term. Laws, properly so called, can only be prescribed by, and be obligatory upon, *intelligent* beings. The right in the lawgiver to prescribe his law implies the corresponding duty of the governed to obey. The right to govern and the duty to obey must both exist to constitute government.

As to the intrinsic difference between the law of God and that of man, I avail myself of my own labors upon a former occasion :

As judged by the theory of civil government, and not by the law of God, or of abstract justice, the civil law commands what is right, and prohibits what is wrong.

As the civil law is often unjust, when judged by the principles of morality, the law-making power in political government could not rightfully require us to believe its enactments just. And as no power in such a government can know the thoughts and intents of the mind, unless manifested by outward signs, the civil law could only place crime in *action*. No mere intention, however wicked, can constitute a crime under this theory. The intention is only one of the ingredients of crime. And as the civil law leaves belief and intention untouched, it could never form a moral code. It lacks the wisdom, power, and justice required; and must, therefore, be exceedingly imperfect in these respects. All that the law of the land can rightfully require us to do, is to comply with its provisions by our *acts*.

But the infirmities necessarily incident to human legislation are not found in the law of God. That sublime code can rightfully require us to believe all its provisions to be just, because they are so, in point of *fact*; and we are only required to believe that which we may know is unerringly true. And for the very reason that a fallible lawgiver could not rightfully assume to govern faith and intention, an infallible lawgiver should regulate both; otherwise, they would be left without government. And if faith and intention be left without control, there can be no pure morality, and no perfect obedience. The wicked intention is the first element of moral wrong. To hold a free agent responsible for this first voluntary act, is the most efficient, and for that reason, the most merciful rule. To teach the party governed, that he is responsible for his evil thoughts and criminal intentions, is to check vice in its inception. So, to teach him that he must believe the truth is to secure his love and reverence for it, and his more ready and hearty obedience to it; for obedience will always be more faithful to a law believed to be just in itself, than to one whose justice is disputed.

We may safely conclude that whatever revelation God made to man must have been just and true; and if just, it must, for that reason, constitute a rule of moral conduct; and if true, it must, for that reason, be believed. A perfect law in every particular, has the right to demand our perfect obedience, in *thought, belief, and act*. It is reasonable that an Infinite lawgiver, like any other just legislator, should be *just to Himself*, as well as to others; and for that reason, should have some eye to His own rights, and the respect due to His *real* character.

The human legislator prescribes his law, and says to the party governed: "I have given you the best law I could; but it is still imperfect. I do not, therefore, ask you to believe it just; and if I did, my limited powers would not enable me to reach your thoughts and intentions. But as the good of society imperiously requires government, and government must, of necessity, require obedience, you *must* obey my law in *act*, whatever you may believe and intend." But an Infinite Lawgiver holds a different language, and says: "My statutes are just and true in every particular. I, therefore, require you to *think* right, *intend* right, and *act* right; and I have the right, the knowledge, and the power to enforce obedience in all these particulars" (*The Path*, pp. 9-10).

The definition I have given of the divine law does not include science or art. It is not reasonable that it should.

While it is not unreasonable that God should have revealed to the earlier generations of men a knowledge of the more simple and important laws of nature, and should have prolonged their lives to a greater age, in order that they might acquire and transmit, in person, to their descendants a greater amount of knowledge before the art of writing was discovered, and all this for the preservation of the race in its infancy, it would seem a far more reasonable *general* rule to leave the active, inquiring mind of man to improve itself by experience and instruction.\* Suppose the Creator had made to man a full and complete revelation of all science and art, what then would give ample employment to his great intellect? And what scientific progress could he make? We can readily see that his mind would stagnate for want of subjects upon which to act. By the due exercise of his reason man is able to learn the laws of nature to a reasonable extent.

But the reasons why God should not generally reveal to man a knowledge of science and art are not applicable to the case of His Moral Law. On the contrary, as the two laws are so very different in their *nature* and *effects*, there should be a decided difference in their *modes* of revelation. We have, therefore, every reason to expect a

\* "And besides, God afforded the ancients a longer time of life on account of their virtue and the good use they made of it in astronomical and geometrical discoveries, which would not have afforded time of foretelling [the periods of the stars] unless they had lived 600 years; for the Great Year is composed of that interval. Now I have for witnesses to what I have said all those that have written Antiquities, both among the Greeks and barbarians; for even Manetho, who wrote the Egyptian History, and Berosus, who collected the Chaldean Monuments, and Mochus, and Hecstæus, and besides these, Hieronymus the Egyptian, and those who composed the Phœnician History, agree to what I here say; Hesiod also, and Hecateus, Hellanicus, and Acusilaus; and besides these, Ephorus and Nicolaus relate that the ancients lived a thousand years" (Josephus, *Antiquities*, b. i. chap. iii.)

direct revelation of His Moral Code. It is too transcendently important, and too elevated and sublime in its nature, for mere finite man to arrive at a perfect knowledge of its full meaning, unless revealed by the Great Lawgiver Himself. From the very nature of the Governor and the governed, and of all law, strictly and properly so called, a direct revelation becomes proper sooner or later. And this revelation could be best made through language, the proper medium of rational communication between two or more intelligences.

The reason why God did not prescribe any positive form of political government, is that such government is a *present necessity*; and this necessity, like the laws of nature, would practically vindicate itself. As all the effects of political institutions are but temporary, men can create governments competent to attain substantially the end intended, namely: the preservation of the race. But, conceding the immortality of the soul, and the consequent existence of a future state of rewards and punishments, the necessity of a direct revelation of God's will to mankind becomes at once apparent. We may well be able to bear the evils incident to mere human institutions; since, if we *first* fulfil the law of God, these temporary evils are but trifling; but to leave *eternal* consequences to hang upon uncertainty, would be equally unjust to God and to man (*The Path*, p. 111).

The celebrated Volney, in his *Ruins*, has put arguments into the mouths of the advocates of different theories of religion in the world—the Christian, the Mohammedan, and Heathen,—each sustaining his own theory, and attacking all others; and after he makes them exhaust themselves in a war against each other, he complacently concludes that they are all wrong.

But while this hasty and summary conclusion may be very natural to impatient man, it is neither logical nor true; for the very facts stated by the eloquent Frenchman lead clearly, as I take it, to the following conclusions:

1. That man, by a law of his own nature, impressed upon him by the Creator, is a religious being. From this law he knows that he is a subordinate being—that there exists a Supreme Intelligent Cause—and that the natural relation existing between the Creating, and the created, Intelligence, entitles the former to the adoration and obedience of the latter. This knowledge of his duty, derived from this law of his nature, though limited as it is, is still sufficient to put him upon *inquiry*, and makes the duty of further *inquiry* obligatory. It is a well-known principle of law, applicable to certain classes of cases, that when a party is entitled to notice of certain facts, and has not notice of them in full, but has sufficient notice to put him upon inquiry, by a reasonable use of which he may know all the facts he has a right to know in reference to the alleged matter, then the law presumes full notice, and treats the party accordingly.

2. That man, without a special revelation, could never know his full duty, and his true destination (*The Path*, p. 708).

In other words, Volney has shown the propriety of a direct revelation by the facts he stated and the fair logical conclusion properly drawn from them. While it may be true that there are some isolated and extremely rare cases where small tribes of the lowest sav-

ages have no idea of the existence of God or of a future state, still they are not only very *doubtful*, but, if true, they constitute so few and so small exceptions to the general rule as not to affect the main conclusion stated. If such cases can be found at all, it is simply a *temporary* suppression of this law by the force of extreme circumstances and conditions, such as are endured by the naked, half-starved Fuegians. As the lesser instincts of the dog may be overcome by the stronger instinctive love for its master, so this law of human nature may possibly be suppressed, or at least obscured, for a time, by the incessant struggles to escape starvation, the dangers from enemies, and other inexorable *present* causes.

Upon this subject of the reasonableness of a direct revelation from God I make the following forcible extract from Professor Mivart :

Let us then suppose a man who, by the exercise of his reason, has arrived at that theistic belief and willing anticipation of a revelation which is here maintained to be rational.

Looking abroad upon the world as he finds it to-day, he can hardly hesitate as to the revelation into the claims of which he is morally bound to inquire with reverent candour. This revelation is that which the Christian Church alone affirms itself to possess infallibly and to put before unbelievers for their acceptance. If such a man finds that the doctrines of the Church contradict what his reason positively affirms, he must, of course, reject it; but he is bound to accept it if he finds its teachings harmonize with his reason and with his conscience. As a fact, the Christian revelation asserts "Creation"; and Mr. Darwin and Professor Huxley were right in thinking that to disprove "Creation" was to disprove Christianity.

Our supposed inquirer is manifestly bound to carry on such inquiry not only with a candid spirit, but with a desire to find such asserted revelation to be true. He is so bound, since no one who has arrived at a philosophic contemplation of the Infinite Majesty and absolute holiness and beauty of the God whose existence is made known to us by Nature, can rationally do other than most earnestly desire a revealed knowledge of Him, if haply such may be found.

It is thus that a moral element may plainly enter into the acceptance or rejection of revelation. That it is congruous it should do so is evident from what we see as to the natural religion we gather from Nature. There, again, it has evidently not been the intention of the First Cause to make the evidence of his existence so plain that its non-recognition would be a mark of intellectual incapacity. Conviction as to Theism is, as we see, not forced upon men, willing and unwilling, as is the conviction of the existence of the sun at noonday (*Lessons from Nature*, p. 427).

#### THE JEWS.

There now exist a most peculiar and venerable old people, numbering from five to six millions. They are generally called Jews; but as this term strictly designates only the natives of Judea, the name Israelites would seem to be the more proper. I, however, shall often call them Jews—not in any invidious sense, but because this name is better understood.

This most remarkable of all peoples claim to be the lineal descen-

dants of Abram, the Chaldean, whose name, for certain reasons, it is alleged was changed by God to that of Abraham. This old patriarch lived some thirty-eight hundred years ago. This alleged ancestry they sustain by their own written history, by their uninterrupted traditions, by the fact of their own continued existence as a separate people under all circumstances, by their general refusal to intermarry with other races, and especially by their peculiar, though not uncomely, cast of features. For, although they have so long occupied so many different countries, with climates so various, still, from the black Jews of India to the white Jews of Europe and America, they all have this peculiar and distinctive cast of features, so far as I am advised. In point of health, vigor of body and intellect, energy, patience, industry, and sobriety, they have no superiors. No people are better as husbands and wives, parents and children, brothers and sisters, than the Jews. They are especially careful in the education and training of their children. They are very seldom seen as beggars or drunkards, and are scarcely ever condemned as criminals. They are the most quiet and considerate of neighbors.

Though scattered, during so many long centuries, among nearly all the nations of the world, and owing temporary allegiance, as citizens or subjects, to so many different governments, they still maintain, substantially unimpaired, their ancient nationality, while having no present national home of their own. With their numbers, wealth, and intelligence they could most probably establish themselves in some one independent jurisdiction, where they could govern themselves as a separate people. But they cling to the unfaltering belief that they will, at some future time, be restored to their ancient possessions. And because of their unwavering faith they do not desire a national home in any other locality, as they claim that Palestine, and that country *only*, was bestowed upon them by God Himself as their *limited* and *only* national territory. Banished long ago by force from their promised land, they have lived for many centuries as pilgrims and wanderers among other nations, derided, persecuted, and despised. Their sufferings have been greater in amount, more varied in character, and more prolonged than those of any other people. They have, indeed, endured "all the sad variety of pain." And yet amidst all these long and severe trials they have remained substantially as unchangeable in their laws and religion as the desert they crossed and upon the border of which they lived more than a thousand years. They have most successfully resisted those disintegrating influences which have overcome all other peoples under similar circumstances. They exist to-day as the only living link between the present and the distant past; for there is no other people so ancient, who have never substantially changed either their political or religious theory under like circumstances. Wherever the Jews may sojourn they incessantly

and lovingly turn their longing eyes toward their once magnificent but now comparatively desolate City of Jerusalem. Who can so truly portray their feelings and fortitude, in strains at once so simple and sublime, as one of their own poets ?

By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down, yea, we wept, when we remembered Sion.

If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning.

If I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth; if I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy.

The history of the Jews is not only that of a grand and venerable old people, but the main and early incidents of their history are connected with the most remarkable countries of the world. The Mediterranean Sea is remarkable geographically, and still more remarkable for the great historical events which have occurred upon its shores. So the Red Sea is one of the strangest in the world, being some twelve hundred miles long and two hundred wide, without a tributary stream of any importance. Egypt, in which the Jews passed several centuries of their existence in a state of servitude, was a regularly organized government in the time of Abraham, and was, perhaps, the most ancient kingdom of the world—a mysterious country, one of the parents of art and science, and the land of pyramids, obelisks, and hieroglyphics. The valley of the Nile is from one thousand to twelve hundred miles long, and its average width is some six miles. This valley lies between ranges of mountains of solid rock, varying from sandstone to limestone and granite. From the junction of the Atbara River with the Nile to its mouth in the Mediterranean, a distance of nearly twelve hundred miles, the Nile has not a single tributary stream. The rich Delta of the Nile is in the geographical centre of the land-surface of the whole world. This famed Delta is in the shape of an expanded fan, the large north end fronting on the sea, and in the centre of the small and southern end stands the Great Pyramid, the only remaining one of the seven wonders of the ancients. That this majestic monument was built for a grand and mighty purpose can hardly be doubted.\*

\* "The Jeezeh pyramidal group is situated, like all the others, on the western, or more thoroughly African, lone and desert side of the river; but close to the southern apex, and as it were the very point of origin of the sector-shaped plain of Lower Egypt. The group, in its strangely massive, yet crystalline shaped, architecture, is conspicuously planted there on the utmost north-eastern edge of an elevated rocky steppe, so that while it overlooks on one side the sand-strewn wastes extending back to the great Sahara, it beholds on the other the green and fertile plains of the Nile, about one hundred and thirty feet in level below. But amongst these Jeezeh pyramids, again, there is one that transcends in intellectual value all the rest; one that has been involuntarily by all the world named for ages past the 'Great Pyramid'; and which stands out, the more it is examined into, distinct and distinguished from all its fellows by its not only giant, but particular, size, its wondrous internal structure, its superior age, more frequent historical notice by men of various nations, and yet, the hitherto inscrutable destiny of its purpose; the greatest of the seven old wonders of the world in the days of the Greeks, and the only one of them all, which is still in existence on the surface of the earth.

"With many of the smaller and later pyramids there is little doubt about their objects; for, built

But still more strange and remarkable in its geographical features and history is the land of Palestine. Mount Hermon rises nine thousand one hundred and fifty feet above the level of the Mediterranean Sea, and its summit is covered with snow during most of the year. In this mountain the famed Jordan takes its rise, and the total distance from there to the Dead Sea is one hundred and four miles direct; and the fall of the river from its highest source to the Dead Sea is a little over twenty-three hundred feet. The first lake is that of Merom, four miles long; and the second, the Sea of Galilee—ten and one-half miles below it—is twelve and one-half miles long. The valley of the Jordan, below the Sea of Galilee, is from four to fourteen miles wide east and west, and the channel in which the river makes its tortuous course to the Dead Sea is about one mile wide, with steep banks of white marl from fifty to one hundred feet high. The width of the stream is from thirty to fifty yards, except in time of floods, when its banks are overflowed. There are some forty fords, passable only in summer.

The Dead Sea, into which the Jordan flows, is forty-six miles long, and varies from five to nine miles in width, and is physically and historically the most remarkable in the world. Its surface is thirteen hundred and eight feet below the level of the ocean, and most of the valley of the Jordan is also below the level of the Mediterranean. The surface of the Caspian Sea is only eighty-four feet below the level of the Black Sea. The water of the Dead Sea is intensely salt

by the Egyptians as sepulchres for the great Egyptian dead, such dead both Pharaohs and their relatives, were buried in them, and with all the written particulars, pictorial accompaniments, and idolatrous adornments of that too graphic religion, which the fictile nation on the Nile ever delighted in. But as we approach, ascending the stream of ancient time, in any careful chronological survey of pyramidal structures, to the 'Great Pyramid,' Egyptian emblems are gradually left behind; and in, and throughout, that mighty builded mass, which all history and all tradition, both ancient and modern, agree in representing as the first in point of date of the whole Jeezeh, and even the whole Egyptian group, the earliest stone building also positively known to have been erected in any country—we find in all its *finished* parts not a vestige of heathenism, nor the smallest indulgence in anything approaching to idolatry; no Egyptology of the kind denounced by Moses and the prophets of Israel; nor even the most distant allusion to Sabæism, and its elemental worship of the sun, or moon, or any of the starry host of heaven" (Piazzi Smyth, *Our Inheritance in the Great Pyramid*, p. 4).

The author adds in a note: "There are some disputations still touching the possibly greater antiquity of another pyramid, viz., the so-called (but not really) Great Pyramid, or 'pyramid of degrees,' at Sakkara."

There are, according to the author, thirty-seven pyramids in Egypt (pp. 3, 600).

"Egypt and Babylon—Mizraim and Nimrod—both descendants of Ham—led the way, and acted as the pioneers of mankind in the various untrodden fields of art, literature, and science. Alphabetic writing, astronomy, history, chronology, architecture, plastic art, sculpture, navigation, agriculture, textile industry, seem, all of them, to have had their origin in one or the other of these two countries" (Rawlinson's *Five Monarchies*, i. p. 60).

"Less ancient than the Egyptians, the Chaldean monarchy claims the advantage of priority over every empire or kingdom which has grown up upon the soil of Asia. . . . Each people no doubt modified in some measure the boon received, adding more or less of its own to the common inheritance. But Chaldæa stands forth as the great parent and original inventress of Asiatic civilization, without any rival that can reasonably dispute her claims" (*id.* i. p. 174).

"The only sciences in which the early Chaldæans can at present be proved to have excelled are the cognate ones of arithmetic and astronomy" (*id.* i. p. 100).

and bitter, and contains a little more than twenty-six per cent. of solid matter, consisting mainly of chloride of magnesium and chloride of sodium. Owing to this large percentage of solid matter the water is so heavy that the human body will not sink in it. The whole distance from the source of the Jordan in the north to the southern end of the Dead Sea is just one hundred and fifty miles direct. The course of the river is from north to south.

The religious history of this people is no less singular. In the narrow strip of land inhabited by their tribes the worship of one Almighty Creator of the Universe subsists, as in its only sanctuary. In every stage of society, under the personal tent of Abraham, and in the sumptuous temple of Solomon, the same creed maintains its inviolable simplicity. During their long intercourse with foreign nations in Egypt and Babylon, though the primitive habits and character of the Hebrew nation were greatly modified, and perhaps some theological notions engrafted on their original tenets, this primary distinction still remains; after several periods of almost total apostasy, it revives in all its vigour. Nor is this merely a sublime speculative tenet, it is the basis of their civil constitution, and of their national character. As there is but one Almighty God, so there is but one people under his especial protection, the descendants of Abraham. Hence their civil and religious history are inseparable. The God of the chosen people is their temporal as well as spiritual sovereign; he is not merely their legislator, but also the administrator of their laws. Their land is his gift, held from him, as from a feudal liege-lord, on certain conditions. He is their leader in war, their counsellor in peace. Their happiness or adversity, national as well as individual, depends solely and immediately on their maintenance or neglect of the divine institutions. Such was the common popular religion of the Jews, as it appears in all their records, in their law, their history, their poetry, and their moral philosophy. Hence, to the mere speculative inquirer, the study of the human race presents no phenomenon so singular as the character of this extraordinary people; to the Christian, no chapter in the history of mankind can be more instructive or important, than that which contains the rise, progress, and downfall of his religious ancestors (*Milman's History of the Jews*, p. 2).

#### RULES OF CONSTRUCTION.

It must be conceded that when any people claim to be the chosen of God, to whom He is alleged to have made a special revelation of His will, they assume a lofty position, which requires reasons and proofs to sustain it strong in proportion to the exalted character of the position itself. But however strong we may claim this evidence should be, it can only be such as, from the very nature and reason of the case, can be produced under the well-known rule of evidence as found in note to page 164. We cannot reasonably demand evidence so conclusive as a mathematic demonstration or its equivalent. We can only properly require such proofs as will, when carefully considered together, lead to a moral certainty—such evidence as will satisfy a calm, earnest, reverent, honest, and sound mind.



The sublime position assumed by this venerable old people may be true; and if true, then it surely may be proved by competent and sufficient evidence in some form. This evidence may consist of a multitude of particulars, some having a closer and others a more remote relation to the position to be sustained. If we call upon them for proofs of the high claim they make, they will present to us, as their main evidence, their sacred books, which they allege to be the substantially true and veritable records of their nation. These books combined make a very large volume. They are said to have been composed by various authors, at different times and in different places, under varied circumstances, and in ages separated by centuries. It is one of the most rare and wonderful works in the world, whether true or false.

There are in the world an innumerable quantity of books, nevertheless there are but six of them which have been venerated by nations as sacred. These are the "Kings" of China, the Vedas of India, the Zend-Avesta of the Persians, the Koran of the Arabs, the Law of the Jews, and the Gospel. At first sight I am struck with this rarity of sacred writings. So many legislators have founded cities, so many men of genius have governed the human understanding, and yet all these legislators, all these men of genius, have not been able to cause the existence of more than six sacred books upon the earth! (Père Lacordaire, cited in *Tradition* by Lord Arundell, p. 106).

As this large volume must be construed, it may be useful to state and illustrate a few rules of construction :

Language is but a medium through which a writer or speaker conveys to his readers or hearers, such of the ideas existing in his own mind as he intends to communicate to them. The character of this medium, which is simply artificial and arbitrary, is fixed by the existing usage at the precise time the words are written or spoken. This usage may give to words a figurative or literal meaning. The object of every fair writer or speaker is to place in the minds of others, an exact copy of his own thoughts (*The Path*, p. 3).

1. *The final construction should be upon the entire books, taken and construed together, so as to give force and effect to all the passages, if possible.*

The rule at law is the same :

One part of a statute must be so construed by another, that the whole may (if possible) stand (1 *Blackstone's Com.*, p. 89).

It is an established rule in the exposition of statutes, that the intention of the lawgiver is to be deduced from a view of the whole, and of every part of a statute, taken and compared together (1 *Kenil's Com.*, p. 461).

The construction ought to be upon the entire deed, and not on any particular part of it. And such construction should be given, that, if possible, every part of the deed may be operative (16 *Johnson's N. Y. Reports*, p. 172).

It is then laid down repeatedly by the old reporters and legal writers, that, in construing a deed, every part of it must be made, if possible, to take effect, and every word must be made to operate in some shape or other. The construction, likewise, must be such as will preserve rather than destroy, it must be reasonable,

and agreeable to common understanding ; it must also be favorable, and as near the minds and apparent intents of the parties as the rules of law will admit ; and, as observed by Lord Hale, the judges ought to be curious and subtle to invent reasons and means to make acts effectual according to the just intent of the parties ; they will not, therefore, cavil about the propriety of words when the intent of the parties appears, but will rather apply the words to fulfil the intent than destroy the intent by reason of the insufficiency of the words (*Broom's Legal Maxims*, p. 414).

How beautifully Mr. Broom states the true and generous rule when he says :

The construction, likewise, must be such as will preserve rather than destroy.

2. *The best and surest mode of expounding an instrument is by referring to the time when, and the circumstances under which it was made* (*id.* p. 532).

In support of this rule the learned author, on the same page, has these remarks :

There is no better way of interpreting ancient words, or of construing ancient grants, deeds, and charters, than by usage ; and the uniform course of modern authorities, fully establishes the rule, that, however general the words of an ancient grant may be, it is to be construed by evidence of the manner in which the thing granted has always been possessed and used ; for so the parties thereto must be supposed to have intended. Thus, if it be doubtful on the face of an instrument whether a present demise or future letting was meant, the intention of the parties may be elucidated by the conduct they have pursued ; and where the words of the instrument are ambiguous, the Court will call in aid acts done under it as a clue to the intention. . . . Usage, however, it has been observed, can be binding and operative upon parties only as it is the interpreter of a doubtful law, for as against a plain statutory law, no usage is of any avail.

Under a different head the same learned author makes the following pertinent remarks :

If a testator leaves his property to be divided amongst his "children," which is a word bearing a strict technical meaning in law, the Court would at once construe "children" as meaning children born in wedlock ; and if there were any such children to whom that term could be applied, the bequest would be limited to them, although it might also appear that the testator had other children born out of wedlock ; and no evidence would be admissible to show that he intended that his property should be equally distributed amongst all his children, whether legitimate or illegitimate. But if, upon the evidence, it should appear that the testator never was married, so that it was impossible to apply the language of his will in its strict and primary sense, and if it further appeared that he had illegitimate children, whom he had always treated as his children, such evidence, and any other that would tend to prove that these were the intended objects of his bounty, might be used for the purpose of construing the bequest according to the less strict and technical meaning of the term "children," so as to give effect to the bequest of the testator, which would otherwise be wholly inoperative (*Broom's Legal Maxims*, p. 431).

These two constitute the main and more important rules of construction. All other rules are but legitimate extensions of the broad and just principles of these two.

It is just and proper to say that the *only* purpose of rules of construction is to ascertain the true meaning of a writer, precisely as he himself intends to be understood. It is presumed that every writer means something by what he says, and that he intends to be consistent with himself. The just rule is, therefore, to use fair and diligent efforts to arrive at his *real* meaning. Whether his true meaning, when known, conveys correct ideas, and whether his statements of fact be true, mistaken, or false, in whole or in part, are *other* questions to be settled by *other* means than rules of construction.

If we wish to do exact and equal justice to the venerable ancients, or even to ourselves, we must, so far as practicable, place ourselves back in the olden time, and learn to know and fully appreciate the circumstances under which they lived and wrote. And when we have diligently and impartially done this to the extent of our ability and opportunity, we must still make a very liberal allowance for our inevitable ignorance of a period so distant from the present, and so early in the history of the race. Passages that are now obscure and difficult of explanation, there may be every reason to believe, would appear plain and simple did we possess a full knowledge of the precise facts and circumstances under which they were written. Many apparent contradictions might prove to be easily reconciled.

I will, at present, only mention a few examples—to illustrate these views—taken from the *Lectures* of Cardinal Wiseman on *The Connection between Science and Revealed Religion* :

There is an apparent contradiction between the narratives in Gen. xxxiii. 19, and in Acts vii. 16, relating to the purchase of a field by Jacob from the Hemorites. For St. Stephen, in the latter passage, tells us that the price was paid in a sum of money, whereas the original text of Genesis says that it was paid by a *hundred lambs*, or sheep. At least, the Hebrew word there used (*Kesita*) is so rendered by every ancient version. Hence, the English version, which renders it by *pieces of money*, has added in the margin, as nearer the original, the other interpretation. Supposing this rendering of the ancient versions to be correct, and there must have been some reason for their all giving that meaning to the word, there was a very simple method of reconciling the two passages, by considering the same term to have expressed both objects; in other words, by conjecturing that the ancient Phœnician coin bore upon it the figure of a lamb, for which it was an equivalent, and that, from this emblem, it also derives its name. For nothing is more common than such a substitution. Among our ancestors, the *angel* and *cross*, so often alluded to in Shakspeare, received their names from the representation they bore; and among the Romans, the very name of money, *pecunia*, is allowed to be derived from the exact similar case of a sheep being stamped upon it. Any apparent difficulty would thus be satisfactorily removed, by a highly probable conjecture. But the publication of a medal, found by Dr. Clarke near Citium in Cyprus, has given us all the evidence we might desire. The late learned Dr. Muntz presented a dissertation on this subject to the Royal Danish Academy, inserted in their Acts for 1822. In it he observes, that the coin, which is of silver, is undoubtedly Phœnician, as it bears upon the reverse a legend in Phœnician characters. On the obverse is the figure of a sheep; and no doubt can be entertained of

its extreme antiquity. Here, then, he concludes, it is extremely probable, that we have the very coin alluded to in Scripture; at least, we now know for certain that the Phenicians had a coin with a symbol corresponding to the meaning of the word Kesita; and the element alone wanting to make the conjectural reconciliation morally certain now exists (*Lectures*, ii. p. 107).

There is a gold coin of the United States legally called an eagle, which bears a figure of that bird. Whether the Phenician coin was legally or only popularly called a lamb would make not the slightest difference, as the writer of Genesis might well use words in their popular sense. And as the illegitimate children, in the case mentioned by Mr. Broom, were permitted to prove that their father never was married, but had always acknowledged them to be his children, that the Court might be able to correctly construe the word "children" found in the will of the testator, and thus give effect to his real intentions; so, in this case, it is admissible to show, as a part of the circumstances under which the passage in Genesis was written, that there was a Phenician coin bearing upon it the figure of a lamb, in order that we may find the correct meaning of that word.

The thirty-ninth chapter of Isaiah informs us, that Merodach-Baladan, King of Babylon, sent an embassy to Ezekiah, King of Judah. This King of Babylon makes no other appearance in sacred history; and even this one is attended with no inconsiderable difficulty. For, the Kingdom of the Assyrians was yet flourishing, and Babylon was only one of its dependencies. Only nine years before, Salmanassar, the *Assyrian* monarch, is said to have transported the inhabitants of *Babylon* to other parts; and Manasses, not many years after, was carried captive to *Babylon* by the King of Assyria. Again, the prophet Micheas, about this very period, speaks of the Jews being carried away to Babylon, while the Assyrians are mentioned as the enemies whom they have principally to fear.

All these instances incontestably prove, that at the time of Ezekiah, Babylon was dependent on the Assyrian Kings. Who, then, was this Merodach-Baladan, King of Babylon? If he was only governor of that City, how could he send an embassy of congratulations to the Jewish sovereign, then at war with his liege lord? The canon of Ptolemy gives us no King of this name, nor does his chronology appear reconcilable with sacred history.

In this darkness and doubt we must have continued, and the apparent contradiction of this text to other passages would have remained inexplicable, had not the progress of modern oriental study brought to light a document of the most venerable antiquity. This is nothing less than a fragment of Berosus, preserved in the Chronicle of Eusebius. The publication of this work, in a perfect state, from its Armenian version, first made us acquainted with it; and Gensenius [Gesenius], whom I have so often quoted as opposed to us in opinion, I have now the pleasure of citing, as the author to whose ingenuity we owe its application.

This interesting fragment informs us, that after Sennacherib's brother had governed Babylon, as Assyrian viceroy, Acises unjustly possessed himself of the supreme command. After thirty days he was murdered by Merodach-Baladan, who usurped the sovereignty for six months, when he in his turn was killed, and succeeded by Elibus. But, after three years, Sennacherib collected an army, gave the usurper battle, conquered and took him prisoner. Having once more reduced Babylon to his obedience, he left his son Assordan, the Essarhadan of Scripture, as governor of that city (*Lecture ii.* p. 240).

These *Lectures* of Cardinal Wiseman were delivered in 1835, and a third edition published in 1849. George Rawlinson published the first edition of his history of *The Five Great Monarchies* in 1862, and a second edition in 1870. In this able work the history of Merodach-Baladan is given, as a few brief extracts will show :

Immediately upon his accession Sargon marched into Susiana, where he defeated Humbanigas, the Elamitic King, and Merodach-Baladan, the old adversary of Tiglath-Pileser, who revolted and established himself as King over Babylonia (ii. p. 141).

Merodach-Baladan had now been twelve years in quiet possession of the Kingdom. He had established his court at Babylon, etc. (ii. p. 147).

In Babylonia (B. C. 710) Sargon gained a great victory over Merodach-Baladan and his allies the Aramæans and Susianians, took Bit-Yakin, into which the defeated monarch had thrown himself, and gained possession of his treasures and person. Upon this the whole country submitted ; Merodach-Baladan was carried away captive into Assyria ; and Sargon himself, mounting the throne, assumed the title—rarely taken by an Assyrian monarch—of “ King of Babylon.”

But this state of things did not continue long. Sargon died in the year B. C. 704, and coincident with his death we find a renewal of troubles in Babylonia. Assyria's yoke was shaken off ; various pretenders started up ; a son of Sargon and brother of Sennacherib re-established Assyrian influence for a brief space ; but fresh revolts followed. A certain Hagisa became King of Babylon for a month. Finally, Merodach-Baladan again appeared upon the scene, having escaped from his Assyrian prison, murdered Hagisa and remounted the throne from which he had been deposed seven years previously. But the brave effort to recover independence failed. Sennacherib in his second year, B. C. 703, descended upon Babylonia, defeated the army which Merodach-Baladan brought against him, drove that monarch himself into exile, after a reign of six months, and re-attached his country to the Assyrian Crown (iii. p. 41).

The distinguished cardinal mentions other cases, but these two will suffice to illustrate the principle involved.

#### OUR COPY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

If we wish to learn the history of any people we must *mainly* rely upon their own historians, as they are best acquainted with the facts. This is especially true as regards the domestic history of a people. The law says a good witness must be both *able* and *willing*. To be able he must know the facts he relates, and to be willing he must be honest and impartial. It is very true that the native historians may be partial ; but it is equally true that foreign historians may be prejudiced as well as ignorant. We must form our judgment from the nature of the matter recorded, from the manner and spirit of the writer, from a reasonable consideration of the circumstances under which he wrote, and from such confirmative evidence as may be accessible.

When an alleged ancient history is placed in our hands three questions arise : 1. Is it a *substantially* correct copy ? 2. What is the *real* meaning of the author ? 3. Is his *known* meaning correct ?

Although these questions seem totally distinct, the evidences to sustain them often bear so close a relation to each other as to make it difficult, if not impossible, to distribute them under proper divisions. I may therefore state proofs under one head that might be equally appropriate under another. From my limited space, as compared with the extent of the subject and to save repetition, this may become necessary. The Old Testament is so large a volume and contains such a multitude of particulars occurring in times so diverse and remote from the present, and in countries so different from our own and now so difficult of safe access, and the objections and criticisms are so numerous and varied, that I can only notice the main points and give my views and reasons as clearly and concisely as I may. And in doing so I must freely avail myself of the labors of other writers.

We are indebted to the Jews for our copy of the Old Testament, as all its numerous books were composed by individuals of that nation. This most remarkable people are the living, continuing, and inflexible witnesses of its substantial accuracy. They have exhibited the most unyielding fidelity in the preservation of their peculiar laws and religion. They have endured almost all possible tests, and have most successfully withstood them all. Says Milman :

For the fourth time the Jewish people seemed on the brink of extermination. Nebuchadnezzar, Antiochus, Titus, Hadrian, had successively exerted their utmost power to extinguish, not merely the political existence of the state, but even the separate being of the people. It might have appeared impossible that any thing like a community should again revive within Palestine ; still more so, that the multitude of Jews scattered over the whole face of the world should maintain any correspondence or intelligence, continue a distinct and unmingled race, or resist the process of absorption into the general population, which is the usual fate of small bodies of strangers, settled in remote and unconnected regions (*History of the Jews*, p. 445).

The same author continues :

Such, according to the best authorities to which we have access, is the number and distribution of the children of Israel ; they are still found in every quarter of the world, under every climate, in every region, under every form of government, wearing the indelible national stamp on their features, united by the close moral affinity of habits and feelings, and, at least the mass of the community, treasur-

\* " The best and surest demonstration of the authority of any historical record, is that afforded by national tradition. When the record has been handed down, and perpetuated, and generally accredited by the very nation whence it sprung, and that nation no barbarous tribe, but a civilized people, and acquainted with letters, the proof is accepted by critics for complete. If, in addition to this, the record in question be, in great part, a book of annals, the public annals of the nation itself ; if, moreover, it treats with authority of the national religion, and civil constitution ; if it again consists not of one or other book or treatise, but of a continuous series of books, of which the later ones suppose always the existence of the preceding ; if, once more, it was a popular record, perfectly well known at all times, and often read ; if, finally, it records facts mortifying to the pride of the nation it belongs to, and even supplies powerful arguments which can be made use of against them by their adversaries, it would be under all these circumstances the very madness of skepticism to doubt its authenticity " (Rev. C. Walworth in *Gentle Skeptic*, p. 47).

ing in their hearts the same reliance on their national privileges, the same trust in the promises of their God, the same conscientious attachment to the institutions of their fathers (*id.* p. 599).

As illustrative of the inflexible fidelity of the Jews, I make the following extracts from the same author. A narration of the same events is found in Josephus (*Antiquities*, book xviii. chapter iii.; *Wars of the Jews*, book ii. chapter x.) I quote Milman, as in this case he is the more concise :

Up to this period the Roman prætor seems to have resided in Cæsarea, and avoided all collision between his troops and the turbulent zealots of the capital. Pontius Pilate determined to transfer the winter quarters of his army from Samaria to Jerusalem. The Romans had hitherto so far respected the prejudices of their subjects, as not to introduce their standards, on which appeared not only the offensive *image* of the eagle, but likewise that of Cæsar, within the walls of the city. The troops entered the gates by night, and in the morning the people were shocked and surprised at beholding the effigy of the Emperor publicly displayed in their streets. They abstained from all violence, but a numerous deputation set out to Cæsarea, and for many days entreated Pilate to remove the standards. Pilate treated the affair as an insult on the Emperor, and, weary of their importunity, concealed some troops, with which he surrounded and hoped to disperse them. When the soldiers appeared, the Jews with one accord fell on the ground, declaring that they were ready to die rather than sanction the infringement of their law. Pilate had the prudence to withdraw the obnoxious emblems (*History of the Jews*, p. 264).

The instructions to Petronius, the Syrian governor, were distinct and precise ; he was to place the statue of Caligula in the temple of Jerusalem at all hazards. He was to withdraw, if necessary, the two legions which were usually stationed on the Euphrates. Yet he was too prudent and humane not to hesitate ; he called a council, where the bigoted attachment of the Jews to their temple, and their formidable numbers, both in Judæa and other countries, were discussed. But it was unanimously agreed that the mandate of the emperor was imperative ; and Petronius issued out orders to the Sidonian workmen to make the statue. He then collected his troops, and went into winter quarters at Ptolemais. He had made known to the priests and rulers of the Jews the designs of the emperor ; but no sooner had the intelligence spread, than many thousands of the people assembled from all quarters, without distinction of rank, age, or sex. They covered the country for a great distance like a vast cloud ; they were unarmed and defenceless ; many of them were clad in sackcloth, and had ashes on their heads and every mark of the deepest mourning. All with one voice declared their steadfast and deliberate resolution to sacrifice their lives, rather than consent to the profanation of their temple. Petronius sternly rebuked them, and insisted on his own obligation to fulfil the positive commands of his sovereign. They answered, that they were as much bound to respect the ordinances of their God—that no fear of death would induce them to the violation of their law—that they dreaded the wrath of their God more than that of the emperor.

Petronius shrunk from the horrible task of commencing a war of massacre and extermination for such an object ; and in order to obtain more certain information on the state of the country, he left his troops at Ptolemais, and himself, with some of his distinguished officers, moved to Tiberias. Here many of the rulers, and the people by thousands, crowded again into his presence. Once more Petronius urged the power of the Romans, the positive mandate of the emperor, and

the uniform obedience of all other nations. The Jews replied with entreaties and supplications, that he would not think of violating their sanctuary with the images of man. "Are ye resolved, then," said the Roman, "to wage war against your emperor?" "We have no thought of war," they replied unanimously; "but we will submit to be massacred rather than infringe our law"—and at once the whole body fell with their faces to the earth, and declared that they were ready to offer their throats to the swords of the soldiery.

For forty days this scene lasted: it was the time for sowing; and the whole land remained uncultivated. Aristobulus, the brother of Agrippa,—Helcias, called the Great—and others of the most distinguished men of the nation—appeared before Petronius, and remonstrated with him on the impolicy of reducing a flourishing province to a desert, from which no tribute could be drawn. The people, they urged, were obstinately determined not to till the soil, and would betake themselves to robbery; so that it was impossible to calculate the dreadful results of his persisting in the odious measure. They entreated that he would forward their representations to Caligula, in hopes that the emperor might yet be persuaded to relent.

The humane Petronius, after holding a council with his friends, resolved to risk the wrath of the emperor, rather than deluge the whole country with blood (*History of the Jews*, p. 278).

At the request of Agrippa the Great, who had been the early and warm friend of Caligula, the emperor was induced to recall his orders; and Petronius escaped with his life, in consequence of the early death of the emperor. Says Cardinal Wiseman:

When the study of Hebrew began to be more cultivated among Christians and the invention of printing made its text accessible to all, there sprung up an important controversy upon its accuracy. In many most important passages, as the one I have cited from Ps. xxii., it was found to differ from the versions then in use; and suspicions were raised against the Jews, who had so long monopolized it, as though they had taken advantage of that circumstance, to alter and strangely corrupt the original text, in divers places. Hence, many assumed that the versions were to be preferred to the original:—others of more moderate principles, that this was at least to be corrected by them. But, even before critical studies had received their full development, or been reduced to principles, which in every science, must follow, not precede observation, the accurate examination of almost every passage quoted in support of these opinions was found to lead to their confutation; and the Jews were proved upon incontestible evidence to have preserved the sacred volume free from all intentional alteration. Such is the judgment which all now agree in pronouncing on the animated folio controversies between Cappellus and the Buxtorfs (*Lectures on Science and Revealed Religion*, ii. p. 157).

The amply-vindicated and now conceded fidelity of the Jews in generally preserving the Old Testament free from all *intentional* alterations is in perfect unison with the undeniable fact of their separate existence as a people for so long a period and under circumstances so trying and remarkable. For it must be evident that a sentiment so powerful as to produce a *solitary* result so extraordinary as their continued nationality would naturally and logically lead to the most honest preservation of their sacred books. The laws which govern the mere *civil* conduct of a people are matters



too deeply important to be neglected or forgotten, for the reason that they not only regulate the dearest secular interests and rights of society, but competent tribunals are charged with their custody and practical administration; and they are thus made of daily application to all individuals, and kept continually before the eyes and in the memories of all.

If, then, the political laws of other peoples, conceded to have been made by wise but fallible men, merely for the regulation of the civil conduct of the citizen or subject, have generally been preserved with scrupulous care, how much *more* care and fidelity should we naturally and reasonably expect from a people who claim that the civil and ecclesiastical laws of their state were dictated by God Himself! As men are constitutionally social and, as I maintain, religious beings, the ties which bind them together in civil and religious associations must be the strongest and most enduring of our nature—even stronger than the love of life itself.

The Jews have never claimed to have had but one great lawgiver, Moses; and as it has been believed always by them that his entire law, civil and religious, was dictated by God Himself, it was not subject to repeal, modification, or amendment until it had run its destined course—that is, until the prophet foretold by Moses himself should appear.\* When that lawgiver, sent of God, should come, then the children of Israel should hear and obey him in *all* that he should command. In his grand address to the assembled people, delivered shortly before his death, Moses is recorded as saying to them:

And the Lord said to me: They have spoken all things well.

I will raise them up a prophet out of the midst of their brethren like to thee: and I will put my words in his mouth, and he shall speak all that I shall command him.

And he that will not hear his words, which he shall speak in my name, I will be the revenger.

Remember the days of old, think upon every generation: ask thy father, and he will declare to thee: thy elders, and they will tell thee (Deut. xviii. 17; xxxii. 7).

\* “For we have not an innnumerable multitude of books among us, disagreeing from, and contradicting one another [as the Greeks have], but only twenty-two books which contain the records of all the past times; which are justly believed to be divine; and of them five belong to Moses, which contain his laws and the traditions of the origin of mankind until his death. . . . And how firmly we have given credit to those books of our own nation, is evident by what we do; for, during so many ages as have already passed, no one has been so bold as either to add any thing to them, to take any thing from them, or to make any change in them; but it becomes natural to all Jews, immediately and from their very birth, to esteem those books to contain divine doctrines, and to persist in them, and, if occasion be, willingly to die for them” (*Josephus against Apton*, b. i. 885).

“For we Jews are always governed by the same laws in which we constantly persevere.” “Now, I venture to say, that our legislator is the most ancient of all the legislators whom we have anywhere heard of.” “But while we are ourselves persuaded that our law was made agreeable to the will of God, it would be impious for us not to observe the same; for what is there in it that anybody would change!” “Nor ought men to wonder at us, if we are more courageous in dying for our laws than all other men are.” “For though we be deprived of our wealth, of our cities, or of other advantages we have, our law continues immortal; nor can any Jew go so far from his own country, nor be so affrighted at the severest lord, as not to be more affrighted at the law than at him” (*id.* b. ii. 910, 915, 918, 921, 924).

Before the advent of Christ and the alleged incoming of the New Dispensation it is difficult to conceive any adequate motive the Jews could have had to wilfully alter the text of their sacred books, especially those called the Law, or the five books constituting the Pentateuch, said to have been written by Moses. But after the appearance of Christ, who based His claims upon the Law and the Prophets, who declared that He came not to destroy but to fulfil, and mentioned certain prophecies of the Old Testament as referring to Himself, the Jews certainly had the greatest temptation to change certain passages relied upon to sustain the theory of Christ. For it is plain that the obliteration of a single word, or the substitution of one word for another in some instances, would have given the text a different application, and thus have defeated the claim of Christ to be the promised Messiah, so far as it depended upon such alleged ancient prophecy. But we have no *clear* evidence that this was ever *intentionally* done in a single case, so far as I am advised. It is perfectly plain that no one believing in the alleged sacred character of the Old Testament could consistently commit the crime of wilfully changing it.

But while we believe the text of the Old Testament to be free from all *intentional* alteration, we have every reason to conclude that some changes, not of essential importance, have been made by copyists. Before the art of printing was discovered in the fifteenth century of our era every copy of this large volume was the work of the penman. It would take a rapid and diligent copyist about one year to make a copy. No one not accustomed to copying can form an adequate idea of the intrinsic difficulty of making an *exact* copy of so large a work. We find errors in copying deeds and mortgages in the recorder's office, where the greatest care is taken under *official* responsibility to have the instruments properly recorded, and where the recorder, as well as his bondsmen, are pecuniarily responsible for all damages caused by errors in the record. These copies are generally made by the most skilful and accurate copyists; and yet, as all men are liable to make mistakes, errors will sometimes creep in. Even the most careful and competent are not always in the same state of good health, or in the same state of calmness of mind, owing to other causes, and are thus far more apt to commit errors at one time than at another.

Since the arts of printing and of making stereotype plates were discovered it is only necessary to have the *first* copy correct to insure that of all subsequent issues. Every author of a printed work knows that this is no easy task, requiring great care and skill to avoid all errors of the press. I think that printed works issued soon after the art was discovered contained more typographical errors than later publications. I have observed that the first books printed in America are not generally so free from such errors as those published at the same time on the older continent of Europe. These facts go to prove

that correctness in copying, as in all other arts, is the gradual growth of time and opportunity.

But in copying with the pen the first copyist would be very apt to make *some* mistakes ; and the copy made from his copy would not only perpetuate the errors of the first, but would add others of its own. Each subsequent copyist would, in turn, continue the errors of his predecessors, and also add *some* new ones of his own ; and thus the consequent mistakes would be increased in proportion to the number of copies. Even where several copies were made by the same person from the same original, the mistakes in some of his copies would be almost certain to be different, in whole or in part, from those found in his other copies. And as but a *very few* copies could be made from the *one* original, the practice of making copies from copies again and again would necessarily lead to more and more errors, until attention would be aroused by their numbers, when many copies would be collated and their errors corrected so far as practicable under the existing circumstances. This, however, would be the slow work of time and increased opportunity and research.

## CHAPTER VII.

### THE MOSAIC RECORD OF CREATION.

IN the examination which I shall make of this wonderful account of Creation I shall mainly rely upon the Douay translation of the Bible made in 1582 and revised and corrected in 1750. It was made so long before any serious conflict was alleged to exist between revelation and geology that its general accuracy may the more be trusted.

In construing the language of this venerable old document we must consider, so far as we can, all the circumstances existing at the time it was written. We should remember that at that early period the number of words in any language was not so great as now exist in each of the languages of the civilized world, and that consequently one word was often then necessarily used in several different senses. Even in our rich and most copious English many of its terms are used in more than one sense. For example, the word *make*, according to Webster, has some eight different meanings. We must also carefully observe the precise purpose the alleged inspired historian had in view while composing only a portion, in detail, of the history of creation. It is almost, if not quite, impossible to write a partial history upon a subject so extensive, sublime, and obscure in its very nature, and yet make such history accurate, clear, and concise. Our curiosity may prompt us to wish to know facts properly hidden from us for the reason that a knowledge of them is not necessary to the end proposed. We should do the writer the justice to believe that he was too sensible and faithful to his high trust to write anything beneath the dignity of his great subject for the mere idle purpose of gratifying an illimitable and vain curiosity.

The style of the historian rises with the grandeur of his theme. He wastes no words upon an explanatory introduction, but proceeds at once to the simple and sublime announcement: "In the beginning God created heaven and earth."

Conceding the truth of this statement for the sake of the argument only, can any language be more beautiful and appropriate? Like the purest gem, it never grows old and is always brilliant. We might almost as well expect that heaven and earth of which he speaks would become decrepit as that this magnificent line should fade away. There is one statement more sublime, and that is recorded by this same old author: "I AM."

The primary and strict meaning of the word *create*, according to

Webster, is "to bring into being; to form out of nothing; to cause to exist."

It is, in my best judgment, exceedingly doubtful whether this word is ever used by the most accurate writers in any other than its strict primary sense. It is true that the generally accurate Webster gives it two other meanings, and cites several poetical examples of its use. But I must observe that we should look to poets, not for the most *accurate*, but for the most forcible, brilliant, and striking use of words. They are not only persons of warm imaginations, but the severe demands of their great art sometimes require them to sacrifice strict sense to harmony of versification. It often happens that a poet is compelled to use a word of two syllables to fill the measure of his verse when a word of one syllable would express his real meaning better. I think it was so in the examples given by Webster. Besides, the thing alleged to be created is, in many cases, strictly but a *new* capacity, relation, or production. Thus, when one person delegates power to another, the principal is said to make that other person his agent; but the principal is properly said to *create*, not make, the agency itself, the agent being one thing and the agency another. So a pure fiction is properly said to be the creation of the novelist.

But conceding, for the sake of the argument only, that I may be mistaken in my opinion as to the one exclusive meaning of the word *create*, the author himself has shown the sense in which *he* used it. This may be seen from a careful examination of the context, from a due consideration of the nature of his subject, from his known opinions, and from the reason of the case.

In the twenty-sixth verse of the first chapter, when speaking of the work *then yet to be done*, "God said, Let us make man"; but in speaking of man *after* he was made, the historian says in the next verse, "God created man." When a mechanic constructs an implement out of pre-existing material, in the creation of which he has had no agency whatever, he is said to *make*, not to create, it. But if he had first created the material, and then from it he had afterwards fashioned or formed the instrument, he might well be said to have created it, as he had been the *sole* agent in its production. If, in the *latter* case, we wish strictly to specify only the work done in the fashioning of the already existing materials, then we would say he made the implement; but if we wish also to *include* the creation of the material itself we may properly and strictly say he *created* the instrument. In the case of man, and the great whales mentioned in verse twenty-one, their bodies were formed of pre-existing material created by God Himself; and *after* that last work was finished they were really His creatures and were properly said to have been created by Him.

It is true that one is said to have been created on the fifth and

the other on the sixth day. This apparent difficulty can be readily explained.

When the body of a living thing is formed of pre-existing materials *first* created by the maker of its body, and the new and mysterious principle of life *afterwards* created by Him and infused into its body, then it may be properly said to have been created when the last *creative* act was performed. In this case the being is compound—so far as the mere *mode* of its origin is concerned—having been partly made and partly created by the *same* hand; and it can be properly said EITHER that it was *created* or *made* or *both created and made*, as *both* processes were used to produce it. Thus, it is said in the thirty-first verse, “God saw all things that he had made”; and in the third verse of the second chapter, “because in the seventh day he had rested from all his work which God created and made”; and in the fourth verse, “These are the generations of the heaven and the earth when they were created, in the day that the Lord God made the heaven and the earth.”

Now, it is clear that, as *both* creative and formative acts were employed by God in producing the heavens and the earth, and the furniture thereof (verse first, chapter second), the historian, when speaking of them *as a whole*, sometimes says *created*, sometimes *made*, and sometimes both *created and made*.

But the historian was careful first to distinguish, in proper cases, between creative and formative acts, properly so-called. This is shown, as already quoted, where “God said: Let us make man.” The careful reader will also observe that, in speaking of all *inorganic* things formed during the work of the six days, they are said to have been *made*; such as the light, the firmament, and the lights in the firmament. The word create is nowhere *separately* applied to the mere formative work done on them, but the word made is so applied. Having once clearly shown the specific difference between creative and formative acts, the historian uses either one or both words, create and make, when referring in a concise manner to the *whole* productions combined, as already proven. The tendency of good sense is always towards economy. In this very concise but clear and exact history of creation the author has been very specific as to all he intended to communicate. So, in making summary references to the *whole* work, he sometimes uses one term and sometimes the other, and then both, without repeating separately distinctions already clearly made.

The same historian, in the eleventh verse of the twentieth chapter of Exodus, in speaking *only* of the work of the six days, says: “The Lord made heaven and earth, and the sea, and all things that are in them.” When speaking of heaven and earth as they existed *before* the work of the six days was commenced, he says they were created; but when he comes to speak only of the work of the six days, which

includes *both* creative and formative acts, he here uses the word made.

All subsequent biblical writers must be presumed to have been acquainted with the Mosaic account of creation, and to have referred to it when speaking of creation in general terms. Thus John, in the first chapter of his Gospel, says in general terms: "All things were made by the Word"; and Paul, in the third chapter of Hebrews, says: "but he that created all things is God"; and in the eleventh chapter of the same epistle he says: "By faith we understand that the world was framed by the word of God."

We should not expect to find the most accurate use of words in the language of poetry or in that of devotion. A wide latitude must be allowed to the imagination in poetry, and to the emotions in the language of devotion.

In regard to the word heaven—which Dr. Dawson in his translation puts in the plural—the learned author says :

In the mean time we may accept the word in this place as including the material heavens in the widest sense: (1) Because, it is not here, as in verse 8th, restricted to the atmosphere by the terms of the narrative ; this restriction in verse 8th in fact implying the wider sense of the word in preceding verses. (2) Because the atmospheric firmament, elsewhere called heaven, divides the waters above from those below, whereas it is evident that all these waters, and of consequence the materials of the atmosphere itself, are included in the earth of the following verse. (3) Because in verse 14th the sidereal heavens are spoken of as arranged from pre-existing materials, which refers their actual creation back to this passage.

In the words now under consideration we therefore regard the heavens as including the whole material universe beyond the limits of our earth (*The Origin of the World*, p. 93).

The historian then proceeds, in the second verse, to give a concise description of the earth in general terms, as it existed *before* the work of the six days commenced :

And the earth was void and empty, and darkness was upon the face of the deep : and the Spirit of God moved over the waters.

The word *earth* in this passage is used in its broadest sense, as the meaning is not restricted either by the context or by definition. When the historian afterwards uses this word in a limited sense, as in verse tenth, he specifically defines the *new* and narrow sense in which he uses it. Had he intended to use the term in a qualified sense in the second verse, he would *there* have given his definition. Besides, the earth, as described in this *second* verse, undoubtedly included the waters which then covered it, as the land was afterwards separated from the waters, and this *dry* land was, after the separation, first called earth in contradistinction to the seas, as stated in the ninth and tenth verses. Now, this separation of the waters from the land could not have been made unless the waters entirely covered the land at the time the act of division commenced.

It is stated in the ninth verse that God said: "and let the dry land appear." It could not have *appeared* unless it was concealed at the time this command was given.

That the description of the earth, as found in the second verse, was intended to show its condition *before* the work of the six days was commenced seems clear, not only from the reasons already given, but is further proven by the *exact and* separate enumeration of the specific work performed during each day. The third verse commences with "And God said: Be light made"; and then follows a specific statement of the work done during that day, and the account then closes with "and there was evening and morning one day." The same form and certainty are observed by the historian in giving a separate account of the work of each of the succeeding days. The distinct account of the work of each succeeding day commences with the statement, "God said," and closes with that of "and the evening and the morning were the day." No more concise and no clearer method, intended not only to state the whole work of the six days, but to *separately* specify that of *each* day, could well have been adopted by the historian.

One object of the historian in describing the condition of the earth before the commencement of the work of the six days was to show clearly the *effect* of the work of those days. If we leave out the second verse we will then see how obscurely the narrative will read, when it is stated that light was made, and it was called day, and the darkness night, when nothing had been *before* said about darkness.

Nothing is said as to what is meant by "the beginning," nor are we informed of the previous stages of the earth, and no intimation is given as to the length of time elapsing between "the beginning" and the condition of the world as described in the second verse.\* These are matters not treated in detail, and nothing specific can be shown as to them from Scripture. Detailed information as to these things was not at all necessary; and, therefore, the historian, in keeping with his very concise method, has not done the idle thing of giving mere scientific information not required for the great purpose intended. We are simply told that the "Spirit of God

\* "Setting out, then, from this point, that there was a state of created existence prior to the Six Days of the Mosaic history, the question naturally arises, how long did that state of existence endure? Was it for an hour? a day? a week? a month? a century? a million of years? We cannot tell. To these questions the Sacred Text gives no reply. It simply records that in the beginning God created the Heavens and the Earth, and that, at some subsequent epoch of time, His decree again went forth, Let there be light, and light there was. One thing, however, is plain, that, if this period existed at all, it might just as well have lasted a hundred million of years as a hundred seconds. It would be folly to attempt to measure the succession of God's acts, when he does please to produce effects in succession, according to our petty standard of time. 'One day with the Lord is as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day'" (Dr. Molloy, *Geology and Revelation*, p. 310).



moved over the waters." This statement is intended to show the presence of God and His continued active care over His work.

And God said : Be light made. And light was made. And God saw the light that it was good : and he divided the light from the darkness. And He called the light Day, and the darkness Night : and there was evening and morning one day.

It will be observed that *before* light was made the primeval state was simply called darkness, not night. Until light existed as described there could be no night as contradistinguished from day.

One, and perhaps the principal, object in the special definition of light, darkness, heaven, earth, and the seas by God was the assertion of His right of dominion. This is shown not only by the general nature of the case, but by the fact, stated in the second chapter, that the right to name animals was possessed by Adam, to whom God had given dominion over them.

The words day and night are simply defined as states of light and darkness, their duration not then being fixed, as the sun did not shine upon the earth until the fourth day.

Light, then, being the only measure of the day *defined*, is such day the same as each one of the six days ? In other words, was the working day of God, the Creator, identical with the working day of man, the creature ?

It would seem to be a low and inadequate conception of God to suppose that His work was restricted, like that of man, to the period of light, when we are informed by the record itself that He had created heaven and earth, and that His Spirit had moved over the waters, before light was made. As He did not need light to enable Him to work *before* the commencement of the work of the six days, it is clear that it was unnecessary to Him afterwards. And as light was wholly unnecessary to enable Him to accomplish the work of the six days, why should light have had anything to do in fixing their duration ? Certainly light had no agency in measuring the length of the period or periods of God's previous work. And as He commenced the work of creation without days measured by light, is it reasonable to suppose that He would change His plan or His mode in this respect ?

If the six days were not identical with the day defined as light, then they were *different*, and we have no definition of them in the record. If the historian had intended to use the word day, as applied to the six days, in a *restricted* sense, he would, as usual, have given us a clear definition of the exact sense in which he used it. I believe the opinion of Dr. Dawson to be true where he says :

We see in this a striking instance of the general truth that in the simplicity of the structure of this record we find not carelessness, but studied and severe precision, and are warned against the neglect of the smallest peculiarities in its diction (*Origin of the World*, p. 125).

Wherever the historian uses words without definition, as, for example, the words heaven and earth in the first verse, he generally uses them in their widest sense. What, then, is the widest sense in which the word *day* is used in the Scriptures?

In the second chapter of Genesis it is said: "in the day that the Lord God made the heaven and the earth." It is contended by many writers that the word *day* in this case means the whole period of the six days, while others controvert this opinion. I think it may be interpreted either way with about equal probability. In the first chapter of Deuteronomy it is said: "and your sons who know not this day the difference of good and evil." The word *day* seems here to mean the period of infancy. In the thirty-first chapter of the same book the Lord, speaking of the fact that the children of Israel would go after strange gods, said: "And my wrath shall be kindled against them in that day. . . . I will hide and cover my face in that day." The word *day* in these passages clearly means the period of their disobedience, and not a single day. So in the thirty-second chapter of the same book it is said: "the day of destruction is at hand, and the time makes haste to come." Here *day* means a period of indefinite duration. Says Dr. Dawson:

We find also abundance of such expressions as "day of calamity," "day of distress," "day of wrath," "day of God's power," "day of prosperity." In such passages the word is evidently used in the sense of era or period of time, and this in prose as well as poetry (*The Origin of the World*, p. 128).

I copy the following passages:

Judges xviii. 30: Until the day of their captivity.

Job xviii. 20: They that come after him shall be astonished at his day.

Amos viii. : In that day the fair virgins, and the young men shall faint for thirst.

Jeremias l. 31: Behold I come against thee, O proud one, saith the Lord the God of hosts: for thy day is come, the time of thy visitations.

Jeremias xlvi. 10, 21: For this is the day of the Lord, the God of hosts, a day of vengeance . . . for the day of their slaughter is come upon them, the time of their visitation.

These passages relate to a long campaign of the king of Babylon against the king of Egypt.

Ezekiel xxix. and xxx. : In that day a horn shall bud forth to the house of Israel. . . . For the day is near, yea the day of the Lord is near: a cloudy day, it shall be the time of the nations.

These passages refer to a second expedition of the king of Babylon against the king of Egypt.

Isaias xxix. 17-19: Is it not yet a very little while, and Libanus shall be turned into charmel, and charmel shall be esteemed as a forest? And in that day the deaf shall hear the words of the book, and out of darkness and obscurity the eyes of the blind shall see. And the meek shall increase their joy in the Lord, and the poor shall rejoice in the holy One of Israel.

Says Dr. Molloy :

That this passage refers to the time of the Christian Church there can be no doubt; for our Lord appeals to it in proof of His divine mission: "Go relate to John what you have heard and seen. The blind see, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead rise again, the poor have the gospel preached to them."

We may trace the use of the word even in the New Testament. Our Lord says, arguing with the Jews: "Abraham your father rejoiced that he might see my *day*, he saw it and was glad." Saint Paul, too, though writing in the Greek language to the Corinthians, does not hesitate to adopt a passage from Isaias, in which the same meaning is conspicuously brought out: "And we helping do exhort you, that you receive not the grace of God in vain. For he saith: In an accepted time have I heard thee, and in the *day* of salvation have I helped thee. Behold, now is the *acceptable* time: behold, now is the *day of salvation*." And finally, Our Divine Lord, in His last touching address to the city of Jerusalem, applies the word *day* to the season of grace and mercy: "When he drew near, seeing the City, He wept over it, saying: If thou also hadst known, and that in this thy *day* the things that are to thy peace: but now they are hidden from thy eyes. For the days shall come upon thee; and thy enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and compass thee round, and straiten thee on every side" (*Geology and Revelation*, p. 329).

It seems clear from these passages (some of them taken from the author of Genesis himself) that the word *day* is frequently used in Scripture to designate periods extending to many days and years, and sometimes to long and indefinite periods of time, without any regard to the state of light or darkness. So far, then, as the use of the word *day* is involved the historian might well have used it in its widest sense, as he did the words heaven and earth.

But it may be urged with much apparent force that, while the historian gives us no express definition of the word *day* as expressive of the six days, they were civil days of twenty-four hours each, as the civil day of the Jews ran from sunset to sunset; and that the statement, "and there was evening and morning one day," shows this interpretation to be correct, because Moses must have been acquainted with this usage, and therefore complied with it in composing his history. Is this plausible construction the true one?

I think that Moses wrote precisely that which was revealed to him; and that, while he was compelled to use human language and wrote in the Hebrew, he wrote his history for all coming time and for all succeeding generations of men; and that he did not state anything by way of *accommodation*, but only that which was strictly true in itself as stated.

The historian seems to have had two main purposes in view :

1. To assert the existence, unity, and supremacy of one God, the Creator of all things except Himself, and thus to show the error of all idolatry. To do this he first states, in general terms, that "In the beginning God created heaven and earth."

It was necessary, however, to enter into more detail in regard to those visible objects more familiar to man, and thus more likely to become subjects of idolatry. The material heaven and earth, as they existed before the work of the six days was commenced, were not likely to become objects of false adoration; and as it was no part of the historian's design to teach *unnecessarily* the mere truths of science, he only states, *at first*, the broad, simple fact that God created heaven and earth, which then included all material things. But in describing those portions of God's work most of which were produced by mere formative acts, the historian commenced at the making of light. No better point in God's progressive work could have been selected for the commencement of the more minute parts of the record, as light might become the object of idolatry. By *separately* describing each object or group of objects most likely to become the subjects of false adoration the historian most effectually showed their unworthiness. For example, he showed that the inferior animals were not worthy of the adoration of man, because they were only mere creatures and his inferiors, and subject to his dominion. So of the sun and moon: the historian shows that they were not only creations, but made for man's benefit, and therefore not the fit objects of his adoration.\*

2. Another purpose in stating separately the work of each of the six days was to show the reason for the institution of the Sabbath.

The form of stating "there was evening and morning one day" would seem very strange, as the term morning usually means the beginning or first half of a day, and evening its close or last half. But in the record this order is reversed as to the six days. There must have been some good reason for this. What was it?

To this question I shall give answers under two different aspects:

*First.* Assuming, for the sake of the argument only, that evening and morning are intended by the historian as two component parts of *each* of the six days, then it would seem clear that they are *also* two component parts of *other* days, because evening, which must be the *last* portion or half of *some* day, is put as the *beginning* or first half of each of the six days, and could not be the evening of *those* days, but must be the last portion or half of *some* days *different* from the six days.

To make my meaning clear I will assume that the six days were long and indefinite periods of time and that the historian did not intend to make known the extent of their *duration*, but simply the fact that they were six *different* periods.

There are only two main works stated to have been done on the first of the six days: the first, the making of light; and the second, its separation from the darkness. It is certain that these two acts were performed in the order stated, as no separation could have taken

\* See the fourth chapter of Deuteronomy, especially verses 15 to 19.

place until after light was made. From the order of the work of the first of the six days, as well as from the nature of the several acts done during each of the succeeding days, it is plain that all the work of the six days was performed in the order stated in the record.

Time only began with creation, as there could be nothing but eternity until God performed some act external to Himself. Although darkness is simply the absence of light, it is still a state capable of being the measure of time. Until light was made there was necessarily one uninterrupted state of darkness over creation.

I will suppose that the making of light occupied the first half of the first of the six days, and that its separation took place in the latter half of that day. This seems as reasonable as any other supposition, if not more so, because the making of light would probably require at least as much time as would its separation from the darkness. Unless light was made at the first moment of the first of the six days, then the period of darkness ran into that day and continued during a portion of it. It would then seem that the state of primeval darkness was the measure of the first period of creation, and that this period terminated *only* when light was completely made; that the measure of each of the six days was the work done during each day; and that the work of the first half of the first of the six days was performed in the latter part or evening of the period of time measured by the state of primeval darkness, and that this is the reason why the historian says: "there was evening and morning one day."

When the historian came to state separately the work of each of the six days he had necessarily to adopt a *new* mode of computing time. This he did, while not forgetting the old period of primeval darkness and keeping in view the future institution of the Sabbath. The method adopted as to the first of the six days was extended to the others. It is probable, under this aspect of the case, that the evening not mentioned after the sixth day is the period of God's rest, and will extend to the appearance of new heavens and a new earth. It is not said that "there was evening and morning the seventh day." It is only said God rested on the seventh day and sanctified it.

*Second.* But it is most probable that evening and morning were not intended as two component parts of a day, but only as representing states of confusion and order, as the evening and morning of a solar day are states of darkness and light. As "the earth was void and empty and darkness was upon the face of the deep," the work of the first of the six days commenced in a state of darkness and confusion like evening, and ended in a state of order like morning, so far as the making of light and its separation from the darkness were concerned. So, in the beginning of each of the succeeding days, the subject-matter of the work of each day was in a state of confusion or chaos, but ended in a state of order and system. As the only possible way to

describe a past state or an unseen object is by comparing it with something seen and understood, the historian uses the evening of a solar day to represent the confusion or chaos existing at the beginning of each of the six days, and the morning of such a day to show the order and system God had produced in the close of His work. This view seems to be in perfect accord with the whole drift, scope, and spirit of this grand history.

The commencement of the civil day varies in different nations: the Babylonians (like the people of Nuremberg) reckoned from sunrise to sunrise; the Umbrians from noon to noon; the Romans from midnight to midnight; the Athenians and others from sunset to sunset (Smith's *Bible Dictionary*, article "Day").

The Chaldeans, or Babylonians, were among the oldest nations, and were prior to the Israelites. Abraham himself was a Chaldean, and must have been acquainted with their civil day from sunrise to sunrise. The civil day of the Israelites from sunset to sunset must, therefore, have been adopted after the Exodus, and most probably in the time of Moses. The Israelites were, then, the *first* people, so far as I am advised, who adopted this mode of reckoning their civil day. Why were *they* the first to make this change from the Chaldean mode? What *special* reason had they?

I think it was the record of the creation, in which each of the six days commences with the evening.

In the twentieth chapter of Exodus we find the reason given by Moses for the institution of the Sabbath was that "in six days God made heaven and earth," referring to the previous history of creation on the first page of Genesis. We are not informed by the Bible when or by whom the civil day was adopted; but as Moses, the *law-giver*, refers to his own history of the work of the six days for a reason for the institution of the Sabbath, it would seem most probable that *he* adopted this mode of reckoning the civil day, and predicated it upon the same history. Other nations, such as the Athenians, may have had *other* reasons for their practice, but this seems the correct one in regard to the case of the Israelites themselves.

There are other reasons in support of the position that the six days were not civil days of twenty-four hours each:

1. In the second chapter of Genesis it is stated: "for the Lord God had not rained upon the earth; and there was not a man to till the earth. But a spring rose out of the earth, watering all the surface of the earth." The authorized version renders it: "But there went up a mist from the earth, and watered the whole face of the ground."

Now, upon the theory that each of the six days consisted of twenty-four hours, the historian has recorded a trifling incident, seemingly beneath the dignity of his great subject and inconsistent with the severe brevity of his narrative. To say that God had not rained upon the earth for the *short* period of only three civil days,

but that He had provided for that little deficiency by causing the earth to be watered by a spring or mist, seems strange in such a history. On the contrary, it would be entirely consistent with the theory of long and indefinite periods of time.\*

2. God is said to have rested on the seventh day. Now, did this seventh day consist of only twenty-four hours? If so, how is that fact proven? Nothing is said to distinguish it from the six days so far as its *duration* is concerned. It is very true that it is not said there was morning and evening. But this omission could have nothing to do in fixing the *length* of the seventh day. If, then, the seventh day—the day of God's rest—be longer than the civil day, the six days must have been longer, as we cannot separate them as to their duration.

If the historian had intended to give no certain indication as to the duration of each of the six days, but simply to show that they were separate and distinct though indefinite periods of time as to their length, so as to establish the proportion of six to one as a basis and reason for the Sabbath, he could not have selected a term more appropriate than that of *day*. That the object was simply to fix a certain *proportion* is shown in the fifteenth chapter of Deuteronomy, where it is recorded :

In the seventh year thou shalt make a remission which shall be celebrated in this order. He to whom any thing is owing from his friend or neighbor or brother, cannot demand it again, because it is the year of the remission of the Lord.

While I readily concede that no theory of interpretation of the word *day* is free from all doubt, I am decidedly of opinion that the six days were long and indefinite periods of time measured by the work done, and not by the sun. Says Dr. Molloy :

The burden of proof, let it be remembered, is not with us, but rather with those who contend for Days of twenty-four hours. They must prove that this word Day in the first chapter of Genesis means a period of twenty-four hours, *and can mean nothing else*. If it *may* be understood in a wider sense, consistently with the usage of Scripture, that is quite enough for us. We are perfectly at liberty to adopt an interpretation which, on the one hand, the Sacred Text fairly admits, and on the other, the discoveries of Natural Science would seem to demand (*Geology and Revelation*, p. 320).

The language is the language of men, but the voice that speaks therein is the voice of God. And thus it comes to pass that this Mosaic story, when fairly examined according to the ordinary laws of human speech, is found in every age to accommodate itself, with quite an unexpected simplicity, to those new and wonderful views of God's manifold power which each human science in its turn brings to light (*id.* p. 355).

\* "But what could be more instructive and confirmatory of the truth of the narrative than the fact that in the two long periods which preceded the formation and clearing up of the atmosphere or firmament, on which rain depends, and the elevation of the dry land, which so greatly modifies its distribution, there had been no rain such as now occurs. This is a most important fact, and one of the marked coincidences of the record with scientific truth" (*The Origin of the World*, p. 142).

In regard to the Mosaic account of creation as compared with the more recent discoveries of science, I make the following extracts, being a portion of a longer passage from Professor Dana's *Manual of Geology*, as I find it appended, by permission, to the work of Dr. Molloy cited above :

*Cosmogony of the Bible.*—There is one ancient document on cosmogony—that of the opening page of the Bible—which is not only admired for its sublimity, but is very generally believed to be of divine origin, and which, therefore, demands at least a brief consideration in this place.

In the first place, it may be observed that *this document, if true, is of divine origin*. For no human mind was witness of the events; and no such mind in the early age of the world, unless gifted with superhuman intelligence, could have contrived such a scheme; would have placed the creation of the sun, the source of light to the earth, so long after the creation of light, even on the *fourth* day, and, what is equally singular, between the creation of plants and that of animals, when so important to both; and none could have reached to the depths of philosophy exhibited in the whole plan.

The order of events in the Scripture cosmogony corresponds essentially with that which has been given. There was first a void and formless earth; this was literally true of the "heavens and the earth," if they were in a condition of a gaseous fluid.

The succession is as follows :

- (1.) Light.
- (2.) The dividing of the waters below from the waters above the earth, (the word translated waters may mean *fluids*.)
- (3.) The dividing of the land and water on the earth.
- (4.) Vegetation; which Moses, appreciating the philosophical characteristic of the new creation distinguishing it from previous inorganic substances, defines as that "which has seed in itself."
- (5.) The sun, moon, and stars.
- (6.) The lower animals, those that swarm in the waters, and the creeping and flying species of the land.
- (7.) Beasts of prey ("creeping" here meaning prowling).
- (8.) Man.

In this succession, we observe not merely an order of events, like that deduced from science; there is a system in the arrangement, and a far-reaching prophecy, to which philosophy could not have attained however instructed.\*

The account recognizes in creation two great eras of three days each,—an *Inorganic* and an *Organic*.

\* "Here," exclaims Barbee, "we are met by a reflection which cannot fail to strike us. Since a book, written at a time when the natural sciences were so little advanced, contains nevertheless, in a few lines, the summary of the most remarkable consequences, at which it could not be possible to arrive otherwise than by the immense progress made in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; since these conclusions are connected with facts, which were neither known nor even suspected at that time, nor ever had been till our days, and which philosophers have ever considered contradictorily, and under erroneous points of view; since in fine that book, so superior to its age in scientific knowledge, is equally superior to it in morals, and in natural philosophy, we are obliged to admit that there is in that book something superior to man, something which he sees not, which he comprehends not, but which presses upon him irresistibly." (cited, *Wiseman's Lectures*, i. p. 304).

For the further proof of the substantial harmony between the Mosaic record of Creation and the science of geology I must refer to the work of Dr. Molloy, already quoted. For myself, I have no fear that any truth of science will ever contradict the Bible. Sooner or later the progress of true science will only add to the existing evidences of the inspiration of the Sacred Text.



Each of these eras opens with the appearance of *light*: the *first*, light cosmical; the *second*, light from the sun for the special uses of the earth.

Each one ends in a "day" of two great works,—the two shown to be distinct by being severally pronounced "good." On the *third* "day," that closing the Inorganic era, there was first the *dividing of the land from the waters*, and afterward the *creation of vegetation*, or the institution of a kingdom of life,—a work widely diverse from all preceding it in the era. So on the *sixth* "day," terminating the Organic era, there was first the *creation of Mammals*, and then a second far greater work, totally new in its grandest element, *the creation of Man*.

The arrangement is, then, as follows :

### 1. *The Inorganic Era.*

1st Day.—LIGHT cosmical.

2nd Day.—The earth divided from the fluid around it or individualized.

3rd Day.—1. Outlining of the land and water. 2. Creation of vegetation.

### 2. *The Organic Era.*

4th Day.—LIGHT from the sun.

5th Day.—Creation of the lower orders of animals.

6th Day.—1. Creation of Mammals. 2. Creation of Man.

In addition, the last day of each era included one work typical of the era, and another related to it in essential points, but also prophetic of the future. Vegetation, while, for physical reasons, a part of the creation of the third day, was also prophetic of the future Organic era, in which the progress of life was the grand characteristic. The record thus accords with the fundamental principle in history that the characteristic of an age has its beginnings within the age preceding. So, again, Man, while like other Mammals in structure, even to the homologies of every bone and muscle, was endowed with a spiritual nature, which looked forward to another era, that of spiritual existence.—The *seventh* "day," the day of rest from the work of creation, is man's period of preparation for that new existence; and it is to promote this special end that—in strict parallelism—the Sabbath follows man's six days' work.

The record in the Bible is, therefore, profoundly philosophical in the scheme of creation which it presents. It is both true and divine. It is a declaration of authorship, both of Creation and the Bible, on the first page of the sacred volume.

There can be no real conflict between the two Books of the GREAT AUTHOR. Both are revelations made by Him to man—the *earlier* telling of God-made harmonies coming up from the deep past, and rising to their height when man appeared, the *later* teaching man's relations to his Maker, and speaking of loftier harmonies in the eternal future.

The extreme brevity of this beautiful extract may conceal a part of its intrinsic force and meaning, unless read with critical care. I will also make the following fine extract from the candid and most able work—already quoted—entitled *Geology and Revelation*, by the Rev. Gerald Molloy, D.D., Professor of Theology in the Royal College of St. Patrick, Maynooth. The work is republished by G. P. Putnam & Sons, New York :

Before taking leave of the subject, we would venture to bring under the notice of our readers one very obvious reflection, which is sometimes lost sight of in the heat of controversy. The Mosaic history of Creation absolutely stands alone. It has no rivals, no competitors. Every other attempt that has been made to explain

the origin of the world, and of the human race, is refuted by its intrinsic extravagance and absurdity. The wisest nations of antiquity failed to discover that great fundamental truth, which stands out so boldly on the first page of Genesis, that there is One God who hath made all things. The philosophers of Chaldea were familiar with the course of the Heavens, and could predict the eclipses of the sun and moon. But the philosophers of Chaldea could not rise from the contemplation of the creatures to the knowledge of the Creator: the creatures themselves were the gods that Chaldea worshipped. Egypt had greatness of mind to conceive the idea of the Pyramids, and skill to devise the plan of their construction, and strength of arms to lift the huge stones on their stupendous piles. But Egypt raised up temples to the river that waters its plain, and offered sacrifice to the reptile that crawls upon the earth, and the beast that grazes in the field. In Greece the human mind soared to its highest flight, and ranged over the widest and most beautiful fields of thought. Peerless is she among the nations, mistress of the arts, the fountain source of refined taste, the storehouse of intellectual power, the great nurse of human genius. Her schools of philosophy have influenced and guided to a marvellous extent the thoughts and speculations of all subsequent times. The song of her immortal bard has kindled the imagination of the poet in every generation, and enriched his mind with glowing images. Orators and statesmen still love to copy the lofty sentiments, the graceful diction, the flowing periods of her golden eloquence. And students from every clime stand enraptured before the beauty and majesty of her sculptured marble. But Greece, Imperial Greece, knew not the One God, the giver of all good gifts, by whom she was so highly endowed. She fashioned for herself gods and goddesses after her own fancy, and portioned out the universe between them. Jupiter hurled his thunderbolts from the clouds; Neptune ruled the sea; Pluto swayed the sceptre of the infernal regions; Minerva was the goddess of wisdom; Vulcan the god of fire; Apollo the god of music. Nay, the very infirmities and vices of human nature were personified under the names of divinities, and worshipped in the Pantheon of the gods. Rome, too, the conqueror of the world, had its philosophers and its orators, its poets and its sculptors, whose productions still charm and instruct mankind. Yet was Rome no exception to the common lot of the gentile world. For Rome, like Greece, had its long array of gods and goddesses, with their petty jealousies, their vindictive malice, their shameless passions. Alone, amidst all the Mythologies and Cosmogonies of ancient nations, the story of the Hebrew Legislator rises superior to the gross and silly speculations of mortal men. It alone proclaims to mankind what Philosophy and Science, when left to themselves, have never been able to teach, that, In the beginning God created the Heavens and the earth; that the plants and the animals, the ocean and the elements, the sun and moon and stars, man himself, and all that delights the eye and charms the ear and fills the mind, are His creations; and that besides Him there is no other God. Away, then, with the idea that the Sacred Narrative, stamped as it plainly is with the imprint of its Divine Author, should ever be found at variance with the truths of science,—or rather, we should say, with those scanty fragments of truth, those crumbs of knowledge, falling from the table of our Heavenly Father, which it is given to man here below to gather up with laborious care, and which, however they may excite his longings, cannot satisfy his hunger (*Geology and Revelation*, p. 355).

I will also make some extracts from the *Lectures* of the great Cardinal Wiseman upon *The Connection between Science and Revealed Religion* :

Thus I would consider the rise and development of any new science, as entering essentially into the established order of God's moral government; just as the

appearance, from time to time, of new stars in the firmament, according to what astronomers tell us, must be a pre-ordained event in the annals of creation (i. p. 61).

The very order observed in the six days' creation which has reference to the present disposition of things, seems to show that divine power loved to manifest itself by gradual developments, ascending as it were, by a measured scale from the inanimate to the organized, from the insensible to the instinctive, from the irrational to man (i. p. 281).

But I think we may well say, that, even on this first point of our geological investigation, science has gone further than I have stated. For I think we are in a fair way to discover so beautiful a simplicity of action in the causes which have produced the present form of the earth, and, at the same time, such a manifest approach to the progressive method manifested in the known order of God's works, as to confirm, if such a term may be used, all that he hath manifested in his own sacred word (i. p. 295).

But to conclude this last portion of my task, we have thus seen this science run precisely the same course as so many others; afford, in its imperfect state, some ground of objection to freethinkers against the bases of Christian revelation, and then, by pursuing its own natural direction without fear, not only overthrow all the difficulties which it had first raised, but replace them by such new and satisfactory assurances, as no further inquiry can possibly weaken or destroy (ii. p. 177).

For if all that has yet been done has tended to confirm our proofs, we surely have nothing to fear from what yet remains concealed. Had the first stages of every science been the most favourable to our cause, and had its further improvement diminished what we had gained, we might indeed be alarmed about any ulterior prosecution of learning. But seeing that the order of things is precisely the reverse, that the beginnings of sciences are least propitious to our desires, and their progress most satisfactory, we cannot but be convinced that future discoveries, far from weakening, must necessarily strengthen the evidences we possess (ii. p. 275).

The great difference between specious error, and a system of truth, is, that the one may present certain aspects, under which if viewed, it gives no appearance of fault, it is like a precious stone that has a flaw, but which may be so submitted to the eye, that the play of light, aided by an artful setting, may conceal it; but which, when only slightly turned, and viewed under another angle, discovers its defects. But truth is a gem which need not be encased, which, faultless and cloudless, may be held up to the pure bright light, on any side, in any direction, and will everywhere display the same purity, and soundness, and beauty (ii. p. 267).

I will also add an extract from Cardinal Newman:

When the Copernican system first made progress, what religious man would not have been tempted to uneasiness, or at least fear of scandal, from the seeming contradiction which it involved to some authoritative tradition of the Church and the declaration of Scripture? It was generally received, as if the apostles had expressly delivered it, both orally and in writing, that the earth was stationary, and that the sun was fixed in a solid firmament which whirled round the earth. After a little time, however, and on full consideration, it was found that the Church had decided next to nothing on questions such as these, and that physical science might range in this sphere of thought almost at will, without fear of encountering the decisions of ecclesiastical authority. Now, besides the relief which it afforded to Catholics to find that they were to be spared this addition, on the side of cosmology, to their many controversies already existing, there is something of an argu-

ment in this circumstance in behalf of the divinity of their religion. For it surely is a very remarkable fact, considering how widely and how long one certain interpretation of these physical statements in Scripture had been received by Catholics, that the Church should not have formally acknowledged it. Looking at the matter in a human point of view, it is inevitable that she should have made that opinion her own. But now we find, on ascertaining where we stand, in the face of the new sciences of these latter times, that, in spite of the bountiful comments, which from the first she has ever been making on the sacred text, as it is her duty and her right to do, nevertheless she has never been led formally to explain the texts in question, or to give them an authoritative sense which modern science may question. Nor was this escape a mere accident, or what will more religiously be called a providential event, as is shown by a passage of history in the Dark Age itself. When the glorious St. Boniface, Apostle of Germany, great in sanctity, though not in secular knowledge, complained to the Holy See that St. Virgilius taught the existence of the antipodes, the Holy See apparently evaded the question, not indeed siding with the Irish philosopher, which would have been going out of its place, but passing over in a manner not revealed a philosophical opinion (cited, *Contemporary Evolution*, p. 139).

The learned author Mr. Mivart remarks upon this:

“With how much even greater force do not these remarks apply to the Church’s action respecting belief as to the mode of creation of animal and vegetable forms.”

#### THE PENTATEUCH.

The Pentateuch is composed of the books of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. The authorship of all these books is ascribed to Moses. To investigate this question of authorship it is but just to ascertain what the books themselves say upon this subject.

Nothing is expressly said in Genesis as to who was its author; but in the seventeenth chapter of Exodus it is stated that Moses was commanded by God to write the history of the battle between Josue and Amalec; and in the thirty-fourth chapter of Exodus it is recorded that God said to Moses: “Write thee these words by which I have made a covenant both with thee and with Israel”; and in the thirty-first chapter of Deuteronomy it is stated that God commanded him to write the song found in the succeeding chapter. These are the only *express commands* to write given by God to Moses.

What did these commands to write include, and how were they obeyed?

In the nineteenth chapter of Exodus we are informed of the arrival of the Israelites at Mount Sinai, and of the sanctification of the people against the third day. In the beginning of chapter twenty it is recorded: “And the Lord spake all these words.” Then follow in the same chapter the Ten Commandments, some historical statements, and some further commands of God which are not embraced in “these words,” because these further commands are separately in-

roduced by "And God said to Moses." In the beginning of the twenty-first chapter it is stated: "These are the judgments which thou shalt set before them." Then follow many minute provisions of the law. The following passages will give us some idea of how Moses fulfilled the command to write "these words":

So Moses came and told the people all the words of the Lord and all the judgments: and all the people answered with one voice: We will do all the words of the Lord; which he hath spoken (Ex. xxiv. 3).

And all the children of Israel came to him: and he gave them in commandment all that he had heard of the Lord in Mount Sinai (xxxiv. 32).

And Moses wrote all the words of the Lord.\* . . . And taking the book of the covenant, he read it in the hearing of the people: and they said: All things that the Lord hath spoken we will do, we will be obedient (Ex. xxiv. 4, 7).

It will be seen that Moses "told the people all the words of the Lord and all the judgments," and "gave them in commandment all that he had heard of the Lord in Mount Sinai," and "wrote all the words of the Lord."

It would seem, at first view, that the broad general command to Moses to "write these words by which I have made a covenant both with thee and with Israel" would embrace *all* the words that constitute the covenant, and all the Sinaitic legislation which Moses gave

\* It would seem from the first impression that Moses himself wrote the Ten Commandments upon the renewed tables of stone (Ex. xxxiv. 28). But commentators are generally agreed that the passage means that God wrote them upon the new tables, and not Moses; and this view is sustained when we take all the passages together.

The command given to Moses in verse twenty-seven of this same chapter to "write these words by which I have made a covenant both with thee and with Israel" is broader and includes more matter than the Ten Commandments, as "*these words*" would embrace all the *promises* made by God both to Moses and to Israel.

In the first verse of this same chapter God said to Moses: "Hew thee two tablets of stone like unto the former, and I will write upon them the words, which were in the tables which thou brokest." In compliance with this promise God wrote the Ten Commandments upon the new tables. This is further shown by the following passages:

"At that time the Lord said to me: Hew thee two tables of stone like the former, and come up to me into the mount: and thou shalt make an ark of wood, and I will write on the tables the words that were in them, which thou brokest before, and thou shalt put them in the ark. And I made an ark of setim-wood. And when I had hewed two tables of stone like the former, I went up into the mount, having them in my hands. And he wrote in the tables, according as he had written before, the ten words, which the Lord spoke to you in the mount from the midst of the fire, when the people were assembled: and he gave them to me" (Dent. x. 1-4).

Moses here repeats the promise (Ex. xxxiv. 1), and states clearly his own action in hewing out the two new tables, and the action of God in writing the same words as "*He had written before.*" As to the first two tables it is recorded: "And the Lord, when he had ended these words in mount Sinai, gave to Moses two stone-tables of testimony, written with the finger of God" (Ex. xxxi. 18).

The passages (Ex. xxxiv. 27, 28) read as follows: "27. And the Lord said to Moses: Write thee these words by which I have made a covenant both with thee and with Israel. 28. And he was there with the Lord forty days and forty nights: he neither ate bread nor drank water, and he wrote upon the tables the ten words of the covenant."

I think this most probably is a case of mistake by a copyist, who was writing rapidly, and had in his memory the name of Moses and the fact that he had been expressly commanded to write in the immediately preceding passage, and who thus inadvertently substituted the pronoun he for God. This portion of verse twenty-eight I think originally read, "and God wrote upon the tables the ten words of the covenant." Any one accustomed to copy will readily perceive how easy it is to make such mistakes, and how difficult it is to always avoid them. Where can we find a copyist who never makes mistakes? I have never found one whose copy did not need correction. Nothing but most careful reviews can avoid errors.

“in commandment” to the children of Israel; but when we see that God wrote the Ten Commandments upon the renewed tables of stone (Ex. xxxiv. 28), there may be a reasonable doubt whether the Ten Commandments were included in the command to Moses to write. It may be a case of a general rule with exceptions. In the absence of any statement to that effect it would still be presumed that Moses obeyed whatever command was given him; but when we are expressly informed that he “wrote all the words of the Lord,” it is clear that he was not only commanded to write, but that he did write.

In the thirty-third chapter of Numbers we are informed that Moses wrote an account of the journeys of the Israelites.

From these passages the following conclusions seem to be clear:

*First.* God, as yet, had only *expressly* commanded Moses to write three things.

*Second.* That of his own will Moses had, *so far*, only written the journeyings of the Israelites.

But there are some very important passages in Deuteronomy, which I will now proceed to examine.

Moses spoke to the children of Israel all that the Lord had commanded him to say unto them: . . . And Moses began to expound the law and to say (i. 3, 5).

From these extracts it would seem plain that Moses began to expound *all* the law *then* intended for their *future* government; and that the word *law* included the entire code, and not a part only.

After recalling to the minds of his hearers certain memorable events he goes on to say:

“And now, O Israel, hear the commandments and judgments which I teach thee. . . . You shall not add to the word, that I speak to you, neither shall you take away from it” (iv. 1).

What, then, were *these* commands and judgments?

You know that I have taught you statutes and justices, as the Lord my God hath commanded me: so shall ye do them in the land, which you shall possess.

And the Lord spoke to you from the midst of the fire. You heard the voice of his words, but you saw not any form at all. And he shewed you his covenant, which he commanded you to do, and the ten words, that he wrote in two tables of stone. And he commanded me at that time that I should teach you the ceremonies and judgments, which you shall do in the land, that you shall possess. Keep, therefore, your souls carefully (iv. 5, 12-15).

The language of these extracts seems perfectly clear and most exact.

In the first passage he expressly referred to what he had, by command of God, taught them in the then *past*, and then says, “so shall ye do them in the land, which you shall possess,” thus continuing in force *all he had previously taught*. So, in the second passage, he expressly refers to the law given in the mount, and says: “God com-

manded me at that time that I should teach you the ceremonies and judgments which you shall do in the land, that you shall possess." By this general and comprehensive but explicit language the speaker *incorporated* all the Sinaitic legislation into the commands he gave in his address, and made *all* he had previously taught by command of God a part of the *future* code for the Israelites.\*

He then gives the people a most earnest exhortation to obedience, designates three cities of refuge, and the historian adds :

This is the law, that Moses set before the children of Israel, and these are the testimonies and ceremonies and judgments which he spoke to the children of Israel when they came out of Egypt beyond the Jordan (iv. 44-5).

Having in the *first* portion of his address thus affirmed, in general but explicit terms, all the Sinaitic legislation, Moses proceeds, in the fifth and succeeding chapters, to recapitulate more in detail the more important portions of the code previously taught by him, accompanying his recapitulation with comments, explanations, additional reasons, exhortations, threatenings, promises, and prophecies. In the beginning of the fifth chapter he seems to commence another portion of his address, for it is stated : " And Moses called all Israel, and said to them."

In the second verse of the fifth chapter Moses says : " The Lord our God made a covenant with us in Horeb " ; and then, from the sixth to the twenty-first verses inclusive, he gives us the Ten Commandments substantially as they are recorded in the twentieth chapter of Exodus, omitting the reason for the institution of the Sabbath there given, but stating an additional reason for the same. He then says in the sixth chapter :

Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord. . . . And these words which I command thee this day, shall be in thy heart. . . . And thou shalt write them in the entry, and on the doors of thy house (vi. 4, 9).

" These words " were the Ten Commandments. It is true the speaker says, " which I command thee *this* day." But he had only a few moments before repeated the Ten Commandments ; and, in the passages quoted, he *first* refers to a provision found in them, so as to show the matter he was treating at that precise time. It will also be observed that while he had given in detail the Ten Commandments, he had not, at that time in his discourse, made any *detailed* state-

\* Suppose Peter Rogers sells a tract of land to James Wilson and makes a deed to him in this form : " For and in consideration of the sum of five thousand dollars, to me in hand paid by James Wilson, I, Peter Rogers, do hereby sell and convey to him, said Wilson, a certain tract of land conveyed to me by deed, executed by Jesse George, and dated May 10th, 1880, and recorded in the Recorder's office of the County of Santa Clara, in the State of California, on May 11th, 1880, in Book of Deeds number thirty, at page 250.

" Witness my hand and seal this 23d day of June, 1883.

PETER ROGERS. [Seal]"

By thus referring to the deed from George to him Rogers makes that instrument a *part* of his deed to Wilson. So Moses, by expressly referring to all the previous Sinaitic legislation, made it a portion of that specially given in his address.

ments of the *ceremonies* and *judgments* as distinguished from those Commandments. It is, then, clear from the context, as well as from the nature and reason of the case, that "these words" required to be written upon the doors of the house mean the Ten Commandments, just as the same phrase means in the twentieth chapter of Exodus. The speaker in the five succeeding chapters continues to speak of the Ten Commandments, and in the nineteenth and twentieth verses of the eleventh chapter repeats the same command to "write them upon the posts and doors of thy house."

In the seventeenth chapter it is provided that the future king shall make for himself a copy of the law, "and shall read it all the days of his life, that he may learn to fear the Lord his God, and keep his words and ceremonies that are commanded in the law" (vs. 18, 19).

It seems clear from this passage, which speaks *both* of the "words and ceremonies," as well as from the context and the nature and reason of the case, that the word law, as here used, includes the entire code.

In the twenty-seventh chapter the Israelites were commanded to set up great stones in Mount Hebal, and plaster them over with plaster, and "write on them all the words of this law, when thou art passed over the Jordan" (vs. 2, 4). In the eighth chapter of Josue it is recorded :

And he wrote upon stones the Deuteronomy of the law of Moses, which he had before ordered the children of Israel. . . . After this he read all the words of the blessing and the cursing, and all things that were written in the book of the law. He left out nothing of those things which Moses had commanded, but he repeated all before all the people of Israel, with the women and children and strangers, that dwelt among them (vs. 82, 84, 85).

At the same time that Moses commanded the Israelites to set up great stones in Mount Hebal and write the law thereon they were told to build an altar to the Lord in the same place ; and in the eighth chapter of Josue we are informed of the fulfilment of *both* of these commands.

It seems clear that Josue wrote the entire law upon the stones set up in the mount, because his language is very wide and comprehensive, as he expressly refers, for greater certainty, to "all the words of the blessing and the cursing, and all things that were written in the book of the law." The book of the law referred to is the book written by Moses, and deposited by him with the priests and ancients, as we shall soon see. The object of writing this entire code upon the great stones was to furnish the mass of the people with a copy easily accessible alike to all, at all times, without wearing out the copy deposited for safe keeping and ultimate exposition with the priests and ancients. It will be observed that the number of *great*



stones was not limited by Moses, thus leaving ample room for recording thereon the entire code.\*

And Moses wrote this law, and delivered it to the priests the sons of Levi, who carried the ark of the covenant of the Lord, and to all the ancients of Israel. . . . Therefore after Moses had written the words of this law in a volume, and finished it: he commanded the Levites who carried the ark of the covenant of the Lord saying: Take this book, and put it in the side of the ark of the covenant of the Lord your God: that it may be there for a testimony against thee (Deuteronomy xxxi. 9, 24-26).

That this book, thus written and deposited by Moses, contained the entire code intended for the government of the people of Israel—including both the Sinaitic legislation and the few additions made by command of God on this occasion, as recorded in the book of Deuteronomy—is clear, I think, not only from the passages already quoted, as well as from the nature of the case, but is further shown in the first verse of the twenty-ninth chapter of that book:

These are the words of the covenant which the Lord commanded Moses to make with the children of Israel in the land of Moab: beside that covenant, which he made with them in Horeb.

The word *covenant* in this passage has a wider meaning than it has in some other cases. When the writer wishes to distinguish between the Ten Commandments and the other legislation he calls the first the covenant and the second the ceremonies and judgments; but when he speaks of them as one combined whole he either uses the word covenant or law.

These great Commandments were the first and most important part of the code. They were esteemed of supreme importance; and for that reason God wrote them upon tables of stone. They were certainly worthy of the place given them, as they constitute the fundamental basis of all just legislation.

There seems, then, to be no reasonable doubt but that Moses wrote in one book all the law intended for the government of that people,

\*The command that the future king should make for himself a copy of the law, in a volume, from *that* of the priests of the Levitical tribe, that he might study it *all* the days of his life (chap. xvii. 18), shows that this law must have been the entire code. So, the command given by Moses (chap. xxxi. 10), that the law should be read once in seven years, and the year of remission, to all Israel, is another proof that the book of the Law contained the entire code. The books of Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy make together about one hundred and eighty printed pages; and the law *commanded* to be read *only* once in seven years occupies about sixty pages. Any good reader could read aloud all the law to the people in from one to two days. The people were commanded to write the Ten Commandments upon the doors and posts of their houses, and had access to the copy of the entire law written upon the great stones; but the wise legislator foresaw that, under the circumstances of such a community, the most practical and efficient mode of making the law known was to require it to be read to all the people at the *same* time; but, as the code was extensive, he only imposed this task once in seven years. It would have been extraordinary that the great lawgiver should have specially provided for the record of his comments, exhortations, and other matter specially mentioned in his address, and at the same time have made no provision for recording the laws given on Mount Sinai.

including the covenant, the ceremonies and judgments.\* But whether this one volume contained the history of the law, as well as the law itself, we have now no certain means of determining from the face of the record.

As it seems clear from the record that Moses wrote the entire code of the law, and as the history of every code of law is so useful in expounding and illustrating the law itself, and as no one else was so competent to write that remarkable history as Moses himself, we have reason to suppose it to have been written by him. In fact, when we come to examine that history in all its details it is clear that certain portions of it could not have been written by any other person, except upon the hypothesis either that such other person obtained his information from Moses or was inspired to write by revelation. For example, the several secret interviews alleged to have occurred between Moses and God could only have been known to those two, or to some other person to whom Moses or God had revealed them.†

The books of Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers treat of events closely connected, and the book of Deuteronomy is *mainly* a recapitulation of certain portions of them. There is one grand chord of unity running through those four books, and such a close resemblance of sentiment as to show that they were the product of one single mind. And as Moses was specially commanded to write a certain historical portion of Exodus, and the song given in Deuteronomy,

\* We have seen that God *expressly* commanded Moses to *write the words by which God had made a covenant both with Moses and with Israel*. These are very broad terms, and will include all the words, not only of the covenant with Moses, but also of that with Israel.

A covenant in the sense of the Pentateuch is a promise made by God to man (Gen. ix. 9-11, xvii. 2-8; Ex. xxxiv. 10, vi. 4). The term also includes the laws enacted by God to accomplish the purpose of the promise (Gen. xvii. 9-12; Ex. xix. 5, 6, xxiv. 3-9; Lev. xxiv. 14, 15; Deut. xxix. 1).

† If I am correct in the interpretation given to the command of God to Moses to write the words of the covenant *both* with Moses and with Israel, then he was obliged to write all the promises made by God to him and to Israel, and also the laws intended to carry out these promises. But broad as that command was, it would not embrace the history of the battle with Amalek nor the canticle recorded in the thirty-second chapter of Deuteronomy; and for this reason God gave him *special* commands to write them (Ex. xvii. 14; Deut. xxxi. 19).

Moses gave in commandment "all that he had heard of the Lord in Mount Sinai" (Ex. xxxiv. 32); and it seems fair to presume that, in obedience to a general command to write, he did write all he had heard in the mount. This command to write was given while Moses was in Mount Sinai with God forty days and forty nights. -

†† We can now look at the strength of the evidence that Moses was the author of the book as a whole. Hardly anything is lacking to the completeness of the concurrent testimony. We can merely call attention to it in the most meagre of outlines. 1. The supposition is rendered entirely admissible by all the circumstances of the case. (a.) The art of writing was in abundant use, and the Israelites in Egypt had lived in the midst of it. (b.) The requisite impulse for a written composition had arrived, in the completion of a great national and religious epoch, and the permanent establishment of laws and institutions founded on a great deliverance. (c.) The occasion had come for such a book as the Pentateuch, incorporating the institutions with the history. (d.) The requisite person had appeared in Moses—the man whom even Ewald names 'the mighty originator and leader of this entire new national movement,' a 'master mind' 'putting forth the highest energies and noblest efforts of the spirit' with 'clear insight and self-possession,' 'the greatest and most original of prophets,' with endowments so remarkable that the same spirit 'has in no other prophet produced results so important in the history of the world as in Moses.' Such a work became such a man; and such a man might be supposed to possess the requisite 'insight' for such a work" (Prof. Bartlett, in Smith's *Bible Dictionary*, art. "Pentateuch").

and the words by which God made a covenant both with Moses and with Israel ; and did, in fact, write all the laws which occupy a considerable space in the four books mentioned above ; and as they are so closely connected by matter and style, there would seem to remain little, if any, doubt as to Moses being their author.

The book of Genesis is not so closely connected with the other books of the Pentateuch as they are with each other. All the historical events related in the other books, with a few exceptions, were personally known to Moses ; but the facts recorded in Genesis were not so known to him, as they are alleged to have occurred before his day. But in these other books there are so many allusions made to facts only found in Genesis as to leave no doubt of the writer's familiar acquaintance with that book. This intimate knowledge he must have possessed had he been its author, and might have had, to a certain extent, if he had only been a diligent reader.

But there are coincidences which, in the entire absence of any other named author, substantially show that Moses was also the writer of Genesis.

In the first chapter of that book, as we have seen in our examination of the Mosaic history of creation, the mode adopted by the historian to separately specify the work of each of the six days was, "And God said." The same method is used in the twentieth chapter of Exodus to distinguish the Ten Commandments from other portions of the law, and runs through the other books of the Pentateuch. This similarity of method adopted at so early a day shows the work of the same brain.

Another strong evidence that Genesis was written by the same person who composed the book of Exodus may be seen by comparing the latter part of Genesis with the early portion of Exodus. The forty-sixth chapter of Genesis contains a list of the twelve sons of Jacob and their sons at the time he arrived in Egypt ; and in the first chapter of Exodus the names of the twelve sons are restated, with the fact that "they went in every man with his household, . . . but Joseph was in Egypt." Exodus thus takes up the thread of the narrative at the precise point where it was left by Genesis. The full history of the emigration of Jacob and his family into Egypt is first given in Genesis ; and then, to show the exact continuance of the narrative, a concise recapitulation is made of certain facts stated in Genesis, and a list of the sons of Jacob is repeated, omitting the names of his grandsons, thus showing that both these books were written by the same person, or that the author of Exodus was well acquainted with the book of Genesis. The far more reasonable position is that they were composed by the same person.

But is there no evidence upon the face of the record itself that portions of the Pentateuch were not written by Moses ?

It is conceded that the last chapter of Deuteronomy was not written by him. This fact is plainly apparent upon its face, as it speaks of the death of Moses and of matters alleged to have occurred after his decease.

Upon the theory that Moses wrote all the preceding chapters of this book, then the last chapter was added by some later writer and attached to the last book of Moses, so as to inform the reader at once and in the most convenient place of the death of the great lawgiver and prophet, and of the estimation in which he was held by those who came after him. By attaching this supplementary chapter to the original book both would be preserved together. As the tendency of common sense is always towards safety, economy, and convenience, and as the matter of the last chapter was important, and as there was no danger that any one would mistake it as the work of Moses, it was safer, more economical, and more convenient to simply attach it to the book of Moses than to write out a separate little book, which would thus be more liable to be lost, and, if not lost, more difficult to find when wanted.

Another case is found in the thirty-sixth chapter of Genesis, where we find a genealogical table of the family of Esau, and in the thirty-first verse this statement: "And the kings that ruled in the land of Edom, before the children of Israel had a king, were these." Then follows a list of the eight kings of Edom.

This seems to be a plain case of interpolation, not only from the nature of the matter itself, but from the place it occupies in the chapter. Saul, the first king of Israel, lived long after the time of Moses. The thirty-first to the thirty-ninth verses inclusive are thrust in before the list of dukes is completed, thus showing these verses to have been most probably the work of a later writer than the original author, whoever he may have been. This original author is speaking of certain dukes, the descendants of Esau; and before the list is completed we find these nine verses irregularly introduced, thus abruptly breaking the thread of the narrative. Had these nine verses been written by the original author he would not have stopped in the middle of his list of the dukes, but would naturally have first completed all he had to say of them, and then have introduced these verses at the end of the fortieth verse.

It seems most probable that some subsequent copyist or editor, finding this genealogical list of Moses only brought down to the time when he wrote, and thinking it would be more complete by adding a list of the kings, introduced these nine verses where they are now found, knowing them to contain only the truth, and not once thinking of the effect such an act might have upon the minds of future critics as to who was the author of Genesis. Men of integrity are more careful in telling the truth than they are as to the place and

order of stating it. Such men, knowing the innocence and purity of their own motives, are less suspicious of evil and more incautious in guarding against erroneous inferences which may be drawn from their acts.

The facts stated in these nine verses are important as a part of the history of Edom; and to place this short statement where it could always be seen in *connection* with that genealogical table, and where it could be as safe and as convenient of access as the original book itself, seems to have been the motive of its introduction in the position where we now find it.

These two are the strongest cases of alleged interpolations, and, in my best judgment, are the only ones of intentional additions clearly made out. Many others have been claimed as such, but, making a fair allowance for the mistakes of transcribers and our inevitable ignorance of the exact circumstances existing in the remote past, there seem to be no good reasons for believing that these other alleged interpolations were, in fact, intentional additions by later writers. They are all, after making due allowances, reconcilable with the text, conceding it to have been written by Moses.

Considering the extent of these books, the character of the subjects treated, the vast multitude of particulars recorded in them, the numerous details given of so many remarkable events, and the common fate of most ancient books in undergoing some mutilations and additions in the long course of time and amidst the distracting vicissitudes of human affairs, it is really surprising that these old books of the Pentateuch have reached us in so good a state as we now find them. The alleged additions constitute so small a proportion to the main contents that we may be reasonably certain that we have these venerable books substantially as they were originally written.

We cannot determine with certainty when Moses wrote these books, but it seems probable that during the thirty-eight years of the pilgrimage in the desert (of which we have no history) he wrote all of Genesis, and so much of Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers as he could compose up to that time, and that he finished them and composed Deuteronomy near the close of his life. I think it clear that the main discourse of Moses, which he commenced on the day stated in the first chapter of Deuteronomy, was closed as related in the thirtieth chapter. The earnest and most emphatic language, "I call heaven and earth to witness this day that I have set before you life and death, blessing and cursing," together with what follows in that chapter, constitute a most appropriate and eloquent termination of that grand address.

It is very probable that Moses had already prepared in advance copies of either all he had written in the first four books or at least of all the laws they contained, and, attaching them and Deuteronomy

together, thus formed one volume, which he deposited as stated in chapter thirty-one. The exact time when he is said to have written "this law" is not given; but as the task of writing must have been accomplished by consecutive acts, it might well be said that he wrote the law when the last act was performed; and this was after the close of his main address.

I will now proceed to examine the testimony of later writers of the Old Testament as to the law and book of Moses.

The book of Josue is very explicit, as we have already seen. Another passage equally clear may be found in i. 7, 8.

In the second chapter of Judges we are told that the children of Israel "served the Lord all the days of Josue, and the days of the ancients, that lived a long time after him, and who knew all the works of the Lord, which he had done for Israel"; but that afterwards "they did evil in the sight of the Lord, and they served Baalim." In the third chapter it is recorded that the Lord left certain princes, "that he might try Israel by them, whether they would hear the commandments of the Lord, which he had commanded their fathers by the hand of Moses, or not." In the eleventh chapter facts are stated which are found recorded in the Pentateuch. The fourth chapter of first of Kings says: "And the ark of God was taken"; and in the twelfth chapter that Samuel said to the people: "How Jacob went into Egypt, and your fathers cried to the Lord: and the Lord sent Moses and Aaron, and brought your fathers out of Egypt." And in the fifteenth chapter: "I have reckoned up all that Amalec hath done to Israel: how he opposed them in the way when they came out of Egypt."

It will be remembered that God specially commanded Moses, as related in the seventeenth chapter of Exodus, to write an account of the attack of Amalec upon the Israelites in the desert. In the sixth chapter of Second Kings the ark is mentioned, and that "David offered holocausts and peace-offerings before the Lord." In the second chapter of Third Kings David, upon his death-bed, charges his son Solomon to "keep the charge of the Lord thy God, to walk in his ways, and observe his ceremonies, and his precepts, and judgments, and testimonies, as it is written in the law of Moses." In the eighth chapter it is said: "Now in the ark there was nothing else but the two tables of stone, which Moses put there at Horeb"; and Solomon in his prayer at the dedication of the Temple, as related in the same chapter, said: "For thou hast separated them to thyself for an inheritance from among all the people of the earth, as thou hast spoken by Moses thy servant, when thou broughtest our fathers out of Egypt, O Lord God." In the Fourth Kings, chapter eleven, it is related that "the testimony" was brought forth at the coronation of Joas as king. It will be remembered that Moses had commanded

that the king should make for himself a copy of the law, that he might read it all the days of his life (Deut. xvii. 19). The testimony here mentioned must have been the same. In the two books of Paralipomenon, or Chronicles, the references to the law of Moses are very explicit :

That they should offer holocausts to the Lord upon the altar of holocaust continually, morning and evening, according to all that is written in the law of the Lord which he commanded Israel (i. xvi. 40).

For then thou shalt be able to prosper, if thou keep the commandments, and judgments, which the Lord God commanded Moses to teach to Israel (i. xxii. 13).

And when the Kingdom of Roboam was strengthened and fortified, he forsook the law of the Lord and all Israel with him (ii. xii. 1).

And many days shall pass in Israel without the true God, and without a priest, a teacher and without the law (ii. xv. 3)

And they taught the people in Juda, having with them the book of the law of the Lord (ii. xvii. 9).

But he slew not their children, as it is written in the book of the law of Moses (ii. xxv. 4 ; Deut. xxiv. 16).

As it is written in the law of Moses (ii. xxxi. 3).

And all the law, and the ceremonies, and judgments by the hand of Moses (ii. xxxiii. 8).

Helcias the priest found the book of the law of the Lord, by the hand of Moses (ii. xxxiv. 14).

The first book of Esdras, or Ezra, and the second book of the same, also called Nehemias, are equally explicit :

As it is written in the law of Moses (i. iii. 2).

As it is written in the book of Moses (i. vi. 18).

We have been seduced by vanities, and have not kept thy commandments, and ceremonies, and judgments, which thou hast commanded thy servant Moses (ii. i. 7).

And they read in the book of the law of the Lord their God (ii. ix. 3).

In the ninth chapter of Daniel it is said :

And all Israel have transgressed thy law, and have turned away from hearing thy voice, and the malediction, and the curse, which is written in the book of Moses the servant of God.

Isaias commences his book in the same words as Moses did his song : " Hear, O ye heavens."

My people went down into Egypt at the beginning to sojourn there : and the Assyrian hath oppressed them without any cause at all (lii. 4).

This thing is to me as in the days of Noe to whom I swore, that I would no more bring in the waters of Noe upon the earth (liv. 9).

And he remembered the days of old of Moses, and of his people. . . . He that brought out Moses by the right hand, by the arm of his majesty, that divided the waters before them (lxiii. 11, 12).

I find these passages in Jeremias :

Which I commanded your fathers, in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt, from the iron furnace (xi. 4).

Because you have sacrificed to idols, and have sinned against the Lord ; and have not obeyed the voice of the Lord, and have not walked in his law, and in his commandments; and in his testimonies (xliv. 23).

I might multiply quotations showing that the writers were familiar with facts recorded in the Pentateuch. Where did they obtain this knowledge, unless from that book ? We find the facts related there ; and we find that whenever these later writers speak of the author Moses is *only* mentioned. In the book itself, as we have seen, a large portion is alleged to have been written by him, and no one else is expressly stated to have written any part of it. It is true a few passages, as I have shown, must have been written by another hand. The book was written by some one, and it was the most noted book then in the world. No one was so competent as Moses to write it, and, for that reason, no one so likely to have written it ; and no other author could have written it but by his or God's assistance. It seems past all reasonable belief that the authorship of so great a work could have remained unknown. The testimony of Josephus, as we have seen in the extract found in note to page 187, is explicit as to the opinion of the Jewish people that the Pentateuch was written by Moses. That people could hardly have been so ignorant as not to have known the author of the volume containing their laws.

According to the plainest principles of law and reason, a party can only be required to produce the best evidence the *nature* of the case will admit. Since the law of copyright has been introduced the titles of all new works are put on record in the proper office in civilized countries ; but in ancient times it was not so. The only way to prove that Cæsar wrote his *Commentaries*, or Tacitus his history, or that any particular work was composed by a certain ancient author, is by general reputation. This is, indeed, the only way to establish many *ancient* facts regarding titles to real estate.

In regard to the authorship of the Pentateuch by Moses the evidence, taken as a whole, seems remarkably clear and strong.

The force of all these testimonies, says Professor Bartlett, is increased by the fact that they are absolutely uncontradicted. While the Pentateuch itself, the subsequent books of the O. T., the Jewish nation, the Saviour and the Apostles, point to Moses with such entire unanimity that the echo comes back from foreign nations, in Manetho, Hecataeus, Strabo, Tacitus, referring the Jewish laws and institutions to Moses alone, not one hint is to be found in the whole range of history or literature that any person later or other than Moses composed either the volume or any integral portion of it. Never was testimony more unbroken (in Smith's *Bible Dictionary*, art. 'Pentateuch').



## CHAPTER VIII.

### THE PENTATEUCH CONTINUED—EXTERNAL EVIDENCE.

THE question as to the authorship of the Pentateuch, though in some respects important, is quite subordinate to that of its character as a true history. The main and great question is, Are the alleged facts as therein stated true? If it be veracious history, then it is most valuable, whether composed by Moses or by some one else. Truth has a duration and an intrinsic value of its own. It never grows old, because it was never young. It abides for ever and is always valuable. Age cannot dim its beauty nor improve its real merit. Like the genuine gold coin, it is never soiled by the character of the hands through which it passes, but remains as unsullied as ever. And truth is always consistent.

All the facts, and series of facts that have existed at any time from the beginning of the world to the present age, were consistent and harmonious in every particular. The existence of one does not displace that of another. They no more conflict with each other than do the stars of heaven. Each occupies its proper place in the vast chain of events. And all the parts of a true system, as well as all facts, are not only thoroughly consistent one with another, but they all bear a certain relation to each other, more or less intimate. As all events that ever did occur were connected with certain other events—with some as their causes, with others as their effects—so, all the truths of a true system, are in the same way connected with each other (*The Path*, p. 3).

When we come to investigate the question, whether the Mosaic history be true or fictitious, in whole or in part, we are at once met with the difficulty that no profane historians then existed whose works have come down to us as *common* history. Moses must have written about fifteen hundred years before the birth of Christ; and Herodotus, usually called the father of profane history, about one thousand years after Moses. Pherecydes was a little older than Herodotus, but much younger than Moses. We cannot, therefore, quote contemporary authors, as none existed. All that can be reasonably demanded is that we give the best evidence the nature of the case admits, according to the rules of evidence as stated in note to page 164. Of course the first historian may have had no contemporaries, and yet his history may be perfectly reliable. We should neither accept nor reject it simply because it is the *first*. It should stand or fall by its genuine merits or demerits.

But while there can be nothing gleaned from ordinary contempo-

rary profane history confirmatory of the truth of the Mosaic narrative, there are many passages found in later writers which allude to facts which most probably come down from it.\* As these passages may be found in the *Gentle Skeptic* at page 39, I must refer to that work for them, as my limits will not permit me to quote them in full.

Although we cannot quote ordinary contemporary history to confirm the Mosaic records, much evidence, both direct and collateral, may be found in philology, in monuments, in the cuneiform inscriptions, and in the remains of ancient structures. The great discoveries made in the ruins of Chaldæa, Assyria, and Babylonia have thrown a flood of light upon ancient history. The elaborate, accurate, and profound history of the *Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World*, by George Rawlinson, is largely based upon these late discoveries.

In speaking of the early inhabitants of Chaldæa, and of "the ordinary theory that this race was Aramaic or Semitic," the author says :

Hence a difficulty is felt with regard to the scriptural statement concerning the first Kingdom in these parts, which is expressly said to have been Cushite or Ethiopian. "And Cush begat Nimrod: (he began to be a mighty one in the earth; he was a mighty hunter before the Lord; wherefore it is said, Even as Nimrod, the

\* "It has been noticed already that the chief material on which the ancient Chaldæans wrote was moist clay, in the two forms of tablets and bricks. . . . The tablets of the Chaldæans are among the most remarkable of their remains, and will probably one day throw great additional light on the manners and customs, the religion, and even, perhaps, the science and learning of the people" (*Five Monarchies*, i. p. 67).

"Chaldæan history may therefore be regarded as opening upon us at a time anterior, at any rate by a century or two, to B. C. 2286. It was then that Nimrod, the son or descendant of Cush, set up a Kingdom in Lower Mesopotamia, which attracted the attention of surrounding nations" (*id.* p. 153).

"This conquest is stated to have happened 1,635 years before Assurbanipal's conquest of Elam, or B. C. 2280, which is the earliest date yet found in the inscriptions" (*Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 12).

"It is quite uncertain how far back the records of Babylonia reach, and the lists of Kings are too imperfect to construct any satisfactory scheme from them; but it is certain that they reach up to the twenty-fourth century B. C., and some scholars are of opinion that they stretch nearly two thousand years beyond that time" (*id.* p. 447).

"The light already thrown by the Assyrian inscriptions on Biblical history forms one of the most interesting features in cuneiform inquiry, and there can be no question that further researches will settle many of the questions still in doubt, and give us new information in this field, of an important character" (*id.* p. 448).

"Together with the true names of the Assyrian Kings, the mounds of Mesopotamia have yielded up a mass of documents in the Assyrian language, from which it is possible that we may one day acquire as full a knowledge of its structure and vocabulary as we possess at present of Greek or Latin. These documents have confirmed the previous belief that the tongue is Semitic. They consist, in the first place, of long inscriptions upon the slabs of stone with which the walls of palaces were panelled, sometimes occupying the stone to the exclusion of any sculpture, sometimes carried across the dress of figures, always carefully cut, and generally in good preservation. Next in importance to these memorials are the hollow cylinders, or, more strictly speaking, hexagonal or octagonal prisms, made in extremely fine and thin terra-cotta, which the Assyrian Kings used to deposit at the corners of temples, inscribed with an account of their chief acts and with numerous religious invocations. These cylinders vary from a foot and a half to three feet in height, and are covered closely with a small writing, which it often requires a good magnifying glass to decipher" (*Five Monarchies*, i. p. 263).

"In the nineteenth century B. C. we find Assyria constituted into a monarchy, under rulers whose capital was at the City of Assur (Kalah Shergat), and one of these, named Samel-vul, restored the old temple of Ishtar at Nineveh" (*Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 91).

These extracts will give a fair idea of the nature of the cuneiform inscriptions. The Chaldæans used clay tablets and bricks, while the Assyrians used slabs of stone and terra-cotta cylinders, for inscriptions.

mighty hunter before the Lord;) and the beginning of his Kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar" (Gen. x. 8-10).

According to this passage the early Chaldæans should be Hamites, not Semites—Ethiopians, not Aramæans; they should present analogies and points of connexion with the inhabitants of Egypt and Abyssinia, of Southern Arabia, and Mekram, not with those of Upper Mesopotamia, Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine. It will be one of the objects of this chapter to show that the Mosaic narrative conveys the exact truth—a truth alike in accordance with the earliest traditions, and with the latest results of modern comparative philology (*Five Monarchies*, i. p. 44).

The learned author occupies the greater portion of eighteen pages in making good his position, and the amount of evidence he brings forward seems to place the matter beyond all reasonable doubt. I can only refer to the chapter itself, as it is too extensive for my limits.

The work of George Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries*, contains much evidence in confirmation of statements made in Genesis. At present I select the following :

This ruin I believe covers the remains of the temple of Bel and the great tower of Babylon. . . . The Birs Nimrud is most probably the tower of Babel of the Book of Genesis (*Assyrian Discoveries*, pp. 56, 59).

The "Izdubar Legends" appear to me to have been composed during the early Babylonian empire, more than 2,000 years B.C. . . . So far as the fragments of the "Izdubar Legends" are preserved, they lead to the conclusion that Izdubar or Nimrod, a great hunter or giant, obtained the dominion of the district round Babylon, and afterwards drove out some tyrant who ruled over Erech, adding this region to his Kingdom (*id.* p. 166).

I will take thee to the midst of Erech Suburi (*id.* p. 171).

In the month of Kislev, the first day, into Erech I caused her to enter (*id.* p. 356).

The *last* quotation is from the inscription of Assurbanipal, and both quotations show that Erech was a city, as stated in Genesis.

The capital of Sargon was the great city of Agadi, called by the Semites Akkad, mentioned in Genesis as a capital of Nimrod (Genesis x. 10), and here he reigned forty-five years (*id.* p. 225).

Over them they raised him, and the empire of Sumir and Akkad they committed to him (*id.* p. 315).

The last extract is from the inscriptions of Esarhaddon, B.C. 681.

Among the texts discovered during my expeditions to the valley of the Euphrates are several inscriptions of great importance belonging to the early Kings of Babylonia. One of these is a new text of Assurbanipal relating to the restoration of the image of the goddess Nana. In the book of Genesis it is stated that in the time of Abraham Babylonia was under the dominion of the Kingdom of Elam, and the monarch of that country bore the name of Chedorlaomar or Kudurlagamar. In the inscriptions of Assurbanipal, who reigned B.C. 668 to 626, we are told that when that Assyrian monarch took the city of Shushan, the capital of Elam, B.C. 645, he brought away from the city an image of the goddess Nana, which had been carried off from the city of Erech by Kudur-nanhundi, the Elamite monarch at the

time of the Elamite conquest of Babylonia 1,635 years before (or B.C. 2280), thus confirming the statement of Genesis, that there was an early conquest of Babylonia by the Elamites (*id.* p. 223).

Erech is one of the cities mentioned as the capitals of Nimrod in Genesis x, 10 (*id.* p. 206).

In the eleventh chapter of Genesis we have an account of the tower of Babel: "Come, let us make bricks, and bake them with fire. And they had bricks instead of stones, and slime instead of mortar."

This statement is in part confirmed by the traditions and ancient remains of Chaldæa:

The Chaldæans found, in default of stone, a very tolerable material in their own country. . . . The earliest traditions, and the existing remains of the earliest buildings, alike inform us that the material adopted was brick. An excellent clay is readily procurable in all parts of the alluvium; and this, when merely exposed to the intense heat of an Eastern sun for a sufficient period, or still more when kiln-dried, constitutes a very tolerable substitute for the stone employed by most nations. The baked bricks, even of the earliest times, are still sound and hard. . . . Two kinds of cement are used in the early structures. One is a coarse clay or mud, which is sometimes mixed with chopped straw; the other is bitumen. This last is of excellent quality, and the bricks which it unites adhere often so firmly together that they can with difficulty be separated (*Five Monarchies*, i. pp. 38, 71, 74).

These extracts from Rawlinson do not prove the actual building of the tower of Babel, but they show that the statement in Genesis is perfectly consistent with the condition and manner of building of the country where that structure is alleged to have been reared.

We can scarcely doubt, that originally the god Asshur was the great progenitor of the race, Asshur, the son of Shem, deified (Gen. x. 22). It was not long, however, before this notion was lost, and Asshur came to be viewed simply as a celestial being—the first and highest of all the divine agents who ruled over heaven and earth (*Five Monarchies*, ii. p. 3).

Many facts confirmatory of the truth of the Mosaic record may be found in the late work of Rev. J. L. Porter, *The Giant Cities of Bashan*. I will only make at present the following most interesting extracts:

Bashan is the land of sacred romance. From the remotest historic period down to our own day there has ever been something of mystery and of strange wild interest connected with that old Kingdom. . . . We shall presently see, if my readers will accompany me in my proposed tour, that the cities built and occupied some forty centuries ago by these old giants exist even yet. I have traversed their streets; I have opened the doors of their houses; I have slept peacefully in their long deserted halls (*Giant Cities of Bashan*, pp. 11, 12).

The conquest of Bashan, begun under the leadership of Moses in person, was completed by Jair, one of the most distinguished chiefs of the tribe of Manasseh. In narrating his achievements, the sacred historian brings out another remarkable fact connected with this Kingdom of Bashan. In Argob, one of its little provinces, Jair took no less than *sixty great cities* "fenced with high walls, gates, and bars; besides unwall'd towns a great many" (Deut. iii. 4, 5, 14). Such a state-

ment seems all but incredible. It would not stand the arithmetic of Bishop Colenso for a moment. Often when reading the passage, I used to think that some strange statistical mystery hung over it; for how could a province measuring not more than thirty miles by twenty support such a number of fortified cities, especially when the greater part of it was a wilderness of rocks? But mysterious, incredible as this seemed, on the spot, with my own eyes, *I have seen* that it is literally true. The cities are there to this day. Some of them retain the ancient names recorded in the Bible. The boundaries of Argob are as clearly defined by the hand of nature as those of our own island home. These ancient cities of Bashan contain probably the very oldest specimens of domestic architecture now existing in the world (*id.* p. 13).

The foregoing notices will show my readers that Bashan is, in many respects, among the most interesting of the provinces of Palestine. It is comparatively unknown besides. Western Palestine is traversed every year; it forms a necessary part of the Grand Tour, and it has been described in scores of volumes. But the travellers who have hitherto succeeded in exploring Bashan scarcely amount to half-a-dozen; and the state of the country is so unsettled, and many of the people who inhabit it are so hostile to Europeans, and, in fact, to strangers in general, that there seems to be but little prospect of an increase of tourists in that region. This very isolation of Bashan added immensely to the charm and instructiveness of my visit. Both land and people remain thoroughly Oriental. Nowhere else is patriarchal life so fully or so strikingly exemplified. The social state of the country and the habits of the people are just what they were in the days of Abraham and Job. The raids of the eastern tribes are as frequent and as devastating now as they were then. The flocks of a whole village are often swept away in a single incursion, and the fruits of a whole harvest carried off in a single night. The arms used are, with the exception of a few muskets, similar to those with which Chedorlaomer conquered the Rephaim. The implements of husbandry, too, are as rude and as simple as they were when Isaac cultivated the valley of Gerar. And the hospitality is everywhere as profuse and as genuine as that which Abraham exercised in his tents at Mamre. I could scarcely get over the feeling, as I rode across the plains of Bashan and climbed the wooded hills through the oak forests, and saw the primitive ploughs and yokes of oxen and goads, and heard the old Bible salutations given by every passer-by, and received the urgent invitations to rest and eat at every village and hamlet, and witnessed the killing of the kid or lamb, and the almost incredible dispatch with which it is cooked and served to the guests,—I could scarcely get over the feeling, I say, that I had been somehow spirited away back thousands of years, and set down in the land of Nod, or by the patriarch's tents at Bersheeba. Common life in Bashan I found to be a constant enacting of early Bible stories. Western Palestine has been in a great measure spoiled by travellers. In the towns frequented by tourists, and in their usual lines of route, I always found a miserable parody of Western manners, and not unfrequently of Western dress and language; but away in this old Kingdom one meets with nothing in dress, language, or manners, save the stately and instructive simplicity of patriarchal times.

Another peculiarity of Bashan I cannot refrain from communicating to my readers. The ancient cities and even the villages of Western Palestine have been almost annihilated; with the exception of Jerusalem, Hebron, and two or three others, not one stone has been left upon another. In some cases we can scarcely discover the exact spot where a noted city stood, so complete has been the desolation. Even in Jerusalem itself only a very few vestiges of the ancient buildings remain: the Tower of David, portions of the wall of the Temple area, and one or two other fragments,—just enough to form the subject of dispute among anti-

quaries. Zion is "ploughed like a field." I have seen the plough at work on it, and with the hand that writes these lines I have plucked ears of corn in the fields of Zion. I have pitched my tent on the site of ancient Tyre, and searched, but searched in vain, for a single trace of its ruins. Then, but not till then, did I realize the full force and truth of the prophetic denunciation upon it: "*Thou shalt be sought for, yet shalt thou never be found again*" (Ezek. xxvi. 21). The very ruins of Capernaum—that city which, in our Lord's day, was "exalted unto heaven"—have been so completely obliterated, that the question of its site never has been, and probably never will be, definitely settled. And these are not solitary cases: Jericho has disappeared; Bethel is "come to nought" (Amos v. 5); Samaria is "as an heap of the field, as plantings of a vineyard" (Micah i. 6). The state of Bashan is totally different: it is literally crowded with towns and large villages; and though the vast majority of them are deserted, *they are not ruined*. I have more than once entered a deserted city in the evening, taken possession of a comfortable house, and spent the night in peace. Many of the houses in the ancient cities of Bashan are perfect, as if only finished yesterday. The walls are sound, the roofs unbroken, the doors, and even the window-shutters in their places. Let not my readers think that I am transcribing a passage from the *Arabian Nights*. I am relating sober facts; I am simply telling what I have seen, and what I purpose just now more fully to describe. "But how," you ask me, "can we account for the preservation of ordinary dwellings in a land of ruins? If one of our modern English cities were deserted for a millennium, there would scarcely be a fragment of a wall standing." The reply is easy enough. The houses of Bashan are not ordinary houses. Their walls are from five to eight feet thick, built of large squared blocks of basalt; the roofs are formed of slabs of the same material, hewn like planks, and reaching from wall to wall; the very doors and window-shutters are of stone, hung upon pivots projecting above and below. Some of these ancient cities have from two to five hundred houses still perfect, but not a man to dwell in them. On one occasion, from the battlements of the Castle of Salcah, I counted some thirty towns and villages, dotting the surface of the vast plain, many of them almost as perfect as when they were built, and yet for more than five centuries there has not been a single inhabitant in one of them. It may be easily imagined with what feelings I read on that day the remarkable words of Moses: "The generation to come of your children that shall rise up after you, and the stranger that shall come from a far land, shall say when they see the plagues of this land, even all nations shall say, Wherefore hath the Lord done this unto this land? what meaneth the heat of this great anger?" (*id.* pp. 17-20).

Immediately beyond the meadow a plain opened before us, stretching on the east and west as far as the eye could see, and southward reaching to the Hauran mountains. It is flat as a lake, covered with deep rich, black soil, without rock or stone, and, even at this early season, giving promise of luxuriant pasturage. Some conical tells are seen at intervals, rising up from its smooth surface, like rocky inlets in the ocean. This is the plain of Bashan, and though now desolate and forsaken, it showed us how rich were the resources of that old Kingdom (*id.* p. 23).

I looked with no little interest round the apartment of which we had taken such unceremonious possession; but the light was so dim, and the walls, roof, and floor so black, that I could make out nothing satisfactorily. Getting a torch from one of the servants I lighted it, and proceeded to examine the mysterious mansion; for, though drenched with rain, and wearied with a twelve hours' ride, I could not rest. I felt an excitement such as I never before had experienced. I could scarcely believe in the reality of what I saw, and what I heard from my guides in reply to eager questions. The house seemed to have undergone little change from

the time its old master had left it; and yet the thick nitrous crust on the floor showed that it had been deserted for long ages. The walls were perfect, nearly five feet thick, built of large blocks of hewn stones, without lime or cement of any kind. The roof was formed of large slabs of the same black basalt, lying as regularly and jointed as closely as if the workmen had only just completed them. They measured twelve feet in length, eighteen inches in breadth, and six inches in thickness. The ends rested on a plain stone cornice, projecting about a foot from each sidewall. The chamber was twenty feet long, twelve wide, and ten high. The outer door was a slab of stone, four and a half feet high, four wide, and eight inches thick. It hung upon pivots formed of projecting parts of the slab, working in sockets in the lintel and threshold; and though so massive, I was able to open and shut it with ease. At one end of the room was a small window with a stone shutter. An inner door, also of stone, but of finer workmanship, and not quite so heavy as the other, admitted to a chamber of the same size and appearance. From it a much larger door communicated with a third chamber, to which there was a descent by a flight of stone steps. This was a spacious hall, equal in width to the two rooms, and about twenty-five feet long by twenty high. A semi-circular arch was thrown across it, supporting the stone roof, and a gate so large that camels could pass in and out, opened on the street. The gate was of stone and in its place; but some rubbish had accumulated on the threshold, and it appeared to have been open for ages. Here our horses were comfortably installed. Such were the internal arrangements of this strange old mansion. It had only one story; and its simple massive style of architecture gave evidence of a very remote antiquity (*id.* p. 25).

And here we observed with surprise, that there was not a trace of human habitation, except on the tops of the little conical hills which rise up at long intervals. This plain is the home of the Ishmaelite, who has always dwelt "in the presence (literally, *in the face*) of his brethren" (Gen. xvi. 12), and against whose bold incursions there never has been any effectual barrier except the munitions of rocks and the heights of hills (*id.* p. 28).

The Sheikh describes the Arabs to the life, just as they were described by the spirit of prophecy nearly four thousand years ago. "He (Ishmael) shall be a wild man; his hand against every man, and every man's hand against him; and he shall dwell in the presence of all his brethren" (Gen. xvi. 12). These "children of the east" come up now as they did in Gideon's days, when "they destroyed the increase of the earth, and left no sustenance for Israel, neither sheep, nor ox, nor ass. For they came up with their cattle and their tents, and they came as grasshoppers for multitude; both they and their camels were without number; and they entered into the land to destroy it" (Judges vi. 4, 5). During the course of another tour through the western part of Bashan, I rode in one day for more than twenty miles in a straight course through the flocks of an Arab tribe (*id.* p. 31).

Many people might have thought, and a few still believe, that there was a large amount of Eastern exaggeration in the language of Moses when describing the conquest of this country three thousand years ago. "We took all his cities at that time . . . *three score cities*, all the region of Argob, the Kingdom of Og in Bashan. *All these cities were fenced with high walls, gates, and bars; besides unwallled towns a great many*" (Deut. iii. 4, 5). No man who has traversed Bashan, or who has climbed the hills of Salcah, will ever again venture to bring such a charge against the sacred historian. The walled cities, with their ponderous gates of stone, are there now as they were when the Israelites invaded the land (*id.* p. 79).

Moses makes special mention of the strong cities of Bashan, and speaks of their high walls and gates. He tells us, too, in the same connection, that Bashan was called *the land of the giants* (or Rephaim, Deut. iii. 13); leaving us to con-

clude that the cities were built by giants. Now the houses of Keriath and other towns in Bashan appear to be just such dwellings as a race of giants would build. The walls, the roofs, but especially the ponderous gates, doors, and bars, are in every way characteristic of a period when architecture was in its infancy, when giants were masons, and when strength and security were the grand requisites. I measured a door in Keriath: it was nine feet high, four and a half feet wide, and ten inches thick,—one solid slab of stone. I saw the folding gates of another town in the mountains still larger and heavier. Time produces little effect on such buildings as these. The heavy stone slabs of the roof resting on the massive walls make the structure as firm as if built of solid masonry; and the black basalt used is almost as hard as iron. There can scarcely be a doubt, therefore, that these are the very cities erected and inhabited by the Rephaim, the aboriginal inhabitants of Bashan; and the language of Ritter appears to be true: "These buildings remain as eternal witnesses of the conquest of Bashan by Jehovah" (*id.* p. 84).

It is worthy of note here, as tending to prove the truth of my statements, and to illustrate the words of the sacred writers, that the towns of Bashan were considered ancient even in the days of the Roman historian Ammianus Marcellinus, who says regarding this country: "Fortresses and strong castles have been erected by the *ancient inhabitants* among the retired mountains and forests. Here, in the midst of *numerous towns*, are some great cities, such as Bostra and Gerasa, encompassed by massive walls." Mr. Graham, the only other traveller since Burckhardt, who traversed eastern Bashan, entirely agrees with me in my conclusions. "When we find," he writes, "one after another, great stone cities, walled and unwalled, with stone gates, and so *crowded* together that it becomes almost a matter of wonder how all the people could have lived in so small a place; when we see houses built of such huge and massive stones that no force which can be brought against them in that country could ever batter them down; when we find rooms in these houses so large and lofty that many of them would be considered fine rooms in a palace in Europe; and, lastly, when we find some of these towns bearing the very names which cities in that country bore before the Israelites came out of Egypt, I think we cannot help feeling the strongest conviction that we have before us the cities of the Rephaim of which we read in the book of Deuteronomy" (*id.* p. 85).

The southern section of Bashan is richer in historic and sacred associations than the northern. I looked at it now spread out before me with feelings such as I cannot describe. Those large deserted cities, that noble but desolate plain,—the whole history of the country for four thousand years, from the Rephaim down to the Osmanlis, is written there. The massive dwellings show the simple style and ponderous workmanship of *Giant* architects. *Jewish* masonry and names; *Greek* inscriptions and temples; *Roman* roads; *Christian* churches; *Saracenic* mosques; *Turkish* desolation; all, all are there; and all alike are illustrations of the accuracy and confirmations of the truth of the Bible (*id.* p. 64).

The foregoing extended and most important extracts will give a fair idea of the nature and extent of the proofs derived from the remarkable ruins of Bashan. The author has stated them much more fully in the work itself than I could do in my limited space.

The following extracts are from Cardinal Wiseman's *Lectures upon Science and Revealed Religion*:

In the last century, the books of Moses were often attacked on account of grapes and vineyards being mentioned in them; and perhaps wine as used in



Egypt (Gen. xl. 9; Num. xx. 5). For Herodotus expressly tells us, that in Egypt there were no vineyards, and Plutarch assures us, that the natives of that country abhorred wine, as being the blood of those who had rebelled against the gods. So conclusive did these authorities appear, that the contrary statements of Diodorus, Strabo, Pliny, and Athenæus, were considered by the learned author of the *Commentaries on the Laws of Moses*, as quite overbalanced by the testimony of Herodotus alone. . . . So long as the authority of Herodotus was thus held superior to the concurrent testimonies of other writers, the reply to the objection was necessarily feeble. . . . But Egyptian monuments have brought the question to issue, and have of course decided in favor of the Jewish legislator. In the great description of Egypt, published by the French government, after the expedition into that country, M. Costaz describes the minute representation of the vintage in all its parts, as painted in the hypogea, or subterraneans of Eilithyia, from the dressing of the vine to the drawing off of the wine; and he takes Herodotus severely to task for his denial of the existence of vineyards in Egypt. . . . But since Champollion's discovery of the hieroglyphic alphabet, the question may be considered as quite decided; as it now appears certain, not only that wine was known in Egypt, but that it was used in sacrifices (ii. pp. 135-7).

In Gen. xlv. 5, 15, mention is made of a cup in which Joseph divined; of course, keeping up the disguise which he had thought it necessary to assume. "The cup which you have stolen is that in which my lord drinketh, and *in which he is wont to divine*. . . . And he said to them, Why would you do so? Know ye not that there is no one like me in the science of divining." Now, formerly this gave rise to such a serious objection, that very able critics proposed an alteration in the reading or translation of the word; for it was supposed to allude to a custom completely without any parallel in ancient authors. . . . The Baron Silvestre de Sacy was the first to show the existence of this very practice in Egypt in modern times, from an incident recorded in Norden's travels. By a singular coincidence, Baram Cashel tells the travellers that he had consulted his cup, and discovered that they were spies, who had come to discover how the land might best be invaded and subdued. Thus, we see the condition complied with on which alone Aurivillius, half a century ago, agreed to be satisfied with the sense at present given to the text. In the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, for August, 1833, a very curious and well-attested instance was given of the use of the divining-cup, as witnessed by the reporters in Egypt, in company of several English travellers, which bears a character highly marvellous and mysterious.

But so far from its being any longer difficult to find a single instance of this practice in Egypt, we may say, that no species of divining can be proved more common throughout the East (ii. pp. 219-21).

Coming down to a later period, we have an extraordinary coincidence between the facts related in the history of Joseph, and the state of Egypt at the period when he and his family entered it. We are told in the book of Genesis, that Joseph, upon presenting his father and brethren to Pharaoh, was careful to tell him that they were shepherds, and that their trade had been to feed cattle, and that they had brought their flocks and herds with them. But in his instructions to them there seems to be an extraordinary contradiction:—"When Pharaoh shall call on you and say, 'What is your occupation?' ye shall say, 'Thy servants' trade hath been about cattle from our youth even until now, both we and also our fathers'; that ye may dwell in the land of Goshen, for every shepherd is an abomination unto the Egyptians." Now, why make such a point to tell Pharaoh that his family were all shepherds, because all shepherds were an abomination to the Egyptians? This contradiction is removed by the circumstance, that when Joseph was in Egypt, the greater part of its kingdom was under the dominion of the Hyk-

Shos, or Shepherd Kings, a foreign race, probably of Scythian origin, who had seized upon the Kingdom. Thus we have it, at once, explained how strangers, of whom the Egyptians were so jealous, should be admitted into power; how the king should be even glad of new settlers, occupying considerable tracts of his territory; and how the circumstance of their being shepherds, though odious to the conquered people, would endear them to a sovereign whose family followed the same occupation. . . . By this state of Egypt we can also more readily explain the measures pursued by Joseph during the famine, to bring all the land and persons of the Egyptians into a feudal dependence upon their sovereign (*id.* ii. pp. 79-81).

The attention to Egyptian monuments and literature in modern times, has been indeed fertile in objections to sacred history, which, like every other study, it has overthrown in its advance (*id.* ii. p. 90).

In fact, there is no branch of literature so rich in biblical vindications and illustrations as those studies which I have characterized as "Profane Oriental Literature" (*id.* ii. p. 216).

In the first chapter of Exodus it is stated that the Egyptians hated the children of Israel and "made their life bitter with hard works in clay, and brick, and with all manner of service"; and in the fifth chapter, that Pharaoh increased their burdens by commanding that straw should no more be given to them to make brick as before, but that they should be left to gather the necessary straw where they could find it, while the usual daily quantity of brick should be required; and that, in consequence of this increased exaction, "the people was scattered through the land of Egypt to gather straw."

To any one unacquainted with the custom of cutting grain then prevalent in Egypt this narrative might appear almost incredible, as it would be most difficult, if not impossible, to gather straw enough in fields where the wheat is cut close to the ground, as it is in modern times. But the seeming difficulty is not only entirely removed, but the truth of the narrative strongly confirmed, by the facts as they then existed.

In the seventh volume of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, pages 707-8, it is stated in the article on Egypt:

In the representations of the tombs which picture the daily life of the great proprietors of land, we learn what especial attention they paid to the processes of agriculture. . . . Wheat being the most important field-produce, we find the various agricultural processes connected with it frequently represented. Besides the ploughing and sowing, the harvest is depicted, the reapers cutting the wheat just below the ear, the ears being carried in nets or baskets by men or on asses to the thrashing-floor, where they were thrashed by kine. Sometimes the wheat was bound in sheaves. The same or similar processes with reference to other kinds of grain are portrayed in the tombs, in which we also find curious representations of the vineyards and gardens. The vineyard was not the least valuable part of the estate. Egypt was famous for its wines in the days of the Greeks and Romans; and it is evident that wine must have been prized in earlier times from several kinds being enumerated in the inscriptions, and from its always being seen at the feasts.

Rawlinson, in his history of the *Five Great Monarchies* (vol. i. p.

384), speaking of the Assyrian bricks, says: "The clay of which the bricks were composed was mixed with stubble or vegetable fibre, for the purpose of holding it together—a practice common to the Assyrians with the Egyptians and the Babylonians." The author refers in the margin to ample authority to sustain his statements.

These extracts are very important confirmatory evidence of the historical truth of Exodus, as they not only sustain it in regard to ordinary matters, but with respect to the peculiar case of the Israelites being compelled to gather straw in the fields to make brick—a statement which the writer of a fictitious narrative would hardly have thought of. These extracts also confirm the statement in Genesis in reference to grapes and wine in Egypt, as mentioned in the extract from Cardinal Wiseman, found on page 226.

In the forty-first chapter of Genesis the facts are recorded of a remarkable famine in Egypt, which, it is alleged, continued for seven successive years. In regard to this most peculiar case I make the following extracts from the seventh volume of the ninth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, pages 736 and 752:

It must be here noticed that Dr. Brugsch has copied a remarkable inscription, from the tomb at Eilethya of Baba, whom he assigns to the latter part of Dynasty XVI., in which mention is made of a famine of successive years. "A famine having broken out during many years, I gave corn to the town during each famine." There are but two known instances in history of a famine in Egypt lasting several years, the seven years' famine of Joseph and the seven years' famine of the Fatimee caliph El-Mustansir. Dr. Brugsch has, therefore, argued with high probability that Baba records the famine of Joseph, and that the old tradition that Joseph governed Egypt under the Shepherd King Apophis is a true one. . . . But an even heavier calamity afflicted Egypt. For seven successive years the inundation of the Nile failed, and with it almost the entire subsistence of the country, while the rebels intercepted supplies of grain from the north. El-Makreezee informs us that El-Askar and El-Katae were depopulated, and that half the inhabitants of El-Fnstat perished, while in El-Kahireh itself the people were reduced to the direst straits. Bread was sold for 14 dirhems the 1 lb. loaf; and all provisions being exhausted, the worst horrors of famine followed. The wretched people resorted to cannibalism, and organized bands kidnapped the unwary passenger in the desolate streets by means of ropes furnished with hooks and let down from the latticed windows. In the year 462 the famine reached its height.

The years of the Moslem era, the Hegira, or Flight of Mohammed from Mecca, are used by the writer, which would place the famine in the latter part of the eleventh century of the Christian era.

This famine is mentioned in Smith's *Bible Dictionary* (i. p. 811), and the additional authority of the historian Es-Suyootee referred to. A learned friend informs me that the two cases were not exactly alike in this, that the famine of El-Mustansir was not preceded by seven years of plenty.

It is recorded in the forty-first chapter of Genesis that Pharaoh appointed Joseph over the whole land of Egypt, only second to the

king himself. Amenemhat I. was the first Egyptian king of Dynasty XII.; which lasted two hundred and thirteen years, one month, twenty-four days. He was succeeded by his son, Usurtesen I.

Under Usurtesen I. the co-regent and successor of Amenemhat I. Egypt had reached its highest prosperity after the age of the pyramid-builders of Dynasty IV. The obelisk which still marks the site of Heliopolis, a fragment of a statue at Tanis, inscriptions on the rocks of the Sinaitic peninsula, and a stele from Wade Halfeh, recording foreign conquests in the south, now in the Naples Museum, attest the splendour of this reign. The records of private individuals are, however, its most instructive memorials. Mentuhotep has given us a picture of the power and status of an Egyptian prime minister, holding all or nearly all the functions of the members of a modern cabinet, a position singularly parallel to that of Joseph, to the detail that even great men bowed before him (*Encyc. Brit.*, vii. p. 734).

Chemistry and metallurgy had also made great progress. The hardening of the bronze tools with which they cut granite is a proof of this, and the manner in which Moses destroyed the golden calf is another evidence (*id.* p. 722).

In minor details the writer of Exodus shows a remarkable acquaintance with Egypt. Thus, for instance, Pharaoh's daughter goes to the river to bathe. At the present day it is true that only women of the lower orders bathe in the river. But Herodotus (ii. 35) tells us (what we learn also from the monuments) that in ancient Egypt the women were under no restraint, but apparently lived more in public than the men. To this must be added that the Egyptians supposed a sovereign virtue to exist in the Nile-waters. The writer speaks of chariots and "chosen chariots" (xiv. 7) as constituting an important element in the Egyptian army, and of the king as leading in person. The monuments amply confirm this representation. The Pharaohs lead their armies to battle, and the armies consist entirely of infantry and chariots (*Smith's Bible Dictionary*, i. p. 793).

This is the entrance to the great hypostyle hall, the most magnificent work of its class in Egypt. Its length is 170 feet, and its width 329; it is supported by 134 columns, the loftiest of which are nearly 70 feet in height, and about 12 in diameter, and the rest more than 40 feet in height, and about 9 in diameter. . . . The scenes on the north wall are arranged in three compartments, of which the upper one has been nearly destroyed. In these scenes the King is represented as of a gigantic size, charging in his chariot, and putting to the rout his enemies, capturing their strongholds, and returning home in triumph (*Encyc. Brit.*, vii. pp. 777-8).

In chapters six, seven, and eight of Genesis we find a record of the Deluge, in which it is alleged that all individuals of the human race perished except the eight persons saved in the Ark. This structure was three hundred cubits long, fifty wide, and thirty high. Estimating the cubit of the Ark at eighteen English inches (the shortest measure claimed for the cubit), the size of the Ark was four hundred and fifty English feet long, seventy-five feet wide, and forty-five feet high. As it was simply intended to float, not sail, upon the water, it was constructed in the form, not of a ship, but of an oblong box, the length being six times more than the width and ten times greater than the height. It was divided into three stories; and its form admitted the greatest possible amount of storage in proportion

to its cubic contents. The width was the best that could have been adopted, as it allowed the builder to brace it more securely and cover it more easily and safely than he could have done had it been much wider. Single pieces of frame timbers can be procured from any forest of tall timber which would reach from side to side; and in any forest of ordinary good timber single sticks can be readily found of the length of half the width of the Ark, so as to require splicing only once. The structure seems to have been admirably adapted to the alleged purpose intended.

A curious proof of the suitability of the Ark for the purpose for which it was intended was given by a Dutch merchant, Peter Jansen, the Mennonite, who, in the year 1604, had a ship built at Hoorn of the same proportions (though of course not of the same size) as Noah's ark. It was 120 feet long, 20 broad, and 12 deep. This vessel, unsuitable as it was for quick voyages, was found remarkably well adapted for freightage. It was calculated that it would hold a third more lading than other vessels without requiring more hands to work it (*Smith's Bible Dictionary*, iii. p. 2178).

There would, then, seem to be no reasonable objection to the form of the Ark, when we consider the simple purpose for which it was intended; and the only question that can be raised with any plausibility regards the sufficiency of its size. This question seems to involve the further question whether the Deluge was partial or universal.

The Church has never decided this last question, but permits all her children to have their own opinions in regard to it. While entertaining the greatest respect for the views of those who think it was universal, I am constrained to believe it to have been only partial. The question is one of great apparent difficulty, and admits of wide discussion—much wider than my narrow limits will allow. I will only give the main reasons for my opinion, as concisely and clearly as I can.

The construction which holds that the Deluge was universal is based solely upon the wide terms employed in the narrative. It must be conceded that the language of the historian is very broad.

And all flesh was destroyed that moved upon the earth, both of fowl, and of cattle, and of beasts, and of all creeping things that creep upon the earth: and all men, and all things wherein there is the breath of life on the earth died (*Gen. vii. 21, 22*).

But broad as this language is, I think it may have a limited meaning. In construing the language of a writer, or class of writers, we must consider the nature of the subject-matter, and look to the peculiarities of the style.

“*General words shall be aptly restrained according to the subject-matter or person to which they relate*” is one of the sound rules of interpretation in Mr. Broom's *Legal Maxims*, p. 501. In support and illustration of this maxim the author says:

Thus, if I grant common “in all my lands” in D., if I have in D. both open grounds and several, it shall not be stretched to common in my several grounds,

much less in my garden or orchard. So, if I grant to J. S. an annuity of 10*l.* a year for past and future counsel, if J. S. be a physician, this shall be understood of his advice in physic, and if he be a lawyer of his counsel in legal matters.

In accordance, likewise, with the above maxim—the subject matter of an agreement is to be considered in construing the terms of it, and they are to be understood in the sense most agreeable to the nature of the agreement. If a deed relates to a particular subject only, general words in it shall be confined to that subject, otherwise they must be taken in their general sense.

The words “all my lands” are very broad, as much so as the words of the historian, “all men and all things”; and yet these broad words of the grantor did not include such of his lands as were not the usual subjects of a right of common. The nature and purpose of the grant restrained the general words “all my lands.”

The use of words in the Scriptures is often peculiar. Thus the language of comparison and numbers is often very wide :

I will make thy seed as the dust of the earth (Gen. xiii. 16). And there was so great abundance of wheat, that it was equal to the sand of the sea (Gen. xli. 49). And they all came out with their troops, a people exceeding numerous as the sand that is on the sea-shore (Josue xi. 4). Juda and Israel were innumerable, as the sand of the sea in multitude (3 Kings iv. 20).

The word *all* and similar terms are often used in a limited sense :

And all the beasts of the Egyptians died (Ex. ix. 6). And it came to pass at midnight, the Lord slew . . . all the first-born of cattle (Ex. xii. 29). And all provinces came into Egypt to buy food (Gen. xlii. 57). And the famine prevailed in the whole world (Gen. xli. 54). And all the earth desired to see Solomon's face, to hear his wisdom (3 Kings x. 24). Then went out to him Jerusalem and all Judea, and all the country about Jordan; and were baptized by him in the Jordan confessing their sins (Matt. iii. 5, 6; Mark i. 5). Again I say to you, that if two of you shall consent upon earth, concerning any thing whatsoever they shall ask, it shall be done to them by my Father who is in heaven (Matt. xviii. 19). And all things whatsoever you shall ask in prayer believing, you shall receive (Matt. xxi. 22). But when he, the spirit of truth, is come, he will teach you all truth (John xvi. 13). The former treatise I made, O Theophilus, of all things, which Jesus began to do and to teach (Acts i. 1). And all that dwelt in Lydda and Saron saw him: who were converted to the Lord (Acts ix. 35). Now all the Athenians, and strangers that were there, employed themselves in nothing else but either in telling or in hearing some new thing (Acts xvii. 21). As I also in all things please all men, not seeking that which is profitable to myself, but to many: that they may be saved (1 Cor. x. 33).

The words of Paul are almost identical with the passages from Gen. vii. 21, 22:

If so ye continue in the faith, grounded and settled, and immovable from the hope of the gospel which you have heard, which is preached in all the creation that is under heaven, whereof I Paul am made a minister (Col. i. 23).

In the foregoing cases we cannot take the general words in their widest sense, but they must “be aptly restrained according to the subject-matter.” In the first quotation from Exodus the words, “all the

beasts of the Egyptians," are evidently intended for many or a majority; and in those from Genesis the word *all* means those provinces within practical reach of Egypt, and the phrase, "the whole world," certainly did not include the then unknown portions of the earth. So, in the quotation from Third Kings, the words, "all the earth," must be limited to those who knew something of Solomon. In the quotations from Matthew and Mark the word *all* must be understood for majority. In the quotations from the eighteenth and twenty-first chapters of Matthew the language is very broad; and yet it must be restrained by the subject-matter—by the nature of the theory of religion taught by Christ. Hence we find John, in the fifth chapter of his First Epistle, saying: "And this is the confidence which we have towards him: That whatsoever we shall ask according to his will, he heareth us." The quotation from John's Gospel is a very strong one, and clearly shows the importance of the rule of construction we are considering. The phrase "all truth" is very broad indeed; and yet it is clear that the Speaker did not intend His language to embrace mere scientific truth, or any other truth not necessarily connected with the purpose of His mission. These broad terms must, therefore, be aptly restrained to the great subject He was then treating, as He must be presumed to have had that, and that only, in view, unless in most explicit language He had expressly included matter not embraced within the logical scope of His discourse. When a speaker sets out to make a discourse upon a particular subject he is *prima facie* presumed to confine his remarks to that question; and his language, though wide, must be restrained to the subject he has in his mind's eye, unless the contrary most clearly appears. Judged by this rule, Christ meant by the wide terms, "all truth," only such as necessarily constituted the theory of religion He was then teaching. In other words, He only meant *all Christian truth*.

The word *all* in the several quotations from Acts means a majority or great number. The passage from Paul is also a very strong one, as illustrating the rule under consideration. He says he pleased all men in all things, which is very broad language, and which, if not aptly restrained by the subject-matter, but construed in its widest sense, would make him a heathen to please a heathen. But when we consider the subject-matter of his several epistles, taken and construed together as the productions of the same writer, his meaning becomes clear. In the fourteenth chapter of Romans he treats of certain things *indifferent*, and of the duty of the strong to bear with the weak in regard to such things; and in the last verse of the eighth chapter of First Corinthians he says: "Wherefore if meat scandalize my brother: I will never eat flesh, lest I should scandalize my brother." In regard to matters indifferent the writer "in all things pleased all men."

I will now consider how this sound rule of construction will apply to the history of the Deluge. I think it will give us the key to unlock the true intent and meaning of the historian.

In the fourth chapter of Genesis the writer gives us a very concise history of Cain, the first murderer, and furnishes us with a genealogical table of some of his descendants to Lamech, the second manslayer and first bigamist mentioned in the record. In the fifth chapter he gives us a table of Seth and some of his descendants to Noe; and in the sixth chapter he states that the sons of God—the posterity of Seth—took to them wives of the daughters of men, the descendants of Cain. In consequence of the almost total wickedness of men God determined to destroy them and all beasts and creeping things and fowls of the air within the territory to be overflowed, with the exception of those that would escape in the Ark.

This concise history does not inform us of the number of men then living upon the earth, nor to what extent the world was inhabited by men. As to these questions we can only have an opinion. I think it most probable that the population was not great, and that the portion of the globe then inhabited by men was comparatively small.\*

As the wickedness of men is represented by the writer as the *sole* cause of the Flood, the destruction of mankind must have been the main purpose intended, and that of inferior animals within the flooded

\* It is generally conceded that the present fauna existed many long ages before man appeared upon the earth. It is a general rule that long-lived mammals multiply much more slowly than the short-lived. There is generally a substantial proportion between the length of the period of infancy and that of the whole life. Thus the camel arrives at full age at about seventeen years, and lives to about fifty; while the infancy of the elephant is about thirty, and its whole life ninety. The infancy of the domestic cat is about one year, and its whole life three or four. All the smaller and all the short-lived mammals attain their growth early, and thus produce offspring early; and as each class of both the short and long-lived will have about the same number of offspring, the short-lived must necessarily multiply more rapidly and thus become much more numerous within a given period, other things being equal. Take, for example, a pair of hares and a pair of elephants at their infancy. In one year the hare will have a number of offspring; and in thirty years, when the long-lived elephant has one offspring, the descendants of the hare will be innumerable.

The genealogical table of the patriarchs found in the fifth chapter of Genesis shows that Methuselah and Henoch were sixty-five years old when they became fathers of the children whose names are given; and the other seven of the nine fathers stated were from seventy to five hundred years old before their sons named were born. This table, while it does not show that the children mentioned were their first-born, goes very far to establish the position that the youngest father was at least sixty-five years old when his first child was born. From the language of the record, and from the facts that much the longer portion of the lives of these patriarchs transpired *after* the birth of their sons mentioned, and that Noe begot his three sons when he was five hundred years old, we have reason to infer that the children whose names are given were generally among the first, if not the first, of their father's offspring; and unless these progenitors, contrary to the general rule, had a much greater number of children than men of later times, the increase of population must have been much slower than at the present day. It is true that the record expressly states that men then lived to a very great age, and that there were giants in those days; but, as the historian was careful to *expressly* inform us of those facts, it is most reasonable to suppose that he would be equally careful to state the fact that men then reared a greater number of children than they did in his own day, had such been the case. As the writer adopted the method of expressly stating two extraordinary facts, he must be presumed to have consistently carried it out as to the third one, had such fact existed.



district as merely incidental; and as it appears, from the general scope of the record, that only a portion of the earth was then inhabited by men, the action of God was intended to be limited to the accomplishment of the main and incidental purposes; and as these purposes are *plainly* stated in the record, the language of the historian, though broad, must “be aptly restrained according to the subject-matter.” We cannot suppose that the writer intended to say that God did the unnecessary act of flooding the entire earth when His purpose could be as fully accomplished by a partial deluge.

The sages of the law, according to Plowden, have ever been guided in the construction of statutes by the intention of the legislature, which they have always taken according to the necessity of the matter, and according to that which is consonant to reason and sound discretion (Broom’s *Legal Maxims*, p. 515).

This is sound common sense as well as sound law. In the case of the Deluge “the necessity of the matter” was the destruction of men and the inferior animals within the same territory, and the construction put upon the language of the historian should be governed by this “necessity.”

I have thus given my reasons for the interpretation which holds that the Deluge was but partial, without pointing out the objections to the opposite opinion that it was universal. These objections are set forth at large in *The Gentle Skeptic*, commencing on page 301, and in Smith’s *Bible Dictionary*, article “Noah,” and are too extensive for my limits.

In seeking the true interpretation of the language of this remarkable history I think we should keep steadily in view the fact that it is alleged to have been a miracle, mainly produced by the supernatural use of natural means; and that for this reason we might well expect to find in it some things hard to understand at this remote age of the world, owing to the conciseness of the narrative, the extraordinary character of the event recorded, and our inevitable ignorance of the circumstances then existing.

The foregoing remarks relate mainly to the proper construction of the language of the history of the Deluge as found in Genesis, and only incidentally to the truth of that narrative. The external and substantially confirmatory evidence of the truth of this remarkable history is found in the traditions of most, if not of all, ancient nations, especially those of Chaldæa. I can only notice them briefly.

The late lamented and learned George Smith, in his recent work, *Assyrian Discoveries*, has given the latest, fullest, and most reliable account of the Chaldæan traditions of the Flood.

I have already given, on pages 220, note, and 221–2, several extracts from this valuable work, and now submit some passages which relate to the Deluge :

In 1872, I had the good fortune to make a far more interesting discovery, namely, that of the tablets containing the Chaldæan account of the deluge. The first fragment I discovered contained about half of the account : it was the largest single fragment of these legends (*Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 13).

On the 14th of May, 1873, Mr. Smith discovered another fragment, in regard to which he states :

On cleaning one of them I found to my surprise and gratification that it contained the greater portion of seventeen lines of inscription belonging to the first column of the Chaldæan account of the Deluge, and fitting into the only place where there was a serious blank in the story (*id.* p. 97).

These legends, which I discovered in 1872, formed the subject of my lecture before the Society of Biblical Archæology on the 3rd of December, 1872, and attracted very great attention. On that occasion I principally translated the eleventh tablet in the series, which contains the Chaldæan account of the deluge. About one third of this tablet was then either mutilated or absent, and all the other tablets were in still worse condition. In my excavations at Kouyunjik I have recovered many new portions of these inscriptions, which number in all twelve tablets, and I now for the first time give an account of all the fragments.

There is still much required before the series will be complete, and I have as yet only identified six tablets out of the twelve, these are the 5th, 6th, 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th ; I have found, however, a great number of fragments of the others which will serve to fill up and illustrate the legends. Independently of the fact that these tablets give the Chaldæan account of the flood, they form one of the most remarkable series of inscriptions yet discovered. These tablets record primarily the adventures of an hero whose name I have provisionally called Izdubar. Izdubar is, however, nothing more than a makeshift name, and I am of opinion that this hero is the same as the Nimrod of the Bible (*id.* p. 165).

During the early Babylonian monarchy, from B. C. 2500 to 1500, there are constant allusions to these legends. The destruction of the lion, the divine bull, and other monsters, by Izdubar, are often depicted on the cylinders and engraved gems, and Izdubar in his boat is also on some specimens. The legend of the flood is alluded to in the inscriptions of the same epoch, and the "city of the ark" is mentioned in a geographical list, which is one of the oldest cuneiform inscriptions we possess (*id.* p. 167).

Izdubar, the hero of these legends, as I have already said, probably corresponds with the Biblical Nimrod. He is represented as a giant or mighty man, who, in the early days after the flood, destroyed wild animals, and conquered a number of petty kings, uniting their dominions into one monarchy, which stretched from the Persian Gulf on the south, to the land of Bitani or Bachtan, near Armenia, on the north. He is a representative of the beginning of empire, and a type of the great conquerors who succeeded him (*id.* p. 204).

Having given a translation of this from the tablet, I will notice the account in the Bible and that which the Greeks have handed down from Berosus, with the view to a comparison with the cuneiform account (*id.* p. 207).

Having given the account of the Deluge from Berosus, the author continues :

These accounts of the flood are translated from the Greek historians, who copied them from the works of Berosus.

Berosus was a Chaldæan priest who flourished in the third century before the Christian era, and who translated the records of Babylonia into the Greek language.

As he was well acquainted with the history of his country, it is likely that his account would have striking features of resemblance to that in the inscriptions, and this is found to be the case. The traditions of several other nations give accounts of the flood, but none of them are so full and precise as the Biblical and Chaldæan accounts; I have therefore omitted them, and confine my comparison to these three documents. The Bible, while it gives the account of the flood and the saving of Noah and his family, says nothing of the country he lived in, or the place where he built the ark. Now the cuneiform record supplies this information. It appears that after his wanderings, Izdubar comes to a city on the Persian gulf near the mouth of the Euphrates named Surippak, and this city Hasisadra tells him was the place where he himself had ruled and where he had built the ark. It is a curious fact that Surippak is called in another inscription "the ship city" or "the city of the ark" in allusion to this tradition, and the supposed maker of the flood was worshipped there as the "God of the deluge, Hea," Hea being god of the sea and the principal deity who brought the flood. These local names and traditions are a striking confirmation of the story of the deluge. It is also remarkable that Hammurabi, King of Babylonia, whose date cannot be later than the sixteenth century before the Christian era, conquered Surippak, and it is called in his inscription the "city of the ark," showing that the tradition was well known at that time, and in one earlier document the same name is given to the city. In this city before the flood it is related that there lived Ubaratutu, the Otiartes or Ardates of Berosus, and the Lamech of the Bible, and after him Adra-hasis or Hasis-adra, the Xisithrus of Berosus and the Noah of the Bible, a sage reverent and devout towards the gods. According to both the Bible and the cuneiform account the world was at this time very wicked, and the Deity resolved to destroy it as a punishment for its sin (*id.* pp. 211-13).

The author makes a minute comparison of the Biblical with the Chaldæan account of the Deluge, and near the close has, among others, the following remarks:

Not to pursue this parallel further, it will be perceived that when the Chaldæan account is compared with the Biblical narrative, in their main features the two stories fairly agree as to the wickedness of the antediluvian world, the divine anger and command to build the ark, its stocking with birds and beasts, the coming of the deluge, the rain and storm, the ark resting on a mountain, trial being made by birds sent out to see if the water had subsided, and the building of an altar after the flood. All these main facts occur in the same order in both narratives, but when we come to examine the details of these stages in the two accounts here appear numerous points of difference as to the number of people who were saved, the duration of the deluge, the place where the ark rested, the order of sending out the birds, and other similar matters (*id.* p. 218).

Lord Arundell has treated the subject of tradition in general very fully in his late able work, *Tradition*, in which he has noticed the traditions of the Flood found among different nations. I have only space for a few extracts:

It is not, I think, generally known how wide-spread these traditions are. L'Abbé Gainet has collected some thirty-five (*La Bible sans la Bible*); but Mr. Catlin says he found the tradition of a deluge among one hundred and twenty tribes which he visited in North, South, and Central America. This accords with Humboldt's testimony (Kalisch, i. p. 204), who "found the tradition of a general deluge vividly entertained among the wild tribes peopling the regions of Ori-

noco." To these I must add the evidence of the indirect testimony of the commemorative ceremonies which I have collected in another chapter. It has been said that the Chinese tradition is too obscure to be adduced, but we shall see whether, when in contact with other traditions, it cannot be made to give light; and I shall refer my readers to the pages of Mr. Palmer for evidence of the tradition in Egypt, where it had heretofore been believed that no such evidence was to be found. In India the tradition is embodied in the history of Manu and the fish; and Bunsen (*Egypt*, iii. p. 470) admits "that there is evidence in the Vedas, however slight, that the flood does form a part of the reminiscences of Iram" (*id.* p. 223, note).

The English writer of the article "Noah" in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible* says:

It seems tolerably certain that the Egyptians had no records of the Deluge, at least if we are to credit Manetho. Nor has any such record been detected on the monuments, or preserved in the mythology of Egypt.

To which broad position the American writer replies:

A friend conversant with the literature of this subject, Rev. E. Burgess, very properly suggests that this statement as to the ignorance of the Egyptians concerning a flood is too unqualified. Some Egyptologists maintain a different opinion.

The American author then gives the proofs. Upon this question I make the following quotations from Lord Arundell:

Upon either of the three former conclusions, it will be shown that traditions of the Deluge, direct or indirect, exist both in Egypt and China, where it has been so confidently asserted that no tradition is to be found; and in the latter case, what is more especially to my purpose, a tradition which brings Yao into relation with Noah and Hoang-ti.

In conclusion I must remark that when it is urged that there is no tradition, or but slight tradition, of the flood in Egypt, we have a right to reply that there is no country where we should have so little reason to expect it. If there is any country where we should think it likely that the reminiscences of the Deluge would be effaced, it would be in a country periodically subject to inundations, where the people are annually made familiar with its incidents, and where its recurrence is not to them a cause of alarm, but a matter of expectation and joy (*Tradition*, p. 70).

The American writer adds these notes to the article "Noah" in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*:

Lücken, as quoted by Auherlen, remarks, respecting these traditions among the American aborigines, that the form in which the natives relate them agrees in such a striking manner with the Bible history that we cannot blame the astonished Spaniards if on their first discovery of that continent, they believed, on account of these and similar traditions, that the Apostle Thomas must have preached Christianity there. Truly we must regard it as a work of Providence that this new world, which, perhaps for centuries, unknown to the rest of mankind and separated from them, followed their own course of training, when suddenly discovered in the midst of the light of historical times, shows at once an agreement with the traditions of the old world, which must convince even the most incredulous that all mankind must originally have drunk from the same common source of intellectual life.

“These primeval traditions of the human race,” says Auberlen, “illustrate as much the historical credibility of the Mosaic writings, even in their minute recitals, as they do their essential purity and elevation, in contrast with the heathen myths. In this latter respect it will be seen especially how Israel only, together with the fact, maintains at the same time the innermost idea of the fact; while the heathen preserve the external forms remarkably enough, but clothe them with fantastic and national costumes. There is a difference here similar to that between the canonical and apocryphal Gospels.”

I will add some further extracts from Lord Arundell :

Although the greater number of these traditions have been localised, yet in almost every case we shall find embodied in them some one incident or other of the universal Deluge, as recorded by Moses. Kalisch (*Hist. and Crit. Commentary on the Old Testament*) says: “It is unnecessary to observe that there is scarcely a single feature in the biblical account which is not discovered in one or several of the heathen traditions; and the coincidences are not limited to desultory details, they extend to the whole outlines, and the very tenor and spirit of the narrative, . . . and it is certain that none of these accounts are derived from the pages of the Bible—they are independent of each other. . . . There must indisputably have been a common basis, a universal source, and this source is the general tradition of primitive generations” (*Tradition*, p. 223, note).

If, then, in the two most ancient traditions of which we have any record, we find concordance on some points and divergence on others, the circumstance of identity at all is so much more startling than the occurrence of discrepancy, that it will fairly be taken to warrant the presumption of a common origin; and this conformity will also be naturally claimed in support of our narrative as against the other on the points of disagreement, which will then be set down to the corruption of that which is deemed the most ancient and authentic (*id.* p. 130).

BOULANGER (1722–59), a freethinker, and the friend and correspondent of Voltaire, was so dominated by his belief in the universal Deluge as a fact, that he made its consequences the foundation of all his theories. Writing in the midst of a scepticism very much resembling that of the present day, he says, “What! you believe in the Deluge?” Such will be the exclamation of a certain school of opinion, and this school a very large one. Nevertheless, this profound writer, by the exigencies of his theory, was irresistibly brought to the recognition of the fact. “We must take,” he continues, “a fact in the tradition of mankind, the truth of which shall be universally recognised. What is it? I do not see any, of which the evidence is more generally attested, than those which have transmitted to us that famous physical revolution which, they tell us, has altered the face of our globe, and which has occasioned a total renovation of human society: in a word, the Deluge appears to me the true starting-point in the history of nations. Not only is the tradition which has transmitted this fact the most ancient of all, but it is moreover clear and intelligible; it presents a fact which can be justified and confirmed” (*id.* p. 242).

It will be seen that Lord Arundell speaks of a universal Deluge. In regard to the question whether it was universal or partial geographically, he says :

In speaking, however, of the universal Deluge (universal as far as the human race are concerned), I do not enter into the geological argument, or exclude the view that it was not geographically universal. I merely adhere to the testimony of tradition, and from this point of view it would suffice that it was universal so far as the horizon of the survivors extended (*id.* p. 224, note).

The position advanced by Lord Arundell—that the agreement of all the traditions of the Deluge in certain marked respects is far more weighty as a matter of evidence of a common origin than the divergencies in other respects are as negative proof against such common origin—would seem to be a very sound one, and to be sustained by the nature of the case. It is a well-settled principle in the law of evidence that one affirmative witness is more to be relied upon than several merely negative witnesses, assuming the integrity of the witnesses to be equally good. The fact that an honest affirmative witness claims to remember the circumstances of a case shows his vigilance and attention; while the negative witness may have simply forgotten the facts, as it is so much easier, as a general rule, to forget than to remember. So the fact that the traditions of so many different nations agree in one or more respects with regard to the Deluge is a very strong evidence that they are all derived from the same great original source, and that the subordinate particulars in which they disagree with the plain, intelligible Mosaic history of that remarkable event have been produced by local pride, the policy of rulers, or the mythological speculations of individuals.

When Paul said (Hebrews ix. 22) that “without the shedding of blood there is no remission,” he expressed the almost, if not the entire, universal sentiment of mankind in his day, and, so far as we can historically trace the fact, of all preceding ages.

The Egyptian sacrifices were of animals and vegetables, with libations of wine, and burning of incense (*Encyc. Brit.*, vii. p. 719). The Assyrians worshipped their gods chiefly with sacrifices and offerings. . . . With respect to the mode of sacrifice we have only a small amount of information, derived from a very few bas-reliefs. These unite in representing the bull as the special sacrificial animal (Rawlinson, *Five Monarchies*, ii. p. 34). The sacrifices of the Zoroastrians were never human. The ordinary victim was the horse; and we hear of occasions on which a single individual sacrificed as many as ten of these animals (*id.* ii. p. 339).

Speaking of the Magian or Persian rites, the historian says:

Victims were not offered on these fire altars. When a sacrifice took place, a fire was laid hard-by with logs of dry wood, stripped of their bark, and this was lighted from the flame which burned on the altar. On the fire thus kindled was consumed a small part of the fat of the victim; but the rest was cut into joints, boiled, and eaten or sold by the worshippers (*id.* iii. p. 359). There can be no doubt that sacrifice was sanctioned by God's Law, with a special typical reference to the Atonement of Christ; its universal prevalence, independent of, and often opposed to man's natural reasonings on his relation to God, shows it to have been primeval, and deeply rooted in the instincts of humanity (*Smith's Bible Dictionary*, iv. p. 2770).

It is needless to dwell on the universality of heathen sacrifices (*id.* iv. p. 2773).

I cannot find in the authorities at hand any express statement as to whether the Chaldæans offered sacrifices to their gods or not. But

from its prevalence among all neighboring nations it is fair to presume that it was also the practice of that people.

This universal prevalence of the worship by bloody sacrifices among the nations of ancient times is, in my best judgment, one of the most invincible proofs of the unity of the human race, and one of the strongest and clearest evidences of the general credibility of the Mosaic history; because it shows that the origin of the race must have been the one related in the early chapters of Genesis, and this practice of offering bloody sacrifices is readily traceable back to the act of Noe offering sacrifice after the Deluge, as recorded in the eighth chapter, and even back to Abel, as stated in the fourth. Such an universal practice could not have been accidental. How clearly all the main and earliest traditions of our race centre in the Mosaic account of the creation and of Noe and the Flood! Strike out the record of those notable events and the history of mankind becomes confused and unintelligible. And whatever may or can be said about the apparent difficulties in accepting that history, the real difficulties involved in its rejection, I apprehend, are far greater and more difficult of comprehension.

The various traditions regarding the Deluge are very well stated in *The Gentle Skeptic*, p. 207, and also in Smith's *Bible Dictionary*, article "Noah."

## CHAPTER IX.

### THE PENTATEUCH—INTERNAL EVIDENCE.

I COME now to speak of the internal evidence apparent upon the face of the record itself. Strong as the external proof undoubtedly is, I think it inferior to that *internal* evidence accessible to all.

In regard to the nature of human testimony the profound and philosophic Starkie says :

Truth is necessarily consistent with itself ; in other words, all facts which really did happen, did actually consist and agree with each other (Starkie's *Ess.*, p. 47).

The *nature* of such coincidences is most important : are they natural ones, which bear not the marks of artifice and premeditation ? Do they occur in points obviously material, or in minute and remote points which were not likely to be material, or in matters the importance of which could not have been foreseen ? The number of such coincidences is also worthy of the most attentive consideration : human cunning, to a certain extent, may fabricate coincidences, even with regard to minute points, the more effectually to deceive ; but the coincidences of art and invention are necessarily circumscribed and limited, while those of truth are indefinite and unlimited (*id.* p. 552).

So, on the other hand, it is exceedingly difficult by artful practice to create circumstances which shall wear the appearance of truth, and tend effectually to a false conclusion. The number of such circumstances must of necessity be limited in their nature ; they must be such as are capable of fabrication by an interested party, and such that their materiality might be foreseen (*id.* p. 585).

The style of the writer of Genesis is so simple, sublime, pure, and appropriate as at once to stamp the author as one of the few great and privileged minds of our race ; and, taken in connection with the extraordinary scientific knowledge shown by him in his account of creation, marks him, beyond all reasonable doubt, as an inspired writer. The *substantial* agreement of the facts so plainly yet concisely stated in his grand old history with the truths of the science of geology (only made known by the discoveries of the last one hundred years) is, indeed, one of the strongest proofs of the inspired truth of his record. It is evidence of that clear and happy kind most difficult to confute, evade, or explain away. This confirmative evidence comes, too, at a period when it seems to be most needed, and looks as if providential in the *time* of its appearance.

It is true that in a few subordinate respects there are some apparent discrepancies between that narrative and the science of geology as at *present* understood ; yet their substantial agreement



in their great and essential features is so remarkable that we have every reason to believe that these apparent differences arise from our generally conceded imperfect *present* knowledge of the true geological record. There seems to be the soundest truth in the position of Cardinal Wiseman that the best way to answer newly-alleged scientific objections against the truth of the Mosaic record is to study such sciences more deeply, and thus to turn these objections against it into arguments in its support. Owing to the limited capacity of the human mind, which cannot possibly contain and comprehend all the constituent elements of a great theory at the same time, but is compelled to study and weigh each separately, we are forced to rely upon the main and most important features of a case. As a general rule, he who founds or rejects a theory upon exceptional cases or upon minor particulars will arrive at erroneous conclusions. Were a short-sighted man to stand for the first time upon the bank of the great Mississippi, and were his vision limited to the eddies that run upstream along the shore, and were he at once sworn in court to testify, from his own personal knowledge, as to the course of the stream, he would unhesitatingly depose that the mighty river ran north instead of south.

In the first chapter of Genesis, when *separately* speaking of the light and other objects made during the six days of creation, the writer alleges that "God saw it was good." But when the historian represents the Creator as contemplating His works *collectively* in their relations with each other, he says: "God saw all things that he had made: and they were very good." He does not say that they were the best or the very best, but simply that God pronounced them *very* good. This shows that the author, at that early day, either possessed the great capacity to understand the lesser value of things when estimated separately, and their much greater worth when taken in all their relations with each other, or that he simply related a fact he was inspired to record. It also shows that he had too high an estimate of the infinite power of God to justify him in representing the Creator as the author of the best possible universe, but only as the maker of one very good. Besides this obvious view, I think that the *first* fabricator of a fictitious history of creation (there being in existence no previous true tradition or written history to imitate) would almost certainly have represented his creator as exerting his utmost powers. This he would have done to give himself the greater importance as the historian recording the mightiest efforts of his alleged deity.

The command alleged to have been given by God to Adam and Eve in the garden was precisely suited to their condition. It did not prohibit the general crimes often committed by men in a state of society, as society did not then exist. But limited as the law was to

a single act, some law was necessary to place them in their proper relation as creatures under government to their Creator as the governing party.

The history of the Deluge is so simple and natural that it does not, as Mr. Starkie says, "bear the marks of artifice and premeditation." The object of the writer was to state the cause of God's anger, the mode and measure of the punishment, and the fact and manner of the escape of the survivors. He does not, therefore, go into minute details of painful and exciting incidents, or mention the names of the noted individuals who perished, or resort to any other means to increase the tragical character of his narrative and thus to attract and fix the attention of his readers, but simply says: "And all things wherein there is the breath of life on the earth, died."

The fact that Noe first sent forth a raven, and then a dove, is so natural, appropriate, and beautiful that no forger of a fiction would have been likely to think of it—the incident, in its nature, being so utterly incompatible with the very essence of a fraudulent mind.

The raven is a very bold, hardy, carnivorous bird, and could live upon the floating carcasses, and the sending him forth as the *first* messenger was apparently a most reasonable act; but as he did not return until the waters were dried up, the gentle and vegetable-feeding dove was sent after him as more certain to return in case the waters were still upon the earth. The second time she returned with the olive-branch. From this fact, most probably, arose the custom among men of regarding the olive-branch as the emblem of peace.

The history of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob and their families is so simple, natural, and consistent with the alleged circumstances that it bears the plain marks of truth upon its face. It does not assume to give us a formal geographical description of countries or a set history of peoples; but it relates the leading incidents in the lives of certain individuals, and, in doing so, states facts from which we may gather some knowledge of the character and condition of the countries mentioned, and much information regarding the then state of society, manners, and customs. The narrative describes so well the condition of a new country just partially settled, the pastoral character and riches of the people, their warm, unbounded hospitality, and other particulars, that any one who has been himself a pioneer in the settlement of new countries will at once recognize the fidelity and truth of the picture. Then the history keeps pace with the advancing improvement of the countries mentioned, and it is so true to the very nature of such a state that it is hard to believe it to be a fiction.

The history of the separation of Abram and Lot (Gen. xiii.) is very simple, clear, and reasonable, and gives us a fair insight into the condition of a new country undergoing the process of gradual settlement. The separate herds of the two men had become too large for one locality, and a strife *first* very naturally arose between their herdsmen. Then the mind of Abram, the older and more reflective man of the two—he most probably remembering the great mission he had yet to fulfil, and cherishing the warmest affection for his nephew, whom he called his brother—rose with the occasion; and he said, in language at once so natural, beautiful, and tender: “Let there be no quarrel, I beseech thee, between me and thee, and between my herdsmen and thy herdsmen: for we are brethren.”

It is related (xv. 9, 10) that God directed Abram to take three beasts and two birds; and that, in obedience to this command, he divided the beasts in the midst, and laid the two *pieces* of each, one against the other: “And the fowls came down upon the carcasses, and Abram drove them away.”

Whoever has read the fine description given by Sir Samuel W. Baker of the vultures of Abyssinia, and how quickly they will pounce down upon a carcass, or even upon a piece of red flannel, will at once recognize the truth of this statement. It is one of those simple, collateral facts, not at all material to the main thread of the history, which no writer of a fictitious narrative would ever have thought of.

In the eighteenth chapter it is recorded that Abraham entertained as guests three angels in the form of men; and the description of this hospitable incident is most reasonable, as it is so consistent with the social customs of a young or pastoral people. Although he was rich in men and maid servants (xii. 16), and even in gold and silver (xiii. 2), yet he ran *himself* “to the herd, and took from thence a calf very tender and very good, and gave it to a young man: who made haste and boiled it.” So profound and sincere was the respect he had for his guests that he would not trust a servant to make the selection of a calf for the banquet; and when the repast was spread under a tree he respectfully stood by them while they were eating.\*

\* I have often seen people in new countries eating their regular meals under the shade of some forest tree because there was not room in the cabin. I well remember a case which occurred at my father's new home in Clay County, Missouri, in the early fall of 1832. We had that day a house-raising, and many of our neighbors came to help us, according to the hospitable custom prevalent in new localities. The *long* table was constructed under a large oak by driving into the ground pairs of wooden forks at intervals of a few feet apart, putting cross-poles into the forks, and then placing rough planks upon the poles. While eating dinner a large, ripe acorn fell from the tree into the plate of one of the guests and broke it into many pieces. This incident occasioned a hearty laugh, as all were surprised and none injured.

In the early spring of 1837 the Platte Purchase was added to the State of Missouri. This large district lay immediately west of the old State line; and, when annexed, nearly every quarter-section of good land was occupied as soon as possible, as the locators were reasonably certain that they would obtain a pre-emption to their locations, and be allowed by the government to enter the lands at the nominal price of one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre. In this expectation time proved that they were right.

The dominant power of social customs is shown in the sad case of Lot (xix. 6-9), who offered to give up his two daughters to vindicate the sacred rights of hospitality under the shadow of his own roof.

Abraham in his old age (xxiv.) was desirous to take a wife for his son Isaac, then forty years of age, from his own kindred; and, having been previously told that his brother Nachor, who lived in Mesopotamia, had several children, among whom was Bathuel, the father of Rebecca (xxii. 20-23), he sent "the elder servant of his house, who was ruler over all he had," upon a most important and confidential mission to his nephew, requiring the servant first to swear that he would discharge his duty faithfully.

There is nothing *expressly* said in the narrative in praise or commendation of this trusted servant; but the *simple facts* as recorded prove him to have been most faithful and full of love and admiration for his master. "O Lord the God of my master Abraham, meet me to-day, I beseech thee, and shew kindness to my master Abraham," was the natural prayer of such a servant. Nothing could better illustrate the kindly relations of a good master and faithful servant than the simple facts of this case. The language, style, and incidents of this narrative, and those of the inimitable history of Joseph, are so eloquently simple, so exquisitely beautiful, and apparently so true that I confess I never can read them, or either of them, without the deepest emotion. They are like masterpieces of statuary or painting, the beauties of which grow upon you in proportion as they are the more attentively examined.

This most peculiar manner of taking an oath is mentioned in this and the forty-seventh chapter, and is nowhere else to be found in the Old Testament. This is one of the many archaisms found in the Pentateuch which prove it to be the oldest composition in the Bible.

In reference to the death of Abraham the historian says: "And decaying he died in a good old age . . . and was gathered to his people" (xxv. 8). The same expression, "gathered to his people," is applied to Ismael, Isaac, Jacob, and Aaron.

This expression is *first* applied to Abraham, and is *only* found in the writings attributed to Moses; which archaism is strong evidence not only that the writer of Genesis was the author of Exodus, but

Being then engaged in mercantile business in Liberty, some ten miles east of the old line, and in Barry, immediately upon it, I had for several years to travel on horseback over the four new counties into which this most fertile district was divided, as we had sold our goods to the new settlers on credit and it became necessary to make collections. There were few if any hotels, and all the provisions had to be purchased in the old counties and transported in wagons many miles over bad roads to the new homes of the settlers. Yet under these distressing circumstances it was hard, if not impossible, to find a settler who would refuse to entertain me, or be willing, after having done so, to receive any compensation. He would say: "I have never yet charged any one for staying all night at my house." This display of hospitality took place in the long-ago, but it is still green in my memory and dear to my heart. I witnessed the same in Oregon from 1843 to 1848.

that the Pentateuch is the oldest composition in the Bible.\* After the Israelites arrived in the promised land the expression used by later Biblical writers is, "he slept with his fathers." God said to Moses: "Behold thou shalt sleep with thy fathers" (Deut. xxxi. 16).

When the historian of the Pentateuch uses his own language he invariably says "gathered to his people"; but the facts that God Himself, just before the death of Moses, said, "thou shalt sleep with thy fathers," and that the term *sleep* points to a future state, seem to be the reasons why all later Biblical writers use the same expression. In the twentieth chapter of Numbers God said, "Let Aaron go to his people"; and to Moses himself, "thou also shalt go to thy people, as thy brother Aaron is gone" (Num. xxvii. 13), and "thou shalt be gathered to thy people, as Aaron thy brother died in mount Hor, and was gathered to his people" (Deut. xxxii. 50).

In the last verse of the twenty-fourth chapter of Genesis it is recorded that Isaac "loved Rebecca so much that it moderated the sorrow which was occasioned by his mother's death."

This statement is perfectly consistent with the alleged fact that Isaac, though a very rich and powerful man in his day, never had but one wife, although his father, Abraham, and Isaac's two sons had a plurality of wives.

It is related in the thirty-seventh chapter of Genesis that when the other nine brethren of Joseph proposed to kill him, Ruben endeavored most earnestly to deliver Joseph out of their hands, and was, in fact, the cause of saving his life. How did it happen that *only* Ruben, one of the ten brethren, was the most merciful of all, when he, being the first-born of his father and of his father's first wife, had much more apparent cause of enmity against Joseph than any of the rest?

\* "One phrase which indicates strongly the very early origin of the book is that used to denote the death of an Israelite. He is said 'to be gathered to his people'; while in the later writings he is said 'to be gathered to his fathers.' The nation not yet being settled in the land of promise, the 'fathers' are not spoken of. A peculiar word is used in the Pentateuch to denote *species, kind*, of animals and plants twenty-eight times, and is *never* used in later writings, with but one exception, when Ezekiel (xlvii. 10) most obviously quotes the language of the Pentateuch, Genesis i. 21. A peculiar phrase is used twenty-one times to signify the relation of the sexes. Fourteen times a peculiar word is used for lamb. A peculiar word for *laugh* is used thirteen times, or rather a peculiar spelling of a word. A peculiar word is used fifty times for goat which is *never* used for that animal in the other books. A word is used for *female* twenty-one times in the Pentateuch, and never in the other writings except by Jeremiah (xxxii. 22), with evident reference to the old usage. *Nepheesh* is used eighteen times for 'creature' and but once elsewhere, Ezekiel xlvi. 9. Such is a specimen of the 'archaic' words and phrases used in this book. Dr. Jahn, who made a special examination of these 'archaisms,' after omitting all words which treat of subjects peculiar to the Pentateuch, such as names of towns, villages, nations, men; of diseases and symptoms of diseases; of blemishes in sacrifices, priests, men, and women; of parts of the tabernacle, and its altars, curtains, and furniture,—in short, after the omission of *all* words which were used to signify things or ideas not spoken of in the later books,—found over two hundred words, used from two to two hundred times each, which are peculiar to the Pentateuch. When we consider the meagre vocabulary of Hebrew words, this number is a very large one, and is conclusive evidence that the book was composed in a period remote from that in which the other Hebrew books were written" (Dr. Stobbs in *A Study of the Pentateuch*, p. 168).

We read in the thirty-fifth chapter that Ruben had previously committed a grievous offence against his father; but this wrong was committed under the impulses of inordinate passion, and was of such a nature that subsequent calm reflection would induce Ruben to regret it most sincerely. The repentant Ruben was not, therefore, prepared to commit another and still greater crime against his aged father by slaying his youngest and favorite son. This accounts for Ruben's intense sorrow when he found not his brother in the pit. After their first interview with Joseph in Egypt Ruben said to the others: "Did not I say to you: Do not sin against the boy: and you would not hear me? Behold his blood is required" (xlii. 22).

This is one of those undesigned coincidences that no forger of a fictitious narrative would have thought of. A forger would have made Ruben, if anything different, worse than all the others.

The narrative of the several conferences of Joseph with his brethren is exceedingly simple, natural, and consistent with the alleged circumstances. It is stated that upon their first meeting he knew them, but that they did not know him (xlii. 8). This statement is most reasonable, because Joseph was only about seventeen years old when he was sold by his brethren (xxxvii. 2), but was thirty when he first stood before the king (xli. 46). In the meantime he had changed in appearance very much, and was found in a position where they had not the slightest expectation of seeing him. It was very natural that they should not know him under the circumstances; but, as they were much older than himself and came from his father's country, he would readily recognize them. Upon their second meeting after their return he inquired if their father was still living, and they answered that he was (xliii. 27, 28); yet when he made himself known to them he said: "I am Joseph: is my father yet living?" That he should, under the state of deep excitement, so simply and beautifully described, *again* ask this question *already* answered was most natural. So the exclamation of old Jacob, when convinced that his noble son was yet alive, is not less consistent: "It is enough for me, if Joseph my son be yet living: I will go, and see him before I die."

I do not believe that the writer of a fiction would ever have included all the features of this most beautiful history. It is not in the nature of a fraudulent mind to do so. There is something in the very *spirit* of a true narrative above the capacity of the forger. He does not feel, he does not appreciate, that which is true; and he cannot, therefore, successfully imitate it.

After recording the death of Joseph there is a substantial chasm in the history of the Israelites during a period of over three hundred years and until about the time of Moses. We are only informed of their rapid increase in numbers, and of their grievous oppression by

a new king of Egypt "who knew not Joseph." Not a single name of any leading man among them is given or an incident stated in the history of any individual. We can gather from the concise narrative that they remained a separate people, and seemed to have remembered the dying declaration of Joseph that they should at some future but indefinite period go out from Egypt to the land promised to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. So, in respect to Moses himself, not a word is said or an incident related in regard to his history from his early infancy to his mature manhood. Then from his flight to near the age of eighty little is said, except the statement of his marriage and his occupation as a shepherd. There is also a chasm of some thirty-seven or eight years in the history of the Exodus, during which time nothing is said about the occupation and condition of the people, except that a list of their various encampments is given.

Now, I think the forger of a fiction would never have left these chasms in his pretended narrative. His proud desire to appear able and diligent would have prevented him from doing so. Especially would the author of a fictitious history have dilated upon the assumed incidents in the boyhood of his hero. Childhood is a most interesting period in life; and all people are fond of children and love to read accounts of them, especially of those that afterwards become distinguished.

But the writer of the Pentateuch, having in view to show the great mission of the Israelites, only states such facts as are generally material to his main purpose. For example, he states (Gen. xxxix. 6) that "Joseph was of a beautiful countenance, and comely to behold"; but this was necessary as a reason why he was tempted by Putiphar's wife, and, in part, why he was so generally popular with the Egyptians. So the few incidents mentioned in the history of the Israelites during the long period between the death of Joseph and the time of Moses are given because they are necessary to explain the Exodus. It is also stated that Moses was "a goodly child" (Ex. ii. 2), because this was a reason for the great care taken by his mother to save the child's life, and, most probably, one of the reasons why he was adopted by the daughter of the king as her own son.

The history of the oppression of the Israelites by the kings of Egypt seems to me to be conformable to human nature, and shows those monarchs to have been cool, able, and cruel rulers. It must be confessed that, as the proud monarchs of an old and great nation, they were placed in a most difficult position. If they let the Israelites go they would diminish the productive industry of the country and tarnish the glory of the throne in the estimation of their own people; and if they retained them, under their then present disproportionate rate of increase, it was only a plain matter of calculation to see what would most likely be the ultimate result. It is most pro-

bable that the Israelites were not employed and trusted as soldiers, and this would leave the Egyptians to fight the battles of the nation, and thus to incur and suffer all the losses of war.

The new monarch who "knew not Joseph," knowing that the Egyptians and Israelites constituted separate and irreconcilable populations, that the Israelites were increasing more rapidly than his own people, and foreseeing the probable ultimate result and still deciding *forcibly* to retain the Israelites, determined to adopt measures to prevent their undue increase. "Come let us," said he, "wisely oppress them, lest they multiply: and if any war shall arise against us, join with our enemies, and having overcome us, depart out of the land" (Ex. i. 10).

His first measure was to set over them masters of the works to afflict them with burdens. It was usual in those times for rulers to build cities by the aid of slave-labor. But as slavery does not usually prevent but generally accelerates the increase of population, this tyrannical experiment not only failed, but increased the evil it was intended to repress. As it is most natural for a tyrant, and especially for a *defeated* tyrant, to hate and fear his victims the more intensely in proportion to his injustice and disappointment, we have every reason to suppose that this ruler was greatly exasperated and alarmed, and was thus induced to adopt the cruel political expedient of destroying the male children.

Though his orders to the midwives and to his own people were to destroy *all* the male children of the Israelites, we must think, judging from the nature of the case, that he did not desire or anticipate a strict and full execution of his decree, as such a result would have soon defeated his main purpose itself. His object being, not to destroy all the males, but simply to prevent the dangerous increase of the Israelites, he was probably statesman enough to know that such an extreme measure, so abhorrent to the sympathies of mankind, could not be executed in full, but only so far as to accomplish the purpose intended. By ordering *all* to be destroyed he supposed he would succeed in destroying a sufficient number. He was at the same time desirous to retain the services of the Israelites as slaves and yet prevent their dangerous increase. With him it seems to have been an incessant struggle between the passions of pride, ambition, and avarice on the one hand and the fear of future consequences on the other.

After proving their commission to the satisfaction of the Israelites, Moses and Aaron went in boldly to the then king and said: "Thus saith the Lord God of Israel: Let my people go that they may sacrifice to me in the desert." But as they then performed no miracle and gave no convincing proof of their great mission, he made, for a man with his views and occupying his position, this natural reply:



“Who is the Lord that I should hear his voice, and let Israel go? I know not the Lord, neither will I let Israel go.”

The monarch was evidently offended at this bold demand; and, finding that former measures had failed to prevent the increase of the Israelites, he increased their burdens by denying them straw to make bricks, and still requiring the usual daily quantity to be made. The officers of the children of Israel, having been cruelly beaten with whips by Pharaoh's task-masters, cried out to the king against the injustice, to whom he made this reply in part: “You are idle, and therefore you say: Let us go and sacrifice to the Lord.”

This answer was perfectly natural for such a man in such a position. In point of sarcasm it is very similar to the sentence pronounced by the great Roman Emperor Trajan against Ignatius: “We command that Ignatius, who says that he carries about within him one who was crucified, be carried by soldiers in chains to the great city of Rome, there to be devoured by wild beasts, for the public gratification.”

Upon the second interview with the king Moses and Aaron performed certain signs; but as the magicians did the same, he did not believe. During the third interview another wonderful sign was performed by them, and the magicians did the same and the king remained incredulous. But after the fourth meeting, and after the plague of frogs had infested the king's house and bed-chamber, although the magicians also did as Moses and Aaron had done, he implored them to pray to the Lord to take away the frogs, promising to let the people go. The first plague had not afflicted the king *personally* so much as the second. When the frogs had disappeared the king hardened his heart and violated his promise. The third plague had no effect upon the mind of the monarch, although the power of the magicians failed, and they said to him, “This is the finger of God.” The fourth plague was more effectual and induced the monarch to propose a compromise, saying: “Go and sacrifice to your God in this land.” This being refused, he again promised to let the people go; but when the plague of flies ceased the king again failed to keep his word. The fifth plague, of murrain among cattle, and the sixth, of boils in men and beasts, had no effect; but the seventh plague, that of terrible hail and thunder, while it continued, induced the monarch to acknowledge his sin and that of his people, and he again promised to let the Israelites go; but when the plague ceased he again violated his word. Upon being threatened by Moses and Aaron with the eighth plague, that of locusts, and implored by his own servants to let the people go, the king proposed, as a second compromise, that the *men only* might go. This proposition being rejected, the terrible plague of locusts appeared, and “Pharaoh in haste called Moses and Aaron and said to them: I have sinned against the

Lord your God, and against you. But now forgive me my sin this time also, and pray to the Lord your God, that he take away from me this death." But, as before, when the plague ceased he refused to let them go. The ninth plague, that of darkness, had such an effect upon the king that he proposed a third compromise, saying: "Go, sacrifice to the Lord: let your sheep only, and herds remain, let your children go with you." This third proposition being promptly and peremptorily rejected, the monarch became exasperated and indignantly said to Moses: "Get thee from me, and beware thou see not my face any more: in what day soever thou shalt come in my sight thou shalt die."

Joseph having been the saviour of the Egyptian people during the great famine, and the invitation to Jacob and his family to make Egypt their home having been a national act, and the subsequent enslavement and most rigorous oppression of the Israelites having been in violation of national good faith and the sacred rights of hospitality and gratitude, the sin of the Egyptians, in their national capacity, was most grievous; and, as there is no supernal existence for nations, they can only be punished in this world, and they never learn, as a general rule, except through suffering. The punishments alleged to have been inflicted by God upon the Egyptian people were, therefore, not only just in themselves under the whole alleged circumstances, but they were useful, though temporarily severe, in teaching that nation justice and wisdom.

The rulers of Egypt must at all times have been substantially acquainted with the circumstances under which the people of Israel became residents of that country, and of the traditionary expectation that they would sooner or later go to the promised land.

The first great national sin of enslaving the Israelites, under the circumstances stated, having been accomplished, and the Egyptian government and people having once enjoyed the benefits of slave-labor (which, while so soothing to their pride and ambition, and so profitable to the national purse, had not cost them even a battle or a rebellious struggle on the part of the slaves to regain their freedom), the successors of the first tyrant could plausibly insist that the slavery of the Israelites had become an established institution of the kingdom by the act of their predecessor, and could not afterward be abolished without great injury to the nation. As with individuals, so with nations, the greater the original sin, and the greater the injustice but profit of its continuance, the more difficult will become its confession and reformation; because, in such a case, it costs so much more humiliation and laceration of mind to admit the wrong and so much greater loss to repair the injury. This, in part, accounts for the extreme obstinacy and vacillating conduct of the Pharaoh before whom Moses and Aaron appeared.

I think another reason (aside from his own personal wickedness) for his obstinacy and fickleness is to be found in the nature of the proofs offered. The miracles performed, except the last plague, had somewhat the appearance of natural events, as they were miraculous only in their greater intensity and in the manner and time of their production. The first nine plagues were produced through the agency of Moses and Aaron, while the tenth was caused by the act of God without the intervention of human agency. The magicians were also able to perform the first three signs ; but their power failed at the fourth, and they never had any power to take away the two plagues they could produce, but the king was compelled to go to Moses and Aaron for relief. This fact, and the circumstance that Aaron's rod swallowed up the rods of the magicians, showed the superiority of Moses and Aaron, even in the beginning. Still, it seems probable that the power of the magicians, limited as it was, caused some doubt in the mind of a wicked and obstinate ruler, who was seeking every excuse for his acts, and could only be induced to do justice by overwhelming force.

The first plague did not seem to affect Pharaoh personally ; but the extreme surprise and unusual discomfort produced by the frogs, which entered into his home, bed-chamber, and even into his bed, caused him, in the moment of his distress, to promise to let the children of Israel go. Mere pests, not fatal but simply inconvenient, are soon forgotten. When the danger had passed and he had had an opportunity to reflect upon an occurrence wearing somewhat the appearance of a natural event, and after the persistent and powerful passions of pride, ambition, and avarice had had time to operate upon such a mind, he violated his hastily given promise.

But when the fourth plague, of flies, appeared (which must have been about as annoying as the frogs), he again promised to let the people go upon the taking away of the flies. But when this affliction was over (it having been removed notwithstanding the previous violation of his first promise) he as readily violated this one ; and so with his succeeding promises. As relief was obtained *as often* as he implored it and renewed his previous promise, he still persisted in repeated violations of his word. This conduct was perfectly consistent with the character of such a man in such a position.

God had two purposes to accomplish : *first*, the deliverance of the chosen people ; *second*, the ultimate vindication of His power and justice in punishing and instructing, if necessary, the Egyptian nation. And as nations can only be corrected by afflicting the people who compose them, the ten plagues were *general* as to the Egyptians themselves.

It was the plain duty of the king to have released the oppressed people upon the first demand made through their leaders, and thus

to have gained the merit of promptly performing this great act of national justice without compulsion. To allow him the opportunity to do so Moses and Aaron, upon their first appearance before him, simply made the demand, but gave him no miraculous proofs of their mission and made no threats of punishment. But as he refused to do justice, they, in their second interview, gave him miraculous evidence of their having been sent from God. As he still remained obstinate, it was proper that the mildest plagues should be *first* sent, in order that Pharaoh and his people might have the further opportunity of doing early justice to the oppressed Israelites. But when they still unjustly and obstinately refused to let the people go the plagues were increased in severity, until finally it was necessary to destroy the first-born of man and beasts.

It is alleged that God hardened the heart of Pharaoh, and that Pharaoh hardened his own heart.

The king was the efficient cause of hardening his heart. As to the acts of God in hardening the heart of the monarch, I think they were accomplished partly by the nature of the proofs offered, but mainly by God permitting such hardness of heart and withdrawing grace from him in just punishment of his pride and malice.

The whole history of this case, when carefully considered, I must think bears upon its face the plain marks of a true account. The forger of a fiction would never have so framed his narrative as to show the long-suffering patience of God in affording this wicked king so many opportunities of doing justice and thus escaping punishment. Such a writer would have made his god inflict great and decisive punishment upon the *first* refusal to obey his orders. Prompt and terrible punishment would have been the rule with such a writer, in order simply to exhibit the grandeur and power of his deity. Merciful and reasonable forbearance would not have been thought of unless the writer was but imitating some previously existing true tradition or written history.

When the officers of the children of Israel had cried out to Pharaoh against the grievous injustice of his increased exactions, and when their applications had been denied with *added* insult, they left his presence in despair. Moses and Aaron had been waiting outside to learn the result of their appeal for justice :

And they said to them: The Lord see and judge, because you have made our savour to stink before Pharaoh and his servants, and you have given him a sword, to kill us. And Moses returned to the Lord, and said: Lord, why hast thou afflicted this people? wherefore hast thou sent me? For since the time that I went in to Pharaoh to speak in thy name, he hath afflicted thy people: and thou hast not delivered them (Ex. v. 21-23).

In answer to this touching appeal God renewed His promise to deliver the children of Israel, and commanded Moses to tell them so.

And Moses told all this to the children of Israel: **but they did not hearken to him, for anguish of spirit and most painful work** (Ex. vi. 9).

The despair of the officers, and the apparent doubt of even Moses himself, were most consistent with human nature under the alleged circumstances. God had foretold the miraculous deliverance of the people, but had not foretold their increased oppression by the king; and, not understanding God's untold methods, when they saw, instead of a happy deliverance, only augmented misery, the disappointment must have been appalling. The few signs as yet performed by Moses and Aaron in attestation of their mission were not of such a conclusive nature as to leave no room for doubt in the minds of suffering men. Extreme present suffering impairs men's capacity to reason. Even the wisest men can be sometimes goaded into temporary impatience. Moses did not reproach the officers for their unbelief, but in his distress at once applied to God for further assurance and direction. And when the people still refused to "hearken to him, for anguish of spirit and most painful work," he had no reproach or hard word for them.

And after they had witnessed the ten plagues inflicted upon the Egyptians, and had, by Pharaoh's consent and at the urgent request of his people, taken their departure, they most unexpectedly saw the armed hosts of the Egyptians behind them, and they feared exceedingly, and in their extreme terror said to Moses :

Perhaps there were no graves in Egypt, therefore thou hast brought us out to die in the wilderness: why wouldst thou do this, to lead us out of Egypt? Is not this the word, that we spoke to thee in Egypt, saying: Depart from us, that we may serve the Egyptians? for it was much better to serve them than to die in the wilderness.

Such were the apparent and terrible impending dangers of the situation that Moses did not reproach them for their passionate and despairing remonstrances, but mildly and firmly replied :

Fear not: stand and see the great wonders of the Lord, which he will do this day: for the Egyptians, whom you see now, you shall see no more for ever. The Lord will fight for you, and you shall hold your peace (Ex. xiv. 11-14).

Here was a second dreadful disappointment; for, instead of deliverance, inevitable death seemed immediately before them when they had considered themselves safe. In the extremity of their apparent peril they no doubt remembered the former increased affliction and sore disappointment. The alleged conduct of the Israelites and of Moses upon this extreme occasion is eminently consistent with human nature.

So, after they had triumphantly crossed the Red Sea and had sung that magnificent canticle to the Lord, they "marched three days into

the wilderness, and found no water. . . . And the people murmured against Moses, saying : What shall we drink ?" (Ex. xv. 22-24).

To any one practically unacquainted with the terrible effects of extreme thirst in a wilderness of heated sand this conduct of the Israelites might seem exceedingly unnatural after all they had seen. But such a hasty conclusion would be very erroneous. I have myself been thirty hours without water, travelling across a dry plain under a hot October sun, and can speak from some personal experience. The effects of hunger, though exhaustive in the extreme, are not so quick as those of thirst. Both hunger and thirst are overpowering deprivations, and during their continuance men become partially insane and are about as fickle and capricious as sick children. As the human constitution will generally tolerate only one disease at the same time, and the stronger will, therefore, expel the weaker, so the human mind cannot well entertain at once more than one main subject. Consequently any present bitter and inexorable distress will absorb all men's thoughts and desires ; and they thus mainly forget the past, except that portion in happy contrast with their present painful condition. The Israelites, after suffering from thirst for three days, partially forgot the wonderful displays of God's power, and their only cry was, Water ! water !

It will be observed that the murmurs of the people were not so bitter on this as on some other occasions, as they did not mingle reproaches with them, but only asked, "What shall we drink ?" This milder form of complaint was apparently owing to their recollection and appreciation, to some extent, of the wonderful events they had so lately witnessed. It will also be seen that Moses did not reproach them with their want of faith under the extreme circumstances, but at once applied to God for relief.

When, after many days' travel, they arrived at the desert of Sin (Ex. xvi.), all the congregation of the children of Israel murmured against Moses and Aaron, saying :

Would to God we had died by the hand of the Lord in the land of Egypt, when we sat over the flesh-pots, and ate bread to the full. Why have you brought us into this desert, that you might destroy all the multitude with famine ?

They had been living upon the small supply of provisions brought out of Egypt ; and, from the nature of the case and the expression, "ate bread to the full," it is most probable they had been living for some time upon half-rations. With actual and severe suffering present with them, and prospective, lingering, horrible death before them, they were overwhelmed by despair. They had not seen any clear and conclusive evidences of divine power since they crossed the Red Sea, as the act of Moses in sweetening the bitter waters of Mara with the branches of a tree wore much the appearance of a natural remedy.

I need not repeat my remarks upon the terrible effects of hunger upon the minds and dispositions of men, especially when there is no apparent prospect of relief.

Upon this second murmuring after crossing the Red Sea Moses did not, under the distressing circumstances, bitterly reproach them for their want of faith, but was careful to put the matter upon its true ground by saying to them :

God hath heard your murmurings, with which you have murmured against him, for what are we ? your murmuring is not against us, but against the Lord.

After God had sent the quails and manna Moses gave them a positive command not to leave any of the manna till the morning ; “but some of them left until the morning, and it began to be full of worms, and it putrefied, and Moses was angry with them.”

It will be observed that this is the *first* time that Moses was angry with his people. He had ample reason, because they violated a positive command without any reasonable excuse, as they had, at the time, a full supply of food and water. All the people had before this murmured for want of water and food ; but now only *some* of them disobeyed this command. The great leader had borne their complaints with noble and becoming patience and dignity so long as they were impelled by the mitigating circumstances of cruel stripes and most painful work, or by the immediate and appalling prospect of inevitable death, or by the inexorable cravings of thirst and hunger ; but when *some* of them, very soon after witnessing a great and beneficial miracle, and while enjoying the fruits of it, and without any suffering, violated a plain, positive command easily obeyed, he was angry.

After they left the desert of Sin and had arrived at Raphidim they at first “chided with Moses, and said : Give us water, that we may drink. And Moses answered them : Why chide you with me ? Wherefore do you tempt the Lord ?” Then they murmured against him, saying : “Why didst thou make us go forth out of Egypt, to kill us and our children, and our beasts with thirst ? . . . Is the Lord amongst us or not ?”

In this second case of murmuring for want of water, Moses, before striking the rock Horeb, called them “rebellious and incredulous.” They had before witnessed the sweetening of the bitter waters of Mara and the great miracle of the quails and manna in the desert ; and for these reasons their great leader treated them a little more severely than he had done before.

And next day Moses sat to judge the people, who stood by Moses from morning until night (Ex. xviii. 13).

Under the alleged circumstances nothing could be more reasonable than this simple statement, and the further statement that

Jethro, the kind and thoughtful father-in-law of Moses, should have observed the too great labor his esteemed son-in-law had taken upon himself and have suggested the proper remedy. Moses sat, but the people stood. How well this statement agrees with the local circumstances of a court in a desert ! Would the writer of a fiction have thought of it ?

While Moses was absent some forty days and nights in the mount the people fell into idolatry (Ex. xxxii.) This they did while enjoying plenty, as they "sat down to eat, and drink, and they rose up to play. . . . And the Lord said to Moses : I see that this people is stiff-necked." When Moses saw the golden calf and the dances, "being very angry, he threw the tables out of his hand, and broke them at the foot of the mount."

When his former command had been violated by some of his people he was angry ; but in this most grievous case he was *very* angry. His brother Aaron had consented to this fundamental violation of the Ten Commandments, and had himself made the golden idol. Aaron was the better orator of the two ; but, as it so often happens the best talkers are not the deepest and calmest thinkers, the bravest and coolest soldiers, the best statesmen, or the firmest devotees of sound principle, he was ambitious, jealous, weak, and temporizing as compared with his brother Moses.

Some time subsequent to this, as recorded in the twelfth chapter of Numbers, "Mary and Aaron spoke against Moses because of his wife the Ethiopian : and they said : Hath the Lord spoken by Moses only ? hath he not spoken to us in like manner ?"

There seems to have been some jealousy on the part of Mary and Aaron because Moses claimed and exercised the chief authority as the superior agent of God. According to the general usage and sentiment of that age, the elder brother was preferred, while Moses claimed that God regarded fitness before age. Another difficulty seems to have been that they did not comprehend the reason why God should prefer Moses before Aaron, when He had spoken alike to both. Besides, Moses had severely rebuked Aaron for his conduct in making the golden calf. "What has this people done to thee that thou shouldst bring upon them a most heinous sin ?" (Ex. xxxii. 21). An Israelite was discouraged, though not strictly forbidden, by the law of Moses from marrying a woman of another nation ; and yet the wife of Moses was an Ethiopian. By ignoring the facts that the law had regard to *future* and not to past cases, and that Moses was married long before the law was enacted, here was a very plausible cause of complaint against him. Aaron had shown a temporizing disposition ; and it seems most probable that he was encouraged at *that* time by many, if not by most, of the Israelites.

This whole account of the conduct of Aaron, under all the alleged



circumstances, seems to me to be perfectly consistent with human nature and to bear the clear marks of truth upon the face of the record.

It is recorded in the thirteenth chapter of Numbers that when the children of Israel had arrived upon the borders of the promised land twelve spies were sent to view it and report. After an absence of forty days they returned, and they *all* praised the land as one flowing with milk and honey, and produced the fruits they had gathered to prove the truth of their representations. But they stated that the inhabitants were strong, their cities great and walled, and that they saw there the race of Enac, of the giant kind. Under these circumstances ten of the spies said: "We are not able to go up to this people, because they are stronger than we." The brave and intrepid Caleb and Josue insisted that they were able to take the land, and said: "The Lord is with us, fear ye not."

The people of Israel had been travelling in the desert about two years; they had witnessed many displays of God's protective power and avenging justice; they had sinned and suffered much; and now, after all their weary toils and severe deprivations, they were not able, in their opinion, to accomplish the great purpose for which they left Egypt. Ten of the carefully selected and trusted spies, who had personally viewed the land, had reported the difficulties of conquest too great to be undertaken. The people preferred to trust the doubting majority of the spies rather than the confident minority. Here was another most terrible disappointment. Like men who had been lately released from human bondage, but subjected to the endurance of severe conditions, they remembered mainly the security and plenty of their former enslaved condition and forgot its rigors, and thus yielded to their then present fears and unbelief, preferring their former slavery to the terrors of prospective death by the sword. The most sad state of feeling during that night is best stated in the simple language of the narrative itself:

Therefore the whole multitude crying wept that night, and all the children of Israel murmured against Moses and Aaron, saying: Would God that we had died in Egypt; and would God we may die in this vast wilderness, and that the Lord may not bring us into this land, lest we fall by the sword, and our wives and children be led away captives. Is it not better to return into Egypt? Let us appoint us a captain, and let us return into Egypt. . . . And when all the multitude cried out, and would have stoned them, the glory of the Lord appeared over the tabernacle of the covenant to all the children of Israel (Num. xiv.)

In consequence of this rebellion the Lord threatened to destroy them, but mitigated His punishment upon the most earnest request of Moses, and charged him to say to the people among other things:

All you that were numbered from twenty years old and upward, and have murmured against me, shall not enter into the land over which I lifted up my hand

to make you dwell therein, except Caleb the son of Jephone, and Josue the son of Nun. But your children, of whom you said, that they should be a prey to the enemies, will I bring in: that they may see the land, which you have despised.

The ten spies, having been struck in the sight of the Lord, died; and, Moses having told all things God had commanded him to say to the children of Israel, they "mourned exceedingly."

After having witnessed the solemn events of the day, and having had time for reflection, the people repented, and "rising up very early in the morning they went up to the top of the mountain and said: We are ready to go up to the place, of which the Lord hath spoken: for we have sinned." But the decision had been already made that they should not enter into the land, and their tardy and reluctant repentance came too late; and Moses therefore said to them: "Go not up, for the Lord is not with you: lest you fall before your enemies." So intent were they in carrying out their new resolution that in violation of this command they went up and were defeated, as foretold by Moses.

This account appears to me to be perfectly consistent with the alleged circumstances, and with human nature as learned from hard, practical experience, and not from mere books and theoretical speculations. I can speak, I think, from some adequate personal knowledge, having crossed the plains from the State of Missouri to Oregon in 1843 with wagons and ox-teams. Our company was the first party that reached the shores of the Pacific with their wagons and teams. We had some eight hundred emigrants, consisting of men, women, and children. We made a journey of about seventeen hundred miles, and opened a new wagon-road for a distance of some seven hundred miles through a very rough country.

Of all the practical schools of human nature known to me during my long and varied experience, a trip like this is the most efficient and constitutes the most conclusive test of human character. We had no battles with outside enemies, and encountered no great and general perils; but the exhaustive and monotonous nature of the journey and the many daily vexations and disappointments tried men's principles and tempers thoroughly. There were numerous annoying incidents continually occurring that could not be foreseen before they were met, nor well remembered when past, but were most keenly felt while passing. It was surprising to find how many persons, who were esteemed as most sensible and upright people while in the comfortable homes they had left, would prove to be not only excessively obstinate and fickle, but destitute of principle. In such a position men threw aside all disguise and acted out their genuine characters. It was a wise caution of Joseph: "Be not angry in the way" (Gen. xlv. 24).

But the Israelites were subjected to a trial far more severe. They

had been slaves for a century or more, and had, very probably, an exaggerated idea of freedom, and did not, perhaps, understand that true liberty "is freedom within the bounds of law." They had been released from the prison-house of bondage, it is true; but they were taken from a fertile land of plenty to a terrible desert, and necessarily subjected to *military* discipline while present with their wives and children. When called upon, at the end of their long, slow, and toilsome journey, to attack people represented to be so stout and strong, numerous and well fortified, they must have remembered the severe battle with Amalec, in which, though they were victorious when placed upon equal terms with their enemies, they yet suffered severely in a hard and doubtful contest.

Moses claimed to be the special agent of God, had given them strong evidences of his commission, had exercised the supreme authority over them by the alleged prior selection of God Himself and their own subsequent consent, and had often reprimanded and punished them in His name. But in the stern hour of danger and trial they partially forgot these proofs; and the proud, obstinate spirit of human nature, and their fears and unbelief, obtained the mastery over them for a time. They ignored the fact that the government under which they were living was one of a peculiar character, and was not a human monarchy or democracy; and they therefore adopted the democratic principle that the people have the right to change their rulers when they, the people, deem it necessary. They therefore proposed to set aside the authority of Moses and select a captain who would carry out their despairing resolve to return to Egypt. Being again disappointed, they repented and offered to go up against the inhabitants of the promised land; but as their proposition was rejected by Moses, and they were still further disappointed, they rebelliously determined to go up to battle, contrary to his command. They were impelled to make this abortive attempt by a spirit of proud resentment, by a wish to vindicate their courage and independence, and by a desire to assert the democratic principle still strong in their minds and affections. There can be nothing more rash, obstinate, and irresponsible than an excited, despairing, bewildered, and mixed crowd of men, women, and children. Instinctively conscious of their *present* power, and confiding in their own opinions and devices, they do not foresee the future consequences of their acts. They cannot think calmly and impartially, but *feel* intensely, and are thus governed more by feeling than by reason or duty. Suffering people complain, whether the alleged oppression arise from the acts of man or from circumstances, until the practice of complaining becomes habitual; and such practice is, therefore, often continued for some time from the force of mere habit, even after the oppression, real or imaginary, has been greatly mitigated or entirely removed.

This same democratic spirit naturally led, soon afterward, to the formidable schism of Core and others (Num. xvi.)

Mary and Aaron had substantially placed themselves upon this principle when they spoke against Moses; and Core, extending the equality to all the people, said to Moses and Aaron:

Let it be enough for you, that all the multitude consisteth of holy ones, and the Lord is among them; why lift you up yourselves above the people of the Lord?

So when Moses had sent to call Dathan and Abiron they refused to come, and said:

We will not come: is it a small matter to thee that thou hast brought us out of a land that flowed with milk and honey, to kill us in the desert, except thou rule also like a lord over us?

Core and his associates evidently appealed to the people as the *sole* power to select their rulers. This plausible appeal was flattering to individual pride, and doubtless had great influence over the multitude.

In the thirty-third chapter of Deuteronomy it is recorded that "Moses the man of God blessed the children of Israel before his death." In this blessing each tribe is mentioned except that of Simeon, which is entirely omitted. This omission would, at first sight, seem a strange circumstance; but the reason for it may be mainly found in the twenty-fifth chapter of Numbers, where it is stated that "the people committed fornication with the daughters of Moab, who called them to their sacrifices. And they ate of them and adored their gods, and Israel was initiated to Beelphegor." "Zambri the son of Salu, a prince of the kindred and tribe of Simeon," boldly introduced a disreputable woman of Madian into the camp "in the sight of Moses, and of all the children of Israel, who were weeping before the door of the tabernacle." In consequence of these wicked transgressions a plague was sent upon them by God and twenty-four thousand men were slain. It appears also that the men of this tribe were the principal, if not the sole, transgressors and sufferers on this occasion. Zambri was a *prince* of his tribe, and his bad example was most probably followed by the majority of his people. It is stated that two separate enumerations of the men of twenty years old and upward were made, the first some time *before*, and the second a short time *after*, the date of the plague (Num. i. 22, xxvi. 14). According to the first census there were of the tribe of Simeon fifty-nine thousand three hundred; and according to the second there were only twenty-two thousand two hundred. This tribe had lost thirty-seven thousand men.

This flagrant transgression and its exemplary punishment occurred only a *short* time before Moses bestowed his blessing. There was, therefore, no good reason why Moses should bless a tribe that

had so grievously transgressed, had been so signally punished, whose sins were so fresh in the memories of all, and whose then condition was a proof of God's sore displeasure. Besides, when this tribe arrived in the promised land it was placed in the most exposed position, where it would be liable to the first attack either from the Egyptians or Philistines.

There is no reason *expressly* given why Moses omitted the tribe of Simeon in his blessing; but facts had been previously recorded in several chapters of Numbers from which, when carefully put together, such reason would clearly appear. When bestowing his blessing upon the other tribes Moses must have thought of the tribe of Simeon, as such a noted omission could hardly have been accidental. He was obliged to make the omission; but having himself already stated facts in Numbers which he knew would show the true reason, and not wishing to inflict further and *unnecessary* pain upon that tribe, the great lawgiver, as a matter of delicate justice, made no further mention of his reason for this seemingly harsh omission. Had there not been facts already recorded which showed the reason for this remarkable omission, the writer, according to his usual, if not invariable, practice, would have given an express explanation. For example, we are told in the fourth chapter of Exodus that Moses took his wife and two sons with him into Egypt. Nothing further is said about his family until his father-in-law met him in the desert, bringing his wife and sons (Ex. xviii. 2), where it is expressly stated in explanation that his family had been sent back.

Now, I think that the facts of this case not only show that the author of Deuteronomy was the writer of Exodus and Numbers, but they prove the competency and fidelity of the historian. Certainly the writer must have had a full and accurate knowledge of facts. The delicate reserve shown in making no new and express mention of the sin and punishment of the tribe of Simeon, even at the risk of some misapprehension and personal censure, is in perfect harmony with the great and disinterested character of Moses as shown in his whole history. No forger would have exposed his hero to the risk of censure for so apparently harsh an omission, but would have made him give, at the *time* of blessing the other tribes, an express reason for not blessing the tribe of Simeon.

One of the most clear and, to my mind, invincible evidences of the antiquity and truth of the Pentateuch is to be found in the careful statement of a multitude of details. I find a summary reference to many of these in the late work of Rufus P. Stebbins, D.D., entitled *A Study of the Pentateuch*. While I must entirely dissent from many of the views of the learned author, I avail myself of his able remarks upon this branch of the subject, and will give such portions of them, in his own words, as my limits will permit :

Another characteristic of these books, showing their journal-like character, and indicating a writer in the camp of Israel, is found in the minuteness of *details* in many parts of the narrative, and their repetition under such circumstances as to exculpate any later writer from being the author of such useless definiteness and wearisome repetitions; and yet these same circumstances demanded of the desert-journalist just such a minuteness and repetition. These phenomena have a two-fold power: they equally *demand* an ancient, and *forbid* a modern, writer. Let us examine some of them.

(1) In the census of the people an account of which is contained in the first chapter of Numbers, there is an illustration of the recording, at the time, of work done, or of the journal-like character of the book. First, we have the names, not only of the superintendents of the census of each tribe, but also the names of their fathers, which it is not probable would have been given by a writer in the time of Ezra. Then we have repeated before the round number of each tribe the formula under which the census was taken, making a repetition of the same words twelve times, which it is difficult to believe an historian a thousand or eight hundred years later would have done; but it is very probable it would be done, when the separate papers of enrolment were passed in and recorded or filed. Seven lines of the nine which constituted the return of each tribe are, word for word, the same. A later historian of the transaction, with these returns before him, would, at the most, have written the heading but once; and then, after this description of the persons enrolled, he would have named the tribes and their number in order. Of all this, Josephus only says (chap. viii. 2), "The number of the offerers [of the half-shekels, as represented by this census] was six hundred and five thousand five hundred and fifty."

(2) Another illustration of the time and place of writing this Book of Numbers is contained in the second chapter, in which the order of encampment is specified with great minuteness. The names of the tribes are given, and also the name of the "captain" of the tribe is given, and, yet more, the name of the captain's father, and also the number in the tribe according to the census, and, finally, the whole number in each of the four divisions which were encamped on the four sides of the tabernacle, the account filling thirty-two verses of the chapter. All this would be very necessary in the order for arranging the camp at first; but what historian in the time of Ezra would have given an account of the camp in this manner? Josephus illustrates this admirably (chap. xii. 5): "When they set up the tabernacle, they received it into the midst of their camp, three of their tribes pitching their tents on each side of it." And all that is said by Josephus respecting the elaborate arrangements in the next chapter—abridged in the paragraph below—is that "the priests had the first place about the tabernacle; then the Levites."

(3) Then, in the third chapter, there is a record of the distribution of the material of the tabernacle and its furniture among the priests and Levites, whose order of encampment is minutely specified inside the other tribes and around the tabernacle, which was their special charge. The sons of Gershon shall have charge "of the covering of the tent and the hanging for the door of the tabernacle of the congregation and the hangings of the court and the curtain for the door of the court . . . and the cords of it." And the charge of Kohath "shall be the ark and the table and the candlestick and the altars and the vessels of the sanctuary and the hanging and all the service thereof." "And the charge of the sons of Merari shall be the boards of the tabernacle, and the bars thereof, and the pillars thereof, and all the vessels thereof, . . . and the pillars of the court round about, and their sockets and their pins and their cords." This has certainly the air of the camp and the desert and the time of the great migration (pages 208-10).

What I affirm is that all this minute direction and organization of the Levites and priests indicates, *demand*s for its justification, its course, the precise time, and place, and circumstances which the history describes; and that no historian of the nation in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah would have written in this manner (page 211).

(6) Another illustration of this head of my argument is found in the wearisomely minute diagnostics of the leprosy in men, houses and garments (Leviticus xiii., xiv.). Two long chapters, of nearly sixty verses each, are filled with the repulsive details of the indications and purification of this most loathsome of all diseases. I must be excused from quoting any part of it. No more modern historian would thus burden his pages; but then and there it was necessary, for definite rules must be given for the guidance of the priests. Indeed, the whole of this portion of the Pentateuch which refers to ritual impurities indicates clearly enough that it had its birth in the camp, among a people just emerging from barbarism.

(7) Perhaps the most marked of all these laboriously minute descriptions and repetitions is to be found in the last half of Exodus, where the tabernacle and its furniture and the priests' garments are described in the most accurate manner, even to the tassels and pins and taches (Exodus xxv.—xxx.). Moses brings this minute description of the whole sacerdotal dress and tabernacle construction and incense manufacture with him from the Mount. It is precisely like the specifications in a modern contract for building a dwelling-house or making a garment or a confection, but more minute, if possible. The work is given out by Moses; and, as the workmen bring back to him the portion which they undertook to make, it is entered again with the same minute description in the Pentateuch (Exodus xxxvi.—xxxix.). So we have a duplicate description of all these articles, so wearisomely minute that we can hardly have patience to read it once. Admit that this was written on the spot, and all this minuteness and duplication is accounted for: deny this, and there is no possible reason why such a minute detail of these articles should be repeated, even if we can discover why they should be once described. It seems incredible that any later writer could have done it. Of the "pattern given in the mount," which is so minutely described, before the work was done, in the Pentateuch, Josephus only says (chap. v. 8), "He [God] had suggested to him [Moses] that he would have a tabernacle built for him, and that the tabernacle should be of such measure and construction as he had showed him." Josephus then gives a careful description of the work. There is no repetition of particulars.

To feel the force of this argument, it is necessary that one should read carefully the account in the Pentateuch, and at one sitting, if possible.

I should be glad to go into a consideration of the specific directions given touching many of the conditions of camp life, and especially those health regulations which it was necessary for a people thus sojourning to observe, and which no modern historian could dwell upon so long and minutely as they are dwelt upon in the Pentateuch; but the nature of the subjects, as well as the great length of my Study, requires that I should pass them over. Their bearing upon the point which I am considering is clear and strong; and in connection with some of the circumstances which I have already referred to, they furnish evidence, almost conclusive in itself, of the antiquity of the work in which they are contained (pages 214-15).

In the first chapter of Numbers it is stated that Moses and Aaron were commanded to take the census of all the males of twenty years old and upwards fit for war, and, in doing so, to take with them the princes of the tribes. This census was taken under the supervision of Moses and Aaron through their aids, the twelve princes. The

method must have been that each prince took the number of his own tribe and made his *separate* written return to his superior officers. Of course each aid headed his return with words sufficient to designate the class of person enumerated. A careful examination of these different headings will show that, while they are *all* sufficient, there is difference enough to prove they were written by different persons. For example, the returns of Ruben and Simeon contain these words, "all that were of the male sex"; and in those of Gad and others these words are not found, but they *all* have "from twenty years old and upward all that were able to go forth to war," or words equivalent. These different returns must have been placed on file or recorded among the archives of the nation.

In the seventh chapter we have an account of the offerings of each of the twelve princes for the dedication of the altar. Each prince was required to make his offering on a *separate* day. There must have been at least one clerk to keep an exact record of all the things offered, and by whom; and as each prince made an offering of the *same* things, the record of each separate offering is in the *same* words, except the name of the prince. This separate use of the same words was necessary and proper in an official record. The duty of a clerk is simply to record facts, not to use his judgment in stating his conclusions. This list must also have been filed or recorded among the archives of the nation.

In regard to the ark, the tabernacle, and the furniture thereof, the full patterns having been given by God Himself, and the principal workman, Beseleel, and his companion having been named and qualified by Him (Ex. xxxi. 1-6), it was necessary to state in full all the specifications of the work; and so when the work was finished it was equally necessary, in order to show that it was done exactly according to the pattern, to again state in detail what had been done. This duplicate statement was required by *official* accuracy.

All these were official and national acts which concerned the whole people then existing and their successors after them. It was proper for Moses, as the founder of a nation and the promulgator of an elaborate system of law which was to endure for many centuries *unchanged*, to put on record his acts as such; not only to show that he had discharged his peculiar duty faithfully, but as an example to succeeding rulers of the nation. This was but just to himself, to the exalted office he filled, to the nation he founded, to the truth of history, and to the great principle he represented.

It is almost certain from the history that the census returns, the list of contributions, the specifications of the details of the ark, tabernacle, their furniture, and other similar matters, were *at first* simply filed with the proper officer for safe custody, as we are expressly informed that Moses wrote the account of the battle with Amalec,



the list of encampments, the Ten Commandments in the book of the covenant, the song mentioned in Deuteronomy, and, finally, the Book of the Law, which he at last deposited with the priests of the sons of Levi, with an express command to put it in the side of the ark of the covenant of the Lord God.

When he came at last, in his old age and just before his death, yet in the full possession of all his intellectual faculties, to complete the official labors of his life, and to make up, as I maintain, not only a full and accurate account of the law itself, but of all his most important official acts and of the history of his people, and of the race up to a certain period, and to put all in one official volume, he had, as I think, only to write the book of Deuteronomy in full and finish those of Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers. It seems most probable that Genesis was entirely finished during the long sojourn in the desert, and the others, except Deuteronomy, at the same time, so far as he was then able to proceed with the history. At all times he must have had ample clerical assistance; and in composing his books he must have had their services in copying such portions of the archives as he directed them to transcribe. These copies he incorporated in his books. Being at the same time the lawgiver, judge, and executive of his people, and the official historian of his own administration, he would necessarily include all the important minute details and repetitions found among the archives, so as to show fully and accurately his official acts. These circumstances satisfactorily account for the duplications of minute details, to us of this day, at first thought, apparently useless, but which were necessary and proper at the time they were made. The close connection which the laws of Moses had with the history of his people and of his official acts among them, and even with the history of the race up to the dispersion at the Tower of Babel, made it necessary to include all the books of the Pentateuch in the Book of the Law. The code of Moses is based upon the covenant with Abraham, and would not be intelligible without the history of that covenant as found in Genesis.

But these statements of minute details, and their repetition in many cases, become very important to us at this day as potent evidences of the antiquity and truth of this grand history. These elaborate specifications prove them to have been the productions of the clearest intellect and of the most diligent and accurate care. No later historian would have put himself to the trouble of transcribing them, and no writer of a fiction could have invented them, because "the coincidences of art and invention are necessarily circumscribed and limited," as Mr. Starkie justly remarks, as quoted on page 242. And it is not probable that any historian of that day, except Moses, would have included them in his history, as none but he had so great an interest in putting them in an official form for all time.

There is another view arising from these details and repetitions, as they prove that the history has been safely transmitted to us. When we reflect that writing materials were then, and for long centuries afterwards, so much more costly than now; and that, until the art of printing was discovered a few hundred years ago, every copy was the slow and expensive work of the penman, we can only account for the *safe* transmission of these extensive details and repetitions upon the theory that the book containing them was held too sacred to allow of mutilation or essential change. How much of human labor could have been saved by omitting these multitudinous matters in subsequent copies! But so sacred was the book containing them held to be by all succeeding generations of the Israelites that we have these same details and repetitions continued in every one of their copies of the Pentateuch, whether written or printed. Surely the motives of economy and convenience, which are generally so powerful with men, would have led to an abridgment of these matters, had not the Pentateuch been held, at all times, most sacred by that venerable old people.

I have thus given, as well as I could, some of the internal evidences of the truth of the history found in the five books attributed to Moses. I could state many other evidences of the same kind, did my time and limits permit. When taken and considered in logical connection with the external proofs and with the nature and reason of the case, they seem to prove, beyond all reasonable doubt, the entire truth of the Mosaic history.

## CHAPTER X.

### THE PENTATEUCH—THE LAW OF MOSES.

As the Mosaic legislation was based upon the covenant made with Abraham, it is necessary to inquire into the character of that compact in order to correctly understand the true spirit and full scope of the law of Moses:

And the Lord said to Abram: Go forth out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and out of thy father's house, and come into the land which I shall shew thee, and I will make of thee a great nation, and I will bless thee, and magnify thy name, and thou shalt be blessed. I will bless them that bless thee, and curse them that curse thee, and in thee shall all the kindreds of the earth be blessed (Gen. xii. 1-3).

And I will make my covenant between me and thee: and I will multiply thee exceedingly. . . . Neither shall thy name be called any more Abram: but thou shalt be called Abraham: because I have made thee a father of many nations. And I will make thee increase exceedingly, and I will make nations of thee, and kings shall come out of thee. . . . And thou therefore shalt keep my covenant, and thy seed after thee in their generations (Gen. xvii. 2, 5, 6, 9).

This promise was renewed to Isaac and Jacob (Gen. xxvi. 4 and xxxv. 11).

When the people of Israel arrived at Sinai the Lord commanded Moses to say to them:

You have seen what I have done to the Egyptians, how I have carried you upon the wings of eagles, and have taken you to myself. If therefore you will hear my voice, and keep my covenant, you shall be my peculiar possession above all peoples: for all the earth is mine. And you shall be to me a priestly kingdom, and a holy nation. . . . Moses came: and calling together the elders of the people, he declared all the words which the Lord had commanded. And all the people answered together: all that the Lord hath spoken, we will do (Ex. xix. 4-8).

*After* the people, on their part, had consented, the Lord commanded Moses to sanctify them, and then proceeded to enact the main portion of the code, including the Ten Commandments. Moses having afterwards reported to the people "all the words of the Lord and all the judgments," they all "answered with one voice: We will do all the words of the Lord, which he hath spoken" (Ex. xxiv. 3).

The above passages will give a fair idea of the covenant with Abraham and his posterity.

A covenant in law is the voluntary and lawful agreement of two or more competent parties, in writing sealed and delivered, to do or not to do some particular thing. But a covenant in its general sense

may be defined as the voluntary, lawful, and solemn agreement of two or more competent parties to do or not to do some particular thing. To be competent the parties must be independent of each other in regard to the *subject-matter* of the covenant.

But there is a great difference between covenants made by men among themselves and the covenant of God with Abram or with the Hebrew nation. In the former case moral liberty and mutual independence are required for their validity; but in a covenant between God and man the second condition can never exist, and the first is only found on the part of man when God gives him a simple invitation, not a command; but that cannot be determined by the simple fact that no penalty is expressly annexed to the injunction. The first words of God to Abram were in the positive form of a command: "Go forth"; and it is recorded that Abram "went out as the Lord had commanded him." Although no penalty was expressly denounced for a violation of this command, but a reward was expressly promised for obedience, yet it was a command made by a superior to an inferior, who was bound to obey. The mode of giving commands without expressly annexing any penalty is generally the case in regard to orders given to holy men, of which there are innumerable examples in the Scriptures.

The promise made by God in this case is called a covenant by analogy, inasmuch as God is bound by His truth and sanctity to fulfil the promise; and this seems to be the reason why He always calls it His covenant. It is not strictly a covenant like those between men, but it was in the nature of a covenant, as only one party could violate it.

The covenant was first made between God and Abram; but the words of God, from the *beginning*, had reference to the future organization of the nation and the consequent extension of the covenant to the people of Israel in their national capacity:

And I will establish my covenant between me and thee, and between thy seed after thee in their generations, by a perpetual covenant: to be a God to thee and thy seed after thee (Gen. xvii. 7).

After God had delivered the children of Israel from a state of slavery, and had thus given them their national existence, and after they arrived at Mount Sinai, he proceeded to enact the most important portion of the Mosaic code.

Thus by gradual and successive steps the covenant, made first with an individual, became at last a covenant with the new nation, and from thenceforward was binding upon the people in their associated capacity as a nation. The acts of obedience could at first be only performed by an individual, then by a family, then by tribes, and finally by a nation. From the peculiar nature of the covenant the

power to legislate for the redeemed nation was necessarily reserved to God ; otherwise the nation could not be a *peculiar* people, a *holy* nation. It is true the laws, when executed, acted upon individuals who composed the nation, like all laws for the government of associated men. In God was the governing power of the nation, such power to be *generally* exercised through His agents.

Although nations must necessarily be composed of individual men united, there is a clear distinction between individual and national capacity. Each individual has his individual capacity, and could not exist without it ; but he can exist without belonging to any nation as citizen or subject. Many men exist as savages without even a tribal organization. The individual dies, but the nation lives on. The nation may be prosperous, while a certain portion of its people may be otherwise. A civil war is generally a national evil, but may be a source of great political or pecuniary profit to some individuals. So while only men, on this earth, can possess individual and national capacities, the two capacities are yet distinct and not identical.

The final covenant being, then, between God and the new nation He had called into existence, the logical consequences flowing from this compact are very important. As nations have no supernal existence, they must necessarily be rewarded or punished in this world, and the only rewards and punishments they themselves can possibly bestow and inflict must be *temporal*. So the only possible way to reward or punish a nation is to affect the people who compose it. For these reasons the rewards and punishments promised and denounced by the code of Moses were only temporal.

To understand the code of Moses in its true intent and spirit it is necessary to steadily keep in view the precise purpose of God in selecting the Israelites as a peculiar nation ; and to do this it is proper to remember, so far as we can now know, the exact condition of the race at the time that law was adopted. The great and overwhelming majority of mankind were then believers in the theory of polytheism—the doctrine of a plurality of gods.

God, who proceeds by gradual and successive steps in His moral, as He does in His physical, kingdom, did not intend by irresistible force to exterminate man's great and necessary prerogative of free-will ; yet He determined to keep in the world a visible witness and teacher of the great theory of the existence of one Supreme, Self-Existent Being, the Creator and Governor of all things except Himself. For this grand purpose He chose a nation in preference to single individuals, because in the then state of the world a nation was practically far more efficient than individuals could have been. A nation could sustain itself better, live longer, and have more influence upon men than simple individuals in that day.

In selecting this nation He did not exert the sovereign power of

simply commanding it to perform a great and perilous duty, but promised it great temporal rewards for obedience, and denounced severe temporal punishments in case of disobedience. As the national duty in *this* case was peculiar and temporary, so the national reward was peculiar and temporary. The great purpose was to keep before all mankind, by the great and striking example and teaching of a peculiar nation, the sublime and simple doctrine of one God, and, without interfering with the due and proper exercise of their free-will, to give them ample time to test the theory of polytheism practically, and thus prove by time and experience its utter fallacy. This institution of a single chosen nation as His teacher and special agent, *for a time only*, was to be a preparative and typical one to that which, in the fulness of time, would be introduced by the Universal Teacher Himself. The wisdom of that choice has been amply shown by time. While nearly all mankind in that day, and for many centuries later, professed to believe in some form of polytheism, not more than two-thirds, if so many, at present profess any faith in that inconsistent and absurd theory.

The agreement between God and the nation being in the nature of a covenant for the attainment of *one* great, leading, and supreme purpose, we must expect the national code to be so framed as to *practically* carry out that intention. Its provisions would, in the main, be adapted to that time and people. Laws may be proper and just under one set of circumstances which would not be proper or just under different conditions. In Holland it is a criminal offence to kill a stork, because that bird destroys certain creatures which undermine the embankments which protect the land from the sea. So in the early settlement of a country, when people are few and game superabundant, no game-laws are necessary; but when the population has largely increased and the wild game largely decreased, it becomes necessary and proper to enact laws prohibiting, under adequate penalties, the destruction of game during the breeding season.

As the nation was one party to the covenant, we must reasonably anticipate that the Divine Legislator would show some indulgence to the state of national opinions, prejudices, customs, and feelings—some condescension to the infirmities of human nature under the then existing circumstances.

As the great science of political government is *strictly practical*, and the business of governing must go on *continuously*, the laws should be suited to times, places, peoples, and conditions, so far as may be. Two different peoples, for example, may be placed in precisely the same conditions, except one may have knowledge, opinions, customs, and prejudices different from the other. In such case no competent lawgiver would make the two codes alike in *all* respects. The reason would seem to be plain. The legislator *must* act, and yet he can only do the best he can under the whole circumstances.

He is master of his own acts, but he is not sovereign over circumstances. He is compelled to take men, nations, and conditions as he finds them, as he cannot create or suddenly change them. It is true that in *some* cases he may, by cautious and judicious legislation from time to time, *gradually* change the views, habits, and customs of the governed. But this is the *slow* work of time, and he must, therefore, for a more or less longer period, defer very much to the temper of his people and the nature of the circumstances which surround them. If he adopts harsh and peremptory measures, abstractly just under *ordinary* conditions, but the practical operation of which, under existing circumstances, will produce more evil than good, he is not a wise lawgiver. Should he have three measures under consideration, the first abstractly just, the second objectionable but not so much so as the third, and he foresees that his people will peaceably submit to either the second or third, but will not to the first without rebellion and the endurance of greater evils than the first measure would cure or avoid, he is compelled, by a due consideration of the welfare of the governed, to choose the lesser evil of the two by adopting the second measure. In other words, where a law perfectly just under ordinary conditions would practically produce more evil than good owing to special circumstances—which the legislator cannot properly create or control—a wise and humane lawgiver would adopt a statute not abstractly but *practically* more just and beneficial for the time. Every wise legislator must consider two questions: *First*. What measures are abstractly just under *ordinary* conditions? *Second*. What measures are practically efficient in producing the most good—under the *exact* circumstances—in accomplishing the great purpose of his government? He must harmonize these so far as he can. The manners, customs, dispositions, state of knowledge, feelings, opinions, and even the prejudices of the people governed are *all existing circumstances* which a wise and humane lawgiver would consider, as well as the place, climate, and other natural local conditions. So he would not overlook the powers, views, opinions, aspirations, customs, and other matters appertaining to *other* accessible nations. In other words, he would duly weigh all the circumstances *relevant* to the faithful and wise discharge of his high trust.

That God did consider the tempers and opinions of the people of Israel in certain respects seems clear from several passages :

And when Pharaoh had sent out the people, the Lord led them not by the way of the land of the Philistines which is near: thinking lest perhaps they would repent, if they should see wars arise against them, and would return into Egypt (Ex. xiii. 17). They say to him: Why then did Moses command to give a bill of divorce, and to put away? He saith to them: Because Moses by reason of the hardness of your heart permitted you to put away your wives: but from the beginning it was not so (Matt. xix. 7, 8).

In examining the Mosaic legislation we should steadily remember these positions :

*First.* The great and paramount *purpose* God had in view in choosing the people He had redeemed as His special witness and teacher.

*Second.* The *peculiar* nature of the government necessarily instituted to attain that specific purpose.

*Third.* That the Israelites were strictly restrained in their conquests to the land described and promised.

*Fourth.* That the Mosaic code was intended to continue unchanged until the promised Messiah should appear.

*Fifth.* That no fundamental change in this law was ever subsequently made by the nation, but all appeals were made to it.

*Sixth.* The exact circumstances, so far as we can, under which that code was made.

*Seventh.* Our inevitable ignorance, at this late day, of many of those conditions.

*Eighth.* Our notice must necessarily be limited to a few leading provisions of this elaborate code.

In regard to the future king the code has the following provisions :

When thou art come into the land, which the Lord God will give thee, and possess it, and dwellest in it, and shalt say: I will set a King over me, as all nations have that are round about: thou shalt set him whom the Lord thy God shall choose out of the number of thy brethren. Thou mayest not make a man of another nation king, that is not thy brother. And when he is made king, he shall not multiply horses to himself, nor lead back the people into Egypt, being lifted up with the number of his horsemen, especially since the Lord hath commanded you to return no more the same way. He shall not have many wives, that may allure his mind, nor immense sums of silver and gold. But after he is raised to the throne of his kingdom, he shall copy out to himself the Deuteronomy of this law in a volume, taking the copy of the priests of the Levitical tribe, and he shall have it with him, and read it all the days of his life, that he may learn to fear the Lord his God, and keep his words and ceremonies, that are commanded in the law. And that his heart be not lifted up with pride over his brethren, nor decline to the right or to the left, that he and his sons may reign a long time over Israel (Deut. xvii. 14-20).

A close and attentive consideration of this passage will show how admirably adapted these provisions were to the nature of the peculiar government instituted for this people. The first king was to be selected by God, and then, as a general rule, his sons should succeed him. As the Israelites were limited in their conquests to the promised land, and as horsemen in that age and locality were especially fitted for predatory incursions into adjacent states, the king was not to multiply horses, as a cavalry force would tend to make him proud and tyrannical by enabling him to accumulate too much treasure, and



make his people more a nation of plunderers than a society of plain, devout people.

In regard to the judiciary there are the following provisions :

Thou shalt appoint judges and magistrates in all thy gates, which the Lord thy God shall give thee, in all thy tribes: that they may judge the people with just judgment, and not go aside to either part. Thou shalt not accept person nor gifts: for gifts blind the eyes of the wise, and change the words of the just (Deut. xvi. 18, 19). Thou shalt not follow the multitude to do evil: neither shalt thou yield in judgment, to the opinion of the most part, to stray from the truth (Ex. xxiii. 2).

Thou shalt not do that which is unjust, nor judge unjustly. Respect not the person of the poor, nor honour the countenance of the mighty. But judge thy neighbour according to justice (Lev. xix. 15). There shall be no difference of persons, you shall hear the little as well as the great: neither shall you respect any man's person, because it is the judgment of God (Deut. i. 17).

Nothing could be more strictly impartial between man and man than these noble provisions. How beautifully and truly it is said, "*for gifts blind the eyes of the wise, and change the words of the just.*"

The pure administration of justice was further protected by these provisions :

One witness shall not rise up against any man, whatsoever the sin, or wickedness be: but in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word shall stand. If a lying witness stand against a man, accusing him of transgression, both of them, between whom the controversy is, shall stand before the Lord in the sight of the priests and the judges that shall be in those days. And when after most diligent inquisition, they shall find that the false witness hath told a lie against his brother: they shall render to him as he meant to do to his brother, and thou shalt take away the evil out of the midst of thee: that others hearing may fear, and may not dare to do such things (Deut. xix. 15-20).

The accused was not only entitled to a fair, open trial before an impartial tribunal, but he could not be condemned without the testimony of at least two witnesses, and was protected against the danger of perjury on the part of these witnesses by very stringent provisions and the most diligent investigation. He was not forced to testify in his own case by torture as a means of discovering his guilt or innocence. The practice of torturing the accused was common among the Romans and other educated heathens. The Mosaic law was greatly superior, in its regard for the rights of the accused, to the codes of other contemporaneous nations.

In reference to the nature of the punishments denounced in the code I find a condensed list in Smith's *Bible Dictionary*, p. 2640, in part, as follows :

The murderer was to be put to death, even if he should have taken refuge at God's altar or in a refuge city, and the same principle was to be carried out even in the case of an animal (Ex. xxi. 12, 14, 28, 36; Lev. xxiv. 17, 21; Num. xxxv. 31; Deut. xix. 11, 12; and see 1 Kings ii. 28, 34).

The following offences are also mentioned in the law as liable to the punishment of death:

1. Striking, or even reviling, a parent (Ex. xxi. 15, 17).
2. Blasphemy (Lev. xxiv. 14, 16, 23; see Philo, V. M. iii. 25; 1 K. xxi. 10; Matt. xxvi. 65, 66).
3. Sabbath-breaking (Num. xv. 32-36; Ex. xxxi. 14, xxxv. 2).
4. Witchcraft, and false pretension to prophecy (Ex. xxii. 18; Lev. xx. 27; Deut. xiii. 5, xviii. 20; 1 Sam. xxviii. 9).
5. Adultery (Lev. xx. 10; Deut. xxii. 22; see John viii. 5, and Joseph. *Ant.* iii. 12, §1).
6. Unchastity previous to marriage, but detected afterwards (Deut. xxii. 21). (b) In a betrothed woman with some one not affianced to her (ib. ver. 23). (c) In a priest's daughter (Lev. xxi. 9).
7. Rape (Deut. xxii. 25).
8. Incestuous and unnatural connections (Lev. xx. 11, 14, 15; Ex. xxii. 19).
9. Man-stealing (Ex. xxi. 16; Deut. xxiv. 7).
10. Idolatry, actual or virtual, in any shape (Lev. xx. 2; Deut. xiii. 6, 10, 15, xvii. 2-7; see Jos. vii. and xxii. 20, and Num. xxv. 8).
11. False witness in certain cases (Deut. xix. 16, 19).

The *modes* of punishment were several. Stoning was the common punishment in capital cases. It was the punishment inflicted in nearly all the cases mentioned in the foregoing list. Burning was very rare, and is mentioned as the penalty in the case of a man marrying his mother-in-law and in the case of adultery of the daughter of a priest (Lev. xx. 14, xxi. 9). Hanging is mentioned as a special punishment in Num. xxv. 4. Death by the sword or other sharp instrument is mentioned in three exceptional cases (Ex. xix. 13, xxxii. 27; Num. xxv. 7). Of lesser punishments stripes, not exceeding forty, was the most severe punishment (Deut. xxv. 3). In cases regarding property compensation was required in kind, and in rare cases pecuniary fines were imposed.

A portion of these punishments may seem to us of this day and locality as too severe. But we must remember, as George Rawlinson most justly remarks, that "severity may sometimes be a necessary or even a merciful policy" (*Five Monarchies*, ii. p. 219). We must, therefore, consider all the relevant circumstances, so far as we can, and in doing so compare these penalties with those common among contemporary nations. It is almost, if not quite, impossible for any one nation—and more especially when such nation is a weak one, liable to invasion by *land* on nearly all sides—to rise, in this respect, above the common usages of the age and locality in which it lives. Besides, there seems to be much reason in the position that a criminal code intended for a people inhabiting a very warm climate, and who are generally more sensual and excitable, must be, in many respects, more severe than one for a nation occupying a more temperate region. The criminal codes of warm Asia are even at this day more severe than those of Europe or America.

The children of Israel had just been delivered from a state of slavery in a tropical climate; and as the inevitable effect of such a state, under such conditions, if not under all circumstances, is to make men more gross and sensual, and therefore most sensible to severe temporal punishment, and as it generally requires long ages of improvement and progress to change the essential character of a people, the criminal laws for the new nation must necessarily have been severe.

The people of Israel were placed in a new and perilous position. Their religion, in its fundamental principle, was essentially opposed to those of nearly all the great and growing nations of that age, and this fact would necessarily draw upon them the attention, the fear, the jealousy, and the fanatical zeal of all peoples professing different theories of religion. The nation was too small and placed in too responsible a position to incur any *unnecessary* risk. It could not, therefore, tolerate any disunion among its own people, as these divisions would have imperilled the national existence. It had a great and arduous mission to fulfil among the nations of the earth, and could not bear division of sentiment among the governed. Besides, the code was confessedly based upon the authority of God, and was, upon its face, intended to carry out His great purpose in instituting that peculiar form of government termed by Josephus a theocracy; and, therefore, any wilful violation of this law, and more especially of the Ten Commandments—the most important portion of all in the contemplation of the theory itself—was a direct denial of the rightful authority of the Lawgiver and practical treason against the state; and unless such deliberate revolts had been promptly and adequately put down the whole government would have speedily failed.

Contemporary nations propagated and sustained their national religions by force. I make the following quotations from Rawlinson in regard to Assyria, one of Israel's most formidable foes :

Tiglath-Pileser I., who succeeded Asshur-ris-ilm about B.C. 1130, is the first Assyrian monarch of whose history we possess copious details which can be set forth at some length. This is owing to the preservation and recovery of a lengthy document belonging to his reign—in which are recorded the events of his first five years. As this document is the chief evidence we possess of the condition of Assyria, the character and tone of thought of the kings, and indeed of the general state of the Eastern world, at the period in question—which synchronises certainly with some portion of the dominion of the Judges of Israel, and probably with the early conquests of the Dorians in Greece—it is thought advisable to give in this place such an account of it, and such a number of extracts, as shall enable the reader to form his own judgment on these several points (*Five Monarchies*, ii. p. 62).

The character of the warfare is indicated by such a passage as the following :

“The country of Kasiyara, a difficult region, I passed through. With their 20,000 men and their five kings, in the country of Qummukh, I engaged. I defeated them. The ranks of their warriors in fighting the battle were beaten down

as if by the tempest. Their carcasses covered the valleys and the tops of the mountains. I cut off their heads. Of the battlements of their cities I made heaps, like mounds of earth (?). Their moveables, their wealth, and their valuables I plundered to a countless amount. Six thousand of their common soldiers, who fled before my servants, and accepted my yoke, I took and gave over to the men of my own territory as slaves" (*id.* p. 65).

After having given many other extracts from this document, now in the British Museum, the learned and accurate historian makes the following among other remarks :

Perhaps the most striking feature of this inscription, when it is compared with other historical documents of the same kind belonging to other ages and nations, is its intensely religious character. The long and solemn invocation of the Great Gods with which it opens, the distinct ascription to their assistance and guardianship of the whole series of royal successes, whether in war or in the chase ; the pervading idea that the wars were undertaken for the chastisement of the enemies of Asshur, and that their result was the establishment of an ever-widening circle of the worship of Asshur ; the careful account which is given of the erection and renovation of temples, and the dedication of offerings ; and the striking final prayer—all these are so many proofs of the prominent place which religion held in the thoughts of the king who set up the inscription, and may fairly be accepted as indications of the general tone and temper of his people. It is evident that we have here displayed to us, not a decent lip-service, not a conventional piety, but a real, hearty earnest religious faith—a faith bordering on fanaticism—a spirit akin to that with which the Jews were possessed in their warfare with the nations of Canaan, or which the soldiers of Mahomet breathed forth when they fleshed their maiden swords upon the infidels. The king glorifies himself much ; but he glorifies the gods more. He fights, in part, for his own credit, and for the extension of his territory ; but he fights also for the honour of the gods, whom the surrounding nations reject, and for the diffusion of their worship far and wide throughout all known regions. His wars are religious wars, at least as much as wars of conquest ; his buildings, or, at any rate, those on whose construction he dwells with most complacency, are religious buildings ; the whole tone of his mind is deeply and sincerely religious ; besides formal acknowledgements, he is continually letting drop little expressions which show that his gods are "in all his thoughts," and represent to him real powers governing and directing all the various circumstances of human life. The religious spirit displayed is, as might have been expected, in the highest degree exclusive and intolerant ; but it is earnest, constant, and all-pervading (*id.* p. 72).

The reader will remark that the historian compares this inscription with other documents of the "same kind belonging to *other ages and nations*," and that Tiglath-Pileser I. was the historian of his own reign, and set up this inscription himself. No document, therefore, could more accurately portray the tone, temper, and principles of this renowned king, and generally that of the age in which he flourished.

The punishments denounced by the Mosaic code were to be inflicted promptly without any previous torture. The code knew nothing of such cruel punishments as cutting out the tongue, putting out the eyes, crucifixion, flaying alive, and other barbarous severities often practised in most heathen nations.

In speaking of the condition of the higher classes in Persia, Rawlinson says, among other things :

The irresponsible authority and cruel disposition of the kings, joined to the recklessness with which they delegated the power of life and death to their favourites, made it impossible for any person of eminence in the whole Empire to feel sure that he might not any day be seized and accused of a crime, or even without the form of an accusation be taken and put to death, after suffering the most excruciating tortures. . . . Practically, the monarch slew with his own hand any one whom he chose, or, if he preferred it, ordered him to instant execution, without trial or inquiry. His wife and his mother indulged themselves in the same pleasing liberty of slaughter, sometimes obtaining his tacit consent to their proceedings, sometimes without consulting him. . . . Noble Persians were liable to be beheaded, to be stoned to death, to be suffocated with ashes, to have their tongues torn out by the roots, to be buried alive, to be shot in mere wantonness, to be flayed and then crucified, to be buried all but the head, and to perish by the lingering agony of "the boat." If they escaped these modes of execution, they might be secretly poisoned, or they might be exiled, or transported for life (*Five Mon.*, iii. pp. 244-6).

Flaying alive was sometimes practised by the Romans. Says Milman :

The account of the fate of Rabbi Akiba is singularly characteristic. He was summoned for examination before the odious Turnus Rufus. In the middle of his interrogations, Akiba remembered that it was the hour of prayer. He fell on his knees, regardless of the presence of the Roman, and of the pending trial for life and death, and calmly went through his devotions. In the prison, while his lips were burning with thirst, he nevertheless applied his scanty pittance of water to his ablutions. The barbarous Roman ordered the old man to be flayed alive, and then put to death (*History of the Jews*, p. 444).

Of the regular administration of criminal justice in Chaldæa our accounts are very meagre. That state flourished from about B.C. 2280 to 1300. So of the regular criminal jurisprudence of Assyria we have but imperfect accounts. The same may be said of the Medes and Babylonians. But the inscriptions and other evidences show that they were cruel to prisoners of war, and more especially to those taken in rebellion, as we shall see.

In regard to the obedience of the Israelites to the law of Moses Josephus remarks :

But for our people, if any body do but ask any of them about our laws, he will more readily tell them all than he will tell his own name, and this in consequence of our having learned them immediately as soon as ever we become sensible of any thing, and of our having them, as it were, engraven on our souls. Our transgressors of them are but few ; and it is impossible, when any do offend, to escape punishment (*Against Apion*, book ii. p. 917).

The substantial and general truth of the statement that the transgressors of the law were few and promptly punished seems clear from the Old Testament. We have the record of one man stoned for blasphemy (*Lev. xxiv. 23*), another for violating the Sabbath (*Num. xv. 36*), and a third for concealing spoils taken in war (*Josue vii. 25*).

There may be some other individual cases which I have overlooked, but I think these are the main ones where such punishment was actually inflicted. However excessive we may think such punishment to be under ordinary circumstances, the very fact that, under the then existing conditions, these provisions gave rise to so few cases and caused so small an amount of aggregate suffering proves the truth of the position that severity is sometimes the most merciful policy. For however we may complain of the apparent severity of a penalty intended to secure certain obedience to a just law, the practical result of the greatest average good will triumphantly answer all our cavils, especially when we consider the following portion of the code :

But if one soul shall sin ignorantly, he shall offer a she-goat of a year old for his sin : and the priest shall pray for him, because he sinned ignorantly before the Lord : and he shall obtain his pardon, and it shall be forgiven him. The same law shall be for all that sin by ignorance, whether they be natives or strangers. But the soul that committeth any thing through pride, whether he be born in the land, or a stranger, (because he hath been rebellious against the Lord) shall be cut off from among his people: for he hath contemned the word of the Lord, and made void his precept : therefore shall he be destroyed, and shall bear his iniquity (Numbers xv. 27-31).

In regard to the general humanity inculcated by the Mosaic code I find a condensed statement in Josephus as follows :

However, there are other things which our legislator ordained for us beforehand, which, of necessity, we ought to do in common to all men ; as to afford fire, and water, and food to such as want it ; to show them the roads ; and not to let any one lie unburied. He also would have us treat those that are esteemed our enemies with moderation ; for he doth not allow us to set their country on fire, nor permit us to cut down those trees that bear fruit ; nay, further, he forbids us to spoil those that have been slain in war. He hath also provided for such as are taken captive, that they may not be injured, and especially that the women may not be abused. Indeed, he hath taught us gentleness and humanity so effectually, that he hath not despised the care of brute beasts, by permitting no other than a regular use of them, and forbidding any other ; and if any of them come to our houses, like suppliants, we are forbidden to slay them : nor may we kill the dams, together with their young ones ; but we are obliged in an enemy's country, to spare and not to kill those creatures that labor for mankind. Thus hath our law-giver contrived to teach us an equitable conduct every way, by using us to such laws as instruct us therein ; while at the same time he hath ordained, that such as break these laws should be punished, without the allowance of any excuse whatsoever (*Against Apion*, book ii. p. 920).

While we should make a fair allowance for the natural partiality of Josephus towards his own country's laws and their great author, we must concede the general and substantial truth of these remarks. We may not be able, from an examination of the code itself, to verify every minute particular, but we can readily see that he is right in the main. His statements principally rest upon the twentieth, twenty-first, and twenty-second chapters of Deuteronomy.

As to the customs of the Assyrians I make some extracts from Rawlinson :

No doubt the courage of the Assyrians was tinged with ferocity. The nation was "a mighty and a strong one, which, as a tempest of hail and a destroying storm, as a flood of mighty waters overflowing, east down to the earth with the hand." Its capital might well deserve to be called "a bloody city," or "a city of bloods." Few conquering races have been tenderhearted, or much inclined to spare; and undoubtedly carnage, ruin, and desolation followed upon the track of an Assyrian army, and raised feelings of fear and hatred among their adversaries. But we have no reason to believe that the nation was especially bloodthirsty or unfeeling. The mutilation of the slain—not by way of insult, but in proof of their prowess—was indeed practised among them; but otherwise there is little indication of any barbarous, much less of any really cruel, usages. The Assyrian listens to the enemy who asks for quarter; he prefers making prisoners to slaying; he is terrible in the battle and the assault, but afterwards he forgives, and spares. Of course in some cases he makes exceptions. When a town has rebelled and been subdued, he impales some of the most guilty; and in two or three instances prisoners are represented as led before the king by a rope fastened to a ring which passes through the under lip, while now and then one appears in the act of being flayed with a knife. But, generally, captives are either released, or else transferred, without unnecessary suffering, from their own country to some other portion of the empire. There seems even to be something of real tenderness in the treatment of captured women, who are never manacled, and are often allowed to ride on mules, or in carts.

The worst feature in the character of the Assyrians was their treachery (*Five Monarchies*, i. p. 242).

Quarter was not very often given in battle. The barbarous practice of rewarding those who carried back to camp the heads of foemen prevailed: and this led to the massacre in many cases even of the wounded, the disarmed, and the unresisting, though occasionally quarter was given, more especially to generals and other leading personages whom it was of importance to take alive (*id.* p. 467).

Vengeance was further taken by the destruction of the valuable trees in the vicinity, more especially the highly prized date-palms,\* which were cut with

\* "The date-palm ranges from the Canary Islands through Northern Africa and the south-east [west] of Asia to India." It is one of the most beautiful trees in the world. The trunk is round and generally straight, never forks, and only bears a cluster of long, slender, graceful leaves on the top. I cannot, from the authorities at hand, state the exact age at which this tree commences to bear fruit, but from recollection it must be about thirty years. This would seem to be correct, judging from its height. Mr. Alfred Russel Wallace, in his work, *The Malay Archipelago*, says the durian and the orange are the king and queen of fruits. But in this opinion he may be mistaken, as the date is certainly one of the most excellent fruits in the world.

George Rawlinson, in his histories of Chaldaea and Babylonia, has many passages in regard to this most useful tree, from which I make the following extracts:

"The utility of the palm has been at all times proverbial. A Persian poem celebrates its three hundred and sixty uses. The Greeks, with more moderation, spoke of it as furnishing the Babylonians with bread, wine, vinegar, honey, groats, strings and ropes of all kinds, firing, and a mash for fattening cattle. The fruit was excellent, and has formed at all times an important article of nourishment in the country" (*Five Mon.*, i. p. 35).

"But the production of first necessity in Babylonia was the date-palm, which flourished in great abundance throughout the region, and probably furnished the chief food of the greater portion of the inhabitants" (*id.* ii. p. 484).

"It is certain that dates formed the main food of the inhabitants. The dried fruit, being to them the staff of life, was regarded by the Greeks as their bread. It was perhaps pressed into cakes, as is the common practice in the country at the present day" (*id.* iii. p. 18).

This tree was valuable for other purposes besides those mentioned by the author in the above extracts.

hatchets half through their stems at the distance of about two feet from the ground, and then pulled or pushed down. Other trees were either treated similarly or denuded of their branches. Occasionally the destruction was of a less wanton and vengeful character (*id.* p. 474).

The inhabitants of a captured place were usually treated with more or less of severity. Those regarded as most responsible for the resistance or the rebellion were seized; generally their hands were manacled either before them or behind their backs, while sometimes fetters were attached to their feet, and even rings passed through their lips, and in this abject guise they were brought into the presence of the Assyrian king. Seated on his throne, in his fortified camp without the place, and surrounded by his attendants, he received them one by one, and instantly pronounced their doom. On some he proudly placed his foot, some he pardoned, a few he ordered for execution, many he sentenced to be torn from their homes and carried into slavery (*id.* p. 476).

The captives carried away by the conquerors consisted of men, women, and children. The men were formed into bands, under the conduct of officers, who urged them forward on their way by blows, with small regard for their sufferings. Commonly, they were conveyed to the capital, where they were employed by the monarchs in the lower or higher departments of labour, according to their capacities (*id.* p. 479).

The women and children carried off by the conquerors were treated with more tenderness than the men. . . . When the women reached Assyria, it would seem that they were commonly assigned as wives to the soldiers of the Assyrian army (*id.* pp. 480-1).

Advancing civilisation, more abundant literature, improved art, had not softened the tempers of the Assyrians, nor rendered them more tender and compassionate in their treatment of captured enemies. Sennacherib and Esarhaddon show, indeed, in this respect, some superiority to former kings. They frequently spared the prisoners, even when rebels, and seem seldom to have had recourse to extreme punishments. But Asshur-bani-pal reverted to the antique system of executions, mutilations, and tortures. We see on his bas-reliefs the unresisting enemy thrust through with the spear, the tongue torn from the mouth of the captive accused of blasphemy, the rebel king beheaded on the field of battle, and the prisoner brought to execution with the head of a friend or brother round his neck. We see the scourgers preceding the king as his regular attendants, with their whips passed through their girdles; we behold the operation of flaying performed either upon the living or dead men; we observe those who are about to be executed first struck on the face by the executioner's fist (*id.* ii. p. 218).

To discourage and check the chronic disease of rebellion, recourse is had to severe remedies, which diminish the danger to the central power, at the cost of extreme misery and often almost entire ruin to the subject kingdoms. Not only are the lands wasted, the flocks and herds carried off, the towns pillaged and

"All parts of the date-palm yield valuable economic products. Its trunk furnishes timber for house-building and furniture; the leaves supply thatch; their footstalks are used as fuel, and also yield a fibre from which cordage is spun" (*Encyc. Brit.*, vi. p. 832).

The following extract from the inscription of Tiglath-Pileser II., King of Assyria B.C. 745 to 727, will give an idea of the terrible character of the warfare of that time:

"The groves of palms which were in front of its wall I cut down, I did not leave one, its forests which extended over the country I destroyed, his enclosures I threw down, and filled up the interiors. All his cities I pulled down, destroyed, and in the fire I burned, Bit-Silani, Bit-amukkan, and Bit-sahall, through their extent like a whirlwind I destroyed, and to mounds and ruins I reduced" (*Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 259).

Considering the great importance of the date-palm and its slow reproduction, such destruction was next to destroying the land itself. The inscriptions of this king, as well as those of others in the same work, give us a vivid picture of the miseries of war as then conducted in heathen nations.



burnt, or in some cases razed to the ground, the rebel king deposed and his crown transferred to another, the people punished by the execution of hundreds or thousands, as well as by an augmentation of the tribute money ; but sometimes wholesale deportation of the inhabitants is practised, tens or hundreds of thousands being carried away captive by the conquerors, and either employed in servile labour at the capital, or settled as colonists in a distant province. With this practice the history of the Jews, in which it forms so prominent a feature, has made us familiar. It seems to have been known to the Assyrians from very early times, and to have become by degrees a sort of settled principle in their government (*id.* p. 238).

Of Media, the third monarchy of Rawlinson's history, the author says :

Her valour, undoubtedly, was of the merciless kind. There was no tenderness, no hesitancy about it. Not only did her armies "dash to pieces" the fighting men of the nations opposed to her, allowing apparently no quarter, but the women and the children suffered indignities and cruelties at the hands of her savage warriors, which the pen unwillingly records. The Median conquests were accompanied by the worst atrocities which lust and hate combined are wont to commit when they obtain their full swing (*id.* p. 309).

Babylonia commenced with the reign of Nabopolassar in B.C. 625, and ended with that of Nabonadius in B.C. 539, being a period of some eighty years. During this short national existence Nabuchodonosor reigned nearly forty-four years. Of him Mr. Rawlinson has the following among other remarks :

A few touches of a darker hue must be added to this portrait of the great Babylonian king from the statements of another contemporary, the prophet Jeremiah. The execution of Jehoiakim, and the putting out of Zedekiah's eyes, though acts of considerable severity, may perhaps be regarded as justified by the general practice of the age, and therefore as not indicating in Nebuchadnezzar any special ferocity of disposition. But the ill-treatment of Jehoiakim's dead body, the barbarity of murdering Zedekiah's sons *before his eyes*, and the prolonged imprisonment both of Zedekiah and of Jehoiachin, though the latter only contemplated rebellion, cannot be thus excused (*id.* iii. p. 59).

In regard to the Persians the historian says :

The Persians readily gave quarter to the enemy who asked it, and generally treated their prisoners of war with much kindness. Personages of importance, as monarchs or princes, either preserved their titles and their liberty, with even a certain nominal authority, or received appanages in other parts of the Persian territory, or, finally, were retained about the Court as friends and table-companions of the Great King. Those of less rank were commonly given lands and houses in some province remote from their own country, and thenceforth held the same position as the great mass of the subject races. Exchanges of prisoners do not seem to have been thought of. In a few cases, persons, whom we should regard as prisoners of war, experienced some severities, but probably only when they were viewed by the Persians, not as fair enemies, but as rebels. Rebels were, of course, liable to any punishment which the king might think it right to inflict upon them, and there were occasions after a revolt when sentences of extreme rigour were passed upon the persons considered to have been most in fault. According to Herodotus, three thousand Babylonians were crucified by order of Darius, to punish their re-

volt from him; and, though this is probably an exaggeration, it is certain that sometimes, where an example was thought to be required, the Persians put to death, not only the leader of the rebellion, but a number of his adherents. Crucifixion, or, at any rate, impalement of some sort, was in such cases the ordinary punishment. Sometimes, before a rebel was executed, he was kept for awhile chained at the king's door, in order that there might be no doubt of his capture.

Among the minor punishments of rebellion were branding, and removal of the rebels *en masse* from their own country to some remote locality. In this latter case, they were merely treated in the same way as ordinary prisoners of war. In the former, they probably became royal slaves attached to the household of the monarch (*id.* p. 193).

Alexander had crossed the Pylæ, or narrowest portion of the pass, and had reached Myriandrus—a little beyond Iskenderum—when news reached him that Darius had occupied Issus in his rear, and had put to death all the sick and wounded Macedonians whom he had found in the town (*id.* p. 523).

Milman, in his *History of the Jews*, speaking of the capture of Jerusalem and other cities of Judea by the Romans, uses this language :

Nothing could equal the splendour of the triumph which Vespasian shared with his son Titus for their common victories. Besides the usual display of treasures, gold, silver, jewels, purple vests, the rarest wild beasts from all quarters of the globe, there were extraordinary pageants, three or four stories high, representing, to the admiration and delight of those civilised savages, all the horrors and miseries of war; beautiful countries laid waste, armies slain, routed, led captive; cities breached by military engines, stormed, destroyed with fire and sword; women wailing; houses overthrown; temples burning; and rivers of fire flowing through regions no longer cultivated or peopled, but blazing far away into the long and dreary distance. Among the spoils, the golden table, the seven-branched candlestick, and the book of the law, from the temple of Jerusalem, were conspicuous.

The triumph passed on to the Capitol, and there paused to hear that the glory of Rome was completed by the insulting and cruel execution of the bravest general of the enemy. This distinction fell to the lot of Simon, the son of Goiras. He was dragged along to a place near the Forum, with a halter round his neck, scourged as he went, and there put to death (p. 416).

In regard to the Egyptians I will make a few extracts from the article "Egypt" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* :

The government of Egypt was monarchical. . . . The royal power can scarcely have been despotic, although under certain kings it became so. . . . The servants were of a higher grade than the labourers; not so the slaves, who were generally captives taken in war. . . . From these observations we may form some idea of the character of the ancient Egyptians. They were religious, but superstitious; brave without cruelty, but tyrannical; hospitable, but not to strangers. . . . Compared with the Assyrians the Egyptians were civilized conquerors, and the sculptures of their battles do not represent any scenes of extreme cruelty. . . . With the sole reign of Thothmes III. a series of great expeditions begins, from the records of which we have great insight into the condition of Syria and Palestine about the 15th century B.C. . . . The period of Thothmes III. is one of Aramæan supremacy, that of Ramses II. of Canaanite; . . . while the condition of the time of Ramses III. suits the latest age of the Judges. . . . After a reign of 54 years 11

months, . . . Thothmes III. was succeeded by his son Amenophis II. The accession of the new king was marked by a war in Assyria, in which he captured Nineveh. An incident of his eastern campaigns is remarkable for its Oriental barbarism. He brought back to Egypt the bodies of seven kings whom he had slain with his own hand. The heads of six were placed on the walls of Thebes; the seventh was sent to remote Napata in Ethiopia to be hung on the walls to strike terror into the negroes (vol. vii. pp. 719, 720, 722, 736, 737-8).

The expedition of Thothmes III. mentioned in the above extract most probably took place during the sojourn of the Israelites in the desert.

“The chronology of the Assyrian kingdom,” says Rawlinson, “has long exercised and divided the judgments of the learned” (*Five Monarchies*, ii. p. 43). Mr. George Smith gives a list of the Assyrian kings, commencing with Ismi-dagan, B.C. 1850 (*Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 445). Mr. Rawlinson commences his table with Belsumiii-kapi (no date), and gives the name of Asshur-bil-nisi-su, B.C. 1440 (*Five Monarchies*, ii. p. 49). But it seems almost certain that the kingdom existed in vigor under Vul-nirari I., B.C. 1330 to 1300, and expired about B.C. 625.

The preceding extracts will give, I think, a condensed but substantially correct idea of the state of the Eastern world at the time the Mosaic code was enacted, and for many centuries later. Fuller information can only be had by more extended quotations than my time and limits will allow. These extracts will illustrate other provisions of the code, to which I shall in due time refer.

The practice of employing eunuchs was common with the Assyrians, Medes, Babylonians, and Persians (*Five Monarchies*, i. p. 496, ii. p. 319, iii. pp. 58, 221-223).

The law of Moses expressly prohibited the castration of beasts (Lev. xxii. 24); and, although there is no separate and *express* provision against making eunuchs, the act is embraced within the provision, “He that striketh a man shall be punished” (Lev. xxiv. 21).

The word *strike* means here any personal violence, and not the ordinary idea conveyed by the word. It would include biting, cutting, stabbing, punching, violently pulling the nose or ear, and any other violence injurious to the person and not resulting in death.\*

\* Battery is defined by Blackstone as “the unlawful beating of another” (3 *Com.* p. 120). And yet this definition includes, “Any unlawful touching of the person of another, either by the aggressor himself, or any other substance put in motion by him, provided it be wilfully committed, or proceed from the want of due care” (Burrill’s *Law Dictionary*). “Every battery includes an assant” (*id.*) Unless the word *strikes* as used in the law of Moses includes all that the word *battery* does in our law, then that code made no provision for the offence of biting and many other injuries to the person of another. It is true, it may be plausibly said that biting could hardly be committed without striking in the ordinary sense of the term. But this is not correct in many cases, as the offender could seize his victim and bite him without striking, or inflict the injury while the person was asleep, or sick, or crippled, and under many other circumstances. To understand what the law means we must keep in view the mischief intended to be prevented. In this case the injury intended to be punished was the unlawful touching of another.

That making eunuchs was intended to be prohibited by the Mosaic code is further shown by the fact that such persons are excluded from the congregation of Israel, so as not to have the privilege of an Israelite or be capable of any place or office among the people of God.

The fact that eunuchs were subsequently employed by some of the kings of Judah is no evidence that they were either natives or made eunuchs by the Jews themselves. It is most probable that these eunuchs were foreigners, purchased as slaves, and were made eunuchs before they came into Judea. When the prophet Samuel was describing the arbitrary and arrogant power and conduct of the future king he said to the people of Israel: "Moreover he will take the tenth of your corn, and of the revenue of your vineyards, to give to his eunuchs and servants" (1 Kings, or 1 Samuel, viii. 15). It will be seen that the prophet does not say that the future king will make you or your sons eunuchs, but simply that he will take a certain portion of your property and "give it to his eunuchs and servants." Eunuchs are mentioned in 4 Kings viii. 6, ix. 32, xxiii. 11, xxv. 19; Is. lvi. 3; Jer. xxix. 2, xxxiv. 19, xxxviii. 7, xli. 16, lii. 25; but only in the thirty-eighth chapter of Jeremias is the nationality of the eunuch stated, and in that case he was an Ethiopian. This circumstance tends to show that all eunuchs among the Jews were foreigners. Smith's *Bible Dictionary*, p. 782, so states. Rawlinson, speaking of the Median court, says:

Polygamy, as usual, brought in its train the cruel practice of castration; and the court swarmed with eunuchs, chiefly foreigners purchased in their infancy (*Five Monarchies*, ii. p. 319). The origination of the practice is ascribed to Semiramis (Amm. Marcell. xiv. 6), and is no doubt as early, or nearly so, as eastern despotism itself (Smith's *Bible Dictionary*, p. 782).

The law of Moses was more merciful and just to the poor, the stranger, the widow, and the orphan than any other code then existing, so far as I am advised. The poor were allowed to glean in the fields and vineyards of others (Lev. xix. 9, 10; Deut. xxiv. 19-21). A pledge of raiment by the poor must be returned to him before night (Deut. xxiv. 12). The wages of the poor laborer, whether native or stranger, were to be promptly paid the same day they were earned (Deut. xxiv. 14, 15). In the fifteenth chapter of Deuteronomy there is an ordinance substantially requiring that all should do their best endeavors to prevent any of their brethren from suffering the hardships of poverty and want. No one was ever allowed to take away the raiment of a widow for a pledge (Deut. xxiv. 17). "Thou shalt not molest a stranger, nor afflict him. . . . You shall not hurt a widow or an orphan" (Ex. xxii. 21, 22).

In case a father died leaving no son, his daughter inherited the

estate (Num. xxvii. 8). A captive woman was allowed one month to mourn for her father and mother before becoming the wife of her captor (Deut. xxi. 11-13). "If a man have two wives, one beloved, and the other hated, and they have children by him, and the son of the hated be the first-born, and he meaneth to divide his substance among his sons: he may not make the son of the beloved the first-born, and prefer him before the son of the hated, but he shall acknowledge the son of the hated for the first-born, and shall give him a double portion of all he hath: for this is the first of his children, and to him are due the first-birthrights" (Deut. xxi. 15-17). If a man seduced a virgin not espoused, he was compelled to pay her father fifty sicles of silver, and to marry her, and was not allowed to "put her away all the days of his life" (Deut. xxii. 28, 29). "Thou shalt not speak evil of the deaf, nor put a stumbling-block before the blind" (Lev. xix. 14). "Go not aside after wizards, neither ask anything of soothsayers, to be defiled by them" (Lev. xix. 31). "If thou meet thy enemy's ox or ass going astray, bring it back to him. If thou see the ass of him that hateth thee lie underneath his burden, thou shalt not pass by, but shalt lift it up with him" (Ex. xxiii. 4, 5). "The fathers shall not be put to death for the children, nor the children for the fathers, but every one shall die for his own sin" (Deut. xxiv. 16). "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife: nor his house, nor his field, nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor anything that is his" (Deut. v. 21).

There are several other important provisions of the code, which will be noticed when we come to answer certain objections which have been made to them.

It can readily be seen by a careful examination of this renowned code of law how deep, earnest, and sincere the desire of the great legislator was to prevent all crime and secure perfect justice among the governed. The law was perfectly consistent with the great and most responsible mission of the chosen people. It is also evident that he made every effort *then practicable* to mitigate the severe usages of the time. His tender regard for the poor, the stranger, the widow, and the orphan is most manifest. No code of law of the present day, so far as I am advised, shows more, if so much, genuine solicitude to protect the weak and unfortunate against the strong and unprincipled. Though the punishments inflicted may seem to us of this late day to have been in some cases too severe, they were just and necessary under the conditions of that people and of that age.

The code not only secured the external observance of its provisions by adequate penalties, but sought to prevent crime by checking vice in its very *inception*. "Thou shalt not covet" was a prohibition of the *first* element of moral wrong—the *wicked intention*. If this could be suppressed, then all crimes against property would be

prevented. No man who did not covet the property of another would either rob, steal, or cheat.

As to the character of Moses, compared with the characters of other heroes and political rulers of his own and of all past time, it was most elevated. His masterly ability and unflinching firmness, both as a military leader and civil lawgiver, are too well known and appreciated to require any proof beyond that already given. He was nearly always equal to the occasion, however trying.

“ And wars, like mists that rise against the sun,  
But made him greater seem, not greater grow.”

But one of the greatest traits of his exalted character was his personal disinterestedness. No merely uninspired father of a nation so much resembled him in this respect as Washington.

The anger of Moses was excited by some injustice to another, or by some violation of the law of God, or by some false accusation against him in his official capacity. The first case mentioned is found in the second chapter of Exodus, where he slew the Egyptian oppressor of one of his brethren; the second, in the sixteenth chapter, where a plain, positive command was violated; the third, in the thirty-second chapter, where the people had fallen into idolatry; the fourth, in the sixteenth chapter of Numbers, where he was accused of official usurpation; and the last case which I remember is that in the thirty-first chapter, where the officers of the army had been too lenient toward the Midianite women, who had been sent among the Israelites, by the advice of Balaam, on purpose to seduce them from their duty to God.

All that is told of Moses indicates a withdrawal of himself, a preference of the cause of his nation to his own interests, which makes him the most complete example of Jewish patriotism. He joins his countrymen in their degrading servitude (Ex. ii. 11, v. 4). He forgets himself to avenge their wrongs (ii. 14). He desires that his brother may take the lead instead of himself (iv. 13). He wishes that not he only but all the nation were gifted alike: “Enviest thou for my sake?” (Num. xi. 29). When the offer is made that the people should be destroyed, and that he should be made “a great nation” (Ex. xxxii. 10), he prays that they may be forgiven—if not, “blot me, I pray Thee, out of Thy book which Thou hast written” (xxxii. 32). His sons were not raised to honor. The leadership of the people passed, after his death, to another tribe. In the books which bear his name, Abraham, and not himself, appears as the real father of the nation. In spite of his great preëminence, they are never “the children of Moses.”

In exact conformity with his life is the account of his end. The Book of Deuteronomy describes and is the last long farewell of the prophet to his people (Smith's *Bible Dictionary*, p. 2024).

The great conciseness of the foregoing beautiful extract may conceal a portion of its meaning unless read with close attention.

It has been objected that if we concede, for the sake of the argument only, that Moses was himself the author of the five books attributed to him, then he was a vain man, as shown by the following passages: "And the Lord will give favour to his people in the sight of the Egyptians. And Moses was a very great man in the land of Egypt, in the sight of Pharaoh's servants, and of all the people" (Ex. xi. 3). "(For Moses was a man exceedingly meek above all men, that dwelt upon the earth)" (Num. xii. 3).

In answer to this plausible objection some insist that these passages are most probably interpolations by later writers, others that the word *meek*, in the second passage, should be rendered *disinterested*. I shall not discuss these questions nor rely upon such explanations. I shall treat the passages as the work of Moses and consider the translation as correct, and will give my reasons accordingly.

I hold these positions to be substantially true :

*First.* That every man has a right to be just to himself, as he is bound to be just to others.

*Second.* That, for this plain reason, he has an undoubted right, upon all proper occasions, to state the *truth* with regard to himself.

*Third.* That where he acts under *delegated* authority it is not only his clear right, but often his imperative *duty*, to state facts necessary to explain the true character of his *official* acts.

*Fourth.* That where he is the historian of events in which he acted an important part he is of necessity bound, in justice to himself, to the truth of history, to the cause he represents, and to the just claims of his readers, to state the *same* facts that any *other* true historian would be required to record.

These may be considered by some as bold positions; but they are as true as they are bold. He who assumes to write as an historian has not only the right to state all material facts, whether they relate to himself or to others, but he is compelled to do so for the reasons already stated. He should either decline the responsible and most difficult task of the historian or discharge it fully and impartially. It is true that when speaking of himself he should be very careful not to let his self-love mislead him; but when he knows certain facts to be true he should resolutely state them, just as they exist. No mere false delicacy should prevent him from telling the truth as it is.

In applying these correct principles to the two cases in hand I shall consider them separately in the order in which they are stated in the record.

Up to the time when the facts stated in the first passage occurred

God had performed all His many miracles before Pharaoh through the agency of Moses and Aaron. The last plague had not then been sent, but was to be inflicted by other than their action. God promised to make the Egyptians favorable towards the Israelites. How was this done? The narrative very fully states the effects which the miracles performed by Moses and Aaron had upon the king; but up to *this time* the history had said very little of their effects upon his servants, and still less of those upon his people. As God had used Moses as his instrument in performing the larger portion of the miracles, so He used him as *one* means to influence the Egyptians to favor the departing Israelites. The statement that Moses was held to be a very great man among the servants and people of the king is simply, *in part*, an explanation of the fact that they were so liberally disposed. This is shown by the close connection of the statement with God's promise. Why does this statement as to the estimation in which Moses was held by the Egyptians *immediately* follow God's promise, unless it was intended as an explanation of how the promised effect should be produced? Had not Moses been esteemed so much the Egyptians would have been less favorably inclined. The statement was, therefore, proper and necessary as a part of the history. The manner in which the statement is recorded shows that Moses was the author, and did not desire to go beyond the proper requirements of his narrative. He does not say that he was in fact a very great man, but only that he was *so esteemed*. The character of his history required this and nothing more. Whether the Egyptians over-estimated the merits of Moses is a matter of no importance to the narrative, as the fact that they esteemed him a very great man had upon them the *same effect* whether their estimate of him was correct or mistaken. It can readily be seen that any *other* historian would not only have stated the fact of the true standing of Moses with the servants and people of the king, but such other historian would most probably have given his *opinion* whether such estimation was deserved or otherwise.

God was, then, the efficient *cause* of the high standing of Moses with the servants and people of the king, because He gave him his exalted commission, accompanied with the great power of performing miracles; and this reputation was, *in part*, the reason why the Egyptians were so liberally disposed towards the Israelites. No doubt the miracle of the last of the ten plagues had its due share of influence upon the Egyptian people. The result was that God did make them favor the Israelites, by giving Moses the means to acquire his great reputation, and then using it to attain the end promised.

The second passage is also one of proper explanation. To under-



stand the reason for this we must inquire into the exact circumstances of the particular case.\*

Mary and Aaron had not only spoken against Moses because of his Ethiopian wife, but they called in question his superior authority; because, as they claimed, God had *equally* spoken to them, and for that reason they assumed that they were his equals in point of authority. "Hath the Lord spoken by Moses only? hath he not also spoken to us in like manner?" They seem not to have understood the reason why God should have given His Spirit in larger measure to Moses than to them, when He had spoken to them as well as to him. The substance

\* I think that the comparison of the meekness of Moses was only intended to be made with that of others occupying substantially the same position. It is true, the language is wide; but Mr. Broom, as already stated, lays down the well-established and sensible rule that "general words shall be aptly restrained according to the subject-matter or person to which they relate" (*Broom's Legal Maxims*, p. 501).

Writers and speakers are naturally prone to use words of wide meaning in limited senses. Each writer or speaker generally has in his view *only* the subject under immediate discussion, and his language, however broad, applies, in his own contemplation, to that subject *alone*. And each writer or speaker supposes that his readers or hearers will be just to him and to themselves, and will not forget the particular matter under consideration, as that is their plain duty and true interest.

I have already given many instances on page 233 to illustrate this rule, and will now only refer to two others.

*First.* Pope, in his "Essay on Man," has these lines:

" All nature is but art unknown to thee;  
All chance, direction which thou canst not see;  
All discord, harmony not understood;  
All partial evil, universal good;  
And, spite of pride, in erring reason's spite,  
One truth is clear, WHATEVER IS, IS RIGHT."

The words "whatever is, is right" are very broad, and, taken by themselves and without restriction, they would include all the crimes committed by men. Although they have been so construed by some, it is perfectly clear from the context and the nature of the subject under consideration that the poet used them in a limited sense and as applicable *only* to the acts of God. In the beginning of his celebrated Essay he sets forth the great purpose he had in view:

" Laugh where we must, be candid where we can;  
But vindicate the ways of God to man."

Having set out to "vindicate the ways of God to man," all that follows has reference to that main end, and for this reason the writer's "general words" are to be "aptly restrained according to the *subject-matter*."

*Second.* Another strong case in point is found in the Declaration of Independence, wherein it is assumed as a self-evident truth "that all men are created equal."

The word *equal* has been often misconstrued as including men's physical and mental capacities, and thus the position assumed has been held as manifestly mistaken. Such a conclusion was the result of a misconstruction of language, and nothing more. The Declaration speaks of "*political bands*," and is a *political* document, treating *only* of political questions, and means simply to assume as true that all men are created equal as regards their political rights. Every sane individual of our race possesses an individual capacity which is precisely the same in all, though they may differ in many *other* respects, as in size and form and in intellectual and physical powers.

Now, the subject-matter in the second quotation was the accusation that Moses in his official capacity had usurped authority not delegated by God. And as this charge referred to the *official* misconduct of Moses, and he did not answer it because of his meekness as compared with that of others, we must consider the wide and general words of the text as "aptly restrained according to the *subject-matter* and the *person* to which they relate," and hold that his meekness was only intended to be compared with that of other leaders and lawgivers—those occupying substantially the same position, and thus exposed to the same test and trial.

of the accusation was that Moses had assumed superior authority when it was not conferred by God, and was thus guilty of official ambition and pride in wrongfully exalting himself above his equals in delegated power and inspiration from God.

This grave accusation against Moses of usurpation of power—not under the commission of a human potentate, but under one from God Almighty Himself—was not made by an ordinary, unofficial person, like Core and his associates, but the grievous charge came from his elder brother and his only sister, one of whom was joined with him in the great mission, and both of whom had been spoken to by God and by Him empowered to perform miracles. Moses made no answer to this serious allegation. Why did he not do so? It is evident that the historian should have recorded the fact of the charge having been made and the additional fact that God interfered in the matter. These were most material facts that must appear or there would be a serious defect in the narrative.

If, then, it was most necessary to state the facts of the accusation and of the interference of God, why was it not equally proper to record the *true* reason why Moses made no defence against this grave charge, and why God Himself undertook the defence of His servant Moses? The true reason for both facts was the meekness of Moses; and the statement of this fact is the explanation of the non-action of Moses and of the positive action of God. Suppose an impartial but uninspired historian had written the history of these great events; he certainly would have been justified in recording all the material facts within his knowledge, both those personally known to him and those the knowledge of which had been acquired. Such historian would then have stated the meekness of Moses, so far as he knew it, not only in justice to the accused, but in justice to the truth of history and the reasonable claims of his readers. Must a portion of the truth be suppressed because the historian was a party concerned? Is it not clear that Moses, as a veracious historian, should have stated all the facts that any *other* true historian of the same events should have stated? If he had not done so his history would have been imperfect.

In the first extract the historian only stated the fact of his reputation among the Egyptians as the explanation of the reason in part of *their* action; but in the second case he was compelled to record a fact explanatory of his *own* non-action and of the action of God; and from the nature of the case he had to state, not a matter of *opinion*, but a specific fact. But he was an inspired historian, and the Spirit was competent to know not only the fact and the extent of the meekness of Moses, but to see the importance and justice of its statement in the history; and therefore the historian, in regard to his comparative

meekness with that of others, was but the simple *instrument* of the Spirit in recording it. I maintain that the grand old historian was inspired as such; that he fully appreciated the true nature of his sublime mission; and that in composing his great narrative he rose above the passions and prejudices of our nature and recorded that which was true in and of itself. I think that, under all the then existing conditions, he was the very man most competent to write such a history. There are times in the varied and wonderful history of our race when *great* men must take the responsibility of stating facts relating to themselves which they, from motives of personal delicacy, would prefer should be recorded by others. But the truly great man, under such trying circumstances, will resolutely and plainly state the truth as he knows it to exist, regardless of the opinion that such act will subject him to the unmerited imputation of personal egotism. Such a man I believe Moses to have been.

Perhaps nothing can more clearly set forth the true spirit of Moses as compared with that of other rulers than the history of the renowned Tiglath-Pileser I., King of Assyria. These two representative men lived in ages and countries not distant from each other, and they were both most positive, earnest men, and both sincerely and intensely religious. The history of the Assyrian monarch is perfectly authentic, as may be seen by reading the extract from Rawlinson commencing on page 277 of this work. Nothing can give us so clear an insight into the true character of a man as the *general tone, drift, and spirit of his own words*. Says Rawlinson :

In the next section the king glorifies himself, enumerating his royal titles as follows: "Tiglath-Pileser, the powerful king, king of the people of various tongues; king of the four regions; king of all kings; lord of lords; the supreme (?); monarch of monarchs; the illustrious chief, who, under the auspices of the Sun-god, being armed with the sceptre and girt with the girdle of power over mankind, rules over all the people of Bel; the mighty prince, whose praise is blazoned forth among the kings; the exalted sovereign, whose servants Asshur has appointed to the government of the four regions, and whose name he has made celebrated to posterity; the conqueror of many plains and mountains of the Upper and Lower country; the victorious hero, the terror of whose name has overwhelmed all regions; the bright constellation who, as he wished, has warred against foreign countries, and under the auspices of Bel—there being no equal to him—has subdued the enemies of Asshur."

The royal historian, after this introduction, proceeds to narrate his actions—first in general terms declaring that he has subdued all the lands and the peoples round about, and then proceeding to particularise the various campaigns which he had conducted during the first five years of his reign (*Five Monarchies*, ii. p. 63).

As Moses, in the first extract, simply stated the fact of the actual—not the deserved—estimation in which he was held by the Egyptians, not even the most exacting critic could object to such a state-

ment under the existing circumstances ; and as to the mention of his meekness, he acted under the inspiration of the Spirit, and only claimed to possess an humble virtue *very rarely, if ever*, claimed by or found among the sovereigns of his time. But when we look into the long list of titles assumed by the Assyrian monarch we can readily see that he was eager to find high-sounding titles which ran in the line of pomp and power, and *never once* hit upon a title indicating, *even remotely*, such a virtue as meekness. These extracts not only show the difference between the two men, but they tend to prove, by their general tone, drift, and spirit, the essential difference in the natures of the two theories of religion which these two renowned men represented.

## CHAPTER XI.

### THE PENTATEUCH—OBJECTIONS.

#### *Slavery.*

As the Mosaic code re-established the institution of slavery among the Israelites, the question to examine is not whether it is justifiable under ordinary circumstances, but whether it was proper under the then existing conditions of the race. To do justice to the question we must, so far as we can, place ourselves back in that age and country, and take a calm and fair view of things as they then existed.

After the dispersion of mankind at the Tower of Babel the race first divided into families, which in turn increased into tribes, and these by natural increase and by force of conquest ultimately became nations. That nearly every country, in its first settlement, was occupied by small, separate, and independent clans or communities is an historical fact too well known to require proof. It was so in England, Ireland, Scotland, France, and other European countries; it was so in Asia and America, and is still so in Africa.

This state of things was the natural result of the then existing conditions. All persons will, *at first*, naturally prefer to be governed by some of their own kindred; and so long as there was ample unoccupied room in new and accessible countries the ambitious but defeated aspirant would quit his former home with his relatives, friends, and dependants, and with them retire to some other locality, where he could be supreme over at least a family or small tribe. The remark of Julius Cæsar, that he would rather be the first man in a village than the second man in Rome, is the best possible illustration of mere human ambition. The wish to become the founder of a family, tribe, and nation was a powerful impulse to migration. Many other motives, such as love of adventure, desire of independence, resentment against and fear of successful opponents, combined to produce separations among men, in addition to the confusion of language. It was the clear design of God that all the habitable earth should be occupied by His last creation—man. This could not be done except by dispersion and division into separate communities, composing separate, independent political states. No genuine statesman now entertains the wild and visionary theory that all mankind can be successfully included under one political government. No one human power can be competent for such a task.

But when the settlements of portions of Asia and Africa had attained a certain degree of development, and the people had mainly ceased to rely upon the produce of the chase for support and had become agriculturists, mechanics, and builders of cities, then a terrible struggle commenced by the bold and successful military campaigns of Nemrod, the first ambitious conqueror of men. The success of this hero, harsh and cruel as were the means used, seems to have established a fatal precedent of cruelty, since followed by nearly all the Asiatic sovereigns. It is most difficult to argue against success; and it is a fact that the most successful Asiatic conquerors were generally the most cruel. The success of Nemrod, therefore, not only stimulated the ambition of subsequent conquerors, but it placed all independent tribes and nations in extreme peril. Every small nation was liable to invasion and conquest at any time; and the weaker communities were compelled to form unreliable, temporary, and complex combinations among themselves to resist the continued encroachments of the stronger states. As the arms of all nations and their mode of warfare were substantially the same, and the destruction in battle much greater than since the invention of fire-arms, numbers were then more important than at present.

The miseries of war were then more terrible than now, and the effects of conquest upon the vanquished far more destructive and humiliating in every respect.

The Asiatic and African policy of conquest, which was adopted at an early day, was not to incorporate the conquered people as equal subjects of the empire or kingdom—thus giving them all the advantages of being true subjects of the central power, with all the hopes and prospects of the other and older people—but to leave their local organization intact under their own princes, and impose upon their country an annual tribute, thus making their local rulers substantially odious collectors of taxes for the conquering state. This theory left the subject kingdoms not only to defray all the expenses of their own internal government, but compelled them to bear an *additional* burden in the humiliating and exhaustive shape of direct tribute, and also to furnish a certain quota of troops in time of war. The policy of the central state was to keep the dependent kingdoms always *comparatively* weak for fear of rebellion. It was strictly and terribly a government of mere force. The people of the subject kingdoms were thus left without hope or motive for improvement. They could have no satisfaction in the success of the central power, as such success would only increase the power and glory of their oppressor. The extreme miseries of the subject peoples are well stated by Rawlinson in the extract found on page 282.

Another effect of war, as then sanctioned by the general law and usages of nations, was to either slay or make slaves of their prisoners

of war. This practice seems to have been common among the conquering nations of that day, as shown in the extracts found on pages 277, 282, and 298. The sovereigns of those days seem to have acted upon the principle that they had the just right either to slay or enslave their prisoners of war, at their election. The prisoners of war, having been enemies, seeking the lives of the king's people, and having been fairly beaten in war, were considered the property of the conquering sovereign, to be disposed of as he determined. This was especially the case as regards those prisoners considered as rebels.

To fully appreciate how firmly slavery was established throughout the inhabited world at the time the Mosaic code was adopted, we must bear in mind the true nature of the governments then existing in the East. The monarchy-loving Asiatics seem mostly to have been governed, at all times since the time of Nemrod, by simple despotisms.

In Assyria, as in most Oriental countries, the keystone of the social arch, the central point of the system, round which all else revolved, and on which all else depended, was the monarch (*Five Monarchies*, i. p. 484).

In the East, where the monarch is not merely the chief but the sole power in the state, the moving spring whose action must be continually exerted to prevent the machinery of government from standing still, it is always dangerous for the reigning prince to be long away from his metropolis. The Orientals do not use the language of mere unmeaning compliment when they compare their sovereigns with the sun, and speak of them as imparting light and life to the country and people over which they rule. In the king's absence all languishes; the course of justice is suspended; public works are stopped; the expenditure of the Court, on which the prosperity of the capital mainly depends, being withdrawn, trade stagnates, the highest branches suffering most; artists are left without employment; workmen are discharged; wages fall; every industry is more or less deranged, and those engaged in it suffer accordingly; nor is there any hope of a return of prosperity until the king comes home (*id.* ii. p. 139).

Such was the position of Assyria among her neighbours in the latter part of the twelfth century before Christ. She was a compact and powerful kingdom, centralized under a single monarch, and with a single great capital, in the midst of wild tribes which clung to a separate independence, each in its own valley or village (*id.* ii. p. 76).

Babylon is first mentioned in the inscriptions of Izdubar at the time when the Babylonian monarchy was being formed by the uniting of a number of little states (*Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 60).

Such, then, being the generally despotic character of the governments of the East, the next inquiry is how these despotic powers were used: I can only give a few extracts, but sufficient, I think, to convey a substantially correct idea of the true condition of things at that remote time and for many centuries later :

It is evident, from the size and number of these works, that their erector had the command of a vast amount of "naked human strength," and did not scruple to employ that strength in constructions from which no material benefit was derivable, but which were probably designed chiefly to extend his own fame and perpe-

tuate his glory. We may gather from this that he was either an oppressor of his people, like some of the Pyramid kings in Egypt, or else a conqueror, who thus employed the numerous captives carried off in his expeditions. Perhaps the latter is the more probable supposition; for the builders of the great fabrics in Babylonia and Chaldæa do not seem to have left behind them any character of oppressiveness, such as attaches commonly to those monarchs who have ground down their own people by servile labour (*Five Monarchies*, i. p. 156).

The above-quoted remarks relate to one of the early kings of Chaldæa, of whom the author says among other things :

A monumental king, whose name is read doubtfully as Urkham or Uruk, belongs almost certainly to this early dynasty, and may be placed next in succession, though at what interval we cannot say, to Nimrod. He is beyond question the earliest Chaldæan monarch of whom any remains have been obtained in the country. . . . As he was succeeded by a son, whose reign seems to have been of the average length, we must place his accession at least as early as B. C. 2326 (*id.* i. p. 155).

Modern research has thus supplied us with memorials (or at any rate with the names) of some thirty kings, who ruled in the country properly termed Chaldæa at a very remote date. Their antiquity is evidenced by the character of their buildings and of their inscriptions, which are unmistakably rude and archaic. It is further indicated by the fact that they are the builders of certainly the most ancient edifices whereof the country contains any trace (*id.* i. p. 172).

In the construction of these great works Sennacherib made use, chiefly, of the forced labour with which his triumphant expeditions into foreign countries had so abundantly supplied him. Chaldæans, Aramæans, Armenians, Cilicians, and probably also Egyptians, Ethiopians, Elamites, and Jews, were employed by thousands in the formation of the vast mounds, in the transport and elevation of the colossal bulls, in the moulding of the bricks, and the erection of the walls of various edifices, in the excavation of the canals, and the construction of the embankments. They wrought in gangs, each gang having a costume peculiar to it, which probably marked its nation. Over each was placed a number of task-masters, armed with staves, who urged on the work with blows, and severely punished any neglect or remissness (*id.* ii. p. 183).

The historian adds in two notes :

From a bull-inscription we learn that the number of Aramæans carried off as slaves in one raid was 208,000.

In reference to urging on the work by blows the other note states :

The same practice prevailed in Persia (Herod. vii. 22); and there must be something akin to it wherever forced labour is used.

Assur-nazir-pal, who ascended the Assyrian throne B. C. 885, resolved to rebuild the city; and bringing numbers of captives taken during his wars, he set them to work to rebuild Calah, and then settled them there to inhabit it. The north-west palace and the temples near the tower were the work of this king, and from these came most of the fine Nimroud sculptures in the British Museum (*Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 73).

Diodorus states that the walls of Nineveh were 100 ft. high, which was probably not beyond the truth; but as the upper part of the wall is everywhere destroyed, it is impossible to prove the matter at present (*id.* p. 87).



Speaking of the age of the pyramid-builders in Egypt, the writer of the article "Egypt" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (vol. vii. p. 732) says:

The regal power at this time seems to have been very strong. So at least we may infer from the phraseology of the inscriptions, and from the fact that the kings threw much, if not all, of the force of the nation into personal monuments for their own memorial. Never in later times is the royal tomb the chief object of the king's reign, or is he so completely detached from the welfare of Egypt. The pyramids with their priesthoods are proofs that then the Pharaoh was more positively worshipped than ever afterwards.

It is clear beyond any reasonable doubt that the governments of the East and South first commenced with the family, then increased into tribes, and finally terminated in iron despotisms. In the terrible, oft-repeated, and long-continued struggles for mastery and safety among the earlier populations of the world despotism was the most natural theory of government. This form gives the supreme power in a state the most ready and simple command over the resources of a people and allows the greatest unity and directness in their efficient, practical use. When the *main* purpose, for the time being, of a national organization is either external defence against neighboring peoples or actual extension of dominion by force of arms, a despotism with a single head is admitted to be the strongest. It is more oppressive at home but more efficient abroad than other forms of government. When, therefore, the choice of a people lies between foreign and domestic oppression, they will naturally generally prefer the latter, as being the more tolerable of the two. It is most probable also that the natural, as certainly the habitual, peculiarity of the Asiatic mind tends to this form of government.

The form of government being despotic, and despots being generally proud, tyrannical, and selfish, it is clear that they had the greatest political, personal, and pecuniary interest in supporting a national law and usage which allowed them to make slaves of prisoners of war. Their people—who generally fought the battles of the country—had an equal interest to sustain the practice, as it relieved them from the hard, servile work and onerous taxes which would otherwise have been required of them by the king in the construction of his magnificent tombs, temples, palaces, statues, gardens, parks, fortifications, canals, embankments, and other works, the ruins of which, in many instances, remain to this late day.

The institution of slavery having been thus originally established by force, and so long continued by force, interest, and habit until it became so closely and firmly interwoven with all the practical relations of daily domestic and national life that nothing short of the most violent and bloody revolution could suddenly change or abolish it, how could a small and weak nation like the Israelites reasonably

hope to affect the fixed habits, policy, and opinions of the dominant, aggressive, and interested despotisms of the old world ? It is not for *one* people, but for many nations, by general and mutual consent, to establish, resist, or change the laws and usages of nations ; unless, indeed, a single people were either so isolated as to be practically inaccessible by invasion, or so strong by natural position, numbers, or superior prowess as to be able, singly or with a few others, to resist successfully the prevailing national opinions and usages of the time. Statesmanship is a *practical* science, and for that invincible reason must sometimes yield something to such circumstances as it can neither create nor control. To reform the world is a *slow* and *gradual* process, and for that good and sufficient reason *one* great change must be proposed at a time ; and when that has been incorporated into the daily life of a people, then, like the work of God in creation, another step forward should be taken. The mind of an individual, the mind of a nation, and the mind of the race can only attend to *one* main purpose at one and the same time. Things must be taken in detail by beings of limited intellect. If every improvement or beneficial change could be made by a single generation there would be nothing left for future ages to accomplish.

Slavery being, then, firmly and universally established among all the peoples of the earth, except the one just redeemed from that state, what good and practical reason existed, under such conditions, why Moses should have excluded it from the new nation ? How much real good would such exclusion have accomplished for the whole human race ? Would such exclusion have tended to abolish the institution or have materially diminished the number of slaves ? These are practical questions to be considered. That young nation had been specially chosen, and had undertaken, under extraordinary circumstances, to maintain, in the face of nearly all mankind, the grand, simple, and sublime doctrine of the unity of God ; and its condition was sufficiently responsible and perilous without unnecessarily increasing its antagonisms to other peoples. The slave-nation would have been exceedingly jealous of a people who opposed their profitable institution ; because slaves are men and can flee or resist, and for that reason they constitute a peculiar and dangerous species of property, and the owners of such property are, therefore, the more watchful and jealous of all opposition.

Had the institution been excluded from the new nation it would have practically placed the Israelites at a great disadvantage in the fierce struggle for national existence. In that age, when every people sought to increase their numbers for the purpose of national protection as well as for conquest, how could that small nation have sustained itself ? When it lost prisoners of war they would have been retained as slaves by their captors ; but when it captured prisoners

what could have been done with them? Exchange of prisoners was not thought of, as we see from the extract on page 283. The only instance I have met of such exchange is mentioned in the third volume, page 381, of Rawlinson's *Five Monarchies*, where the circumstances were most peculiar :

The king who commanded them was a certain Amorges, who was married to a wife called Sparethra. In an engagement with the Persians he fell into the enemy's hands, whereupon Sparethra put herself at the head of the Sacan forces, defeated Cyrus, and took so many prisoners of importance, that the Persian monarch was glad to release Amorges in exchange for them.

For the purpose of clear illustration we will assume that the Mosaic code had prohibited slavery. What, then, would have probably been the *practical* consequences under the then existing laws and usages of nations ?

We will suppose that the Israelites, in a war with another nation, had lost in battle fifty thousand men and an equal number in prisoners, and had destroyed of the enemy fifty thousand men and captured one hundred thousand prisoners of war. As no exchange of prisoners could have been made, what could the Israelites have done with their hundred thousand captives? It would have been wholly unsafe to have incorporated them as equals among the Israelites, as such people could not have been expected in that day, when national, religious, and kindred ties were so strong, to be true, in case of future war, to their *forced* allegiance. If the prisoners had been released and thus allowed to return to their own country, that would *relatively* have weakened Israel to the extent of two hundred thousand men, as it would have taken from her one hundred thousand men and have added that number to her enemy. If the prisoners had all been slaughtered, that would have been more harsh than slavery, and Israel would have lost the labor of one hundred thousand men. How could any weak nation have then sustained itself under such a practice? National destruction would have been the natural result. The only safe and practical plan was to follow the fixed national usages of the time and make slaves of the prisoners, who in such condition would have been less dangerous to the nation, and whose services would have compensated for the labor of the hundred thousand men lost in the war. Even if an exchange of prisoners, man for man, could have been effected at the time, there would still have been in the hands of the Israelites a surplus of fifty thousand prisoners; and what could have been done with them?

It is exceedingly doubtful whether the Israelites would have peacefully submitted to a law prohibiting slavery among them. They would naturally have reasoned in this way: "Slavery is now, and has long been, universal among nations. Why should we be deprived of that which is beneficial to others? Are we worse than they? We

have ourselves been slaves and have suffered in our own persons all its evils, and now we are to be deprived of all its benefits. While we are liable to again become slaves, we are never allowed to become masters. Our case is truly a one-sided and a hard one. Everything is against us, and nothing for us. We are placed at a disadvantage in every respect."

But even if they had submitted peaceably it would have been a most reluctant and sullen submission, as no people value the privilege of becoming masters so exorbitantly as those who have themselves been slaves. The deprivation of a privilege then, and for ages before, universal among all other peoples would have had a most depressing effect upon the new nation; and what would have been in such a case the full effects we cannot certainly tell.

However much we may, under existing conditions, justly oppose the institution of slavery, the law of Moses, under the then existing circumstances, was the best attainable humanity, and is supported by the most abundant reasons, some of which I have stated as best I could.

There were two classes of servants among the Israelites, as may be seen by the following provisions (Lev. xxv. 39-46) :

If thy brother constrained by poverty, sell himself to thee, thou shalt not oppress him with the service of bond-servants: but he shall be as a hireling, and a sojourner; he shall work with thee until the year of the jubilee, and afterwards he shall go out with his children, and shall return to his kindred and to the possession of his fathers. For they are my servants, and I brought them out of the land of Egypt: let them not be sold as bond-men: afflict him not by might, but fear thy God. Let your bond-men, and your bond-women, be of the nations that are round about you. And of the strangers that sojourn among you, or that were born of them in your land, these you shall have for servants: and by right of inheritance shall leave them to your posterity, and shall possess them for ever. But oppress not your brethren the children of Israel by might.

When thy brother a Hebrew man, or Hebrew woman is sold to thee, and hath served thee six years, in the seventh year, thou shalt let him go free: and when thou sendest him out free, thou shalt not let him go away empty: but shalt give him for his way out of thy flocks, and out of thy barn-floor, and thy wine-press, wherewith the Lord thy God shall bless thee (Deut. xv. 12-14).

It can readily be seen that the case of the Hebrew servant was substantially one of hired service, not to exceed the term of six years. The bond-servants were of strangers and their children born in the land. I shall only notice certain provisions applicable to *this* class :

He that striketh his bond-man or bond-woman with a rod, and they die under his hands, shall be guilty of the crime. But if the party remain alive a day or two, he shall not be subject to the punishment, because it is his money. . . . If any man strike the eye of his man-servant or maid-servant, and leave them but one eye, he shall let them go free for the eye which he put out. Also if he strike out a tooth of his man-servant or maid-servant, he shall in like manner make them free (Ex. xxi. 20, 21, 26, 27).

Thou shalt not deliver to his master the servant that is fled to thee. He shall dwell with thee in the place that shall please him, and shall rest in one of thy cities: give him no trouble (Deut. xxiii. 15, 16).

I think that the expression "a day or two" in the first extract only means a short but indefinite time, and was left so on purpose, in order that each case might be decided according to its own particular circumstances. The language of Scripture is often inexact as to time; and had precision been intended in this case it would have been only one day or only two days, and not one *or* the other. In the same chapter (verse 29) it is stated: "But if the ox was wont to push with his horn yesterday and the day before." Now, it seems clear that the expression "*yesterday and the day before*" simply means that the ox was usually accustomed to attack people, and not literally only on the *exact* days mentioned.

The accurate Greenleaf has the following remarks, which are applicable to this subject:

Thus, also, a sane man is conclusively presumed to contemplate the natural and probable *consequences* of his own acts; and therefore the intent to murder is conclusively inferred from the deliberate use of a deadly weapon.

He then adds in a note:

But if death does not ensue, till a year and a day, (that is, a full year,) after the stroke, it is conclusively presumed, that the stroke was not the sole cause of the death, and it is not murder. 4 Bl. *Comm.* 197; *Glassford on Evid.* 592. The doctrine of presumptive evidence was familiar to the Mosaic Code; even to the letter of the principle stated in text. Thus, it is laid down in regard to the manslayer, that, "if he smite him with an *instrument of iron*, so that he die,"—or, "if he smite him with throwing a *stone wherewith* he may die, and he die,"—or, "if he smite him with a *hand-weapon of wood wherewith* he may die, and he die; he is a murderer." Sec Num. xxxv. 16, 17, 18. Here every instrument of *iron* is conclusively taken to be a deadly weapon, and the use of any such weapon raises a conclusive presumption of malice. The same presumption arose from *lying in ambush*, and thence destroying another. Ib. v. 20. But, in other cases, the existence of malice was to be proved, as one of the facts in the case; and in the absence of malice, the offence was reduced to the degree of manslaughter, as at the Common Law. Ib. v. 22, 23 (*Greenleaf on Evidence*, i. s. 18).

The intent to commit the crime of murder must either be *actual*, or *conclusively* presumed. If a man deliberately use a deadly weapon and kill another, the law conclusively presumes malice, though, in fact, the accused only intended to wound and not to slay. If prisoners in such cases were allowed to set up this defence the consequences would be serious, as the plea would generally be put in, and too often wrongfully sustained.

In the case under consideration, where the slave died under the hands of the master, or soon thereafter, he was presumed to have intended to slay rather than to correct, as he had ample notice of the

exhausted condition of the sufferer in time to have saved his life. But when he lived a short time two presumptions arose in favor of the accused :

*First.* That the infliction was not “the *sole* cause of the death.”

This presumption was most probably founded upon experience that death in such cases *generally* occurred either during the infliction or very soon afterwards. The instrument used being a *rod* and not a deadly weapon, no *one* fatal injury could be inflicted ; and, as the wounds were upon the surface of the body, the victim would die only from excessive pain and consequent exhaustion ; and that, from the nature of the injury, death must follow speedily, if solely produced by such a cause as mentioned in the following case :

Flaccus ordered thirty-eight of the most distinguished members of the council or Senate to be seized, bound them as criminals, and, although it was the emperor’s birth-day, a day of general rejoicing, they were brought into the theatre, and publicly scourged with such cruelty that many of them died instantly of the blows ; others, shortly after, of the mischiefs they received (Milman’s *History of the Jews*, p. 275).

*Second.* That the accused did not intend to kill, because a man is presumed to wish to save rather than to destroy his own property, and this is the reason of the expression, “because it is his money.” It is equivalent to saying it is his property or his slave, and is given as the reason for the presumption that the accused did not desire to destroy the slave, because the slave was his money or property.

Where the slave died under the hands of the master, or shortly thereafter, the accused was conclusively presumed to be guilty, as this presumption was, under *such* circumstances, *stronger* than the presumption that he did not intend to destroy his slave. But the facts that the master only used a rod and not a deadly weapon, and that he ceased the infliction before the death of the sufferer, and before death was plainly apparent, and that the slave lived a short time after the blows, and the presumption that the accused did not design to destroy his own property, *taken together*, raised a reasonable doubt of the guilt of the accused ; and a *reasonable* doubt of guilt is always sufficient to acquit, even under our law.

The question arises, What *crime* was intended by the expression in the first extract, “*shall be guilty of the crime*” ? In the seventeenth verse of the twenty-fourth chapter of Leviticus the *general* rule is laid down as follows : “He that striketh, and killeth a man, dying let him die.”

Without any *other* provision, the accused master would have been held guilty of murder had the slave died in consequence of the infliction at *any* time thereafter. But the *exceptions* to this rule are stated in several places in the record. For example, in Ex. xxi. 20, 21, and Num. xxxv. 22, 23. It therefore seems clear, taking and construing

the whole code together, that the *crime* mentioned was murder, the penalty of which was death.

It will be readily seen that the great lawgiver, while permitting slavery to exist among the Israelites, sought to mitigate its severities and prevent its abuses. The provision that the master, though using only a rod and not a deadly weapon, might still be guilty of murder, and suffer death for it under certain circumstances, had a strong tendency to make masters more cautious and merciful. In case a deadly weapon was deliberately used and the slave killed, the case would come under the rule that malice was conclusively presumed. So when the slave was deprived by the master of an eye or of a tooth he gained his freedom. I am not aware that the law of any slave-state in modern times has been so liberal to the injured slave as this provision of the Mosaic code. I cannot speak with certainty, but my opinion is that in modern times the maiming of a slave would subject the offender to a fine or imprisonment, or to both, but would not set free the slave. But under the more just and humane code of Moses the master was not only punished by the loss of his property in the slave, but the slave was compensated by gaining his freedom. So the provision prohibiting the delivery of escaped slaves was a mitigation and discouragement of slavery.

Taking and considering all these provisions and the then existing state of the world together, the conclusion, I think, must be plain that Moses sought to improve the condition of the slave under his law as compared with any existing system of servitude.\*

#### POLYGAMY.

The Mosaic code contained no express provision in regard to the exact number of wives an Israelite was allowed to have at the same time, and therefore tolerated polygamy.

It has not been proved that the Egyptians had any definite marriage-law. We find, however, that they married but one wife, who is termed the lady of the house, and shares with her husband the honours paid to the deceased. Concubinage was no doubt allowed, but it is seldom that we find any trace of children more numerous than those of legitimate wives could be (*Encyc. Brit.*, vii. p. 720).

The Persian was allowed to marry several wives, and might maintain in addition as many concubines as he thought proper. Most of the richer class had a multitude of each, since every Persian prided himself on the number of his sons, and it is even said that an annual prize was given by the monarch to the Persian who could show most sons living (*Five Monarchies*, iii. p. 238).

\* The institution of slavery as it existed in other ancient countries, especially under the Roman laws and usages, is most clearly treated in the late very able work of Dr. Uhlhorn, pages 181-139, entitled *The Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism*, and republished by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1873, to which I can only refer, as my limits will not permit any quotations from it. The learned author cites authorities for his statements.

Polygamy prevailed in Media, as may be seen from the extract on page 286.

Now it is at least remarkable that, so far as we have any real evidence, the Assyrian kings appear as monogamists. . . . In the solitary sculptured representation of the private life of the king, he is seen in the company of one female only. . . . They may have had—nay it is probable that they had—a certain number of concubines; but there is really not the least ground for believing that they carried concubinage to an excess, or overstepped in this respect the practice of the best Eastern sovereigns (*id.* i. p. 505).

I can find no account of the practice of the Assyrian people in regard to polygamy, and nothing in this respect as to the ancient Chaldeans, who were “a very mixed people” (*Five Monarchies*, i. p. 56).

In my remarks upon slavery I gave as substantially a correct description as I was able of the condition of the inhabited world previous to, and in the days of, Moses, and for some centuries later. What I there said mainly applies as well to the subject of polygamy. In the fierce struggle among different young peoples for national existence, at a time when the weapons and modes of war were much the same among the leading nations, and when the destruction in battle and the general miseries of war were so much greater than they are in modern times, the desire for a rapid increase of population, especially among the weaker states, must have been most intense, and the actual need of such increase must have been very great. When the Mosaic code was promulgated the Israelites had before them the prospect of many wars. In these conflicts many men would be lost in battle and in prisoners; and as the relative numbers of the sexes at birth are substantially equal, this loss of so many males would leave a great excess of females. Hence the necessity for the toleration of polygamy.

I find the main reasons for this toleration so clearly and concisely stated in Dr. Smith’s *Bible Dictionary*, pages 1794–5, that I am induced to make the following extracts :

In judging of polygamy we must take into regard the following considerations: (1) that the *principle* of monogamy was retained, even in the practice of polygamy, by the distinction made between the chief or original wife and the secondary wives, or, as the A. V. terms them, “concubines”—a term which is objectionable, inasmuch as it conveys to us the notion of an illicit and unrecognized position, whereas the secondary wife was regarded by the Hebrews as a wife, and her rights were secured by law; (2) that the motive which led to polygamy was that absorbing desire of progeny which is prevalent throughout Eastern countries, and was especially powerful among the Hebrews; and (3) that the power of a parent over his child, and of a master over his slave (the *potestas patria*, and *dominica* of the Romans), was paramount even in matters of marriage, and led in many cases to phases of polygamy that are otherwise quite unintelligible, as, for instance, to the cases where it was adopted by the husband *at the request of his wife*, under the idea that the children born to a slave were in the eye of the law the children of the



mistress (Gen. xvi. 3, xxx. 4, 9); or, again, to cases where it was adopted at the instance of the father (Gen. xxix. 23, 28; Ex. xxi. 9, 10). It must be allowed that polygamy, thus legalized and systematized, justified to a certain extent by the motive, and entered into, not only without offense to, but actually at the suggestion of, those who, according to our notions, would feel most deeply injured by it, is a very different thing from what polygamy would be in our state of society.

The Mosaic law aimed at mitigating rather than removing evils which were inseparable from the state of society in that day. Its enactments were directed (1) to the discouragement of polygamy; (2) to obviate the injustice frequently consequent upon the exercise of the rights of a father or a master; (3) to bring divorce under some restriction, and (4) to enforce purity of life during the maintenance of the matrimonial bond. The first of these objects was forwarded by the following enactments: the prohibition imposed upon kings against multiplying wives (Deut. xvii. 17); the prohibition against marrying two sisters together (Lev. xviii. 18); the assertion of the matrimonial rights of each wife (Ex. xxi. 10, 11); the slur cast upon the eunuch state, which has ever been regarded as indispensable to a system of polygamy (Deut. xxiii. 1); and the ritual observances entailed on a man by the duty of marriage (Lev. xv. 18). The second object was attained by the humane regulations relative to a captive woman whom a man might wish to marry (Deut. xxi. 10-14), to a purchased wife (Ex. xxi. 7-14), and to a slave who either was married at the time of their purchase, or who, having since received a wife at the hands of the master, was unwilling to be parted from her (Ex. xxi. 2-6), and, lastly, by the law relating to the legal distribution of property among the children of the different wives (Deut. xxi. 15-17). The third object was effected by rendering divorce a formal proceeding, not to be done by word of mouth as heretofore, but by a "bill of divorcement" (Deut. xxiv. 1), which would generally demand time and the intervention of a third party, thus rendering divorce a less easy process, and furnishing the wife, in the event of its being carried out, with a legal evidence of her marriageability; we may also notice that Moses wholly prohibited divorce in case the wife had been seduced prior to marriage (Deut. xxii. 29), or her chastity had been groundlessly impugned (Deut. xxii. 19). The fourth object forms the subject of one of the ten commandments (Ex. xx. 14), any violation of which was punishable with death (Lev. xx. 10; Deut. xxii. 22), even in the case of a betrothed person (Deut. xxii. 23, 24).

Though these secondary wives are in some places called concubines—owing in some cases to the lowliness of their origin, as in the case of Agar—yet they were not properly such, as is shown in the twenty-fifth chapter of Genesis, where, in the first verse, Ceturah is called the wife of Abraham, while in the sixth verse both she and Agar are called concubines. Under the laws and usages of most other contemporary nations men were allowed to have concubines in the true sense of the word, but it was a criminal offence under the Mosaic code.

In regard to women soliciting their husbands to have a plurality of wives, Head, in his *Life of Bruce*, says:

Mothers, who stand most in need of protection, naturally look for it to their own offspring; and it is a habit among these women, as among the Galla tribes, to entreat their husbands to maintain a plurality of wives, that, by the number of children in the family, the means of safety may be proportionally increased (p. 108).

## THE TEN COMMANDMENTS.

For I am the Lord thy God, a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon their children unto the third and fourth generation to them that hate me (Deut. v. 9).

It has been objected that the principle involved in this passage is inconsistent with justice, as the iniquity of the fathers is said to be visited upon their children to the third and fourth generation. It is not stated in the text how this visitation is made, or what is its character, whether physical or spiritual, or both. But as the rewards and punishments promised and denounced in the law of Moses were temporal, we must consider the visitation as simply physical.

It is a well-known fact that certain diseases contracted in consequence of the vices of the ancestor are inherited by his children. How long these diseases may continue in the posterity of the parent in some cases we cannot determine ; but certainly, as a general rule, to the third and fourth generation.

If we take the Christian theory to be true in its full scope and spirit, for the sake of the argument only, these merely physical and temporary sufferings, if borne with due resignation to the will of God, will not impair the happiness of the inheritor *as a whole*. It is true that, in the *present* mode of existence, he suffers some more physical inconveniences than others who have not inherited diseases caused by the sins of their ancestors ; but in the long eternity of the future there will be ample time for God to compensate him for the disadvantages of his present physical condition. And in this view how small and how short are his temporary sufferings in comparison with the degree and duration of his happiness in the illimitable future ! The beauty of the Christian theory is to substantially equalize the conditions of men ; for temporal afflictions have their advantages as well as their disadvantages, “ inasmuch as they wean us from the love of the world ; teach us to have recourse to God, and to put our trust in him alone ; make us enter into ourselves ; and give us an opportunity of exercising the great virtues of humility, patience, and resignation, and of doing penance for our sins. How many are now saints in heaven who would never have come thither, but by the occasion of afflictions ! ”

It is clear that no professed Christian can consistently urge this objection. It is equally plain that it would be inconsistent in the mouth of one who believes in the existence of God and in a future state of rewards and punishments, unless he could deny the fact that diseases caused by the vices of the parent often descend to his children. No deist, therefore, can consistently make this objection, as he cannot deny the physical fact that such diseases are often inheritable ; and, if so, it must be by the act of God.

That which, *upon the whole*, does not necessarily impair the hap-

piness of the party *visited* cannot possibly be an injustice to him. In the contemplation of a theory of mixed pleasure and pain, but in which the *balance* is in favor of the pleasure, there is, strictly and properly speaking, *no evil at all*. For if a life well used has in it more of pleasure than of pain, more of enjoyment than of suffering, then such a life is *plainly a blessing* and not an evil, whatever may or can be plausibly said to the contrary. If a man has a true and just account with his merchant, in which he is credited with many payments made, and charged with many articles purchased by him, but in which there is a *balance* to his credit, surely he cannot complain that his merchant has brought him in debt. It is just so here. The reason God permits these diseases to descend to the children of the offender is to put a check upon parents, while the children are not necessarily, upon the whole, the *ultimate* sufferers.

But if we concede, for the sake of the argument only, that the heirs of disease are not so well situated as regards their *entire* happiness as those persons who have not inherited such infirmities, then the question arises, Is the life of the inheritor of disease, if well spent, taken *both* in this and the future state, a blessing or a curse? Unquestionably, in the contemplation of the Christian theory, life under such conditions is a blessing of inestimable value. Conceding that such a life is *not so great* a blessing as it is in the other case, still it is a *positive* blessing, and for that plain reason cannot be an injustice to the inferior party. It is a case somewhat like the one mentioned in the parable of the laborers in the vineyard. All received justice, while some received favors. If a rich man should bequeath to one ten thousand dollars, to a second five thousand, and to a third legatee two thousand, has the last beneficiary any just right to complain when he has, in point of fact, been benefited? An envious disposition would murmur, but a just man would be grateful.

The only one who can, consistently with his own theory, make this objection is the atheist. He can concede the physical fact that diseases contracted by the vices of the parent often descend to the children, and still consistently insist that it is not by act of God, whose existence he denies. But the existence of God and the consequent act of creation are so plainly established by so great a concurrence of evidences that there can be no reasonable doubt upon that subject. The Christian theory gives a plain and consoling explanation, and that of the deist a misty and equivocal reason for the physical fact; but what consoling and reasonable explanation can atheism give? "O darkness! O darkness!"

#### A FUTURE STATE.

It has been objected that the survival of the soul after death, and the consequent existence of a future state, are not revealed in the

Pentateuch. This is one of those merely abstract objections of which, were its entire truth established, we are not competent to decide with any reasonable certainty. There may have been the best reasons why God should not at *that* time have made such a revelation; and yet these reasons may be hidden from us.

The belief in a future state is not incompatible with the theory of polytheism, and therefore it was held by the early Babylonians (*Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 203), by the Egyptians\* (*Encyc. Brit.*, vii. p. 719), and by the Persians (*Five Monarchies*, ii. p. 339). In regard to the belief of the Jews in a future state Josephus says :

However, the reward of such as live exactly according to the laws, is not silver or gold; it is not a garland of olive branches or of smallage, nor any such public sign of commendation; but every good man hath his own conscience bearing witness to himself, and by virtue of our legislator's prophetic spirit, and of the firm security God himself affords such an one, he believes that God hath made this grant to those that observe these laws, even though they be obliged readily to die for them, that they shall come into being again, and at a certain revolution of things receive a better life than they had enjoyed before (*Against Apion*, p. 920).

I am the God of thy father, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob (Ex. iii. 6). Behold thou shalt sleep with thy fathers (Dent. xxxi. 16).

The language of God in the first extract, according to the simple and natural construction, assumes the position that the persons spoken of were then in existence and not extinct, because He says, in the *present* tense, "I am the God of," etc. Now, God could not mean that He was at the *time* He spoke the God of persons long ago extinct, as that would have been equivalent to saying He was *then* the God of nothing. If He intended to have been understood as meaning that He was the God of those persons only while they lived upon the earth, He would have said, "I *was* their God in their day." If I say, "I *am* the friend of James, Joseph, and Peter," I certainly mean to assert that those persons are alive at the *time* I am speaking.

On several occasions God spoke to Moses concerning death, and used the words "gathered to his people," or their equivalents (Num. xx. 26, xxvii. 13; Dent. xxxii. 50); but only in *one* case, and that shortly before the death of Moses, did God say to him, "thou shalt sleep with thy fathers." This change in the language indicates a design to concisely reveal to Moses, and through him to others, the existence of a future state. And we find all subsequent Biblical writers, so far as I am advised, using the expression "sleep with thy fathers"

\* "The Egyptian religion, in its reference to man, was a system of responsibility, mainly depending on future rewards and punishments. The Law, in its reference to man, was a system of responsibility mainly depending on temporal rewards and punishments. All we learn, but this is of the utmost importance, is that every Israelite who came out of Egypt must have been fully acquainted with the universally-recognized doctrines of the immortality of the soul, man's responsibility, and future rewards and punishments, truths which the Law does not, and of course could not contradict" (*Smith's Bible Dictionary*, p. 675).

instead of "gathered to thy people." Why was this so? Because "sleep with thy fathers" was the language of God and pointed to a future state. As every word must *first* have a literal meaning *before* it can possibly be used in a metaphorical sense, so the figurative must correspond with and follow the literal meaning. In other words, the figurative must be responsive to the literal meaning.

The phrase "gathered to his people" is consistent with either theory, but the word *sleep*, for death, can hardly mean annihilation. The figurative sense of words must necessarily come *after* the literal, and for that plain reason will correspond with the literal meaning. When I call one man a fox and a second a lion, I mean that the first resembles a fox in cunning and that the second is like a lion in courage; but I do not mean that either of them resembles an ass or a horse. The word *sleep* literally means a partial and temporary suspension of the intellect and senses, and its metaphorical meaning must partake of this character. Then *sleep*, as representing death, can only mean a partial and temporary suspension of life.

It will be readily seen that Josephus, in the extract on page 310, traces the general belief of the Jews in a future state to Moses, as he speaks of "our legislator's prophetic spirit." That later writers of the Old Testament believed in such a state appears from the following quotations :

For I know that my Redeemer liveth, and in the last day I shall rise out of the earth. And I shall be clothed again with my skin, and in my flesh I shall see my God. Whom I myself shall see, and my eyes shall behold, and not another : this my hope is laid up in my bosom. . . . Although he should kill me I will trust in him : but yet I will reprove my ways in his sight (Job xix. 25-7, xiii. 15).

They dead men shall live, my slain shall rise again (Is. xxvi. 19).

That the word *sleep*, in the Scriptures, means only temporary and partial death, and points to a future state, is further shown by its use in the New Testament :

Then was he seen by more than five hundred brethren at once : of whom many remain until this present, and some are fallen asleep (1 Cor. xv. 6).

For if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them who have slept through Jesus will God bring with him (1 Thess. iv. 13).

Lazarus our friend sleepeth : but I go that I may awake him out of sleep (John xi. 11).

A learned friend to whom I had propounded this objection, "A future state is not clearly revealed in the Old Testament," made this reply :

This proposition, understood in the sense that the doctrine of a future state is not clearly contained in the sacred books written before Christ which we call the Old Testament, is false, as can be proved by many texts of the Psalms, of the Prophets, of the Sapientials, even of the historical books of the Kings, etc. But taken in the sense that—the common mass of the people living under the old dispensa-

tion had not a clear and distinct knowledge of the future state of the soul, which nevertheless they knew and believed, and of the resurrection of the body and the glory of heaven—all this may be granted : and some of the reasons, why God willed it to be so, can be gathered from the Scriptures, chiefly of the New Testament : 1. The state of mankind and of the carnal and rude disposition of the chosen nation itself before the Incarnation of the universal Teacher and Redeemer. See Gal. iii. 23, iv. ; 1 Cor. ii. 14 ; John iii. 12, etc. God condescending to the weakness of men. 2. The rudimental and *typical* condition of men and things under the Jewish dispensation. Compare John iii. 14 ; 1 Cor. x. 1-16 ; Heb. xii. 18, 22, ix. 1-8, and many others of the same nature, with the corresponding texts of the Old Testament. 3. The gradual development of the mystery of God in the redemption and salvation of mankind. 1 Cor. xiii. 11, xv. 46-50 ; Gal. iv. 1 S. 99, 24, 25, 30.

The reasons why the doctrine of a future state was not so emphatically taught under the old as under the new dispensation are well stated in the foregoing extract. That doctrine being compatible with polytheism as well as with theism, and being held by so many other peoples besides the Israelites, there was not the same necessity of pressing it as there was that of the unity of God, which was almost universally denied by other nations in the time of Moses. And as it is God's method in His physical creation to proceed by gradual steps, it is equally so in His moral kingdom. The human mind can only learn one great thing fully at one and the same time ; and hence the propriety and necessity of a preparatory dispensation. While the doctrine of a future state was revealed to Moses, and through him to others, it was not given so prominent a place in his record as that of the great primary doctrine of God's essential unity. One great purpose at a time seems natural to intellect, whether human or divine.

#### CONDUCT OF THE PATRIARCHS.

The personal misconduct of the old patriarchs has often been elaborately displayed and objected to, as showing that they could not have been the chosen instruments of God, as recorded, because He would not have selected persons so imperfect as His special agents to fulfil a great and mighty mission. It is urged that the agents of the Deity ought to resemble Him, so far as possible, in perfection *before* they can be worthy to act for Him as such.

This very plausible objection is often based upon a misconstruction of the record, frequently upon a genuine ignorance of the extraordinary circumstances under which they acted, but mainly upon the fundamental error either that God could not properly employ human agents to accomplish His purposes, or, if He did so employ them, He should have totally taken away or have irresistibly overcome the *personal* free agency of his chosen servants. It cannot be shown that any better men could have been selected than those al-

leged to have been chosen by God for the purpose intended ; nor can it be reasonably maintained that He could not properly have used men and nations as His instruments. It is a recognized principle in the science of government, and which is in unison with the reason and nature of the case, that the power to attain a certain result *necessarily* includes the right to use the proper means to efficiently execute the main power itself ; and, therefore, the government must have choice of any appropriate means within its control. This great principle is especially applicable to the Divine government, as God certainly would be justified in using any sufficient means already existing rather than unnecessarily create a special one and thus do an idle and vain thing. In other words, as men already existed, it was more reasonable that God should have selected them as His agents in all cases where they were sufficient for the purpose intended, rather than do the unnecessary work of creating other means.

Every sane human being possesses an individual capacity which belongs to him *alone*. For this reason he cannot have more than *one* individual capacity, under which he must always act when he acts as an individual. But under *delegated* authority, which is power conferred by one person upon another, he may act in many *different* capacities at the same time. For example, he may be a justice of the peace, a notary public, and the clerk of a court of record, and may be the agent of a thousand different persons. In all these cases he acts as an officer or agent, and, therefore, can fill many different positions at the same time.

The distinction between individual and official acts is, therefore, clear and intelligible, though often confused in the minds of some persons, as it was in the judgment of the ignorant justice of the peace who decided that the fines collected from persons tried and convicted before him belonged to him individually, when the law provided that they should be paid into the county treasury to be used as other county funds. It is very true that a good man is more likely to make a faithful officer or agent. Still, a man *may* be a bad man in his individual capacity, and yet a good officer or agent ; and, for that reason, the two capacities are clearly distinct. Most people believe that Aaron Burr was a bad man, but no one contended that he was a bad vice-president and that his acts, as such, were invalid. Men differ in their views of vice, and many men do wrong individually who are faithful officers. There are various degrees of crime, and many will commit small sins who will seldom, if ever, be guilty of greater ones. So a man, as an individual, might do many things which he knows to be wrong, as he considers that such acts only affect a few persons and betray no trust reposed in him ; but the same man will be scrupulously faithful as an officer, because in violating his official duty he betrays a public trust and brings disgrace upon

his friends, and he considers such violation a much greater crime than he does his individual sins.

While the distinction between individual capacity and delegated authority is *generally* clear, there are many exceptional cases in regard to which it may be difficult to decide as to where they properly belong. But this same difficulty occurs in almost everything—in the classification of animals and plants, in questions of law, and in every department of knowledge. Various colors may be seen in the rainbow ; and yet, though separate, they melt into each other so gradually that no one can definitely say where one ends and another begins. Yet the centre of each stripe is plainly different from that of each of the others ; and, for this reason, it would be a very erroneous conclusion to say that the rainbow was all of one color. In judging of anything we poor mortals must consider the *main* points—those essential elements which constitute the very essence of the matter.

Assuming the existence of God as clearly established, then it must follow that He could properly employ any appropriate agents to execute His will, whether physical laws, men, or angels. In delegating power to these agents He would give employment to more elements in the universe, infuse more variety, activity, and harmony into His creation, and bind things more closely together, because they would thus be more dependent upon each other and upon the whole. Having the right to delegate power in certain cases, He, like all principals, would necessarily have the incidental right to select His agents, and to determine how much power He would delegate in each separate case; and would, therefore, select an agent for the particular service, and confer upon him the *necessary* qualifications and powers. In choosing agents for different purposes He would confer qualifications and powers in proportion to the specific character of the end to be attained, and would thus necessarily confer greater qualifications and powers upon some of His servants than upon others. The quality and quantity of the conferred qualifications and powers would thus depend, in each particular case, upon the work to be done or the end to be attained. In other words, God would do all that was *necessary* under the exact circumstances.

Where a man exercises his individual capacity he acts for himself *alone* and in reference *solely* to his *own* business ; but where he acts under mere delegated authority he does not act for *himself*, but as the simple instrument of another and *solely* in regard to the business of his principal. And for this plain reason he, as such agent, can possess no discretion, but must obey orders, except in those cases where the principal has conferred upon him the right to use his judgment ; and then this delegated power of discretion is solely the act of the principal, the original source of all the powers of the agent in regard to his master's business.



Now, if these clear and luminous principles be true, then why should God either entirely destroy or substantially overpower the free agency of His servants in reference to *their own* business? As free-will is one of the necessary incidents or elements of intellect, without which it could not exist, the only way God could *absolutely* destroy their free agency would be to totally annihilate their intellect. On the other hand, to substantially overpower their free-will He must either destroy their passions or place them in positions where there could be no temptations. If a healthy and promising boy were taken at the age of five years and placed upon a solitary island where no other visible creature existed, but where perpetual wild fruits were abundant for his support, and he should live there alone to the age of eighty, he would be sinless in regard to all other creatures and equally destitute of virtues as respects his treatment of them.

There was, then, no reason why God should have either absolutely destroyed or substantially overpowered the personal free-will of His servants. It is true that in some respects the advantages of their positions were greater than those of ordinary men, inasmuch as they had special revelations from Him of His will, and by His aid performed great miracles and witnessed, in common with many other persons, those wonders performed by Him through other agencies or by Him directly, and some of them received from Him the gift of prophecy; but as all the passions of human nature remained and they were thus left still exposed to temptation, and as their trials were often most severe and their individual free-will was not substantially overpowered, they were still liable to sin like other individuals of the race. It would seem clear that God would not practically impair their individual free agency, and thus deprive them of the power of personal vice or virtue, any farther than the necessary logical result of what they heard and saw. But with great powers necessarily come great responsibilities and grievous trials. So that, in regard to their individual position, they were left substantially in the same condition as other men.

In regard to delegated authority, as distinct from mere individual capacity, it is clear that God had the right to confer discretion upon His servants as to some things and withhold it as to others. The actual exercise of this power to confer discretion upon the agent would be governed by the nature of the service. If the abuse of the delegated discretion would defeat the purpose intended, the discretion would not be given; but in cases where such abuse would only be a slight and not a fatal injury, then discretion might be conferred upon the agent. In regard to the minor details of the service such discretion might well be given to the agent; but in regard to matters of paramount importance, to give it might defeat the main purpose of the mission. We must make the distinction between the essential

and the non-essential. For example, God enabled Moses to perform miracles in attestation of his claim to be His chosen agent ; and He would not, for that reason, allow Moses to put forth anything in His name unless it was truly such as he claimed it to be. If Moses, while assuming to act in the name and by the authority of God, could have promulgated false doctrines or made untrue statements of alleged fact, and could have performed miracles to prove them to be true, then he would have had the power to defeat the great purpose of his mission ; for if a miracle could be performed in proof of falsehood, then miracles would cease to be evidence of the truth and would be wholly incapable of establishing anything. But in regard to minor and less important details, such as deciding the order of march, the selection of the encampments, and other similar matters, we have every reason to believe that discretion was conferred upon the agent.

The great purpose of God was not so much the individual perfection of the patriarchs and of the chosen people themselves as the *ultimate* welfare of the entire race, because individual perfection of the few selected was not essentially necessary to reach the end aimed at. He had promised Abraham that in him all kindreds of the earth should be blessed (Gen. xii. 3). To bring out this immense result was the *main* intention, and it would seem clear that He would do no more than necessary to attain the end proposed. And as the agents He selected were men, He left them still men, subject individually to the ordinary passions and temptations to which other men are liable, and thus neither absolutely destroyed nor substantially overpowered their individual free-will, but let them remain in their natural condition as to their own personal conduct, and did not virtually place them in such a state as would render them incapable of either personal virtue or vice.

For the reasons stated they were left liable to sin ; and thus being so, we have every reason to expect to find them sinning at times like other men of that age. It is very true that more elevated and purer ideas of the nature of God, and the strong evidences they had seen, tended to increase their individual virtue ; yet these advantages would not necessarily guard them at *all* times from error. So long as the passions and infirmities of human nature remain exposed to temptations they are very apt *at times* to gain the mastery. The recorded individual sins of the patriarchs and of the chosen people are just such as we might reasonably expect under all the circumstances stated, and thus the narrative is consistent with human nature. If the history contained no account of the individual failings of those men, then the omission would be a far greater objection to the truth of the record, as it would be most difficult to show, upon any sound principles of logic, why God should have either absolutely destroyed or substantially have overpowered their individual free-will, as such

action would seem to have been unnecessary to accomplish the great main purpose in view.

Abraham and his son Isaac each called his wife his sister, to save, as he believed, his own life ; and Jacob, when comparatively a young man, and before his marriage, and before he received any revelation from God, and by the express counsel of his mother, deceived his father, Isaac, in his old age, in order to carry out a hard bargain he had previously made with his brother Esau.\* Abraham died at the age of 175 years, Isaac at 180, and Jacob at 147. Considering the length of their lives, the severity of their trials and temptations, and the exact circumstances of the age, they were by no means habitually bad men. To expect several men for so long a time and under such conditions to be sinless would be unreasonable and would exhibit a very imperfect knowledge of human nature. No one in fewer, truer, and more forcible words ever expressed the most profound and practical knowledge of men than Pope :

“The rogue and fool by fits is fair and wise;  
And even the best, by fits, what they despise.”

The true difference between the bad and the good is that the first is good by fits, and the second is bad by turns. One is generally bad, and the other is generally good ; and this being so, the difference between the two classes is immense. We must, therefore, judge men by their *general* conduct, and not by isolated and exceptional cases.

In whatever degree the alleged misconduct of those ancients may be classed—even by those severe critics who pay themselves the happy compliment to think they would have acted better had they been placed under precisely the same trying circumstances—their sinful acts were generally, if not always, personal transgressions. In the case of Abraham, he was most faithful in obeying all the express commands of God (Gen. xxi. 11–13, xxii., xxvi. 5). The history discloses what were those commands. His sins were therefore only individual transgressions. It was equally so in the cases of Isaac, Jacob, and

\* While it is generally conceded that some sins are related in the Scriptures of the three great patriarchs mentioned, it is not certain how far this can be proved. In referring to the acts stated I only give them as examples of what many consider to have been sins, while many great authorities have maintained that the particular acts ascribed above to Abraham and Isaac were not sinful, considering all the then existing circumstances. There is more difficulty concerning the conduct of Jacob. It is not necessary to my argument that I should discuss these questions, and my limited space forbids it.

But I will say that I cannot concede that the words of Abraham and Isaac (Gen. xii. 13 ; xx. 2, 12 ; xxvi. 7) were untrue, still less that they were sinful. And while I cannot go into the subject at large, I lay down these positions as true :

*First.* That to use equivocation is not *always* a sin, but under *some* circumstances is perfectly lawful, even though it be foreseen that the words will be understood in the wrong sense (John ii. 19–22 ; xi. 11, 12).

*Second.* That in *some* cases it is lawful to say the truth only in part, and by so doing to mislead the hearer (Ex. iii. 18, v. 3 ; 1 Kings, or 1 Samuel, xvi. 2).

Aaron. The same is true of the only alleged misconduct of Moses *after* he was specially chosen as the agent of God.

And the Lord said to Moses and Aaron : Because you have not believed me, to sanctify me before the children of Israel, you shall not bring these people into the land, which I will give them (Num. xx. 12).

Not believing was certainly an individual act.

But conceding, for the sake of the argument only, that in some instances their misconduct was official and not individual, or of doubtful classification, then it could only have been in those cases where the power to transgress officially was given, because such dereliction of duty would not be fatal to the great purpose of their mission.

But where do we find the *only* account of the conduct of these men ? In the very history they themselves or their friends have sent down to all coming time. This fact is, then, clearly one of the strongest evidences of the integrity of the historian and of the consequent truth of his history. Had the writer or writers not have been honest and impartial the objectors never would have been able to find a basis for this character of objection. It is true that in case such entire omission had occurred, then the objectors might have taken the far more formidable ground that such failure to record any faults of the subjects of the history was a clear proof of partiality in the historian ; because such record of assumed perfection in men whose free agency was not alleged to have been absolutely destroyed or practically overpowered was untrue, being utterly inconsistent with the known characteristics of human nature.

It is plain that no *proud* historian would have recorded his *own* errors, and no partial writer of history would have given us those of his heroes, especially in the age in which the books of the Pentateuch were written. So the composer of a false or forged narrative would never have stated these delinquencies, because he would have foreseen the *immediate* result of such a record, in affording, at least, a plausible and ready ground for objection against his history. Forgers are generally men of limited, not comprehensive intellects, and are far more capable of foreseeing the immediate than the remote consequences of an act. They are only capable of the low, limited, but cunning view of the fox, and cannot attain the elevated and expanded survey of the giraffe.

In contrast with the impartial manner in which the Mosaic history was written it may be instructive to examine that of some other countries about that time or some centuries later.

Tiglath-Pileser I., of whose history we have copious details, as appears from the extract on page 277, suffered a reverse in his war with Babylon, and lost several idols which were not recovered for more than four hundred years (*Five Monarchies*, ii. p. 78). The historian adds in a note :

The chief authority for this war is the "Synchronistic Tablet" already frequently quoted. The capture of the images is not mentioned on that tablet, but is taken from a rock-inscription of Sennacherib's at Bavian near Khorsabad.

After reigning gloriously over Assyria for seventeen years, and for the last five of them over Babylonia also, Sargon died, leaving his crown to the most celebrated of all the Assyrian monarchs, his son Sennacherib, who began to reign B. C. 705 (*Five Monarchies*, ii. p. 155).

The destruction of the larger portion of the invading army of this celebrated monarch is recorded in the Fourth Book of Kings (A. V. 2 Kings), chapter nineteen, and attested by Herodotus (*Five Monarchies*, ii. p. 168), and is unquestionably true; and yet the historian says:

It is difficult to say how soon Assyria recovered from this terrible blow. The annals of Sennacherib, as might have been expected, omit it altogether, and represent the Assyrian monarch as engaged in a continuous series of successful campaigns, which seem to extend uninterruptedly from his third to his tenth year (*Five Monarchies*, ii. p. 168).

In regard to Median history Rawlinson says:

The date of this subjugation is about B. C. 710. And here, if we compare the Greek accounts of Median history with those far more authentic ones which have reached us through the Assyrian contemporary records, we are struck by a repetition of the same device which came under our notice more than a century earlier—the device of covering up the nation's disgraces at a particular period by assigning to that very date certain great and striking successes (*id.* ii. p. 380).

In speaking of Egyptian history the writer of the article "Egypt" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* states:

The historical writings fall into two classes according to their official or unofficial character. Those that are official present the worst form of the panegyric style, the others are simple though wanting in method.

From these examples we can form a substantially correct idea of the manner in which profane history was written before the days of the impartial Herodotus,\* called the Father of History, and who wrote one thousand years later than Moses. The royal historians ostentatiously multiplied their titles, eagerly magnified their great-

\*"Herodotus seems to have died about B. C. 425." "Ctesias writes at least thirty years later" than Herodotus (*Five Monarchies*, ii. p. 45). Berosus, the Chaldean priest and historian, flourished about the time of Alexander the Great, about B. C. 336. Manetho, the Egyptian historian, flourished about B. C. 250. Although Pherecydes was an earlier writer than Herodotus, the latter is generally considered the *unofficial* father of profane history. *Before* his day profane history was written by *official* persons under the command of the monarch. For this reason it was so partial. The Old Testament history, for the reasons I have given, is the only impartial history written before the time of Herodotus. It stands alone as superior to all other histories of its time, and belongs to a higher and truer class of historical compositions.

The Egyptian monarchy finally expired about B. C. 340, after a duration of nearly 3,000 years, or, as some think, longer (*Encyc. Br.*, vii. p. 744). "The Roman State, with all its elements of strength, had (we are told), as kingdom, commonwealth, and empire, a duration of no more than twelve centuries. The Chaldean Monarchy lasted, as we have seen, about a thousand years, from the time of the Elamite conquest. The duration of the Parthian was about five centuries; of the first Persian, less than two and a half; of the Median, at the utmost, one and a half; of the later Babylonian, less than one" (*Five Monarchies*, ii. p. 44).

ness, extravagantly extolled their own characters, and carefully recorded their successes, but were silent as to their defeats and never mentioned what *they esteemed* their own defects.

But the books of the Pentateuch bear upon their face the plain evidences of the impartiality of their author, inasmuch as they record the misconduct of their heroes, and set down that which the history itself *admits* to have been transgressions and imperfections. Even Moses, the alleged great and inspired lawgiver and leader, is stated to have sinned, in punishment of which he was not permitted to enter the promised land. Now, if we assume the entire truth of the narrative, for the sake of the argument only, then what stronger *internal* evidence could these books reasonably give of their truth than they do, in fact, give? They freely and plainly record the failings as well as the virtues of the persons whose history they relate, and this account is reasonable in itself when compared with the known traits of human nature. And when, from the face of the record itself, we can know, with reasonable certainty, the impartiality and ability of the writer, we must concede the truth of the narrative as to facts plainly evident to the senses, and which the historian relates as witnessed by himself and by thousands of others. Any man competent to truly relate anything must be able to know and state plain, visible matters of fact about which he could not be mistaken; such, for example, as the earth opening and swallowing up Core and his associates, as related in the sixteenth chapter of Numbers.

These remarks will also apply to the subsequent histories of the Jewish people. Their impartiality in freely recording the sins as well as virtues of their great characters stamps them as genuine and true records and places them in the most elevated class of historical compositions. Where can we find at so early a day an example so noble as that of Nathan reproving with *impunity* the practical and brilliant founder of a mighty kingdom for his great sin? Few persons form an adequate conception of the comparative greatness of the kingdom of Israel under David and Solomon. And in proportion to the greatness of the kingdom and the extended popularity of the monarch among his people was the sublimity of the act of the prophet in boldly and pointedly saying to the glittering but guilty king, "*Thou art the man.*" No rebuke ever administered by subject to king could be more grand. And, to the everlasting honor of David, he confessed and lamented his crime, instead of punishing, as he might have done, the defenceless prophet who stood before him.

I have thus given my answers to several of the most important objections to the Pentateuch. In my best judgment they are each and all invalid, and the last one is a strong argument to sustain the truth of the history. If it had not been put as an objection I should have independently urged it as a proof.

There are other objections which my limits forbid me to notice, especially as most of them have been so well answered by Bishop Watson, in his *Reply to Thomas Paine*,\* that nothing new could be well added. I must therefore refer the reader to that excellent little work of only some two hundred pages. Though written many years ago, it was so ably composed as to have become a standard work.

*The Subsequent Books of the Old Testament.*

I had intended to examine at some length the subsequent books of the Old Testament, but find my remaining space too small to permit me to do so, and I must refer to the *Reply* of Bishop Watson to Mr. Paine's *Age of Reason* for a special discussion upon that subject. I will also refer to Rawlinson's *Five Monarchies* and to George Smith's *Assyrian Discoveries* for much and most important lately-discovered confirmatory evidence of the truth of the Old Testament history. I make from the work of Bishop Watson the following forcible and clear extracts upon the general subject, and which will explain themselves :

Permit me to state to you what would, in my opinion, have been a better mode of proceeding—better suited to the character of an honest man, sincere in his endeavors to search out truth. Such a man, in reading the Bible, would, in the first place, examine whether the Bible attributed to the Supreme Being any attributes repugnant to holiness, truth, justice, goodness; whether it represented him as subject to human infirmities; whether it excluded him from the government of the world, or assigned the origin of it to chance and an eternal conflict of atoms. Finding nothing of this kind in the Bible—for the destruction of the Canaanites by his express command I have shown not to be repugnant to moral justice—he would, in the second place, consider that the Bible being, as to many of its parts, a very old book, and written by various authors and at different and distant periods, there might probably occur some difficulties and apparent contradictions in the historical part of it; he would endeavor to remove these difficulties, to reconcile these apparent contradictions, by the rules of such sound criticism as he would use in examining the contents of any other book; and if he found that most of them were of a trifling nature, arising from short additions inserted into the text as explanatory and supplemental, or from the mistakes and omissions of transcribers, he would infer that all the rest were capable of being accounted for, though he was not able to do it; and he would be the more willing to make this concession, from observing that there ran through the whole book a harmony and connection utterly inconsistent with every idea of forgery and deceit. He would then, in the third place, observe that the miraculous and historical parts of this book were so intermixed that they could not be separated, and that they must

\* *The Age of Reason*, written by Thomas Paine, renowned as a political writer during the American Revolution, consists of two parts. The *Reply* of Bishop Watson is only to part second, as the first part is of little importance. I have carefully read both parts, and I must say that in my judgment Mr. Paine was honest and bold, coarse and bitter, careless and mistaken. Any one who will read the *Reply* of the bishop will readily see how often the objections of Mr. Paine were based upon plain mistakes in regard to the record before him. It is true that all men, even the most accurate, are liable to make some mistakes, and also to commit in some cases what are properly called *blunders*; but there is a vast difference in *degree* between one and ten, which I think is about the true difference between careful writers and Mr. Paine.

either both be true, or both false; and from finding that the historical part was as well or better authenticated than that of any other history, he would admit the miraculous part; and to confirm himself in this belief, he would advert to the prophecies, well knowing that the prediction of things to come was as certain a proof of the divine interposition as the performance of a miracle could be. If he should find, as he certainly would, that many ancient prophecies had been fulfilled in all their circumstances, and that some were fulfilling at this very day, he would not suffer a few seeming or real difficulties to overbalance the weight of the accumulated evidence for the truth of the Bible. Such, I presume to think, would be a proper conduct in all those who are desirous of forming a rational and impartial judgment on the subject of revealed religion (p. 87).

The history of the Old Testament has, without doubt, some difficulties in it; but a minute philosopher who busies himself in searching them out, while he neglects to contemplate the harmony of all its parts, the wisdom and goodness of God displayed throughout the whole, appears to me to be a purblind man, who, in surveying a picture, objects to the simplicity of the design and the beauty of the execution, from the asperities he has discovered in the canvas and the coloring. The history of the Old Testament, notwithstanding the real difficulties which occur in it, notwithstanding the scoffs and cavils of unbelievers, appears to me to have such internal evidences of its truth, to be so corroborated by the most ancient profane histories, so confirmed by the present circumstances of the world, that if I were not a Christian, I would become a Jew. You think this history to be a collection of lies, contradictions, and blasphemies; I look upon it to be the oldest, the truest, the most comprehensive, and the most important history in the world. I consider it as giving more satisfactory proofs of the being and attributes of God, of the origin and end of human kind, than ever was attained by the deepest researches of the most enlightened philosophers. The exercise of our reason in the investigation of truths respecting the nature of God and the future expectations of human kind, is highly useful; but I hope I shall be pardoned by the metaphysicians in saying that the chief utility of such disquisitions consists in this—that they make us acquainted with the weakness of our intellectual faculties. I do not presume to measure other men by my standard: you may have clearer notions than I am able to form of the infinity of space; of the eternity of duration; of necessary existence; of the connection between necessary existence and intelligence, between intelligence and benevolence—you may see nothing in the universe but organized matter; or, rejecting a material, you may see nothing but an ideal world. With a mind weary of conjecture, fatigued by doubt, sick of disputation, eager for knowledge, anxious for certainty, and unable to attain it by the best use of my reason in matters of the utmost importance, I have long ago turned my thoughts to an impartial examination of the proofs on which revealed religion is grounded, and I am convinced of its truth. This examination is a subject within the reach of human capacity: you have come to one conclusion respecting it, I have come to another; both of us cannot be right; may God forgive him that is in an error (p. 73).

To any one contemplating the universality of things and the fabric of nature, this globe of earth, with the men dwelling on its surface, will not appear, exclusive of the divinity of their souls, of more importance than a hillock of ants; all of which, some with corn, some with eggs, some without anything, run hither and thither, bustling about a little heap of dust. This is a thought of the immortal Bacon; and is admirably fitted to humble the pride of philosophy, attempting to prescribe forms to the proceedings, and bounds to the attributes of God. We may as easily circumscribe infinity as penetrate the secret purposes of the Almighty. There are but two ways by which I can acquire any knowledge of the Supreme



Being—by reason, and by revelation; to you, who reject revelation, there is but one. Now, my reason informs me that God has made a great difference between the kinds of animals, with respect to their capacity of enjoying happiness. Every kind is perfect in its order; but if we compare different kinds together, one will appear greatly superior to another. An animal that has but one sense, has but one source of happiness; but if it be supplied with what is suited to that sense, it enjoys all the happiness of which it is capable, and is in its nature perfect. Other sorts of animals, which have two or three senses, and which have also abundant means of gratifying them, enjoy twice or thrice as much happiness as those do which have but one. In the same sort of animals there is a great difference among individuals, one having the senses more perfect, and the body less subject to disease, than another. Hence, if I were to form a judgment of the divine goodness by this use of my reason, I could not but say that it was partial and unequal. “What shall we say then? Is God unjust? God forbid!” His goodness may be unequal without being imperfect; it must be estimated from the whole, and not from a part. Every order of beings is so sufficient for its own happiness, and so conducive at the same time to the happiness of every other, that in one view it seems to be made for itself alone, and in another, not for itself, but for every other. Could we comprehend the whole of the immense fabric which God hath formed, I am persuaded that we should see nothing but perfection, harmony, and beauty, in every part of it; but while we dispute about parts, we neglect the whole, and discern nothing but supposed anomalies and defects. The maker of a watch, or the builder of a ship, is not to be blamed because a spectator cannot discover either the beauty or the use of the disjointed parts. And shall we dare to accuse God of injustice, for not having distributed the gifts of nature in the same degree to all kinds of animals, when it is probable that this very inequality of distribution may be the means of producing the greatest sum total of happiness to the whole system? In exactly the same manner may we reason concerning the acts of God’s especial providence. If we consider any one act, such as that of appointing the Jews to be his peculiar people, as unconnected with every other, it may appear to be a partial display of his goodness—it may excite doubts concerning the wisdom or the benignity of his divine nature. But if we connect the history of the Jews with that of other nations, from the most remote antiquity to the present time, we shall discover that they were not chosen so much for their own benefit, or on account of their own merit, as for the general benefit of mankind. To the Egyptians, Chaldæans, Grecians, Romans, to all people of the earth, they were formerly, and they are still to all civilized nations, a beacon set upon a hill, to warn them from idolatry, to light them to the sanctuary of a God, holy, just, and good. Why should we suspect such a dispensation of being a *lie*, when, even from the little which we can understand of it, we see that it is founded in wisdom, carried on for the general good, and analogous to all that reason teaches us concerning the nature of God? (p. 65).



PART IV.



THE NEW DISPENSATION.



## CHAPTER XII.

### PROPHECY.

THE first prophecy\* claimed to relate to the future Messiah is found in the third chapter of Genesis, where God said to the serpent :

I will put enmities between thee and the woman, and thy seed and her seed: she shall crush thy head, and thou shalt lie in wait for her heel.

This is certainly a prediction concerning the entire human race, and indicates a recovery from the effects of the Fall, but leaves the *manner* of its accomplishment uncertain, except that it was to come through the posterity of Eve and by the assistance of God.

In the twelfth chapter of Genesis God declared to Abram :

I will bless them that bless thee, and curse them that curse thee, and in thee shall the kindreds of the earth be blessed.

From the exalted character of the speaker, as well as from the most solemn manner in which the promise was made, it is clear that the promised blessing was to be a great and important benefit ; for, while it was to come through only *one* family, it was still to extend to "all the kindreds of the earth." But the precise manner of conferring this great and universal blessing was left indefinite. A blessing was clearly promised ; but in what it should consist, and how it should be conferred upon the entire race, are left as yet unrevealed.

\* "It has been said that the prophecies are too darkly and vaguely worded to be proved predictive by the events they are alleged to foretell. This objection is stated with clearness and force by Ammon. He says : 'Such simple sentences as the following : Israel has not to expect a King, but a teacher ; this teacher will be born at Bethlehem during the reign of Herod ; he will lay down his life under Tiberius, in attestation of the truth of his religion ; through the destruction of Jerusalem, and the complete extinction of the Jewish state, he will spread his doctrine in every quarter of the world—a few sentences like these, expressed in plain historical prose, would not only bear the character of true predictions, but, when once their genuineness was proved, they would be of incomparably greater worth to us than all the oracles of the Old Testament taken together' (*Christology*, p. 12). But to this it might be answered, and has been in effect answered by Hengstenberg : 1. That God never forces men to believe, but that there is such an union of definiteness and vagueness in the prophecies as to enable those who are willing to discover the truth, while the wilfully blind are not forcibly constrained to see it. 2. That, had the prophecies been couched in the form of direct declarations, their fulfillment would have thereby been rendered impossible, or, at least, capable of frustration. 3. That the effect of prophecy (e.g. with reference to the time of the Messiah's coming) would have been far less beneficial to believers, as being less adapted to keep them in a state of constant expectation. 4. That the Messiah of Revelation could not be so clearly portrayed in his varied character as God and Man, as Prophet, Priest, and King, if he had been the mere 'teacher' which is all that Ammon acknowledges him to be. 5. That the state of the prophets, at the time of receiving the divine revelation, was (as we shall presently show) such as necessarily to make their predictions fragmentary, figurative, and abstracted from the relations of time. 6. That some portions of the prophecies were intended to be of double application, and some portions to be understood only on their fulfillment (cf. John xiv. 29 ; Ez. xxxiv. 33)" (*Smith's Bible Dictionary*, p. 2596).

In the eighteenth chapter of Deuteronomy it is stated that Moses said to the children of Israel :

The Lord thy God will raise up to thee a prophet of thy nation and of thy brethren like unto me; him thou shalt hear. . . . And the Lord said to me: They have spoken all things well. I will raise them up a prophet out of the midst of their brethren like to thee : and I will put my words in his mouth, and he shall speak all that I shall command him. And he that will not hear his words, which he shall speak in my name, I will be the revenger.

It will be seen that Moses not only foretold that a prophet would be raised up, but that this would be by the act of God. There was only one prophet foretold by Moses, and God was to put His words in the mouth of this prophet, and he was to speak *all* that God should command him to speak, and all were required to hear *all* the words of this prophet which should be spoken in the name of God. The language of the passages quoted above is very broad and comprehensive, and foretells the appearance of a very great person, to whom implicit obedience would be required in all things which should be spoken by him in the name of God, who would raise him up for a great and mighty purpose. Moses was himself the greatest of the Hebrew prophets before the time of Christ, as shown in the Pentateuch itself (Ex. xxxiii. 11, 17, xxxiv. 29, 30; Num. xii. 7, 8; Deut. xxxiv. 10).

The dispensation established by Moses was to continue essentially unchanged until the appearance of the great prophet, who, like Moses, was to be the revealer of a new religious dispensation. This is a proof that, in the contemplation of Moses himself, his dispensation was but *provisional* or *preparatory* to the New. Moses certainly does, by claimed revelation from God Himself, foretell the appearance of but *ONE* prophet; but he was to be of such an exalted character that he would be like Moses and be worthy of unlimited obedience. Now, it would seem that there could be no adequate reason for the future appearance of so great a person, unless He was to fulfil the Old Dispensation and establish the New.\*

Nathan, according to his prophetic vision, said to David :

And thy house shall be faithful, and thy kingdom for ever before thy face, and thy throne shall be firm for ever (2 Kings vii.; A. V. 2 Samuel).

This promise of Nathan is developed in several of the Psalms, in which the future Messiah is pointed out. He was to be the son of God and the son of David, and God was to give Him the gentiles for His inheritance (ii.); He was not to see corruption (xv. 10; A. V.

\*The fact that Moses predicted the appearance of a great prophet who was to be fully his equal, if not his superior, is one of the strongest evidences of the disinterested character of Moses and of the true nature of his mission as recorded in the Pentateuch. Had he been a false pretender to divine inspiration he never would have announced such a successor. His pride and ambition would not have allowed him to do so, because such an act would have lessened his comparative standing and glory. Mohammed admitted the existence of preceding prophets, but claimed himself to be the last and superior of all, and without any equal in the future.

xvi.); Hē was to be the outcast of the people, and should be laughed to scorn, and His garments should be parted among His enemies, and for His vesture they should cast lots (xxi. 7-9, 19; A. V. xxii.); and He was to be a priest for ever according to the order of Melchisedech (cix. 4; A. V. cx.) The following passages (xliv. 7, 8, cix. 1; A. V. xlv., cx.) are very strong :

Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever: the sceptre of thy kingdom is a sceptre of uprightness. Thou hast loved justice, and hated iniquity: therefore O God, thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows. . . . The Lord said to my Lord: Sit thou at my right hand, until I make thy enemies thy footstool.

The following extracts are from the great prophet Isaias :

1. Behold a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and his name shall be called Emmanuel (vii. 14).

2. At the first time the land of Zabulon, and the land of Nephtali was lightly touched: and at the last the way of the sea beyond the Jordan of the Galilee of the gentiles was heavily loaded. The people that walked in darkness, have seen a great light: to them that dwelt in the region of the shadow of death, light is risen. . . . For a child is born to us, and a son is given to us, and the government is upon his shoulder: and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, God, the Mighty, the Father of the world to come, the Prince of peace.

His empire shall be multiplied, and there shall be no end of peace: he shall sit upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom: to establish it and strengthen it with judgment and with justice, from henceforth and for ever: the zeal of the Lord of hosts will perform this (ix. 1, 2, 6, 7).

3. And there shall come forth a rod out of the root of Jesse, and a flower shall rise up out of his root. And the spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him: the spirit of wisdom, and of understanding, the spirit of counsel, and of fortitude, the spirit of knowledge, and of godliness (xi. 1, 2).

4. Therefore thus saith the Lord God: Behold I will lay a stone in the foundations of Sion, a tried stone, a corner-stone, a precious stone, founded in the foundation. He that believeth, let him not hasten (xxviii. 16).

5. The voice of one crying in the desert: Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight in the wilderness the paths of our God. Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low, and the crooked shall become straight, and the rough ways plain. And the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh together shall see, that the mouth of the Lord hath spoken (xl. 3-5).

6. Behold my servant, I will uphold him: my elect, my soul delighteth in him: I have given my spirit upon him, he shall bring forth judgment to the gentiles. He shall not cry, nor have respect to person, neither shall his voice be heard abroad. The bruised reed he shall not break, and smoking flax he shall not quench: he shall bring forth judgment unto truth. He shall not be sad, nor troublesome, till he set judgment in the earth: and the islands shall wait for his law (xlii. 1-4).

7. Who hath believed our report? and to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed? And he shall grow up as a tender plant before him, and as a root out of a thirsty ground: there is no beauty in him, nor comeliness: and we have seen him, and there was no sightliness, that we should be desirous of him: despised, and the most abject of men, a man of sorrows, and acquainted with infirmity: and his look was as it were hidden and despised, whereupon we esteemed him not.

Surely he hath borne our infirmities, and carried our sorrows: and we have thought him as it were a leper, and as one struck by God and afflicted. But he was wounded for our iniquities, he was bruised for our sins: the chastisement of our peace was upon him, and by his bruises we are healed. All we like sheep have gone astray, every one hath turned aside into his own way: and the Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all. He was offered because it was his own will, and he opened not his mouth: he shall be led as a sheep to the slaughter, and shall be dumb as a lamb before his shearer, and he shall not open his mouth: he was taken away from distress, and from judgment: who shall declare his generation? because he is cut off out of the land of the living: for the wickedness of my people have I stricken him. And he shall give the ungodly for his burial, and the rich for his death: because he hath done no iniquity, neither was there deceit in his mouth. And the Lord was pleased to bruise him in infirmity; if he shall lay down his life for sin, he shall see a long-lived seed, and the will of the Lord shall be prosperous in his land. Because his soul hath laboured, he shall see and be filled: by his knowledge shall this my just servant justify many, and he shall bear their iniquities. Therefore will I distribute to him very many, and he shall divide the spoils of the strong, because he hath delivered his soul unto death, and was reputed with the wicked: and he hath borne the sins of many, and hath prayed for the transgressors (liii. 1-12).

8. All you that thirst, come to the waters: and you that have no money, make haste, buy, and eat: come ye, buy wine and milk without money, and without any price. . . . Behold I have given him for a witness to the peoples, for a leader and a master to the gentiles. Behold thou shalt call a nation, which thou knewest not: and the nations that knew not thee shall run to thee, because of the Lord thy God, and for the holy One of Israel; for he hath glorified thee (lv. 1, 4, 5).

9. And there shall come a redeemer to Sion, and to them that return from iniquity in Jacob, saith the Lord. This is my covenant with them, saith the Lord: My Spirit that is in thee, and my words that I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seed's seed, saith the Lord, from henceforth and for ever (lix. 20, 21).

10. The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because the Lord hath anointed me: he hath sent me to preach to the meek, to heal the contrite of heart, and to preach a release to the captives, and deliverance to them that are shut up. To proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord, and the day of vengeance of our God: to comfort all that mourn. . . . But you shall be called the priests of the Lord: to you it shall be said: Ye ministers of our God: you shall eat the riches of the gentiles, and you shall pride yourselves in their glory. For your double confusion and shame, they shall praise their part: therefore shall they receive double in their land, everlasting joy shall be unto them. For I am the Lord that love judgment, and hate robbery in a holocaust: and I will make their work in truth, and I will make a perpetual covenant with them. And they shall know their seed among the gentiles, and their offspring in the midst of people: all that shall see them, shall know them, that these are the seed which the Lord hath blessed (lxi. 1, 2, 6-9).

11. For Sion's sake I will not hold my peace, and for the sake of Jerusalem, I will not rest till her just one come forth as brightness, and her saviour be lighted as a lamp. And the gentiles shall see thy just one, and all kings thy glorious one: and thou shalt be called by a new name, which the mouth of the Lord shall name (lxii. 1, 2).

12. They have sought me that before asked not for me, they have found me that sought me not. I said: Behold me, behold me, to a nation that did not call upon my name (lxv. 1).



I have taken these extended extracts from the record in the order in which they there appear, and have placed them together, that the reader may be the better able to take a combined view of the whole. I have numbered them for the convenience of reference.

In the first extract the prophet, as I think, predicts the miraculous conception of Christ and the name by which He should be called. In the second he first speaks of the locality of His main works and teachings—fruitful and teeming Galilee—and then states that He should be a King and sit upon the throne of David; that His kingdom should be multiplied, peaceful, and everlasting; and then describes this great ruler as “Wonderful, Counsellor, God, the Mighty, the Father of the world to come, the Prince of peace.” In the third the prophet foretells that this extraordinary ruler should be of the posterity of Jesse, and that “the Spirit of the Lord would rest upon him.” In the fourth he speaks of Christ under the image of a tried, precious corner-stone in the foundation of Sion. In the fifth the prophet refers to John the Baptist as the great messenger of Christ to prepare the way before Him; and he describes the manner in which the holy Baptist would discharge the duties of his mission, by comparing his action with the opening of a magnificent highway along which the Prince of peace would travel. In the sixth the prophet describes Christ as a dignified, just, quiet, merciful, and universal judge and lawgiver. In the seventh extract the prophet, with wonderful power and accuracy, describes Christ as the suffering Redeemer, sacrificed for the sins of men. In order to show the poverty of His family, and the consequent defenceless condition of His infancy, and the difficulty of His preservation from enemies, he compares Him to “a tender plant, and to a root out of a thirsty ground.” And to point out how repulsive the character of so humble, peaceable, and defenceless a person would be in the eyes of the world, the prophet says “there was no beauty in him, nor comeliness”; and for that reason He was “despised, and the most abject of men, a man of sorrows, and acquainted with infirmity.” The prophet then alludes to the mysterious character of Christ by saying: “and his look was as it were hidden and despised.”

After having thus described Christ as He was before His crucifixion the prophet abruptly bursts forth with the sublime declaration: “Surely he hath borne our infirmities, and carried our sorrows. . . . He was wounded for our iniquities, he was bruised for our sins: the chastisement of our peace was upon him, and by his bruises we are healed.” And after stating that all had gone astray like sheep, and that “the Lord had laid on him the iniquity of us all,” the prophet goes on to state that “He was offered,” and then compares His meek and silent submission to the action of “a sheep led to the slaughter” and to that of “a lamb dumb before his shearer.” The great sacri-

fice was made *efficiently* for our sins by one who had done no iniquity, and in whose mouth there was no deceit ; and it was inflicted by God, who “ was *pleased* to bruise him in infirmity,” “ and he was reputed among the wicked.” The prophet then refers to the future success of this sacrifice by saying among other things : “ if he shall lay down his life for sin, he shall see a long-lived seed, and the will of the Lord shall be prosperous in his hand.”

The prophet, having *first* predicted a complete redemption from sin, in the eighth extract most earnestly calls upon the suffering of all nations to freely come, without money and without price, and partake of its benefits. In the ninth extract the prophet predicts the perpetual orthodoxy of the Church of Christ.

In the tenth extract the prophet first refers to the office of Christ as one “ sent to preach to the meek, to heal the contrite of heart, and to preach a release to the captives, and deliverance to them that are shut up ; to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord, and the day of vengeance of our God : and to comfort all that mourn ” ; and then speaks of the apostles, and the number, superior conduct, and great happiness of their converts among the gentiles, who would be a shame and confusion to the unbelieving Jews.

In the eleventh extract the prophet declares that he will not cease from preaching Christ, whom all nations shall know ; and in the twelfth extract he refers to the conversion of the gentiles.\*

And thou, Bethlehem Ephrata, art a little one among the thousands of Juda : out of thee shall he come forth unto me that is to be the ruler in Israel, and his going forth is from the beginning, from the days of eternity (Micheas v. 2).

This prophecy predicts that Christ should be born in Bethlehem, and states that His going forth was determined from eternity.

And I will move all nations: and the desired of all nations shall come: and I will fill this house with glory: saith the Lord of hosts. The silver is mine, and the gold is mine, saith the Lord of hosts. Great shall be the glory of this last house more than of the first, saith the Lord of hosts: and in this place I will give peace, saith the Lord of hosts (Aggeus ii. 8-10; A. V. Haggai).

This book is prefaced with this explanatory statement by the translators :

Aggeus, or Haggai, was one of those that returned from the captivity of Babylon, in the first year of the reign of King Cyrus. He was sent by the Lord in the second year of the reign of King Darius, the son of Hystaspes, to exhort Zorobabel the prince of Juda, and Jesus the high-priest, to the building of the temple; which they had begun, but left off again through the opposition of the Samaritans. In consequence of this exhortation they proceeded in the building and finished the temple. And the prophet was commissioned by the Lord to assure them that this second temple should be more glorious than the former, because the Messiah should honor it with his presence: signifying withal how much the church of the New Testament should excel that of the Old Testament.

\* Many prophecies relate to the second coming of Christ, and are not yet, but we believe will be, literally fulfilled in due time.

And I will pour out upon the house of David, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the spirit of grace, and of prayers: and they shall look upon me, whom they have pierced: and they shall mourn for him as one mourneth for an only son, and they shall grieve over him, as the manner is to grieve for the death of the first-born (Zacharias xii. 10).

Zacharias was contemporary with Aggeus. The above passage seems plainly to refer to Christ and His death. It is foretold that the *inhabitants* of Jerusalem should look upon Him whom *they have* pierced, and should mourn for Him as one mourneth for an *only* son.

Behold I send my Angel, and he shall prepare the way before my face. And presently the Lord, whom you seek, and the Angel of the testament, whom you desire, shall come to his temple. . . . Behold I will send you Elias the prophet, before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord (Malachias iii. 1, iv. 5; A. V. Malachi).

“Malachias was the last of the prophets in the order of time, and flourished about four hundred years before Christ.” In the above passage he foretells the appearance and mission of John the Baptist and the coming of Christ to His temple. The first angel mentioned is the messenger John the Baptist, and the second angel is Christ, the Angel of the New Testament.

There are many other prophecies relating to Christ and His Church, but those I have given are the most important. If each one be taken and considered separately, and without its due relation to each and to all the others, then their force and power of proof will be greatly diminished. If we take all the various and delicate parts of some beautiful, complex, yet harmonious instrument, such, for example, as a first-class chronometer, and submit one piece only to the inspection of each one of a number of unskilful persons equal in the aggregate to the sum total of all the parts of the machine, each inspector will see design and some beauty and some vague utility in the part submitted to him; but, while he will perceive design, he will be unable to know what it is, and what exact part the piece he has examined is to play in the finished instrument, and his ideas will be imperfect, fragmentary, and uncertain. But let all and each of the persons examining the numerous separated parts bring them all together, and let some competent person in their presence put each one of these parts in its proper place, and then set the wonderful organization in motion—how readily and clearly each inspector will understand the exact use of each part in the combined whole! It is just so with these prophecies when taken separately or combined.

We can find no full and perfect description of the Saviour of men in each prophecy separately considered; but when we combine them all, then there bursts upon us a complex yet harmonious description of the greatest and noblest possible character of all time.

## THE FULNESS OF TIME.

In the fourth chapter of his Epistle to the Galatians Paul says :

But when the fulness of the time was come, God sent his Son, made of a woman, made under the law : that he might redeem them who were under the law : that we might receive the adoption of sons.

Assuming, for the sake of the argument only, that Christ has come, then were the time and place of His appearance wisely chosen ? If so, that fact is a strong evidence of the truth of Paul's statement *that God had sent him*.

As we have already seen, the *place* of His nativity, Bethlehem, was foretold by Micheas (v. 2) ; and the *time* of His appearance—during the existence of the second temple—had been announced by Aggeus (ii. 8-10) and by Malachias (iii. 1). It is claimed that He was born in Bethlehem a few months before the death of Herod the Great, and about fourteen years before the death of Augustus Cæsar, the first emperor of Rome.

In order to duly appreciate the force of the present argument in support of Paul's statement, it is necessary to substantially understand at least the main facts regarding the condition of the great Roman Empire during the time of Christ and for several centuries later. Says Gibbon :

The modern historian \* may impress a juster image of the greatness of Rome,

\*The edition from which my extracts are taken is that published in six volumes by Harper & Brother, New York, 1859, accompanied with notes by Milman, Guizot, and Wenck.

In quoting from Gibbon I distinguish between his statements and summaries of facts, which I regard as substantially correct, and his opinions and conclusions, which I think often wrong, and especially when they relate to Christianity. He was an elegant but sarcastic writer, and introduced his polished but unjust sarcasms into his history, where they are entirely out of place.

I believe that no sarcastic historian, whether infidel or Christian, can possibly write a true history of Christianity. The propensity to sarcasm, when indulged at all, becomes as irresistible as the thirst of the inebriate. So long as the drunkard will entirely refrain from all use of intoxicating beverages, so long will he be secure ; but the moment he indulges in the first draught, that instant he loses all control over his insatiable thirst. Men naturally love best, and use most freely, that power or gift in which they most excel ; and the sarcastic historian is certain to abuse his power of sarcasm. If he were not *already* its servant, and devotedly attached to his master, he would not use it in the composition of *history*, wherein it should never appear. I think every earnest and impartial seeker of truth should be as cautious of a sarcastic historian as prudent people are of a sarcastic friend. All persons who are competent judges of men must have observed how often witty, waggish, and especially sarcastic people will wantonly slaughter truth and justice in order to indulge and gratify their ruling propensity.

The loud, dissonant bray of the ass is most probably delicious music to it ; but it is terrible upon other creatures, which must endure because they cannot reply. It is just so with the sneer. It may be sweet to the sneerer, but it is death to fair and candid reasoning. It cannot be answered by argument or convinced by evidence. It never reasons, but only indulges.

While I so much differ from Mr. Darwin in regard to his views upon evolution, I can but admire his remarks upon sneering :

"He who rejects with scorn the belief that the shape of his own canines, and their occasional great development in other men, are due to our early forefathers having been provided with these formidable weapons, will probably reveal, by sneering, the line of his descent. For though he no longer intends, nor has the power, to use these teeth as weapons, he will unconsciously retract his 'snarling muscles' (thus named by Sir C. Bell), so as to expose them ready for action, like a dog prepared to fight" (*Descent of Man*, p. 41).

When Plato defined man as a two-legged animal without feathers, Diogenea, to correct him, presented a plucked fowl. Of course the definition of Plato had reference only to animals in their

by observing that the empire was above two thousand miles in breadth, from the wall of Antoninus and the northern limits of Dacia, to Mount Atlas and the tropic of Cancer ; that it extended in length more than three thousand miles from the Western Ocean to the Euphrates ; that it was situated in the finest part of the Temperate Zone, between the twenty-fourth and fifty-sixth degrees of northern latitude ; and that it was supposed to contain above sixteen hundred thousand square miles, for the most part of fertile and well-cultivated land (*Decline and Fall*, i. p. 32).

The number of subjects who acknowledged the laws of Rome, of citizens, of provincials, and of slaves, cannot now be fixed with such a degree of accuracy as the importance of the subject would deserve. We are informed, that when the Emperor Claudius exercised the office of censor, he took an account of six millions nine hundred and forty-five thousand Roman citizens, who, with the proportion of women and children, must have amounted to about twenty millions of souls. The multitude of subjects of an inferior rank was uncertain and fluctuating. But, after weighing with attention every circumstance which could influence the balance, it seems probable that there existed, in the time of Claudius, about twice as many provincials as there were citizens, of either sex, and of every age ; and that the slaves were at least equal in number to the free inhabitants of the Roman world. The total amount of this imperfect calculation would rise to about one hundred and twenty millions of persons ; a degree of population which possibly exceeds that of modern Europe, and forms the most numerous society that has ever been united under the same system of government (*id.* i. p. 52).

During a happy period of more than four score years, the public administration was conducted by the virtue and abilities of Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, and the two Antonines. It is the design of this, and of the two succeeding chapters, to describe the prosperous condition of their empire ; and afterwards, from the death of Marcus Antoninus, to deduce the most important circumstances of its decline and fall ; a revolution which will ever be remembered, and is still felt by the nations of the earth (*id.* i. p. 1).

The several reigns of Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, and the two Antonines lasted from A. D. 98 to A. D. 180, a period of eighty-two years.

As to the *form* of government and the *actual* power of the emperors I make the following extracts :

The principal conquests of the Romans were achieved under the republic ; and the emperors, for the most part, were satisfied with preserving those dominions which had been acquired by the policy of the senate, the active emulations of the consuls, and the martial enthusiasm of the people. The seven first centuries were filled with a rapid succession of triumphs ; but it was reserved for Augustus to relinquish the ambitious design of subduing the whole earth, and to introduce a spirit of moderation into the public councils (i. p. 1).

In the purer ages of the commonwealth, the use of arms was reserved for those ranks of citizens who had a country to love, a property to defend, and some share

natural state ; and although his definition was inaccurate, as it left out man's rational nature, the droll irony of Diogenes did not correct the error, or prove anything except the predominant characteristic of Diogenes himself. Yet the great Grecian philosopher could make no reply.

A system of supernatural revelation, from its sublime and necessarily mysterious nature, is most subject to the plausible distortions of the wit, waggery, and sarcasm of its enemies. But there is one protection : such authors invariably write their own history.

I shall make many extracts from Gibbon, for two reasons : 1st, he was an unbeliever, and his concessions are those of an adversary ; 2d, his statements are clear. But I must repeat that I carefully distinguish between his statements and summaries of fact, which are generally correct, and his *opinions* and *conclusions*, which are often most erroneous.

in enacting those laws, which it was their interest as well as duty to maintain. But in proportion as the public freedom was lost in extent of conquest, war was gradually improved into an art, and degraded into a trade (*id.* i. p. 10).

The tender respect of Augustus for a free constitution which he had destroyed, can only be explained by an attentive consideration of the character of that subtle tyrant. A cool head, an unfeeling heart, and a cowardly disposition, prompted him at the age of nineteen to assume the mask of hypocrisy, which he never afterwards laid aside. With the same hand, and probably with the same temper, he signed the proscription of Cicero, and the pardon of Cinna. His virtues, and even his vices, were artificial; and according to the various dictates of his interest, he was at first the enemy, and at last the father of the Roman world. When he framed the artful system of the Imperial authority, his moderation was inspired by his fears. He wished to deceive the people by an image of civil liberty. . . . Augustus was sensible that mankind is governed by names; nor was he deceived in his expectation, that the senate and people would submit to slavery, provided they were respectfully assured that they still enjoyed their ancient freedom. A feeble senate and enervated people cheerfully acquiesced in the pleasing illusion, as long as it was supported by the virtue, or even by the prudence, of the successors of Augustus. It was a motive of self-preservation, not a principle of liberty, that animated the conspirators against Caligula, Nero, and Domitian. They attacked the person of the tyrant, without aiming their blow at the authority of the emperor (*id.* i. pp. 86-88).

The emperors, as the first ministers of the republic, were exempted from the obligation and penalty of many inconvenient laws: they were authorized to convoke the senate, to make several motions in the same day, to recommend candidates for the honors of the state, to enlarge the bounds of the city, to employ the revenue at their discretion, to declare peace and war, to ratify treaties; and by a most comprehensive clause, they were empowered to execute whatsoever they should judge advantageous to the empire, and agreeable to the majesty of things, private or public, human or divine (*id.* i. p. 80).

The emperor was elected by *the authority of the senate, and the consent of the soldiers* (*id.* i. p. 89).

The successors of Augustus exercised the power of dictating whatever laws their wisdom or caprice might suggest; but those laws were ratified by the sanction of the senate. The model of ancient freedom was preserved in its deliberations and decrees; and wise princes, who respected the prejudices of the Roman people, were in some measure obliged to assume the language and behavior suitable to the general and first magistrate of the republic. In the armies and in the provinces, they displayed the dignity of monarchs; and when they fixed their residence at a distance from the capital, they forever laid aside the dissimulation which Augustus had recommended to his successors (*id.* i. p. 435).

From these extracts it is clear that the government of Rome, under the emperors, was in *form* a republic, but in *essence and fact* a despotism. The emperors, from a motive of policy, observed the *empty forms* of liberty, while they *actually dictated* such measures as their wisdom or caprice suggested. It was genuine despotism under the shadowy appearances of liberty. The senate was only the obsequious servant of the emperors to pass and record such decrees as *they* chose to dictate and obey.\*

\* "Faustina, the daughter of Pius and the wife of Marcus," says Gibbon, "has been as much celebrated for her gallantries as for her beauty. . . . Marcus was the only man in the empire who

In relation to the religion and morals of the Roman people I make the following extracts :

The policy of the emperors and the senate, as far as it concerned religion, was happily seconded by the reflections of the enlightened, and by the habits of the superstitious, part of their subjects. The various modes of worship, which prevailed in the Roman world, were all considered by the people as equally true ; by the philosopher, as equally false ; and by the magistrate, as equally useful. And thus toleration produced not only mutual indulgence, but even religious concord (*id. i. p. 33*).\*

Notwithstanding the fashionable irreligion which prevailed in the age of the Antonines, both the interests of the priests and the credulity of the people were sufficiently respected. In their writings and conversations, the philosophers of antiquity asserted the independent dignity of reason ; but they resigned their actions to the commands of law and custom. Viewing, with a smile of pity and indulgence, the various errors of the vulgar, they diligently practised the ceremonies of their fathers, devoutly frequented the temples of the gods ; and sometimes condescending to act a part on the theatre of superstition, they concealed the sentiments of an atheist under the sacerdotal robes. Reasoners of such a temper were scarcely inclined to wrangle about their respective modes of faith, or of worship. It was indifferent to them what shape the folly of the multitude might

seemed ignorant or insensible of the irregularities of Faustina. . . In his Meditations he thanks the gods, who had bestowed on him a wife so faithful, so gentle, and of such a wonderful simplicity of manners. The obsequious senate, at his earnest request, declared her a goddess. She was represented in her temples, with the attributes of Juno, Venus, and Ceres ; and it was decreed, that on the day of their nuptials, the youth of either sex should pay their vows before the altar of their chaste patroness " (*id. i. p. 101*).

\* "The boasted tolerance of polytheism," says M. Constant, "did not rest upon the respect due from society to the freedom of individual opinion. The polytheistic nations, tolerant as they were towards each other, as separate states, were not the less ignorant of the eternal principle, the only basis of enlightened toleration, that every one has the right to worship God in the manner which seems to him the best. Citizens, on the contrary, were bound to conform to the religion of the state, they had not the liberty to adopt a foreign religion, though that religion might be legally recognized in their own city, for the strangers who were its votaries " (cited by Milman in note to *i. p. 34*).

Milman adds: "At this time, the growing religious indifference, and the general administration of the empire by Romans, who, being strangers, would do no more than protect, not enlist themselves in the cause of local superstitions, had introduced great laxity. But intolerance was clearly the theory both of the Greek and Roman law."

"In Greece," says Milman, "persecution was in general connected with political party ; and in Rome, with the stern supremacy of the law and the interests of the state. Gibbon has been mistaken in attributing to the tolerant spirit of Paganism that which arose out of the peculiar circumstances of the times. 1st. The decay of the old Polytheism, through the progress of reason and intelligence, and the prevalence of philosophical opinions among the higher orders. 2d. The Roman character, in which the political always predominated over the religious party. The Romans were contented with having bowed the world to a uniformity of subjection to their power, and cared not for establishing the (to them) less important uniformity of religion " (note *i. p. 507*).

While the Romans, from motives of *policy*, allowed their people a wide liberty in choosing *any* one or more of the various forms of "religion considered by the people, as equally true ; by the philosopher, as equally false ; and by the magistrate, as equally useful," as Gibbon has it, they rigidly required from all an *external* public observance of some *one* or more of those different modes of worship which were tolerated by the state ; for, while the "philosophers of antiquity asserted the independent dignity of reason in their writings and conversation, they resigned their *actions* to the commands of *law and custom*," as the historian says. This is the reason why they practised the profound hypocrisy so forcibly described by him in the extract beginning on page 337. The *principle* of intolerance was *essentially* maintained, while the circle of its orbit was so enlarged as to embrace *many* theories equally false in fact and equally useful in supposed effect. But as the Roman, like all civil laws, could not know the intents of the mind (except when manifested by some external act), it only required obedience in *action* to such modes of worship as *it* was pleased to tolerate.

choose to assume ; and they approached with the same inward contempt, and the same external reverence, the altars of the Libyan, the Olympian, or the Capitoline Jupiter.\*

It is not easy to conceive from what motives a spirit of persecution could introduce itself into the Roman councils. The magistrates could not be actuated by a blind, though honest bigotry, since the magistrates were themselves philosophers ; and the schools of Athens had given laws to the senate. They could not be impelled by ambition or avarice, as the temporal and ecclesiastical powers were united in the same hands. The pontiffs were chosen among the most illustrious of the senators ; and the office of Supreme Pontiff was constantly exercised by the emperors themselves. They knew and valued the advantages of religion, as it is connected with civil government. They encouraged the public festivals which humanize the manners of the people. They managed the arts of divination as a convenient instrument of policy ; and they respected, as the firmest bond of society, the useful persuasion, that, either in this or in a future life, the crime of perjury is most assuredly punished by the avenging gods. But whilst they acknowledged the general advantages of religion, they were convinced that the various modes of worship contributed alike to the same salutary purposes ; and that, in every country, the form of superstition, which had received the sanction of time and experience, was the best adapted to the climate, and to its inhabitants (*id.* i. p. 36).

The deification of the emperors is the only instance in which they departed from their accustomed prudence and modesty. . . . But the conquerors soon imitated the vanquished nations in the arts of flattery ; and the imperious spirit of the first Cæsar too easily consented to assume, during his lifetime, a place among the tutelary deities of Rome. The milder temper of his successors declined so dangerous an ambition, which was never afterwards revived, except by the madness of Caligula and Domitian † (*id.* i. p. 84).

The weakness of polytheism was, in some measure, excused by the moderation of its claims ; and the devotion of the Pagans was not incompatible with the most licentious scepticism (*id.* ii. p. 413).

We have already described the religious harmony of the ancient world, and the facility with which the most different and even hostile nations embraced, or at least respected, each other's superstitions. A single people refused to join in the common intercourse of mankind. The Jews, who, under the Assyrian and Persian monarchies, had languished for many ages the most despised portion of their slaves, emerged from obscurity under the successors of Alexander ; and as they multiplied to a surprising degree in the East, and afterwards in the West, they soon excited the curiosity and wonder of other nations. The sullen obstinacy with which they maintained their peculiar rites and unsocial manners seemed to mark them out as a distinct species of men, who boldly professed, or who faintly disguised, their implacable habits to the rest of human kind. Neither the violence of Antiochus, nor the arts of Herod, nor the example of the circumjacent nations, could ever persuade the Jews to associate with the institutions of Moses the elegant mythology of the Greeks (*id.* i. p. 506).

“The Bructeri” (it is Tacitus who now speaks) “were totally exterminated by the neighboring tribes, provoked by their insolence, allured by the hopes of spoil,

\* “All that ignoble crowd of gods which the superstition of ages has collected, we will adore,” says Seneca, “in such a way as to remember that its worship belongs rather to usage than to reality. The wise man will unite in all these observances as commanded by the laws, not as pleasing to the gods” (cited by Dr. Uhlhorn, p. 50).

† Although the mild Trajan was not deified during his lifetime, like Augustus, by a decree of the senate, he permitted incense to be offered to his image in the provinces, as we shall see from his correspondence with Pliny.



and perhaps inspired by the tutelar deities of the empire. Above sixty thousand barbarians were destroyed ; not by the Roman arms, but in our sight, and for our entertainment. May the nations, enemies of Rome, ever preserve this enmity to each other ! We have now attained the utmost verge of prosperity, and have nothing left to demand of fortune, except the discord of the barbarians !” These sentiments, less worthy of the humanity than of the patriotism of Tacitus, express the invariable maxims of the policy of his countrymen (*id.* i. p. 275).

In regard more especially to the moral life of the people within the limits of the great Roman Empire I will make some extracts from the late able work of Dr. Gerhard Uhlhorn, entitled *The Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism*, edited and translated from the third German edition by Egbert C. Smyth and C. J. H. Ropes, and published by Charles Scribner’s Sons, New York, 1879. It being a special treatise of five hundred pages upon that subject, the learned author has given very full details and cited ample authorities for his statements :

Restricting the question to the imperfect morality of Heathenism, we see, even here, that, when faith goes, morals perish with it. Not until we perceive the moral condition of the heathen world, do we discover the depth and completeness of its decay (p. 94).

The Japhetic nations received as their choicest inheritance, shame, chastity, and modesty. It was these traits which distinguished them so definitely from the descendants of Ham, and elevated them so high in comparison. But they acted like the prodigal son. They wasted their portion. First of all, the Greeks. They too in their youth were not wanting in chastity and modesty (recall Penelope), but as early as the palmy days of Greece this treasure was already lost. Almost all their great men—not merely so notorious a libertine as Alcibiades, but even a Themistocles and a Pericles—were impure. The female sex had a low position in Greece, was shut out from education, and took no part in any of the employments of men, in public life, in the affairs of their country. Plato represents a State as wholly disorganized, where slaves are disobedient to their masters, and wives are on an equality with their husbands. Aristotle expressly characterizes women as being of an inferior kind. Family life, in the true meaning of the words, the Greek did not know. He was at home as little as possible, and sought happiness elsewhere than at his own hearth. “Is there a human being,” asks Socrates of one of his friends, “with whom you talk less than with your wife ?” And Demosthenes says without the least embarrassment: “We have *hetærae* for our pleasure, wives to bear us children and to care for our households.” So the courtesan became the complement of the wife, and it is easy to understand why there is such an almost entire absence of noble women throughout the history of Greece, and so great prominence given to the position occupied by courtesans and the rôle which they played in the national life. They frequented the lecture-rooms of the philosophers, wrote books, and were on terms of intercourse with prominent statesmen. Even Socrates went to hear Aspasia. Famous men collected their witty sayings, and wrote their histories. . . .

The Romans kept their inheritance much longer. Their power was rooted in chastity, modesty, and the strict morals of the earlier time. Nothing immodest was tolerated. No nude images of the gods violated the sense of shame. Marriage was considered sacred, and children grew up under the watchful care of chaste

mothers in the simple relations of home. According to Plutarch it was 280, according to others it was 520, years before a divorce occurred in Rome. The Romans were acquainted with true family life. When work was done they went home, and gladly remained in the bosom of the family. A genial profligate like Alcibiades could have gained no foothold in Rome, an Aspasia or Phryne could have played no part.

It was otherwise when, with Greek culture, Greek frivolity as well entered Rome, when the riches of the conquered world flowed thither, and the luxury of the Empire took the place of republican simplicity. The ancient simple domesticity disappeared. Chastity and modesty perished. Luxury in dress came into vogue, and with it a finicalness and unnaturalness such as perhaps have never since been equalled (pp. 97-99).

How demoralizing this must have been is obvious; all the more so because the performances in the theatre were thoroughly immoral, and everywhere at social entertainments mythological paintings on the walls, tables and utensils for food, representations of naked forms, pictures often positively immodest, surrounded the guests—to say nothing of the dances, shows, music and songs (p. 100).

We know not which is the more shocking, the effrontery with which sensuality came forth, or the cunning with which it sought what was more and more unnatural. Even the temples promoted lewdness, the priestesses were prostitutes, and, shameful to relate, this was esteemed and practised by the heathen as part of religious worship (p. 103).

Life, in the time of the Emperors, was utterly tedious and uninteresting. There were no elevating influences. Interest in public affairs had died out from the time that the Emperor alone ruled the world according to his own caprices, or, as might happen, allowed it to be ruled by women or *valets de chambre*. Religious life had disappeared. Philosophy had degenerated into a vain display of mere words. Between an inordinately wealthy aristocracy and a populace accustomed to be fed by its lords, there was no opportunity for creative, progressive labor (p. 116).

I gladly acknowledge that the description I have given of the moral life of that age needs qualification on this side, or on that; that there were, beyond question, sounder and nobler elements; that, by comparison with other times which offer similar phenomena, much can be set in a milder light; and yet after all such allowances are made, one thing must at any rate be admitted, of which all these details are only a symptom, and which itself is the most unerring symptom of the degradation of the old world: the exhaustion from life of every lofty purpose (p. 118).

Virtue was made a mock of, and the gods scoffed at; every thing sacred and worthy of veneration was dragged in the mire. In obscenity, unveiled and unambiguous, in impure speeches and exhibitions which outraged the sense of shame, these spectacles exceeded all beside. Ballet dancers threw away their dresses and danced half naked, and even wholly naked, on the stage. Art was left out of account, every thing was designed for mere sensual gratification (p. 120).

In the times of the Republic games were observed within moderate limits. As early as Augustus they were celebrated for sixty-six days; under Marcus Aurelius the number had increased to one hundred and thirty-five. Besides these there were extraordinary festivals. Titus gave the people, at the dedication of the Flavian Amphitheatre, a festival which lasted a hundred days; Trajan, on the occasion of his Dacian triumph, one of one hundred and twenty-three days. So it was in Rome, where, to be sure, every thing was carried to extremes. Yet there were not wanting games in the provinces, although in a more moderate degree, as is

proved by the ruins of numerous, and often colossal, amphitheatres in all parts of the Roman Empire (p. 121).

Already on the night before, the people streamed into the Circus in order to secure seats, for, immense as was the number of places provided, it was yet difficult to attain one. In Cæsar's time the Circus had 150,000 seats; Titus added 100,000 more; finally there were 385,000 (p. 123).

On the walls of Pompeii we may still read the inscription: "If the weather allows, the gladiatorial bands of the Ædile Suetius Certus will fight, on the 30th of July, in the Arena at Pompeii. There will also be a hunt of animals. The place for spectators is covered, and will be sprinkled." Such an amphitheatre must have been a splendid sight, the seats, rising one above another, all filled, below, people of rank, senators, knights, ladies magnificently arrayed, sparkling with gold and precious stones. Vestals in their sacred garb; higher up the other orders; at the top the common people, country folk, soldiers, house-slaves. Far over the arena stretched an awning supported by masts gay with pennons, many colored tapestries covered balustrades and parapets, festoons of roses linked pillar to pillar, and in the spaces between stood glittering statues of the gods before whom rose from tripods fragrant odors. Every thing exhaled pleasure and joy. People laughed, talked, interchanged courtesies, spun love-affairs, or bet on this or that combatant. And yet what a horrible show it was at which the multitude lingered!

It began with a pompous procession of gladiators in full armor. Before the Emperor they lowered their arms and cried: "Hail, *Imperator!* they who are about to die salute thee!" At first only a sham fight took place, then the dismal tones of the *tubæ* gave the signal for the combat with sharp weapons. The most varied scenes followed in rapid succession. Singly or in companies the *retarii* came forward, almost naked, without armor, their only weapons a dagger and trident, and endeavored each to throw a net over the head of his antagonist in order to inflict a death-blow. The Samnites, with large shields and short straight swords, engaged the Thracians with small round shields and curved swords. Combatants clad in complete armor aimed at the joints in the armor of their opponents, knights tilted at each other with long lances, and others, in imitation of the Britons, fought standing on chariots of war.

All this was not for show nor in sport, but in down-right, terrible earnest. If one fell alive into the hands of his opponent, the giver of the entertainment left the decision of life or death to the spectators. The vanquished begged for his life by holding up a finger. If they waved their handkerchiefs his life was granted him, if they turned up their thumbs this was a command for the fatal stroke. Women even, and timid girls, gave lightly and without hesitation the sign which doomed a man to death. The brave who despised death received abundant applause,—the timorous excited the anger of the people who considered it an affront if a gladiator would not cheerfully die. They were trained for this in gladiatorial schools and learned there also how to breathe out their lives with theatrical grace. For this, too, the giver of the show had hired them from the *lanista*, the owner of the school. This fact appears in the Institutes as a question of law. A *lanista* furnished a private person a number of gladiators on the condition that he should pay for every one who returned from the fight uninjured, or without serious wounds, twenty *denarii*, for every one killed or badly hurt, one thousand *denarii*. The question arose: Was this purchase or hire? Caius decided: In the case of the first class it was hire, for they went back to their master; in the case of the second it was purchase, since they belong to him whom they have served, for what is the *lanista* to do with the dead or mutilated? A right had thus been purchased in their death, and accordingly those who hesitated to die were driven into the

fight with scourges and red-hot irons. Inflamed to madness the spectators screamed : Kill ! lash ! burn ! Why does he take the death-blow with so little bravery ? Why does he die so reluctantly ? . . .

Together with the gladiatorial shows proper, fights with wild beasts were extremely popular, and were carried out on a splendid scale. Wild animals were hunted in all parts of the world in order to supply the Amphitheatre at Rome, and those of other great cities. The hippopotamus was transported from Egypt, the wild boar from the Rhine, the lion from Africa, the elephant from India. Even rhinoceroses, ostriches, and giraffes were not wanting. The beasts of the desert were brought not singly but by hundreds into the arena. Six hundred bears, five hundred lions, are mentioned at one festival. At the games given by Trajan in honor of the Dacian triumph, in the year A.D. 106, there fought in all eleven thousand animals of the most diverse species. There was also great variety in the contests. Now the wild beasts fought with one another, now with dogs trained for this purpose, now with men on foot or mounted.

Still more magnificent were the battles, especially the naval battles, which took place in the Amphitheatre arranged for their display, or on lakes excavated for this special purpose. Whole fleets engaged in these contests. Claudius exhibited on the lake Fucinus a sea-fight between vessels of three and four benches of oars, in which there were nineteen thousand combatants. Domitian had a new and larger lake dug, on which battles were fought by fleets almost as large as those commonly employed at that time in war. These were not mock-fights, but all real combats in which thousands fell or were drowned.

While these spectacles still impress us by their magnificence, the public executions, also exhibited as shows in the Amphitheatre, excite only emotions of horror and disgust. Wholly unarmed, or furnished with weapons solely that their torments might be protracted, the condemned were bound to stakes and exposed to famished beasts. There they lay bleeding and with torn garments, while the people shouted for joy. And yet worse than this occurred. Those under condemnation were used for theatrical spectacles at which all the arts of decoration in which that age was so proficient were brought into requisition—only in these plays death, sufferings, and agonies were not feigned, but actually endured. The unfortunate victims appeared in garments interwoven with threads of gold, and with crowns on their heads, when suddenly flames burst from their clothing and consumed them. There Mucius Scævola was seen holding his hand in a brazier of live coals ; there Hercules ascended on Mount Cæta his funeral pile, and was burned alive ; there robbers, hanging on crosses, were torn limb from limb by bears. All this with complete theatrical machinery for the delight of a sight-loving people.

We turn away from such scenes with abhorrence. Antiquity had no such feeling. We should search literature in vain for expressions which censure and repudiate this shedding of blood. Even a man like Pliny, who usually manifests a nobler and more humane spirit, praises, in his *Panegyric* upon Trajan, games “ which do not enervate the minds of men, but on the contrary inflame them to honorable wounds and contempt of death as they perceive even in slaves and criminals the love of praise and desire for victory.” Seneca calls them a light amusement. Once only, when he had accidentally seen, in the recess at noon, that unpractised gladiators were allowed to engage in combats which were mere butchery, does he express indignation that men were permitted to slaughter each other merely for the amusement of those who remained during the interval in the Amphitheatre. Ovid even instructs those present at these sights to improve the offered opportunity for love-making. . . .

The view which we thus attain of the complete exhaustion from life of moral

aims, is appalling. Life really had no longer an object. The one great end for which men had lived, the development of the State, no longer existed. From the time when the Emperor could say: "I am the State!" political life had ceased. All that was left—the assemblies of the people, the Senate, the offices derived from the Republic—were mere pretence. No wonder that men were wholly absorbed in enjoyment, and that "Bread and Games" became the motto for all classes. But there was a deeper reason yet for this exhaustion of life. Heathenism knew no goal in the life beyond, and consequently had no true aim in the present life. When a man has found the goal of existence in the other world, his one great task, however in other respects his life may shape itself, is always within his own heart. For him life continually retains the sublime significance of a school for the life to come, and in darkest seasons never becomes empty and unmeaning. The heathen knew nothing of all this. Therefore in times of decline, like those of the Empire, their only resource was amusement. This drove them to the circus and the theatre, and made it an event in their eyes whether the horses with red colors or those with green first reached the goal, whether this or that gladiator was victorious (pp. 124-131).

A gloomy picture has unrolled itself before us. I am conscious that I have not designedly painted it too dark, but that it may not seem blacker than the reality, let us not forget that in the midst of this fearful corruption some sounder elements must still have existed. Otherwise the Roman Empire could not have stood so long as it did. What we know of its moral life is derived chiefly from Rome itself, and unquestionably there, at the centre, the corruption was greatest, whilst in the provinces, and in the camps of the legions, it had not made so great progress. From thence accordingly came a reaction, which brought to the Empire, when the Julian house had passed away, a brilliant after-summer under the noble Emperors of the second century. We must remember also, that in accounts concerning that time, as all others, the unfavorable aspects are very naturally the most emphasized. For goodness has always but little to say about itself, and in times of declension is peculiarly apt to be quiet. We may safely assume, therefore, that even then there were peaceful, decorous homes into which corruption had not penetrated, where the labor of the hands procured the simple fare, and the discreet housewife reared her children as a good mother. Yet when all this is taken into account, the general conclusion must still be that the heathen world was ethically as well as religiously at the point of dissolution, that it had become as bankrupt in morals as in faith, and that there was no power at hand from which a restoration could proceed (pp. 141-2).

The following extracts are taken from a late work, *Under Ground*, by Thomas W. Knox. The author speaks of the ruins of Pompeii, which he personally visited :

We walked through streets silent and deserted. . . . We walked on pavements where two thousand years ago chariots rolled along, and we saw on those pavements the marks of the chariot wheels as plainly as if they had been worn during the past month. At the drinking fountains on the street corners we could see where the Pompeiian stopped when he was thirsty. We looked into the ovens as they were on the day of the eruption. . . .

Many moralists, those who consider that Sodom and Gomorrah were destroyed as a punishment for their crimes, are of the opinion that Pompeii was also destroyed because of its wickedness. The discoveries in that city are, many of them, of a character not to be described in public prints, especially by the aid of the

engraver's art, at the present day. Some of the ear-drops worn by the women were curious to behold. Lamps were fashioned in forms quite as obscene as they are fantastic, and the same may be said of the chandeliers and of many of the utensils used in ordinary life. Curiously-engraved seals are found, that would hardly be suitable to impress on the back of a letter, and there were paintings on many of the walls that should be covered from fastidious eyes. Certain houses, which in American cities, are visited by stealth, and whose locality is to a certain extent shrouded in obscurity, were boldly designated by various symbols cut upon the stones of the sidewalks and upon the lintels of the doors.

Many of these objects have been preserved, and are now in the museum at Naples (pp. 158, 166).

These extended extracts from three different writers will give a substantially correct conception of the extent and condition of the great Roman Empire, and of the main and governing portion of the human race during the days of Augustus and for some three centuries later. We have seen that the territory of the empire was three thousand by two thousand miles in extent, occupied the finest portions of the then inhabited world, and contained one hundred and twenty millions of inhabitants—a number far exceeding that of any one previously existing political society; and that of this comparatively vast population one-sixth were Roman citizens, two-sixths subject provincials, and three-sixths slaves. We have seen that the government partook of the profoundly fraudulent and deceptive character of the subtle and tyrannical disposition of Augustus, its founder; and though in *form* a republic, it was in *fact* a despotism, in which the emperors dictated to the obsequious Senate only such measures as their wisdom or caprice might suggest. In other words, the emperors dictated and obeyed their *own* laws. We have seen that various theories of religion existed, which Gibbon says “were all considered by the people, as equally true; by the philosopher, as equally false; and by the magistrate, as equally useful.” The same profound duplicity which was infused into the political government was practised by the educated and governing orders of society; and the *only* people who were governed by principle were found among the sincere believers in the various theories of religion. With this want of religious faith came its logical result: a deplorable state of morals, so fully described in the several extracts I have given, and which I need not repeat. The truth of Paul's statements (Romans i.) is substantially proved.

Now, considering all the facts and circumstances together with the reason of the case in one comprehensive view, and assuming the truth of the Christian theory for the sake of the argument only, was there ever in the whole history of our race a more proper time for Christ to make His appearance? It was fit and appropriate that He should begin with the empire, and teach a theory precisely opposed to the excessive luxury and unchastity of the times, and especially

that most unmanly vice of hypocrisy which He so severely denounced, as related in the twenty-third chapter of Matthew. It was equally necessary not only to set up an opposing theory and practice, but to announce, *in advance*, adequate rewards and punishments for obedience and disobedience. Surely the fulness of time had come for the promulgation of a universal theory of religion applicable alike to all times, places, and persons. The grand and propitious period had arrived for the introduction of a more sublime, purer, broader faith, which all mankind might freely embrace without distinction of race, nationality, or condition.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### PERSECUTION.

THE Greeks far exceeded the Romans in science, literature, and art ; but the Romans were greatly superior in oneness and firmness of purpose, in simplicity of design, and in a broad and comprehensive knowledge of the great science of political government. When the cool, cautious, crafty, and profound Augustus found himself firmly established as the absolute ruler of the greatest country in the world, he saw that there was no one clear, plain principle of unity running through the various and complex theories of religion which were all then tolerated by the government from motives of policy. As religion was a matter for the state to regulate, and was deemed as practically essential to its existence ; and as the empire was so extensive, and composed of so many provinces differing from each other in the character of their populations in regard to religion, language, manners, and customs, he saw the logical necessity of some one religious principle and practice which would practically bind all the diverse elements together. Without some such pervasive or general principle there was nothing distinctive in the Roman religion.

To procure this religious unity he could not establish any one of the various existing theories to the exclusion of the others ; nor could he invent and introduce an entirely new theory and suppress all of the old ones. The attempt to do either would have been revolutionary, hazardous, and bloody. Under such circumstances what could he have done except what he did do ? He simply made an *addition* to the various theories of polytheism tolerated by the state, which, while it united all, was not incompatible with any one of them.

That addition was the deification of the emperor. His long training in public life and his habits of close observation had given him a consummate knowledge of the temper of his people and had made him a profound judge of human nature, and he was thus reasonably certain that his subjects would receive this religious-political tenet without serious opposition and mainly with applause. This element appealed to the patriotism and national pride of the people. Under the republic the state had been the great object of veneration ; now it was the absolute emperor, the *sole* practical sovereign of the state. This tenet not only increased the power and glory of the emperor, but it was a plain test of loyalty, most readily applied at all times.

It may seem surprising to us of this day how a pretension so ex-



travagant was so readily conceded. But it was about as rational as polytheism itself, and we can as easily understand how this tenet was adopted as we can many other things done in that day by the Roman people. There was nothing in it to prevent the educated, atheistic governing class from accepting it in *action*. It was (to them) no more false than other religious tenets.

During the existence of the republic the leading and overpowering idea of the people was to extend the limits and increase the power and glory of the country. After suffering all the intolerable miseries of civil war, which finally terminated in the establishment of a real despotism under the delusive *form* of a free constitution, the absorbing desire was to preserve and enjoy. And as nations, like individuals, are dominated by one main purpose at a time, everything else became subordinate to the ruling passion. Dr. Uhlhorn says :

The deification of the Emperors seems to us, at first, like an effect of frenzy, and like boundless adulation. We are therefore inclined to regard it as of little importance, particularly as we find it hard to conceive that any one could have seriously believed in the divinity of the Emperor. But this is contradicted by the fact that the first apotheosis, that of Cæsar, proceeded from the people themselves, and though Augustus was, so to speak, regularly deified by a decree of the Senate, yet it was the conduct of the people which first gave the decree real validity. It would be a great misapprehension to regard the worship of the Emperor solely as the indication of the extent to which human folly can go, and as deserving only ridicule and scorn. In reality it exerted the greatest influence not only upon the religious, but also upon the social, life of that time; and became of the greatest importance in the conflict of Christianity with Heathenism (*Conflict*, p. 56).

The same writer continues :

And if the masses worshipped the new gods with the same simple ignorance as they did the old, so the educated also found ways of adjusting themselves to this homage. It was the duty of a good Roman citizen, it was an act of patriotism, and, in the case of a good Emperor, an expression of gratitude. It was under the able Emperors who from Trajan on ruled the State for nearly a century that the worship of the Emperors became deeply rooted. It is the one, ancient and traditional way of testifying thankfulness says Pliny. Many, indeed, honored Plato in the same way and Virgil (*id.* p. 58).

The deification of the Emperors, which seems to us so strange, was deeply rooted in pagan modes of thought. The Orientals had long been accustomed to pay divine honors to princes. . . . When one so highly honored by the people as Cæsar sank beneath the daggers of his enemies, it was not so strange that they began immediately a cultus of the *divus* Julius, erected to him an altar, and paid him divine honor; that after the fearful strains of the civil wars the world, which now at last attained repose, dedicated to Augustus even in his life-time temples and altars (*id.* pp. 56, 57).

The worship of the Emperor strengthened heathenism by giving it a common centre and by connecting together its diversified forms; yet it also sensibly weakened it. Men saw too plainly what the gods were to whom temples were erected and reverence paid (*id.* p. 61).

In a certain sense it can be said that the religious development of the ancient world culminated in this imperial worship. It gave to Heathenism a centre of re-

ligious unity, and to this extent invigorated it. Thus now existed what hitherto had been unknown, a formal universal State religion in which it was the duty of the citizen to participate, and which he could not violate without committing at the same time a crime against the State. However tolerant one might be elsewhere, there could be no concession here (*id.* p. 60).

I think that the deification of the emperors tended in one respect to a *slow and gradual* disintegration, and in the other to a *speedy* and more *vigorous* organization. While the tenet weakened the faith of the people in polytheism, it essentially strengthened the political power of the government. Julius Cæsar fell by the daggers of assassins and was deified by the people, and Augustus was deified by a decree of the Senate. These events occurred from thirty to fifty years before Christ commenced His public ministry; and the deification of the emperors had thus become the established public law or custom of the empire. And despotism seldom, if ever, gives up a power, honor, or custom once possessed, without a severe struggle. The empire, having *commenced* with this formidable and flattering assumption, would naturally seek to retain it as long as possible.

But Christianity, from the very nature of its theory, was utterly opposed not only to all the other religions then existing in the world, but also to the practical political power of the Roman government itself. This new religion was a system exclusive, intolerant, and inflexible, as truth always is. It had no compromises to offer and none to accept. Unchangeable as God, its assumed author, it stood, sublime and alone, upon its own intrinsic and supernatural merits, and did not stoop to conquer by flattery and delusive pretences, as did the artful emperors of Rome. It at once assumed not only an absolute exclusive superiority over all other theories of religion upon the clear and distinct ground that they were all *false* theories, but it claimed for itself the *direct* and *exclusive* sanction of God—the *Sole Self-Existent*. A *new* theory not only thus exclusive and intolerant, but claiming to be thus sanctioned, must necessarily have excited the most intense, bitter, and long-continued opposition. Every old and cherished usage, every impulse of individual, literary, and national pride, every darling ambition of the emperors, every sentiment of patriotism of the people, the contempt of poverty and obscurity—in short, all *present* interests, passions, prejudices, and usages would necessarily rise up against this *new, daring*, and apparently *absurd* pretension. It said in plain, intelligible acts and words to the despotic rulers of the Roman government: “Your various theories of religion are not only *all* false in fact, but your attempt to execute your command to sacrifice to the emperor cannot be *practically* carried out. It is true you can inflict any punishments within the limits of human power, but you cannot force us to obey your unjust commands. Pains and penalties you may lay upon us, but *actual* obedience you

cannot compel. We choose to obey *God* rather than to obey you *men*."

It was not so much the direct denial of the truth of all other religions that made the conflict between Christianity and the Roman government so exhaustive and terrible, but the practical assertion of the individual rights of conscience, independent of all civil government, however despotic. Christianity not only denied the absolute power of the government to compel obedience to a civil law in conflict with the higher law of God, but assumed the right to decide what the law of God was, and whether the two laws came in conflict, and denied the power of the emperor to overrule this decision. While the Roman emperors tolerated so many various modes of worship, they claimed the unqualified power to regulate, at least in *action*, the conduct of their people to the extent of possibility. They required unconditional obedience in *action*; but obedience even in *action* was denied by Christianity in *this* case. The theory of Christianity brought up that great and most difficult question as to how far civil government could rightfully go in regulating the *actions* of its people. Civil government, however despotic, can only enforce obedience in *action*; but when even this right was limited by the new theory, then came the real struggle for supremacy. The issue was thus plainly joined by a direct affirmative claim on the part of the emperors to an unlimited right to regulate the actions of their subjects, and a direct negative on the part of Christianity.

There were, however, many other causes of stern, persistent, and cruel opposition besides the main one given above, only a few of which I can notice. The obscurity, poverty, and place of its origin was one of these, in regard to which Gibbon says :

It might appear less surprising, that the founder of Christianity should not only be revered by his disciples as a sage and a prophet, but that he should be adored as a God. The Polytheists were disposed to adopt every article of faith, which seemed to offer any resemblance, however distant or imperfect, with the popular mythology; and the legends of Bacchus, of Hercules, and of Æsculapius, had, in some measure, prepared their imagination for the appearance of the Son of God under a human form. But they were astonished that the Christians should abandon the temples of those ancient heroes, who, in the infancy of the world, had invented arts, instituted laws, and vanquished the tyrants or monsters who infested the earth, in order to choose for the exclusive object of their religious worship an obscure teacher, who, in a recent age, and among a barbarous people, had fallen a sacrifice either to the malice of his own countrymen, or to the jealousy of the Roman government.\* The Pagan multitude, reserving their gratitude for temporal benefits alone, rejected the inestimable present of life and immortality, which was offered to mankind by Jesus of Nazareth. His mild constancy in the midst of cruel and voluntary sufferings, his universal benevolence, and the sublime simpli-

\* Christ fell a sacrifice to the mistaken zeal of some and to the wilful malice of others of his countrymen, and *also* to the jealousy of the Roman government. It was the *concurrent* acts of both the Jews and Pilate that caused his death.

city of his actions and character, were insufficient, in the opinion of those carnal men, to compensate for the want of fame, of empire, and of success ; and whilst they refused to acknowledge his stupendous triumph over the powers of darkness and of the grave, they misrepresented, or they insulted, the equivocal birth, wandering life, and ignominious death, of the divine Author of Christianity (i. pp. 8, 9).

Another cause mentioned by Gibbon was the extreme jealousy of the Roman government against all associations among its subjects. He says :

The personal guilt which every Christian had contracted, in thus preferring his private sentiment to the national religion, was aggravated in a very high degree by the number and union of the criminals. It is well known, and has been already observed, that Roman policy viewed with the utmost jealousy and distrust any association among its subjects; and that the privileges of private corporations, though formed for the most harmless or beneficial purposes, were bestowed with a very sparing hand. The religious assemblies of the Christians, who had separated themselves from the public worship, appeared of a much less innocent nature; they were illegal in their principle, and in their consequences might become dangerous ; nor were the emperors conscious that they violated the laws of justice, when, for the peace of society, they prohibited those secret and sometimes nocturnal meetings. The pious disobedience of the Christians made their conduct, or perhaps their designs, appear in a much more serious and criminal light; and the Roman princes, who might perhaps have suffered themselves to be disarmed by a ready submission, deeming their honor concerned in the execution of their commands, sometimes attempted, by rigorous punishments, to subdue this independent spirit, which boldly acknowledged an authority superior to that of the magistrate.

The author adds in a note :

The proconsul Pliny had published a general edict against unlawful meetings. The prudence of the Christians suspended their *Agapæ*; but it was impossible for them to omit the exercise of public worship (ii. pp. 9, 10).

Of all theories of civil government none is so jealous as that of a practical despotism under the delusive *form* of a free constitution; because it has more to fear than others, especially where it is over the greatest people and finest country in the world, and more especially still where the despot claims, or at least is willing to receive, religious homage. Such was the Roman theory ; and it is not at all surprising that the emperors were so extremely fearful and jealous of all associations among their people, and particularly of such as were steadily advancing in numbers and influence. In proportion as their pretensions and powers were really extravagant, yet plausibly hidden, so would their fear and jealousy be extreme.

It is very true that the Jewish religion was exclusive and intolerant, and that it totally differed in its fundamental principles from all the other various modes of worship allowed by the empire ; and yet it was placed, as I think, among the tolerated theories for the following reasons, in brief :

*First.* It was an *old* and *national* religion, and, as such, appealed

to the veneration of the Roman people for the past and their strong sentiments of patriotism.

*Second and mainly.* It was held by a small, insignificant people politically considered, was making no dangerous progress, and was within the power of the government to repress at any time.

But Christianity was persecuted for these concisely stated reasons :

*First.* It was a *new, exclusive, and universal* religion, applicable to all persons, times, and places. It included even the barbarians, so much feared and hated by the Romans, as shown in the extract from Gibbon copied on page 338 of this work. It placed the imperious Roman, the polished Greek, and the rude barbarian upon a disgusting equality ; and, from its universal nature, it was not necessarily dependent upon any connection with the state, because it did not originate with man, and was, therefore, independent of his civil polity.

*Second.* Its main rewards and punishments were not only great in themselves, but, according to the theory, they would be bestowed or inflicted in a future state ; and its votaries would thus be more firm and resolute in maintaining their integrity and independence, as they would fear future more than present punishment ; and for that good reason they would be less under the control of the civil magistrate.

*Third and mainly.* This new, universal, daring, and uncompromising faith was rapidly extending in every direction.

I have spoken of the main causes which produced the persecution of the Christians. It is now proper to speak of their character and history. I will make several additional extracts from Gibbon, as he was an unbeliever, and, therefore, his admissions in its favor, being those of a most competent adversary, may be the more relied upon as true :

The religious policy of the ancient world seems to have assumed a more stern and intolerant character, to oppose the progress of Christianity. About fourscore years after the death of Christ, his innocent disciples were punished with death by the sentence of a proconsul of the most amiable and philosophic character, and according to the laws of an emperor distinguished by the wisdom and justice of his general administration. The apologies which were repeatedly addressed to the successors of Trajan are filled with the most pathetic complaints, that the Christians, who obeyed the dictates, and solicited the liberty, of conscience, were alone, among all the subjects of the Roman empire, excluded from the common benefits of their auspicious government (ii. p. 2).

. . . The whole body of Christians unanimously refused to hold any communion with the gods of Rome, of the empire, and of mankind. It was in vain that the oppressed believer asserted the inalienable rights of conscience and private judgment. Though his situation might excite the pity, his arguments could never reach the understanding, either of the philosophic or of the believing part of

the Pagan world. To their apprehensions, it was no less a matter of surprise, that any individuals should entertain scruples against complying with the established mode of worship, than if they had conceived a sudden abhorrence to the manners, the dress, or the language of their native country.

The surprise of the Pagans was soon succeeded by resentment; and the most pious of men were exposed to the unjust but dangerous imputation of impiety. Malice and prejudice concurred in representing the Christians as a society of atheists, who, by the most daring attack on the religious constitution of the empire, had merited the severest animadversion of the civil magistrate (ii. p. 7).

But the princes and magistrates of ancient Rome were strangers to those principles which inspired and authorized the inflexible obstinacy of the Christians in the cause of truth, nor could they themselves discover in their own breasts any motive which would have prompted them to refuse a legal, and as it were a natural, submission to the sacred institutions of their country (ii. p. 13).

. . . The pious Christian, as he was desirous to obtain, or to escape, the glory of martyrdom, expected, either with impatience or with terror, the stated returns of the public games and festivals. On those occasions the inhabitants of the great cities of the empire were collected in the circus or the theatre, where every circumstance of the place, as well as of the ceremony, contributed to kindle their devotion, and to extinguish their humanity. Whilst the numerous spectators, crowned with garlands, perfumed with incense, purified with the blood of victims, and surrounded with altars and statues of their tutelary deities, resigned themselves to the enjoyment of pleasures, which they considered an essential part of their religious worship, they recollected, that the Christians alone abhorred the gods of mankind, and by their absence and melancholy on those solemn festivals, seemed to insult or to lament the public felicity. If the empire had been afflicted with any recent calamity, by a plague, a famine, or an unsuccessful war; if the Tiber had, or the Nile had not, risen beyond its banks; if the earth had shaken, or if the temperate order of the seasons had been interrupted, the superstitious Pagans were convinced that the crimes and the impiety of the Christians, who were spared by the excessive lenity of the government, had at length provoked the divine justice. It was not among a licentious and exasperated populace, that the forms of legal proceedings could be observed; it was not in an amphitheatre, stained with the blood of wild beasts and gladiators, that the voice of compassion could be heard. The impatient clamors of the multitude denounced the Christians as the enemies of gods and men, doomed them to the severest tortures, and venturing to accuse by name some of the most distinguished of the new sectaries, required with irresistible vehemence that they should be instantly apprehended and cast to the lions. The provincial governors and magistrates who presided in the public spectacles were usually inclined to gratify the inclinations, and to appease the rage, of the people, by the sacrifice of a few obnoxious victims. But the wisdom of the emperors protected the church from the danger of these tumultuous clamors and irregular accusations, which they justly censured as repugnant both to the firmness and to the equity of their administration. The edicts of Hadrian and of Antoninus Pius expressly declared, that the voice of the multitude should never be admitted as legal evidence to convict or to punish those unfortunate persons who had embraced the enthusiasm of the Christians (ii. pp. 28-9).

The author adds this note :

See Tertullian (*Apolog.* c. 40). The acts of the martyrdom of Polycarp exhibit a lively picture of these tumults, which were usually fomented by the malice of the Jews.

Punishment was not the inevitable consequence of conviction, and the Christians, whose guilt was the most clearly proved by the testimony of witnesses, or even by their voluntary confession, still retained in their own power the alternative of life or death. It was not so much the past offence, as the actual resistance, which excited the indignation of the magistrate. He was persuaded that he offered them an easy pardon, since, if they consented to cast a few grains of incense upon the altar, they were dismissed from the tribunal in safety and with applause. It was esteemed the duty of a humane judge to endeavor to reclaim, rather than to punish, those deluded enthusiasts. Varying his tone according to the age, the sex, or the situation of the prisoners, he frequently condescended to set before their eyes every circumstance which could render life more pleasing, or death more terrible; and to solicit, nay, to entreat, them, that they would show some compassion to themselves, to their families, and to their friends. If threats and persuasions proved ineffectual, he had often recourse to violence; the scourge and the rack were called in to supply the deficiency of argument, and every art of cruelty was employed to subdue such inflexible, and, as it appeared to the Pagans, such criminal, obstinacy (ii. pp. 29, 30).

The Rev. Aug. J. Thébaud, S.J., in a late able work says :

Let the reader place before his eyes the barbarous armory of murderous weapons displayed in the Roman courts of justice, as a part and parcel of the array with which the judge himself was surrounded, and it will be easy to fancy what must have been the feelings of nervous, delicate, tasteful, artistic people, when, having listened to a Christian friend, or to a Christian apostle, they had been regenerated by the waters of baptism, and they were called on to burn incense to the gods. This frightful position in which they were placed must have been shocking to every refined sentiment inherent in their nature or developed by education. What fortitude, what heroism, what greatness of soul does it not suppose in them to have remained firm, and persevered to the end in a confession necessarily followed by such consequences! (*The Church and the Gentile World*, ii. p. 258).

From the foregoing extracts, taken in connection with others before given and the remarks I have already made, I think the reader will be able to form a substantially correct conception of the *peculiar* and *extraordinary* position of the Christians under the early Roman emperors. It will be seen that "the religious policy of the ancient world seems to have assumed a more stern and intolerant character, to oppose the progress of Christianity," under the most potent and extensive despotism of the ancient world; that so stern was this opposition to the progress of Christianity that the "innocent disciples of Christ were punished with death by the sentence of a proconsul of the most amiable and philosophic character, and according to the laws of an emperor distinguished by the wisdom and justice of his general administration"; that "the Christians, who obeyed the dictates, and solicited the liberty, of conscience, were alone, among all the subjects of the Roman empire, excluded from the common benefits of their auspicious government"; that "it was in vain that the oppressed believer asserted the inalienable rights of conscience and private judgment"; . . . "his arguments could never reach the

understanding, either of the philosophic or the believing part of the Pagan world"; that to "their apprehensions it was no less a matter of surprise, that any individuals should entertain scruples against complying with the established mode of worship, than if they had conceived a sudden abhorrence to the manners, the dress, or the language of their native country"; that "this surprise of the Pagans was soon succeeded by resentment; and the most pious of men were exposed to the unjust but dangerous imputation of impiety"; that "malice and prejudice concurred in representing the Christians as a society of atheists"; that "the princes and magistrates of ancient Rome were strangers to those principles which inspired and authorized the inflexible obstinacy of the Christians in the cause of truth"; that "punishment was not the inevitable consequence of conviction," as it "was not so much the past offence, as the actual resistance, which excited the indignation of the magistrate"; that if the accused "consented to cast a few grains of incense upon the altar, they were dismissed from the tribunal with safety and with applause"; that the judge, "varying his tone according to the age, the sex, or the situation of the prisoners, frequently condescended to set before their eyes every circumstance which could render life more pleasing, or death more terrible"; that "if threats and persuasions proved ineffectual, he had often recourse to violence—the scourge and the rack were called in to supply the deficiency of argument, and every art of cruelty was employed to subdue such inflexible, and, as it appeared to the Pagans, such criminal obstinacy"; that the pious Christian "expected with impatience or with terror the stated returns of the public games and festivals," because "the inhabitants of the great cities of the empire were collected in the circus or the theatre, where every circumstance of the place, as well as of the ceremony, contributed to kindle their devotion, and extinguish their humanity"; that at these games and festivals, which we have seen consumed so much of the time of the Roman people, the Pagans "resigned themselves to the enjoyment of pleasures, which they considered an essential part of their religious worship"; that the Pagans, while thus employed, "reclected that the Christians alone abhorred the gods of mankind, and by their absence and melancholy on those solemn festivals, seemed to insult or to lament the public felicity"; that the superstitious Pagans attributed certain natural effects to the "crimes and impiety of the Christians, who were spared by the excessive lenity of the government"; that "the impatient clamors of the multitude denounced the Christians as the enemies of gods and men, doomed them to the severest tortures, and venturing to accuse by name some of the most distinguished of the new sectaries, required with irresistible vehemence that they should be instantly apprehended and cast to the lions"; that "the provincial governors and magistrates who presided



in the public spectacles were usually inclined to gratify the inclinations, and appease the rage, of the people, by the sacrifice of a few obnoxious victims"; that "the wisdom of the emperors protected the church from the danger of these tumultuous clamors and irregular accusations"; and that "the edicts of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius expressly declared that the voice of the multitude should never be admitted as legal evidence to convict or to punish those unfortunate persons who had embraced the enthusiasm of the Christians."

Putting all the circumstances together, the nature of the position of the early Christians is clearly apparent. It was, indeed, most painful and extraordinary. It is true that the edicts of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius prohibited tumultuous proceedings; but these edicts only changed the *mode* of trial, but did not prevent the torture and death of the Christians. They simply made the proceedings more solemn, dignified, and imposing, but were not intended to lessen the punishments of the convicted. The very fact of the issuance of these edicts is evidence of the irregular character of the proceedings against the Christians *before* these edicts were issued. Unless actually required they would not have been published \*

It was not long, perhaps, before the Jews themselves, animated with a fiercer zeal and a more jealous faith, perceived the gradual separation of their Nazarene brethren from the doctrine of the synagogue; and they would gladly have extinguished the dangerous heresy in the blood of its adherents. But the decrees of Heaven had already disarmed their malice; and though they might sometimes exert the licentious privilege of sedition, they no longer possessed the administration of criminal justice; nor did they find it easy to infuse into the calm breast of a Roman magistrate the rancor of their own zeal and prejudice. The provincial governors declared themselves ready to listen to any accusation that might affect the public safety; but as soon as they were informed that it was a question not of facts but of words, a dispute relating only to the interpretation of the Jewish laws and prophecies, they deemed it unworthy of the majesty of Rome seriously to discuss the obscure differences which might arise among a barbarous and superstitious people. The innocence of the first Christians was protected by ignorance and contempt; and the tribunal of the Pagan magistrate often proved their most assured refuge against the fury of the synagogue (*Decline and Fall*, ii. p. 15).

\* Below will be found a list of the Roman emperors from Augustus to Constantine (the Great) inclusive, with the several dates of their accession to power, made up from the "Chronological Table" found in the late work of James Brice, D.C.L., Fellow of Oriel College and Regius Professor of Civil Law in the University of Oxford, entitled *The Holy Roman Empire*, fifth edition, published in London by Macmillan & Co., 1875:

Augustus, B.C. 27; Tiberius, A.D. 14; Caligula, 37; Claudius, 41; Nero, 54; Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian, 68; Titus, 79; Domitian, 81; Nerva, 96; Trajan, 98; Hadrian, 117; Antoninus Pius, 138; Marcus Aurelius, 161; Commodus, 180; Pertinax, 193; Didius Julianus, 193; Niger, 193; Septimius Severus, 193; Caracalla, Geta, 211; Opilins Macrinus, Diadumenian, 217; Elagabalus, 218; Alexander Severus, 222; Maximin, 235; the two Gordians, Maximus Puppienus, Balbinus, 237; the third Gordian, 238; Philip, 244; Decius, 249; Hostilian, Gallus, 251; Volusian, 252; Emilian, Valerian, Gallienus, 253; Gallienus alone, 260; Claudius II., 268; Aurelian, 270; Tacitus, 275; Florian, 276; Probus, 276; Carus, 282; Carinus, Numerian, 284; Diocletian, 284; Maximian, associated with Diocletian, 286; Constantius, Galerius, 305; Severus, 306; Constantine (the Great), 306; Licinius, 307; Maximin, 309; Constantine, Galerius, Licinius, Maximin, Maxentius, and Maximian, reigning jointly, 309; Constantine (the Great) alone, 323.

The author adds this note :

See, in the XVIIIth and XXVth chapters of the Acts of the Apostles, the behavior of Gallio, proconsul of Achaia, and of Festus, procurator of Judea.\*

In regard to the early history of Christianity, as found in pagan writers, Gibbon says :

Notwithstanding the careless indifference which the most copious and the most minute of the Pagan writers have shown to the affairs of the Christians, it may be still in our power to confirm each of these probable suppositions, by the evidence of authentic facts (*id.* ii. p. 14).

The historian adds this note :

In the various compilation of the Augustan History, (a part of which was composed under the reign of Constantine,) there are not six lines which relate to the Christians; nor has the diligence of Xiphilin discovered their name in the large history of Dion Cassius.

To these remarks of Gibbon Milman makes this note :

The greater part of the Augustan History is dedicated to Diocletian. This may account for the silence of its authors concerning Christianity. The notices that occur are almost all in the lives composed under the reign of Constantine. It may fairly be concluded, from the language which he puts into the mouth of Mæcenas, that Dion was an enemy to all innovations in religion. In fact, when the silence of Pagan historians is noticed, it should be remembered how meagre and mutilated are all the extant histories of the period.

Concerning the reason why Christians kept so few records of the early history of Christianity, the Rev. Aug. J. Thébaud says :

Still, although the tolerance of Roman rulers seemed to have adopted the maxim, *quieta non movere*, and they were inclined at first to let the progress of the new *superstition* take its course, imagining, no doubt, that like all other absurd novelties it would soon be on the wane; nevertheless the rulers of the Church, who knew well that there were laws provided ages before so as to meet their case, were not so foolhardy as to expose uselessly the interests committed to their charge, merely for the sake of keeping records (*The Church and the Gentile World*, ii. 241).

\* I will give a condensed statement of the main persecutions of the Christians, as found recorded in the Acts of the Apostles. The reader will be enabled at one view to see how much the Christians were protected by the Roman rulers in some cases, while in others the gentiles were themselves the persecutors.

Peter and John were imprisoned and threatened by the rulers of the Jews at Jerusalem (iv.); the apostles were imprisoned and scourged by the rulers of the Jews at Jerusalem (v.); Stephen was stoned by the Jews at Jerusalem (vii.); there was a great persecution at Jerusalem (viii.); the Jews and Grecians sought to kill Saul (ix.); Herod the King persecuted some of the Church, killed James, the brother of John, and imprisoned Peter to please the Jews (xii.); the unbelieving Jews stirred up the minds of the gentiles against the Christians at Iconium (xiv.); the Jews persuaded the multitude at Lystra and stoned Paul until they supposed he was dead (xiv.); the Roman rulers beat Paul and Silas and imprisoned them at Philippi (xvi.); the unbelieving Jews set the city of Thessalonica in an uproar, assaulted the house of Jason, and brought him and other Christians before the Roman rulers, saying, These do contrary to the decrees of Cæsar, saying there is another King, Jesus (xvii.); Demetrius and other pagans raise an uproar against Paul at Ephesus, who was protected by the rulers of Asia (xix.); Paul was apprehended and beaten by the Jews at Jerusalem, but rescued by Lysias, the tribune (xxi.); Paul was vehemently denounced to the tribune by the crowd of Jews, and would have been scourged by him had not Paul claimed the rights of a Roman citizen (xxii.); Paul is smitten by order of Ananias at Jerusalem (xxiii.), and he was long imprisoned by Felix to please the Jews (xxiv.)

I think another reason was the want of time, as the energies and efforts of the early Christians would naturally have been given to the main purpose of *establishing* the new religion. The harvest was plenteous, but the laborers were few and the labor most arduous and perilous. Says Gibbon :

In the tenth year of the reign of Nero, the capital of the empire was afflicted by a fire which raged beyond the memory or example of former ages. The monuments of Grecian art and of Roman virtue, the trophies of the Punic and Gallic wars, the most holy temples and the most splendid palaces, were involved in one common destruction. Of the fourteen regions or quarters into which Rome was divided, four only subsisted entire, three were levelled with the ground, and the remaining seven, which had experienced the fury of the flames, displayed a melancholy prospect of ruin and desolation. The vigilance of government appears not to have neglected any of the precautions which might alleviate the sense of so dreadful a calamity. The Imperial gardens were thrown open to the distressed multitude, temporary buildings were erected for their accommodation, and a plentiful supply of corn and provisions were distributed at a very moderate price. . . . But all the prudence and humanity affected by Nero on this occasion were insufficient to preserve him from the popular suspicion. Every crime might be imputed to the assassin of his wife and mother; nor could the prince who prostituted his person and dignity on the theatre be deemed incapable of the most extravagant folly. The voice of rumor accused the emperor as the incendiary of his own capital; and as the most incredible stories are the best adapted to the genius of an enraged people, it was gravely reported and firmly believed, that Nero, enjoying the calamity which he had occasioned, amused himself with singing to his lyre the destruction of ancient Troy. To divert a suspicion, which the power of despotism was unable to suppress, the emperor resolved to substitute in his own place some fictitious criminals. "With this view," continues Tacitus, "he inflicted the most exquisite tortures on those men, who, under the vulgar appellation of Christians, were already branded with deserved infamy. They derived their name and origin from Christ, who in the reign of Tiberius had suffered death by the sentence of the procurator Pontius Pilate. For a while this dire superstition was checked; but it again burst forth; and not only spread itself over Judæa, the first seat of this mischievous sect, but was even introduced into Rome, the common asylum which receives and protects whatever is impure, whatever is atrocious. The confessions of those who were seized discovered a great multitude of their accomplices, and they were all convicted, not so much for the crime of setting fire to the city, as for their hatred of human kind. They died in torments, and their torments were embittered by insult and derision. Some were nailed on crosses; others sewn up in the skins of wild beasts, and exposed to the fury of dogs; others again, smeared over with combustible materials, were used as torches to illuminate the darkness of the night. The gardens of Nero were destined for the melancholy spectacle, which was accompanied with a horse-race, and honored with the presence of the emperor, who mingled with the populace in the dress and attitude of a charioteer. The guilt of the Christians deserved indeed the most exemplary punishment, but the public abhorrence was changed into commiseration, from the opinion that those unhappy wretches were sacrificed, not so much to the public welfare, as to the cruelty of a jealous tyrant" (ii. pp. 16-18). \*

In regard to this most important extract the historian continues :

The most sceptical criticism is obliged to respect the truth of this extraordinary fact, and the integrity of this celebrated passage of Tacitus (ii. p. 19).

This authentic extract from the great Roman historian, though extremely concise, is yet full of meaning, and is predicated upon a most extraordinary state of facts. This renowned historian states that the Christians "derived their name and origin from Christ, who in the reign of Tiberius had suffered death by the sentence of the procurator Pontius Pilate," thus confirming the history of the Gospels as to the death of Christ, and that of the Acts as to the origin of the name. He also states that "for a while this dire superstition was checked; but it again burst forth; and not only spread itself over Judea, the first seat of this mischievous sect, but was even introduced into Rome," thus confirming the history of the Acts as to the *place* of its origin, the facts of its temporary check, that it soon burst forth again, spread itself over Judea, and was introduced into Rome. The expression "*burst forth*" fully confirms the statements in the early chapters of Acts. The historian further says that the multitude of Christians "were all convicted, not so much for the crime of setting fire to the city, as for their hatred of human kind." While he states the fact of conviction, he does not expressly say that in his judgment such conviction was just, but leaves us uncertain upon that point. The vague and latitudinous charge of being *enemies of humankind* is wide enough to embrace every crime under heaven, and yet so indefinite and sweeping as *specifically* to include none. But while he leaves us uncertain whether he himself considered their conviction for hatred of humankind as just or unjust, he says, either expressly or by necessary implication, that the "Christians were already branded with deserved infamy," that their religion was "a dire superstition," impure and atrocious, and that their "guilt deserved indeed the most exemplary punishment."

No one now doubts the capacity or the sincerity of Tacitus, and yet no one can question the gross mistakes he made in his vague and bitter charges against a whole body of men whom he denominates a "mischievous sect." The harsh and sweeping generality of these charges—their *universality*—not only proves their utter falsity, but they show the terrible state of prejudice and hatred of the Roman people towards the suffering, innocent, and defenceless Christians. When such an intellect as that of Tacitus was so overwhelmed with that which is death to all impartial and just inquiry—and properly denominated "disgust prior to examination" by Paley—as to condemn so large a body of innocent people, against whom he could *specify* nothing criminal, but was forced by the necessity of his error to use only general and vague terms, which, while they admitted of unlimited expansion, required no genius to invent and no skill to apply to any party of men, however guiltless, it is a most deplorable evidence of the force of passion and prejudice over even educated men.

This great historian, in speaking of the Jewish religion, says :

The Jews have no notion of any more than one divine being, and that known only to the mind. They esteem such to be profane who frame images of gods out of perishable matter, and in the shape of men. That this being is supreme and eternal, immutable and imperishable is their doctrine (b. v. c.v. Whiston's translation).

It may seem surprising that a writer who could make so clear a statement of the true doctrine was yet unable to appreciate its vast superiority over every theory of polytheism.

The great Roman historian declares that "the public abhorrence was changed into commiseration from the opinion that these unhappy wretches were sacrificed, not so much to the public welfare, as to the cruelty of a jealous tyrant."

It was not the fact that death was inflicted upon the multitude of innocent Christians that excited the indignation of the Roman people, but the *motive* which impelled the jealous tyrant to commit *that* fearful and terrible slaughter. The people no doubt believed with Tacitus that the Christians "deserved the most exemplary punishment," and most probably also thought that they were guilty of "hatred of human kind"; and had the same number of Christians been put to death in the *usual* way by order of a popular emperor, the people, as well as Tacitus, would no doubt have approved the act. But Nero was such a monster of crime in fact, and was most probably esteemed to be worse than he really was, that for once the innocent sufferers received public commiseration. The Roman people found one man whom they admitted was a greater criminal than the Christians. While they most probably believed the charge made against the Christians of "hatred of human kind" to be true, they thought their own tyrannical emperor hated them in *particular*, as they believed that he set fire to their great city and exulted in the ruin he himself had produced, and that the Christians were at least innocent of *that* crime. This great conflagration commenced on the night of July 18, A.D. 64, and raged for six days; then again broke out in another quarter of the city and raged for three days more.

The unwavering faith and unflinching firmness displayed by the multitude of Christians slaughtered by Nero confirm the praise bestowed upon them by Paul in his Epistle to the Romans, written some years before, in which he says: "I give thanks to my God through Jesus Christ for you all: because your faith is spoken of in the whole world" (i. 8).

It was during the later years of Nero, and about A.D. 66, that the Apostles Peter and Paul suffered martyrdom at Rome.

Let us set before our eyes the illustrious apostles. Peter, through unrighteous envy, endured not one or two, but numerous labours; and when he at length suffered martyrdom, departed to the place of glory due to him. Owing to envy,

Paul also obtained the reward of patient endurance, after being seven times thrown into captivity, compelled to flee, and stoned. After preaching both in the east and west, he gained the illustrious reputation due to his faith, having taught righteousness to the whole world, and come to the extreme limit of the west, and suffered martyrdom under the prefects. Thus was he removed from the world, and went into the holy place, having proved himself a striking example of patience (*Epistle i. of Clement to the Cor.*, c. 5, R. and D.) \*

But as it would be a very long task to enumerate, in such a volume as this, the successions of all the churches; pointing out that tradition which the greatest and most ancient, and most universally known, church of Rome—founded and constituted by the two most glorious apostles Peter and Paul (Irenæus, *Adv. Hæres.*, c. iii. c. 3, n. 1-4, pp. 175-7).

Let us see what milk the Corinthians drained from Paul; what the Philipians, the Thessalonians, the Ephesians read; also what the Romans close at hand trumpet forth, to whom both Peter and Paul left the Gospel sealed with their blood (Tertullian, *Adv. Marcion*, c. iv. n. 5, pp. 415, 416).

All Catholic writers and many Protestant authors admit that Peter suffered martyrdom at Rome; but the fact is disputed by some Protestant controversialists. But I think very few first-class Protestant writers now dispute the fact. For example, it is clearly admitted in Dr. Smith's *Bible Dictionary*, p. 2454 :

\* My quotations of the ancient Fathers will be taken from *The Faith of Catholics*, in three large volumes, compiled by the Revs. Jos. Berington and John Kirk, third edition, revised and greatly enlarged by the Rev. James Waterworth, and published by Charles Dolman, London, 1846; and the *Ante-Nicene Library: Translations of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325*, edited by Rev. Alexander Roberts, D.D., and James Donaldson, LL.D., and published by T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1863. When my quotations are from the latter work they will be distinguished by the initials R. and D. Cardinal Wiseman made his quotations from the translation of Berington and Kirk, if my recollection is correct.

The Epistle of Clement was written most probably about A.D. 97; but may have been written soon after the persecution under Nero. It begins: "The church of God which sojourns at Rome, to the church of God sojourning at Corinth" (R. and D.) It was, therefore, not only written at Rome, but in the name of that church.

Of this epistle Irenæus says: "A no slight dissension having arisen among the brethren at Corinth, the church in Rome sent a most powerful epistle to the Corinthians, moving them to peace, and renovating their faith, which they had recently received from the apostles" (*Adv. Hæres.*, l. iii. c. iii.)

"To Linus succeeded Anacletus, and after him, the third from the apostles who obtained that episcopacy [of the church of Rome] was Clement, who had seen and conferred with the blessed apostles, and who still had before his eyes the familiar preaching and tradition of the apostles; and not he only, for many were then still alive who had been instructed by the apostles" (Irenæus, *Adv. H.*, l. iii. c. iii.)

And Eusebius says: "And in that epistle of Clement's, which is acknowledged by all, which he composed in the person of the church of the Romans, to the church of the Corinthians" (*H. E.*, iii. 38).

"Though by birth a Greek, Irenæus was bishop of Lyons in the second century. He tells us that in his early youth, he learned the rudiments of religion from St. Polycarp, the disciple of St. John the Apostle. He wrote several works, of which only a few fragments are now known, with the exception of the *Treatise against Heretics*, in five books. The entire Greek original of this work has not been discovered, but the industry of several learned men has collected, from various sources, about one fourth of the whole work, in that language. We have a Latin version, exceedingly harsh and obscure, but, as the Greek that has been found shows, remarkably literal and accurate. It can hardly be doubted that Tertullian used this version, as also did St. Cyprian; that St. Augustin quotes from it is not disputed. The date of the completion of this treatise is not known; but that it could not be earlier than the year 184 seems evident, as it mentions Theodosius's translation. St. Irenæus succeeded St. Pothinus, as bishop of Lyons, about the year 177, and died, or was martyred, about the year 202. The edition used is the *Ed. Bened.*, Paris, 1742" (Note to compilation of Berington and Kirk, v. i. p. 17).

The fact, however, of St. Peter's martyrdom at Rome rests upon very different grounds. The evidence for it is complete, while there is a total absence of any contrary statement in the writings of the early Fathers. . . . Ignatius, in the undoubtedly genuine Epistle to the Romans (iv.) speaks of St. Peter in terms which imply a special connection with their Church.

The passage referred to is this :

I do not, as Peter and Paul, issue commandments to you. They were apostles, I am but a condemned man : they were free, while I am, even until now, a servant (R. and D.)

In the Metropolis of the world Heathenism and Christianity then for the first time came into collision. . . . Of those who fell at that time we know only two by name, the great apostles St. Peter and St. Paul (Dr. Uhlhorn, *Conflict*, p. 249).

The author is speaking of the persecution under Nero.

There followed the persecution under Domitian, who became emperor A.D. 81, and was succeeded by Nerva A.D. 96. The particulars of this persecution are not fully known, but in regard to it Gibbon says, among other things :

Of the two sons of his uncle Flavius Sabinus, the elder was soon convicted of treasonable intentions, and the younger, who bore the name of Flavius Clemens, was indebted for his safety to his want of courage and ability. The emperor for a long time, distinguished so harmless a kinsman by his favor and protection, bestowed on him his own niece Donitilla, adopted the children of that marriage to the hope of the succession, and invested their father with the honors of the consulship.

But he had scarcely finished the term of his annual magistracy, when, on a slight pretence, he was condemned and executed ; Donitilla was banished to a desolate island on the coast of Campania ; and sentences either of death or of confiscation were pronounced against a great number of persons who were involved in the same accusation. The guilt imputed to their charge was that of *Atheism* and *Jewish manners* ; a singular association of ideas, which cannot with any propriety be applied except to the Christians, as they were obscurely and imperfectly viewed by the magistrates and by the writers of that period (*Decline and Fall*, ii. pp. 24-5).

During the short reign of Nerva of less than two years there was no persecution of the Christians. Nerva was succeeded by Trajan in A.D. 98. Gibbon says of Trajan :

That virtuous and active prince had received the education of a soldier, and possessed the talents of a general.

Trajan was ambitious of fame ; and as long as mankind shall continue to bestow more liberal applause on their destroyers than on their benefactors, the thirst of military glory will ever be the vice of the most exalted characters (*id.* i. pp. 6, 7).

It was under this great, ambitious, but *generally* wise and just emperor that the illustrious Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, suffered martyrdom at Rome in A.D. 107. My extracts in regard to him and to his epistles are taken from the work already referred to, *Ante-Nicene Library* :

When Trajan, not long since, succeeded to the empire of the Romans, Ig-

natus, the disciple of John the apostle, a man in all respects of an apostolic character, governed the church of the Antiochians with great care, having with difficulty escaped the former storms of the many persecutions under Domitian, inasmuch as, like a good pilot, by the helm of prayer and fasting, by the earnestness of his teaching, and by his [constant] spiritual labour, he resisted the flood that rolled against him, fearing [only] lest he should lose any of those who were deficient in courage, or apt to suffer from their simplicity. Wherefore he rejoiced over the tranquil state of the church, when the persecutions ceased for a little time, but was grieved as to himself, that he had not yet attained to a true love to Christ, nor reached the perfect rank of a disciple. For he inwardly reflected, that the confession which is made by martyrdom, would bring him into a yet more intimate relation to the Lord. Wherefore, continuing a few years longer with the church, and like a divine lamp, enlightening every one's understanding by his expositions of the [Holy] Scriptures, he [at length] attained the object of his desire.

For Trajan, in the ninth year of his reign, being lifted up [with pride], after the victory he had gained over the Scythians and Dacians, and many other nations, and thinking the religious body of the Christians were yet wanting to complete the subjugation of all things to himself, and [thereupon] threatening them with persecution unless they should agree to worship dæmons, as did all other nations, thus compelled all who were living godly lives either to sacrifice [to idols] or die. Wherefore the noble soldier of Christ [Ignatius], being in fear for the church of the Antiochians, was, in accordance with his own desire, brought before Trajan, who was at that time staying at Antioch, but was in haste [to set forth] against Armenia and the Parthians. And when he was set before the emperor Trajan, [that prince] said unto him, "Who art thou, wicked wretch, who settest thyself to transgress our commands, and persuadest others to do the same, so that they should miserably perish?" Ignatius replied, "No one ought to call Theophorus wicked; for all evil spirits have departed from the servants of God. But if, because I am an enemy to these [spirits], you call me wicked in respect to them, I quite agree with you; for inasmuch as I have Christ the King of heaven [within me], I destroy all the devices of these [evil spirits]." Trajan answered, "And who is Theophorus?" Ignatius replied, "He who has Christ within his breast." Trajan said, "Do we not then seem to you to have the gods in our mind whose assistance we enjoy in fighting against our enemies?" Ignatius answered, "Thou art in error when thou callest the dæmons of the nations gods. For there is but one God, who made heaven, and earth, and the sea, and all that are in them; and one Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, whose kingdom may I enjoy." Trajan said, "Do you mean Him who was crucified under Pontius Pilate?" Ignatius replied, "I mean Him who crucified my sin, with him who was the inventor of it, and who has condemned [and cast down] all the deceit and malice of the devil under the feet of those who carry Him in their heart." Trajan said, "Dost thou then carry within thee him that was crucified?" Ignatius replied, "Truly so; for it is written, 'I will dwell in them, and walk in them.'" Then Trajan pronounced sentence as follows: "We command that Ignatius, who affirms that he carries about him Him that was crucified, be bound by soldiers, and carried to the great [city] Rome, there to be devoured by the beasts, for the gratification of the people." When the holy martyr heard this sentence, he cried out with joy, "I thank Thee, O Lord, that Thou hast vouchsafed to honour me with a perfect love towards Thee, and hast made me to be bound with iron chains, like Thy Apostle Paul" (*Martyrdom of Ignatius*, c. i. and ii.)

In pursuance of this sentence he was placed in chains and com-



mitted to the charge of ten soldiers, and by them speedily conveyed to Rome.

And after a great deal of suffering he came to Smyrna, where he disembarked with great joy, and hastened to see the holy Polycarp, [formerly] his fellow disciple, and [now] bishop of Smyrna. For they had both, in old times, been disciples of St. John the apostle.

On his way to Rome he wrote seven epistles. Five of these were written at Smyrna and two after leaving that city. His epistles were addressed one to each of the following churches: Ephesians, Magnesians, Trallians, Romans, Philadelphians, and Smyrnians, and one to Polycarp. These epistles are most beautiful—full of humility, undoubting faith, ardent charity, and the most fervent desire to suffer for the cause. It would seem that no one can read them and doubt the perfect sincerity of the writer.

Among other things the martyr says:

For I do indeed desire to suffer, but I know not if I be worthy to do so. For this longing, though it is not manifest to many, all the more vehemently assails me. . . . And do ye also pray for me, who have need of your love, along with the mercy of God, that I may be worthy of the lot for which I am destined, and that I may not be found reprobate.

In his Epistle to the Romans he earnestly beseeches his brethren not to interfere with the execution of the sentence of the emperor: \*

For I am afraid of your love, lest it should do me an injury. . . . For neither shall I ever have such [another] opportunity of attaining to God; nor will ye, if ye shall now be silent, ever be entitled to the honour of a better work. For if ye are silent concerning me, I shall become God's; but if you show your love to my flesh, I shall again have to run my race. Pray, then, do not seek to confer any greater favour upon me than that I be sacrificed to God while the altar is still prepared. . . . Suffer me to become food for the wild beasts, through whose instrumentality it will be granted me to attain to God. . . . From Syria even unto Rome I fight with beasts, both 'by land and sea, both by night and day, being bound to ten leopards, I mean a band of soldiers, who, even when they receive benefits, show themselves all the worse. . . . Let fire and the cross; let the crowds of wild beasts; let tearings, and dislocation of bones; let cutting off of members; let shatterings of the whole body; and let all the dreadful torments of the devil come upon me: only let me attain to Jesus Christ. . . . It is better for me to die in behalf of Jesus Christ, than to reign over all the ends of the world. . . . Permit me to be an imitator of the passion of my God, . . . nor even should I, when present with you, exhort you to it, be ye persuaded to listen to me, but rather give credit to those things which I now write to you. . . . I no longer wish to live after the manner of men, and my desire shall be fulfilled if ye consent. . . . Remember in your prayers the church in Syria, which now has God for its shepherd, instead of me. . . . I entreat you in this brief letter; do ye give credit to me.

\* "The epistles which Ignatius composed as he was carried in chains through the cities of Asia," says Gibbon, "breathe sentiments the most repugnant to the ordinary feelings of human nature. He earnestly beseeches the Romans, that when he should be exposed in the amphitheatre, they would not, by their kind but unseasonable intercession, deprive him of the crown of glory; and he declares his resolution to provoke and irritate the wild beasts which might be employed as the instruments of his death" (*Decline and Fall*, ii. p. 41).

After landing at a place called Portus, a harbor near Rome, on his way to the city he

met the brethren full of fear and joy; rejoicing indeed because they were thought worthy to meet Theophorus, but struck with fear because so eminent a man was being led to death. Now he enjoined some to keep silence, who, in their fervent zeal, were saying that they would appease the people, so that they should not demand the destruction of this just one. He being immediately aware of this through the Spirit, and having saluted them all, and begged of them to show a true affection towards him, and having dwelt [on this point] at greater length than in his epistle, and having persuaded them not to envy him hastening to the Lord, he then, after he had, with all the brethren kneeling [beside him], entreated the Son of God in behalf of the churches, that a stop might be put to the persecution, and that mutual love might continue among the brethren; was led with all haste into the amphitheatre.

He was immediately thrown "to the wild beasts close beside the temple." "Only the harder portions of his holy remains were left." The writers of this account say they were "eye-witnesses of these things," and that they "spent the whole night in tears within the house."

This account of the martyrdom of Ignatius is clear, simple, and reasonable, and bears upon its face the evident marks of truth. Trajan, under whom he suffered, was highly educated, talented, proud, ambitious, and remarkably successful. Pride is simply an over-estimate of ourselves, while ambition is but an over-estimate of the value of the applause of others. These vices are so closely allied that they are usually found united in the same person; but, whether separated or united, they never tolerate a rival they are able to subdue. It was, therefore, perfectly in harmony with the character of the great Trajan, and with the condition of his unrivalled empire, that he, "thinking that the religious body of the Christians were yet wanting to complete the subjugation of all things to himself," should threaten "them with persecution unless they should agree to worship dæmons, as did all other nations, thus compelling all who were living godly lives either to sacrifice [to idols] or die." The haughty bearing of the emperor at the trial, as stated, is also in keeping with his character and situation.

It was during this active and vigorous reign, and about A.D. 112, that the important official correspondence occurred between Pliny and the emperor, and in regard to which Gibbon says, among other things:

About ten years afterwards, under the reign of Trajan, the younger Pliny was intrusted by his friend and master with the government of Bithynia and Pontus. . . . The life of Pliny had been employed in the acquisition of learning, and in the business of the world. Since the age of nineteen he had pleaded with distinction in the tribunals of Rome, filled a place in the senate, had been invested with the honors of the consulship, and had formed very numerous connections with every

order of men, both in Italy and in the provinces. . . . The answer of Trajan, to which the Christians of the succeeding age have frequently appealed, discovers as much regard for justice and humanity as could be reconciled with his mistaken notions of religious policy (*Decline and Fall*, ii. pp. 26-7).

This authentic *official* correspondence between men so able and occupying positions so exalted throws a flood of light *directly* upon the situation of the Christians at the then present time, and *incidentally* upon their condition in the then past. I shall, therefore, give both letters in full, using the translation of Whiston, attached to his translation of Josephus :

*Pliny to Trajan.*

SIR : It is my constant method to apply myself to you for the resolution of all my doubts, for who can better govern my dilatory way of proceeding, or instruct my ignorance ? I have never been present at the examination of the Christians [by others], on which account I am unacquainted with what used to be inquired into, and what and how far they used to be punished : nor are my doubts small, whether there be not a distinction to be made between the ages [of the accused], and whether tender youth ought to have the same punishment with strong men ? Whether there be not room for pardon upon repentance ? or whether it may not be an advantage to one that had been a Christian, that he has forsaken Christianity ? whether the bare name, without any crimes besides, or the crimes adhering to that name, be to be punished ? In the meantime, I have taken this course about those who have been brought before me as Christians :—I asked them whether they were Christians or not ? If they confessed that they were Christians, I asked them again, and a third time, intermixing threatenings with the questions: if they persevered in their confession, I ordered them to be executed ; for I did not doubt but, let their confession be of any sort whatsoever, this positiveness and inflexible obstinacy deserved to be punished. There have been some of this mad sect whom I took notice of in particular as Roman citizens, that they might be sent to that city. After some time, as is usual in such examinations, the crime spread itself, and many more cases came before me. A libel was sent to me, though without an author, containing many names [of persons accused]. These denied that they were Christians now, or ever had been. They called upon the gods and supplicated to your image, which I caused to be brought to me for that purpose, with frankincense and wine : they also cursed Christ : none of which things, as it is said, can any of those that are really Christians be compelled to do ; so I thought fit to let them go. Others of them, that were named in the libel, said they were Christians, but presently denied it again ; that, indeed, they had been Christians but had ceased to be so, some three years, some many more ; and one there was that said he had not been so these twenty years. All these worshipped your image, and the images of our gods: these also cursed Christ. However, they assured me that the main of their fault, or of their mistake, was this,—that they were wont, on a stated day, to meet together before it was light, and to sing a hymn to Christ, as a god, alternately; and to oblige themselves by a sacrament [or oath] not to do any thing that was ill, but that they would commit no theft, or pilfering, or adultery; that they would not break their promises, or deny what was deposited with them, when it was required back again: after which it was their custom to depart, and to meet again at a common but innocent meal, which yet they had left off upon that edict which I published at your command, and wherein I had forbidden any such conventicles. These examinations made me think it necessary to inquire, by torments, what the truth was, which I did of two

servant-maids, which were called *deaconesses*; but still I discovered no more, than that they were addicted to a bad and extravagant superstition. Hereupon I have put off any further examinations, and have recourse to you; for the affair seems to be well worth consultation, especially on account of the number of those that are in danger; for there are many of every age, of every rank, and of both sexes, which are now and hereafter likely to be called to account, and to be in danger; for this superstition is spread like a contagion, not only into cities and towns, but into country villages also, which yet there is reason to hope may be stopped and corrected. To be sure, the temples, which were almost forsaken, begin already to be frequented; and the holy solemnities, which were long intermitted, begin to be revived. The sacrifices begin to sell well everywhere, of which very few purchasers of late had appeared; whereby it is easy to suppose how great a multitude of men may be amended, if place for repentance be admitted.

*Trajan to Pliny.*

MY PLINY: You have taken the method which you ought, in examining the causes of those that have been accused as Christians; for, indeed, no certain and general form of judging can be ordained in this case. These people are not to be sought for; but if they be accused, and convicted, they are to be punished, but with this caution, that he who denies himself to be a Christian, and makes it plain that he is not so by supplicating to our gods, although he had been so formerly, may be allowed pardon, upon his repentance. As for libels sent without an author, they ought to have no place in any accusation whatsoever, for that would be a thing of very ill example, and not agreeable to my reign.

The close and intelligent reader will find these letters a complete map of the situation.

The letter of Pliny contains such statements of fact as were required to make plain the inquiries he addressed to his superior. Although he states that he had never been present at the examination of the Christians, so that he was ignorant on some points, yet the context shows that he had learned something of what had been done, as he says, "none of which, it is said, can any of those that are really Christians be compelled to do." It is clear that judicial proceedings against the Christians had occurred before his term of office commenced, but how long is not stated. In these antecedent trials it seems most probable that the Christians had been generally punished upon conviction, as ordinary criminals, such as thieves, burglars, and murderers, who are not pardoned upon their professed repentance for the past and their promised reformation for the future.\*

But the wise, learned, and judicial mind of Pliny saw that the case of the Christians, whose *sole legal* offence consisted in their belief and practice of their peaceable and morally innocent religion, was a *marked, exceptional* one, and therefore deserved a wholly different method of treatment. This view was no doubt made plain to him by his investigation of the cases of the many persons whose names were mentioned in the anonymous libel. These persons were di-

\*When Trajan himself, some five years before the date of this correspondence, sentenced Ignatius to death, he did not offer him pardon upon his repentance.

vided into two classes. The first class consisted of those who denied that they ever had been Christians ; while the second class was composed of those who admitted that they had once been Christians, but insisted that they were not such at that time. Both classes proved their statements by worshipping the image of the emperor, those of the Roman gods, and by cursing Christ. It was a doubt in the mind of Pliny "whether the bare name, without any crimes besides, or the crimes adhering to that name," deserved punishment. But the *only* "crimes adhering to that name," as shown by the statements of the persons composing the second class, and by those of the two innocent but tortured servant-maids, was the steadfast refusal to sacrifice to the images of the emperor and to those of the Roman gods, and to curse Christ. After all his efforts he could only discover that the Christians "were addicted to a bad and extravagant superstition" because they adored "Christ as a god." How he could designate Christianity as a *bad* superstition, even according to his own statements of fact, it is most difficult to understand.

It must have been evident to the keen and observant mind of Pliny that the old method of punishing the Christians as ordinary criminals, without any regard to their professed repentance and promised reformation, had utterly failed to stop the progress of Christianity ; for he says it "is spread like a contagion, not only into cities and towns, but into country villages also," and included "many of every age, of every rank, and of both sexes," and that the temples "were almost forsaken."

It became, then, necessary to adopt a new and more efficient method in dealing with this vaguely-alleged "bad and extravagant superstition." Under the old method the condemned Christian had no *present* motive for denying his religion, as such denial would procure him no pardon ; but, as the Christians had, by their past acts, injured no one, and as their theory of religion taught the highest order of practical morality, both towards individuals as well as towards the state, it became a matter of profound policy to offer them their freedom upon condition that they would sacrifice to the emperor and to the national gods, and curse Christ. This would furnish a most powerful motive for the denial of their faith by the Christians, and at the same time vindicate the claim of the emperor to unlimited dominion over the faith and acts of his subjects. For while Pliny had his doubts about many things, there was one point in regard to which he had not the slightest misgiving ; for he says, "I did not doubt but, let their confession be of any sort whatsoever, this positiveness and inflexible obstinacy deserved to be punished." This position, which is approved by the emperor, will give us a true conception of the arbitrary power claimed and exercised by the great Roman despot. However innocent a subject might be in all other respects, unless he

submitted to profess and act in *all* respects as commanded by the emperor, he was punished as a criminal, with death. The principle of unlimited dominion over the consciences and actions of individual men was the right claimed, and about which neither Pliny nor his master had any doubt.

This new and profound policy was suggested by Pliny and evidently favored by him, as he says, in the close of his epistle, "whereby it is easy to suppose how great a multitude of men may be amended, if a place for repentance be admitted." The able and politic emperor approved the policy suggested. It must be conceded that it was exceedingly difficult to devise a policy more efficient and more terrible.

A marked feature in the case of the provincial magistrate was the wide and arbitrary discretion allowed him by the Roman law. He could use torture according as his judgment, passion, or prejudice might dictate; and, unless the accused was a Roman citizen, there was no appeal to a higher court. The poor victim who was not a citizen had to submit to the unjust law as administered by the local judge.

The letter of Pliny being an express official inquiry, accompanied with a statement of the methods he himself had already employed, the emperor's reply was an express approbation of Pliny's acts, except where expressly stated to the contrary. The letter of the emperor commences by saying: "You have taken the method you ought, in examining the cases of those that had been accused as Christians." Then, as Pliny had plainly stated that he had *caused* the emperor's image to be brought to him, that the accused should *supplicate to it with frankincense and wine*, and as the emperor made no express objections to this act, he approved it under the opening clause of his reply to Pliny.

The command that "these people are not to be sought for" does not seem to have been suggested by Pliny; but his act in receiving and acting upon an anonymous libel is expressly disapproved by the emperor, who wisely foresaw that such libels would often become the instruments of private revenge, would overcrowd the tribunals with the unjustly accused, and thus disgrace the administration of public justice.

Such was the rule established by Trajan. We have every reason to believe that it remained unchanged by the supreme authority until the reign of Marcus Aurelius. When a law is once enacted the legal and logical presumption is that it continues until its repeal or modification can be affirmatively shown. We have no such evidence until the time of Marcus.

This great rule allowed to the provincial magistrate a wide discretion in the use of torture and in the choice of the mode of inflicting the penalty of death. But the rule itself was probably often violated, in some respects, by the proconsuls.

The celebrated case of Polycarp\* is illustrative of the practical administration of the Roman law. My extracts regarding his martyrdom are taken from the first volume of the work already referred to—the *Ante-Nicene Library* :

The church of God which sojourns at Smyrna, to the church of God sojourning in Philomelium, and to all the congregations of the holy catholic church in every place : Mercy, peace, and love from God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, be multiplied.

We have written to you, brethren, as to what relates to the martyrs, and especially to the blessed Polycarp, who put an end to the persecution, having, as it were, set a seal upon it by his martyrdom. . . . All the martyrdoms, then, were blessed and noble which took place according to the will of God. . . . And truly, who can fail to admire their nobleness of mind, and their patience, with that love towards their Lord which they displayed?—who, when they were so torn with scourges, that the frame of their bodies, even to the very inward veins and arteries, was laid open, still patiently endured, while even those that stood by pitied and bewailed them. But they reached such a pitch of magnanimity, that not one of them let a sigh or a groan escape them ; thus proving to us all that those holy martyrs of Christ, at the very time when they suffered such torments, were absent from the body, or rather, that the Lord then stood by them, and communed with them.

Germanicus, a young martyr, notwithstanding the persuasion of the proconsul to take pity upon his age, exhibited such intrepid courage when thrown to the wild beasts that the multitude cried out, “ Away with the atheists ; let Polycarp be sought out.”

Polycarp, in deference to the wish of many, left the city and went to a country-house in the vicinity. But when those who were sent to arrest him were at hand he went to another dwelling. “ And when they found him not, they seized upon two youths [that were there], one of whom, being subjected to torture, confessed.” With the guidance of the youth his pursuers found him in the evening in “ a little house, from which he might have escaped into another

“ So also Polycarp,” says Irenæus, “ who not only had been instructed by apostles, and conversed with many who had seen the Lord, but was also appointed, by apostles, bishop of Smyrna, in Asia. Him we saw in our early youth ” (*Adv. Hæres.*, l. iii. c. 3, n. 1-4).

“ I could tell the very place where the bishop Polycarp sat as he discoursed,” says the same writer, “ and his goings out and his comings in, and the character of his life, and his bodily appearance, and the discourses which he addressed to the multitude, and how he narrated his daily intercourse with John, and with others that had seen the Lord ; and how he commemorated their discourses ; and what were the things which he had heard from them concerning the Lord, and concerning his miracles and his doctrines ; how Polycarp,—having received them from those who had seen the Word of Life—narrated the whole in consonance with the Scriptures ” (*Fragm. Ep. ad Florinum*, t. i. pp. 339-40).

“ St. Polycarp was one of the most illustrious of the apostolic fathers,” says the Rev. Alban Butler, “ who, being the immediate disciples of the apostles, received instructions from their mouths, and inherited of them the spirit of Christ, in a degree so much the more eminent, as they lived near the fountain head. He embraced Christianity very young, about the year 80 ; was a disciple of the apostles, in particular of St. John the Evangelist, and was constituted by him Bishop of Smyrna, probably before his banishment to Patmos, in 96 ; so that he governed that important see seventy years. He seems to have been the angel or bishop of Smyrna, who was commended above all the bishops of Asia by Christ himself in the Apocalypse, and the only one without reproach ” (*Lives of the Saints—“ Polycarp ”*). Polycarp was martyred in A. D. 166.

place ; but he refused, saying, ‘The will of God be done.’” Having set supper before his captors and obtained leave to pray unmolested for one hour, and having prayed most fervently for two hours, to the astonishment of those who heard him, they placed him upon an ass, and thus conducted him into the city.

Now, as Polycarp was entering into the stadium, there came to him a voice from heaven, saying, “Be strong, and show thyself a man, O Polycarp !” No one saw who it was that spoke to him ; but those of our brethren who were present heard the voice. And as he was brought forward the tumult became great when they heard that Polycarp was taken. And when he came near, the proconsul asked him whether he was Polycarp. On his confessing that he was, [the proconsul] sought to persuade him to deny [Christ], saying, “Have respect to thy old age” and other similar things, according to their custom, [such as], “Swear by the fortune of Cæsar ; repent, and say, Away with the Atheists.” But Polycarp, gazing with a stern countenance on all the multitude of the wicked heathen then in the stadium, and waving his hand towards them, while with groans he looked up to heaven, said, “Away with the Atheists.” Then, the proconsul urging him, and saying, “Swear, and I will set thee at liberty, reproach Christ ;” Polycarp declared, “Eighty and six years have I served Him, and He never did me any injury : how then can I blaspheme my King and my Saviour ?” And when the proconsul yet again pressed him, and said, “Swear by the fortune of Cæsar,” he answered, “Since thou art vainly urgent that, as thou sayest, I should swear by the fortune of Cæsar, and pretendest not to know who and what I am, hear me declare with boldness, I am a Christian. And if you wish to learn what the doctrines of Christianity are, appoint me a day, and thou shalt hear them.” The proconsul replied, “Persuade the people.” But Polycarp said, “To thee I have thought it right to offer an account [of my faith] ; for we are taught to give all due honour (which entails no injury upon ourselves) to the powers and authorities which are ordained of God. But as for *these* I do not deem them worthy of receiving any account from me.” The proconsul then said to him : “I have wild beasts at hand ; to these I will cast thee, except thou repent.” But he answered, “Call them then, for we are not accustomed to repent of what is good in order to adopt that which is evil ; and it is well for me to be changed from what is evil to what is righteous.” But again the proconsul said to him, “I will cause thee to be consumed by fire, seeing thou despisest the wild beasts, if thou wilt not repent.” But Polycarp said, “Thou threatenest me with fire which burneth for an hour, and after a little is extinguished, but art ignorant of the fire of the coming judgment and of eternal punishment, reserved for the ungodly. But why tarriest thou ? Bring forth what thou wilt.”

He was condemned to be burnt alive with fire.

But when they were about also to fix him with nails, he said, “Leave me as I am ; for he that giveth me strength to endure the fire, will also enable me, without your securing me by nails, to remain without moving in the pile.” They did not nail him then, but simply bound him. And he, placing his hands behind him, . . . looked up to heaven and said, “O Lord God Almighty, the Father of Thy beloved Son Jesus Christ, by whom we have received knowledge of Thee, the God of angels and powers, and of every creature, and of the whole race of the righteous who live before thee, I give Thee thanks that Thou hast counted me worthy of this day and this hour, that I should have a part in the number of Thy martyrs, in the cup of Thy Christ, to the resurrection of eternal life, both in soul and body, through the incorruption [imparted] by the Holy Ghost. Among whom may I be accepted



this day before Thee as a fat and acceptable sacrifice, according as Thou, ever-truthful God, hast fore-ordained, hast revealed beforehand to me, and now hast fulfilled. Wherefore also I praise Thee for all things, I bless Thee, I glorify Thee, along with the everlasting and heavenly Jesus Christ, Thy beloved Son, with whom, to Thee, and the Holy Ghost, be glory both now and to all coming ages. Amen."

The account states that the writers witnessed a great miracle as the fire, though it encircled the illustrious martyr, did not consume his body, which emitted a sweet odor, so that an executioner was commanded to pierce him through with a dagger or spear.

This, then, is the account of the blessed Polycarp, who, being the twelfth that was martyred in Smyrna (reckoning those also of Philadelphia), yet occupies a place of his own in the memory of all men, insomuch as he is everywhere spoken of by the heathen themselves. He was not merely an illustrious teacher, but also a pre-eminent martyr, whose martyrdom all desire to imitate, as having been altogether consistent with the gospel of Christ.

I have given these instances as illustrative cases only of the terrible persecution of the early Christians, as my limits forbid my mentioning many others. It will be seen that Polycarp was sought for, contrary to the letter of Trajan. This may have been an abuse of authority by the proconsul, or may have been in pursuance of the new policy, then either in contemplation by Marcus Aurelius or after it was formally decreed. The reign of Marcus commenced in 161.

In relation to the persecution under Hadrian, successor of Trajan, and under Antoninus Pius, successor of Hadrian, Dr. Uhlhorn says :

Several martyrs are also mentioned who suffered in the reign of Hadrian. . . . In his reign Telesphorus, bishop of Rome, suffered martyrdom. . . .

History narrates also the martyrdom of a mother called Symphorosa, which resembles that of the mother of the Maccabees. Her husband Getulius, and her brother Amatinus, had already been executed as martyrs, when to her and to her seven sons was given the choice : to sacrifice, or to die. She remained firm and answered : " You think then to turn me by fear, but I desire only to rest in peace with my husband Getulius, whom you have put to death for Christ's name's sake." She was drowned, and then her seven sons one after the other suffered death in various ways. In Asia the proconsul Arrius Antoninus (afterwards the Emperor Antoninus Pius) had already condemned many Christians, when one day the Christians appeared in such numbers before his judgement-seat that he recognized the impossibility of punishing them all. He arrested some from among them and dismissed the rest with the words : " Miserable men, if ye desire to die, have ye not ropes and precipices!" During the reign of Antoninus Pius also, the Christians were now and then molested (*Conflict*, pp. 262-3).

In regard to the persecution under Marcus Aurelius, Gibbon says :

During the whole course of his reign, Marcus despised the Christians as a philosopher, and punished them as a sovereign.

By a singular fatality, the hardships which they had endured under the government of a virtuous prince, immediately ceased on the accession of a tyrant; and as none except themselves had experienced the injustice of Marcus, so they alone were protected by the lenity of Commodus (*Decline and Fall*, ii. p. 47).

Upon these two passages Milman remarks in a note, among other things :

Gibbon, with this phrase, and that below, which admits the injustice of Marcus, has dexterously glossed over one of the most remarkable facts in the early Christian history, that the reign of the wisest and most humane of the heathen emperors was the most fatal to the Christians. Most writers have ascribed the persecutions under Marcus to the latent bigotry of his character; Mosheim to the influence of the philosophic party; but the fact is admitted by all.

In regard to the persecution under Marcus, Dr. Uhlhorn has, among others, the following remarks :

And this very Emperor who would have men tolerate the wicked as erring brothers, and whose administration of justice was so painfully conscientious, that he would spend whole days in the investigation of a single case, in order to be certain of not wronging any one,—this Emperor was destined to be one of the most determined persecutors of the Christians, that is, do the greatest of wrongs to the best of men.

Marcus Aurelius was a Stoic, and though the virtue of humility was foreign to the entire antique world, of the Stoic philosophy we may say that its very life was pride (*Conflict*, p. 283).

Therefore Marcus Aurelius issued a rescript which went far beyond the regulations of Trajan. We do not know its exact tenor, but Melito calls it barbarously cruel. Though a general persecution was not directly ordered, yet the decree that the accusers of the Christians should come into possession of their property practically instigated an almost universal persecution. For not only were accusations multiplied by persons in private life who coveted the property of the Christians, but the officials themselves made haste to earn the reward of Judas. Now, as never before, the Christians were sought out everywhere, brought to trial, often executed with the greatest cruelty, and their property confiscated.

We gain an idea how much more severe this was than all previous persecutions, when we read the letter in which the churches of Lugdunum (Lyons) and Vienne narrate the story of their sufferings. The people began by insulting the Christians, throwing stones at them, and plundering their houses. Next a number were imprisoned, and the attempt was made to extort confessions from them by means of various tortures and torments. Most of them held out; but a few apostatized, to the great sorrow of the Church. Worse than this, slaves of Christian masters stated on the rack that the stories of atrocities practised by the Christians in secret were true. Thus the proofs of impiety were secured, and the rage of the heathen rose to the highest pitch. They sought by the most horrible tortures to extract the same disclosures from the Christians. They were tormented the whole day long, till the executioners were weary, but they remained true to their faith. Blandina, a delicate maiden, to all the questions answered only: "I am a Christian! Among us no wickedness is committed," and still repeated this response when every species of torture had been tried on her, and, bleeding and mangled, she scarcely continued to breathe. Ponticus, a boy, notwithstanding his youth (he was but fifteen), bore all the tortures unflinchingly. His own sister stood by his side, and exhorted him to steadfastness. Pothinus, the bishop of Lyons, a man over ninety years old, in reply to the legate's question, "Who is the God of the Christians?" hurled back the bold answer, "If thou art worthy thou shalt know." He was tortured so severely that he died in prison two days afterwards. Even those who had at first recanted were so inspired by these examples, that they summoned courage to re-affirm their faith. Since there were Roman

citizens among the accused, the legate sent for orders from Rome; and, by command of the Emperor, the Roman citizens died by the sword, while the rest were thrown to the wild beasts. From far and near the heathen flocked together to this spectacle. All the condemned met their death with great joy; and the last to suffer was Blandina, who had been a spectator of the deaths of all the rest, and had encouraged and exhorted the brethren. With joy and thanksgiving she entered the arena as though she were going to her nuptials instead of to be thrown to the wild beasts. Enclosed in a net she was exposed to the fury of a wild bull, and, after being several times tossed into the air from its horns, was put to death. Even the heathen conceded that never woman among them had shown such endurance, and the Church added, "Thus the Lord glorified himself in those who seemed weak and insignificant in the eyes of the world." The bodies of the martyrs were burned, and their ashes thrown into the Rhone. "Now we shall see if they will rise again," said the heathen mockingly.

The picture here spread before us was only a single scene of this terrible drama. In vain did the Apologists, Melito, Miltiades, and Athenagoras, lift up their voices. The persecution extended throughout the entire empire, an early prelude of the subsequent general persecutions. "The demon" (of the Christians), Celsus exultingly asserts, "is not only reviled, but banished from every land and sea, and those who like images are consecrated to him are bound and led to punishment and impaled (*or* crucified), whilst the demon—or, as you call him, the Son of God—takes no vengeance on the evil doer." Celsus saw in this the fulfilment of the saying of Apollo's priest: "The mills of the gods grind late," and he scornfully points to the fate of the worshippers of the one God. "They (the Jews), instead of being masters of the whole world, are left with not so much as a patch of ground or a hearth; and of you (the Christians) one or two may be wandering in secret, but they are being sought out to be punished with death" (*Conflict*, pp. 294-7).

I shall not notice the heathen persecutions of the Christians which were inflicted subsequent to the reign of Marcus, because I have not space to do so, and because I think that the trials Christianity successfully endured before the death of that prince were more severe, all the circumstances considered, than those which followed, relentless, cruel, and general as they undoubtedly were. But, in the meantime, Christianity had become so firmly established, so accustomed to persecution, so extended over the empire, and even beyond it, and embraced such vast numbers, that its extermination was, humanly speaking, far more difficult.

In regard to the conduct of the Christians during the Roman persecutions, Gibbon, an adversary, says, among other things :

Faithful to the doctrine of the apostle, who in the reign of Nero had preached the duty of unconditional submission, the Christians of the three first centuries preserved their conscience pure and innocent of the guilt of secret conspiracy, or open rebellion. While they experienced the rigor of persecution, they were never provoked either to meet their tyrants in the field, or indignantly to withdraw themselves into some remote and sequestered corner of the globe (*Decline and Fall*, ii. p. 255).

To this testimony of Gibbon I will add some extracts from the ancient Fathers.

Clement, in his first epistle, after stating the martyrdom of Peter and Paul, says :

To these men who spent their lives in the practice of holiness, there is to be added a great multitude of the elect, who, having through envy endured many indignities and tortures, furnished us with a most excellent example (c. vi. R. and D.)

But the most complete, beautiful, and forcible description of the character and conduct of the early Christians is found in the noble letter to Diognetus, who had propounded several questions to the writer in regard to the Christian religion. The letter exhibits the most eminent ability on the part of the author, and bears upon its face the sure marks of truth. Who was the distinguished writer is unknown ; but it is clear from his own statements that he was a disciple of the apostles, and wrote not later than the beginning of the second century.

I do not speak of things strange to me, nor do I aim at anything inconsistent with right reason ; but having been a disciple of the apostles, I am become a teacher of the Gentiles. I administer the things delivered to me to those that are disciples worthy of the truth (c. xi. R. and D.)

Diognetus asked " why this new kind or practice has only now entered into the world, and not long ago ? " and the writer tells him that he is " to be the hearer of a new [system of] doctrine " (c. i. and ii.)

These extracts show very plainly that the author was a disciple of the apostles, and that he wrote at an early day.

For the Christians are distinguished from other men neither by country, nor language, nor the customs which they observe. For they neither inhabit cities of their own, nor employ a peculiar form of speech, nor lead a life which is marked out by any singularity. The course of conduct which they follow has not been devised by any speculation or deliberation of inquisitive men ; nor do they, like some, proclaim themselves the advocates of any merely human doctrines. But, inhabiting Greek as well as barbarian cities, according as the lot of each of them has determined, and following the customs of the natives in respect to clothing, food, and the rest of their ordinary conduct, they display to us their wonderful and confessedly striking method of life. They dwell in their own countries, but simply as sojourners. As citizens, they share in all things with others, and yet endure all things as if foreigners. Every foreign land is to them as their native country, and every land of their birth as a land of strangers. They marry, as do all [others] ; they beget children ; but they do not destroy their offspring. They have a common table, but not a common bed. They are in the flesh, but they do not live after the flesh. They pass their days on earth, but they are citizens of heaven. They obey the prescribed laws, and at the same time surpass the laws by their lives. They love all men, and are persecuted by all. They are unknown and condemned ; they are put to death, and restored to life. They are poor, yet make many rich ; they are in lack of all things, and yet abound in all ; they are dishonoured, and yet in their very dishonour are glorified. They are evil spoken of, and yet are justified ; they are reviled, and bless ; they are insulted, and repay the insult with honour ; they do good, yet are punished as evil-doers. When pun-

ished, they rejoice as if quickened into life ; they are assailed by the Jews as foreigners, and are persecuted by the Greeks ; yet those who hate them are unable to assign any reason for their hatred (c. v.)

Under Nero the Christians were convicted for their alleged "hatred of human kind" ; under Domitian for their alleged "Atheism and Jewish manners" ; and under Pliny for their alleged "bad and extravagant superstition," and their obstinate adherence to it. How beautifully true is the statement, "yet those who hate them are unable to assign any reason for their hatred." Says Tertullian :

For now we call to witness your own acts, you who preside daily at the trial of prisoners, and dispose of the charges by your sentences. So many criminals are reckoned up under various charges of guilt. What assassin among them, what cut-purse, what sacrilegious person, or seducer, or plunderer of bathers, is entitled also a Christian ? In like manner when the Christians are brought to trial under their own head, who even of those is such as all the criminals are ? It is ever from your own people that the poison is steaming ; it is ever from your own people that the mines are breathing sighs ; it is ever on your own people that the beasts are fattened ; it is ever of your own people that the masters of the slaves find flocks of criminals to feed. No Christian is there, except it be only as a Christian ; or if he be anything else, he is forthwith no longer a Christian. We alone then are innocent. What wonder if this be so of necessity ? Taught innocence by God, we both know it perfectly, as being revealed by a perfect master, and we keep it faithfully, as being committed to us by an observer that may not be despised (*Apol.*, n. 43-5, p. 34).

Justin Martyr, in his *First Apology*, says :

We who formerly delighted in fornication now strive for purity. We who used magical arts have dedicated ourselves to the good and eternal God. We who loved the acquisition of wealth more than all else, now bring what we have into a common stock, and give to every one in need. We who hated and destroyed one another, and on account of their different manners would not receive into our houses men of a different tribe, now, since the coming of Christ, live familiarly with them. We pray for our enemies, we endeavor to persuade those who hate us unjustly to live conformably to the beautiful precepts of Christ, to the end that they may become partakers with us of the same joyful hope of a reward from God, the Ruler of all (cited *Conflict*, p. 166).

Thus Christianity was born, its infancy nursed, and its youth reared amidst dire persecutions. Its mild Founder was crucified under the Roman procurator, Pontius Pilate, whose reluctance to condemn the accused was overcome by the vehement clamors and bold political insinuations of the Jews. For a period of nearly three hundred years, and until it gained the ascendancy in the great Roman Empire, its humble and innocent followers had no spot of earth whereon they could rest the soles of their feet or find a peaceful grave. When its Founder expired there were only a few hundreds of His followers left, and His religion appeared to be upon the verge of extinction. But, as Tacitus so forcibly says, "it again burst forth ; and not only spread itself over Judea, . . . but was even introduced into Rome."

When it burst forth again the Jews, supposing it to have been extinguished, were no doubt amazed and confused for a time. But soon they must have discovered the irreconcilable antagonism of the two theories. As the new religion was *first*, and for some time *alone*, preached among the Jews, and professed to be but a fulfilment of prophecies they admitted to be true, it was but natural that they should first become acquainted with its true nature. For this reason the Jews were its first persecutors.

Their main direct persecutions took place at Jerusalem, where they had the power of numbers and were most indulged by the Roman governors; but, when the new religion had been preached in Grecian cities, their efforts at persecution in those places were generally confined to stirring up the gentiles against the Christians, though they sometimes, even in places outside of Judea, resorted to open violence themselves, as in the stoning of Paul at Lystra.

But while the Jews first understood the general drift of the new theory, the gentiles were soon made acquainted with the fact that the two religions were radically different, although they were not, for a time, fully aware of what constituted that difference. The Roman authorities sometimes protected the Christians against their persecutors, as they did in the cases of Gallio, Lysias, and Festus, but they themselves persecuted the Christians at other times and places, as in the cases of Paul and Silas at Philippi.

By the time of the persecution under Nero it seems pretty evident that the distinction between Jews and Christians was well understood at Rome, as Nero only slaughtered the Christians. It may have been that no Jews were then in the city, as they had been before that time banished from Rome by order of Claudius. But if this was the fact it would tend to show that the distinction between the two classes was substantially known in the time of that emperor, as he only banished Jews. It is certain that multitudes of Christians were in Rome at the great fire in July, 64, and that they were then distinguished from the Jews by the Roman emperor.

But while the Roman military officers and civil magistrates sometimes protected the Christians against the violence of their enemies, whether Jews or gentiles, there was left ample scope and opportunity for persecution in various ways. Where there exist almost universal hatred and contempt for a small and helpless minority, the power of even a despotism cannot prevent persecution in *some* form. The public abhorrence will find means of manifestation in some shape or other. And the situation of the Christians was most painful from a continual sense of impending danger, which they must at all times have apprehended; but the time of its actual appearance, and the manner and extent of its ruin, they could not foresee or measure with any certainty. They could only be reasonably assured that dire per-

secution was their inevitable lot sooner or later. They were thus kept in a state of perpetual fear and painful suspense.

But when at length the Roman emperors became substantially acquainted with the true character of Christianity, and with the real nature of the direct and positive issue between their claims and those of the new religion, then the harder and more terrible struggle commenced. Then it was, as Gibbon truly says, that "the religious policy of the ancient world seems to have assumed a more stern and intolerant character to oppose the progress of Christianity."

The deification of the emperors had given them a prerogative that Christianity must deny. This claim had become the established custom of the empire *before* the appearance of Christianity. While the modesty of the four emperors, Trajan, Hadrian, and the two Antonines, prevented them from requiring, *during their lives*, any formal decrees of the senate placing them among the tutelary gods of the empire, they no doubt looked forward with present satisfaction to such a decree after their deaths. We have already seen, from the correspondence of Pliny and Trajan, that the emperor was expressly informed by his friend and servant, Pliny, that he had required parties before him to supplicate the image of the emperor with frankincense and wine; and that the emperor had expressly approved this act of his subordinate. Pride, precedent, ambition, and the love of power would naturally render the successors of Augustus very reluctant to surrender this flattering and darling homage. "The first magistrate of the state," says Gibbon, "as often as he was prompted by superstition or policy, performed with his own hands the sacerdotal functions; nor was there any order of priests, either at Rome or in the provinces, who claimed a more sacred character among men, or a more intimate communion with the gods" (*Decline and Fall*, ii. p. 277).\* It was perfectly natural that emperors claiming and exercising, with the approbation of the people themselves, all the military, civil, and ecclesiastical powers, should fondly and firmly adhere to all the prerogatives which their line had ever possessed, and more especially that exalted attribute which, in theory, lifted them far above the balance of the race. The form of the imperial government was so popular with the Roman people that the conspirators against Caligula, Nero, and Domitian, as Gibbon well remarks, as we have seen, "attacked the person of the tyrant, without aiming their blow at the authority of the emperor." It was but congenial to human nature, in an age which would tolerate and even applaud such a pretension, that a line of absolute monarchs over the greatest empire in the world, and whose sole wills were the law for one hundred and twenty mil-

\* The historian adds the following note to this passage :

"M. de la Bastie has evidently proved, that Augustus and his successors exercised in person all the sacred functions of pontifex maximus, or high priest, of the Roman empire."

lions of people, should aspire to a prerogative as high and distinctive as imagination and ambition could well devise.

The deification of the emperors therefore consolidated and strengthened the cause of polytheism for at least two centuries, as it gave that theory a central and most efficient organization under an absolute government, whose emperors, from that moment, had every official and personal interest in sustaining a theory so flattering to their position and to themselves. And so long as the imperial government was well conducted as to the *general* interests of the empire, which, as said by Tacitus, had “attained the utmost verge of prosperity,” so long the Roman people would approve and even applaud the religious as well as political pretensions of the rulers, in whose sole hands were practically placed all the possible powers of civil and religious governments.

Trajan became emperor at the age of forty, when his mental and physical powers had been fully developed, but were yet in their prime, and when his reputation had become national. It then became necessary, in an enlightened and orderly despotism, to adopt some general rule, so far as practicable, in regard to a growing and formidable antagonistic theory of religion, whose followers obstinately refused to acknowledge his lofty ecclesiastical pretensions. The rule he adopted, upon the advice of the able and learned Pliuy, was most efficient and peculiar. It was well adapted to accomplish the *sole* object in view—the *suppression of Christianity*.

Although the provincial magistrates were sometimes cruel and prejudiced, and, as Gibbon says, were generally inclined to gratify the vehement multitude by the sacrifice of a few obnoxious victims, yet such was the *peculiar* character of the proceedings under this most *extraordinary* rule that there was little opportunity left for the abuse of their powers, except in the bearing of the judge, his use of torture, and in fixing the mode in which the penalty of death should be inflicted. In the cases of Polycarp, Justin Martyr, and the martyrs of Lyons and Vienne the proconsuls were unnecessarily insulting and cruel. The proceedings under this strange rule were exceedingly forcible and remarkably simple. There were no witnesses introduced and no documentary evidence required, as the nature of the rule dispensed with all proof, except that simple testimony which the accused alone could give. When brought before the judge the accused was asked if he was a Christian. If he denied that he was, he was promptly required to prove the truth of his statement by sacrificing to the national gods and cursing Christ; if he complied he was at once dismissed, as Gibbon says, in *safety* and with *applause*. But if the prisoner confessed that he was then a Christian he was first persuaded, then entreated, and then threatened; and if he still remained firm he was finally consigned to legal infamy, tortures, and death. In



either case the religion of Christ was suppressed, so far as the particular case was concerned. If he had been a Christian and denied that he then was such, that moment he ceased to be a Christian and the policy of suppression was carried out successfully. If, on the contrary, the accused remained firm he was executed, and his religion so far suppressed.

The means of suppression under the rule of Trajan, as practically carried out, were about as terrible and efficient as the most calm, cool, indefatigable, and profound human intellect could desire. The innocent victims, in the custody of officers, were ushered into a large and magnificent hall of justice, thronged with masses of fanatical enemies of their religion, and brought before the dignified judge upon the bench, attended by his subordinates in their official costumes and his guard of disciplined soldiers in their military dress and with their weapons in hand; and in sight of the prisoners were displayed the horrid instruments of torture. It is almost impossible to conceive of any spectacle better calculated to subdue the most abiding faith. Then, in addition to the visible terrors of the situation, the learned and eloquent magistrate, as Gibbon says, as we have seen (page 353), varying his tone according to the age, sex, and condition of the prisoners, set before their eyes every circumstance which could render life more pleasing or death more terrible, and entreated them to yield; and when these measures failed to shake their constancy, threatenings, scourgings, the rack, and every art of cruelty were employed to subdue such inflexible obstinacy.

It is true that these regular and solemn judicial proceedings mainly protected the accused from the tumultuous and sudden acts of the mob; but while they gave protection in this respect, they subjected the Christians, upon the whole, to greater terrors, more severe trials, and to more certain and prolonged suffering. When once before the court it was simply apostasy or death. The vengeance of a senseless and infuriated mob is generally speedy, and at least spares the reputation of the victim. But under the law of the empire the Christians were not only subject to about all the mental and physical ills that human ingenuity can inflict, but they were regularly and solemnly tried, convicted, condemned, and punished, after a full judicial trial, as *criminals* guilty of treason against their country.

The provincial magistrates were but subordinate judicial officers, constituting no part of the legislative power, which was alone *practically* vested in the emperor; and they were, therefore, either compelled to execute—as they had no right to modify—the law as they found it already enacted by their superior, or to resign their positions, provided the absolute emperor would have permitted them to do so. The more orderly, solemn, and dignified were the proceedings before the proconsuls, the worse for the innocent victims, as the

sure tendency of such a proper mode of administering criminal justice is to apparently mitigate or altogether conceal the real injustice of the law itself. The great mass of the people, witnessing this orderly, solemn, and dignified mode of proceeding, and not themselves suffering under the unjust law, would very naturally conclude that the apparent criminals merited all they suffered.

The main injustice was found in the law itself, and was committed by the emperors, who *practically* possessed and exercised the supreme legislative power of the empire. And as the orderly, regular, and dignified administration of criminal justice but increased the hardships of the Christians, so the wisdom and justice of the general administration of an emperor, and *especially of several in immediate succession*, but rendered their condition the more miserable. Even in private life, where a man of a well-established reputation for justice commits an act of injustice against a single individual, the community is almost certain to conclude that the injured party is in the wrong. The single sufferer has no companions in misfortune, and no one to feel or speak for him; and, unless in a plain case, he must bear the blame, though he be the injured party. So the tyranny of those emperors whose *general* administrations were distinguished for wisdom and justice, but who reserved *all* their injustice for a *single* class of their subjects, was the more excruciating and bitter to the *sole* victims of their cruelty. It is one of the most painful reflections that we are the sole, solitary victims of the injustice of our country. We see around us millions of our fellows enjoying all the manifold blessings of good government, while we alone are doomed to suffer the most inexorable oppression. It is not at all surprising, as Gibbon says, that the apologies addressed to the successors of Trajan were filled with the most pathetic complaints that the Christians were alone, among all the subjects of the Roman Empire, excluded from the common benefits of their auspicious government.

This was substantially the condition of the Christians under Trajan, Hadrian, and the two Antonines, whose united reigns lasted for eighty-two years. During this long period—more than two generations of men—and when the empire was generally at peace and in the highest state of worldly prosperity, the Christians were the only class that felt the steady iron grasp of imperial tyranny. The persecutions under Nero were inflicted by a general, not a special, tyrant, and were not (at least in the opinion of the Roman people themselves) confined to the Christians, but embraced the people of the city; and, for that good reason, the Christians had companions in suffering, who could feel and speak for them and commiserate their condition. The persecutions under Domitian—which were many, according to the account of the martyrdom of Ignatius—were mainly of the character of those under Nero. They were the

cruelties of a general tyrant, and extended to others as well as to Christians.

But under the four able emperors who reigned in *succession* during the most exalted period of the empire, while peace and prosperity generally prevailed, and the rulers, therefore, had ample time and leisure to give their main attention to its internal administration, and practically, if possible, to carry out their fixed policy of extermination against Christianity, the Christians were the *only* class excluded from the common justice of their country. And the more admirable was the character of these emperors for the wisdom and justice of their *general* administration, so much the worse for the innocent and solitary objects of their injustice and oppression. The other subjects of the empire, knowing that *they* received every protection from the laws—which were so framed as not to oppress them in any form whatever—would very naturally conclude that their emperors, *generally* so wise and just, would hardly be guilty of any injustice against the Christians, and that this calumniated and despised class—the *only complainers* in the nation—merited all the punishments they suffered. The Christians were thus compelled to tread the wine-press of injustice *alone*, without sympathy or pity.

But the rule of Trajan, simple and generally efficient as it really was, yet failed to prevent the progress of the new religion. It was deficient in one or two respects, which deficiency was supplied by the acuteness of Marcus Aurelius. The rule of Trajan left the property of the Christians untouched and did not encourage prosecutions, but commanded that the Christians should not be sought for, and thus left accusations against them to be made by individual pagans, who would be impelled by various motives to accuse the Christians. As we have seen, a decree was issued during the reign of Marcus passing the property of the Christians, when convicted and punished, into the hands of informers. This decree being general in its terms in that respect, any profligate relative might become an accuser, and thus obtain the property of his Christian kinsman.

This amendment of the rule made it as ruthless as possible. The rule of Trajan subjected the Christians to the private malice and honest zeal of the pagans; but the amended rule subjected them, in *addition*, to the calm, steady, and insatiable passion of avarice. Every avaricious pagan could say to himself: “Under this amended rule *all* the property of the Christians must soon be distributed—such a result is inevitable—and I might as well take my share as early as possible before the fund shall be exhausted; as by doing so I will not be, in fact, increasing their sufferings, because the same result will follow without my act.” Such practical arguments would have great force with an avaricious disposition and a flexible conscience. We have

seen from the remarks of Dr. Uhlhorn what the result was under the amended rule.

The eminent character of Marcus Aurelius for general official wisdom and justice, and for *personal* virtue, made his merciless injustice to the Christians only the more conspicuous and intolerable. "During the whole course of his reign," as Gibbon says, "Marcus despised the Christians as a philosopher, and punished them as a sovereign." It is evident that this philosophic hatred of the Christians was a fit preparation for the injustice inflicted upon them as a sovereign. Hatred—whether philosophic or otherwise—of any particular class of subjects, when indulged by a despotic ruler, utterly unfits him for an impartial and just exercise of his powers towards the despised class. And it was during the *whole* course of his reign that he despised the Christians as a philosopher and punished them as a sovereign.

The mills of a great despotism not only grind *early*, but they grind exceedingly *fine*. The fell machinery of such a government, under the guidance of an able man, moves with the energy, the celerity, and the precision of a single will. There being no divided counsels, one uniform system can be adopted, as formidable, perfect, and effective as time and talents can possibly suggest and devise. And these talents are incessantly incited to energetic activity by pride, ambition, the love of power, and that consequent sleepless jealousy necessarily incident to all forms of absolute government. As Celsus, the early Roman writer against Christianity, is generally considered to have been substantially the originator of all the main objections urged against it since that day, so the Roman emperors were substantially the inventors of all the modes of persecution possible.

When we consider in *one* view all the terrible and prolonged trials to which the early Christians were subjected, it is most difficult, if not impossible, to imagine any test more severe than that which they *actually* endured. Even when there was a temporary or partial suspension of these pitiless proceedings the poor and helpless Christians were in perpetual dread of impending torture and death, not knowing how soon they would recur again with renewed vigor, like a more destructive storm following a lull. They knew that the fearful and searching process of torture would be used to its utmost extent upon their friends, their slaves and acquaintances, to force them to reveal the places of their retreats and to make false accusations of horrible secret crimes against them. As we have seen in the case of the great martyr Polycarp, his place of retreat was revealed by a youth under the pains of torture, and, in other cases, poor slaves were so tormented as to force them to make false accusations of crime against their masters.

To all these terrors and bitter afflictions the helpless Christians

opposed their abiding faith, their innocent lives, and their invincible patience. They unresistingly submitted to every infliction. They were guilty of no crimes, made no acts of reprisal or revenge, entered into no conspiracies, and still remained in the empire. And as the ordeal through which they passed was as severe as we can well imagine, so their conduct was generally as blameless as the most exacting opponent could demand. On one side it was the utmost tyranny, on the other the greatest virtue.

Now, if we take the theory of Christianity to be true, for the sake of the argument only, then would not just such a state of things have been the reasonable result? What more heroic and sublime virtue could mortal men have exhibited than that which was clearly shown by the early Christians? The great apostles Peter and Paul voluntarily suffered death at Rome in attestation of the facts they had witnessed and of the doctrines they had preached. They professed to have seen Christ, to have witnessed His miracles (especially Peter, who was with Him from the beginning), had heard His discourses, and received directly from Him the theory of religion they taught; and both voluntarily died attesting what they alleged to be true of their own personal knowledge. So did James at Jerusalem. What grandeur of soul, what sublimity of faith, the martyr Ignatius displayed when he intrepidly faced the greatest and grandest emperor then in the world, "in all his noon of fame" and power, and, in language at once respectful yet firm and plain, said to him: *Thou art in error. There is but one God*—saying in plain effect to Trajan: "You are not now a god, and never can be." It was perfectly natural that the emperor, with his mistaken views, his pride and ambition, should have been harsh and sarcastic on that occasion. The account bears upon its face the sure evidence of truth. So do the epistles of the martyr. They not only show his great ability, but they bear the evidences of their having been written at an early period in the history of Christianity; and they also exhibit that unfaltering faith, that fervent piety, and that glowing zeal that a disciple of the apostles would naturally display. In the authentic epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians, written about A.D. 150, the distinguished martyr refers to Ignatius and to his epistles as follows:

I exhort you all, therefore, to yield obedience to the word of righteousness, and to exercise all patience, such as ye have seen [set] before your eyes, not only in the case of the blessed Ignatius, and Zosimus, and Rufus, but also in others among yourselves, and in Paul himself, and the rest of the apostles. [This do] in the assurance that all these have not run in vain, but in faith and righteousness, and that they are [now] in their due place in the presence of the Lord, with whom also they suffered. For they loved not this present world, but Him who died for us, and for our sakes was raised again by God from the dead.

The epistles of Ignatius written by him to us, and all the rest [of his epistles]

which we have by us, we have sent to you, as you have requested (c. ix. and xiii. R. and D.)

The writer in the beginning of the last extract speaks of the two epistles of Ignatius, one to Polycarp himself and the other to the church at Smyrna.

It will be seen that Polycarp bears testimony to the martyrdom of the rest of the apostles besides Paul; for such I take his meaning to be where he says that *all* these suffered with Christ, who *died* for us.

From the account of the martyrdom of Polycarp, he was not so respectful in his language towards the proconsul Quadratus as Ignatius had been to the emperor. The proconsul was not only subordinate in position but inferior in personal character to Trajan, and did not merit the same consideration. This is an undesigned coincidence, which, taken in connection with other evidences apparent upon its face, shows the account to be true.

The same grandeur of soul, sublimity of faith, and intrepid courage were displayed by the noble Polycarp as by Ignatius. They were fit companions in their heroic martyrdoms, as they had been in their holy lives. The epistle of Polycarp bears evidence of its integrity and antiquity. It is full of the most unwavering faith, ardent piety, and the most fervent charity, and proves the eminent ability of the writer. The epistle of Clement also proves his ability and sincerity, and that it was written at an early day in the history of Christianity. The same may be said of the epistle to Diognetus. We know not the name of the great author, but he seems to have infused his own pure soul into his production, and thus to have written his own history. This remarkable letter is proof of the commanding ability, the purity and elevation of mind, the calm and sweet dignity, and the entire sincerity of the writer. It bears upon its face the evidences of its early date.

Ignatius, Polycarp, Clement, and the author of the letter to Diognetus were all men of distinguished ability, of eminent character, and at least three of them occupied high positions in the Church. They were representative men, and were all disciples of the apostles. They possessed the requisite ability to fully investigate the facts upon which Christianity assumed to rest, and had the most ample opportunity of doing so. They were surely *interested* in making the most careful and impartial examination into these alleged facts, as a mistake upon that point would have been ruin to them in this world, and could bring them no reward in the next. Everything dear to them was staked upon the result. If ever men, in any place or at any time, were in a position requiring the utmost caution, they occupied that situation. We cannot imagine a case where greater circumspection could be required. And the means of finding out the truth were

at hand. They had access to the original sources of evidence, including some of the apostles, who claimed to have been chosen by Christ Himself, to have been with Him during His public ministry as selected witnesses, to have seen His miracles, to have heard His discourses, to have witnessed His death, to have seen Him repeatedly after His resurrection, to have received the religion they taught directly from Him with a clear and peremptory command to teach the same to all nations, and had themselves performed many miracles. Surely sensible men, in such a situation and under such circumstances, would have made the most searching and thorough investigation into all the main grounds upon which this new and extraordinary theory of religion assumed to be founded, and would never have embraced it unless the proof was of the most conclusive character. *Their* belief of Christianity, under such circumstances, is one of the strongest evidences, to us of this day, of its divine origin.

But these eminent men, as well as others, had not only the miracles of the apostles as proof, but they had the testimony of other miracles from other sources in their own day and after the deaths of all the apostles. All Catholic writers insist that miracles continued beyond the days of the apostles, that they have occurred at intervals in all ages since, and will continue to the end of time, not so frequently as in the times of the apostles and their immediate successors, but so often as God, in His wisdom, may deem them proper to illustrate and confirm His revelation, and for any other purpose pleasing to Him. Many Protestant writers contend that miracles ceased with the apostles, while others admit that they continued later. Thus Dr. Uhlhorn says :

Witnesses who are above suspicion leave no room for doubt that the miraculous powers of the Apostolic age continued to operate at least into the third century (*Conflict*, p. 169).

The fact of the *peaceful* yet *successful* propagation of Christianity, under all the circumstances, is a strong evidence of its entire truth. No other reasonable explanation can be given for its success. Without being true it never could have peacefully conquered as it did. That its followers were sustained and aided by the special grace of God I have no doubt.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### EXTERNAL EVIDENCE.

THE prevalence of some form of religion among all considerable nations and tribes of men during all historic ages is proof that man is by nature a religious being. He is perfectly certain that he did not create himself, and he is, therefore, led to believe himself to be the production of some greater Mind ; and he instinctively or logically perceives that the relation which must necessarily exist between the creating and the created intelligence entitles the Creator to the obedience and adoration of the creature. Any theory of religion proposed to him which embraces this fundamental truth will necessarily attract his attention, appeal to his interest, excite his curiosity, and lead to investigation.)

Every theory of religion must of necessity designate the basis upon which it assumes to rest, and refer to the evidences of the alleged truth of its pretensions. When a religion is proposed to me I should at once inquire . "What is the basis upon which your theory professes to be founded, and upon what evidence does it claim to rely to sustain its pretensions ?" Such questions must be asked by all men, whether learned or unlearned. They are the incidents of intellect—the natural result of mind.

If the theory proposed assumes to be *solely* the result of a process of rational deduction, or to be based upon *secret* miracles or other *obscure* evidence, it does not *itself* give any plain, clear, and conclusive means of contradiction. Its standard of comparison is not certain. But if there be no other theory accessible the human mind is either compelled to embrace the theory proposed or to fall back upon the cold, negative blank of no religion at all. If, however, several theories be proposed the choice must lie between the best offered and the rejection of all. And in the absence of the *true* religion the human mind will naturally accept that theory which is esteemed the best, because any theory of religion containing the great fundamental principle of man's due dependence upon his Creator is better than blank infidelity, however specious.

But if a new theory of religion be proposed which claims to be based upon visible miracles or upon any other simple basis, and refers to plain evidence to sustain the facts alleged, the natural law of common sense will induce all to carefully compare the theory proposed with the standard of proof it has erected ; because the *special*



means of proof or confutation are plainly designated by the *theory itself*, which must, for that reason, stand or fall by its own selected basis and evidence. A true theory could not propose anything more reasonable to establish or confute its claims than to assume a simple basis and refer to plain, competent, and sufficient evidence to sustain that foundation. This is the best that any theory can *possibly* do.

The human mind naturally loves *consistency*. It is very properly called "a jewel" because of its logical value as a test of truth and the just love of mankind for it. This love of consistency is manifested even in childhood; for if the conduct of the parent be inconsistent with the advice given the child, or with the sentiments expressed in its hearing by him, his inconsistency will surely be detected by his offspring. And the more plain and potent the nature of the evidence referred to in order to sustain the alleged truth of a religious theory, the more rigid and thorough will be the examination into such proofs, and especially where miracles—those wonderful and surprising events—are given as the main, primary evidence of the truth of such a theory. And unless the evidence referred to will bear the closest investigation the inquirer will naturally turn away in disgust and seek truth elsewhere, as he will be certain, by such means, to detect the fraud and attempted imposition. The natural curiosity of the human mind would prompt the inquirer to make the most careful and searching examination when numerous, recent, and palpable miracles are proposed as the main, primary evidences of the truth of the new theory. And this would more especially be the case where the theory proposed was not only a *radically* new one, but utterly inconsistent with, and inflexibly opposed to, all the long-established modes of worship under a mighty despotism, and when to embrace the new religion would subject the inquirer to the severest persecutions.

The bare success of any religion, without a due regard to its basis and its evidences, the means used to advance it, and all the circumstances attending this success, is no evidence of its entire truth. All religions have prevailed to a greater or less extent; while it is clear that they assume to rest upon different grounds, appeal to different classes of proof, were propagated by different means and under different circumstances. We must, therefore, carefully consider all the attendant conditions and circumstances of the *particular* theory under consideration, if we desire to arrive at a just conclusion.

The case is well stated by Dr. Paley in his *Evidences of Christianity*, in part, as follows :

The success of a religion founded upon a miraculous history, shows the credit which was given to the history; and this credit, under the circumstances in which it was given, *i.e.*, by persons capable of knowing the truth, and interested to inquire after it, is evidence of the reality of the history, and by consequence, of the

truth of the religion. . . . But it will be said, if one religion could make its way without miracles, why might not another? To which I reply, first, that this is not the question; the proper question is not, whether a religious institution could be set up without miracles, but whether a religion or a change of religion, founding itself in miracles, could succeed without any reality to rest upon! I apprehend these two cases to be very different. . . . One would imagine to hear some men talk, or to read some books, that the setting up of a religion by dint of miraculous pretences, was a thing of every day's experience; whereas, I believe, that, except the Jewish and Christian religion, there is no tolerably well-authenticated account of any such thing having been accomplished.

If we assume the truth of Christianity, for the sake of the argument only, we can then consider what would have been the reasonable and probable course of its Author.

It is alleged that Christ appeared in a certain age and place, claiming to be a Lawgiver in virtue of His own right as the Son of God. While His code, from His divine nature and the perfect ends aimed at, would differ, in *some* respects, from all *other* codes of law intended for the government of *men* (otherwise the codes would be the same), it must have agreed in all those fundamental principles which are necessary to constitute all law for the government of mankind. And as the law of Christ was intended to govern men, it was proper that the Lawgiver should prescribe His law in human language.

As the law of Christ was intended to *govern* men in *this world*, and as men are by nature social beings, the code would be adapted to the government of men in a state of society; and this being so, an organization of those who professed to obey His law would necessarily follow, as there must, in the nature of the case, be a separation between the two classes of the obedient and disobedient. In other words, Christ would have constituted an association or perpetual corporation of His followers, called The Church. And if He created a visible and perpetual association of men to secure the union of His servants and the united and successful establishment and perpetuation of His system, He must have given to such Church all the essential requisites that enter into and constitute all associations of men and render them practically efficient to accomplish the purposes intended.

In all governments intended for men there must of necessity exist three separate departments, the legislative, judicial, and executive. No one of these can exist without the other. They may all be vested in the same person, or, by delegation, in different persons; but they must, in all cases, be exercised at *different* times, one *after* the other. The legislative *first* acts by prescribing, in human language, what the law *shall be in the future*; the judicial declares and applies the law, as *previously* enacted, to cases as they *afterwards* arise from age to age, and the executive executes the law. The legislative is the

*creative* and, therefore, the greatest power in government ; but the others are equally essential to its practical and successful operation.

While Christ remained on earth He could well exercise the main portions of the legislative power ; but as to the judicial and executive powers, which must act *later* and from time to time as occasion might demand, they were necessarily either delegated to His Church to act for Him, or He must remain and exercise them Himself, *so often as required*. And as *all* these powers are *equally* essential to successful government ; and as the law of Christ assumed to be perfect and perpetual, because the Lawgiver claimed to be infallible ; and as the ends aimed at were great and transcendently important, so the judicial and executive powers must necessarily be guided by the same unerring capacity that enacted the perfect law itself. The complete perfection of the whole theory of a divine Lawgiver must require that *all* the powers of government should be guided by the same wisdom in regard to all essential matters. For if we assume that the legislative power was in fact exercised by infallible capacity, but that the judicial and executive functions were left to be guided only by the judgment of fallible men, then we clearly and logically concede that Christ was unable to create an infallible Church as His teaching and executive agent. If it were claimed that Christ enacted a perfect and permanent law, and then committed its exposition to incompetent agents, thus defeating the very purpose intended by the divine Lawgiver, then there would be so plain and palpable a contradiction between these two positions as to confute the first one, that He was, in fact, an infallible Lawgiver ; for the only good and logical reason that could be given for this failure to provide competent agents to practically carry out His will would be that, like any other mere man, He was fallible Himself.

It must be clear to all persons well versed in the practical exposition and administration of law that the difficulty of properly exercising the legislative and judicial powers is substantially equal, and must be so in the very nature of the case. This difficulty of exercising the judicial power necessarily results from the changeable and imperfect nature of human language, from the fallible intellect of the parties under government, from the multiplicity and unavoidable complexity of human affairs, and from the numerous and perplexing *new* questions that must continually arise during the long and varied course of ages.

It would, then, seem plainly reasonable that an infallible Lawgiver would either remain on earth to *visibly* exercise the judicial and executive functions of His government, or He would create an infallible Church as His agent, whose teachings would be the same as His own. For it must be obvious that He would organize an association of His followers, and that such an institution must be great and beneficial,

and consequently so endowed and guided as to practically accomplish the mighty purposes of His divine government. And having created such a Church, He would properly commit His law to it for safe-keeping and practical administration, and not leave His code to take its chances of preservation among men, like the theories and speculations of mere philosophers, which have not the positive sanction of laws.

The Church, when organized, like all other associations of men would be a competent and credible witness of all facts known to it. (As I said upon a former occasion :)

Who keeps the records of a nation but the government of that nation? To whom will you apply for correct copies of our Constitution, but to our own government? Would you seek them among the enemies of the country? And when you want authentic copies of the decisions of the Supreme Court, will you apply to strangers, or to the clerk who keeps the records of the Court? And if you wish to get at the true decision of a Court, will you not go to its own records, kept by itself? And why can we trust the Courts, not only to keep their own records, but to certify that they are true, and have been faithfully kept?

The reason why all associated bodies of men, as well as all courts and legislative bodies, must be trusted, is because they have the knowledge of the facts—have no interest to distort them, for they are presumed to act conscientiously, and are composed of so many different individuals cognizant of the same facts, and belonging to the same body, that there is a security against mistake and fraud not always found in the case of single persons. Until all the members of such an association (knowing the facts) can be either corrupted or deceived, a falsehood cannot be put upon the record and kept there. We are compelled to place confidence somewhere; and if we cannot trust associated bodies of men, public tribunals, and legislative bodies, to keep their own records, and prove their genuineness, whom can we trust? . . . And until some wise person shall suggest better evidence, we must follow the sensible rule of law, and take the best the case allows.

And so it is with the Church. Christ committed His law to her. He would *hardly* have committed it to His enemies, to aliens, and strangers. This would have been a very idle act. The law, then, being committed to the Church, to whom can we apply for correct copies of the law but to her? She has the custody—she knows the facts. Shall we go to the enemies of the Church for authentic copies of a law they always hated and opposed? Shall we ask them to prove facts of which they know nothing, and whose existence they deny? Who can be a credible and able witness of the facts but the party who knows them?

And if we can trust civil governments, legislative bodies, and judicial tribunals, why can we not trust the Institution of Christ? Did He do His work so badly that His Church is the poorest and most unreliable of all institutions? (*The Path*, pp. 331-3).

Such, we might reasonably anticipate, would be the features of an institution created by an infallible Lawgiver to act as His agent in the spread and perpetuation of His system. And when we pass from anticipation to the reality I think we shall find the reality sustained by competent and sufficient evidence.

It is certain that Christianity and the Church now exist in the world, and, therefore, must have had a beginning. It is clear that

Christ lived in Judea, and was crucified under Pontius Pilate some eighteen hundred and ~~th~~<sup>six</sup>ty years ago; that the Christian theory was originated by, and took its name from, Him; that He chose twelve apostles to be with Him as witnesses of His public ministry, and that He commissioned eleven of them as the first teachers of His religion after His departure. It is also reasonably certain that these eleven apostles, together with Paul (who was called later), did preach the religion established by Christ, and suffered martyrdom in attestation of the testimony they gave and the doctrines they taught.

When we come to trace back the history of this religion to its source we find a Church not only in existence at an early day, and practically exercising the proper functions of such an organization, but *claiming* to be the infallible institution of Christ, the divine Lawgiver. This claim was perfectly consistent with the character assumed by the Founder of the institution. And if this Church did possess the guidance of a divine Lawgiver in all essential matters relating to her mission as His agent, then whatever testimony she did give must have been true.

But I will at present assume, for the sake of the argument only, that the Church was then but an institution like that of civil governments, judicial tribunals, and other deliberative bodies among men, and, therefore, possessed no *actual* but only judicial infallibility; still, she was a competent witness of plain, visible facts, such as could be known with certainty by any sensible man. She was competent, without inspiration, to state facts she witnessed and relate discourses she heard. The alleged miracles of the apostles were plain, visible, and palpable acts, and their discourses were delivered in human language, and *both* could be known to, and perpetuated with *substantial* accuracy by, a competent and honest but uninspired institution. The integrity of the overwhelming majority of the early Christians was insured by the dangerous risks they incurred, by the perils they were compelled *continually* to encounter, and by the persecutions *always* in prospect for *all*, and often suffered by *many*. Under the extreme conditions then existing we have the severest tests of sincerity that can well be imagined. Statements made under such circumstances are justly entitled to the highest degree of human credibility.

The Church, then, regarded as a merely fallible association of sincere, earnest, sane men, was competent to know the visible facts occurring within her own jurisdiction and among her own members. She could state with substantial accuracy the facts (assuming them to be such at present for the sake of the argument only) that her organization was completed on the day of Pentecost; that the miracle of cloven tongues of fire, and that of speaking in unknown languages, actually occurred on that day; that eleven men, professing to be chosen witnesses and commissioned teachers by Christ Himself, were

her first principal officers ; that they stated as matters of fact that Christ performed various and many miracles in their sight, and delivered many discourses in their hearing ; that these assumed witnesses and teachers deposited with her a statement of the facts they saw and of the discourses they heard ; that these same eleven men performed many evident miracles while they were acting as her officers, and thus established their veracity as witnesses and their commission and competency as inspired teachers beyond all reasonable doubt ; that they committed to her for preservation and practical administration all their testimony as to the alleged facts they witnessed and the system of religion they received from Christ, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, died, was buried, and rose again to their certain *personal* knowledge ; and that these eleven men sealed their testimony and their ministry with their voluntary deaths.

If, then, we examine into the historical fact of the existence of a visible association of men called the Church, we shall find such an institution in being at an early day, *claiming* to be the Church created by Christ as His infallible agent. We shall also find this Church claiming to know all the facts I have just insisted even a fallible institution would be competent to prove. In *addition* we shall find this Church claiming to have received from the apostles certain visible sacraments, which they alleged were instituted by Christ Himself as permanent ordinances to be by her *visibly* administered from the *beginning* to the *end* of her existence ; and that the code left by Him was unchangeable in all those essential features which *assumed* to be permanent. We shall also find that this Church claimed to be permanent in all the essential elements of her being until the end of time. )

Many of the extracts already made from the ancient Fathers will be found to be predicated upon the basis of the foregoing positions. In other words, what they say assumes the pre-existence of the state of facts I have mentioned. I will only refer, in this place, to a few additional authorities, but will, in due time, notice others under another portion of my subject :

Our Lord Jesus Christ, the Sceptre of the majesty of God, did not come in the pomp of pride or arrogance, although He might have done so, but in a lowly condition, as the Holy Spirit had declared regarding Him (1 *Ep. of Clement*, c. xvi. R. and D.)

Let us reverence the Lord Jesus Christ, whose blood was given for us (*id.* c. xxi.)

Let us consider, beloved, how the Lord continually proves to us that there shall be a future resurrection, of which He has rendered the Lord Jesus Christ the first-fruits by raising Him from the dead (*id.* c. xxiv.)

For, as I said, this was no mere earthly invention which was delivered to them, nor is it a mere human system of opinion, which they judge it right to preserve so carefully, nor has a dispensation of mere human mysteries been committed to them, but truly God Himself, who is almighty, the Creator of all things, and invisible,

has sent from heaven, and placed among men, [Him who is] the truth, and the holy and incomprehensible Word, and has firmly established Him in their hearts. . . . As a king sends his son, who is also a king, so sent He Him; as God He sent Him; as to men He sent Him; as a Saviour He sent Him, and as seeking to persuade, not to compel us; for violence has no place in the character of God (*Letter to Diognetus*, c. vii. R. and D.)

He Himself took on Him the burden of our iniquities, He gave His own Son as a ransom for us, the holy One for transgressors, the blameless One for the wicked, the righteous One for the unrighteous, the incorruptible One for the corruptible, the immortal One for them that are mortal (*id.* c. ix.)

This is He who, being from everlasting, is to-day called the Son; through whom the church is enriched (*id.* c. xi.)

There is one Physician who is possessed both of flesh and spirit; both made and not made; God existing in flesh; true life in death; both of Mary and of God; first passible and then impassible,—even Jesus Christ our Lord (*Ignatius Ep. Eph.*, c. vii. R. and D.)

Ye are initiated into the mysteries of the gospel with Paul, the holy, the martyred, the deservedly most happy (*id.* c. xii.)

For this end did the Lord suffer the ointment to be poured upon His head, that He might breathe immortality into His church (*id.* c. xvii.)

God Himself being manifested in human form for the renewal of eternal life (*id.* c. xix.)

As therefore the Lord did nothing without the Father, being united to Him, neither by Himself nor by the apostles, so neither do ye any thing without the bishop and presbyters (*Ig. Ep. Mag.*, c. vii.)

I exhort you to study to do all things with a divine harmony, while your bishop presides in the place of God, and your presbyters in the place of the assembly of the apostles, along with your deacons, who are most dear to me, and are entrusted with the ministry of Jesus Christ (*id.* c. vi.)

Stop your ears, therefore, when any one speaks to you at variance with Jesus Christ, who was descended from David, and was also of Mary; who was truly born, and did eat and drink. He was truly persecuted under Pontius Pilate; He was truly crucified, and [truly] died, in the sight of beings in heaven, and on earth, and under the earth. He was also truly raised from the dead, His Father quickening Him, even as after the same manner His Father will so raise up us who believe in Him by Christ Jesus, apart from whom we do not possess the true life (*Ig. Ep. Trallians*, c. ix.)

And because the strong root of your faith, spoken of in days long gone by, endureth even until now, and bringeth forth fruit to our Lord Jesus Christ, who for our sins suffered even unto death, [but] “whom God raised from the dead, having loosed the bands of the grave” (*Ep. Polycarp to Philipppians*, c. i. R. and D.)

He has promised to us that He will raise us again from the dead. . . . Wherefore it is needful to abstain from all these things, being subject to the presbyters and deacons, as unto God and Christ (*id.* c. v.)

Wherefore, forsaking the vanity of many, and their false doctrines, let us return to the word which has been handed down to us from the beginning (*id.* c. vii.)

There being such proofs to look to, we ought not still to seek amongst others for truth which it is easy to receive from the Church, seeing that the Apostles most fully committed unto this Church, as unto a rich repository, all whatsoever is of truth, that every one that willet may draw out of it the drink of life (*Ireneus Adv. Hæres.*, l. iii. c. iv.)

The whole church has one and the same faith throughout the whole world, as we have explained above (*id.* l. i. c. x.)

The public teaching of the church is everywhere uniform, and equally enduring. . . . For this office of God has been entrusted to the church (*id.* l. iii. c. xxiv.)

But the pathway of those who are in the church, circles the whole universe, for it has a firm tradition from the apostles, and gives us to see that the faith is one and the same. . . . And, indeed, the public teaching of the church, in which one and the same way of salvation is shown throughout the whole world, is true and firm (*id.* l. v. c. xx.)

And this is a most complete demonstration, that the vivifying faith is one and the same, which, from the apostles even until now, has been preserved in the church, and transmitted in truthfulness (*id.* l. iii. c. iii.)

It will be readily seen that while the foregoing extracts do not contain all the particulars I have stated, they substantially sustain the state of facts mentioned. They show the character of the Church—her authority, her unity, her visibility, her permanency, her infallibility, her universality, and her succession from the apostles. They also show the great facts of the crucifixion, death, and resurrection of Christ, and the general doctrines of a future resurrection of men, and of redemption by the blood of Christ.

The theory of an infallible Church, claiming to be the creation of a divine Lawgiver, is entirely consistent with His assumed character; and such consistency is one strong evidence of truth. It is true that consistency may be found in theories of *pure* error, as in total darkness and in a uniform desert of sand; but in all such consistent theories of error there is not a particle of truth to compare by. They are substantially mere negations.

Now, conceding, for the sake of the argument only, that the Church was but a fallible institution composed of sincere, earnest, sane men, acting under the severest tests of truth, her testimony would still be good to prove plain, visible facts within her own knowledge, even if we had no early records of Christ and of His system. It is also clear that her testimony would be amply good to prove the authenticity of the records received and preserved by her; and where such records contain statements of facts within her own knowledge, she would be a most competent and reliable witness to prove the truth of such records themselves. In other words, she would be, like all corporations and associations of men, competent to prove all facts within her own knowledge, notwithstanding that such facts, when proved, related to herself and to her mission.

The Church, then, being a competent and reliable witness, has given us her testimony by her writers, and especially by her formal decrees of the Council of Nice, A.D. 325, as to the authenticity and truth of the several books of the New Testament. These books were composed by different authors (most of whom were apostles), at different times, under different circumstances, often for *special* pur-



poses and upon particular occasions ; and the *epistles* were generally addressed to different congregations, and sometimes to single individuals, and when writing was the *only* mode of instruction at hand. But *all* the books are predicated upon the *assumed* truth of Christianity and bear testimony to the leading facts of its history.

From all the circumstances attending the early propagation of Christianity, it seems most probable that the several books of the New Testament came into circulation very gradually. The art of printing being then unknown, each copy was the slow work of the penman, and for that reason but few copies could be made from the same original within a year. The perilous condition of the Church ; the danger of multiplying copies of records, the possession of which would increase the chances of detection and persecution ; the few laborers in proportion to the work to be done ; the fact that so many eye-witnesses of the miracles of Christ and His apostles were still living, from whom information could be had *verbally and safely*, and the fact that the whole deposit of faith and the history of Christ were left with the Church in a *verbal* form, and the law practically administered in that form for some years before the first gospel was written—all these considerations would naturally tend to prevent a rapid multiplication of copies and their general and free circulation.

But in due course of time it became necessary for the Church to determine which were the genuine and which the spurious books. As no genuine and valuable coin can escape counterfeits, so there were forged books early put in circulation purporting to be true. Several motives most probably caused the production of these false and fraudulent books. In some cases the writers were secret enemies of the new religion and sought to produce a state of confusion, and thus retard, if not entirely prevent, its success. In other cases the authors were ambitious or bribed heretics, who wrote new works or mutilated the genuine Scriptures to sustain their particular theories. But the most general and probable motive was that of avarice, as such books would readily sell to such heathens as were curious to learn something of the new religion from what was represented to be its own records.

When we come to examine the testimony of the Christian writers of the first two centuries of our era in support of the books of the New Testament, we should remember the circumstances under which those authors wrote, and make a fair allowance for the style peculiar to the age or to each writer.

The first document from which I will quote is the *First Epistle of Clement*, Bishop of Rome, already mentioned :

1. Being especially mindful of the words of the Lord Jesus which He spake teaching us meekness and long-suffering. For thus He spoke: "Be ye merciful, that ye may obtain mercy; forgive, that it may be forgiven to you; as ye do, so

shall it be done unto you; as ye judge, so shall ye be judged; as ye are kind, so shall kindness be shown to you; with what measure ye mete, with the same it shall be measured to you" (c. xiii. R. and D.; compare Matt. vi. 12-15, vii. 2; Luke vi. 36-38).

2. Let us be imitators also of those who in goat-skins and sheep-skins went about proclaiming the coming of Christ (c. xvii.; see Heb. xi. 37).

3. Let us reverence the Lord Jesus Christ, whose blood was given for us; let us esteem those who have the rule over us (c. xxi.; see Heb. xiii. 17; 1 Thess. v. 12, 13).

4. He who has commanded us not to lie, shall much more Himself not lie; for nothing is impossible with God, except to lie (c. xxvii.; see Titus i. 2; Heb. vi. 18).

5. For they that do such things are hateful to God; and not only they that do them, but also those that take pleasure in them that do them (c. xxxv.; see Rom. i. 32).

6. By Him the Lord has willed that we should taste of immortal knowledge, "who, being the brightness of His majesty, is by so much greater than the angels, as he hath by inheritance obtained a more excellent name than they" (c. xxxvi.; see Heb. i. 3, 4).

7. Have we not [all] one God and one Christ? Is there not one Spirit of grace poured out upon us? And have we not one calling in Christ? . . . and have reached such a height of madness as to forget that "we are members one of another" (c. xlvi.; see Eph. iv. 4-6; Rom. xii. 5).

8. Remember the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, how He said, "Woe to that man! [by whom offences come]. It were better for him that he had never been born, than that he should cast a stumbling-block before one of my elect. Yea, it were better for him that a millstone should be hung about [his neck], and he should be sunk in the depths of the sea, than that he should cast a stumbling-block before one of my little ones" (c. xlvi.; see Matt. xviii. 6, xxvi. 24; Mark ix. 42; Luke xvii. 2).

9. Take up the epistle of the blessed Apostle Paul. What did he write to you at the time when the gospel first began to be preached? Truly, under the inspiration of the Spirit, he wrote to you concerning himself, Cephas, and Apollos, because even then parties had been formed among you" (c. xlvi.; see 1 Cor. iii. 3-22).

10. Love covers a multitude of sins (c. xlix.; see James v. 20; 1 Peter iv. 8).

It must, I think, be conceded that these extracts clearly prove, *prima facie*, the existence of the writings alluded to by Clement at the time he wrote his first epistle. The allusions and quotations are far too numerous and special to be the result of an accidental agreement in sentiment and language. While the quotations and allusions are not literally exact in most cases, they are substantially correct. The practice of giving the substantial sense more than the literal words of the writer quoted or alluded to was the general custom of that age, especially of Christian writers, as we may see from the New Testament.\* And as there is no rebutting evidence to overcome the *prima facie* presumption that the writings alluded to, or quoted from, by

\*This method of quoting from memory would naturally exist when the art of printing was unknown and copies of works were few and difficult of access. In such a state of things the knowledge of the contents of a particular work would be generally acquired by hearing it read. Quoting from memory, and thus giving the substance rather than the exact words, would necessarily be the most usual practice under such circumstances.

Clement existed at the time he wrote, such presumption must stand as a proven conclusion.

I have numbered these extracts for convenience of reference.

The first extract proves the Gospel either of Matthew or that of Luke.

The second, third, fourth, and sixth, the epistle to the Hebrews.

The third, the first epistle to the Thessalonians.

The fourth, the epistle to Titus.

The fifth and seventh, the epistle to the Romans.

The seventh, the epistle to the Ephesians.

The eighth, the Gospel of Matthew, Mark, or Luke.

The ninth, the first epistle to the Corinthians.

The tenth, either the epistle of James or first of Peter.

The second Christian writer from whom I shall quote is the great but unknown author of the *Epistle to Diognetus* already referred to :

The Christians are in the flesh, but they do not live after the flesh (c. v. R. and D.; see 2 Cor. x. 3).

They pass their days on earth, but they are citizens of heaven (*id.*; see Phil. iii. 20).

They are put to death, and restored to life (*id.*; see 2 Cor. vi. 9).

They are poor, yet make many rich (*id.*; see 2 Cor. vi. 10).

They are reviled, and bless (*id.*; see 2 Cor. iv. 12).

They dwell in the world, yet are not of the world (*id.*; see John xvii. 11, 14, 16).

The flesh hates the soul, and wars against it (*id.*; see 1 Peter ii. 11; Gal. v. 17).

As long then as the former time endured, He permitted us to be borne along by unruly impulses, being drawn away by the desire of pleasure and various lusts (c. ix.; see Acts xvii. 30; Gal. iv. 4).

Having therefore convinced us in the former time that our nature was unable to attain to life, having now revealed the Saviour who is able to save even those things which it was [formerly] impossible to save, by both these facts He desired to lead us to trust in His kindness, to esteem Him our Nourisher, Father, Teacher, Counsellor, Healer, our Wisdom, Light, Honour, Glory, Power, and Life, so that we should not be anxious concerning clothing and food (c. ix.; see Matt. vi. 25).

Or, how will you love Him who has first so loved you? (c. x.; see John iv. 10, 1).

The apostle, perceiving the force [of this conjunction], and blaming the knowledge which, without true doctrine, is admitted to influence life, declares, "knowledge puffeth up, but love edifieth" (c. xii.; see 1 Cor. viii. 1).

It will be seen that this distinguished writer quotes from the first epistle to the Corinthians, thus expressly showing the existence of that work; and that, while he does not profess to make quotations from other books of the New Testament, he expresses such and so many similar sentiments, in language substantially the same as that used by those authors, as to raise a strong presumption that he must have been acquainted with the several epistles of second Corinthians,

Philippians, first of Peter, first of John, and Galatians, with Acts, and with the Gospels of Matthew and John. These books, thus quoted from or alluded to, make up the main portion of the New Testament.

The third ancient work from which I shall quote is the epistle of Barnabas, in regard to which I find the following note to *The Faith of Catholics*, ii. p. 114 :

The epistle quoted in the text is assigned to St. Barnabas by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.*, l. ii. c. vi. ; *ibid.* c. vii. *et passim*) ; by Origen (*Contra Cels.*, n. 63) and by others amongst the Fathers, though by some it is denied to be his production. It is now, almost universally, placed amongst the records of the first century, and as such it is cited here, without determining who may be its author. Mills assigns the year 70, Gallandus 73, as the date of its appearance.

Paley quotes it before he does the first epistle written by Clement, Bishop of Rome (*Ev. Chris.*, c. ix. sec. 1), and says it is "ascribed to Barnabas, the companion of Paul"; while the editors of the *Ante-Nicene Library* do not "hesitate for a moment in refusing to ascribe it to Barnabas the apostle." But whoever may have been its author, it is an ancient work well known in its day, and must have been written soon after the destruction of Jerusalem, as that event is mentioned in the sixteenth chapter.

1. Let us beware lest we be found [fulfilling that saying], as it is written, "Many are called, but few are chosen" (c. iv. R. and D.; see Matt. xx. 16 or xxii. 14.)

2. The prophets, having obtained grace from Him, prophesied concerning Him. . . . But when He chose His own apostles who were to preach His gospel, [He did so from among those] who were sinners above all sin, that He might show He came "not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance." Then He manifested Himself to be the Son of God (c. v. ; see Matt. ix. 13 ; Mark ii. 17 ; Luke v. 32).

3. Thou hast in this also [an indication of] the glory of Jesus ; for in Him and to Him are all things (c. xii. ; see Col. i. 16).

The editors of the *Ante-Nicene Library* say in a note, and in reference to the first of the three extracts :

It is worthy of notice that this is the first example in the writings of the Fathers of a citation from any book of the New Testament, preceded by the authoritative formula, "it is written."

This was the form in which the Jews quoted their scriptures.

It will be seen that the writer, in the first extract, expressly states "*it is written,*" and then gives an extract from the Gospel of Matthew, where *alone* the passage is found in two different chapters. This is a plain and conclusive statement that such quotation was taken from an existing writing ; and as it can *only* be found in Matthew, we must consider this as a clear proof of the then existence of his Gospel. So the express words found in the second extract, "not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance," being the same words found in Matthew, Mark, and Luke, raise the strong presumption that at

least one of these Gospels was then in being. The third extract indicates that the writer knew the epistle to the Colossians.

The fourth ancient work I shall quote is *The Pastor* of Hermas, in regard to which the editors of the *Ante-Nicene Library* say that it "was one of the most popular books, if not the most popular book of the Christian church during the second, third, and fourth centuries."

And the compilers of *The Faith of Catholics* (ii. 114, note 1) say :

St. Hermas is supposed to be named by St. Paul (Rom. xvi. 4). He was a Greek, as his writings show; but as we learn from his works (*Past.*, l. i. vis. i. c. i.), he principally lived in Italy, at Rome. The date of his death is uncertain; but we know that he was living towards the close of the first century. By some, however, the work in question has been thought to be by the brother of Pius I., bishop of Rome. Be this as it may, we find it quoted by Clement of Alexandria, and other writers of the second and third centuries, applauded by some, and condemned by others. The best critics assign the year 70 as the date of its publication.

Say the editors of the *Ante-Nicene Library* :

Whatever opinion critics may have in regard to the authorship, there can be but one opinion as to the date. *The Pastor* of Hermas must have been written at an early period. The fact that it was recognized by Irenæus as scripture shows that it must have been in circulation long before his time. The most probable date assigned to its composition is the reign of Hadrian, or of Antoninus Pius.

He removes the heavens and the mountains (vis. i. c. iii. R. and D; see 2 Peter iii. 5).

But the size of that beast was about a hundred feet, and it had a head like an urn (vis. iv. c. i.; see Rev. xi. 7, xii. 3, xiii. 1, xvii. 8).

Woe to those who hear these words, and despise them; better were it for them not to have been born (vis. iv. c. ii.; see Matt. xxvi. 24).

But if he put his wife away and marry another, he also commits adultery (*Commandment* 4, c. i.; see Matt. v. 32, xix. 9).

But to those who have the Lord only on their lips, but their hearts hardened, and who are far from the Lord, the commandments are hard and difficult (*Com.* 12, c. iv.; see Matt. xv. 8; John xii. 40; 2 Cor. iii. 14).

Give ear to me, then, and fear Him who has all power, both to save and to destroy (*id.* c. vi.; see Matt. x. 28; Luke xii. 5).

There are some of them rich, and others immersed in much business . . . so also it is hard for such to enter the kingdom of God (*Similitude* 9, c. xx.; see Matt. xix. 23, 24).

While this writer makes no express quotation from any book of the New Testament, he seems to have alluded to several of them, and especially to the Gospel of Matthew. It is true he may have verbally derived his information from the apostles. But, supposing this to be the case, the passages I have given would still show an important portion of the facts upon which the Christian theory rests, and thus sustain its truth.

The fifth ancient Christian writer whose testimony I shall notice is the illustrious Ignatius, martyr under Trajan, as already stated (pages 361-4) :

1. That so by martyrdom I may indeed become the disciple of Him "who gave Himself for us, an offering and sacrifice to God" (*Ep. Eph.*, c. i. R. and D.; see Paul to Eph. v. 2).

2. And Crocus . . . hath in all things refreshed me, as the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ shall also refresh him (*id.* c. ii.; see 1 Cor. xvi. 18, etc.)

3. It is therefore befitting that you should in every way glorify Jesus Christ, who hath glorified you, that by a unanimous obedience "ye may be perfectly joined together in the same mind, and in the same judgment, and may all speak the same thing concerning the same thing" (*id.* c. ii.; see 1 Cor. i. 10).

4. For if the prayer of one or two possesses such power, how much more that of the bishop and the whole church! (*id.* v.; see Matt. xviii. 19).

5. For we ought to receive every one whom the Master of the house sends to be over His household as we would do Him that sent him (*id.* c. vi.; see Matt. xxiv. 45).

6. With Paul, the holy . . . who in all his epistle makes mention of you in Christ Jesus (*id.* c. xii.; see Paul to Eph.)

7. For the beginning is faith, and the end is love (*id.* c. xiv.; see 1 Tim. i. 5).

8. The tree is made manifest by its fruit; so those that profess themselves to be Christians shall be recognized by their conduct (*id.* c. xiv.; see Matt. xii. 33).

9. Let us therefore do all things as those who have Him dwelling in us, that we may be His temples (*id.* c. xv.; see 1 Cor. vi. 19).

10. Do not err, my brethren. Those that corrupt families shall not inherit the kingdom of God (*id.* c. xvi.; see 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10).

11. Let my spirit be counted as nothing for the sake of the cross, which is a stumbling-block to those that do not believe, but to us salvation and life eternal. "Where is the wise man? where the disputer?" (*id.* c. xviii.; see 1 Cor. iv. 13, i. 18, 20).

12. Be not deceived with strange doctrines, nor with old fables, which are unprofitable (*Ep. Magnesians*, c. viii.; see 1 Tim. i. 4).

13. And therefore He whom they rightly waited for, being come, raised them from the dead (*id.* c. ix.; see Matt. xxvii. 52).

14. By Jesus Christ, who is our hope (*id.* c. xi.; see 1 Tim. i.)

15. Nothing visible is eternal. "For the things which are seen are temporal, but the things which are not seen are eternal" (*Ep. to Romans*, c. iii.; see 2 Cor. iv. 18).

16. For the Spirit knows both whence it comes and whither it goes, and detects the secrets [of the heart] (*Ep. Philadelphians*, c. vii.; see John iii. 8).

17. Keep your bodies as the temples of God (*id.* c. vii.; see 1 Cor. iii. 16, vi. 19).

18. He was truly of the seed of David according to the flesh, . . . was truly born of a virgin, was baptized by John, in order that all righteousness might be fulfilled by Him (*Ep. Smyrnæans*, c. i.; see Rom. i. 3; Matt. iii. 15).

19. When, for instance, He came to those who were with Peter, He said to them, "Lay hold, handle me, and see that I am not an incorporeal spirit" (*id.* c. iii.; see Luke xxiv. 39).

20. I undergo all things that I may suffer together with Him, He who became a perfect man inwardly strengthening me (*id.* c. iv.; see Rom. viii. 17; Phil. iv. 13).

21. If they believe not in the blood of Christ, they shall, in consequence, incur condemnation. "He that is able to receive it, let him receive it" (*id.* c. vi.; see Matt. xix. 12).

22. Give thyself to prayer without ceasing (*Ep. Polycarp*, c. i.; see 1 Thess. v. 17).

23. Be in all things "wise as a serpent, and harmless as a dove" (*id.* c. ii.; see Matt. x. 16).

24. In like manner also, exhort my brethren, in the name of Jesus Christ, that they love their wives, even as the Lord the church (*id.* c. v.; see Eph. v. 25).

25. Let all things be done to the honour of God (*id.* c. v.; see 1 Cor. x. 31).

When all these extracts are considered it will be seen at once that their agreements with certain books of the New Testament are far too numerous and precise to have been accidental. Besides, the martyr expressly mentions the epistle of Paul to the Ephesians (6). He also expressly quotes from Matthew (21, 23); from Luke (19); from Ephesians (1); from 1 Corinthians (3, 11); and from 2 Corinthians (15).

The martyr's quotations and allusions establish *prima facie* the existence of ten books as follows :

Extracts 1, 6, 24, Paul's epistle to the Ephesians.

Extracts 2, 3, 9, 10, 11, 17, 25, the epistle of first Corinthians.

Extracts 4, 5, 8, 13, 18, 21, 23, the Gospel of Matthew.

Extracts 7, 12, 14, the first Timothy.

Extract 15, the second Corinthians.

Extract 16, the Gospel of John.

Extract 19, the Gospel of Luke.

Extracts 18, 20, the epistle to Romans.

Extract 20, the epistle to Philippians.

Extract 22, the epistle first Thessalonians.

The sixth ancient work from which I will quote is the epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians. I have already given an account of his martyrdom (pages 369-71) :

The authenticity of the following epistle can on no fair grounds be questioned. It is abundantly established by external testimony, and is also supported by the internal evidence. Irenæus says (*Adv. Hæc.*, iii. 3): "There is extant an epistle of Polycarp written to the Philippians, most satisfactory, from which those that have a mind to do so may learn the character of his faith," etc. (*Introductory Notice* by eds. *Ante-Nicene Library*).

1. "In whom though now ye see Him not, ye believe, and believing, rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory" (c. i. R. and D.; see 1 Peter i. 8).

2. Knowing that "by grace ye are saved, not of works" (*id.*; see Eph. ii. 8, 9).

3. Wherefore, girding up your loins, "serve the Lord in fear" and truth, as those who have forsaken the vain, empty talk and error of the multitude, and "believed in Him who raised up our Lord Jesus Christ from the dead and gave Him glory," and a throne at His right hand. To Him all things in heaven and on earth are subject. Him every spirit serves. He comes as the Judge of the living and the dead. His blood will God require of those who do not believe in Him. But He who raised Him up from the dead will raise us up also, if we do His will, and walk in His commandments, and love what He loved, keeping ourselves from all unrighteousness, covetousness, love of money, evil-speaking, false-witness; "not rendering evil for evil, or railing for railing," or blow for blow, or cursing for cursing, but being mindful of what the Lord said in His teaching: "Judge not, that ye be not judged; forgive, and it shall be forgiven unto you; be merciful, that

ye may obtain mercy ; with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again ;" and once more, "Blessed are the poor, and those that are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of God" (c. ii. ; see 1 Peter i. 13, 21, iii. 9, 22, Phil. ii. 10 ; 1 Cor. vi. 14 ; 2 Cor. iv. 14 ; Acts xvii. 31 ; Rom. viii. 11 ; Matt. vi. 14, v. 3, 10, vii. 1, 2 ; Luke vi. 36, 38, 20).

4. "But the love of money is the root of all evils." Knowing, therefore, that "as we brought nothing into the world, so we can carry nothing out" (c. iv. ; see 1 Tim. vi. 7, 10).

5. Knowing, then, that "God is not mocked" we ought to walk worthy of His commandments and glory (c. v. ; see Gal. vi. 7).

6. For it is well that we should be cut off from the lusts that are in the world, since "every lust warreth against the spirit : " and "neither fornicators, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, shall inherit the kingdom of God," nor those who do things inconsistent and unbecoming (c. v. ; see 1 Peter ii. 11 ; 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10).

7. If then we entreat the Lord to forgive us, we ought also ourselves to forgive ; for we are before the eyes of our Lord and God, and "we must all appear at the judgment-seat of Christ, and must every one give an account of himself" (c. vi. ; see Matt. vi. 12-14 ; Rom. xiv. 10-12 ; 2 Cor. v. 10).

8. "For whosoever does not confess that Christ has come in the flesh, is anti-christ" (c. vii. ; see 1 John iv. 3).

9. Beseeching in our supplications the all-seeing God, "not to lead us into temptation," as the Lord has said : "The spirit truly is willing, but the flesh is weak" (*id.* ; Matt. vi. 13, xxvi. 41 ; Mark xiv. 38).

10. Which is Jesus Christ, "who bore our sins in His own body on the tree," "who did no sin, neither was guile found in His mouth," but endured all things for us, that we might live in Him (c. viii. ; see 1 Peter ii. 24 ; 1 John iv. 9).

11. But who of us are ignorant of the judgment of the Lord ? "Do we not know that the saints shall judge the world ?" as Paul teaches. But I have neither seen nor heard of any such thing among you in the midst of whom the blessed Paul laboured, and who are commended in the beginning of his epistle (c. xi. ; see 1 Thess. v. 22 ; 1 Cor. vi. 2 ; Phil. i. 5).

12. It is declared then in the Scriptures, "Be angry and sin not," and, "Let not the sun go down upon your wrath" (c. xii. ; see Ps. iv. 5 ; Eph. iv. 26).

These twelve extracts are most explicit. They prove (so far as the authentic testimony of a man so noted, sincere, and able can establish any historical fact) the existence of fifteen books of the New Testament as follows :

Extract 1, first Peter.

Extract 2, Ephesians.

Extract 3, first Peter, Ephesians, Philippians, Acts, Matthew, Luke, Romans, first and second Corinthians.

Extract 4, first Timothy.

Extract 5, Galatians.

Extract 6, first Peter, first Corinthians.

Extract 7, Matthew, Romans, second Corinthians.

Extracts 8, 10, first John.

Extract 9, Matthew, Mark.

Extract 10, first Peter.



Extract 11, first Thessalonians, Philippians, first Corinthians.

Extract 12, Ephesians.

The seventh ancient Christian writer I shall notice is Papias. The editors of the *Ante-Nicene Library* say:

The principal information in regard to Papias is given in the extracts made among the fragments from the works of Irenæus and Eusebius. He was bishop of the church in Hierapolis, a city of Phrygia, in the first half of the second century. Later writers affirm that he suffered martyrdom about A.D. 163; some saying that Rome, others that Pergamus, was the scene of his death.

He was a hearer of the Apostle John, and was on terms of intimate intercourse with many who had known the Lord and His apostles (*Introductory Notice*).

And that on this account the Lord said, "In my Father's house are many mansions" (c. v. R. and D.; see John xiv. 2).

And in due time the Son will yield up His work to the Father, even as it is said by the apostle, "For He must reign till He hath put all enemies under His feet. The last enemy that shall be destroyed is death." For in the times of the kingdom the just man who is on the earth shall forget to die. "But when He saith all things are put under Him, it is manifest that He is excepted which did put all things under Him. And when all things shall be subdued unto Him, then shall the Son also Himself be subject unto Him that put all things under Him, that God may be all in all" (c. v.; see 1 Cor. xv. 25-28).

And the presbyter said this. Mark having become the interpreter of Peter, wrote down accurately whatsoever he remembered. It was not, however, in exact order that he related the sayings or deeds of Christ. For he neither heard the Lord nor accompanied Him. But afterwards, as I said, he accompanied Peter, who accommodated his instructions to the necessities [of his hearers], but with no intention of giving a regular narrative of the Lord's sayings. Wherefore Mark made no mistake in thus writing some things as he remembered them. For of one thing he took especial care, not to omit anything he had heard, and not to put anything fictitious into the statements. "This," says Eusebius, "is what is related by Papias regarding Mark, but with regard to Matthew he has made the following statements: 'Matthew put together the oracles [of the Lord] in the Hebrew language, and each one interpreted them as best he could.' The same person uses proofs from the First Epistle of John and from the Epistle of Peter in like manner. And he also gives another story of a woman who was accused of many sins before the Lord, which is found in the Gospel according to the Hebrews" (c. vi.)

It will be seen that Papias makes a quotation from John, which *prima facie* establishes the existence of that book. He also makes one so full and peculiar that it must have been taken from the first Corinthians. He then gives us the particular circumstances under which Mark wrote his Gospel, and states that Matthew wrote his in the Hebrew language. These statements show that the fact of the existence of these Gospels was already well known, while the particulars which attended their composition were not generally so well understood. It was, therefore, the main purpose of Papias to state these particulars, because they were not so well known. Eusebius also says that Papias used proof from the first epistles of John and Peter, and refers to the case of a woman accused before Christ, which was most probably the woman taken in adultery (John viii. 1-11),

Eusebius being simply mistaken in his reference to Matthew instead of to John.

The works of these seven authors, though generally short, are *most important*, not only because of their antiquity, but also because these writers were *disciples* of the apostles themselves. These men had not only personal access to one or more of the apostles for verbal instruction, but five of them from their position as teachers, and four of them as bishops, had the most ample opportunity to become acquainted with most of the books of the New Testament. That five of them were men of fine ability is shown by their works; and the integrity of all was insured by the fact that they all incurred the dangerous risk of persecution, and three of them actually suffered martyrdom.

The twenty books to which one or more of these authors give their testimony include nearly all the larger and more important books of the New Testament, the only ones not noticed by them being the second Thessalonians, second Timothy, Philemon, the epistle of James, and the second and third of John, and that of Jude. These twenty books cover 304 pages of the New Testament, while those not noticed fill but 15 pages.

The eighth ancient Christian writer I shall notice is Justin Martyr. The compilers of *The Faith of Catholics* say of him (v. i. p. 125), in a note, that he was "a Platonic philosopher, born at Sichem (Naplousia) in Palestine, about the year 103: he became a convert to Christianity in 133. He wrote two *Apologies* for the Christian religion, one addressed to Antoninus, the other to Marcus Aurelius. He was martyred at Rome in the year 163, or according to others, in 167."

And the editors of the *Ante Nicene Library* say:

Justin Martyr was born in Flavia Neapolis, city of Samaria, the modern Nablous. The date of his birth is uncertain, but may be fixed about A.D. 114.

The principal facts of Justin's life are gathered from his own writings. There is little clue to dates. It is agreed on all hands that he lived in the reign of Antoninus Pius, and the testimony of Eusebius and most credible historians renders it nearly certain that he suffered martyrdom in the reign of Marcus Aurelius. The *Chronicon Paschale* gives as the date 165 A.D.

The writings of Justin Martyr are among the most important that have come down to us from the second century. He was not the first to write an Apology in behalf of the Christians, but his Apologies are the earliest extant. They are characterized by intense Christian fervour, and they give us an insight into the relations existing between heathens and Christians in those days. His other principal writing, the *Dialogue with Trypho*, is the first elaborate exposition of the reasons for regarding Christ as the Messiah of the Old Testament, and the first systematic attempt to exhibit the false position of the Jews in regard to Christianity (*Introductory Notice*).

Concerning chastity, Jesus Christ uttered such sentiments as these: "Whosoever looketh upon a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart before God" (*Ap. i. c. xv. R. and D.*; see *Matt. v. 28*).

And that we ought to worship God alone, He thus persuaded us: "The greatest commandment is, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve, with all thy heart, and with all thy strength, the Lord God that made thee" (*Ap. i. c. xvi.*; see *Mark xii. 30*).

And the angel of God who was sent to the same virgin at that time brought her good news, saying, "Behold, thou shalt conceive of the Holy Ghost, and shalt bear a Son, and He shall be called the Son of the Highest, and thou shalt call His name Jesus; for He shall save His people from their sins" (*Ap. i. c. xxxiii.*; see *Luke i. 32*; *Matt. i. 21*).

For Christ also said, "Except ye be born again, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven" (*Ap. i. c. lxi.*; see *John iii. 5*).

For the apostles, in the memoirs composed by them, which are called Gospels, have thus delivered unto us what was enjoined upon them; that Jesus took bread, and when He had given thanks, said, "This do ye in remembrance of me, this is my body;" and after the same manner, having taken the cup and given thanks, He said, "This is my blood;" and gave it to them alone (*Ap. i. c. lxvi.*; see *Luke xxii. 19*).

For He said, "Many shall come in my name, clothed outwardly in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves" (*D. T. C. xxxv.*; see *Matt. vii. 15*).

For He exclaimed before His crucifixion: "The Son of man must suffer many things, and be rejected by the scribes and Pharisees, and be crucified, and on the third day rise again" (*D. T. C. lxxvi.*; see *Luke ix. 22*).

For when Christ was giving up His spirit on the cross, He said, "Father, into Thy hands I commend my spirit," as I have learned also from the memoirs (*D. T. C. cv.*; see *Luke xxiii. 46*).

And if it is the flesh that is the sinner, then on its account alone did the Saviour come, as He says, "I am not come to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance" (*On the Resurrection, c. viii.*; see *Mark ii. 17*).

"He was taken up into heaven while they beheld" as He was in the flesh (*id. c. ix.*; see *Acts i. 9*).

In regard to the first quotation the translators append this note:

The reader will notice that Justin quotes from memory, so that there are some slight discrepancies between the words of Jesus as here cited, and the same sayings as recorded in our Gospels.

The same remarks may apply to other quotations. It seems most probable that in the days of Justin it was the common practice often to quote from memory. This practice would naturally grow out of the then existing conditions.

These ten extracts are mainly given as examples, as the quotations including references are far too numerous to be given by me.

It appears from the *Index of Texts* that Justin quoted from, or referred to, thirty-nine passages in Matthew found in twenty-one different chapters, three in two chapters of Mark, eighteen in twelve chapters of Luke, one in John, one in Acts, two in two chapters of Romans, two in two chapters of first Corinthians, two in one chapter of second Thessalonians, and one in second Peter. In all his works he quotes from, or alludes to, two hundred and seventy-eight texts of

the Old Testament and sixty-nine of the New. His first *Apology* occupies sixty-two pages, his second only sixteen, his *Dialogue with Trypho* two hundred, and the remainder of his works ninety-two. In his first *Apology* he quotes from, or alludes to, twenty-seven texts of the New Testament, and in all the others forty-two. His quotations, including allusions, are far more numerous in his first *Apology*, in proportion to its length, than in the other parts of his works. In his second *Apology* he makes no quotations from the New Testament, as he had made ample allusions in the first. In his *Dialogue with Trypho*, the Jew, he quotes very largely from, or alludes to, the books of the Old Testament. This was perfectly logical, and tends to prove the authenticity and integrity of his works. In discussing the question of the truth of the Christian religion with a Jew, Justin would necessarily rely mainly upon authority conceded by his opponent as true, and would only refer to the New Testament books to show the fulfilment of the numerous prophecies of the Old Testament concerning the Messiah. The several works of Justin are consistent with the circumstances under which he wrote and the purposes he had in view. In his *Apologies* addressed to the Roman emperor he had no occasion to make very many quotations from, or allusions to, the books of the New Testament, as his main purpose was simply to make known to the imperial ruler the leading doctrines of the new religion, and thus to convince the emperor that it was not dangerous to the empire. Had Justin been writing a controversial work against heretics who conceded the authority of the books of the New Testament, but misconstrued them, then more numerous citations would have been in due order.

The ninth ancient Christian writer I shall notice is the distinguished Irenæus, already noticed. The editors of the *Ante-Nicene Library* say :

The work of Irenæus *Against Heresies* is one of the most precious remains of early Christian antiquity. It is devoted, on the one hand, to an account and refutation of those multiform Gnostic heresies which prevailed in the latter half of the second century; and, on the other hand, to an exposition and defence of the Catholic faith.

His great work *Against Heresies* was, we learn, written during the episcopate of Eleutherus, that is, between A.D. 182 and A.D. 188, for Victor succeeded to the bishopric of Rome A.D. 189 (*Introductory Notice*).

I can only make a few quotations, mainly as examples. The first one is so beautiful and true that I give it, although it does not strictly relate to the subject under direct consideration :

Error, indeed, is never set forth in its naked deformity, lest, being thus exposed, it should at once be detected. But it is craftily decked out in an attractive dress, so as, by its outward form, to make it appear to the inexperienced (ridicu-

lous as the expression may seem) more true than truth itself (*Against Heresies*, b. i. preface, sec. 2, R. and D.)

But what John really does say is this : " And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us ; and we beheld His glory, the glory as of the only-begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth " (*id.* b. i. c. viii. s. 5).

As I have already observed, the church, having received this preaching and this faith, although scattered throughout the whole world, yet, as if occupying but one house, carefully preserves it. She also believes these points [of doctrine] just as if she had but one soul, and one and the same heart, and she proclaims them, and teaches them, and hands them down, with perfect harmony, as if she possessed only one mouth. For although the languages of the world are dissimilar, yet the import of the tradition is one and the same (*id.* b. i. c. x. sec. 2).

We have learned from none others the plan of our salvation, than from those through whom the gospel has come down to us, which they did at one time proclaim in public, and at a later period, by the will of God, handed down to us in the Scriptures, to be the ground and pillar of our faith. For it is unlawful to assert that they preached before they possessed " perfect knowledge," as some do even venture to say, boasting themselves as improvers of the apostles. For, after our Lord rose from the dead, [the apostles] were invested with power from on high when the Holy Spirit came down [upon them], were filled from all [His gifts], and had perfect knowledge : they departed to the ends of the earth, preaching the glad tidings of the good things [sent] from God to us, and proclaiming the peace of heaven to men, who indeed do all equally and individually possess the gospel of God. Matthew also issued a written gospel among the Hebrews in their own dialect, while Peter and Paul were preaching at Rome, and laying the foundations of the church. After their departure, Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, did also hand down to us in writing what had been preached by Peter. Luke also, the companion of Paul, recorded in a book the gospel preached by him. Afterwards, John, the disciple of the Lord, who also had leaned upon His breast, did himself publish a gospel during his residence at Ephesus in Asia (*id.* b. iii. c. i. s. 1).

The following table, made up from the *Index of Texts*, will show, in a condensed form, the several books of the New Testament noticed by Irenæus, the number of chapters of each book referred to, and the total number of such quotations, *including* allusions :

<i>Book.</i>	<i>No. of chapters noticed.</i>	<i>Total No. of times noticed.</i>	<i>Book.</i>	<i>No. of chapters noticed.</i>	<i>Total No. of times noticed.</i>
Matthew.....	28	172	2 Thessalonians.....	2	5
Mark.....	11	15	1 Timothy.....	5	8
Luke.....	22	125	2 Timothy.....	3	6
John.....	18	86	Titus.....	1	1
Acts.....	19	50	Hebrews.....	5	5
Romans.....	14	65	James.....	2	3
1 Corinthians.....	15	76	1 Peter.....	4	9
2 Corinthians.....	9	17	2 Peter.....	1	1
Galatians.....	6	22	1 John.....	2	3
Ephesians.....	6	22	2 John.....	1	2
Colossians.....	4	16	Jude.....	1	2
Philippians.....	4	9	Revelations.....	16	30
1 Thessalonians.....	2	3			

It will readily be seen that the testimony of this able writer is very full and complete. He notices or quotes from twenty-five of the twenty-seven books of the New Testament, omitting only the short epistle of Paul to Philemon and the shorter one of John to Gaius. His statement of the authorship of the four Gospels is most clear and explicit. His notices and quotations are so many and various as to show beyond all reasonable doubt that he was acquainted with at least twenty-five of the twenty-seven books which now compose our New Testament. No modern author, writing a controversial work of the same size as that of Irenæus *Against Heresies*, would make more references to the New Testament than this distinguished ancient writer has done in the work mentioned. He was discussing questions of theology with those who generally admitted the authority of the books of the New Testament, but who so misconstrued as to make them apparently support many false theories of religion. The fact that the authority of these books was generally conceded by the heretics themselves is another strong evidence of their existence, at that day, as Scriptures acknowledged by all those who professed to believe in the religion of Christ.

I do not deem it necessary to produce any authority of individual authors later than those of the second century, as those of the first and second centuries seem amply sufficient to establish the then existence of the several books of the New Testament. This testimony is greatly strengthened by the fact that the most distinguished of these writers whose names are known to us resided in widely-separated localities. Clement lived at Rome, Ignatius at Antioch, Polycarp at Smyrna, and Irenæus at Lyons, in France.

Such are the testimonies of the principal Christian writers of the first and second centuries in regard to the main doctrines of Christianity and the existence of the books of the New Testament in their day. Other Christian authors left their testimony, whose works have been lost in the long lapse of ages.

In reference to the testimony of profane writers of the first two centuries, I must call the attention of the reader to the passage from the great Roman historian Tacitus, already given (pages 357-8), as translated by Gibbon, and to the correspondence between Pliny and Trajan, also already copied (pages 365-6), as translated by Whiston. Josephus, who wrote his history about A.D. 90, has several important passages. In two passages he says :

Now some of the Jews thought that the destruction of Herod's army came from God, and that very justly, as a punishment of what he did against John, that was called the Baptist ; for Herod slew him, who was a good man, and commanded the Jews to exercise virtue, both as to righteousness towards one another, and piety towards God, and so to come to baptism ; for that the washing [with water] would be acceptable to him, if they made use of it, not in order to the putting away [or

the remission] of some sins [only], but for the purification of the body : supposing still that the soul was thoroughly purified beforehand by righteousness. Now, when [many] others came in crowds about him, for they were greatly moved [or pleased] by hearing his words, Herod, who feared lest the great influence John had over the people might put it into his power and inclination to raise a rebellion, (for they seemed ready to do anything he should advise), thought it best, by putting him to death, to prevent any mischief he might cause, and not bring himself into difficulties, by sparing a man who might make him repent of it when it should be too late. Accordingly, he was sent a prisoner, out of Herod's suspicious temper, to Macherus, the castle I before mentioned, and was there put to death. . . . But Herodias, their sister, was married to Herod [Philip], the son of Herod the Great, who was born of Mariamme, the daughter of Simon the high priest, who had a daughter, Salome ; after whose birth Herodias took upon her to confound the laws of our country, and divorce herself from her husband while he was alive, and was married to Herod [Antipas] her husband's brother by the father's side ; he was tetrarch of Galilee (*Antiquities*, b. xviii. c. v.)

While Josephus, as matter of *opinion*, attributes the death of the Baptist alone to political jealousy on the part of Herod, his account of John agrees substantially with the facts related in the Gospels. The fact that Herodias was the immediate cause of the death of John is entirely reconcilable with the certain facts related by the historian.

In a third passage, the genuineness of which is disputed by some critics, the historian says :

Festus was now dead, and Albinus was but upon the road ; so Ananus assembled the sanhedrim of judges, and brought before them the brother of Jesus, who was called Christ, whose name was James, and some others [or some of his companions] ; and when he had formed an accusation against them as breakers of the law, he delivered them to be stoned (*id.* b. xx. c. ix.)

This passage, while it disagrees with Acts xii. 1, 2 as to the ruler who caused the death of James and as to the mode of death, yet states the main facts, that he was the brother of Jesus, who was called Christ, and that he was put to death for an alleged violation of the law of Moses.

In a fourth passage, found in all the extant copies of Josephus, yet much disputed, the historian says :

Now, there was about this time Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works,—a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure. He drew over to him both many of the Jews and many of the Gentiles. He was [the] Christ ; and when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men among us, had condemned him to the cross, those that loved him at the first did not forsake him, for he appeared to them alive again the third day, as the divine prophets had foretold these and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him ; and the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day (*id.* b. xviii. c. iii.)\*

\* Whiston, in a dissertation attached to his translation of Josephus, makes an earnest argument in support of the genuineness of this passage, and says, among other things :

“The third author I have quoted for Josephus's testimonies of John the Baptist, of Jesus of Nazareth, and of James the Just, is Origen, who is indeed allowed on all hands to have quoted him for the excellent characters of John the Baptist, and of James the Just, but whose supposed entire

Now, in regard to these disputed passages from Josephus, if we exclude them entirely from our consideration we can well say that there is nothing in his works to contradict the history of Christianity as derived from the testimony of the Church and as found in the books of the New Testament. There is in profane history no different account of the origin of Christianity. We have seen the clear and positive testimony of Tacitus, which is confirmed by his contemporary, Suetonius, admitted by Gibbon, and is not denied by any respectable authority, so far as I am advised. Then comes the testimony found in the authentic correspondence between Pliny and Trajan, which confirms, so far as it goes, the history of our religion as given in our Christian writings and in the testimony of the Church.

In regard to the testimony of heathen writers Paley has these reasonable remarks:

Of the primitive condition of Christianity, a distant only and general view can be acquired from heathen writers. It is in our own books that the detail and interior of the transaction must be sought for. And this is nothing different from what might be expected. Who would write a history of Christianity, but a Christian? Who was likely to record the travels, sufferings, labours, or successes

silence about this testimony concerning Christ is usually alleged as the principal argument against its being genuine, and particularly as to the clause, *This was the Christ*, and that, as we have seen, because he twice assures us, that, in his opinion, *Josephus did not himself acknowledge Jesus for Christ.*"

In regard to this passage Gibbon says, among other things:

"The passage concerning Jesus Christ, which was inserted into the text of Josephus, between the time of Origen and that of Eusebius, may furnish an example of no vulgar forgery" (D. and F., note 36 to chap. xvi.)

To which Milman adds this note:

"The modern editor of Eusebius, Heinichen, has adopted, and ably supported, a notion, which had before suggested itself to the editor, that this passage is not altogether a forgery, but interpolated with many additional clauses. Heinichen has endeavored to disengage the original text from the foreign and more recent matter."

I have not fully examined the arguments concerning this question of criticism; but it occurs to me, as a reasonable hypothesis, that this passage may not have been inserted by Josephus in the first but in a subsequent edition of his history, and that the copy used by Origen was one of the first edition. Josephus in his life, written by himself, tells us:

"But when Titus had composed the troubles in Judea, and conjectured that the lands which I had in Judea would bring me no profit, because a garrison to guard the country was afterwards to pitch there, he gave me another country in the plain; and, when he was going away to Rome, he made choice of me to sail along with him, and paid me great respect; and when we were come to Rome, I had great care taken of me by Vespasian; for he gave me an apartment in his own house, which he lived in before he came to the empire. He also honoured me with the privilege of a Roman citizen, and gave me an annual pension; and continued to respect me to the end of his life, without any abatement of his kindness to me; which very thing made me envied, and brought me into danger. . . . Nay, after that, when those that envied my good fortune did frequently bring accusations against me, by God's providence I escaped them all. I also received from Vespasian no small quantity of land, as a free gift, in Judea. . . . However, the kindness of the emperor to me continued still the same; for when Vespasian was dead, Titus, who succeeded him in the government, kept up the same respect for me which I had from his father; and when I had frequent accusations laid against me, he would not believe them; and Domitian, who succeeded, still augmented his respects to me; for he punished those Jews that were my accusers; and gave command that a servant of mine, who was an eunuch, and my accuser, should be punished. He also made that country I had in Judea tax free, which is a mark of the greatest honour to him who hath it; nay, Domitia, the wife of Cæsar, continued to do me kindnesses: and this is the account of the actions of my whole life; and let others judge of my character by them as they please; but to thee, O



of the apostles, but one of their own number, or of their followers? (*Ev. Chris.*, c. iii.)

In the number, variety, and early date of our testimonies, we far exceed all other ancient books. For one, which the most celebrated work of the most celebrated Greek or Roman writer can allege, we produce many (*id.* c. ix.)

The same learned author, in another passage, makes this clear summary :

The four circumstances ; first, the recognition of the account in its principal parts, by a series of succeeding writers ; secondly, the total absence of any account of the origin of the religion substantially different from ours ; thirdly, the early and extensive prevalence of rites and institutions, which result from our account ; fourthly, our account bearing, in its construction, proof that it is an account of facts which were known and believed at the time ;—are sufficient, I conceive, to support an assurance, that the story which we have now, is, in general, the story which Christians had at the beginning. I say *in general* ; by which term I mean, that it is the same in its texture, and in its principal facts. For instance, I make no doubt, for the reasons above stated, but that the resurrection of the Founder of the religion was always a part of the Christian story. Nor can a doubt of this remain upon the mind of any one who reflects that the resurrection is, in some form or other, asserted, referred to, or assumed, in every Christian writing, of every description, which hath come down to us.

Epaphroditus, thou most excellent of men ! do I dedicate this treatise of our Antiquities ; and so, for the present, I here conclude the whole."

These extracts give a very clear statement of the relation the historian bore to three Roman emperors in succession, especially to Domitian, who paid him *augmented* respect.

Domitian became emperor A.D. 81, and was succeeded by Nerva A.D. 96. It is clear from Josephus himself that he finished the first edition of his *Antiquities* during the reign of Domitian. Whiston in a note (*Wars*, Preface) states that the *Antiquities* were published A.D. 93.

When we remember that this emperor was a great persecutor of the Christians, and that, in his reign, the distinction between the Jews and Christians was well understood at Rome, we can readily see that such a passage as the one under consideration, if inserted in the *Antiquities*, would have almost certainly brought upon Josephus the sore displeasure of that jealous tyrant. The numerous enemies of the historian would hardly have overlooked such an opportunity to accuse him.

But if we take it to be true, for the sake of the argument only, that this disputed passage was in fact written by Josephus, then we can readily see that Josephus, under all the circumstances then existing, would scarcely have ventured to put it into his history during the life of Domitian. For, while I would not contend that Josephus, as a historian, would *affirmatively* assert a falsehood to please his emperor and save himself, I think I am justified in concluding that a historian who consented to be placed in such a dependent position for so long a time, and actually composed his work during its continuance, and was evidently gratified with the long-continued favors bestowed, would refrain, *for the time*, from stating historical facts such as the passage contains, and which would directly aid in establishing a new theory of religion, esteemed by his emperor and benefactor as hostile to the empire. But *after* the death of Domitian, and when Nerva became emperor—who was just to the Christians—the historian might safely insert the passage in a second edition of his work. His probable motives for making such addition were to satisfy his own sense of justice and to stand well with posterity as a competent, diligent, and impartial historian ; for it would seem reasonable that no man would write a history so elaborate, and generally so fair and correct, without being influenced, to some extent, by a laudable desire to *merit* true posthumous fame.

In regard to this passage Paley well says :

"And I think also that it may with great reason be contended, either that the passage is genuine, or that the silence of Josephus was *designed*" (*Ev. Chr.*, part i. c. vii.)

I think the phrase, *This was the Christ*, is most probably an elliptical expression, meaning, *This was the person called Christ*. We must, under all rules of construction, take all the passages relating to Christ and construe them together, so as, if possible, to make them consistent with each other. In one passage the historian says, "who was called Christ," showing a doubt in regard to His true character ; and in this very passage it is said, "if it be lawful to call him a man," also showing a like doubt ; and this being so, it would have been inconsistent in the same writer to intend to say *positively*, "This was the Christ."

And if our evidence stopped here, we should have a strong case to offer : for we should have to allege, that in the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, a certain number of persons set about an attempt of establishing a new religion in the world : in the prosecution of which purpose, they voluntarily encountered great dangers, undertook great labours, sustained great sufferings, all for a miraculous story which they published wherever they came ; and that the resurrection of a dead man, whom during his life they had followed and accompanied, was a constant part of this story. I know nothing in the above statement which can, with any appearance of reason, be disputed ; and I know nothing, in the history of the human species, similar to it (*Ev. Chris.*, part i. c. vii.)

As I said upon a former occasion :

In my investigations concerning the truth of Christianity itself, I met with no line of argument more conclusive and unanswerable than Leslie's *Short and Easy Method with the Deists*. The essence of that argument may be briefly stated thus :

1. There now exists a certain book, which states that at a certain time and place therein mentioned, certain great, notable, and visible public facts occurred ; and that at the same time and place, a certain association of men was organized, and certain visible observances instituted in this association to be known to, and kept by, all the members, and to continue from that time forward.

2. This great association of men still exists, and these observances are still kept up, and we know the fact.

Now, to prove the fact that these observances, and this organization began at the time and place mentioned, we will assume that they were organized and instituted at some time and place, for the association is now in being, and these ordinances are now observed. The organization of this body, and the institution of those observances, are plain matters of historical fact, and can be known ; and whenever they did take place, the fact must have been known from the very nature of the case. Can any one show that this organization, and the institution of these visible observances, were commenced at any *other* time? If they originated at one time, and the book stated they originated at another and a different time, then there would be a positive contradiction, and the falsehood must be known. Suppose this association did not exist, and the observances were not instituted by the persons, and at the time and place stated, and the book should have been forged at a *later* date, still stating the *pre-existence* of those alleged *notorious visible facts*, would not all men at once say? "This book is false upon the face of it ; for it states as *past events*, things that no one ever heard of, and all our experience is in direct and palpable conflict with the alleged facts recorded in this book. This whole thing is *new*, and not *old*, as stated ; and, therefore, must be false. Where is the body of men that ever did keep these observances? Who has heard of them before? Who has ever heard of this book before? These alleged facts were of such a character as to attract the earnest attention of all men. Who can believe that they could have existed, as alleged, and no one know it?" (*The Path*, pp. 705-6).

The early periods of Christianity were days of deep sincerity and times of intensely earnest, diligent, and brave inquiry. Every one then investigating this grave subject, with a view to embrace the new religion if found to be true, and to reject it if found to be false, had plainly before his eyes the extreme perils he would incur and the great sacrifices he would almost certainly be obliged to make if he became a Christian. If he embraced a false religion his act might bring

him tortures, death, and infamy in this world, and could not promise him any compensation in the next.

From the very nature of the theory proposed, based, as it was, upon alleged plain, palpable, visible, notable miracles, and especially upon the great and at all times assumed and continually asserted facts of the death, resurrection, and consequent divine character of its Founder, it must have claimed to be perfect from the beginning, and, for that good reason, permanent in all those essential features which assumed the form of permanency. It is true there were some commands which were not continuing but temporary—such, for example, as the command to the apostles to tarry in Jerusalem until they should be endued with power from on high (Luke xxiv. 49), which, being *once* fulfilled, could be no more obeyed. These temporary were but special commands, while the great mass of the provisions of the code were general and permanent, and must have been so from the beginning. The progress of such a system must have been consistent with its origin. If a theory of religion, as originally promulgated, assume to be incomplete, and, for that reason, improvable and variable, changes in such a theory would be compatible with its original basis. *But not so with a theory claiming perfection and permanency from the beginning.*

In the matter of RELIGION sincere men are so deeply in earnest—because they consider themselves so vitally concerned—that when they *once* embrace a theory of religion *claiming* to be perfect, complete, and permanent from its origin in all its essential elements, not only according to the fundamental terms of the theory itself, but also because of the assumed exalted character of the founder, the great and decisive majority of its adherents will not permit any substantial changes inconsistent with its original principles, and will either reject the theory entirely or retain it as it was in the beginning. So long as there can be found one honest and sane leader in such a society he will resolutely oppose such mutilation or adulteration; and his loyal example will encourage others to resist the glaring innovation upon a fixed theory. The result will surely be the defeat of the attempt to change the theory. For this reason even a false theory of religion, like that of Mohammed, which assumed to be complete and permanent from its full promulgation, will be transmitted with substantial accuracy. The Mohammedanism of to-day is substantially the religion of the beginning, it being only *error safely transmitted*.

From a due consideration of the evidences produced, the nature of the case under the then existing circumstances, and the reasons given, there would seem to be no reasonable doubt of the fact that the Christian religion was continued *as it began*. This position being true, then the early Christians had the most ample opportunity of testing the truth of the claim to a miraculous origin and history of

the new religion, which was everywhere and at all times asserted by the apostles and their successors. And the fact that sane, earnest, sincere men embraced such a religion under all the perilous conditions then existing is one of the strongest evidences of the truth of the miraculous history upon which the whole theory assumed to rest from the beginning. And a Church organized by leaders who endured so much to establish their character as reliable witnesses to facts within their own personal knowledge, and gave so many evidences of their competency as commissioned and inspired teachers of Christ, must have been designed as a great and beneficial institution from the very nature of its origin and the mighty purposes intended to be accomplished by it. Assuming the integrity of the leaders and members of the Church, the testimony of such a corporation is entitled to a very high degree of credibility, even when regarded as a fallible human institution. As I have already contended (pages 391-2), the Church, so considered, would be a competent and reliable witness to prove, with *substantial* accuracy, all the visible and audible effects occurring within her corporate knowledge. These facts I have summarized on the pages above referred to.

That the Church *assumed* to be the infallible institution of Christ, the alleged divine Redeemer and Lawgiver, and was so considered by her children, and, for that reason, most carefully transmitted the faith as claimed to have been received from the apostles, seems well established by the nature of the case and by the testimony of the ancient Christian writers already quoted. Thus the epistle to Diognetus speaks of Christ as the Son of God, "through whom the church is enriched," and says: "nor is it a mere human system of opinion which they judged it right to preserve so carefully." And Ignatius says: "that He might breathe immortality into His church," and "while your bishop presides in the place of God." So Polycarp says: "being subject to the presbyters and deacons as unto God and Christ." And Irenæus: "seeing that the apostles most fully committed unto this church . . . all whatsoever is of truth." "The whole church has one and the same faith throughout the whole world." "The public teaching of the church is everywhere uniform and equally enduring. . . . For this office of God has been entrusted to the church." "The vivifying faith is one and the same, which, from the apostles even until now, has been preserved in the church, and transmitted in truthfulness." "As I have already observed, the church, having received this preaching and this faith, although scattered throughout the whole world, yet, as if occupying but one house, carefully preserves it."

To show, *prima facie*, the existence of the several books of the New Testament, and that they were written by the persons whose names they bear, and about the times mentioned, the testimony of ordinary

history is sufficient, in the same way as we prove the works of Tacitus, Ammianus Marcellinus, and of other historians, who never suffered any persecution in attestation of the truth of their histories or of the principles they advocated. Ordinary history will also be sufficient to establish, *prima facie*, the integrity of the writers themselves, as this must be presumed until the contrary is shown. It is *very* true that the New Testament relates *extraordinary* matters wholly unlike the events generally found recorded in ordinary, uninspired history; but it is *equally* true that the authors of these books gave the *most extraordinary* proofs of their integrity in their devoted, active, blameless lives, the dangerous risks of persecution they *all* incurred, and in the various severe sufferings which *several* of them voluntarily endured, ending at last in their actual martyrdom. For it would seem most difficult, if not impossible, to conceive of any greater evidence which any class of writers could possibly give of their sincerity than that offered by these authors in support of theirs.

Then the testimony given by the authors already quoted, supported, as it is, by the reasons offered and the nature of the case itself, will justify us in consulting, *for the present*, these books of the New Testament as ordinary, but substantially accurate, uninspired history as to facts that such history is competent to record, and to consider the Church as a fallible association of sincere, earnest, sane men, and thus entitled to all the credit reasonably due and generally accorded to honest human corporations.

## CHAPTER XV.

### INTERNAL EVIDENCE.

WHEN we come to examine the books of the New Testament as a *prima facie* simple, uninspired, but veracious history of such visible and audible facts or events as any sensible man could have recorded with *substantial* accuracy had he witnessed them, we find that Christ chose twelve men, called apostles, eleven of whom were to be His witnesses and His first teachers.

The capacity to testify is inherent in every sane person ; and the witness does not, therefore, testify under delegated authority, it being simply an individual act. But he may well be a witness *selected*, as a man chooses certain reliable persons to witness a solemn instrument—such, for example, as his deed or his last will and testament.

The proper function of a witness in a more limited general sense is to state facts which he saw and relate discourses which he heard ; in a wider sense, to state *all* facts *cognizable* by any of the senses. He draws no inferences from the facts he gives, and puts no constructions upon the words he relates. He appeals simply to his memory, and not to his judgment. His duty is strictly and rigidly historical as a mere medium for the communication of facts between two or more intelligences. But it is different with a teacher, as his duty begins where that of the witness ends. The teacher draws inferences or rational deductions from the facts given, and puts constructions upon the words related. He appeals to his judgment, and expounds, illustrates, and applies the principles of the theory taught to cases as they arise and to new predicaments of fact as they appear from time to time. In short, a witness simply testifies to facts known to him, while a teacher reasons upon and teaches a theory which may have been originated by another. A witness may be selected, but a teacher, when he acts under delegated authority, is *both* selected and commissioned. It was so with the eleven apostles. They were selected as witnesses (Luke xxiv. 48 ; John xv. 27 ; Acts i. 8) and commissioned as teachers (Matt. xxviii. 19, 20 ; Mark xvi. 15, 16). This distinction between the two different capacities of witness and teacher is clearly pointed out :

But the Paraclete, the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he will teach you all things, and bring all things to your mind, whatsoever I shall have said to you (John xiv. 26).

One office of the Holy Ghost, as stated in this passage, was to *teach* them all things, and the other simply to *refresh* their memories.

The four Gospels and the Acts are strictly historical compositions, in which the writers only assume to state facts. They do not themselves discuss questions or claim to act as teachers. The discussions and reasonings are found in the discourses related and in the dialogues recorded. But in many of the epistles the writers acted *both* as witnesses and teachers. Thus Peter bears testimony to the resurrection of Christ and to His transfiguration (1 Peter i. 3 ; 2 i. 17) ; and Paul testifies as to the resurrection of Christ (1 Cor. xv. 3-8) and to the institution of the Eucharist (1 Cor. xi. 23-27) ; and John reaffirms his testimony as to the reality of Christ's appearance and of His discourses (1 John i. 1-3). This line of action was consistent with the circumstances. *First* only the facts are given by the historians ; *afterwards* some of the more important facts are restated for the purpose of application by those who were acting in *both* capacities of witness and teacher.

The *general* style of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John as witnesses deserves particular attention as a strong internal evidence of the truth of their testimony.

Matthew, who wrote about six, and Mark, about ten years after Christ's alleged ascension, and when all the facts, if true, must have been fresh in the memories of great numbers, and therefore generally admitted as true, in giving their testimony went straight to their task, and simply stated alleged facts without any solemn and emphatic affirmation that what they stated was true. They clearly seem to have given their testimony without any fear of its being disputed. This is the general course of the best witnesses in a court of justice to this day. Such witnesses, being conscious of their own integrity and certain as to the facts they positively relate, do not generally suppose *in advance* that their statements will be doubted by any one. They generally give their testimony with the simplicity of an innocent child, anticipate no adverse denials, and make no special effort to avert them. They are only intent to state the actual facts as they know them to exist. Such is not the usual course of a false witness. Being conscious of his false testimony, he will fear and anticipate contradiction before any is offered, and will endeavor, by bold, emphatic, and vehement assertions of his integrity and the truth of his statements, to avert suspicion and detection.

The remarks I have made as to the style of Matthew and Mark as witnesses apply substantially to that of Luke, who wrote his Gospel some twenty-four, and the Acts some thirty, years after the alleged ascension of Christ. As he wrote his Gospel eighteen years later than Matthew and fourteen years later than Mark, and was not himself an

*original* witness of the facts he recorded, it was proper to state, as he does in his preface, that he had diligently obtained his knowledge from eye-witnesses themselves, who had delivered the facts to him and others, and that his purpose was that the most excellent Theophilus might "know the verity of those words in which he had been instructed." This was but a reasonable explanation of the writer's true position and purpose, and does not imply any fear or anticipation that his own fidelity in recording the facts *as delivered* to him would be questioned.

John wrote his Gospel at Ephesus some sixty-three years after the alleged ascension of Christ, and when the original witnesses to the alleged facts he recorded had almost entirely disappeared, and when the facts were most probably disputed by many persons in the remote locality where he wrote. He was probably the only surviving witness in that portion of the Roman Empire. He therefore simply stated near the close of his Gospel :

This is that disciple who giveth testimony of these things, and hath written these things: and we know that his testimony is true (xxi. 24; see also xix. 35).

This is not an impassioned but a calm and modest assertion of his integrity as a witness and historian of *disputed* facts.

The styles of these several histories of portions only of the same general events are all consistent with the circumstances under which they were written. As Matthew and Mark were Jews, and wrote early when the facts were so recent and well known as not to be disputed in their own country where they occurred, they simply recorded the facts *as such*, without any express allegation that they spoke truly. Conscious of their own integrity as witnesses, and knowing the facts to be true as stated, and their truth not having been *in fact* disputed at the time they wrote, they did not anticipate contradiction. Luke wrote later, and, not being an original witness of the facts recorded in his Gospel, he states his true position as a witness and historian of facts *derived* from the eye-witnesses themselves. In regard to most of the events stated in his second work he was himself either an original witness of them or derived his information on the spot from those who were eye-witnesses. In the case of John, who wrote so long after the occurrence of the events he recorded, and most probably *after* their truth had been questioned, he very properly put in the calm and dignified statement that he was the witness of these things and that they were true.

Another internal evidence of the verity of these records is the manifest impartiality of the writers in stating discreditable or in omitting creditable facts in regard to themselves or to others to whom they bore a close and confidential relation. Thus Matthew, who was the first writer, stated the fact that he was, when called by Christ, a



publican, or tax-collector, in the actual receipt of custom—a position most odious to his countrymen (ix. 9, x. 3). It is true that Mark and Luke both *afterwards* recorded the same fact (Mark ii. 14; Luke v. 27); but that Matthew should have *first* stated it, and at a time when he could not foresee that others would afterwards state the same unpleasant thing, proves that his impartiality did not spare himself. So Matthew states that while Christ sat at meat in the house many publicans and sinners sat down with Him, but omits to state the creditable fact that he gave the dinner himself (ix. 10), and there is nothing in the context to show whose house it was in which the dinner was given; but Mark and Luke, relating the same event, expressly mention that the great feast was in Matthew's house and was given by him to Christ (Mark ii. 14, 15; Luke v. 27–29). Thus also Mark, who bore so confidential a relation to Peter, either entirely omits certain facts most honorable to him, or partially mitigates the statement when made.

We have seen that the extracts from Papias and Irenæus already given show the agency Peter had in the composition of Mark's Gospel.\*

If we look into the sixteenth chapter of Matthew, and the eighth of Mark, we shall find that the magnificent blessing and promises recorded in verses from seventeen to nineteen inclusive in Matthew were entirely omitted by Mark, although he gives substantially the passages that *immediately* precede and follow them in Matthew; showing clearly that Mark recorded only a *part* of the *same* discourse. It is true that Luke omitted the same passages as Mark had done (ix. 19, 20). But Luke wrote some fourteen years later than Mark, and most probably followed him, knowing Peter's humble desire in respect to those passages.

In the account of Peter's denial of his Master, Mark says, "Peter began to weep" (xiv. 72); while both Matthew and Luke say, "he wept bitterly" (Matt. xxvi. 75; Luke xxii. 62). The records of Matthew and Luke show a greater degree of repentance for his sin, which was more honorable to Peter as a Christian than the statement of Mark. John says nothing about Peter's weeping.

Another remarkable feature of these histories is the conspicuous absence of all *express* personal description or praise of the apostles. In so important a history, in which they, as alleged, took a part so prominent and perilous, we are yet not expressly informed of their several ages, of their personal appearance, of their mental or bodily

\* "Peter's agency in the narrative of Mark is asserted by all ancient writers, and is confirmed by the fact, that his humility is conspicuous in every part of it, where any fact is or might be related of him; his weakness and fall being fully exposed, while things which might redound to his honor are either omitted or but slightly mentioned" (Greenleaf's *Ev. of 4 Evan.*, 45).

Mark stated that Peter repeated his assertion of fidelity "the more vehemently" (xiv. 31). This gives a stronger impression of Peter's weakness than that given by the other evangelists.

powers, or of any other mere personal distinction or qualification. As to any qualities *personal* to the apostles (so far as the language of the authors informs us), we can only draw some inference from their *actions* which the writers recorded.\* Even as to their *subordinate* co-workers Luke is very modest in his express commendations, saying only that Barnabas was a good, and Apollo an eloquent, man (Acts xi. 24, xviii. 24). These writers seem to have fully appreciated their grave position and the greatness of the subject, and to have been too intent in the discharge of their high and solemn trust to indulge their natural propensity to give us discussions of their own, or to express their individual opinion as to whether the apostles were brave, strong, handsome, or eloquent men, or of any other matter merely personal to the apostles, and not, therefore, important to the main subject.

But while these writers were so sparing of all express eulogies of the apostles, they fully recorded facts which show their dulness, weakness, and sin. All their errors of every kind are fully and plainly stated. But this exposure of the sins and mistakes of the apostles consisted, not in elaborate descriptive expressions of the writers *themselves*, but in a simple *historical* statement of the *actions* of the apostles, as they were claimed to have transpired.

And when we come to notice their accounts of Christ Himself we can find nothing said by them that can properly be called an express personal eulogy. They stated alleged facts which showed His exalted character; but these facts had a plain and necessary connection with His *mission*. No express personal description was given of Him. Several explanations were given by the writers which were proper to show the true state of things. For example, Matthew (vii. 28) said that "the people were in admiration at his doctrine." This statement was made immediately after recording the great Sermon on the Mount; and the admiration of the people was not alleged as having been caused by the eloquence or commanding presence of the speaker, but because "he was teaching them as one having power, and not as their scribes and Pharisees" (see Mark i. 22; Luke iv. 32). And this

\* Names given by Christ *Himself* to the apostles were significant either of some pre-eminence or of some personal peculiarity. Thus Mark said: "To Simon he gave the name of Peter" (iii. 16). If we turn to Matthew (xvi. 17-19), we can see the reason of this. Mark also said that Christ called James and John "The sons of thunder" (iii. 17). Such a name indicates some striking peculiarity, such as great power or fiery energy. When we come to read that these two brothers aspired to the highest places in the new kingdom (esteemed by them at the *time* as only a temporal one), and were so intent and zealous in their pursuit of this darling object of their ambition that they declared they were able to drink the bitter chalice their Master should drink and be baptized with His bloody baptism (Matt. xx. 20-24; Mark x. 35-41), that they rebuked one who cast out devils in His name (Luke ix. 49), and sought to call down fire from heaven upon a certain city of the Samaritans, we can see why they were so called in advance. In these two cases no express explanation was given why Christ bestowed these names; but subsequent events showed the reason. The name Peter referred to official position and not to personal peculiarity; and the other to personal imperfections, and was, therefore, no eulogy. But it will be observed that giving these significant names was the act of Christ, and not that of the writers.

statement was perfectly consistent with the terms of the discourse, as Christ always spoke in the *authoritative* form *necessary* to a divine *Lawgiver* : "But I say to you." It was this claim to power, more than the eloquence or personal appearance of the speaker, that excited the admiration of the people. The same writer (xxii. 46) said : "And no man was able to answer him a word : neither durst any man from that day forth ask him any more questions."

The historian had just recorded certain comparatively long discussions in the temple between Christ and the chief priests and Pharisees, in which He had silenced them ; and this statement was proper and necessary to show the reason why there were no further attempts made by His adversaries to confuse or confute Him in verbal debate, and because the matter stated in the above extract related to His *capacity* as a divine *Lawgiver*. The same statement is made by Mark (xii. 34) and by Luke (xx. 40). Of a like character is the explanatory statement made by John (vi. 65) : "For Jesus knew from the beginning who they were that did not believe ; and who he was that would betray him."

This extract relates solely to the *capacity* of Christ to fulfil His great mission, and is, therefore, no mere personal eulogy.

It may be said that the apostles were most probably all plain, homely men, not possessing any commanding or commendable personal traits ; and that, for such good reason, no express eulogy was pronounced upon any one or more of them. If that position be true, then the writers possessed the integrity and the good sense to state the simple truth, and not to ascribe false qualifications to their heroes ; for had they composed histories of fictitious persons and actions they would not have failed to give them all the adventitious aids of express and commanding praise, accompanied with such personal descriptions as would have interested the reader by gratifying a very natural desire to know something of the personal appearance and traits of character of individuals in their represented positions. Such a course would generally be deemed necessary to the success of a fiction, and as tending to exalt the writer in the estimation of his readers. No forger of a fictitious history would be likely to place his heroes in the personally humble position of the apostles. It would shock his pride to be the alleged historian of characters personally so uninteresting.

But while the *general* style of the books ascribed to Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, as a class, was perfectly consistent with the wonderful nature of the events they assumed to record, and constitutes a very strong proof of their integrity as historians, there are yet so many *individual* peculiarities in their several compositions as clearly to show them to have been the productions of different writers. My space will only allow me to refer to a few examples.

The Gospel of Matthew was written for the Jewish converts, and

its main purpose, for that reason, was to show that the Law and the Prophets were fulfilled in the mission of Christ. This is a reasonable inference from the book itself. He therefore makes more references to the prophecies than do the other evangelists, and in doing so he uses the expression: "That it might be fulfilled which the Lord spoke by the prophet" (i. 22, ii. 15). In later passages it is abbreviated or slightly changed in some other respect in Matthew, and in all cases in John (Matt. ii. 23, iv. 14, viii. 17, xii. 17, xiii. 35, xxi. 4, xxvi. 56; John xii. 38, xviii. 9, 32, xix. 24, 28, 36). I have only given the texts in which Matthew and John *themselves* used this expression, which, in its original and slightly varied forms, was peculiar to them; because, when seeking peculiarities in the style of a certain historian, so as to distinguish his work from that of another, we should look to his *own* words, and not to the language he simply assumes to record as that of another person, whose style may or may not be like his own in this peculiar respect. Christ *Himself* is recorded to have used a very similar expression, once in Mark (xiv. 49) and once in Luke (xxiv. 44). The following are other examples of the peculiarities found in Matthew: "Jerusalem is called 'the holy city,' 'the holy place' (iv. 5, xxiv. 15, xxvii. 53)." "The phrase 'kingdom of heaven,' about thirty-three times; other writers use 'kingdom of God,' which is found also in Matthew." "'Heavenly Father' used about six times; and 'Father in heaven' about sixteen, and without explanation, point to the Jewish mode of speaking in this Gospel."

There are twenty-three peculiarities in the style of Matthew given in Smith's *Bible Dictionary*, from which I have taken the above examples. Most of those mentioned in the *Dictionary* can only be understood by the reader acquainted with Greek.

In regard to the peculiarities of Mark I quote from Smith's *Bible Dictionary*:

But there are peculiarities in the Gospel which are best explained by the supposition that Peter in some way superintended its composition. Whilst there is hardly any part of its narrative that is not common to it and some other Gospel, in the manner of the narrative there is often a marked character, which puts aside at once the supposition that we have here a mere epitome of Matthew and Luke. The picture of the same events is far more vivid; touches are introduced such as could only be noted by a vigilant eye-witness, and such as make us almost eye-witnesses of the Redeemer's doings. The most remarkable case of this is the account of the demoniac in the country of the Gadarenes, where the following words are peculiar to Mark. "And no man could bind him, no, not with chains: because he had often been bound with fetters and chains, and the chains had been plucked asunder by him, and the fetters broken in pieces: neither could any man tame him. And always night and day he was in the mountains crying and cutting himself with stones. But when he saw Jesus afar off, he ran," etc. Here we are indebted for the picture of the fierce and hopeless wanderer to the Evangelist whose work is the briefest, and whose style is the least perfect. He sometimes adds

to the account of the others a notice of our Lord's look (iii. 34, viii. 23, x. 21, 23); he dwells on human feelings and the tokens of them: on our Lord's pity for the leper, and his strict charge not to publish the miracle (i. 41, 44); He "loved" the rich young man for his answers (x. 21); He "looked round" with anger when another occasion called it out (iii. 5); He groaned in spirit (vii. 34, viii. 12). All these are peculiar to Mark; and they would be explained most readily by the theory that one of the disciples most near to Jesus had supplied them (pp. 1787-8).

In reference to the style of Luke, Smith's *Bible Dictionary* mentions sixteen peculiarities, which can only be understood by those acquainted with Greek, the language in which his books were originally written.

But the English reader will be able to discover many peculiarities in the style of Luke, especially in the general structure of his sentences and the tone of his narrative. He and John give a greater number of explanations enclosed in parentheses than Matthew and Mark. In this respect their style more resembles that of Paul, though very different in other features. Luke used the expression "it came to pass" much more frequently than the other evangelists. He is the only one who wrote a preface to his work. He was peculiarly delicate in stating, in words of his *own*, what were the motives or feelings which prompted Christ or the apostles. For example, Mark (v. 30) said in his own words, "Jesus knowing in himself"; while Luke, relating the same incident (viii. 46), stated that "Jesus said: Somebody hath touched me; for I know that virtue is gone out of me." Throughout his Gospel and Acts he never expressly imputes *anger* either to Christ or to any inspired person, whereas he very freely speaks of the anger or madness of sinners (iv. 28, vi. 11, xiii. 14; Acts vii. 54, v. 17, ix. 1). He stated in his own words that Christ was "moved with mercy" (vii. 13), that the disciples "believed and wondered for joy" (xxiv. 41), and that Paul was "grieved" (Acts xvi. 18).

The style of John is very peculiar. Like Matthew and Mark, he plunged abruptly into his subject, but with far greater emphasis and sublimity. "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God"; "That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled, of the word of life," are passages which the reader can at once see were never written by Matthew, Mark, or Luke, and yet that they were composed by one and the same author.

While the other evangelists have recorded many parables, John gave us none; as the case of the good shepherd is more properly a comparison or proverb, and that of the vine only a comparison—"I am as the vine, you are as the branches" being the true meaning.

Another striking peculiarity of John's style is the circumstance

that he never *himself* in his Gospel used the expression "it came to pass," though in two instances he recorded the fact that Christ used it (xiii. 19, xiv. 29).<sup>\*</sup> The case mentioned in the twenty-fifth verse of chapter fifteen is not the language of Christ, but that of the translators of the A. V., as their own italics show. The expression "this cometh to pass" is not found in the Douay translation. The expression is found in Matthew five times, in Mark four times, and in Luke's Gospel thirty-two times. Christ Himself was recorded as having used this phrase once in Mark (xiii. 29), three times in Luke (xix. 15, xxi. 28, 31), and twice in John (xiii. 19, xiv. 29).

While John *himself* in his Gospel never used this phrase, yet when he came, as a faithful historian, to record the discourses of Christ he represented Him as having employed it twice. That it was a common expression with Christ is shown by the fact that Mark represented Him as having used it once, and Luke three times. So, while neither Mark nor Luke ever used the phrase "that it might be fulfilled," yet each recorded the fact, as we have seen, that a similar expression was employed by Christ (Mark xiv. 49; Luke xxiv. 44).

These facts constitute a strong internal evidence of the fidelity of Mark, Luke, and John. In stating facts in their own words they were free to do so in their own peculiar styles; but when, as *historians*, they assumed to relate the discourses of Christ it was most proper to give His own language.

Now, the author of a fictitious narrative never would have done this, as he would naturally have put his own peculiarities of speech into the mouth of his imaginary hero, especially when the expression was *indifferent* or not *necessarily* and *plainly* appropriate to the character represented. Even an honest historian, in attempting to relate the discourses of another in the language of the speaker, may yet unconsciously color that language by peculiarities of the historian, especially in respects not material.

These are what we may justly term natural and undesigned coincidences, which could only occur in a true narrative. For when we see a certain historian putting expressions into the discourses of another which he assumes to record, and which expressions are of such a character as the historian might well employ himself but does not, and which are, in fact, often used by contemporary historians in relating much of the same history, then the fair inference must be that he is a faithful recorder of facts, and is thus desirous of giving

<sup>\*</sup> This expression is found in the beginning of the Apocalypse. But in this instance it was most probably the language of the angel adopted by John. At all events it is a single and exceptional case, and cannot show his usual style.

In the A. V. the comparison of Christ to a good shepherd is called a parable, and in the Douay translation a proverb. In my former work, *The Path*, I called it a parable, because the translation I used so styled it, and because as to the matter then under consideration it was of no importance whether it was called a parable or comparison.

the discourses of another as delivered, though they differ in this peculiarity from his own usual style.

These instances and evidences seem to establish satisfactorily the position that while Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John *all* wrote in a style consistent with the exalted nature of the alleged facts they recorded, they nevertheless exhibited *individual* peculiarities of manner which clearly show their several books to have been the separate and independent productions of different authors.

This conclusion being true, it follows as a logical result that there could have been no combination or conspiracy among them to put forth a fictitious history. Had there been any fraudulent design on the part of those writers, they, being conscious of such intention, would naturally have anticipated contradiction, and would have drawn up *one joint* statement, signed by all, so as to have at least avoided all *conflict with each other*. The *only* practicable way in which two or more conspirators can be consistent in their false statements of a *multitude* of particulars is for all to concur in the same joint narrative. This false history may be inconsistent one part with another, but there can be no conflict between the false witnesses themselves. The fraudulent instincts of conspirators capable of inventing an elaborate and plausible fiction would for ever prevent them from writing separate histories of the same alleged events.

But where the alleged facts are true there can be no such necessity for a joint narrative. It must be plain to all that actual facts, however numerous and apparently complex they may be, are yet perfectly consistent with each other and with the combined whole, and, for this good reason, honest, sensible, and independent witnesses will agree in their testimony in all *essential* respects. There may, and most likely will, be some slight discrepancies (more apparent than real in most cases) regarding comparatively immaterial circumstances. The true character of honest human testimony is well stated by Paley as "substantial truth under circumstantial variety."

The integrity of the four evangelists as historians, *so far*, is sustained by the external testimony as to the dangerous personal risks they incurred, and the persecutions they were at all times liable to suffer for their testimony and for their belief in the theory that testimony *necessarily* established, and also by the internal evidence apparent upon the face of the books themselves that they were the several productions of different and independent writers, who did not act as conspirators to put forth a false history.

But while the integrity of these authors, and the consequent substantial truth of their several histories, are thus established, *prima facie*, there may be admissible rebutting evidence sufficient to overthrow this *prima facie* presumption. To duly and fairly estimate the force of such alleged rebutting testimony we must, so far as we can,

examine all the main circumstances under which the works were written, and endeavor to understand their true intent and scope. It may well turn out to be the fact that the alleged contradictions are not truly such, and that they are, at most, merely circumstantial, non-essential differences that really tend to prove the substantial general accuracy of all the narratives. These alleged discrepancies may be often based upon a true ignorance of the record, often upon a misconstruction of its language and consequent mistake of the true meaning of the writers, and very frequently upon not fully knowing and carefully considering all the then existing conditions. My limits will only allow me to consider the subject concisely. Many of these alleged contradictions have been clearly, ably, and concisely answered in Watson's *Reply to Paine*, to which work I have already referred.

Christ is represented to have appeared in Judea as an *oral* teacher of a certain theory of religion. He was incessantly engaged in this task for a little more than three years. During that time of active labor He delivered *many* verbal discourses, and had numerous dialogues and debates with others, at various times, under varied circumstances, and in many different localities. As He addressed so many *different* audiences, He must necessarily, in teaching the *same* theory, have often repeated the same sentiments, advanced the same arguments, and given the same illustrations, at least in part, over and over again. After His first address there must have been a large amount of reiteration ; and yet no two addresses were probably precisely alike. As it was impossible to teach the whole theory in one address, each subsequent discourse would contain some further developments, and would also naturally be varied to suit new conditions, to answer new objections, and to apply local circumstances as illustrations. For want of time on some occasions, and for many other good reasons, it would become necessary to repeat *only in part* His previous instructions. While there would thus be no contradictions, there would necessarily be great differences in His various discourses.

As an illustration we will take the speeches of some distinguished statesman, made during a deeply exciting political campaign, in which the important questions at issue between two great political parties are fully and ably discussed by him, in various oral addresses, delivered before many public meetings held in different localities. As he would mainly, but not entirely, discuss the same questions in each and every one of his addresses, there would necessarily be a vast amount of substantial but not generally literal repetition. This would be the inevitable result, as the speaker, however versatile and eloquent, would have to go over the same ground many times, and would thus be obliged to often repeat the same arguments substantially, but not exactly in the same words. If all his elaborate and masterly speeches were reported and published *verbatim* as delivered, there would be



found repetitions in every one of them after the first ; and yet no two discourses would be alike in all respects. Circumstances would occur during the campaign requiring the speaker to deviate, in some particulars, from his former speeches ; and yet the main drift of all his addresses, under ordinary circumstances, would be the same.

And when we come to examine the record we find it stated that Christ did, on different occasions, repeat His former discourses and sayings in part, even as recorded by the same writer. Thus it is stated in Matthew that He repeated a portion of the Sermon on the Mount at a subsequent time, with an addition to the particular passage (v. 29, 30, xviii. 8, 9) ; and that on one occasion some of the scribes and Pharisees asked Him for a sign, and the Pharisees and Sadducees at a different time asked Him the same question, and that His second answer, though consistent with his first, contained *additional* matter (xii. 38, 39, xvi. 1-4).

These are given simply as examples to prove the truth of a position most reasonable in itself under the circumstances.

It must be obvious that so active and competent a teacher as Christ must have done a multitude of things, and delivered a vast number of discourses, containing a very large amount of matter, during more than three years of time ; so that if a minute and full history of all He said and did had been written it would have filled many large volumes. To have given a full account of all the ministry of Christ and the attendant circumstances (even omitting mere repetitions where such omissions would not have impaired the sense) would have been an undertaking beyond the power, and time, and aim of the writers.

As, therefore, but a partial history was practicable under the then existing circumstances, and as all the writers were independent authors and did not conspire to put forth a fictitious narrative, each one would necessarily write only such portions of this wonderful history as seemed to him most important, keeping in view the particular class of readers for whom his work was mainly intended. Were we to take four most honest, sensible, and diligent men, and require them, under like circumstances, each to give us his own history of the most important portions of certain great and memorable events, their several histories would certainly differ in many respects, while they would agree in the main result. One would be certain to record many incidents that the others would omit. And this being true, there would be apparent contradictions in their histories from the very fact of their brevity.

And when we examine the four Gospels it is clear that they are but partial and not full histories of all the events in the life of Christ. Matthew states, in general terms, that Christ performed many miracles which the record does not mention in detail (viii. 16, ix. 35, xv.

30). So the same writer makes no mention of the Ascension. Mark states that Christ was tempted in the wilderness, but does not give the particulars, as do Matthew and Luke. So this writer states that Christ appeared to two of them as they went into the country, but does not say what was said and done on that journey, as Luke does in his Gospel. Mark also states, in general terms, that Christ performed many miracles not separately mentioned (i. 34, iii. 10). There is nothing in the language of Matthew and Mark to show that either of them assumed to write a full history; and the facts apparent upon the face of each record prove that they did not write such an account. It is true that the broad terms used by Luke in his preface to Acts would, *prima facie*, imply that he had written a full history in his Gospel of "all things which Jesus began to do and to teach." But this wide general language must be limited by the nature of the case and by the context. This author states in his Gospel that Christ taught the people in Capharnaum on the Sabbath days, but does not tell us what was taught; and also says that Christ performed many miracles not specified by the writer (iv. 31, 40). So in Acts he gives a more detailed description of the Ascension than he does in his Gospel; and he records the fact in general terms that Christ showed Himself to the apostles after His Passion, "for forty days appearing to them, and speaking of the kingdom of God"; and yet this writer nowhere gives us a full statement of what was taught during those forty days. As to the Gospel of John, he states in strong, hyperbolical language that "there were also many other things which Jesus did: which if they were written every one, the world itself, I think, would not be able to contain the books that should be written" (xxi. 25).

From these and other examples it is plain that each book of the Gospels, separately considered, does not contain a full history of all that Christ said and did, including such attendant circumstances as are necessary to make clear the other facts recorded; but that each author wrote only such portions of a multitude of particulars as he deemed most important for the specific purpose he had in view. And when we examine all the Gospels as one combined whole it is still apparent that they contain only a portion of a much larger history. This conclusion is reasonable from the very nature of the case, and is made clear by the language of John.

Such being the true character of these compositions, we must necessarily expect to find a great many differences in them, even in regard to the same transaction; and we must reasonably anticipate some *apparent* contradictions in reference to what may appear to be the same matter.

*A contradiction is a direct affirmation on one side, and a direct negation on the other, concerning the same thing.* Every contradiction must be a difference, but every difference need not be a contra-

diction. Thus Mark simply states that Christ was tempted in the wilderness, while Matthew and Luke give a fuller but not contradictory account of that matter. So Mark says Christ appeared to two of them as they went into the country, while Luke gives a more detailed statement of that event. These are clearly cases of difference, but not of contradiction. If any one will examine the separate accounts of the four evangelists as to Joseph of Arimathea and as to the sepulchre in which Christ was laid, and will carefully compare them with each other, concise as they are, he will, perhaps, be surprised to find so many differences in them; and yet he will see no single instance of contradiction, as all the alleged facts are perfectly consistent with each other and with the whole.

When we come to compare the four Gospels together, and we find a difference, or even an apparent contradiction, we must first ascertain whether the writers *certainly* refer to the *same* event. The fact that the language of Christ was substantially similar in the two cases is no certain mark of identity, as He often repeated the same sentiments in much the same language, as we have seen (Matt. v. 29, 30, xviii. 8, 9; Mark ix. 43-47). Nor will the fact that the *place* was the same constitute a clear evidence of identity, as He often taught in the same locality again and again. In one discourse, delivered in the same place, He most probably taught one portion of His theory, and in another a different feature; and, perhaps, in a third He repeated, in substance, the matter of His first discourse. Thus Luke states that He taught in Capharnaum on the Sabbath days, showing that He taught there at different times. So the fact that the miracle recorded was of the same character may not be a certain evidence of identity, as so many miracles were alleged to have been performed, and often of the same kind.

I have already referred, on pages 427-8, to several passages to show that many things are omitted in the Gospels. I will cite in addition Matthew xiv. 14, xix. 2, xxi. 14; Mark vi. 56; Luke v. 15, vi. 19, ix. 11. Matthew tells us that Christ healed two blind men in the house, and that He healed two *other* blind men by the wayside (ix. 29, xx. 30). He also tells us that Christ healed a man blind and dumb (xii. 22). Mark mentions a remarkable case of healing the blind, and *also* the case of blind Bartimeus (viii. 22, x. 46). Luke tells us that Christ healed a blind man (xviii. 35); and John says He healed a man blind from his birth (ix.)

I have given these examples to show that several blind persons were said to have been healed at different times, and that great numbers of others were cured of different diseases. In a population of some three millions there must have been many blind persons, and vast numbers of others afflicted in various ways. It is not, therefore, at all surprising that Christ should have cured two blind companions

at one time, and two at another. It may be difficult, under such circumstances, to identify two accounts found in different books as relating to the *same* event, as each record is so brief and the facts of the general history so numerous. Passages found in different books which seem to refer to the same transaction may not relate to the *same* thing at all, but to a different event. Could we know all the multitudinous facts as they actually existed the explanation might be plain. It is, therefore, easy to infer a contradiction where there is none. For example, Matthew and Mark both state that Christ cried with a loud voice twice while on the cross, and give His language in the first instance, but omit it in the second; while Luke omits to mention the first loud outcry, but notices the second, in which he gives very different language as used by Christ. Now, if Matthew and Mark had simply omitted to mention the second, as Luke does the first, outcry, then it would have been held by many that there was a plain contradiction between the records, as the words given by Matthew and Mark as those used by Christ are very different from those recorded by Luke. Our want of knowledge in regard to a single fact may often leave that doubtful which would be plain were the fact known.

In construing the four Gospels due regard should be had to the simple facts stated. In my best judgment many readers commit a very serious mistake in not keeping steadily in view the main facts—that these records are very brief accounts; that Christ must have often repeated the same things in various ways, according to circumstances; that each writer put on record *only* such facts as appeared to him most important to his main purpose, as he could not record *all*; and that one author would record what Christ said and did on one occasion in reference to a certain portion of the general theory, while another would state what was said and done at another time upon the same matter, but in terms varied to suit local conditions.

I have, in previous pages (188–9), spoken of the allowance that should be made for the errors of copyists in transcribing the record, and will not repeat my remarks upon that subject.

It is not within the compass of this work to notice in detail the various alleged contradictions in the Gospels. The most serious and important relate to the crucifixion, and especially to the resurrection, of Christ, and have been mainly answered by Watson in his *Reply to Paine*. I will only mention one case. Matthew and Mark both state that the two thieves reviled Christ, while Luke says one of them blasphemed Him and the other implored Him to remember him when He should come into His kingdom. This apparent contradiction concerns a matter not essential in itself, as the alleged redemption of Christ would have been complete whether the thieves reviled Him or not. Yet it is one of the attendant circumstances which these authors thought proper to record.

It is very probable that these criminals had very little personal knowledge of Christ before the day they were crucified with Him. They most probably believed, with the apostles, that the kingdom Christ aspired to establish was but temporal, and that if He was the true Messiah He would not permit Himself to be put to death. They most probably had some general knowledge of the miracles He was alleged to have performed, and they at first made His escape from the cross the test of His pretensions to be the Christ. The taunts and derisions of the chief priests and others were expressed in the early part of the three hours He hung alive upon the cross; and it was then that both the thieves may have reproached Him with the others, thinking that if He were the Christ He would save Himself and them, and that if He were not He deserved the reproaches cast upon Him. But *after* the crowd of mockers had retired, and the thieves had had ample time to observe the divine patience exhibited by Christ, and to hear His solemn and impressive words, and to reflect more fully, more seriously, in that honest hour, upon their own condition, one of them changed his opinion. If we take the Christian theory to be true, for the sake of the argument only, then this change of opinion was not at all unreasonable or improbable in a dying man under the circumstances stated. During the long hours of agony, when the mind would act with increased energy, and seeing and hearing all that transpired, the dying man had ample reason to change his opinion both as to the character of Christ and the nature of His kingdom. We cannot know all that occurred while Christ was alive upon the cross; but we have every reason to believe that much more transpired during that time than has been written in the very concise accounts of the evangelists. And unless we knew all that took place on that memorable occasion we are not justified in deciding that there is any contradiction.

Where the *general* fidelity of writers is once established, as in the case of the four evangelists, and *especially* where it is apparent that their several independent histories are separate but partial, not full, accounts, and that all combined contain but a portion of a much larger history, we have the right, under all just rules of criticism, to explain apparent differences and contradictions in the several accounts, by any reasonable hypotheses.\*

\* A learned friend whom I consulted has a different solution, which I will give in his own words:

“There is another simpler way (and in my opinion the true one) of reconciling the two texts: namely, that the two first evangelists use the plural for the singular; of which there are many examples in the Scripture, and even in the gospels. See Matt. ii. 19, 20, ix. 6-8; Com. Matt. iv. 3 with Luke iv. 3, Ps. ii. 2 with Acts iv. 26, 27. Luke xxiii. 36; Heb. xi. 33-37; Jos. vii. 1. Many other texts might be given, especially in the Hebrew original: but it is not necessary. It is well known that the enallage of the number is frequent in the Scriptures.”

## CHAPTER XVI.

### INTERNAL EVIDENCE CONTINUED.

THE fact that these *separate* short records of a much longer history are so different in many respects, and yet, in fact, contain no certain contradictions, is one of the most convincing proofs of the truth of their narrative. The *differences* show that there was no conspiracy among these contemporary historians to write a fiction; and their substantial *agreement* proves that they must have all followed the *same* true chain of events. Had they intended to write a false history there certainly would have been a combination among them to accomplish a *common* purpose; and, in case they had acted independently in writing a fictitious story, they certainly would have contradicted each other in many important and fundamental particulars.

I will now proceed to examine certain features apparent upon the face of these records which I think *intrinsically* establish the truth of the history, because they are consistent with the nature of the mission of Christ and with His assumed character as a divine Lawgiver.

The first case is that mentioned in the fourth chapters of Matthew and Luke, where Satan is alleged to have proposed his *own selected tests* of the truth of the pretension of Christ to be the Son of God: "If thou be the Son of God, command that these stones be made bread"; "If thou be the Son of God, cast thyself down."\* The

\* The prayer-test offered by Sir Henry Thompson in June, 1872, and warmly endorsed and defended by Professor John Tyndall, is essentially the same as that proposed by Satan. They differ only as varieties, but belong to the same species.

The proposition, in the language of Sir Henry Thompson, was this:

"But I ask that one single ward or hospital, under the care of first-rate physicians and surgeons, containing certain numbers of patients afflicted with those diseases which have been best studied, and of which the mortality-rates are best known, whether the diseases are those which are treated by medical or by surgical remedies, should be, during a period of not less, say, than three or five years, made the object of special prayer by the whole body of the faithful, and that, at the end of that time, the mortality-rates should be compared with the past rates, and also with that of other leading hospitals, similarly well managed, during the same period. Granting that time is given, and numbers are sufficiently large, so as to insure a minimum of error from accidental disturbing causes, the experiment will be exhaustive and complete. . . . I offer an occasion of demonstrating to the faithless an imperishable record of the real power of prayer."

In regard to this proposition Professor Tyndall says, among other things:

"Two opposing parties here confront each other—the one affirming the habitual intrusion of supernatural power, in answer to the petitions of men; the other questioning, if not denying, any such intrusion."

"The theory that the system of nature is under the control of a Being who changes phenomena in compliance with the prayers of men, is, in my opinion, a perfectly legitimate one. It may of course be rendered futile by being associated with conceptions which contradict it, but such conceptions form no necessary part of the theory. It is a matter of experience that an earthly father, who is at the same time both wise and tender, listens to the requests of his children, and if they do

tests here put were challenges that Christ should do certain specified things. Some of the scribes and Pharisees at one time, and the Pharisees and Sadducees at another, asked a sign from Him ; but while it was not a specific act they demanded, it was in substance the same as those proposed by Satan, as it required Him to do more than He had done, before they would believe in His claim to be the Son of God. All these proposed tests were rejected, and this rejection was perfectly consistent with the character and just rights of a Divine Lawgiver.

The Lawgiver, as we have seen (page 171), must *first* prescribe his law, as, until that is done, the party under government can neither obey nor disobey it. But it is for the superior and not for his inferior to determine what publishing may be proper and sufficient under the circumstances. This is especially true of a Divine Legis-

not ask smiles, takes pleasure in granting their requests. We know also that this compliance extends to the alteration, within certain limits, of the current of events on earth. With this suggestion offered by our experience, it is no departure from scientific method to place behind natural phenomena a universal Father, who, in answer to the prayers of his children, alters the currents of those phenomena. Thus far theology and science go hand in hand."

"Forced upon his attention as a form of physical energy, or as the equivalent of such energy, the scientific student claims the right of subjecting prayer to those methods of examination from which all our present knowledge of the physical universe is derived." My extracts are taken from the copy issued by Asa K. Butts & Co., New York, 1874.

From these extracts the reader can form a substantially accurate conception of the nature of the proposition made by only *one* of *three* parties. It is simply a *specific test* as to whether God, at the request and for the benefit of man, would or would not interfere, in this case, with the regular operation of the physical laws of nature. One of the three parties proposes to another party—his equal, and both of them alike under the government of the same Infallible Lawgiver—a *conclusive test* as to what God will or will not do ; and this party proposes to make the action or non-action of God a necessary factor in the case, without *first* obtaining His consent to the test. Assuming the existence of God, then, to make the test *conclusive*, *three parties must concur*. But in this case it is not proposed to first consult God and obtain His assent to the test ; but the *one* party selects his own test, as did Satan, and determines, in advance, that it is proper, and shall be *conclusive*, provided the other inferior accepts it, the approval of the propriety of the test by God being *only presumed*.

But assuming the *possibility* of the existence of God (which Professor Tyndall has done in simple and appropriate language), then is not this a plausible but still a vain and idle proposition?

If God exists as Creator, then He rightfully governs His own creation ; and if governor, He must govern man in some form ; and He may, therefore, make a direct revelation of His will to man, and may specially, from time to time, interpose in the physical affairs of men, so often as in His wisdom and mercy He may determine to do so. In this revelation He may clearly inform the parties governed that He will grant the prayers of men when they are *both* rightly made and for the *proper* objects.

Then, as a revelation of God's will towards men is *possible*, we will assume, for the sake of the argument only, that He has made one, and that He has, in this revelation, given ample proof of His willingness to grant the *proper* requests of men, even when such prayers ask the temporary interference of God with the physical laws of nature.

Now, this is just what all Christians believe God has *already* done ; and we think He is rightfully the *sole* proper judge of the kind and sufficiency of the evidence He should give as to His will, and that if Sir Henry Thompson and Professor Tyndall have the right to select their *own special* test as to the *future* action of God, then Mr. Bradlaugh and all others possess the same right to propose *other* and different arbitrary tests, until the Supreme would practically cease to be supreme. And as the *concurrent* action of "the whole body of the faithful" is necessary to give the test proposed even the semblance of a trial, we would, by the very act of accepting the challenge, substantially concede either that God had made no revelation in regard to prayer, or that He had made one *so imperfect* as to require a further improvement suggested by His *subject*, man ; which position would impeach His wisdom or His justice. Besides, this proposition asks us, for the purpose of convincing "the faithless," to violate a plain provision of the law which we claim and believe to be that of Christ, and which forbids us to tempt God by offering arbitrary tests of *our own*. Under

lator. It was proper and necessary that Christ should give adequate evidence of His claim to a divine nature and the consequent rights belonging to it; but of the character and quantity of such proof He was properly the *exclusive judge*. In support of His claims He appealed to the prophets, to the testimony given by John the Baptist, and especially to His own miracles (Matt. xi. 5; Luke vii. 22; John v. 31-36, 46, x. 38). These constitute ample evidence, if true. Had He permitted each and every one who disputed His authority to put forward his own selected test, He would have been subject to the caprices and follies of His own subjects and inferiors, as their tests would have been as numerous and variant as the imaginations of men could invent. Having given credible and sufficient evidence of the

such circumstances we cannot accept the proposed test; and to challenge a party who cannot accept is as idle and vain as the alleged action of the fox in the fable when he invited the stork to dine on soup served up in shallow plates.

Professor Tyndall has very plainly and forcibly stated the claim of the scientific student to subject prayer to the methods of physical science. But with all due respect I submit that such claim is but an attempted usurpation of powers not rightfully belonging to the student of physical science.

Assuming the existence of God and the establishment by Him of the physical laws of nature, which have a fixed and uniform action—except when He, for special reasons, upon particular occasions, temporarily suspends or overcomes them—it can readily be seen that these *generally* invariable laws can well be the subject of certain positive scientific methods of examination, because these properties of matter act blindly, and their effects are generally the same, under the same circumstances; and these circumstances are generally of such a character as to be mainly within our knowledge and comprehension. When, therefore, we once learn what has been the action of these laws under a given state of circumstances, which we can know and comprehend, we can be certain that the same result will generally follow under what we can *know* to be the same conditions. These methods of examination applicable to physical laws can well show us the *general rule*—their uniform operation—but may be wholly insufficient to point out the special exceptions to that rule—the interpositions of God. We can estimate with far more certainty what will be the effects of the *known* physical laws of nature in a given case than we can what will be the action of an intellectual but finite being at different times, even under *apparently* the same circumstances. The same positive methods which enable us to examine successfully the properties of matter may mislead us when applied to the actions of mind. The conditions under which matter blindly acts are so different in their nature from those governing mind that the same scientific methods cannot be properly applied alike to both. Conceding that the action of God would always be the same under *precisely* the same circumstances, yet these circumstances may be so many in number, and so complex in their nature, as *only* to be within the knowledge and comprehension of an infinite Mind, who sees them in all their multifarious relations, while by us finite mortals they cannot be fully known or comprehended. For example, if we concede that God specially interposes in the physical affairs of men at all, He may as well do so for the purpose of punishing the guilty as rewarding the good; and who but He can know when punishment or reward should be inflicted or bestowed? We cannot rightfully assume to know or judge the secret thoughts or intentions of men, or the expansive views of God, with such a degree of certainty as to apply to that subject the fixed and positive methods applicable to physical science. In their nature the two subjects require different methods of examination.

However objectionable we may consider this proposed test to be, we must do Sir Henry Thompson and Professor Tyndall the justice to concede that it was proposed by them in good faith, they believing it to be fair, and that there was a reasonable probability that it would be so regarded by Christians. But, in my best judgment, these gentlemen exhibited a very erroneous idea of the Christian theory, and displayed a very imperfect knowledge of the fundamental principles of all law intended for the government of men; and especially that they proved they possessed only a most inadequate conception of what is justly due to the exalted character of a Divine Lawgiver. And, with all due deference to the views of men so learned and distinguished, I must think that, in seriously and solemnly putting forth a proposition so extraordinary and so inadmissible, they wandered from the familiar fields of physical science into new, higher, and wider regions with which they were less acquainted, and in which they were partially bewildered.

“What’s the gay dolphin, when he quits the waves,  
And bounds upon the shore?”



truth of His claim to be the Son of God, He very properly declined any *other* test.

This was the *general* rule with the prophets under the Old Dispensation. They themselves, or God for them, selected the tests of disputed questions. God recognized the right of Pharaoh to ask signs to show the mission and authority of Moses and Aaron, but he designated the signs Himself (Ex. vii. 9). So in the case of the schism of Core and his adherents, Moses or God selected the tests (Num. xvi. 6, 26-8, xvii. 2). So it was with Elias the prophet; he selected the test (3 Kings xviii. 19-39). In two cases it was *first* proposed by Isaias that the party to be convinced should select his own test (4 Kings xx. 8, 9; Is. vii. 11). In the case of Gedeon, as he was already the friend of God, he was allowed to select his own tests at his humble request (Judges vi. 36-40). It will also be seen that Gedeon did not propose the signs as a test of the existence and rights of God, but simply as to whether God would deliver Israel by the hand of Gedeon, who desired and humbly asked for a confirmation of the statements of the angel that appeared to him, as he seemed to have feared some mistake, the defeat of the Madianites appearing to be almost hopeless. The case of the king of Babylon mentioned in the second chapter of Daniel does not seem to have been proposed simply as a test, as the monarch had an alarming and perplexing dream, and really desired its statement and interpretation. At most it was a peculiar and exceptional case, and the king was answered for special reasons.

In the case of Christ, who claimed to be both God and man and a Divine Lawgiver present and visible, it would have been incompatible with His exalted character (except in some very special case) to have permitted those under His government to propose their *own* tests of His pretension to be the Messias. But this view of the true prerogative of a Divine Legislator would never have been appreciated by the forger of a fictitious story. The pride and selfishness of human nature would always prompt us to propose *our own* tests, and to desire them answered *as put by us*. And as all forgers are proud and selfish, they very naturally suppose others to be so; and, for that reason, had a forger written these accounts of the temptations of Christ he would have been certain to have represented his hero as promptly accepting the challenges and as triumphantly performing the feats proposed. This course would have been the legitimate result of the pride, false principles, and fraudulent instincts of the forger. He would not have left his fictitious hero in the apparently humiliating position of being unable to do the things he was challenged to perform. His pride would have revolted at the thought of being the inventor of such an apparent failure.

I think that the great and sublime Sermon on the Mount, which is

most fully recorded in the earlier chapters of Matthew, could never have been the production of the human mind. There is an elevation of spirit and sentiment running through the whole discourse which never could have been attained by uninspired man. Taken as a whole, it is far superior to all that ever had been written by all philosophers and moralists combined.

This sublime code, as we have already stated, places vice in the wicked intention as well as in the sinful act, and does not require the concurrence of *both* the wicked intention and the sinful act to constitute a violation of the law.

The sublimest one of the Beatitudes is this: "Blessed are the clean of heart: for they shall see God." The greatest of all rewards is the Beatific Vision; and this is promised to *cleanness of heart*, which must include purity of intention. One of the Ten Commandments, which says thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's property, prohibits the evil intention in the cases therein mentioned (Ex. xx. 17). But this provision only extended to the wicked desire to possess unlawfully the *property* of another; but the provision in the code of Christ against the desire to commit adultery goes further than the law of Moses (Matt. v. 28). There is no conceivable case where some provision of the Christian code does not prohibit the wicked intention.

It is true that there are some apparent difficulties, especially in the minds of unbelievers, as to the proper interpretation of a *few* of the many passages in this great sermon, the language used in several places being figurative. "You are the light of the world" is undoubtedly a figurative expression.

When the Lawgiver intended to inculcate the necessity of exercising great moral firmness and courage in resisting some sinful affection or in cutting off dangerous occasions of sin—such, for example, as an inordinate thirst for intoxicating beverages—He said if thy eye, hand, or foot scandalize thee, cast it from thee. That this is symbolical language is clear from the nature of the case. By this we are taught to refrain from all excessive indulgence of our inclinations, though such indulgence be as dear to us as an eye, hand, or foot. So, when He determined to restrain anger and a desire of revenge, and to inculcate a great degree of forbearance under personal injury, He said: "If one strike thee on thy right cheek, turn to him also the other." This is also figurative language; for if we give it a strict literal construction, then the prohibition must be confined to the *single* case mentioned—a blow upon the *right* cheek—and thus we would have the right to revenge ourselves for a blow upon any other part of the body. But this single figurative example is given to assert a *general* principle in reference to our forbearance under personal injuries. The true sense may be gathered from the conduct

of the Lawgiver Himself when He was smitten before the high-priest (John xviii. 22-3). In this case He did not turn the other cheek, but with mild dignity said : " If I have spoken evil, give testimony of the evil ; but if well, why strikest thou me ? "

I think there is a clear distinction between *our* resenting an assault upon the spot and *afterwards* seeking a just compensation through the proper judicial tribunals. Such a suit, when not prompted by any desire of revenge, but when brought solely from a true Christian motive to obtain justice and to vindicate the great right of individual security, does not violate the general principle included in this provision.

The blow, in many cases, may be given under a mistake as to facts, and in many more under the sudden impulse of passion ; and the denial of the right to *immediately* take justice into our own hands in such cases, when we ourselves are angry and not competent to judge rightly, is founded in deep and practical wisdom, and the average results are better even in this world than they are under the animal practice of revenge. One thing is *practically* certain : men of violence and revenge suffer most themselves, as " he that taketh the sword, shall perish by the sword. " Such is the general result, according to the close observation of a long life. Comparatively few men who act upon the true Christian principles of not giving any just cause of offence themselves, and of non-resistance to insults offered to them by others, ever suffer the loss of life or limb from personal violence, while great numbers who act upon the contrary theory suffer or fall in individual encounters. Such men erroneously esteem physical as greater than moral courage, and pride themselves upon the possession of a quality in regard to which the bulldog is their equal and the gamecock much their superior. Whereas moral courage is much more noble in its nature, more difficult in practice, and far more permanent and beneficial in its effects than mere physical bravery ; and on proper occasions, as in the case of the martyrs, moral courage inspires that unconquerable patience which endures the greatest and most prolonged physical evils.

I think the prohibition was not intended to be carried beyond the *nature* of the example given. Such a blow as seems to be contemplated in this case is comparatively but a temporary and slight injury, not seriously imperilling life or limb. But in a case where the danger is great and imminent, and requires immediate resistance to avert serious probable results, I think the Christian, under this rule, would be allowed to repel force by force—not from a motive of revenge, but from a just desire of self-preservation. In cases of milder assault, especially where the aggressor thinks himself justified in the act, resistance only increases rage and the consequent danger of serious injury to one or both parties. But in the case of a violent assault

—for example, with a deadly weapon—where it is reasonably certain from all the circumstances that one or the other *must* suffer serious loss, the right to save himself at the expense of the guilty party seems to reside with the innocent and intended victim, provided he does not use more force than necessary to protect himself, self-preservation being his only proper motive.

The passage just considered regards injuries to the person; but the two verses immediately following and constituting a part of the same sentence relate to contests about property, and are designed to inculcate the same general spirit of prudent and gentle forbearance. They are intended to discourage litigation in reference to property or service, and for this purpose enjoin the propriety of making sacrifices in order to avoid threatened lawsuits, especially in cases where there may be reasonable doubt as to the right. It is better in doubtful cases, as well as in cases involving only small amounts, to settle them by yielding more than the party resisting the claim may think is just, as it is generally a much less evil to end the controversy in this way than to go to law. By thus terminating the contest amicably the bitter feelings and other evils resulting from lawsuits are avoided.

But the passage about the construction of which there is no seeming difficulty, but to the plain meaning of which unbelievers generally object, is that grand and peculiar command, "LOVE YOUR ENEMIES."

The Lawgiver Himself gives the best reason for this provision: "That you may be the children of your Father who is in heaven: who maketh his sun to rise upon the good and the bad: and raineth upon the just and the unjust."

The law of Moses required assistance to be rendered enemies in the cases of strayed animals and prostrated beasts of burden (Ex. xxiii. 4, 5); and in Proverbs it is written: "If thy enemy be hungry, give him to eat: if he thirst, give him water to drink: for thou shalt heap hot coals upon his head, and the Lord will reward thee" (xxv. 21-2). But the law of Christ goes further and *expressly* commands us to *love* our enemies as well as to aid them.

This comprehensive and elevated command is based upon the great and fundamental doctrine of the existence of one God, the Creator of all things, and also upon that of the unity and immortality of the human race. The Creator must love His own creatures, as a good and wise father loves his children; and as all men are equals as creatures, and are placed here only during a period of probation, He bestows temporal blessings upon all, both the just and the unjust, that all mankind may have the opportunity to form their own characters according to their own election. And as God desires the happiness of all men because they are His creatures, and as all men are brethren by virtue of the unity of the race, *these brethren*, for the sake

of the kindly relation all members of the same family should bear to each other, and for the love that all should have for God, the Father and Creator of all, should rise above the petty animal resentments and hatreds of corrupt human nature and imitate God in His expanded love and wide benevolence towards all mankind. It is a great and sublime sentiment, and shows the superiority of intellect over instinct, of principle over passion, and of true and enduring wisdom above narrow and passionate feelings and views.

There is also much reason and there is good practical common sense in this command. If a man should see the house of his enemy on fire, should he not sound the alarm and use his reasonable efforts to extinguish the flames? So if he should find his most bitter enemy about to drown or in danger of losing his life from any other cause, and he could *safely* aid him, ought he not to do so? And as it is the clear duty of all men, each in his proper station, to do all the good and avoid all the evil he reasonably can, why should we not aid an enemy in every case where we can properly do so as well as in the cases mentioned? And if we aid our enemies at all, why not do so from the proper motive and with the kindly feeling of a brother? If we aid them in any way, surely the good motive and kindly feeling which prompt and accompany the act will not injure but benefit us, and will also *generally* enhance the value of the act in the estimation of the receiver. Where is the man whose accurate knowledge of men has been *practically* acquired during his active participation in human pursuits who does not know that the wise and yet kindly man, who does not indulge the low, brute practice of revenge, but forgives injuries and returns benefits in their place, is, after all that has been or can be said to the contrary, *practically* the happy, successful, and most useful man? In overlooking and forgiving injuries—or *supposed* injuries, as they *really* are in many if not in most cases—and in returning good for evil, he is, in fact, doing the very best for himself and for the community in which he lives, as he fills the twofold perfect character of being “wise as the serpent and harmless as the dove.” None but a man of the most abandoned grade would inflict a second injury upon any one who had once returned him good for evil. I think that the only logical ground upon which the justice and expediency of this great command can be denied is that of dark and dismal atheism, which is but a blind negation of all that is most noble, pure, and true.

In regard to the views of antiquity upon the general subject of benevolence Dr. Uhlhorn says :

We are actually startled when we contemplate this consistent and thorough-going egoism. “A man is a wolf to a man whom he does not know,” says Plautus, and the whole life of Antiquity is a proof of this. The views even of Plato, the noblest of sages, respecting the State, were thoroughly egoistic. All beggars must

be driven out. No one shall take an interest in the poor, when they are sick. If the constitution of a laboring man cannot withstand sickness, the physician may abandon him without scruple ; he is good for nothing except to be experimented on. "Can you condescend so far that the poor do not disgust you ?" asks Quincilian. The aid bestowed—this was the thought—is of no help to the poor (*i. e.*, it does not make them rich, the only happiness); it simply prolongs their wretchedness. "He deserves ill of a beggar," we read in Plautus, "who gives him food and drink. For that which is given is thrown away, and the life of the beggar is protracted to his misery." We need at most do good to those who have done good to us ; those who injure us we may hate, indeed it is our duty to hate them. According to Aristotle, anger and revenge are lawful passions. Without them men would lack powerful incentives to good. Even Cicero's ideal rises no higher. "The good man is to perform even to a stranger all the service that he can, and to harm no one even when provoked by injustice ; but the helping whom he can is to be limited by this, that he shall not himself suffer injuries thereby." Of self-denial, of a love which gives more than it can deprive itself of without harm, of love even to one's enemies, Cicero has as little a presentiment as the rest of Antiquity (*Conflict*, pp. 192-3).

It will be seen that while Cicero urges the duty of service even to strangers, and opposes revenge against *enemies*, he does not affirmatively advocate any *service* to them, much less a *love* for enemies.

The method of teaching alleged to have been adopted by Christ seems to have been the most reasonable, considering the nature of the theory to be established. In teaching a theory so wonderful and so much opposed, in its main feature, to the fixed views and the darling wishes of the Jewish people, it was proper to begin at the beginning and teach *first* the most simple and practical elements, unfolding the more complex and profound doctrines later and by prudent degrees. The Sermon on the Mount mainly concerned the practical duties of life and contained nothing calculated to shock the religious feelings or national hopes of the audience. It was also proper to select certain apostles as future witnesses and teachers, who would be continually with Him during His mission, see His acts and hear His discourses, receive His special instructions and enjoy the great benefit of His *personal* example, so that they might be amply qualified and encouraged to discharge the great duties of witnesses and teachers *after* His departure. And as He intended to set up the Church on the day of Pentecost, and leave His apostles as His agents to carry His system of religion into practical operation ; and as He gave them the power to perform miracles in attestation of their veracity as witnesses and of their commission as teachers, He did not teach the people in general His whole theory, so full of mysteries, as a supernatural revelation must be in the very nature of things. For these good reasons He taught the mass of the people only in part, leaving His ministers to teach them more fully after the organization of the Church. He taught them as they were able to hear it (Mark iv. 33).

But even to His apostles, to whom He privately explained all

things, He opened His theory gradually, beginning with the simpler elements. It was not until Peter had received a special revelation from God that Jesus was the Christ, and not until after his grand confession of that great truth as recorded in the sixteenth chapter of Matthew, that He began to teach them the mysterious facts that He must suffer death and rise again. It was *immediately after* this surprising declaration that He made these solemn remarks, so becoming a Divine Lawgiver :

If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross and follow me. For he that will save his life shall lose it ; and he that shall lose his life for my sake, shall find it. For what doth it profit a man, if he gain the whole world and suffer the loss of his own soul ?

I do not think that the inventor of a fiction, or a false pretender, would ever have represented his hero or himself as adopting all the methods alleged to have been pursued by Christ. He would hardly have represented Him as acting upon the plan of personal and special instruction and training of His apostles during three years ; and *especially* he would have made his fictitious lawgiver (in an age when the art of writing was well understood) write out his law himself, or have had it written under his dictation, thus leaving behind him a written and not an unwritten code.

It is true that a real legislator might well write his code, as did Moses ; but a pretended lawgiver would be certain to do so. Mohammed dictated his alleged laws himself, and left them in the shape of a written code as found in the Koran. This course is natural to human pride and ambition. The pretended lawgiver, falsely claiming inspiration from God, would know that fact ; and, knowing his own fraudulent character, he would never trust another to write out his code after he was gone, but would be certain to do it himself or have it done under his personal supervision. He would fear that his successor would omit something, or write something not intended by him, and would most likely write himself down as the superior of his master. His pride would revolt at the prospect of being considered by posterity as incompetent to write or dictate his own code. He could readily see that his fame would be in danger when entrusted to fallible and fraudulent hands.

But Christ is consistently alleged to have left His unwritten code to be practically administered by His agent, the Church. His inspired witnesses and teachers could well be trusted to write out such portions of the code as they might find to be expedient. Having no ambition to gratify, and having no fear of error in His agents, He could safely pursue the course He did. But no writer of a fiction, or false pretender, would have thought of placing his god or himself in such a position.

As to the character of the alleged miracles of one *truly* claiming the exalted position of Christ, it is most reasonable to anticipate that the miracles themselves, as well as the modes of their performance, would be various. We find the visible creation full of *variety*—the great and the small, the grand and the humble, the plain and the magnificent, the homely and the beautiful. God could not otherwise so fully display the vast resources of His creative power and wisdom as in the mode He adopted. If man, with his limited intellect and exuberant pride, possessed the power of creation, he would never make a small and unseemly insect or an ugly beast. His personal pride would prompt him to create only the grand and the beautiful. But the Supreme Mind takes a more elevated and expanded view of things, and therefore rises above the low suggestions of silly pride.

“To Him no high, no low, no great, no small ;  
He fills, He bounds, connects, and equals all.”

We have, therefore, every reason to believe that the same elevated and expanded view that governed God in the order of creation would control Him in the performance of miracles. We should expect some sublime displays of power, some of medium character, and others insignificant, and even ridiculous, in the eyes of proud men. We should also anticipate that His miracles would be mainly wrought upon the humble and deserving. We would never suppose that He would perform miracles to gratify the idle curiosity or to flatter the pride of men. A miracle performed for the benefit of a deserving person or for a worthy object would possess all the power of proof that a miracle performed upon an unworthy subject would have, and would thus accomplish a *double* purpose.

As to the frequency of miracles, that would depend upon the purpose for which they would be performed. From this we can see that they might not be so frequent at one time and place as at others, because not necessary or for some other good reason. Whether proper at a particular time and place God could alone be the judge. We certainly can judge better of some things than of others. We can judge better of facts cognizable by the senses than we can of the hidden and deep reasons of God. We are more competent to weigh and estimate the testimony of individuals of our own species, with whom we are familiar all our lives, than we are to judge of the times and occasions when God should perform miracles. We must reverently wait until they are alleged to have occurred, and then reasonably exercise our powers of investigation to ascertain the fact of their reality.

Miracles have to encounter the “hissing follies” of the wit, the declaimer, and the wag. They are subject to the ridicule and the scoffs of the frivolous, the flippant, and the unfeeling. “But to the sober, sincere, and patient inquirer they will wear another aspect.”



To properly investigate the great subject of miracles requires an impartial, earnest mind free from the vice of pride. There is an element of rank injustice in pride, which demands more than it is justly entitled to receive. Pride is supreme, short-sighted selfishness, and wholly unfits its victim for calm, unprejudiced investigation and decision. He who overestimates himself is hardly competent to fairly judge anything else, especially those alleged miracles which establish a theory of religion directly opposed to this darling passion of pride.

When we concede the existence of God we concede the possibility of miracles ; and when we concede their possibility it is not difficult to perceive their probability, as possibility and probability often bear some relation to each other. It would seem, therefore, to be clear that the probabilities and reasons why miracles should sometimes occur are greater than those against them. It must be evident that God could best make a revelation of His law to mankind through miracles.

And when we come to examine the miracles alleged in the record as having been performed by Christ we find them of many kinds. The dead were raised, evil spirits were cast out, the blind were made to see, the dumb to speak, the deaf to hear, the lame to walk, the impotent to move, useless limbs were restored, the sick of the palsy, leprosy, fever, and other diseases were cured, the devils were permitted to enter into the swine, and the coin for the tax was found in the mouth of the fish. Many of these miracles were grand in character, others were medium, and some few apparently insignificant. Some of them were not so clearly miraculous, whilst most of them were unmistakably so.

For example, the mind, it is well known, will have in *some* cases a healing influence upon the body to a *limited* extent ; and this influence is so much relied upon by many physicians that they often claim they are justified in concealing from many of their patients their real condition. This influence, while it must have some effect in certain classes of cases, cannot have any efficient control over others. In regard to some of the alleged cures of Christ, it might be plausibly contended—if such cases stood *alone*, as the *only* miracles performed by Him—that they were not miraculous but natural cures, caused by the imagination acting beneficially upon the physical system. But in most of the cases mentioned in the record this assumed effect of the mind upon the physical organization could not possibly have produced the cures stated. Raising the dead to life, healing a patient afflicted with that *incurable* disease, leprosy, opening the eyes of the blind and the ears of the deaf, loosing the tongue of the dumb, healing the withered limb, causing the lame to walk, and curing diseases of long standing—in short, healing INSTANTLY the most obstinate and inveterate diseases, such as medicine, aided by the imagination, was

never known to cure at ONCE, and in many cases not at all—all this never could possibly be the legitimate effect of the imagination upon the human body. As the man blind from his birth so well said :

From the beginning of the world it hath not been heard, that any man hath opened the eyes of one born blind. Unless this man were of God, he could not do any thing (John ix. 32-3).

And the modes of performing these numerous miracles were as various as were the miracles themselves. He called Lazarus from the grave by crying with a loud voice, "Lazarus, come forth"; raised the widow of Naim's son by touching the bier and saying, "Young man, I say to thee, arise"; and the daughter of Jairus by taking her by the hand and saying, "Maid, arise." At one time He cured two blind men by touching their eyes and saying, "According to your faith, be it done unto you"; at another two blind men were healed by touching their eyes (Matt. ix. 29, xx. 34); at a third time He cured a blind man by spitting upon his eyes and laying his hands on him (Mark viii. 23-5), and the man born blind by spitting on the ground and making clay of the spittle, and spreading it upon his eyes, saying, "Go wash in the pool of Siloe" (John ix. 6, 7). The dumb was healed by Christ putting His fingers into his ears, spitting, and touching his tongue, and saying, "Be thou opened" (Mark vii. 33-4). Many were cured by touching the hem of His garment; the withered hand by the command, "Stretch forth thy hand," and others in various different ways.

If the alleged facts recorded be true, then they were unequivocally miraculous; and the only remaining questions regard the credibility of the witnesses and the competency and *sufficiency* of the evidence to establish the existence of the facts themselves.

In answer to Hume's position regarding miracles Paley puts the case in this way :

Now, to proceed in this way with what may be called Mr. Hume's theorem. If twelve men, whose probity and good sense I had long known, should seriously and circumstantially relate to me an account of a miracle wrought before their eyes, and in which it was impossible that they should be deceived; if the governor of the country, hearing a rumour of this account, should call these men into his presence, and offer them a short proposal, either to confess the imposture, or submit to be tied up to a gibbet; if they should refuse with one voice to acknowledge that there existed any falsehood or imposture in the case; if this threat were communicated to them separately, yet with no different effect; if it was at last executed; if I myself saw them, one after another, consenting to be racked, burnt, or strangled, rather than give up the truth of their account; still, if Mr. Hume's rule be my guide, I am not to believe them. Now I undertake to say that there exists not a sceptic in the world who would not believe them, or who would defend such incredulity (*Ev. Chris.*, Preliminary remarks).

In a former work I examined this position of Mr. Hume, and, among other things, said :

He who takes the position that a miracle is impossible, must assume one of two things to be true: either, 1. That there is no Creator; or 2. That, admitting the existence of such a Creator, in creating the world and giving to it and its inhabitants certain properties and laws, He resolved in advance, *never for any purpose, on any occasion, to interfere, in any manner, with the legitimate effects of this order.* And in assuming the first position, to avoid the possibility of *any* violation of this order, the party must also assume the eternal existence of this order of nature; for if it be the result of *chance at any time*, this same chance *may* certainly undo what it had done. If mere *chance* could possibly originate a *system* of any kind, surely it could modify or destroy. And the same may be said of God. If He created, He surely can modify, destroy, or suspend, unless He has resolved not to do so. If the second position be assumed, that God had resolved, in Himself, not to interfere with the regular operation of what we call the laws of nature, it being an *affirmative* proposition, he who assumes, must prove it.

It occurs to me as clear, that although our knowledge of the laws of nature may be limited, and, therefore, not include a knowledge of all; yet we have a certain and positive knowledge of *some* of these laws, or we have no certain knowledge of anything. If we have a certain and positive knowledge of the operation and effect of the more familiar laws of nature, under a given state of circumstances, then we can determine, with certainty, when a sensible violation of these known laws of nature, occurs under the *same* circumstances. There is, therefore, a plain distinction between an event merely new, and one directly in violation of a known law of nature. A miracle may not be new in its kind, because a like miracle may have occurred before, and may occur again. But I do not understand Mr. Hume as intending to assert that miracles are *impossible*. His objection lies against the *competency* of the testimony offered.

Mr. Hume, then, as I understand him, intended to assume this ground: that the proof against miracles, drawn from experience, is *prima facie* true; and that the testimony of men is not competent to *rebut* this presumption.

If, then, a miracle be *possible*, it may have occurred; and if so, it surely may be proved, in *some way*. The existence and operation of these laws are proven by human testimony, founded upon human experience; and if this evidence is competent to prove the existence and operation of a certain law of nature, cannot the same class of testimony establish the fact of its violation? It would seem that the same character of testimony, given by the same beings, would be competent for both purposes. As a miracle is *possible*, and may have happened, we will suppose, for the sake of the argument only, that it has occurred. How, then, would Mr. Hume have proven it, under his theory? To say that a visible and palpable fact may exist, and be known to men, and yet to say that reason and philosophy deny all competent evidence of such a fact, is to degrade reason and philosophy, and would seem to be manifestly erroneous.

And when Mr. Hume gives as a reason, in substance, that experience has proven the general uniform operation of the laws of nature, and the same experience has also shown that men will sometimes lie; therefore, it is more reasonable to believe that men lie in regard to miracles, than that these laws have been violated, I am constrained to say, that he overlooks the fact, that God could best make a revelation to man through miracles—that the probabilities and reasons why miracles should sometimes occur, are as great, if not greater, than those against them. For; without going into the subject at large, it occurs to me as the genuine dictate of pure reason—that as the properties infused into matter, and the instincts given unreasoning animals, are so different from the laws enacted for the government of rational free agents, they could be best communicated in a different manner; and while the effects of properties and instincts would be *uniform*, and,

for that reason, not require any new and additional interference, the effects of free agency would be variable, (though still confined within the limited powers of the rational creature,) and, for that reason, would require the special interposition of the Creator at some period or other, and, perhaps, at different periods. Mr. Hume also overlooks the fact, that, although experience has shown that *some* men will lie, under the influence of certain motives, others will not under any known temptation; and that human testimony, for that reason, may be credible to the highest degree of moral certainty. I believe that London exists, and I believe it with the same certainty that I do any other of the most certain facts. This I believe purely upon human testimony.

The best result of my reason and reflection is this—that a miracle is possible, and, therefore, not incredible—that the question whether a particular miraculous event occurred, is purely a question of fact, to be established by testimony—that to prove an event contrary to the order of nature, requires more testimony, or stronger proof, than to establish an ordinary event; because it requires a greater weight of testimony to rebut and overcome the *prima facie* presumption against miracles, than to establish a general case, in the first instance. He who assumes to overcome a *prima facie* presumption against him, must necessarily bring a greater amount of proof than he would be required to produce, if no such presumption stood in his way (*The Path*, pp. 233, 234, 235, 237).

I have made some changes in the words of the fourth extract, so as more accurately to express my present views.

As to the competency of human testimony to prove the performance of miracles there would seem to be no reasonable doubt, after all that has been or can be said to the contrary. The only remaining questions regard the credibility of the witnesses and the sufficiency of their testimony.

In reference to the *general* character of the *early* Christians I have said much in preceding pages. Their integrity was insured by their blameless lives, by the perils they all encountered, the insults they all endured, and the painful persecutions all of them anticipated and many of them actually suffered. In regard to the integrity of the witnesses to the alleged miracles of Christ and His apostles I will submit, in addition, the following remarks.

That the Christian religion took its rise from Christ, and that He was persecuted, and suffered death in consequence under Pontius Pilate in Judea, are historical facts well established, even by heathen testimony, especially by that of Tacitus, as may be seen from the extract hereinbefore given (pages 357–8). That upon the death of Christ it was checked for a while, but that it again burst forth, and not only spread itself over Judea, its first seat, but was even introduced into Rome before the great conflagration of July 18, A.D. 64, are facts established by the same extract, as well as sustained by the history found in Acts—the two histories substantially agreeing with and supporting each other.

These being indisputable facts, it follows as a most reasonable anticipation that the propagators of the *same* system after the death of

its Founder—especially His *chosen apostles*—would suffer the *same* opposition that brought persecution upon Christ Himself. Therefore the truth of the history of such persecutions as recorded in Acts, and mentioned in some of the epistles, is sustained by the nature and reason of the case. And this history shows how reasonable it was that Christ should have said to His apostles :

But beware of men. For they will deliver you up in councils, and they will scourge you in their synagogues. And you shall be brought before governors, and before kings for my sake. . . . And you shall be hated by all men for my name's sake (Matt. x. 17, 18, 22). If they have persecuted me, they will also persecute you. These things will they do to you: because they have not known the Father, nor me (John xv. 20, xvi. 3).

From the very nature of the Christian theory it must have encountered the sternest and most obstinate opposition in that age of the world and in that locality. It was a theory positive, exclusive, and inflexible, and not only set itself up against all other forms of religion, but its Founder claimed to be Himself both God and man. To the Jews it only proposed a spiritual, and not the temporal, kingdom they so ardently and impatiently desired and expected, and placed them upon an unsatisfactory religious equality with the gentiles. And to the predominant Romans and polished Greeks it offered a doctrine of self-denial and humility, asserted the natural equality and unity of the human race, and denied the deification of the Roman emperors. That persecution under such a state of case must follow would seem to be obvious.

And the history of such persecution, as we find it recorded in the books of the New Testament, is most credible because just what was most certainly to be expected. And the manner in which it is alleged to have occurred is most consistent with human nature and with the circumstances of the case. The persecution against Christ is alleged to have been *gradual*, increasing in proportion as His enemies ascertained the drift of His pretensions and the probable effect of His teaching, until at last it culminated in His death. The Jewish authorities had no legal right to inflict the penalty of death without the consent of the Roman governor, and they also feared the people. But the Roman yoke was to them a galling despotism, and they most probably hesitated to invoke its aid, until they were at last driven to do so by the increasing influence of Christ with the mass of the people. The extent of this growing influence was most conspicuously shown by His triumphant entry into Jerusalem after the resurrection of Lazarus.

So the persecutions against the apostles after the day of Pentecost are most reasonably alleged as *gradual*. The crucifixion of the Founder, and the consequent temporary check to the spread of the new religion, allayed the fears of the Jewish leaders for a time, as

their attention must have been very much absorbed by the distressed political situation of their people and the growing spirit of rebellion against the Roman emperor. The sudden and unexpected revival of the new religion—which had been supposed to have subsided with the death of its Founder, and which sudden revival is so well expressed by the historian Tacitus in the forcible phrase, “but it again burst forth”—must have greatly surprised, and for a time bewildered, the Jewish leaders. It was not until after Peter had delivered two notable discourses, in which he charged the Jews with having denied “the Holy one and the Just,” and alleged that they “by the hands of wicked men had crucified and slain” Jesus of Nazareth; and not until after the great and plain miracle of healing the cripple at the gate of the temple had been wrought by Peter and John, that these two apostles were arrested because “the priests and the officers of the temple were grieved that they taught the people, and preached in Jesus the resurrection from the dead.” In this instance the Jewish authorities only “threatened them and charged them not to speak at all, nor teach in the name of Jesus.” But after many other miracles had been performed, and the apostles had continued to testify and teach, and the new religion to spread, they were again arrested; and after they had been delivered by an angel from prison, and were again brought before the council—this time without violence—they were beaten, and again charged not to speak at all in the name of Jesus, and then dismissed through the arguments and influence of Gamaliel. But these measures not having attained the desired and anticipated results, and as “the number of the disciples was multiplied in Jerusalem exceedingly,” the persecution grew more earnest, decided, and strong, until it produced the excited and impetuous proceedings which led to the illegal death of Stephen and the dispersion of the disciples, except the apostles, through the countries of Judea and Samaria, who “went about preaching the word of God.” It is also stated that “Saul made havoc of the church, entering in from house to house, and dragging away men and women, committed them to prison.” And Paul says himself in his masterly address before King Agrippa:

And many of the saints did I shut up in prisons, having received authority of the chief-priests: and when they were put to death, I brought the sentence. And oftentimes punishing them, in every synagogue, I compelled them to blaspheme: and being yet more mad against them, I persecuted them even unto foreign cities.

And in that most sensible, earnest, and yet mournfully beautiful and tender address which he delivered to the clergy of Ephesus he said:

And now behold, being bound in the Spirit, I go to Jerusalem: not knowing the things which shall befall me there: save that the Holy Ghost in every city witnesseth to me, saying: that bonds and afflictions wait for me at Jerusalem (Acts xx. 22, 23).

And in speaking of the position of the apostles in particular he uses this impressive language:

For I think that God hath set forth us Apostles the last, as it were men appointed to death: because we are made a spectacle to the world, and to angels, and to men. We are fools for Christ's sake, but you are wise in Christ: we are weak, but you are strong: you are honourable, but we without honour. Even unto this hour we both hunger, and thirst, and are naked, and are buffeted, and have no fixed abode, and we labour working with our own hands: we are reviled, and we bless: we are persecuted, and we suffer it. We are blasphemed, and we entreat: we are made as the refuse of this world, the off-scouring of all even until now (1 Cor. iv. 9-13).

The whole account of the persecutions of the apostles and others, as recorded in Acts and mentioned in the epistles, is perfectly consistent in itself and with the nature of the case. As Peter had been the chief speaker, and as he and John had healed the cripple, they were the *only* apostles included in the first arrest; but as the new religion progressed *all* the apostles were embraced under the second arrest; and as Paul had been a most ardent persecutor of the Christians, and then claimed to have been miraculously converted, and became as zealous and intrepid in preaching as he had before been bitter and unrelenting in persecuting the new religion, it was perfectly natural that he should be the peculiar object of the special hatred of the unbelieving Jews. And the fact so clearly stated by Tacitus, that the new religion "spread itself over Judea," is confirmed by the independent statement made in the eighth chapter of Acts, that the dispersed went through Judea and Samaria preaching the word of God.

Now, this account of the persecutions which the apostles and their converts endured is not only reasonable, but, as we have seen, is substantially confirmed by the early Christian writers and the voice of all Christian antiquity, but stands uncontradicted by any ancient heathen historian, so far as I am advised, and is partly attested as true by Josephus in what he says concerning the deaths of John the Baptist and James the Apostle, and, as I believe, of Christ Himself. We have, therefore, every reason to assume it to be true as stated. And taking it to be thus true, and when all the circumstances under which the Christian witnesses of miracles gave their testimony are considered in all their combined force, it appears to me almost impossible to imagine greater tests of truth than those actually endured by them. What greater evidence of integrity could have been given by such witnesses cannot well be conceived.

The evidence of the integrity of the witnesses being so clear and satisfactory, what motive could have induced them to give false testimony as to facts so plain, numerous, and varied as not to be mistaken? If we assume, for the sake of the argument only, that they conspired to impose a known fiction upon all mankind for all future

time by their own false testimony, then it was the most extraordinary and apparently the most hopeless and desolate attempt ever made among men. This most unreasonable position represents these witnesses as going about everywhere, lying, suffering, and dying to teach an elevated and sublime theory of virtue which condemned their own hypocritical action, and the teaching of which brought upon them tribulation and suffering in this world and utterly debarred them of all hope of reward in the next—for surely, under every theory of a future state, the hope of the hypocrite must perish. They are represented as not only acting thus without motive, but contrary to every known incentive that can govern human conduct. They had seen the project apparently defeated by the death of Christ; and why they should still persevere in attempting to continue a hopeless and fraudulent enterprise, which, if successful, could be of no advantage to them, but a great injury, it is impossible to give any sensible reason.

Paley well puts the case as to the Gospels of Matthew and John thus :

Yet the writers who fabricated and uttered these falsehoods, if they be such, are of the number of those who, unless the whole contexture of the Christian story be a dream, sacrificed their ease and safety in the cause, and for a purpose the most inconsistent that is possible with dishonest intentions. They were villains for no end but to teach honesty, and martyrs without the least prospect of honour or advantage (*Ev. Chris.*, part i. chap. viii.)

For many of the miracles of Christ in detail, including time, place, and person, and other attendant circumstances, we have the direct written testimonies of Matthew and John, who were apostles and eye and ear witnesses of what they relate, and those of Mark and Luke, who were not apostles and not original witnesses. As confirmatory evidence of the truth of the history found in the four Gospels, we have the written testimonies of Peter and Paul, who speak of several miracles of Christ known to them, and all of whose epistles are founded upon the general facts of the history, especially upon the death and resurrection, of Christ. The epistles of James and Jude, though not so full, are still confirmatory evidence, as they are based upon the general facts of the history. We have thus the written testimonies of six apostles to the miraculous history of Christ, and also those of Mark and Luke, who were not apostles. Mark, as we have seen, wrote with the knowledge of Peter, and we have thus indirectly Peter's confirmation of Mark's testimony.

As to the miracles of the apostles wrought after the Ascension we have the detailed testimony of Luke and many statements in the epistles of Paul which confirm the general credit of Acts.

But, in addition, we have the important and continuous testimony of that grand association called the Church.



I have insisted that the Church, even when regarded as merely a fallible association of sincere, earnest, sane men, is still a competent and reliable witness to prove substantially the facts there stated. I also maintain that she is a competent and credible witness to prove that the several books of the New Testament were written by the authors whose names they bear ; that they were committed to her custody, and by her preserved as committed ; and that the facts therein stated as having occurred since her organization are true as alleged. As already stated, the Church has given her testimony to the authenticity of the Scriptures.

The miracles of Christ and those of His apostles being so plain, visible, and public that there could be no chance for mistake ; and the evidence of credible uninspired witnesses being competent to establish facts of such a nature, and the witnesses having given their testimony under every possible test of integrity, the evidence we have offered would seem to prove the verity of the New Testament records and the existence of the miracles therein related beyond all reasonable doubt. This is the direct evidence of the existence of God heretofore alluded to (page 167).

## CHAPTER XVII.

### INTERNAL EVIDENCE FURTHER CONTINUED.

#### *The Pure Character and Consistent Conduct of Christ.*

THE great importance of this part of our subject cannot well be overestimated. The character and conduct of Christ, as represented in the Gospels, when taken and considered together, present a portrait so perfect as, in my best judgment, to be entirely above the capacity of the human mind to invent, especially of the intellect of fraudulent and corrupt men, whose debased conceptions never could have attained a position so exalted.

Dr. Paley has discussed this question very ably. My limits will only allow me to notice a portion of the evidences. I take from his work the following extract, inserting his references in the text, as being the more convenient method for the reader :

The *character of Christ* is a part of the morality of the gospel: one strong observation upon which is, that, neither as represented by his followers, nor as attacked by his enemies, is he charged with any personal vice. This remark is as old as Origen: "Though innumerable lies and calumnies have been forged against the venerable Jesus, none had dared to charge him with an intemperance." Not a reflection upon his moral character, not an imputation or suspicion of any offence against purity and chastity, appears for five hundred years after his birth. This faultlessness is more peculiar than we are apt to imagine. Some stain pollutes the morals or the morality of almost every other teacher, and of every other lawgiver. Zeno the Stoic, and Diogenes the Cynic, fell into the foulest impurities; of which also Socrates himself was more than suspected. Solon forbade unnatural crimes to slaves. Lycurgus tolerated theft as a part of education. Plato recommended a community of women. Aristotle maintained the general right of making war upon barbarians. The elder Cato was remarkable for the ill-usage of his slaves; the younger gave up the person of his wife. One loose principle is found in almost all the pagan moralists; is distinctly, however, perceived in the writings of Plato, Xenophon, Cicero, Seneca, Epictetus; and that is, the allowing, and even recommending to their disciples, a compliance with the religion, and with the religious rites, of every country into which they came. In speaking of the founders of new institutions, we cannot forget Mahomet. His licentious transgressions of his own licentious rules; his abuse of the character which he assumed, and of the power which he had acquired, for the purposes of personal and privileged indulgence; his avowed claim of a special permission from heaven of unlimited sensuality, is known to every reader, as it is confessed by every writer, of the Moslem story.

Secondly, In the histories which are left us of Jesus Christ, although very short, and although dealing in narrative, and not in observation or panegyric; we perceive, beside the absence of every appearance of vice, traces of devotion, humility,

benignity, mildness, patience, prudence. I speak of *traces* of those qualities, because the qualities themselves are to be collected from incidents; inasmuch as the terms are never used of Christ in the Gospels, nor is any formal character of him drawn in any part of the New Testament.

Thus we see the *devoutness* of his mind, in his frequent retirement to solitary prayer (Matt. xiv. 23; Luke ix. 28; Matt. xxvi. 36); in his habitual giving of thanks (Matt. xi. 25; Mark viii. 6; John vi. 23; Luke xxii. 17); in his reference of the beauties and operations of nature to the bounty of Providence (Matt. vi. 26-28); in his earnest addresses to his Father, more particularly that short but solemn one before the raising of Lazarus from the dead (John xi. 41); and in the deep piety of his behaviour in the garden, on the last evening of his life (Matt. xxvi. 36-47); his *humility*, in his constant reproof of contentions for superiority (Mark ix. 33); the *benignity* and affectionateness of his temper, in his kindness to children (Mark x. 16); in the tears which he shed over his falling country (Luke xix. 41), and upon the death of his friend (John xi. 35); in his noticing the widow's mite (Mark xii. 42); in his parables of the good Samaritan, of the ungrateful servant, and of the Pharisee and publican, of which parables no one but a man of humanity could have been the author; the *mildness* and lenity of his character is discovered, in his rebuke of the forward zeal of his disciples at the Samaritan village (Luke ix. 55); in his expostulation with Pilate (John xix. 11); in his prayer for his enemies at the moment of his suffering (Luke xxiii. 34); which, though it has been since very properly and frequently imitated, was then, I apprehend, new. His *prudence* is discerned, where prudence is most wanted, in his conduct on trying occasions, and in answers to artful questions. Of these the following are examples:—His withdrawing, in various instances, from the first symptoms of tumult (Matt. xiv. 22; Luke v. 15, 16; John v. 13, vi. 15), and with the express care, as appears from St. Matthew (xii. 19), of carrying on his ministry in quietness; his declining of every species of interference with the civil affairs of the country, which disposition is manifested by his behaviour in the case of the woman caught in adultery (John viii. 1), and in his repulse of the application which was made to him, to interpose his decision about a disputed inheritance (Luke xii. 14); his judicious, yet, as it should seem, unprepared answers, will be confessed in the case of the Roman tribute (Matt. xxii. 19); in the difficulty concerning the interfering relations of a future state, as proposed to him in the instance of a woman who had married seven brethren (Matt. xxii. 28); and, more especially, in his reply to those who demanded from him an explanation of the authority by which he acted, which reply consisted, in propounding a question to them, situated between the very difficulties into which they were insidiously endeavouring to draw *him* (Matt. xxi. 23). (*Ev. Chris.*, part ii. chap. ii.)

This extract is so condensed, and yet contains so many particulars, as to require calm and close reading to appreciate its full force.

One of the most distinguishing traits in the character of Christ—not stated in express words of comment or eulogy, but plainly exhibited in His recorded acts and words—is His *mild firmness*. While He did some few things out of the usual course of His ministry to oblige others—such, for example, as healing the daughter of the humble Syrophenician woman (Matt. xv. 22-28; Mark vii. 25-29), and turning the water into wine at the request of His mother (John ii. 1-11)—He always stood firmly by the *doctrines* He announced.

One of the most noted instances of this display of mild firmness

is found in the sixth chapter of John, wherein, as I think, the great and mysterious doctrine of the Real Presence of Christ in the Sacrament of the Eucharist is plainly taught.\* In this case He was putting forth an essential *doctrine* which He was obliged to state *truly*, and could not mitigate or soften His language, however shocking or repugnant to the views, feelings, or prejudices of His hearers. "He could but state the *truth*; and whether the truth was acceptable or not, His practice was always to state it."

The Jews at first *murmured* at Him, "because he had said: I am the living bread which came down from heaven." But after He had explicitly defined what He meant by the expression "living bread" by saying, "If any man eat of this bread, he shall live forever; and the bread that I will give is my flesh for the life of the world"; and after the Jews had *striven* among themselves, saying, "How can this man give us his flesh to eat?" He said unto them: "Amen, amen I say unto you: Except you eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, you shall not have life in you." The word *strive* expresses a more intense state of excitement than does the word *mur-*

\* I think the doctrine of the Real Presence one of the plainly-taught doctrines of the New Testament. In a former work I gave my reasons for this opinion. In regard to our general subject I make the following extract:

"Dr. Paley draws an argument in favor of the truth of Christianity, from the *difficulty* of arriving at the metaphorical sense, from the words of institution.

"I think also," he says, "that the difficulty arising from the conciseness of Christ's expression, 'This is my body,' would have been avoided in a made-up story. I allow that the explanation of these words, given by Protestants, is satisfactory; but it is deduced from a diligent comparison of the words in question, with forms of expression used in Scripture, and especially by Christ on other occasions. No writer would have arbitrarily and unnecessarily cast in his reader's way a difficulty, which, to say the least, it required research and erudition to clear up."

"But it would seem that the learned author might have made his argument much stronger, had he taken the literal sense to be correct. He might then have well insisted that the invention of such a doctrine was a task of superhuman difficulty—that nothing but the Divine Mind could have framed it, and that no mere impostor would ever have 'arbitrarily and unnecessarily cast' in the way of his followers a doctrine so much at war with the pride of the human heart, and so difficult to be believed by the proud human intellect—a doctrine requiring so much *greater faith*."

"And it would seem, upon reflection, to be difficult to understand the force of the argument, as stated by the learned divine. It must be conceded that the maker-up of a fictitious story would not have 'arbitrarily' thrown this 'difficulty in his reader's way'; while, at the same time, it is exceedingly difficult to understand why Christ should have done so. Whether Christ was an impostor or not, He must have *equally* desired the *success* of His system; and for that reason, He would not have 'arbitrarily and unnecessarily cast a *difficulty*' in the way of His followers. If He was the true Messiah, it would have been as much against His *policy*, and more against His *justice*, to have done this arbitrary and unnecessary act, than it would have been against the policy of the impostor. The thing is improbable in both cases, but more improbable upon the hypothesis that Christ was the true Messiah."

"The honest and sensible Infidel can well understand why Christ should sometimes be misunderstood, when speaking of high and supernatural truths, which, in their very nature, are difficult, even when most minutely stated; but he could never understand why He should, in making His last Testament, and instituting a most important sacrament, use language in its plain literal form, which He yet designed should be understood in a *new* and *unknown* figurative sense; and this without any explanation, when explanation would have been so easy, and with a perfect foreknowledge of all the consequences of such 'arbitrary and unnecessary difficulty.' The mere substitution of one word for another, would have avoided all difficulty. I apprehend that the honest inquirer could see nothing in this argument to prove that Christ was a Divine Lawgiver, who, in a plain matter, is in substance, alleged to have 'arbitrarily and unnecessarily cast in his reader's way a difficulty, requiring research and erudition to clear up!'" (*The Path*, pp. 554-6).

*mur*; and yet, after the Jews had both murmured and striven, He mildly, but still more emphatically, reiterated the doctrine already announced. And after many of His own disciples had murmured and said, "This saying is hard, and who can hear it?" His reply to them was still made in mild but firm language, not to explain His meaning, but to sustain His doctrine. So when "many of his disciples went back, and walked no more with him," then He put that firm but mournful and solemn question to the twelve: "Will you also go away?" Then answered the ardent soul of Peter: "Lord, to whom shall we go? thou hast the words of eternal life; and we have believed and have known that thou art the Christ the Son of God."

Another instance which I will mention is the case of washing the feet of the disciples (John xiii. 4-10). After having washed the feet of some of them He came to Peter, who objected and put this question: "Lord, dost thou wash my feet?" To this question He mildly replied: "What I do, thou knowest not now, but thou shalt know hereafter." This explanation did not shake the resolution of Peter, who peremptorily replied: "Thou shalt never wash my feet." The answer of Christ to this positive objection was remarkable for its mild firmness: "If I wash thee not, thou shalt have no part with me."

But in my best judgment one of the most sublime traits in the character of Christ, as represented in the record, was His *meek but majestic dignity*, so consistent with the suffering mission and yet exalted position of an humble Redeemer and Divine Lawgiver. From the opening sentence of the great Sermon on the Mount until the Ascension no recorded word or act of His was inconsistent with His assumed character or beneath His proper dignity, conceding Him to have been the true Messiah. While the most consummate ability was exhibited in His forcible and concise sentences, in the correctness and beauty of His comparisons, in His apt and prompt replies to the most artful and insidious questions, in His inimitable parables, and in all His discourses, there was a simple yet exalted dignity displayed in perfect harmony with His assumed character as the Son of God. He *claimed* to be both God and man, and He *spoke and acted as such*. My limits will only allow me to notice a few examples.

It is most consistently stated that Judas, after he had promised to betray Christ, "sought opportunity to betray Him in the absence of the multitude" (Luke xxii. 6); and that "Judas therefore having received a band of soldiers, and servants from the chief-priests and the Pharisees, cometh thither with lanterns and torches and weapons." *After* He had inquired, "Whom seek ye?" and they had answered, "Jesus of Nazareth," He replied, "I am he." It is then recorded that "As soon therefore as he had said to them: I am he; they went backward, and fell to the ground" (John xviii. 3-6). Although it is

not expressly so stated, yet it is a reasonable inference that when Christ answered, "I am he," such was the divine dignity of His manner, and such was the illuminated expression of His countenance, that those who came to arrest Him were, for the moment, so awe-struck that they instinctively recoiled and fell to the ground. But upon His again asking them, "Whom seek ye?" they recovered their *disciplined* composure, and made the arrest they had been peremptorily commanded to make. But when the arrest had been made He mildly, but in dignified language, reproved them for the *manner* of the arrest. "You are come out," said He, "as it were to a robber with swords and clubs to apprehend me: I sat daily with you teaching in the temple, and you laid not hands on me" (Matt. xxvi. 55; Mark xiv. 48-9; Luke xxii. 52-3).

After He was arrested He was first taken before Annas, one of the high-priests, and father-in-law to Caiphas, the other high-priest (Luke iii. 2). Annas asked Him of His disciples and of His doctrine. These questions He declined to answer, referring the high-priest to those who had heard His teaching in the synagogue and temple. These questions were most probably insidious and artful, and designed to involve Him in contradiction with false witnesses, and also to inculcate His disciples; and as a part of the information sought could be had from other sources than Himself, and as the portion regarding His disciples was not only irrelevant to the case before the high-priest, but might tend to imperil innocent parties, He very properly declined to answer. For this refusal to answer He was struck by one of the servants, most probably by command of Annas, as this same high-priest treated Paul in this way (Acts xxiii. 2). It was then that He made that mild and sublime answer so consistent with His assumed character of God and man: "If I have spoken evil, give testimony of the evil: but if well, why striketh thou me?" (John xviii. 13-23).

This was the forgiving answer of God. As man He could feel; but as God He could forgive. This incident shows that He so fully appreciated the greatness and grandeur of His mission that, while He felt the pain and indignity of the blow, He was elevated above all the resentments of our nature. He wished to let them know that He was not insensible to the injustice, but was too great to resent it. This and other incidents of His Passion seem clearly alluded to by Peter in language most simple and beautiful:

For unto this are you called: because Christ also suffered for us, leaving you an example that you should follow his steps. Who did not sin, neither was guile found in his mouth. Who, when he was reviled, did not revile: when he suffered, he threatened not: but delivered himself to him that judged him unjustly. Who his ownself bore our sins in his body upon the tree: that we being dead to sins, should live to justice: by whose stripes you were healed (1 Peter ii. 21-24).

From Annas He was sent bound unto Caiphas (John xviii. 24). While before this high-priest many false witnesses appeared against Him, but their testimony established no offence worthy of death, and they did not agree in their testimony (Matt. xxvi. 60; Mark xiv. 56, 59). To all this false testimony He answered nothing, although His attention was specially called to the matter by the high-priest. So when He was brought before Pilate He made no answer to the accusations of His enemies, insomuch "that the governor wondered exceedingly" (Matt. xxvii. 12-14; Mark xv. 4, 5). The reason why He preserved this dignified silence in not answering the testimony of the false witnesses seems to have been the irrelevant and frivolous nature of the evidence, as, conceding all they stated to be true, the acts alleged amounted to no offence worthy of death under the law of Moses. So when He was tried before Pilate the accusations made against Him, if true, amounted to no offence worthy of death under the Roman law as then understood, except, perhaps, the charge that He claimed to be king of the Jews, and as such forbade to pay tribute to Cæsar; and this charge was met and explained by Him in answer to a question asked by Pilate, so as to show that His kingdom was not a *political* one, and, therefore, could not be any crime under the law Pilate was authorized to administer (John xviii. 33-7). For this reason He was silent before Pilate, with a few exceptions. When Pilate asked Him the proper question, "Art thou the king of the Jews?" He promptly answered, but qualified His answer, admitting He was a king by stating the true nature of His kingdom, which was not political because not of this world (John xviii. 33-7; Luke xxiii. 2, 3). While He was willing to suffer unjustly, He could not Himself plead guilty when He was innocent, because this would have been untrue and an act of injustice to Himself and to the cause He represented. Therefore, so far as His own statements were concerned, He was careful to place Himself right before the magistrate who judged Him unjustly.

But while He answered this proper question He declined to answer a second question asked by Pilate, because such question was improper. After the Jews had charged that He ought to die according to *their* law, "because He made Himself the Son of God," Pilate "feared the more," and asked Him: "Whence art thou?" (John xix. 7-9). This question was so broad as to require Him, in His answer, to explain His divine nature and mission. This question He declined to answer, because the charge that "He made Himself the Son of God" was not an offence worthy of death under the Roman law as then understood and administered; and, for this reason, "from thenceforth Pilate sought to release Him." Pilate construed the Roman law as did Gallio (Acts xviii. 12-16), and Festus and Agrippa (Acts xxv. 18, 19, xxvi. 31-2). The religion of the

Jews was tolerated by the Roman law, and the Christians were for some time considered by the Roman authorities as but a sect of that religion.

But although He answered some of the questions asked by Pilate, He declined to answer any of those propounded by Herod (Luke xxiii. 9). We are not expressly informed what were those questions; but that they were artful, insidious, and improper we have every reason to infer from the unjust and wily character of that king, who had before this been called a fox by Christ, and from the fact stated that he was glad when he saw Jesus, and hoped to see some miracle wrought by him. This desire to see some sign out of time and place was improper. We can thus perceive the probable reasons why Christ refused to answer *any* questions propounded by Herod.

Although Christ had declined to answer the improper questions of Annas, yet when He was brought before Caiphas, and this high-priest had solemnly said to Him, "I adjure thee by the living God, that thou tell us if thou be the Christ the Son of God," He promptly replied: "Thou hast said it. Nevertheless I say to you, hereafter you shall see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of the power of God, and coming in the clouds of Heaven" (Matt. xxvi. 63-4; Mark xiv. 61-2; Luke xxii. 66-9). "Then the high-priest rent his garments, saying: He hath blasphemed: what further need have we of witnesses? Behold, now you have heard the blasphemy. What think you? But they answering said: He is guilty of death."

This emphatic adjuration seems to have been sincerely made by Caiphas, as it was relevant to the case before the council, and only asked Christ to admit or deny a fact which, if He was the true Messiah, He came to teach. He had, therefore, as the Son of God, no reason to object to the question or to refuse to answer it. Blasphemy was a capital offence under the law of Moses; and the error of the council, in this case, consisted in misconstruing the language of Moses and the prophets as to the divine nature of Christ and the true character of His kingdom. They erroneously held that the predicted Messiah was to be only an inspired man, and His kingdom only a temporal one; consequently they rejected Christ, who claimed to be more than man. The Mosaic code had run its destined course, and was terminated by the act of Christ and His apostles when they eat the last passover on the night in which He was betrayed; and, therefore, the infallible assistance of the Holy Spirit had been thus withdrawn from the council which condemned Christ upon His own admission. But the members of this council were ignorant of these facts; and this ignorance was the reason why Christ prayed: "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do" (Luke xxiii. 34).



This council having, under the regular forms of law, erroneously condemned Christ as worthy of death, He was brought bound before Pilate, without whose decision He could not legally be put to death, especially the death of the cross, as the Mosaic code prescribed another mode of death—that by stoning. The Roman governor, for reasons already stated, “sought to release him. But the Jews cried out, saying: If thou release this man, thou art not Cæsar’s friend. For whosoever maketh himself a king, speaketh against Cæsar. . . . Pilate saith to them: Shall I crucify your king? The chief-priests answered: We have no king but Cæsar. Then therefore he delivered him to them to be crucified” (John xix. 12, 15, 16).

The fact that Christ was crucified under Pontius Pilate in Judea is certain, and there is no evidence that He was condemned for any other reasons than those alleged in the Gospels; and the whole tenor of the history of that time goes to prove that Christ had, in fact, committed no capital, if any, offence against the laws as then construed by the Roman authorities. The Scripture account is, therefore, the only rational narrative we have of that event. The Roman governor held his life and position at the will and pleasure of the emperor; and he was, therefore, in a most perilous situation. His sense of justice urged him to release Christ, while his personal desire to hold his position and preserve his life more strongly impelled him to please the Jews. When they, in their madness against Christ, took the bold, emphatic, and *loyal* stand that they had no king but Cæsar, and that he could not be the friend of the emperor if he released the prisoner, his fears and ambition overcame him, as the spirit of martyrdom for the sake of justice was not a general characteristic of the Roman governors. The united voice and influence of the chief priests, sustained by the overwhelming majority of the Jewish people, could not be safely disregarded by the servant of a practically absolute monarch, at whose *sole* will and pleasure he held life, riches, honors, and power. He tried various *expedients* to escape the responsibility of condemning the innocent prisoner before him. He, after examination, declared that he found no cause of death in Him; then sent Him to Herod, who declined to decide the case, and returned the accused to Pilate; then he offered to release Him, according to the custom, on the feast-day, but they preferred Barabbas; then, having scourged Him, he brought Him forth to excite the pity of the crowd, and again declared that he found no cause of death in Him; but *all* efforts to release the prisoner, and at the same time satisfy the accusers, having failed, the governor was at last compelled to *decide* the case himself, and reluctantly yielded to the clamors and the bold and persistent demands of the chief priests and of the people.

The *sarcastic* title Pilate wrote and put upon the cross, "Jesus of Nazareth, the king of the Jews," and the curt answer made to the request of the chief priests to change it, "What I have written I have written," sufficiently and consistently show the vexation and resentment felt by him at the treatment he had received from them (John xix. 19, 22).

Pilate had, on two former occasions, very much offended and wronged the Jews (Josephus, *Antiquities*, b. xviii. c. iii.), and was at last ordered by Vitellus, president of Syria, to appear before the emperor at Rome to answer the accusation of the Samaritan senate against him for the alleged murder of certain Samaritans, claimed by Pilate to have been engaged in revolt against the Romans; but before Pilate arrived in Rome Tiberius was dead (Jos., *An.*, b. xviii. c. iv.) Josephus does not state what finally became of Pilate; but "Eusebius adds (*H. E.*, ii. 7) that soon afterwards, 'wearied with misfortunes,' he killed himself" (Smith's *Bible Dictionary*, p. 2529).

It is alleged in the record that Christ was buried in a new sepulchre hewn in stone, a great stone rolled into its mouth, which stone was sealed, and a guard set to prevent His disciples from stealing away the body and then giving out that Christ had risen from the dead. It is also stated that on the third day when it began to dawn, towards the first day of the week, an angel came down from heaven, the guards became as dead men, and that the angel rolled away the stone and Christ arose from the dead, no human eye having witnessed His resurrection. He did not appear to His disciples abruptly and at once, but they were apprised in various ways of His resurrection before He actually appeared to them.

Conceding, for the sake of the argument only, that Christ was all that the record claims Him to have been, it was but fit and proper that His appearance among men as God and man should have been preceded by His messenger, John the Baptist, as a herald usually precedes the approach of a great monarch. For the same reason it was equally proper that His reappearance after His resurrection should have been preceded by angels. It was also proper for other reasons.

Judea had been an oppressed Roman province from A.D. 7 (Milman, p. 256). "The Jewish people," says Paley, "with or without reason, had worked themselves into a persuasion, that some signal and greatly advantageous change was to be effected in the condition of their country, by the agency of a long-promised messenger from heaven. The rulers of the Jews, their leading sect, their priesthood, had been the authors of this persuasion to the common people" (*Ev. Chris.*, p. i. c. i.) The learned author, in support of his statement as to the existence of this persuasion, cites the authority of Suetonius

and Tacitus, the Roman historians. As to that historical fact there can be no reasonable doubt.

It is most difficult for us, at this distant day, to adequately appreciate the sore character of this oppression. The Jews were not only oppressed in person and property, but their deep religious feelings and sensibilities were sometimes outraged. Being subjects of a practical despotism, whose rulers were foes to their religion and whose will was law—however unjust and whimsical—these people were kept in a state of perpetual dread. There was no peace for them. When we read their history in the pages of Josephus we can draw some idea of their true condition, and form some conception of their inexpressibly ardent desire for relief by the appearance of this heavenly messenger.

In the last chapter of Luke's Gospel we find that simple, sorrowful, and yet most exquisitely beautiful account of the journey of two of them into the country. These men, like the apostles, had expected a temporal saviour, and had hoped that Christ was he; but when they found that He had been crucified how great must have been their sorrow and disappointment! How much of intense meaning is contained in these short passages: "What are these discourses that you hold one with another as you walk, and are sad? . . . But we hoped that it was he that should have redeemed Israel. . . . Was not our heart burning within us, whilst he spoke in the way, and opened to us the scriptures?" Can any man believe that this account is false or forged? I cannot. No fraudulent mind ever conceived it, according to my best judgment.

To men situated as were the few sorrowful and sorely disappointed followers of Christ it was most fit and appropriate that His reappearance to them should not be made abruptly, but be preceded by certain evidences of the fact of His resurrection, so as to forewarn them of the probability of His actual manifestation to them. Thus Mary Magdalen, to whom He *first* appeared, was warned by the empty grave and the vision of angels; the apostles by the grave and the statements of the women, and the two who went into the country by the report of the women and others; and in this case Christ was careful not to make Himself known to them until *after* He had "expounded to them in all the scriptures the things that were concerning him." When they had been thus prepared in advance He made Himself known to them in the breaking of bread. After they had reported to the apostles, and after He had appeared to Peter, He suddenly appeared in their midst; and although they had thus been previously put upon expectation, they were frightened and troubled, supposing they had seen a spirit; and after He had familiarly spoken to them, assuring them of His identity, and had shown them His hands and His feet, and they had handled Him, they still "believed not, and wondered for joy."

When we consider their exact situation and the greatness of the event this narrative is most simple and natural. They were so surprised and overjoyed that they feared there might be some mistake *somehow*, that the news was so good that it might *possibly* not be true. Now, according to human experience, men in their position would have acted precisely as they are represented to have done. The reaction from extreme sorrow to extreme joy was so great as naturally to cause them some hesitation for the time; and while they were so full of wonder and joy they awaited further evidence before they fully believed. This further evidence was given them in *repeated* manifestations.

It is not alleged in the Gospels that Christ appeared after His resurrection to any but His own followers. Petèr, in his address to Cornelius, said that Christ was "made manifest, not to all the people, but to witnesses pre-ordained of God: even to us who did eat and drink with him after he arose again from the dead" (Acts x. 40-1). This is conclusive that He had only appeared to believers, except in the special case of Saul (Acts ix.)

I regard the non-appearance of Christ to His enemies after His resurrection as one of the strongest proofs of the truth of the record. Such a course was, in my judgment, perfectly consistent with the nature of His mission and the majestic dignity of His character, for the following reasons:

*First.* He had already accomplished the *suffering* portion of His great mission, and had only to give His parting instructions to His apostles. The time, therefore, for suffering and insult had passed, as He had finished the work He was sent to do, with the exception stated.

*Second.* He could not properly give His enemies an *unnecessary* occasion of committing other crimes against Him, as He had already endured all that was necessary to complete the Atonement.

When He said to the Jews, "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up" (John ii. 19), they and His disciples then understood Him as alluding to the temple in Jerusalem; and He left them, *for the time*, in their mistaken construction of His words for two reasons: 1. He put forth a *prophecy*, to become a proof of His divine character and mission when it should be fulfilled, and the fulfilment of which would be a key to His meaning. 2. Had the unbelieving Jews then understood His true meaning they would have regarded it as a challenge to them to try the experiment of putting Him to death, in order to see whether He would rise again. This would have been putting before them an *unnecessary* temptation to commit crime. So in this case. Had He appeared to His enemies *after* His resurrection they would have concluded that He had been taken down from the cross alive; and they would have at once proceeded to

cover Him with insults, and would most probably have attempted to crucify Him again. The account of their alleged conduct towards Lazarus is very natural (John xii. 10).

*Third.* He had already given them ample evidence of His divine character and mission, and had also empowered His apostles to work as great miracles as His own in attestation of their veracity as His witnesses and their commission as His teachers, and had expressly commanded them to testify and teach. Their subsequent testimony as to His resurrection, and their teaching, and the performance of miracles by them were all foreseen by Him. He had, therefore, not only given ample proofs by His *own* acts and words, but had provided for *further* sufficient and confirmatory evidence in the testimony of His divinely-attested witnesses.

For these reasons His appearance to His enemies after His resurrection would have been unjust to Him, beneath His dignity as the *risen Redeemer*, and not only idle and useless but pernicious in its consequences.

But these reasons would never have occurred to the fraudulent intellect of the forger. In his pride, vanity, and short-sighted cunning as the inventor of fiction he would have been certain to have represented his god as rising from the dead in broad daylight in the presence of numbers, and as having triumphantly exhibited himself before the council and the governor. The elements of pomposity and revenge would have certainly mingled in a fiction. The forger would have readily foreseen the specious objection that his god had not appeared to his enemies, and would have so framed his fiction as to have avoided it, as it was just as easy to invent the fiction in this form as in any other. It is perfectly natural that the cunning of the forger should anticipate such objections as readily appear plausible at first view. Such men take narrow, limited, not comprehensive, lengthened, views of causes and of their consequences. They are short-sighted and act for the present, or for the *near*, more than for the distant future; and their fictions will be framed accordingly.

I must think that the whole history of the trial, condemnation, death, and resurrection of Christ, as recorded in the New Testament, bears upon its face, when well considered, very strong and forcible evidence of its entire truth.

#### THE EARLY PROGRESS OF CHRISTIANITY AS RECORDED IN THE BOOK OF ACTS.

As I have already observed, the authentic extract from Tacitus hereinbefore given (pages 357-8) substantially confirms the history of the early progress of Christianity as recorded in Acts, both histories mutually supporting each other. The alleged miracles of the

apostles were of the same clear and decisive kind, as openly performed, and apparently as numerous, as those attributed to Christ. The miracles of cloven tongues of fire and the ability to speak in unknown languages were new in kind, as they did not occur until the day of Pentecost. It also appears from Acts that only a *portion* of the miracles of the apostles and their converts were recorded in detail, many other wonders and signs having been wrought by them which are not specified, but only alluded to in general terms (ii. 43, v. 12-16, vi. 8, xiv. 3, xix. 11, 12).

These miracles readily account for the undoubted rapid spread of the new religion, and the history is perfectly consistent in stating: "And fear came upon every soul; many wonders also and signs were done by the apostles in Jerusalem, and there was great fear in all. And all they that believed, were together, and had all things common" (ii. 43-4). There must have been very powerful reasons to induce men to put their property into one common fund for the *equal* support of all, without any regard to the amount contributed by each one. It would hardly seem probable that the forger of a fiction would have represented such a state of things as existing at any time, as such a false statement would be so easy of detection and not at all necessary to sustain his theory. It is only represented in the record as *temporary*, not being mentioned after the sixth chapter. I think that such a state of things must have existed, and that the record is true, because it is difficult to perceive any motive for making the statement except its truth.

It is stated in the record that Peter publicly delivered two main discourses in Jerusalem. Among those who heard his first discourse were some who "mocking said: These men are full of new wine." In this first discourse he denied that the men were drunk, as the mockers supposed, and in the course of his remarks charged them with having crucified and slain Christ by the hands of wicked men. His second address was delivered to "all the people who ran to them to the porch which is called Solomon's, wondering" at the cure of the man lame from his birth. Among this second audience there were no mockers, as all the assembled people saw the healed cripple walking and praising God. In this second discourse Peter charged his unbelieving hearers with having killed Christ. But after making the same charge in fuller and more severe language than he had used in his first address, he put in this kind and most conciliatory statement: "And now, brethren, I know that you did it through ignorance, as *did* also your rulers."

The reason why Peter reminds the Jews of their having slain Christ was to move them to repentance, which immediately followed in both cases. But the reproof was far more cutting and explicit in the second address, which seems to have been the reason why this is

tempered by admitting the plea of ignorance. I think no forger would have thought of stating this apparently slight circumstance, which is yet so consistent with other portions of the narrative.

I think the history of the miracle of curing the lame man at the Beautiful gate of the temple is too simple and natural to be fictitious. When lifted up by Peter, and his feet and soles had received strength, "he leaping up stood, and walked and went in with them into the temple, walking, and leaping, and praising God." He is also represented as holding to Peter and John. Can we imagine anything more reasonable and natural than the conduct of this poor cripple as represented in the record? Never having walked before, he, in his joyous delight, must try his newly-acquired powers by standing, walking, and leaping, to assure himself that his cure was *real*; and as each further trial was successful a new shout of praise to God for his deliverance would escape him. And then he held on to the dear instruments of his plainly miraculous cure. And the subsequent statement, that when these two apostles were brought before the council this man was found standing with them, is most consistent with the nature of the case. Conceding the reality of this miracle, for the sake of the argument only, could any account *possibly* be more simple, touching, and natural than the one given? What must have been the feelings, and consequent manifestations of them, of a forty-year cripple *instantly* healed by such a miracle? When we who read this simple account, at this distant day and place, and believe the history to be true, can find no words adequate to fully express our own deep emotions, what must have been his faith and joy! It was not alone the fact of the physical relief which caused his great joy, but the *greater* fact that the miracle proved the truth of the new religion which he so readily embraced.

The short but clear history of the heroic death of the first martyr, Stephen, as related in the sixth and seventh chapters of Acts, appears to be so natural and consistent as to be true beyond all reasonable doubt.

It is represented that he was "full of grace and fortitude," and "did great wonders and signs among the people," and that those who disputed with him "were not able to resist the wisdom and the spirit that spoke." When arrested and brought before the council for trial it is stated that they "that sat in the council looking on him, saw his face as if it had been the face of an angel." Being "full of faith and of the Holy Ghost," and having put to silence all who had opposed him; and the new religion having before this "increased, and the number of disciples multiplied in Jerusalem exceedingly," his countenance kindled because of the opportunity thus allowed him of defending his religion before the same council which had unjustly condemned Christ on a former occasion.

His *intended* line of argument appears to have been to trace concisely the history of the Old Dispensation, and then to show from the prophets, beginning with Moses himself—whom he quotes as to the future Messiah—that the Old Dispensation had run its prescribed course, and had been fulfilled and superseded by the New Dispensation introduced by Christ Himself. He had proceeded in his discourse very calmly, and was listened to attentively, until he reached a point where his views seem to have come in violent conflict with those of the council. The false witnesses had charged that they “heard him say, that this Jesus of Nazareth shall destroy this place, and shall change the traditions which Moses delivered unto us.” This charge was false in asserting that Christ would Himself destroy the temple.

When he came to a new portion of his subject, and said, “Yet the most High dwelleth not in *houses* made by hand,” and quoted from the last chapter of Isaias to sustain his position, it seems that the members of the council at once comprehended the drift of his argument, and must have manifested their disapprobation in some plain, unmistakable manner which was fully perceived by the speaker. And when we come to read the last chapter of Isaias it seems clearly to predict the abolition of the sacrifices offered under the old law and prohibited as criminal by the New Dispensation. The preceding chapter of this prophet seems to foretell that the gentiles would seek Christ, but that the Jews would reject and persecute Him, except a small remnant of them, and the Church would multiply and abound with graces. Now, although the members of the council doubtless construed the prophecies of Isaias as not relating to Christ, they must have *then* known that he was, next to Moses, the great prophet upon whose writings the Christians mainly relied to sustain, so far as prophecy was concerned, the pretensions of Christ to be the Son of God. When, therefore, they found Stephen quoting from this great prophet to sustain his position that “the most High dwelleth not in *houses* made by hand,” they must have clearly understood the drift of Stephen’s argument, and manifested their dissent in a manner so plain that the speaker saw that they had prejudged the question without discussion, and that any further argument would not be tolerated, and that he was, in effect, *already doomed* to suffer. These circumstances explain the apparently sudden transition from calm discussion to bold and sharp denunciation. After he had charged them with persecuting and slaying the prophets who had foretold the coming of Christ, and with having been the betrayers and murderers of the Just One, “they were cut to the heart, and they gnashed with their teeth at him”; and when, “looking up steadfastly to heaven,” he said, “Behold I see the heavens opened, and the Son of man standing on the right hand of God,” thus proclaiming Christ



as the Son of God, "they crying out with a loud voice, stopped their ears, and with one accord ran violently upon him."

When Christ said before this council, "Hereafter you shall see the Son of man sitting at the right hand of the power of God," "then the high-priest rent his garments" (Matt. xxvi. 64-5), showing a great state of earnest excitement. But in the case of Stephen, he not only endorsed this statement of Christ as true, but charged them with being the slayers of the prophets and the betrayers and murderers of Christ; and the new religion had not only increased in Jerusalem "exceedingly," but "a great multitude also of the priests obeyed the faith." All these circumstances combined created that most intense state of excitement so forcibly described in the concise narrative, and which led to the tumultuous execution of the martyr, contrary to the Roman law, which did not *then* permit the Jewish tribunals to put any one to death without the sanction of the Roman authorities.

Any violator of the Law was to be taken outside the gates, and there, as if for the sake of giving to each individual member of the community a sense of his responsibility in the transaction, he was to be crushed by stones, thrown at him by all the people.

Those, however, were to take the lead in this wild and terrible act who had taken upon themselves the responsibility of denouncing him (Deut. xvii. 7; comp. John viii. 7). These were, in this instance, the witnesses who had reported or misreported the words of Stephen. They, according to the custom, for the sake of facility in their dreadful task, stripped themselves, as is the eastern practice on commencing any violent exertion; and one of the prominent leaders in the transaction was deputed by custom to signify his assent to the act by taking the clothes into his custody, and standing over them whilst the bloody work went on. The person who officiated on this occasion was a young man from Tarsus—one probably of the Cilician Hellenists who had disputed with Stephen. His name, as the narrative significantly adds, was Saul (Smith's *Bible Dictionary*, p. 3112).

Can any one believe that so plain, reasonable, and circumstantial an account of a public execution of one alleged to have been openly tried before the great Sanhedrim is a pure fiction? that, in fact, there was no such person as Stephen, the alleged first Christian martyr? How could a story so remarkable ever have obtained any credit, if not true as alleged? If a fiction, were not the authors of it the boldest, the most aimless, and the most inconsistent liars that ever darkened and confused the annals of the world? This melancholy and violent tragedy is alleged to have occurred publicly, before a great multitude of people, in one of the most celebrated cities then in the world, and in an age when letters were understood and the art of writing practised. Surely, if the facts had not been stated with substantial accuracy, the means of successful contradiction were at hand and would have been readily used. That the religion of Christ was violently persecuted in Judea at an early day there can be no reason-

able doubt; and that this persecuted religion must have had its early martyrs in the same locality is as reasonable as the *undoubted* fact that Christ Himself was *there* crucified.

The history of the Council of Jerusalem, as recorded in the fifteenth chapter of Acts, when considered with all its attendant circumstances, is one of those notable events that cannot, I think, be reasonably doubted. There are many facts, either plainly stated or necessarily inferred, that no forger of a fictitious story would ever have thought of.

On page 416 I have endeavored to clearly state the distinction between witness and teacher. The two capacities could be well and properly exercised by the *same* persons, especially when inspired by the Holy Ghost. By *inspired* witness I simply mean one whose memory is infallibly refreshed by having all things he had already witnessed regarding the matter in hand brought *again* to his recollection. This was *one* of the things which Christ promised that the Holy Ghost should do (John xiv. 26).

Testifying is necessarily an *individual* act, as the witness only assumes to state that which he knows of himself to be true, except where he *expressly* claims to state facts upon *information*. And as the apostles were chosen witnesses, each one *positively* stating only what he knew to be true of his own *personal* knowledge; and, as in the nature of their duties as witnesses and teachers, they must be often separated from each other by considerable times and distances; and as the distinction between the capacities and duties of witnesses and teachers, though clear when properly stated, was yet so liable to be misunderstood and confused by the masses of hearers, it was proper that the apostles should be also *individually* inspired *as teachers*.

It would, therefore, seem at *first* view to be an anomaly that certain teachers of the Church at Jerusalem should teach the brethren at Antioch, "That except you be circumcised after the manner of Moses, you cannot be saved"; and that they should persist in thus maintaining, for the time, the essential necessity of circumcision under the new law, in opposition to the *individually* inspired Paul, supported by that "good man," Barnabas.

But they were permitted temporarily to do this for several reasons:

1. The question was a *new judicial* one of some difficulty. There was no provision in the new code *expressly* repealing the law of Moses requiring circumcision; and as *portions* of that code were clearly continued under the New Dispensation, it required the judicial application of the principles of the new code to the facts of this particular case. The question whether a certain provision of a pre-existing law has been repealed is always simply a *judicial* one, as it is the clear duty of the judiciary to determine what *is the existing law*; and, when

two conflicting provisions *both* claim to be the existing law, the court must necessarily decide between them by holding one to be the law to the exclusion of the other.

2. While the doctrine taught was heretical in itself under the new code, it was not heresy in them, because they held it as *conditional*—subject to the decision of the Church—and not as a *finality*; for when “they determined that Paul and Barnabas, and certain others of the other side should go up to the Apostles and priests to Jerusalem, about this question,” they, by that very act, bound themselves to abide by the decision of that tribunal.

3. Paul, not being one of the originally chosen twelve, was called out of due time, as it were, and had only *lately* performed miracles—so far as the record shows—in attestation of his claim to be an apostle; and his authority to finally decide so new, vital, delicate, and difficult a question may have been doubted by these teachers. At all events, as the decision by the Council of Jerusalem would be *perfectly* satisfactory to all parties; and as the precedent thus set would not be dangerous in the future, because the apostles would soon all disappear in the natural course of human life, and the same state of question would not likely *again* occur during their lives; and as peace in the Church was then of so much importance, and as these men were evidently sincere and earnest—this course was taken as the most kindly and respectful to the Old Dispensation and its ardent friends, and as most expedient and satisfactory under all the circumstances then existing.

Now, I maintain that the forger of a fictitious story would never have taken this elevated and charitable view of the question; but, on the contrary, he would have represented Paul, the infallibly-inspired and great apostle of the gentiles, as at once peremptorily and finally deciding the question, and as having, therefore, required the absolute and prompt submission of these teachers. A forger never would have risen *high enough* in his views to fully appreciate the greatness of the question and its extreme delicacy, including, as it did, long, habitual, and devoted national and religious attachments to a venerable institution of their great lawgiver, Moses.

But after their arrival in Jerusalem “there arose some of the sect of the Pharisees that believed, saying: They must be circumcised, and be commanded to observe the law of Moses. And the Apostles and ancients assembled to consider this matter.”

When the question came up before the council they did not at once submit it to a vote without debate, but proceeded to discuss and consider it as uninspired men would do in a judicial tribunal; appealing, in the *first* instance, to human reason. *After* there had been “much disputing” in the council Peter made a short but most argumentative address, referring for the proof of his view to the single clear case of Cornelius, the uncircumcised gentile convert, upon whom the Holy

Ghost had descended as upon the apostles on the day of Pentecost ; and hence Peter concluded, with irresistible logical force, that as the *same effects* followed without, as with circumcision, it could not be *essential* under the new code. James followed and supported Peter by appealing to the prophets.

But when they came to render their final decision in the case—which final decision was termed *decrees* (xvi. 4, xxi. 25)—they said: “For it hath seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us, to lay no farther burden upon you than these necessary things.”

From this history we may learn that reason was *first* appealed to in discussing and considering the question, and, in so far as it was competent to determine the matter, reason was allowed its *full* action. The Holy Ghost being ready to supply whatever might be deficient in the action of human reason was a conclusive guarantee that the *final* conclusion was infallibly correct. The Holy Ghost constituted *substantially* the supreme appellate power to correct all errors committed by reason. It is in the nature of appellate jurisdiction *only* to interfere where *errors* have been committed by inferior tribunals, because where no error is found the superior tribunal simply *affirms* the decision of the court below. The council could, then, well say in this case, “it hath seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us,” thus showing that two separate and distinct jurisdictions—one inferior and the other superior—had *concurred* in the same decrees.

And this is consistent with the great and true maxim that God never did do an idle and vain thing. For, having bestowed upon man the great faculty of reason, there could be no wisdom in superseding it when competent to *fully* accomplish all that is *necessary* in a given case; but when it *needs* assistance, or when the matter is *wholly above* its capacity, then the Holy Ghost acts. This is the true ground upon which to account for the great and general fact that there are *two* elements—the human and divine—mingling in the theory of Christianity, as shown by the acts of Christ and His apostles. For example, when Christ had raised the daughter of Jairus from the dead (Mark v. 43) He immediately “commanded that something should be given her to eat.” All that Christ did in this case was to restore life, not strength, to the damsel; because, according to the already existing laws of nature, food would give her all the strength required. So in the case of Saul (Acts ix. 9, 18, 19). He was blind for three days, and “did neither eat nor drink”; but when Ananias came and healed him of his blindness, *after* eating “he was strengthened.” The cure of blindness was entirely above the existing laws of nature, and therein consisted the miracle; but as the weakness caused by fasting for three days could be removed by proper food, “he was strengthened” by eating. So also in the case of that noble woman whom Peter restored to life *after* “all the widows stood about him weeping, and shew-

ing him the coats and garments which Dorcas made them" (Acts ix. 39-41). She had strength enough to open her eyes, look on Peter, and then to sit up; but it required the assistance of Peter to lift her up. In the great case of Lazarus "he that had been dead came forth, bound feet and hands with winding-bands, and his face was bound about with a napkin." As Lazarus arose from a tomb which was a "cave" the power to come forth bound hand and foot was miraculously given him to make the evidence of the miracle clear and conclusive: as if he had simply come forth from the *cave unbound* it might have been plausibly alleged that he had never been dead; but when he came forth instantly, bound as he was, it was too clear a miracle to be disputed. But *after* he had *thus* appeared Christ said: "Loose him and let him go." Although restored to life, Lazarus could not unbind himself; but as his friends could do so, no miracle was necessary for this purpose. The stone had been previously removed by human hands at the command of Christ. In the case of the resurrection of Christ the stone was rolled away by an angel, no human hands having been employed in that great event. So when Christ appeared to Saul while on his fiery trip to Damascus, and he had tremblingly inquired, "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?" he was told to "Arise and go into the city, and there it shall be told thee what thou must do" (Acts ix. 6, 7). And when the angel appeared to Cornelius, and he had asked, "What is it, Lord?" he was told to send for Peter, and "he will tell thee what thou must do" (Acts x. 4-6). Christ, having already established a ministry for the work properly belonging to such an institution, would not Himself or by His angel do that which could be fully done by His existing agencies.

There may appear to be some exceptional cases for special reasons; but I apprehend that, when clearly understood, such instances are not *real* but only *apparent* exceptions.

The conversion of Saul, for example, may at first view seem an exceptional case. But in this celebrated instance Christ not only desired the *individual* salvation of Saul, as He does that of all *men*, but He also and *mainly* desired the conversion of Saul, because he would be to Christ "a vessel of election, to carry His name before the gentiles, and kings and the children of Israel." The young Saul was sincere, learned, zealous, brave, persevering, ardent, and indefatigable, and would make a fit ambassador for Christ when once converted to the theory he so much persecuted. Christ, therefore, *mainly* desired his conversion for His own great purposes. And He not only so desired his conversion, but He desired it should be *immediate*, so that Saul would have ample time to triumphantly finish his glorious mission. Now, although human reason, when rightly exercised, and aided by the grace of God, which is *always* given to the *worthy* when *properly* asked for, is the *ordinary* means of conversion, it was not in *this*

case *sufficient* to produce the *immediate* conversion of so able and determined an enemy as Saul of Tarsus. So this case establishes rather than violates the general principle that when one sufficient means already exists for the accomplishment of a certain purpose, such means will be generally left to its own proper action, and only aided when deficient in the particular case.

This great case of Saul seems to illustrate another important position. While God never deprives a sane human being of his free-will, He can yet bend that free-will to His own purposes by means which still leave it intact. In the case of Saul, Christ gave him *personally* such an amount and quality of *evidence* of the truth of His religion as at once to convince him of its reality. This result was produced, not by *destroying* his free-will, but by convincing his intellect by conclusive proof. Christ foresaw what amount and kind of evidence would be sufficient to cause Saul's conversion to the true faith, and gave it accordingly. Still, Saul had the power to resist the legitimate force of this evidence, and to have remained disobedient to the great call.

Now, I am confident that the forger of a fictitious account would never have risen high enough in his false and fraudulent conceptions to have recognized these just and logical views. He would never have permitted any one to dispute, even for the time only, the decision or opinion of an alleged inspired apostle; and the case would not have been allowed to come before the council *after* having been once before Paul. Even in a supposed case, where the alleged decision had been made by a teacher *not* an apostle, and had been brought up before the council for review, the forger would not have represented the question as having been discussed according to human reason in the *first* instance, but as at once and without discussion having been decided by the *sole* action and guidance of the Holy Ghost. Nor would the forger of a fiction have represented Christ and His apostles as having performed miracles in the *manner* they are alleged to have done in the record. Everything would have been represented as having been done by the wonder-worker *himself*, and nothing as left yet to be restored by the ordinary laws of nature. The natural pride of the forger would not have allowed him thus seemingly to have lessened the power and *éclat* of his false god. Nor would the forger ever have recorded the fact that Paul and Barnabas, *after* having appeared before the Council of Jerusalem, and *there* related "what great signs and wonders God had wrought among the Gentiles by them," had yet, soon thereafter, "a dissension so that they departed one from another." Not distinguishing between matters essential and matters non-essential, matters of faith and matters of expediency, the forger would never have admitted that his workers of miracles could sharply *differ* about anything.

## UNDESIGNED AND MUTUALLY SUPPORTING COINCIDENCES.

The numerous undesigned and mutually supporting coincidences found in the New Testament not only constitute one of the most unanswerable evidences of the truth of the record, but happily this class of proof is within the reach of every reader. The instances are so numerous, while my space is so limited, that I can only refer to a few examples.

In the Gospel of Matthew it is stated that the false witnesses testified that Christ had said; "I am able to destroy the temple of God, and after three days to rebuild it"; and that the mocking Jews exclaimed, "Vah, thou that destroyest the temple of God and in three days dost rebuild it" (xxvi. 61, xxvii. 40). In no portion of this Gospel are we informed of the fact which gave rise to these statements. But when we refer to the Gospel of John (ii. 19) we there see that Christ said to the Jews: "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up." This was the foundation of what Matthew records. The testimony of the false witnesses, and the insulting words of the Jews, were but perversions of the language Christ had really used.

In the Gospel of Luke it is recorded that the accusers of Christ before Pilate said: "We have found this man perverting our nation, and forbidding to give tribute to Cæsar, and saying that he is Christ the king." The record then continues: "And Pilate asked him, saying: Art thou the king of the Jews? But he answering, said: Thou sayest it. And Pilate said to the chief-priests and to the multitudes: I find no cause in this man" (xxiii. 2-4). From these passages *alone*, or from any others found in Luke's Gospel, it is difficult to perceive the reason why Pilate declared that he found in the admitted fact that Christ claimed to be the king of the Jews no cause of crime. The accusers had alleged, in substance, that Christ had forbidden to pay tribute, *because* He claimed to be Himself the king of the Jews. Of all the charges made against Christ, this was the only serious one under the Roman laws; and when, according to the ordinary sense of the passages quoted, Christ admitted, without qualification, that He was king of the Jews. He substantially conceded that He had forbidden to pay tribute to any other power. But when we refer to the Gospel of John we there find that, in *addition* to the fact that Christ had admitted that He was the king of the Jews, He had explained to the governor that His kingdom was not of this world (xviii. 36). It was *this* explanation, which is omitted by Luke, which satisfied Pilate and clears up the apparent obscurity in Luke.

In the discourses delivered and the parables put forth by Christ in fertile and populous Galilee it will be found that they are generally based upon rural scenes and occupations, and are generally different

in kind from those delivered and put forth in Jerusalem. This is just as it should be in a true narrative.

In Matthew's Gospel Christ said to the multitude and to His disciples: "And call none your father upon earth: for one is your Father, who is in heaven. Neither be ye called masters: for one is your Master, Christ" (xxiii. 9, 10).

That the words *father* and *masters* are here used in a *special* ecclesiastical sense I think there can be no reasonable doubt. It was not the intention to prohibit a son from calling his natural male parent father, nor yet to prevent a spiritual son from calling his spiritual parent father, as Paul called Timothy his son. Christ, having *before* this taught His disciples to pray to God as their *Father*, uses the word in the same sense here; because when He says, Call no man father, He at once gives the explicit reason by saying, "for one is your Father, who is in heaven," thus showing the sense in which the term father is used. The reason given would be wholly idle and vain unless the term father has the same sense in *both* cases. The same remarks apply to the use of the word masters. Christ was called Master by His disciples in the sense of His divine character (John xiii. 13).

Christ foresaw that divine honors would be offered to the apostles; and these commands were given in advance, to prevent them from accepting this most seductive and tempting of all honors which one human being can offer to another. So when Peter and John had healed the cripple (Acts iii. 12) Peter asked the people who ran to them, "why wonder you at this? or why look you upon us, as if by our virtue or power we had made this man to walk?" and then carefully explained that it was in virtue of the name of Christ the man was cured. So when Cornelius, falling at the feet of Peter, "adored," he "lifted him up, saying: Arise, I myself also am a man" (Acts x. 25-6). And when the people at Lystra offered sacrifice to Paul and Barnabas they rent their clothes and exclaimed, with the utmost earnestness: "Ye men, why do ye these things? We are mortals, men like unto you" . . . and "they scarce restrained the people from sacrificing to them" (Acts xiv. 10-17).

It is related in Acts that Paul founded the Church at Ephesus, that he performed there "more than common miracles," and that he taught there a long time with great success (xix., xx.) In his epistle to the Ephesians he says: "Built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, JESUS CHRIST himself being the chief cornerstone: in whom all the building, being framed together, groweth up into a holy temple in the Lord. In whom you also are built together into a habitation of God in the Spirit" (ii. 20-22). In his first epistle to the Corinthians, written from Ephesus, he makes a like illustration (iii. 9-19).



In regard to the great temple of Diana at Ephesus I copy the following concise description :

The earlier temple, which had been begun before the Persian war, was burnt down in the night when Alexander the Great was born; and another structure, raised by the enthusiastic coöperation of all the inhabitants of "Asia," had taken its place. Its dimensions were very great. In length it was 425 feet, and in breadth 220. The columns were 127 in number, and each of them was 60 feet high. In style, too, it constituted an epoch in Greek art (Vitruv. iv. 1); since it was here first that the graceful Ionic order was perfected. The magnificence of this sanctuary was a proverb throughout the civilized world (Smith's *Bible Dictionary*, pp. 748-9).

It is perfectly consistent with reason that Paul, when writing to the Ephesians from Rome, and to the Corinthians from Ephesus, should use the architectural allegory we find in these two epistles. The magnificent temple with all the circumstances connected with it, and Paul's most successful labors in that city, would suggest this symbolical teaching, and render it the more vivid and impressive in the epistle to the Ephesians. The alleged facts that Paul wrought "more than common miracles" and taught there a long time, consistently account for his wonderful success in that great city.

In the first epistle of Peter (ii. 21-24) he incidentally refers to the character of Christ as mainly exhibited in the incidents of His Passion recorded in the Gospels, and continues (v. 1-3) the comparison of the shepherd and the flock as found in John (x. 1-14). In his second epistle (i. 13, 14) he simply mentions that Christ had signified his death to him. But when we refer to John's Gospel we find the history of this incident in full (xxi. 18, 19).

It is related in Acts (xxiv.) that Paul was brought before Felix, the Roman governor. Tertullus calls him "most excellent Felix"; but Paul, in his address, uses no such flattery. But we find Paul saying "most excellent Festus" (xxvi. 25). It is also stated (xxiv. 24, 25) that "Felix coming with Drusilla his wife, who was a Jew, sent for Paul, and heard of him the faith that is in Christ Jesus. And as he treated of justice and chastity, and of the judgment to come, Felix being terrified, answered: For this time go thy way: but when I have a convenient time I will send for thee."

It appears from Josephus that Felix was sent by the Emperor Claudius; that Drusilla was the sister of Agrippa, who gave her in marriage to Azizus, King of Emesa; that her great beauty caused Felix to fall in love with her, and that he sent to her his friend Simon, a Jew, who persuaded her to forsake her husband and marry him. The historian also relates how Felix treacherously caused the death of Jonathan, the high-priest (*An.*, b. xx. cs. vii. and viii.) Tacitus says: "Felix had been a good while ago set over Judea, and thought he might be guilty of all sorts of wickedness with impunity,

while he relied on so sure an authority" (Whiston's translation). This authority was Pallas, the brother of Felix, who was in great favor with Nero (*An.*, b. xx. c. viii.)

It was not surprising that Lysias, the tribune, and Tertullus, the orator, should call the wicked governor "most excellent Felix." But the saintly and intrepid Paul nobly refrained from the use of such base flattery. Instead of employing it "he treated of justice and chastity, and of the judgment to come," in a manner so convincing that the guilty Felix was *terrified*. Festus was a nobler man than Felix, and merited and received a different treatment from Paul. The statement that Felix hoped to receive money from Paul, and often sent for him for that reason, is perfectly consistent with the character of Felix. The whole history of this case of Paul, as recorded in Acts, is most consistent and reasonable, and bears clear evidences of the truth.

But much the greater number of these undesigned and mutually supporting coincidences will be found in the epistles of Paul and the book of Acts. Paul was the most voluminous writer among the authors of the New Testament, and a large portion of Acts is occupied with the history of his labors, travels, and persecutions. Some four years before the composition of his *Evidences of Christianity* Dr. Paley had published a work under the title of *Horæ Paulinæ*, in which he noticed these coincidences at length. In my judgment this work is far more able than his *Evidences*, some of the positions of which I controverted in a former work (*The Path*, pp. 237-250), and which I still think are clearly erroneous. In his *Evidences*, speaking of his former work, the learned author says :

On which account I wished to have abridged my own volume, in the manner in which I have treated Dr. Lardner's in the preceding chapter. But, upon making the attempt, I did not find it in my power to render the articles intelligible by fewer words than I have there used: I must be content, therefore, to refer the reader to the work itself (*Ev. Chris.*, p. ii. c. vii.)

I can only notice a few of the many examples treated in Dr. Paley's masterly work; and in doing so I will condense his remarks as well as I can, using his own language when practicable, and refer, as he has done, to the work itself, in which there may be some positions not correct, but the main argument, I think, cannot be successfully answered.

The reader then will please remember this word *undesignedness*, as denoting that upon which the construction and validity of our argument chiefly depend.

As to the proofs of undesignedness, I shall in this place say little; for I had rather the reader's persuasion should arise from the instances themselves, and the separate remarks with which they may be accompanied, than from any previous formulary or description of argument. In a great plurality of examples, I trust he will be perfectly convinced that no design or contrivance whatever has been ex-

exercised: and if some of the coincidences alleged appear to be minute, circuitous, or oblique, let him reflect that this very indirectness and subtlety is that which gives force and propriety to the example. . . . But when I read in the Acts of the Apostles, that when "Paul came to Derbe and Lystra, behold a certain disciple was there, named Timotheus, the son of a certain woman *which was a jewess*," and when, in an epistle addressed to Timothy, I find him reminded of his "having known the Holy Scriptures *from a child*;" which implies that he must, on one side or both, have been brought up by Jewish parents: I conceive that I remark a coincidence which shows, by its very *obliquity*, that scheme was not employed in its formation. In like manner, if a coincidence depend upon a comparison of dates, or rather of circumstances from which the dates are gathered—the more intricate that comparison shall be; the more numerous the intermediate steps through which the conclusion is deduced; in a word, the more *circuitous* the investigation is, the better, because the agreement which finally results is thereby further removed from the suspicion of contrivance, affectation, or design (c. i.)

"But now I go unto Jerusalem, to minister unto the saints; for it hath pleased them of Macedonia and Achaia, to make a certain contribution for the poor saints which are at Jerusalem" (Rom. xv. 25, 26).

In this quotation three distinct circumstances are stated—a contribution in Macedonia for the relief of the Christians of Jerusalem, a contribution in Achaia for the same purpose, and an intended journey of St. Paul to Jerusalem. These circumstances are stated as taking place at the same time, and that to be the time when the epistle was written.

The author, having referred to numerous passages and having made many remarks concerning them, thus continues:

But though the contribution in Achaia be expressly mentioned, nothing is here said concerning any contribution in Macedonia. Turn, therefore, in the third place, to the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, chap. viii. ver. 1–4, and you will discover the particular which remains to be sought for.

Here, therefore, at length, but fetched from three different writings, we have obtained the several circumstances we inquired after, and which the Epistle to the Romans brings together, viz., a contribution in Achaia for the Christians in Jerusalem; a contribution in Macedonia for the same; and an approaching journey of St. Paul to Jerusalem. We have these circumstances—each by some hint in the passage in which it is mentioned, or by the date of the writing in which the passage occurs—fixed to a particular time; and we have that time turning out upon examination to be in all the *same*; namely towards the close of St. Paul's second visit to the peninsula of Greece. This is an instance of conformity beyond the possibility, I will venture to say, of random writing to produce. I also assert, that it is in the highest degree improbable that it should have been the effect of contrivance and design (c. ii. no. 1).

"Now I would not have you ignorant, brethren, that oftentimes I purposed to come unto you, but was let hitherto; that I might have some fruit among you also, even as among other Gentiles" (Rom. i. 13).

With this passage compare Acts xix. 21.

"After these things were ended, (viz. at Ephesus,) Paul purposed in the spirit, when he had passed through Macedonia and Achaia, to go to Jerusalem; saying, After I have been there, I must also see Rome" (c. ii. no. iii.)

The following quotation I offer for the purpose of pointing out a geographical coincidence, of so much importance, that Dr. Lardner considered it as a confirmation of the whole history of St. Paul's travels.

“So that from Jerusalem, and round about unto Illyricum, I have fully preached the Gospel of Christ” (Rom. xv. 19).

I do not think that these words necessarily import that St. Paul had penetrated into Illyricum, or preached the Gospel in that province; but rather that he had come to the confines of Illyricum, and that these confines were the external boundary of his travels. St. Paul considers Jerusalem as the centre, and is here viewing the circumference to which his travels extended. . . . The name of Illyricum nowhere occurs in the Acts of the Apostles; no suspicion, therefore, can be received that the mention of it was borrowed from thence. Yet I think it appears, from these same Acts, that St. Paul, before the time when he wrote his Epistle to the Romans, had reached the confines of Illyricum; or, however, that he might have done so, in perfect consistency with the account there delivered. Illyricum adjoins upon Macedonia; measuring from Jerusalem towards Rome, it lies close behind it. . . . Now the account of St. Paul's second visit to the peninsula of Greece, is contained in these words: “He departed for to go into Macedonia; and when he had gone over these parts, and had given them much exhortation, he came into Greece” Acts xx. 2 (c. ii. no. iv.)

Rom. xv. 30: “Now I beseech you, brethren, for the Lord Jesus Christ's sake, and for the love of the Spirit, that ye strive together with me in your prayers to God for me, that I may be delivered from them that do not believe, in Judea.”

With this compare Acts xx. 22, 23:

“And now, behold, I go bound in the spirit unto Jerusalem, not knowing the things that shall befall me there, save that the Holy Ghost witnesseth in every city, saying that bonds and afflictions abide me” (c. ii. no. v.)

The Epistle to the Galatians relates to the same general question as the Epistle to the Romans. St. Paul had founded the church of Galatia; at Rome, he had never been. Observe now a difference in his manner of treating of the same subject, corresponding with this difference in his situation. In the Epistle to the Galatians he puts the point in a great measure upon *authority*. . . . “Behold, I, Paul, say unto you, that if ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing,” v. 2. “This persuasion cometh not of him that called you,” v. 8. This is the style in which he accosts the Galatians. In the epistle to the converts of Rome, where his authority was not established, nor his person known, he puts the same points entirely upon *argument* (c. ii. no. viii.)

Our epistle purports to have been written after St. Paul had already been at Corinth: “I, brethren, when I came unto you, came not with excellency of speech or of wisdom,” (1 Cor. ii. 1,) and in many other places to the same effect. It purports also to have been written upon the eve of another visit to that church: “I will come to you shortly, if the Lord will” (iv. 19;) and again, “I will come to you when I shall pass through Macedonia,” (xvi. 5.) Now the history relates that St. Paul did in fact visit Corinth *twice*: once as recorded at length in the eighteenth, and a second time as mentioned briefly in the twentieth chapter of the Acts (c. iii. no. ii.)

1 Cor. iv. 17: “For this cause I have sent unto you Timotheus, who is my beloved son and faithful in the Lord.”

With this compare Acts xix. 21–22: . . . “so he sent unto Macedonia two of them that ministered unto him, *Timotheus* and *Erastus*.” . . .

But in the Acts, Erastus accompanied Timothy in this journey, of whom no mention is made in the epistle. From what has been said in our observations upon the Epistle to the Romans, it appears probable that Erastus was a Corinthian. If so, though he accompanied Timothy to Corinth, he was only returning home, and Timothy was the messenger charged with St. Paul's orders. At any rate this discrepancy shows that the passages were not taken from one another (c. iii. no. iii.)

1 Cor. ix. 20: "And unto the Jews, I became as a Jew, that I might gain the Jews; to them that are under the law, as under the law."

We have the disposition here described, exemplified in two instances which the history records; one, Acts xvi. 3. . . . This was before the writing of the epistle. The other, Acts xxi. 23, 26, and after the writing of the epistle (c. iii. no. vii.)

1 Cor. i. 14-17: "I thank God that I baptized none of you but Crispus, Gaius . . . and the household of Stephanas."

It may be expected, that those whom the apostle baptized with his own hands, were converts distinguished from the rest by some circumstance, either of eminence or of connexion with him.

See Acts xviii. 8, as to Crispus; Rom. xvi. 23, as to Gaius; and 1 Cor. xvi. 15 as to Stephanas. They were all converts of distinction, or connected with Paul.

2 Cor. iii. 1: "Do we begin again to commend ourselves? or need we, as some others, epistles of commendation to you?"

"As some others." Turn to Acts xviii. 27, and you will find that, a short time before the writing of that epistle, Apollos had gone to Corinth with letters of commendation from the Ephesian Christians; "and when Apollos was disposed to pass into Achaia, the brethren wrote, exhorting the disciples to receive him."

Corinth was the capital of Achaia, and Apollos went to Corinth (Acts xix. 1).

In this number I shall endeavour to prove,

1. That the Epistle to the Galatians, and the Acts of the Apostles, were written without any communication with each other.

2. That the Epistle, though written without any communication with the history, by recital, implication, or reference, bears testimony to many of the facts contained in it (c. v. no. ii.)

The author, having, as I think, proved his first position, then quotes from the epistle i. 13, 14, and from Acts viii. 3, xxii. 3, to sustain his second ground:

Gal. iv. 29: "But as then he that was born after the flesh persecuted him that was born after the spirit, even so it is now."

v. ii.: "And I, brethren, if I yet preach circumcision, why do I yet suffer persecution? Then is the offence of the cross ceased."

vi. 17: "From henceforth, let no man trouble me, for I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus."

From these several texts, it is apparent that the persecutions which our apostle had undergone, were from the hands or by the instigation of the Jews; that it was not for preaching Christianity in opposition to heathenism, but it was for preaching it as distinct from Judaism, that he had brought upon himself the sufferings which had attended his ministry. And this representation perfectly coincides with that which results from the detail of St. Paul's history, as delivered in the Acts (c. v. no. v.)

The author then refers to various texts of Acts in which are recorded the persecutions against Paul, a statement of which will be found in note to page 356 of this work.

The Epistle therefore to the Ephesians, and the Epistle to the Colossians, im-

port to be two letters written by the same person, at or nearly at the same time, upon the same subject, and to have been sent by the same messenger. Now, every thing in the sentiments, order, and diction of the two writings, correspond with what might be expected from this circumstance of identity or cognation in their original. The leading doctrine of both epistles is the union of the Jews and Gentiles under the Christian dispensation; and that doctrine in both is established by the same arguments, or, more properly speaking, illustrated by the same similitudes: "one head," "one body," "one new man," "one temple," are in both epistles the figures under which the society of believers in Christ, and their common relation to him as such, is represented. The ancient, and, as had been thought, the indelible distinction between Jew and Gentile, in both epistles, is declared to be "now abolished by the cross" (c. vi. no. i.)

There is such a thing as a peculiar word or phrase cleaving, as it were, to the memory of a writer or speaker, and presenting itself to his utterance at every turn. . . . The truth is, an example of this kind runs through several of St. Paul's epistles, and in the epistle before us *abounds*; and that is in the word *riches*, used metaphorically as an argumentative of the idea to which it happens to be subjoined. Thus, "the *riches* of his glory," "his *riches* in glory," "*riches* of the glory of his inheritance," "*riches* of the glory of this mystery," Rom. ix. 23, Ephes. iii. 16, Ephes. i. 18, Colos. i. 27; "*riches* of his grace," twice in the Ephesians, i. 7 and ii. 7; "*riches* of the full assurance of understanding," Colos. ii. 2; "*riches* of his goodness," Rom. ii. 4; "*riches* of the wisdom of God," Rom. xi. 33; "*riches* of Christ," Ephes. iii. 8. In a like sense the adjective, Rom. x. 12, "*rich* unto all that call upon him;" Ephes. ii. 4, "*rich* in mercy;" 1 Tim. vi. 18, "*rich* in good works." Also the adverb, Colos. iii. 16, "let the word of Christ dwell in you *richly*." This figurative use of the word, though so familiar to St. Paul, does not occur in any part of the New Testament, except once in the Epistle of St. James, ch. ii. 5, "Hath not God chosen the *poor* of this world, *rich* in faith?" where it is manifestly suggested by the antithesis. I propose the frequent, yet seemingly unaffected use of this phrase, in the epistle before us, as one internal mark of its genuineness (c. vi. no. ii.)

There is another singularity in St. Paul's style, which, wherever it is found, may be deemed a badge of authenticity; because, if it were noticed, it would not, I think, be imitated, inasmuch as it almost always produces embarrassment and interruption in the reasoning. This singularity is a species of digression which may properly, I think, be denominated, *going off at a word*. It is turning aside from the subject upon the occurrence of some particular word, forsaking the train of thought then in hand, and entering upon a parenthetical sentence in which that word is the prevailing term. . . . 2 Cor. ii. 14, at the word *savour*: "Now thanks be unto God, which always causes us to triumph in Christ, and maketh manifest the *savour* of his knowledge by us in every place, (for we are unto God a sweet *savour* of Christ, in them that are saved, and in them that perish; to the one we are the *savour* of death unto death, and to the other the *savour* of life unto life; and who is sufficient for these things?) For we are not as many which corrupt the word of God, but as of sincerity, but as of God; in the sight of God, speak we in Christ." Again, 2 Cor. iii. 1, at the word *epistle*. . . . Again, 2 Cor. iii. 12, &c., at the word *vail*. . . . In the Epistle to the Ephesians, the reader will remark two instances in which the same habit of composition obtains; he will recognise the same pen. One he will find, chap. iv. 8-11, at the word *ascended*. . . . The other appears, chap. v. 12-15, at the word *light* (c. vi. no. iii.)

When a transaction is referred to in such a manner, as that the reference is easily and immediately understood by those who are beforehand, or from other quarters, acquainted with the fact, but is obscure, or imperfect, or requires investigation, or

a comparison of different parts, in order to be made clear to other readers, the transaction so referred to is probably real; because had it been fictitious, the writer would have set forth his story more fully and plainly, not merely as conscious of the fiction, but as conscious that his readers could have no other knowledge of the subject of his allusion than from the information of which he put them in possession (c. vii. no. i.)

I must say that the foregoing is one of the most profound passages I have met with in any writer, and that it has a wide application to most of the books composing the Bible. The passage is founded in eminent good sense and upon a clear conception of human nature.

Philippians i. 29, 30 : "For unto you is given, in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe on him, but also to suffer for his sake; having the same conflict which *ye saw in me*, and now hear to be in me."

With this compare Acts xvi. 22 (c. vii. no. vii.)

1 Timothy v. 23: "Drink no longer water, but use a little wine for thy stomach's sake and thine often infirmities." . . . It seems to me that nothing but reality, that is, the real valetudinary situation of a real person, could have suggested a thought of so domestic a nature.

But if the peculiarity of the advice be observable, the place in which it stands is more so. . . . The direction to Timothy about his diet stands between two sentences, as wide from the subject as possible. The train of thought seems to be broken to let it in. Now when does this happen? It happens when a man writes as he remembers; when he puts down an article that occurs the moment it occurs, lest he should afterwards forget it (c. xi. no. iv.)

It was the uniform tradition of the primitive church, that St. Paul visited Rome twice, and twice there suffered imprisonment; and that he was put to death at Rome at the conclusion of his second imprisonment. This opinion concerning St. Paul's *two* journeys to Rome is confirmed by a great variety of hints and allusions in his Second Epistle to Timothy, compared with what fell from the apostle's pen in other letters purporting to have been written from Rome (c. xii. no. i.)

This the author proves, but his remarks are too long for my limits.

A very characteristic circumstance in the Epistle to Titus, is the quotation from Epimenides, chap. i. 12: "One of themselves, even a prophet of their own, said, The Cretans are always liars, evil beasts, slow bellies."

I call this quotation characteristic, because no writer in the New Testament, except St. Paul, appealed to heathen testimony; and because St. Paul repeatedly did so. In his celebrated speech at Athens, preserved in the seventeenth chapter of the Acts, he tells his audience, that "in God we live, and move, and have our being; as certain also of your own poets have said, For we are also his offspring." The reader will perceive much similarity of manner in these two passages (c. xiii. no. i.)

Here then we have a man of liberal attainments, and in other points of sound judgment, who had addicted his life to the service of the Gospel. We see him, in the prosecution of this purpose, travelling from country to country, enduring every species of hardship, encountering every extremity of danger, assaulted by the populace, punished by the magistrates, scourged, beat, stoned, left for dead; expecting, wherever he came, a renewal of the same treatment, and the same dangers, yet when driven from one city, preaching in the next; spending his whole time in the employment, sacrificing to it his pleasures, his ease, his safety; persisting in this

course to old age, unaltered by the experience of perverseness, ingratitude, prejudice, desertion; unsubdued by anxiety, want, labour, persecutions; unwearied by long confinement, undismayed by the prospect of death. Such was St. Paul (c. xvi.)

The writings themselves prove that the man who composed the epistles attributed to Paul was a writer of great mental and logical ability; that the speaker who delivered or wrote the addresses claimed to be his, especially the one to the Athenians and the one before Festus and Agrippa, was an orator of high grade is apparent; and that the writer of those fine and connected passages commencing with the ninth verse of the twelfth, and ending with the thirteenth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans was a moralist of the purest character—at least in theory—is certain; that he who wrote the two epistles to Timothy and that to Titus was a man of great *practical* administrative ability, and possessed a true knowledge of human nature and the fitness of things, would seem to be clear; and that the teacher who, in his old age, could utter these fervent and triumphant lines: “For I am even now ready to be sacrificed: and the time of my dissolution is at hand. I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith. As to the rest, there is laid up for me a crown of justice, which the Lord the just judge will render to me in that day: and not only to me, but to them also that love his coming,” was full of unflinching and joyous faith, and felt and believed all he stated to be true, I have no doubt.

I now confidently submit that the following positions have been sustained by such a mass of evidence as to be true beyond all reasonable doubt:

1. That the early Christian witnesses, teachers, and writers gave the greatest possible proofs of their integrity.
2. That the facts they attested were, in their nature, such plain, visible, and audible events as any set of sane, honest, but uninspired men could with substantial accuracy establish by their testimony.
3. That they left us their written testimony in various independent books and letters, clearly the work of several different authors.
4. That these writings bear upon their face the strongest marks of plain, simple, unequivocal truth—in their natural style and circumstantial statements, showing the evident consciousness of the writers that they were only stating the truth, fearless of contradiction, and believed in the truth of the religion they professed; in the confirmatory testimony of heathen authors who wrote near their time; in a great number of undesigned and mutually supporting coincidences found in the writings themselves, which no art or skill of the forger could successfully fabricate; and in the pure and perfect theory of religion they taught—a theory too exalted and sublime ever to have been the invention of fraudulent minds, and too much opposed to all



human ambition ever to have been propagated by wicked men, under the severe tests of sincerity existing at the time.

5. That, from the very nature of the theory they taught, the believers must have formed a united society.

6. That an organization of the faithful, called the Church, was founded at an early day.

7. That this grand institution, regarded simply as an association of earnest, sincere, sane, but fallible men, is a competent and credible witness to substantially prove events occurring within her own organization, as already shown.

8. That this Church still exists, and has given her continuous testimony to the authenticity and verity of her records and the truth of the Christian theory.

9. That these several classes of evidence *combined* constitute a body of proof amply sufficient to establish the truth of Christianity.

I have hitherto treated the books composing the New Testament as simple, honest, uninspired history, and the Church as an uninspired institution; and both the writers and the Church as competent and credible witnesses to prove such plain facts as ordinary human history could record and transmit with *substantial accuracy*. The *higher* fact of the inspiration of these writers and of the Church is another question, which requires more space for its clear consideration than I can spare in this work; and as I have given a full discussion of the question in *The Path*, I must refer the reader to that volume for my views upon that subject. I think that I have there successfully maintained the only logical method of proving the inspiration of the several books of the New Testament, especially the works of Mark and Luke, whose authors were not apostles, wrought no miracles, claimed no inspiration themselves, and whose works are not endorsed or referred to by any apostle. In the same work I submitted what I considered to be ample reasons and proofs of the infallibility of the Church. I have there also given in detail my reasons for believing that the Catholic is the only true Church of Christ.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

### OBJECTIONS.

*The Mode of Prescribing the Law of Christ, the Character of the Evidences of its Divine Origin, and its Progress in the World.*

It has been objected that the method of prescribing the Christian code was imperfect, the evidences of its divine origin insufficient, and its progress in the world not such as that of a supernatural revelation should have been. In other words, it has been contended that a true revelation would have been made in a *different* manner, the evidences of its divine origin would have been more *certain*, and its consequent progress in the world more *rapid* and *widely* diffused.

These objections might be separately examined; but as they are so closely connected, and so dependent one upon the others, I think it best to consider them together.

I readily concede that these abstract and theoretical objections are plausible and deserve a careful consideration. While they are easily made in a very concise and forcible form, they yet involve some of the most important and fundamental principles common to all governments, human or divine. It is true that in many cases an invalid objection can be clearly and strongly stated in a very few words, to answer which properly would require much more space and many more words. It is also true that in *other* cases it requires many words to clearly state an objection which can be very concisely and conclusively answered. The conciseness or fulness of the statement will, therefore, depend upon the *nature* of each separate case. In the case before us the objections can be readily and concisely stated, while the answers, from the nature of the questions involved, will require much more space.

In a former work I made the following observations, which are now deemed applicable to the matter under consideration:

It must be obvious to common sense, that all laws must be similar in those general respects requisite to constitute law itself. There must be certain constituent principles to make up every law. It could not be a law at all without constituent principles. I, therefore, lay down these two positions as true:

1. All systems of positive law must agree in those essential elements necessary to constitute law itself; otherwise, they could not be laws at all.
2. They must differ in certain *other* respects; otherwise they would be the same.

These positions being true, in what great and essential respects do the municipal and the Divine law resemble each other ?

1. They are both based upon the fundamental principle that some government is indispensable to man's condition.
2. That there is some right to make laws, and some corresponding duties to obey, placed somewhere.
3. They are both positive laws, promulgated in human language; and both must, therefore, be construed and administered.
4. They are both intended for *men*, and have in view the same immediate end—the union of numbers, and the preservation of peace among those united.
5. They both have penalties attached.

They are, therefore, alike possessed of the essential principles that must constitute every positive law.

If it be indispensable for the just administration and success of the municipal law, that there should be a *living, speaking* judiciary, plainly accessible to all, whose duty it is to decide what the law is and what it *means*, is it not also plain and palpable that there should be a *like institution* to determine the true construction of the Divine Law, so as to preserve unity and peace among those it governs, by keeping the construction of the law always the *same*, throughout every part of the association? To my apprehension this conclusion must follow from a just and fair consideration of the nature, end, and object of all law, intended for the government of men on earth.

It is true that the Divine law is derived *immediately*, and the municipal but *mediately*, from God. But the mere *source* from which a law *immediately* emanates does not, in and of itself, divest the system of the very characteristics of *all law*. The mere fact that the Divine law was put forth by God in the form of a positive code, does not obviate the necessity for the continued existence of some tribunal to determine what the law means; for the plain reason that this law is intended, like the municipal code, to govern *men*, to *unite men*, is addressed to *men*, in man's *imperfect language*, and must, therefore, be *construed* by some one; and there is thus the same, if not greater, necessity for uniformity of decision, for peace in the association, and for the success of the system. And the fact that this association was intended to embrace all Christians everywhere, in all ages, under *one law*, in *one* united government, is the strongest possible reason for the organization of *one* tribunal of the *last resort*.

It is one of the most forcible reasons why God should have made a direct revelation to man, that He could not justly punish men, unless He first "prescribed" His law. From the same reason it follows that it is the duty of the lawmaker to create a competent tribunal to construe the law; for without such a tribunal, the *publication* of the law is very imperfect, and does not afford that reasonable means of certainty that every just system should supply (*The Path*, pp. 111–113).

Is it not, therefore, reasonable that the Divine law, which comprehends the *whole* duty of man, should provide a tribunal to construe it, and thus to settle all disputes in the association respecting it? If such a tribunal be necessary in political government, is it not even more so in the Christian system? If there be truth in Christianity, it is surely more important to know its law with *certainty* than to correctly understand the law of the country. And can associated men remain united without some competent authority to settle disputes? If so, what sort of union can it be? Is there any living, perpetuating principle in a system without such a tribunal? Is there any thing like *system* in a code which provides no court to decide what it is? Is there, or can there be, any government at all in any association of men without a judiciary? If so, what sort of government is it? (*id.* p. 114).

It is a just and generous mode of reasoning to take the theory under investigation to be true, *for the sake of the argument only*, and then submit it to a fair and impartial test, by a legitimate extension of its principles into all their logical results. For this purpose I will suppose that our Creator made man and placed him upon the earth; that He bestowed upon him the faculty of reason, and its necessary incident, free will; that He gave to this free agent a direct and positive law, prescribed by Himself; that the immediate end of this law was to bring all men of good will into *one* association of pure faith and virtue, to be governed by this *one* law; that this law was given in human language, and must be construed; that God does not Himself *visibly* preside, in this collective body of men, for the purpose of deciding controversies, but that for this end He has organized a tribunal in this association, and delegated to it power and authority to decide, with *infallible certainty*, all questions regarding His law that may arise from age to age, and in succession *as they arise*; that this body is a visible association of men, to whom all men may join themselves, if they will; that communion with this association is a practical and sure test of faith, and that this institution is out *preparatory* to that enduring institution in heaven.

Is there anything in this theory inconsistent, unjust, or unphilosophical? Is it incompatible with the attributes of Deity? On the contrary, is it not a rational theory, beautiful to the judgment, and consolatory to the heart? It would seem to possess every element of a perfect system, harmonious, practical, and just, in every feature (*id.* p. 119).

As we are now engaged in treating of *theories* rather than in the examination of *positive evidences*, I have given these extended extracts to show the reason of the invincible necessity of some visible, competent, continuing, and always accessible judicial tribunal to interpret and apply any and all laws promulgated in human language. And as the law of God must of necessity be intended to govern men in a state of society, and as human language is the only medium of communication, *known* to man, between two or more intelligences, it is most proper that any positive law intended for *his* government should be communicated in *his* language, though such medium be confessedly changeable and imperfect; because this imperfection is *cured* by the infallible capacity of that tribunal which construes and applies this law to cases in succession *as often* as they arise.

If, then, in the nature and reason of the case, any positive law prescribed by God to man would be best communicated in man's own language; and if it be most proper to organize a great institution to exercise those *necessarily* continuing powers which must exist in all governments—the *judicial* and *executive*—why should not the Divine Lawmaker delegate to this same infallible Church the power and ability to *further* promulgate His law? If this great agent be competent for *one* purpose, why not for the other? It does not matter in what *manner* the law of God is promulgated in *human* language, the invincible necessity for the continued existence of some visible and accessible power to exercise the executive and judicial functions would still remain the same; and thus the Divine Law-

giver would either have to preside Himself or constitute a competent agent to act for Him. And as it was proper that such an agent should exist for *one* purpose, the unity, simplicity, and efficiency of the theory would make it expedient for the agent to act in the other.

And this is just what I think Christ did. His law was only promulgated in *one* locality by Himself in person. And even *there*, while His discourses were often delivered in public, the mysteries were only explained in private to His chosen teachers, because they were to be the *first* officers of the visible Church, whose duty it would be to promulgate, interpret, and administer the law in all the world and for all coming time. Christ having thus constituted an agent—always under the guidance and protection of the Holy Ghost—for the *further* and *continued* promulgation and practical construction and administration of His law, there can be no necessity or reason for any other means than those adopted.

As God must prescribe His positive law before He could justly punish men for disobedience, it must be conceded that He should also give *reasonable* evidence of the fact that it is His law. But the quality and quantity of this evidence and the manner of giving it are matters for the Divine Lawmaker, and not for the party under government, to determine; because the Lawmaker is *alone* competent to decide, with unerring certainty, what is reasonable under all the circumstances, and, for this reason, He alone has rightful jurisdiction over the question. I readily admit that when the matter of inquiry is whether the alleged Christian code is, in fact, the law of God, such considerations may be legitimately weighed with others in determining the question of identity. But I maintain that we should use such arguments with the utmost diffidence and caution, because of our utter inability to take a true and comprehensive view of the *entire* relations God sustains to all His wide creation. And when we come to oppose mere theoretical or speculative objections, which we are so incompetent to estimate truly, against positive and cumulative evidences, of which we are far better qualified to judge, such objections should be clear beyond all reasonable doubt before they should prevail over such an accumulated mass of strong proof as that which supports the truth of Christianity.

I think that it will hardly be disputed that if Christ and His apostles did really give the evidences they are alleged to have given, then such evidences were sufficient to prove all which they *claimed* to be true. I maintain the position that the questions at issue are mainly questions of fact. And I take the ground that the combined proofs, as we *now* have them, are so clear and strong, when carefully and impartially considered by the *unaided* human intellect, as to establish the truth of the Christian system beyond all reasonable

doubt ; and that, when human reason is *assisted* by the grace of God, the evidences are so conclusive as to lead to absolute certainty.

I have maintained the position that, as it was invincibly necessary for God, under any rational theory of a revelation communicated by Him to man in man's imperfect language, either to preside Himself or provide a perpetual, visible, and accessible institution to exercise the *necessarity* continuing executive and judicial powers of His government, so it was proper that he should impose upon this *same* great corporate body the duty to *further* promulgate the same law through all coming time, and in all places where practicable, which Christ had only published in one locality and at one time. And I now contend that this Church was competent for ALL these purposes, and that she has faithfully and efficiently discharged all her duties as such agent of Christ.

As the main rewards and punishments provided by the law of Christ will be bestowed and inflicted in a *future* state, the present condition of men, under this theory, is necessarily one of trial and probation, in which they are not absolutely induced by *present* rewards or forced by *immediate* punishments to obey the Christian law, but are left free to act, for the time being, as they may voluntarily choose. For the same reason Christ does not require the use of *present* physical force to promulgate His law, whether the people will hear it or not. If, therefore, they prevent its further publication by force, or by other means too great to be overcome, it is their own fault as much as it is when they wilfully disobey it *after* it has been properly placed before them. All that the Church can do is to offer salvation, under the law, to all who are *willing* to receive it. Man's free-will is left untouched in *both* cases. He is not now forced either to hear the law or to obey it.

In political government, where not only the acts of the parties governed but the punishments for disobedience are performed and inflicted in *this* world, the case is necessarily different. A party under such a government must *now* hear and obey the law, or *now* suffer the consequences.

When we remember that only some four hundred millions of people\*—about one-third of the present population of the world—are found in Christian countries, and that only a portion of these four hundred millions profess the Christian religion, we are very apt, in our natural impatience, to jump to the apparently plausible conclusion that a divine revelation should have made greater progress in a period of more than eighteen hundred years. But when we come to fairly and fully consider all the circumstances in detail, so as to ascer-

\* In my estimate I use round numbers only as approximately correct. The present population of the world is variously estimated from 1,200 to 1,400 millions. I think the lower estimate more reliable, and that the population of Christian countries is most probably somewhat underrated, while that of other countries may be overestimated.

tain with substantial accuracy the true state of the case and the real and actual obstacles in the way of its propagation, I think we shall find ample reason to say that its progress in the world has not only been fair but wonderful, all the circumstances being duly considered.

The Mohammedans include a large portion of the population of the world. In regard to this people I make the following extracts from the "Preliminary Discourse" of George Sale, attached to his translation of the Koran:

The religion of the Arabs before Mohammed, which they call the state of ignorance, in opposition to the knowledge of God's true worship revealed to them by their prophet, was chiefly gross idolatry; the Sabian religion having almost overrun the whole nation, though there were also great numbers of Christians, Jews, and Magians among them (p. 11).

The Jews, who fled in great numbers into Arabia from the fearful destruction of their country by the Romans, made proselytes of several tribes, . . . and in time became very powerful, and possessed of several towns and fortresses there.

Christianity had likewise made a very great progress among this nation before Mohammed (p. 17).

As the Grecian and Persian empires were weak and declining, so Arabia, at Mohammed's setting up, was strong and flourishing. . . . The Arabians were not only a populous nation, but unacquainted with the luxury and delicacies of the Greeks and Persians, and inured to hardships of all sorts; living in a most parsimonious manner, seldom eating any flesh, drinking no wine, and sitting on the ground. Their political government was also such as favored the designs of Mohammed; for the division and independency of their tribes were so necessary to the first propagation of his religion, and the foundation of his power, that it would have been scarce possible for him to have effected either, had the Arabs been united in one society. But when they had embraced his religion, the consequent union of their tribes was no less necessary and conducive to their future conquests and grandeur (p. 29).

It is certainly one of the most convincing proofs that Mohammedism was no other than a human invention, that it owed its progress and establishment almost entirely to the sword (p. 38).

Thus was Mohammedism established and idolatry rooted out, even in Mohammed's lifetime (for he died the next year), throughout all Arabia, except only Yamâma, where Moseilama, who set up also for a prophet as Mohammed's competitor, had a great party, and was not reduced till the Khalifat of Abu Becr. And the Arabs being then united in one faith and under one prince, found themselves in a condition of making those conquests which extended the Mohammedan faith over so great a part of the world (p. 43).

In the seventeenth chapter of the Koran, called the "Night-Journey," we find this provision :

Neither slay the soul which God hath forbidden *you to slay*, unless for a just cause.

The translator adds the following note to this passage, and cites the authority of Al Beidâwi to sustain his statement:

The crimes for which a man may be justly put to death are these: apostasy, adultery, and murder.

The late learned George Smith has these remarks :

Probably it is not generally known in England and America, that no Mahometan in Asia dare turn Christian. Until this state of affairs is altered, missions in Asiatic Turkey will not produce the fruit they ought (*Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 35).

Mohammedanism having been thus originally mainly established by the sword and still sustained by force, it can at once be seen how difficult it is to peacefully convert such a people. As no sudden and peaceful conversions could be made of numbers sufficient to protect themselves against an established faith supported by despotic governments, and where apostasy is promptly punished with death, so a few proselytes would be exterminated as fast as made. Nothing but centuries of time can break through such a wall of steel.

The total population of all India, according to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, is, in round numbers, two hundred and forty millions, forty millions being Mohammedans and nearly all the others professors of Brahmanism.

Our earliest glimpses of India disclose two races struggling for the soil. The one was a fair-skinned people, who had lately entered by the north-western passes—a people of Aryan (literally “noble”) lineage, speaking a stately language, worshipping friendly and powerful gods. The other was a race of a lower type, who had long dwelt in the land, and whom the lordly new-comers drove back before them into the mountains, or reduced to servitude on the plains. The comparatively pure descendants of these two races in India are now nearly equal in number, there being about 18 millions of each; their mixed progeny, sprung chiefly from the ruder stock, make up the mass of the present Indian population (*Encyc. Brit.*, xii. p. 776, 9th ed.)

The race progressed from a loose confederacy of tribes into several well-knit nations, each bound together by the strong central force of kingly power, directed by a powerful priesthood and organized on a firm basis of caste (*id.* p. 781).

In ancient India, as at the present day, the three conspicuous castes were (1) the priests and (2) warriors of Aryan birth, and (3) the serfs or Sûdras, the remnants of earlier races (*id.* p. 782).

This concession necessarily involved an acknowledgement of the new social order as a divine institution. Its stability was, however, rendered still more secure by the elaboration of a system of conventional precepts, partly forming the basis of Manu's Code, which clearly defined the relative position and the duties of the several castes, and determined the penalties to be inflicted on any transgressions of the limits assigned to each of them. These laws are conceived with no humane or sentimental scruples on the part of their authors (*id.* iv. p. 203, 9th ed.)

Indeed, there can be no doubt that Hindûs do not feel, and perhaps never felt, their class restrictions as being in any way burdensome, or still less a disgrace to them, and that even the lowest man looks upon his caste as a privilege as high as that of the Brâhman (*id.* p. 210).

That Buddha never questioned the truth of the Brâhmanical theory of transmigration shows that this early product of speculative thought had become firmly rooted in the Hindû mind as a point of belief amounting to a moral conviction (*id.* p. 209).

Buddha, the founder of Buddhism, lived in the fifth or sixth century B.C. (*id.* p. 209).



Buddha recognized the institution of caste, and accounted for the social inequalities attending on it as being the effects of *karma* in former existences (*id.* p. 209).

The late distinguished William H. Seward has some practical, just, and profound remarks upon the subject of caste among the Hindus, from which I make the following extracts:

A young native woman was indicted for the murder of her child, whose father was of a lower caste than her own, and with which intermarriage was forbidden. She confessed that she strangled the infant rather than lose her *caste* (*Travels around the World*, p. 360).

Caste, in India, has its moral and civil as well as its theological code. Its laws are paramount to all laws and all institutions of government. It may be said of caste, just as truly as it was said of the laws of Moses, that "the letter killeth, the spirit giveth life." Caste hindered and defeated two attempted reformations in India before the country became known to Europeans—Buddhism and Mohammedanism. It is caste, the "letter" of the Hindoo law, that hinders Christianity, and seems to render the introduction of all Western civilization impossible. Caste has effected all these evils and perpetuates them through the degradation of women. Christianity and Western civilization can only be established through the restoration of woman here as elsewhere to her just and lawful sphere (*id.* p. 400).

It is not for us to determine whether the pertinacious metaphysical bias of the Hindoos is natural to the Hindoo mind, or is accidental. Its fruits are palpable enough. They are a persistent adhesion to the Pythagorean theory of transmigration—a theory which equally subverts the relation of man to brute, and the relation of both man and brute to the common Creator; a degradation and abasement of woman, which not only exclude her from society, but render her incapable of it; caste, which extirpates coöperation, emulation, and charity, annihilates the inherent conviction of the equal rights of manhood, and delivers all governments over to the caprices of ambition and the chances of anarchy. The remedy for India is and can be nothing less than a regeneration of the Hindoo mind. The Mogul conquerors attempted this by teaching the Mohammedan faith, and enforcing their instructions by the sword of the prophet. They failed even to establish a severe despotism (*id.* p. 508).

From these extracts the reader can readily see what insuperable obstacles are presented against the propagation of Christianity among the Hindus.

Buddhism is the name of a religion which formerly prevailed through a large part of India, and is now professed by the inhabitants of Ceylon, Siam, and Burma (the southern Buddhists), and of Nepal, Tibet, China, and Japan (the northern Buddhists).

The number of Buddhists is now probably about 450,000,000 (*Encyc. Brit.*, iv. p. 424).

In the 8th and 9th centuries a great persecution arose, and the Buddhists were so utterly exterminated that there is not now a Buddhist in all India (*id.* p. 437).

During the last ten centuries Buddhism has been a banished religion from its native home. But it has won greater triumphs in its exile than it could have ever achieved in the land of its birth. . . . During twenty-four centuries Buddhism has encountered and outlived a series of powerful rivals. At this day it forms one of the three great religions of the world, and is more numerously followed than either Christianity or Islam (*id.* xii. p. 786).

While southern Buddhism was thus wafted across the ocean, another stream of missionaries had found its way by Central Asia into China. Their first arrival in that empire is said to date from the 2nd century B.C., although it was not till 65 A.D. that Buddhism there became an established religion (*id.* p. 785).

The isolation in which China, owing to her geographical and political position, has been wrapt for so many centuries has prevented the introduction of foreign opinions and literature, and the national mind has been so emasculated by the constant contemplation of these ready-made models of excellence, that neither from without nor from within has there been any temptation to Chinamen, by the creation of new ideas, on this or any other subject, to dissent from the dicta of Confucius and his predecessors, and the result has been that such as the government was in their time so it is at the present day (*id.* v. p. 668).

As may readily be imagined, this corruption in high places has a most demoralizing effect on the people generally. Dishonesty prevails to a frightful extent, and with it, of course, untruthfulness. The Chinese set little or no value upon truth, and thus some slight excuse is afforded for the use of torture in their courts of justice; for it is argued that where the value of an oath is not understood, some other means must be resorted to to extract evidence, and the readiest means to hand is doubtless torture (*id.* p. 669).

In regard to the Chinese I make the following extracts from the able work of Hon. William H. Seward already quoted:

The Great Wall crosses twenty-one degrees of longitude from the Pacific coast to the desert border of Thibet, and with its windings has a length of from twelve hundred to fifteen hundred miles. . . . Yet history assures us that Chin-Wangti began the work in the year 240 B.C. and finished it in 220 B.C. . . . The Great Wall served its purpose through the period of fourteen hundred years (*Travels around the World*, pp. 203-4).

The Chinese remain now as they were five thousand years ago, materialists. They worship the heavens, they worship the earth, the sun, and the moon, the planets, and the ocean, besides a multitude of other natural objects and forces. They worship, more than any other creature, their ancestors, who are created beings even if they have an existence after death. Even the philosophy and morals of Confucius have left the Chinese sentiment of his teachings not less material than before. The Chinese have expressed this materialism in erecting great temples—the Temple of Heaven, the Temple of Earth, and the Temple of the Moon. To the material heaven they ascribe all power, and from it they claim that the emperor, as vicegerent, derives all authority. As Heaven made not only China, but the whole world, so the emperor as vicegerent not only governs the empire, but is rightful ruler of the whole earth (*id.* p. 168).

To what a humiliating position has the empire of Kublai-Khan fallen, when its sovereign dare not suffer the foreigner to enter the great national temple, through fear of domestic insurrection, nor to forbid him from entering, through fear of foreign war! (*id.* p. 182).

Wan-Siang is president of the Board of Rites, and principal Minister of Foreign Affairs. . . . Wan-Siang then fell into lamentations over his own prostrate health, and expressed himself despondingly concerning the future of China (*id.* pp. 183, 187).

No Chinaman, unless in military or civil employ, and no Chinese woman under any circumstances, is allowed to go upon the walls. Why do a people so jealous allow foreigners this privilege? It is allowed because they insist upon it. Could there be a stronger evidence that China wearies and gives way before the ever-increasing importunity and exaction of the Western nations? (*id.* p. 148).

The isolated geographical position of China naturally led to the political and social isolation of her government and people ; and the very great extent and fertility of the country, its varied climates and vast natural resources, rendered this isolation tolerable ; and this isolation and the consciousness of the grandeur of the empire produced that permanency or fixedness of character so noted in this proud and most inflexible people. The Buddhist religion, which took its rise in India, was first introduced into China in the second century B.C., and became there established as early as A.D. 65. The ease with which this religion was introduced and established in China shows that there was nothing in the theory very repugnant to the Chinese mind, and sustains the statement of Mr. Seward that "the Chinese remain now as they were five thousand years ago, materialists." The Christian missionaries, first starting from western Asia, mainly came to Europe ; while Buddhism, starting from middle Asia beyond the limits of the Roman Empire, naturally went East to China, Java, Japan, and other Eastern countries. Thus, long before Christianity became securely established throughout the Roman Empire, and long before it could possibly reach remote and isolated China, the religion of Buddha was there firmly established under a compact and despotic government. As it is most evident that the success of Mohammed in *first* establishing his theory in Arabia was mainly owing to the fact that the Arabian people were divided among numerous small tribes, so, for the contrary reason, it was impossible to introduce and successfully propagate the Christian religion in China, already under a compact despotism, with a religion well established among a people isolated and opposed to change of any kind whatever.

From the facts and reasons stated it can readily be seen why it has been heretofore morally impossible to successfully propagate the Christian religion among the despotism-loving populations of old Asia. While native Christians were permitted to live in Mohammedan countries, it was upon the hard condition of paying an annual tribute for the privilege. Steady, long-continued, heavy tribute will ultimately wear out and impoverish any people. During all this time no converts could be made from the dominant Mohammedans, because apostasy was punished with death. Christianity was thus confined within walls of steel, with no possible opportunity to expand by conversions, but with every chance to expire by oppression. The Christians were also subject to the fanatical attacks of the Mohammedan mobs. Not until within one hundred and fifty years ago were the Christian powers sufficiently strong to demand of Turkey protection for the Christians from these massacres ; and when protection was promised the government was either unwilling or too weak to efficiently afford it.

In regard to the conduct of Turkey towards Christians the late

George Smith—whose opportunities to know were ample—made these among other remarks :

People in England and America, who read every now and then in the papers that the Grand Vizier has issued an order for the protection of liberty of conscience, and conceding justice to the Christians, little know the useless character of such announcements. The grinding tyranny under which the Christians suffer, and the defiance of all solemn promises in places beyond the notice of the representatives of European powers, clearly show the nature of the Moslem rule (*Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 35).

When we consider the case of the Hindus, who have been under European dominion for upwards of one hundred years, among whom Christian missionaries are efficiently protected in their efforts to propagate Christianity, we find these missionaries can make no serious progress because of the peculiar character of this people, who are so divided into separate castes, and so firmly bound by these iron fetters, that no important changes can be made at present. No conquered people ever exhibited more unflinching firmness in adhering to their social and religious beliefs and customs than the Hindus. The members of each caste believe they have an ardent personal interest in sustaining these distinctions, and a firm belief in the transmigration of souls, as well as a strong reverence for ancestry, so predominant in the Asiatic mind. With such a people no rapid progress of conversion to Christianity could be made.

But other local causes had their proportionate effect in preventing the spread of Christianity among the fixed populations of Asia. One of these was the prohibition of polygamy by Christianity.

In the fourth chapter of the Koran, entitled "Women," it is provided :

And if ye fear that ye shall not act with equity towards orphans of the female sex, take in marriage of such other women as please you, two, or three, or four, and not more.

Polygamy was thus a privilege, not a duty, under the Mohammedan law.

Polygamy was a very ancient institution in Asia. As we have seen from the extracts found on pages 286, 305, it prevailed in ancient Media and Persia. The Persians prided themselves upon the number of their sons, and the rich among them had many wives. The Chinese have also a desire for sons.

Like many other apparent paradoxes, the co-existence of infanticide with an universal desire for children among the Chinese admits of a ready explanation. The chief object of desire is the possession of sons, and in the parts of the country where infanticide exists—and this is the case only in poverty-stricken households in certain districts of certain provinces—female infants are the only victims (*Encyc. Brit.*, v. p. 670).

It was, therefore, perfectly natural that the rich, the sensual, and

the governing classes of Asia should strongly support an institution so favorable to their wishes and so long established and widely diffused as that of polygamy. While the masses, who were too poor to support more than one wife, might not esteem the privilege so highly, they would not be likely to oppose it; and if they did, in a despotism, where the elective principle in government is not admitted, and where there are consequently no legislative assemblies in which freedom of debate is allowed, their voice could not be heard, and would be disregarded if made known in any other form. And as the law itself extended the privilege of polygamy alike to *all* classes, as did the law in regard to the right to acquire and possess property; and as those too poor to maintain more than one wife often had friends or relatives who did or could do so, or some of whose ancestors had enjoyed the privilege in the past, and all could hope that their posterity would in the future, there was no great and plain motive on the part of the masses to oppose so ancient and so widely diffused an institution as that of polygamy.

It can readily be seen that any theory of religion which *positively* forbids polygamy to all classes alike would be certain to encounter the sternest opposition of the rich, the sensual, and the powerful, and, consequently, of the government itself.

Another local cause of stern opposition to Christianity is the just view inculcated by it in regard to the relative rights of women. I make the following extracts from the late interesting work of Mr. Seward, already referred to:

The Japanese Government is not behind the ancient court of Haroun-al-Raschid, in the opinion that "women have little sense and no religion." The porch of a temple in the interior has this inscription: "Neither horses, cattle, nor women, admitted here" (*Travels around the World*, p. 61).

Men are seldom seen in or about the temples in Japan, but woman, poor, meek and ragged, though forbidden, steals in there, reverently paying her devotion to the gods and pitifully asking alms. How could woman endure existence anywhere on earth without the solaces of religion? (*id.* p. 92).

In Japan, as elsewhere throughout the East, there indeed is marriage, but it is marriage without the rights and responsibilities of that relation. This debasement of woman has tainted and corrupted the whole state (*id.* p. 103).

During their entire visit, the *comprador* had directed the movements of his wives and children with all the vigilance and conscious superiority of a turkey-cock. As we assisted the women, or rather carried them in our arms, up and down the staircase, bright-eyed, gentle, and sweet-voiced indeed, but dwarfed, distorted, and enslaved, their dependence was touching. We had not before realized the depth of the abasement of women in China (*id.* p. 247).

We were particularly interested in the school-room, where the boys are educated; the girls are not educated at all (*id.* p. 267).

This was a Chinese school-room.

The villagers gave Mr. Seward an account of the number of pupils in each of the several schools. They seemed confounded when he asked if these numbers

included the girls; they replied, "Only the boys." When asked how the girls are educated, they said, "No girls are educated except Nautch girls" (*id.* p. 369).

This relates to the schools in a village in British India.

The Soumalans are laborers, that is to say, the women are. Blessed are the customs of these aboriginal Africans, far more blessed than those of semi-civilized Asia. These Soumalan women, with their glistening white teeth, red lips, and yellow eyes, are the only women we have seen in the enjoyment of personal freedom since we left the United States, except the Mongolians in the Nan-Kow Pass. This enjoyment is not perhaps too dearly purchased, even at the cost of performing the servile labor by which their black lords live (*id.* p. 515).

This passage relates to the Africans seen at Aden, on the Red Sea. The Nan-Kow Pass is a mountain pass leading to the Great Wall, and Mongolia and Mantchooria lie beyond and north of the Great Wall. In regard to these Mongolians Mr. Seward remarks :

The Mongolians dress altogether in furs and skins. They have an air of independence and intelligence not observable in China proper. The women are particularly strong, and, as we judge from their manner, entirely free. Their furs are richer than those of the men, and they wear a profusion of silver ornaments on the forehead, wrist, and ankle, as well as suspended from their ears and nose. They travel with their husbands, who divide with them the care of the children. If it is discouraging to some at home to wait for the restoration of woman's rights, it is pleasant to find her in the full enjoyment of them here, in spite of Oriental prejudices and superstitions (*id.* p. 202).

Mr. Seward travelled, from his home in New York, west around the world; and while at Aden he was on his way from India, up the Red Sea and through the Suez Canal, to Europe.

Mr. Seward's views regarding the situation of women in China are confirmed by other authority :

Very little trouble is taken with the education of girls. If they are taught to be good needle-women and expert cooks, if they learn to act modestly and to show due deference to their superiors, little more is as a rule required of them. But it is very different with the men (*Encyc. Brit.*, v. p. 671).

The Rev. W. Gleeson, in his late able work, *Trials of the Church*, says :

The condition of the faithful is thus described at that time in a letter addressed by Father Maillo to a member of the society in Europe, dated Pekin, 16th October, 1724 : . . . "What we feared for so many years, what we predicted, has happened at last. Our holy religion is entirely proscribed in the whole of China." . . . The letter continues to state that the origin of this persecution was the representation addressed by an apostate Christian to the local governor of Fon Gau, regarding the character of the Christian religion. This local magnate having referred the matter to his superior received the following communication : . . . "I understand moreover that when the members are addressed, there is no distinction made between men and women." . . . Acting on these instructions the viceroy Tson-Ton issued the following edict : . . . "This European admits into his system, men and women who are not ashamed to mix together without distinction of sex" (i. pp. 540, 542).

I have made these last quotations to show that *one* of the main objections made by the authorities of China against the Christian religion was based upon the rights accorded by it to women. When the viceroy says, "who mix together without distinction of sex," he alludes to the assembling of both men and women in the same church at the same time during religious services.

Another most insuperable objection against Christianity on the part of the people and governments of old Asia arises from individual, national, and continental pride, and the fear of the anticipated disastrous consequences attending such a change.

The people of Asia are aware that their continent is the largest, most populous, and, they believe, the first inhabited by man of the four continents of the world. To begin a change so *radical* as that which a general adoption of Christianity would necessarily produce is at once to concede their own inferiority to a younger and less numerous people. They have so long—in their own estimation, at least—occupied the highest places among the governments of the world that it is painful to admit their present inferiority.

But the greater difficulty which seems to be apprehended by their rulers and statesmen is the danger of destroying rather than civilizing the old inhabitants; because the introduction of Christianity necessarily leads to the introduction of Christian civilization itself.

Mr. Seward makes the following profound remarks with respect to Japan, but which apply as well to China and to other populous nations of Asia :

Having thus isolated themselves, they remained so nearly three hundred years. If they did not advance during that time, they did not fall back. That isolation, however, has at last come to an end; steam, the printing-press, and the electric telegraph, have brought the Western nations on all the shores of Japan. It is manifest that the two distinct and widely-different civilizations cannot continue in such near contact. The great problem now is, whether the European civilization can be extended over Japan, without the destruction, not merely of the political institutions of the country, but of the Japanese nation itself. The Japanese are practically defenceless against the Western States. . . . There is much discouragement in the prospect. Few stationary or declining nations have been regenerated by the intervention of states more highly civilized. Most such have perished under the shock. On the other hand, there are some reasons for hope (*Travels*, pp. 103-4).

It was most probably the clear sense of the weakness of China, of the impending danger, and of the great difficulty of finding a safe and efficient remedy which caused the despairing views and feelings of Wan-Siang, her principal Minister of Foreign Affairs, "concerning the future of China," as stated in the extract given on page 492.

In regard to the mutiny of the sepoys of India in 1857, Dr. W. W. Hunter, the learned author of the article on India found in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, has the following among other remarks

concerning the causes which probably led to that sanguinary struggle:

In the first place, the policy of Lord Dalhousie, exactly in proportion as it had been dictated by the most honourable considerations, was utterly distasteful to the native mind. Repeated annexations, the spread of education, the appearance of the steam engine and the telegraph wire, all alike revealed a consistent determination to substitute an English for an Indian civilization. The Bengal sepoys, especially, thought that they could see into the future farther than the rest of their countrymen. Nearly all men of high caste and many of them recruited from Oudh, they dreaded tendencies which they deemed to be denationalizing, and they knew at first hand what annexation meant (vol. xii. p. 809).

The sepoys, being "nearly all men of *high caste*" among their own countrymen, had a strong personal interest in opposing European civilization, because its successful introduction would destroy the distinction of caste, and that between the rights of men and women, so dear to the male Hindu mind. The Mohammedans oppose so sternly the free introduction of Christianity, as it would abolish polygamy, so much esteemed by them. The Chinese sternly oppose its introduction because it is utterly incompatible with polygamy and their debasement of women. In short, the successful introduction of Christianity, and with it, of course, Christian civilization, would *radically* change the whole basis of Asiatic society, and most likely of government. Of course all the powerful and privileged classes of society, and especially the supporters of the political despotisms of Asia, would oppose such a theory as Christianity under *present* circumstances. And the masses of the people would equally oppose it, because they have for so many long centuries known nothing better than their own institutions.

It would seem *most* difficult to introduce Christianity among an old and semi-civilized people, because they have just enough intelligence to form and maintain political government, and to understand the *immediate* effects of Christianity upon their existing opinions, usages, and practices, but not enough to fully and clearly comprehend its *ultimate* beneficial influence upon human happiness, both here and hereafter. They know that it must destroy all existing incompatible elements, and that they must *first* pay the penalty of its introduction *before* they can enjoy its ultimate benefits. They therefore reject it, and *first* bring the organized and regular forces of their despotic governments—under the most plausible and well-expressed pretences—to prevent its introduction and successful propagation among their people; and when at last they are induced by the Christian powers to promise protection to Christian missionaries and their converts, these governments are either unable or unwilling to *efficiently* prevent the destructive attacks of fanatical mobs.

When we consider with impartial care all these circumstances



which have so long existed in the past, and still exist now, and that it requires centuries to even civilize a people, and especially the fixed populations of old Asia, we can at once perceive the reasons why Christianity has as yet made what to us impatient mortals may appear slow progress in the world. And when we further reflect that the professors of Mohammedanism, Brahmanism, and Buddhism comprise about three-fifths of the human race, we can readily see how few and small have hitherto been the *other* opportunities for the propagation of Christianity. The continent of Africa, containing an estimated population of some two hundred millions of people, has hitherto been mainly and practically inaccessible, owing to its tropical and sickly climate, its want of roads and other facilities of travel, and the barbarian and hostile character of its people, divided, as they generally are, into innumerable small, independent tribes. It is only within the last few years that Cameron and Stanley succeeded in crossing this "dark continent" from ocean to ocean. Cameron achieved success by joining one of the traders from the Atlantic coast; while Stanley was successful because he employed a sufficient number of well-armed men, many of whom perished on the way.

The populations of inflexible old Asia and of dark, hidden Africa comprise about two-thirds of the human race. While Christianity has been barred from Asia by walls of steel, as it were, the people of Africa have been mainly concealed in an impenetrable wilderness. It has been thus hitherto a physical and moral impossibility to successfully propagate Christianity in either of those continents. The remaining third of the race, therefore, constituted the *only* fair field left to Christianity. This remaining third are mainly included within the limits of the Christian states, in which will be found far more intelligence, far more virtue, far more happiness, far more prosperity, and far greater power than can be seen in the other two-thirds *combined*.

This is not only a fair but a wonderful progress, all the *exact* conditions being duly considered. As George Sale so well states :

And it is one of the strongest demonstrations of the divine origin of Christianity, that it prevailed against all the force and powers of the world by the mere dint of its own truth, after having stood the assaults of all manner of persecutions, as well as all other oppositions, for 300 years together, and at length made the Roman emperors themselves submit thereto ("Preliminary Discourse," p. 38).

To us mortals eighteen hundred years may be considered a long time in comparison with the average duration of human life; but the lives of nations and that of the race are so much longer than those of individual men that this period is really short when compared with the existence of nations and of the race. The conversion of the entire race, the spread of Christ's kingdom over the whole wide

earth, was a sublime but difficult undertaking, which, from its very nature, necessarily requires long-continued efforts and ample time. But in the *comparatively* short period of between eighteen and nineteen hundred years a great and gratifying progress has been made. As Dr. Paley so well put the case nearly one hundred years ago, when he said :

The Deity hath not touched the order of nature in vain. The Jewish religion produced great and permanent effects; the Christian religion hath done the same. It hath disposed the world to amendment. It hath put things in a train. It is by no means improbable, that it may become universal: and that the world may continue in that stage so long as that the duration of its reign may bear a vast proportion to the time of its partial influence (*Ev. Chris.*, p. iii. c. vi.)

In the meantime those to whom the Gospel had not been preached—owing to no fault of their own—would be judged according to the natural law.

When the publication of the law of Christ has been prohibited by the act of civil government, all the officers of such government who supported or sanctioned the prohibition are clearly guilty of sin; but whether the citizens or subjects of such government who had nothing to do with the prohibition, except their general acquiescence in the action of their authorities, are guilty of any transgression of the law of Christ, and, if so, to what extent, are questions that we need not discuss, because unnecessary for us to know. These questions must be entirely left to the decision of God, who will judge in equity according to the exact circumstances of each case.

#### *Faith.*

It has often been objected that Christianity requires faith in the truths alleged to have been revealed.

But it is most difficult to understand how an intelligent finite being can act at all without faith. It is and must be the very basis of *all man's intelligent action*. Unless a man *first* believes that action may be useful and practical, he has no reason or motive to act, even in the ordinary affairs of life. Would any sane person attempt that which he *positively* believes to be *impossible*? If he should do so it would be because he *believes* the attempt would afford him amusement or exercise. *Faith is certain to be the basis of his action*. A man must have faith in the laws of nature before he will attempt to use their forces for his benefit, or avoid their effects for his preservation. If he did not believe in at least their *possible* existence and effects he would never act. And men must know and believe the laws of nature, or pay the penalty of their ignorance and unbelief.

I have in a preceding page already given what I deem to be clear and sound reasons why God should require faith in His revealed truth. As God never does an idle and vain thing, for what purpose

would He reveal any truth to man which He did not require him to believe? As belief of the truth must of necessity be the basis of all obedience to that truth, faith in it must be required, or the act of revelation must be vain and idle.

The objection, then, in effect assumes the position that a revelation of God's will to man, in man's language, is *impossible*; and this position logically terminates in that of the atheist—there is no God. For if God exists He must have created the universe; and if so, then He must possess the undoubted right to govern His own creation in some proper form; and, for that reason, He certainly may make a direct revelation of His will to man, expressed in human language. And if He make such a revelation it would most reasonably be for the purpose of *government*; and, therefore, He would give such commands *as coming from Him*. Man would not *knowingly* obey the law, unless he first *believed* it to be the law; and to believe it to be the law he must necessarily believe in the existence, power, and action of the lawmaker, and must, therefore, have faith.

The binding force of any express law depends upon the character and power of the lawmaker. Therefore in enacting a code of law for the government of man God would properly reveal to him His own nature and power. All statutes contain the enacting clause: "Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled"; "The People of the State of California, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows." So the Divine Legislator would declare His name and character, state the fact that He ordained the law, and then set forth its provisions. And as man cannot intelligently act without belief as the basis of his action, he must necessarily believe all the truths—whether many or few—contained in the divine law; otherwise he would not obey it *as the law of God*. When the Deity makes known to man His character and will, man must obey God upon the ground of *authority*. And this being true, man can believe one revealed truth as readily as another when *once* assured that it is the *truth of God*. For this reason, if God made a revelation at all, He could most properly reveal *all* the truths necessary for man to know in his present state of trial and probation.

As this objection must logically terminate in denying the existence of God, and as the proofs of His existence are so clear and strong, the objection can possess no validity in right reason. On the contrary, the very fact that Christianity requires faith in the revealed truths is one evidence of its divine character, because any express revelation of God's will to man must necessarily require faith for the reasons stated.

## CHAPTER XIX.

### OBJECTIONS CONTINUED.

#### *Redemption.*

SEVERAL abstract theoretical objections have been made by unbelievers against the theory of the Christian Redemption. Among them may be found the following, as stated by Thomas Paine nearly one hundred years ago :

If I owe a person money, and cannot pay him, and he threatens to put me in prison, another person can take the debt upon himself, and pay it for me ; but if I have committed a crime, every circumstance of the case is changed ; moral justice cannot take the innocent for the guilty even if the innocent would offer itself. To suppose justice to do this, is to destroy the principle of its existence, which is the thing itself ; it is then no longer justice ; it is indiscriminate revenge (*Age of Reason*, part i. p. 10).

This plausible theoretical objection is stated in courteous language and merits respectful consideration. It belongs to that class of objections which, from their nature, may be concisely and forcibly expressed, while their refutation, to be clear and intelligible, will necessarily require more space and many more words.

At the time Mr. Paine wrote, imprisonment of the debtor who failed to pay was allowed as a remedy to the judgment creditor. But for grave crimes, such, for example, as those which are punishable by imprisonment or death, no one was then nor is now allowed, under the laws of civilized states, to take the place of the condemned, even when the substitute voluntarily offers himself.

In order to understand the true nature of this objection it will be necessary to ascertain upon what *grounds* this denial of substitution in cases highly criminal is based. If the reasons for this denial are found not to exist under the Christian theory of Redemption, or only to a *very small degree*, and in *this* instance are *overbalanced* by *more important* considerations, so as, upon the whole case, to establish a just exception, for special reasons, to a *general* rule, then the objection will be clearly invalid ; for when the REASONS which sustain the rule cease, the rule itself has no application to the case in hand.

Among the reasons which support the general rule are the following :

*First.* As the state is composed of her people and territory, and

as *only* her good citizens are really useful to her, she is bound, both by justice and expediency, to protect the good against the bad. To do this she must adopt a system of *general* law both just and practically efficient. She is thus reluctantly compelled to punish the guilty. In doing so she could not, as a matter of justice to herself, allow *one* good citizen to be sacrificed for *one* bad one. While protecting the just rights of each individual citizen for his *own* good, she is equally bound to protect the collective whole. It would be unjust to the whole people of the state to exchange one good for one bad citizen, even when the offered substitute voluntarily consented; because the substitute is only *one* of *two* parties interested in *his* preservation, the state herself being concerned as well as he. But in the case of Christ it was only *ONE* person sacrificing Himself *once* for the ENTIRE RACE.

*Second.* In accepting the substitute the state would not only exchange one good for one bad citizen, but she would turn out the guilty criminal to again prey upon the innocent community, thus defeating the propitious ends of her government by increasing crime. But in the case of Christ, as the parties for whom He was sacrificed included the *entire* race under the *same* condemnation, the acceptance of His sacrifice did no injury to *others*, and tended to diminish, and not to increase, crime.

*Third.* If the criminal laws of the state were impartially, promptly, and certainly executed there would be very little crime committed. But there are *now* so many chances to escape that I do not think more than one crime in twenty upon an average is punished. And if the state allowed the *general* right of substitution it would greatly multiply the chances to escape, and thus lead to a very great increase of crime. We cannot tell how many parents, brothers, and sisters might be willing to suffer to save those very dear to them, nor how many rich criminals might hire substitutes to take their places under the certainty of leaving their families in comfortable circumstances. In cases where the penalty was imprisonment *only* it would not be very difficult to procure substitutes. But this reason cannot apply to the sacrifice of Christ, because His was a *single* case, never to be repeated, and could not tend to the increase of crime, as no one could hope after His death to procure a substitute for future crime.

*Fourth.* There are many exceptions to the general rule under civil government. In the numerous cases of lighter crimes which are punishable by fine, and, in default of payment, the condemned is imprisoned for a term proportioned to the amount of the penalty imposed, any other person may pay the fine and the party will be discharged. This permission is based upon sound principles. The state receives the fine and escapes the expense of maintaining the prisoner; and as his offence is too light to deprive him of the rights of suf-

frage and of holding office, and as he may still enter the military or civil service of his country, he is not, in the eye of the law, regarded as a bad and dangerous person. His release from imprisonment is not, therefore, considered injurious to the good people of the state.

These numerous exceptions show that, in the contemplation of the criminal laws of Christian states, it is not the simple fact that the party intended to be benefited by the act of the offered substitute is a *criminal*, but, for *other* reasons stated, that the right of substitution is denied in certain cases.

Now, it must be clear that none of the reasons which properly prevent the state from allowing the general right of substitution in cases highly criminal can legitimately apply to the theory of Redemption. That which would be a violation of moral justice on the part of the state under the ordinary conditions of civil, would be perfectly just under the essentially different circumstances of the divine, government. Were the state to adopt the theory of *general* substitution in the cases mentioned she would do the most palpable injustice to her good people by failing to give them that protection she is bound to provide, and which they have the just right to claim. But the sacrifice of Christ was no injury to any of, but a universal benefit to, *the governed*.

If a *single* case could arise under political government where *one* good man would sacrifice himself for the essential benefit of *all* the other people of the state, I apprehend no statesman or jurist would hesitate to accept the sacrifice, for the simple and conclusive reason that no injustice would be done to any one, while great and important benefits would be conferred upon all. The patriot who voluntarily sacrifices his life in the just defence of his country is not blamed but commended for his action, and no one thinks the state does injustice in accepting the sacrifice.

That one person may justly bestow gratuitous benefits upon another, in proper cases, is conceded by Mr. Paine in the instance of the debtor who is threatened with imprisonment; and this being a true principle, the *extent* and *character* of the sacrifice will depend upon the circumstances of each particular case. Where the benefactor is a sane man and has no *other* person rightfully dependent upon him for protection and support, and where, for that good reason, no one else would be injuriously affected by his act, it is most difficult to set arbitrary limits to his individual generosity. That he may justly, under certain circumstances, voluntarily yield up his life for others is too clear to be disputed, because he is properly the *sole* judge as to what may be best for himself.

This exclusive right of the individual to judge for himself in matters purely personal is substantially conceded by Mr. Paine, as he places the alleged injustice, not in the voluntary action of the substi-

tute, but in that of the government in accepting the sacrifice. In his objection he says: "Moral justice cannot take the innocent for the guilty even if the innocent would offer itself."

As we must take the theory under consideration to be true, for the sake of the argument only, when examining a merely abstract theoretical objection against it, and as there was, even according to Mr. Paine's objection, no violation of moral justice in the voluntary act of Christ in laying down His life for the universal benefit of His brethren in the flesh, where is the alleged moral injustice to be found in the theory of the Redemption?

It cannot be found in the action of God, because the sacrifice was made by the Supreme Ruler Himself through His only Son, and injured *none* of the governed, but conferred upon them *all* inestimable benefits. Injustice against a rational being can only exist where the act is committed without his free consent. Where the sacrifice is made by the Lawgiver through the voluntary action of His Son, and for the *sole benefit of all the parties governed*, there can be no violation of any principle of moral justice. To suppose that any sound principle is violated in such a case—as would be in the allowance by the state of the general privilege of substitution—is to confound and condemn indiscriminately acts that are materially different in their circumstances and results.

The theory of the Redemption by Christ was the best possible one for these among other reasons:

*First.* It vindicated the great principle that every violation of the law of God must be accounted for in some manner satisfactory to Him.

*Second.* It was the most *practically* efficient for two reasons: (1) In *addition* to the legitimate effects of the rewards and punishments promised and denounced, it appealed directly and most forcibly to the gratitude and affections of the governed. One grand reason why men love God is because He *first* loved them. (2) It gave them the great benefit of the *personal* example of Christ. Millions upon millions of our race will have been instructed, fortified, and consoled by that simple and sublime example.

No other conceivable mode of governing men could unite *all* the propitious elements found in the theory of the Redemption. And this as the best reason for its adoption.

When we consider that God is the *absolute* and *rightful* ruler of the universe in virtue of His character, and of His action as Creator, and not by reason of the consent of the governed; that He must ardently love His own creatures and desire the happiness of His own subjects, as a good father loves his children and desires their good; that these creatures and subjects had sinned under mitigative circumstances, and that no one but Christ, who was both God and man, made any

sacrifice or suffered in consequence of His voluntary act, but that, on the contrary, the *entire* race were essentially benefited to an extent so great as to exceed our power to justly estimate its value—then we can readily see that there is no relevancy in the objection so forcibly and confidently urged by Mr. Paine. If we, so far as we can, will rise with the occasion to a just appreciation of the grandeur and sublimity of the sacrifice, and duly estimate its eternal benefits to the entire race of man, we will perceive how hard and unwise it is by any arbitrary, theoretical rule to limit the power, justice, and mercy of God. For although men were offenders and criminals, God was their Creator and Christ their Brother; and this dear relationship would go far towards overcoming their unworthiness. Who can set positive limits to the sacrifices which a father may properly make for his own children, or to those of a brother for his brethren, under all *possible* circumstances?

#### *Original Sin.*

In regard to Adam and original sin Rev. Father Schouppe, of the Society of Jesus, in a late work has these among other able remarks :

Having provided the earth with plants and animals, and accomplished the formation of visible nature, God lastly made a creature, destined to be the crowning of His work, namely man, the chief and king of the visible creation. He made him to His own image and likeness, endowing him with a mortal body and an immortal soul, which was intelligent and free, and capable of knowing, loving, and serving his Creator. . . .

It is true that, regarding only the nature of man, it would seem to be adapted especially for earth. He was a terrestrial creature, having a body and intelligence, and his place would seem to be in the visible world, of which he should be, as it were, the pontiff, to praise God in His works, and himself to enjoy the peace of a good conscience, which is the natural fruit of virtue. But, in His mercy, God raised man to a destiny far above his earthly nature. He destined him to be a brother to the angels, and to share heaven together with the blessed spirits; and therefore God enriched man at his origin with most excellent gifts and qualities.

The most important of these gifts of God was that of sanctifying grace, called also *original justice*, because it was granted to man from his origin. To this first treasure God added others, namely, integrity or exemption from concupiscence, infused knowledge, immortality, and felicity. All these gifts were gratuitous and superadded to man's nature; and Adam, if he had remained faithful to God, his Benefactor and his Master, would have transmitted them to all his descendants (*Abridged Course of Religious Instruction*, 1879, pp. 131-3).

Thus God gave to man not only those *natural* qualities proper to his position as the governing inhabitant of earth, but in *addition* He bestowed upon him, *conditionally*, certain supernatural gifts of sanctifying grace and assistance, in order that he might properly use those natural endowments, and so preserve his innocence and at the same time add to the honor and glory of God. Man is said to have



been created in the likeness of God, because he possessed intelligence, free-will, and an immortal soul.

Being thus endowed, God prescribed to him a very simple and just law for his government, not only as a proper assertion of God's right to govern him, but to place man in his proper position as an inferior under government, and as a test of his fidelity. This law brought the two parties into their appropriate relations with each other.

Although man was so richly endowed and so happily situated, he was still subject to *some* temptation, especially to that most daring and aspiring of all vices—*intellectual pride*. Every created intelligence should confine itself to its proper position; and in attempting to rise above it such being sins against reason and against justice. It was to this ambitious intellectual pride that the serpent appealed when tempting Eve; and to this alluring temptation she yielded, and Adam followed her example.

The consequences to Adam and Eve of this violation of the express law of their Creator are very clearly stated by Dr. Moehler as follows :

The doctrine of the Catholic Church on original sin is extremely simple, and may be reduced to the following propositions. Adam, by sin, lost his original justice and holiness, drew down on himself by his disobedience the displeasure and the judgment of the Almighty, incurred the penalty of death, and thus in all his parts, in his body as well as soul, became strangely deteriorated. This sinful condition is transmitted to all his posterity, as descending from him, entailing the consequence that man is of himself incapable, even with the aid of the most perfect ethical law offered to him from without (not excepting even the one revealed in the Old Covenant), to act in a manner agreeable to God, or in any other way to be justified before Him, save only by the merits of Jesus Christ, the sole mediator betwixt God and man. If to this we add, that the Fathers of Trent attribute to fallen man free-will, representing it, however, as very much weakened, and in consequence teach, that not every religious and moral action of man is necessarily sinful, although it be never, in itself and by itself, acceptable to God, nor anywise perfect, we then have stated all which is to be held as strictly the doctrine of the Church. That, moreover, fallen man still bears the image of God necessarily follows from what has been advanced (*Symbolism*, p. 44).

The *nature* of fallen Adam and Eve, *as compared* with their *former* state, was deteriorated, but not destroyed; impaired, but not ruined; injured, but not totally depraved. They had descended from a higher to a lower grade of existence; the higher being extremely valuable, the lower much less, but still valuable. Their former existence was one of unmixed enjoyment, while their fallen state became one of mixed pleasure and pain. In their impaired condition their bodies were subject to frequent pain and ultimate death, their intellects were comparatively darkened, their free-will much weakened, and the seductive power of their passions relatively greater. Existence became a struggle; but they still lived and ate the fruits of the

earth, but now with toil and hardship. The woman was still to bear children, but with pain and sorrow. Having lost their former state of innocence by their voluntary disobedience of a plain, simple law of God, they lost the happiness arising from a clear conscience. They were also deprived of the great and conditional supernatural gifts mentioned.

*The Transmission of Original Sin.*

The Very Rev. Dr. Faà di Bruno, in a late work, has treated this whole subject of original sin and its transmission very ably. At this time I make the following extracts :

The transmission of original sin is a mystery which Catholics believe on the authority of God Who reveals it. It is in harmony with reason, and to some extent admits of explanation (*Catholic Belief*, p. 396).

Hence it appears that not the whole sin of Adam is imputed to us, not his ambition, his pride, his disbelief, not even his disobedience regarded as such ; in short, not his sin so far as it was only personal to Adam ; but we are implicated in that special guilt of his sin in which he could and did act as head of the human family ; for only in that capacity the guilt of his act could be attributed to his posterity, and was transmissible with nature itself to every human being descended from him (*id.* p. 397).

Hence *original sin* is also called sin of nature, sin in which our *personal* will has nothing to do, but with which only our nature has to do, as being one with that of Adam (*id.* p. 398).

Therefore, on account of the sin of the first man, all men are indeed born deprived of certain gifts, but gratuitous gifts. They are born averse to God, but averse to God as a supernatural end which is not demanded by nature. God is said to hate them. The meaning of this hating is only that God, who loves them as His intelligent creatures, does not love them with a love of gratuitous friendship, with a love ready to confer on them a supernatural blessedness. They are truly sons of wrath, but only inasmuch as the supernatural beatitude is denied to them, and in which privation their condemnation consists (*id.* p. 399).

The explanations I shall give of the transmission of original sin from Adam to his posterity will be included under three heads. In doing so I must avail myself largely of the labors of others.

*First—The great Law of Heredity.*

Angels are pure spirits without bodies ; and each angel, for that reason, is a separate creation, without ancestors and without posterity. But as man was intended as a terrestrial and intelligent being fitted to inhabit the earth and to have dominion over all inferior creatures, he was made a *compound* existence, composed of a material body and a spiritual soul so intimately united as to constitute but one person. To display the greatness of His creative power, and to increase their beauty, God gave *variety* to His works ; and for the good of man, and for His own glory, He created only *one* pair in the beginning, and communicated to their physical nature the power of propagating their species by generation. “Then,” as Bishop Ulla-

thorne so well says, "in making the human race of one blood God made them one family, and thus provided for the existence of a special order of virtues among men towards each other ; the marital, the parental, and the filial virtues, the fraternal, the social, and the political virtues" (*Endowments of Man*, p. 95).

The great law of heredity seems to be a proper, if not an absolutely-necessary, incident of all animal existences, and to an extent we may be unable to fully comprehend. The power to perpetuate a species by generation must necessarily be consistent in itself, and thus reproduce the ancestor in the offspring. So we see, as matter of fact, that certain diseases contracted by the mistakes, misfortunes, or personal vices of the parent are transmitted to his descendants for several generations. This proves the position to be true that, whatever was the nature of Adam in his fallen state, it must have been transmitted to his posterity. As Dr. Faà di Bruno has well said :

The supernatural gifts destined by God for all human nature could not be lost by human nature through the sin of any one else except that of Adam. For only the will of the head of the human family could be considered in this point the will of the whole human family. As those gifts were given to human nature, they could only be lost by the will of one whose will, in respect to those gifts, was the will of the whole human nature ; and such the will of Adam was (*Catholic Belief*, p. 401).

As God is the author of the physical law infused into nature, as well as of His express law communicated in human language, He will honor *both*, each in its proper place ; and, for this reason, He would not violate the great law of heredity in the case of Adam and his posterity, except in special instances, for special reasons. It was, therefore, but just and proper that the descendants of Adam should inherit his sin and its consequences ; because these descendants should be like him and take the bad with the good, especially as the transmitted good qualities exceeded the bad, so as to make the inheritance left by him, considered *as a whole*, a blessing rather than an injury. As an illustration I will suppose the case of a father who leaves as an inheritance to his son a piece of real estate mortgaged for the sum of twenty thousand dollars, but readily worth in the market fifty thousand dollars. Now, the mortgage is an encumbrance upon the estate—an evil—but still the heir is enriched to the extent of thirty thousand dollars, and has been, upon the whole, benefited.

*Second—The Nature and Extent of the Punishment inflicted upon Adam's Posterity in consequence of his Sin.*

I have already stated the *temporary* injury sustained by human nature in its fallen state. It will now be proper to notice the punishment due to Adam's posterity in a *future* state of existence in consequence of original sin.

There are two kinds of punishment endured by the condemned in

a future state of being. The first is the pain of privation, which is simply the deprivation of a good desired but never possessed. The second is the pain of sense, which is the sensible pain caused by actual infliction.

Bishop Ullathorne has discussed this subject most ably, in part as follows :

Pope Innocent III. says in the Decretals that "the penalty due to original sin is the privation of the beatific vision" (*Endowments of Man*, p. 227).

If we consider the privation of the enjoyment of God as it respects the good that is lost, it is the greatest of privations ; but as it respects the nature of the soul herself, we must take another measure to represent the Divine justice. When we consider the soul in herself, the severest punishment is that which deprives her of what belongs to her nature, and is due to her nature. It is a greater punishment to deprive a man of his natural inheritance, for example, than to deprive him of a crown that is not due to him. Viewed in this light, the privation of the Divine vision without any punishment that affects his own nature, is the mildest of punishments, because the Divine vision is a good that is altogether above and beyond his nature ; it is not due to his nature, and the loss of it takes nothing from his nature.

But the pains of sense are not due as a punishment to original sin alone. They are only due to personal sin, to sin committed by the free will of the guilty one. As original sin is not actual sin, as it is derived from the will of another, it is not subjected to sensible suffering. This distinction, although not formally expressed, is clearly intimated in the words of Christ our Lord to Nicodemus : "Amen, amen I say to thee, unless a man be born again of water and the Holy Ghost, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." The privation of the vision of God is here plainly pointed out as the consequence of death without the grace of baptism. It has been acutely observed that wherever our Divine Teacher speaks of sensible sufferings to be inflicted on the guilty, He always makes some reference to actual or personal sins, as where He says : "Depart, ye cursed, into everlasting fire. . . . For I was hungry, and ye gave me not to eat," and the rest. It has also been observed that in none of the Apostolic writings is there mention of positive sufferings inflicted on those who have not been guilty of actual sins (*id.* pp. 228-9).

"Original sin is remitted by baptism," says Father Schoupe, "whose regenerating waters wash away all the guilt contracted in our birth. After this spiritual cleansing no shadow of sin remains ; but we are like new-born children of God ; we are notwithstanding still liable to concupiscence and to all the miseries of this life. God leaves us these difficulties that we may turn them into subjects of combat and of triumph" (*Abridged Instruction*, p. 135).

These passages, taken in connection with preceding remarks, seem to place the matter in a simple light, and to clearly show that not the slightest injustice has been done to the posterity of Adam by the doctrine of original sin. The creation of Adam was itself a gratuity ; and all those endowments which were lost by the fall were not only gifts but *conditional* gifts, their continuance depending upon his obedience. But after deducting all the losses sustained in consequence of his transgression, he still retained a valuable existence. As the great St. Augustine states it :

Evil is nothing but the corruption of a species, mode or natural order. An

evil nature is therefore a corrupted nature, for a nature that is not corrupted is good. But even a corrupted nature is so far good as it still remains, but is evil as far as it is corrupted (cited *Endowments of Man*, p. 181).

If we pause here, and exclude from our consideration the fall of Adam, and suppose that the Deity had originally created man with a nature precisely similar to that of Adam after the fall, then would not man's existence, with its evil and good combined, have been a blessing to him and to his posterity rather than an injury? He would still have possessed all those endowments *essential* to his nature as an inhabitant of the earth; and, although his existence would have been one of mixed pleasure and pain, he could have enjoyed a life of many years and a fair portion of happiness.

It is true we find some difficulty, not in understanding, but in *comprehending* how God could so incorporate Adam's sin itself, as well as its consequences, in his nature as to be transmissible to his posterity by means of generation. But this merely abstract theoretical question regards the *mode* or *manner* of accomplishing a given result, more than it does the *character* of that result itself. We are mainly interested in the practical result, as that affects us most. If we are not injured by the mode adopted we certainly have nothing to complain of. And it is hard to arbitrarily prohibit the Almighty from adopting a certain *method* to attain a given end, when the use of that method injures no one.

It seems that a desire to comprehend is an incident to all finite intelligence. As Dr. Moehler well says :

Yet there is within us an irrepressible longing after comprehension: it is the same which in its excess leads to the denial of every thing above comprehension (*Symbolism*, p. 50).

And St. Peter says that the angels desired to look upon the mystery of the Redemption (1 Peter i. 12). But while we indulge this desire of comprehension to a reasonable extent, we should be very careful to avoid its excesses. Most vices are virtues carried to excess. We believe the doctrine of original sin in all its features, because it is revealed; and we believe in the verity of the revelation, because it is sustained by competent and sufficient evidence.

*Third—The Conditional Restoration.*

I have thus far considered the condition of man without taking into the account the promised Redemption. I must now consider his state in connection with that theory.

I have already given the passage from the third chapter of Genesis, as containing the promise of a future Messiah. Whether we give it that construction or not, it was a positive and unconditional declaration made by God to the serpent in the presence of Adam and Eve, and before any of their children were born, that the woman

should triumph over him. It was a promise of a great boon to the entire human race. And as time is nothing to the Eternal, and as the making of His unconditional promise is no *more* certain than its future fulfilment, this promise was, in *effect*, accomplished when made, and extended to all generations of men. If it referred, as I believe, to Christ, then those of the race who lived before His death would look forward to the merits of His future death and Passion, while those born afterwards would look back to the same great event. All the race would thus enjoy the benefits of the Redemption. But whether we consider the promised boon as the Redemption by Christ, or as some *other* great good, it was still a universal and continuing benefit conferred by God upon the entire race.

I have already given the main prophecies which I think relate to the coming of Christ. But as I am now answering merely *abstract* objections to the theory of original sin and Redemption, we must take the whole theory to be true, for the sake of the argument only, and then consider it in all its aspects.

Taking the theory to be true as stated, if we then consider the sin of Adam, and the transmission of it and its consequences to his posterity, as substantially in the light of a transmitted debt, then the means to discharge that indebtedness, upon specified conditions, was provided in advance from all eternity by the mercy of God, and came down to all Adam's posterity. So if we look upon it in the light of an inherited disease the conditional remedy was equally provided by God. But if we more properly consider it in the nature of an inherited penalty, then the means of procuring a pardon, upon specified conditions, came down, by the mercy of God, to all generations of men. I say *conditional* pardon, because there is much left for man to do of his own free-will before he can receive this pardon and enjoy the full fruits of it. The posterity of Adam must labor and suffer much more to attain a state of secure and permanent happiness than he was required to do in his first estate; but their *ultimate* reward will be substantially the same. The sacrifice of Christ was not, therefore, an *absolute* but a *conditional* substitute.

If we assume, for the sake of comparison only, that God originally created man as he now exists, and that he is required to believe all the doctrines of revealed religion except those relating to Christ and His Redemption, and to practise all the virtues at present inculcated by the Christian theory, and, upon doing so, to be rewarded in the same manner and to the same extent as claimed under the theory of Redemption, what would be the value of such an existence! If we could "speak with the tongues of men and of angels" we could not adequately describe the real value of an individual human life under such a theory. Even the ardent language of Scripture that "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of

man, what things God hath prepared for them that love Him," conveys to us but a partial conception of its inestimable value.

But under the theory of Redemption the value of this existence is enhanced, and our obedience the more readily secured, by the affectionate and sublime manner in which such a state of future happiness is made accessible to us.

It must be clear, conceding the existence of God and the consequent creation of the universe by Him, that He would love the works of His own hands in proportion to His infinite capacity to love the merits of the works themselves, and His relation to them as their Creator. He must, therefore, love His creature, man—a noble being of wonderful capacities which enable him to attain the most exalted state of virtue or to descend to the lowest depths of vice, and who is the grandest work of the visible creation—with more than the ardent affection of a good parent for his children. As St. John so beautifully states: "God is love."

And as a good and wise human parent will adopt that mode of governing his children which is most reasonable and efficient, because most grateful to his own feelings and least harsh to those of his child, and will, for that reason, *first* seek to secure the willing and cheerful obedience of the child through its affection and reason, and will only resort to physical punishment when nothing less will do, and even then with pain and reluctance, and only from a genuine love for his child and in justice to the necessary order of the family and of society, so God, like any other wise and good paternal governor, would do the same. For it is a well-known fact to all careful observers of men and things that those parents who govern with wise and affectionate discretion, *first learning to govern themselves*, rear the best and happiest families; and that, in case any of their children should become criminals in after-life, the last virtuous feeling they expel from their hearts is the love of their parents, and especially that of the mother.

Bishop Ullathorne has clearly and forcibly put the case, in part, as follows:

The Fathers of the Church have argued from the omnipotence of God that He might have effected the deliverance of man and his restoration to justice in some other way; but that in His infinite goodness and mercy, and for His own Divine glory, He chose the most magnificent and generous way, the way most abounding in goodness and condescension, and the way most necessary to accomplish a most secure, as well as a most plentiful and overbounding redemption and salvation to man, through the incarnation of His Eternal Word.

In the first place, it was the most secure, because man in his weakness might fall again. But by the incarnation of the Son of God, human nature, as the fountain of redemption and salvation, was made everlastingly secure, by its inseparable union with the person of the Son of God. In the second place, the Incarnation of the Eternal Word was most singularly adapted to the weakness and to the requirements of man. For man is a creature of sense as well as of mind,

and is more inclined to things visible than to things invisible, and more easily passes to things invisible through the things that are visible. The whole world, therefore, is so made by God, that through visible things we may be able to ascend more easily to the knowledge of things invisible. But now, since his fall, man is "carnal, sold under sin"; and it is, therefore, still more needful for him that truth, and justice, and the power of redemption and salvation, should come to him from heaven in a visible, and even in a human form, with human affections, and sympathies, that he may be drawn back to God and to his salvation even "by the cords of Adam."

In the third place, the magnificent scheme of the Incarnation is the most glorious to God. For however great and god-like it is to create good, it is incomparably greater to conquer evil with good, and to destroy that evil through the creation of a greater good. But the Incarnation of the Son of God is the most magnificent of all creations, most magnificent above all creations both of angels and of men; most magnificent in the personal union of that creation with the Eternal Word, through whom all things were created; and most magnificent in its infinite condescension. And what adds immeasurably to this magnificence, God takes occasion of the great evil with which His creatures oppose Him, to accomplish this grandest of creations, that He may overcome evil with the creation and endowment of superabounding good (*Endowments of Man*, pp. 313-14).

What could raise our hope so high, or give so firm a trust in the goodness and mercy of God, as that the Son of God should partake our very nature? He has become one of us, to inspire us with full confidence in His loving disposition to do all things for us. He who has given us Himself, will He not give us all things? He tells us, that we have only to ask and to receive. What, again, could be more eminently calculated to bring us back to the love of God, than a proof so great and striking of the love of God for us? "God commendeth His charity towards us: because when as yet we were sinners, according to the time, Christ died for us." One of the greatest causes of His coming in the flesh, was to show the exceeding love of God for us. It might have been difficult for man to love God, if he did not know that God loved him; but God hath first loved us, and has exhibited His love in a condescension so marvellous, with sufferings so great, in a work so full of love, that we must indeed be hardened if we return not love for love (*id.* pp. 315-16).

But the greatest achievement of power combined with love and mercy, which the Son of God has accomplished in His humanity, is the deliverance of man from the servitude of sin. Satan was overcome by the justice of the man Christ Jesus, who gave the fullest satisfaction for us. No mere man could satisfy for the whole human race, nor did it become God to give satisfaction for the sins committed against Him. It was needful, therefore, that Christ should be both God and man. This St. Leo has explained in words to be ever remembered: "Infirmity was taken up by Power, humility by Majesty, and what was mortal by Eternity; that, as a suitable remedy for our evils, one and the same Mediator between God and men, might die in His human nature, and rise again by His divine nature. For were He not true God, He would not have brought us healing, and were He not true man, He would not have been our example" (*id.* p. 317).

"Because of our infirmity," says St. Leo, "He diminished Himself; because we were incapable of beholding Him He covered the splendour of His majesty with the veil of His body, that the eyes of men might look upon Him" (*id.* p. 111).

Our disease was pride, and for our cure God comes to us in humility. Our disease was sensuality, and we see God suffering in a body like our own, and giving us the law of self-denial for our cure in His own example. Our disease was the wisdom of the flesh, conquering the mind with its turbulent assumptions, and



we see the Eternal Wisdom crucifying His flesh with His spirit, and proclaiming the wisdom of the flesh to be folly (*id.* p. 112).

### *Everlasting Punishment.*

There is a clear distinction between everlasting and infinite punishment. The first is punishment which may be simply endless in duration, while the second is punishment which is not only everlasting in duration, but infinite in its intensity. No finite being could possibly commit any offence which would merit infinite punishment; and no finite being could endure it. To appreciate the Christian theory of everlasting punishment it is necessary to remember this distinction, as it is sometimes overlooked by writers against Christianity.

There are two principles in regard to this doctrine clearly revealed in Scripture :

*First.* That the punishment will be endless (Matt. xxv. 41, 46; Mark ix. 41-3; 2 Thess. i. 8, 9).

In regard to the proper construction of the language of the Scripture upon this subject the great St. Augustine has, among others, the following clear and forcible remarks :

Then what a fond fancy is it to suppose that eternal punishment means long-continued punishment, while eternal life means life without end, since Christ in the very same passage spoke of both in similar terms in one and the same sentence, "These shall go away into eternal punishment, but the righteous into life eternal." If both destinies are "eternal," then we must either understand both as long-continued but at last terminating, or both as endless. For they are correlative,—on the one hand, punishment eternal, on the other hand, life eternal. And to say in one and the same sense, life eternal shall be endless, punishment eternal shall come to an end, is the height of absurdity. Wherefore, as the eternal life of the saints shall be endless, so too the eternal punishment of those who are doomed to it shall have no end (*City of God*, ii. b. xxi. s. 23).

*Second.* That this everlasting punishment will be apportioned, in different degrees, according to the sins of each individual of the condemned, and that, consequently, the greatest offenders will suffer much more than the less guilty (Matt. xvi. 27; Luke xii. 47-8; Acts xvii. 31; Rom. ii. 6). Says St. Augustine :

We must not, however, deny that even the eternal fire will be proportioned to the deserts of the wicked, so that, to some it will be more, and to others less painful (*City of God*, ii. b. xxi. s. 16). \*

\* In regard to the teaching of the Catholic Church upon this subject, the Rev. James Balme, a distinguished and profound Spanish writer, in his *Letters to a Sceptic*, translated by the Rev. William McDonald, and published by M. H. Gill & Son, Dublin, 1879, has these clear remarks :

"What we should examine is whether revelation really exists; and whether the Church is the depositary of revealed truths. . . . What the Church teaches is, *that those who die in a bad state, that is, in mortal sin, shall suffer punishment without end.* This is the dogma: whatever may be said about the site of this place of punishment, or about the degree and quality of its pains, is not of faith; and belongs to those points on which it is lawful to hold different opinions without wandering from Catholic belief" (pp. 36-7).

We believe this doctrine because it is clearly revealed by God, and we believe that the fact of this revelation is established beyond all reasonable doubt by competent and sufficient evidence. We believe that it is a certain fact that this doctrine of everlasting punishment was put forth by the mildest and greatest Teacher that ever appeared in the world; one who taught the purest and most exalted system of morality ever heard of among men; who exhibited, in His words and actions, the most considerate tenderness for the suffering poor, and manifested the most refined humanity to all consistent with justice; and who possessed Himself the most invincible, gentle, and patient firmness under the sternest trials and tests of character. We do not doubt the entire sincerity and ability of Him who spoke as never man spoke; and we therefore believe that He never would have announced such a theory unless it were true. Like any other lawgiver, it was proper that He should have prescribed His law, and thus to have stated, *in advance*, the character and duration of the punishment of the finally impenitent, so that all might know beforehand the true consequences that must follow wilful and unrepaid transgression. We do not consider that we have rightful jurisdiction of the case, or that we are competent to rejudge the justice of God. For we believe that the question, from its very nature, rises far above human right and capacity to judge. We occupy the position of parties to be judged, and we are not in a situation to judge impartially in our own case. Our knowledge of the facts is but partial, and our capacity to draw correct conclusions from the facts we so imperfectly know is much too limited, even if we were impartial judges, to enable us to arrive at a comprehensive and just conclusion in such a case.

The modern and generally accepted theory of heat is that it is a mode of motion. Thus Sir William Thomson says:

"Heat is a property of matter. . . . We know heat to be a mode of motion, and not a material substance" (*Encyc. Brit.*, xi. pp. 554-5).

Professor Josiah Parsons Cooke has ably discussed the subjects of heat and light:

"I hope that I have been able to make clear two points,—first, that light and heat are forms of motion; second, that the differences in the phenomena which have been referred to these two agents are simply different sensations or different effects produced by the same wave-motion" (*Religion and Chemistry*, p. 45).

"Burning is merely chemical change, and all combustion with which we are familiar in common life is a chemical combination of the burning substance, whether it be coal, wood, oil, or gas, with the oxygen of the air. Combustion is simply a process of chemical combination, and the light and heat which are evolved in the process are only the concomitants of the chemical change" (*id.* p. 79).

"Decay and burning are essentially the same chemical change. The substances involved are the same, the results are the same, and we have even been able to prove that the amount of heat generated is the same, the only difference being, that, in burning, the whole amount of heat is set free in a few hours, producing phenomena of intense ignition; while in the process of decay the same quantity, slowly evolved during perhaps a century, escapes notice" (*id.* p. 97).

"Respiration is a true example of combustion. The seat of the combustion is the lungs. The substance burnt is sugar. The products are carbonic dioxide gas and water" (*id.* p. 104).

"Respiration, then, like decay, is a process of slow combustion, in which the oxygen of the air attacks and consumes, even at the ordinary temperature, the sugar in the blood" (*id.* p. 111).

Thus it appears that all chemical combination evolves the *same* amount of heat, whether the combustion be slow or rapid. It may be so slow as to cause no pain, or fast enough to produce only a slight amount of suffering, or so rapid as to cause a great amount of pain.

But while we base our belief of the doctrine of everlasting punishment upon the fact of its clear revelation by supreme and unerring authority, and while we disclaim all rightful jurisdiction and competent capacity to determine such a question, we think that it admits of explanation to some extent, and that as many if not more reasons can be given for as against the dogma of eternal punishment. This explanation I shall proceed to give as clearly and concisely as I can :

*First.* The offence which consigns the sinner to endless punishment is a grave, serious, wilful transgression—an act of *final* rebellion against God. The laws of every country allow the party under government his whole mortal life in which to obey or disobey the statutes of his country. But while the criminal law of the state will proceed at once to punish the offender for his first as well as for all subsequent crimes in the order in which they are committed, the law of Christ not only allows the governed the whole of his mortal life in which to obey the law, but will give him, even after he has violated it, all the remaining portion of his life in which to repair the wrong, upon terms most merciful, and inflicts no punishment until the rebel *at last* dies impenitent, obdurate, and defiant. The door of easy reconciliation and return to his allegiance is thus kept open during his remaining life. When the criminal finally dies impenitent and in confirmed malice, then final punishment begins. He has been allowed his reasonable period of probation ; and this wilful disobedience has continued so long as, in many cases, to become at last a fixed habit of rebellion. This fixed habit is so strong as to be about as difficult to reform as that of confirmed drunkards, of whom only about one in a hundred is ever permanently reclaimed. So that if the sinner could live a million of years on earth his state would most probably remain the same. As Young so truly states the *general* result :

“ At thirty man suspects himself a fool,  
 Knows it at forty, and reforms his plan ;  
 At fifty, chides his infamous delay ; . . .  
 Resolves, and re-resolves ; then dies the same.”

Says Bishop Ullathorne :

But if all chastisement, with all the tender touches of mercy that come to open the heart with its visitation, fail to soften the hardness, and subdue the swelling of the rebel heart ; if the malice of sin is ungratefully fostered against God to the end ; then, as chastisement has utterly failed to conquer the obdurate evil, justice must change the mercy of chastisement to that inevitable punishment which, to preserve the due order of things, must separate unchangeable evil from unchangeable good for everlasting (*Endowments of Man*, p. 221).

Says the editor of *The Month* :

It is this final act of rebellion, whether it be made at the last or at some earlier period of his career, which Holy Scripture describes as the sin against the Holy Ghost, and the sin unto death for which there is no forgiveness in this world or in

the world to come. It is the conscious rejection of God, not under the maddening attractiveness of some trifling prize of earth, but deliberately and with a full knowledge of the nature of the choice (*The Month* for February, 1882, p. 209).

*Second.* This continued state of rebellion is a sin of ingratitude against the greatest of benefactors. And the sin of ingratitude is one of peculiar atrocity.

When we consider that God created man and endowed him with great natural and supernatural gifts, and placed him in the happiest condition; that when he had voluntarily violated the simple and just law enacted for his government, and had thus fallen from his high estate to one much lower; and that this merciful Creator, foreseeing this deplorable fall, and still loving with the most ardent affection the creature originally made in His own image and likeness, had adopted from all eternity, and in due time carried into practical effect, a most merciful and costly theory of redemption, whereby Adam and his posterity could be abundantly restored, upon practicable conditions, to the former high estate, we can then form some faint conception of the base and wilful ingratitude which would obstinately and continuously reject so great and gracious a salvation. As the apostle so well says: "But God commendeth his charity towards us: because when as yet we were sinners, according to the time, Christ died for us" (Rom. v. 8, 9). Or, as the sainted Xavier has expressed it in his brave old hymn:

"Thou, O my Jesus, Thou didst me  
' Upon the cross embrace ;  
For me didst bear the nails and spear,  
And manifold disgrace,  
And woes and torments numberless,  
And sweat of agony ;  
E'en death itself ; and all for one  
Who was thine enemy."

*Third.* The sins of the condemned are in the nature of a personal insult to the Divine Lawmaker, as well as a defiance of His authority. Offences against the criminal laws of the state are nearly always committed in the absence of the legislator; but sins against the Christian code are *always* committed in the presence and under the immediate eye of God. Crimes committed in the presence and under the observation of the lawmaker are far more grievous than those committed in his absence, because their commission, under the former circumstances, displays a much greater amount of insolence, defiance, and contempt of authority, and exhibits even personal-malice against the lawmaker.

*Fourth.* This deliberate and final state of rebellion is treason against God of the most aggravated character, because the rebels enlist under the banner of Satan, the great but fallen archangel, and the most able and bitter enemy of the Creator, and who would

promptly dethrone Him, if he only possessed the power; and who seeks the destruction of men because they are the creatures and the beloved of God.

*Fifth.* This treason is against a Lawgiver of Infinite Majesty and Perfection; and while the crime is not strictly infinite in atrocity, because committed by a finite subject, it is still one so great that no finite mind can possibly measure it. We know that the true character of an act depends much upon the station and merits of the person against whom it is committed. An injury or insult to a person of low character and station is not so great in degree as the same offence would be if committed against a person of higher character and position. Thus an injury or insult to the president or king of a nation would be far greater than to a private citizen or subject.

A legislator is entitled to respect, love, and obedience in proportion to the justice of his claim to a position so exalted, and also according to the perfection of his code. Rebellion against an established but actually fallible political government involves consequences so extensive and appalling as not to be justifiable except in cases of clear usurpation or of intolerable oppression. And in regard to such cases there is so much room for mistake that no comprehensive, general, and positive rule can be laid down upon a subject so complex in its nature, but each case must rest upon its own special circumstances. But in regard to the Divine Ruler, His right to govern is of the highest *possible* character, based as it is upon His own supreme act of creation and upon His Infinite Perfections. A state of wilful and obstinate defiance of His most clear and indisputable right to govern His own creation is, therefore, an offence so great that we cannot estimate it.

*Sixth.* God is a being of infinite attributes, and among these is Infinite Love. Like all other intellectual beings, He has the clear right to love Himself in just proportion to His perfections. In other words, He has the right to be just to Himself and to require that others should be just to Him. In loving Himself He wrongs no one, and in requiring from His rational creatures a just love and obedience He demands only justice and no more.

While His Love is infinite in itself, it is not infinite in its *external* manifestation, because there is and there can be no object outside of God which can justly merit an *infinite* display of Infinite Love. A giant who picks up a pebble does not exert the full strength of a giant. All things existing *externally* to God are but *creations*; and as God cannot create His equal, He can find no infinite perfection in anything but Himself. And as the possession of Infinite Love would be idle unless there was some unchangeable and infinitely perfect object upon which to exert itself, and as God is *this* only object, He must *infinitely* love His own Infinite Perfections. *Perfection is intrinsically*

worthy of love in and of itself; and it is just as worthy of the love of him who possesses it as it is of the love of any other person. And while infinitely loving Himself, God is not selfish, for the reason that there is an element of injustice in selfishness, which is an inordinate love of self in disregard of the just rights of others.

God infinitely loves His own Infinite Perfections because they are worthy to be infinitely loved. Upon the same principle He would love man according to his intrinsic merits; and as his merits are limited, God would love him only to a finite degree. But the relation God *originally* bore towards the human race was somewhat analogous to that of a father to his children. A father will love his own children more than he will love other children who possess the same merits. So God loved men, not infinitely, but to a much greater degree than their intrinsic merits deserved, and, for this reason, He sent His own Son to die for them. But having *once* displayed this love in our creation and redemption, and having given us His finished code of law for our government—if men will, *after all this*, still wilfully violate this just law so as to die at last in a state of final impenitence, they commit a crime that will not be forgiven either in this world or in the next; and they cease to be regarded as children, and must be judged simply as *subjects*. Christ *first* came as a Teacher and Saviour, but at His second coming He will appear as a *final Judge*.

Upon the same principle men should love God *supremely*, not only because they have received from Him their very existence, but also because His Infinite Perfections are intrinsically worthy of their greatest *possible* love. If men will, therefore, love the inferior things of the world more than they do the Infinite and Supreme Good, they will be guilty of the greatest injustice and ingratitude, the enormity of which sin is so great that we cannot judge as to the amount and extent of the merited punishment.

*Seventh.* As God loves goodness, He must necessarily hate evil; and His hatred of evil must be as intense as His love of good. It is impossible, in the nature of things, to love both of two precise opposites. We cannot at the same time love one man *solely* for his honesty and another *solely* for his dishonesty. This would be about as difficult to do as to find an *honest rogue*—a plain contradiction in terms. He who loves harmony must dislike discord; and he who admires beauty is disgusted with ugliness. This is a universal law. And as God loves goodness and hates evil with *equal* intensity, so His punishment of sin must be in due proportion to His reward of virtue. If one be everlasting the opposite must also be endless; because if God truly manifests to man His love of virtue, He must necessarily manifest to him His true hatred of vice; He must exhibit to man *both* sides of His character. “*Endless punishment therefore*

is the natural and appropriate manifestation to man of the Divine Justice.”

*Eighth.* There was published in *The Month*, London, for January, February, and March, 1882, a very able and profound article, written by the editor, upon the subject of *Endless Punishment*, from which I have derived much assistance :

Punishment in this life hardens as often as, more often than, it softens. The free will of man has a power of resistance which is the necessary accompaniment of freedom. What then if the punishment of Hell, instead of leading the sufferer to repentance, only confirm him in his impenitent hardness of heart? What if he reject all the invitations to repentance, and wilfully turn aside from God? What if he only hate Him more and more, and defy Him with ever increasing violence and audacity? Is God to reward this defiance of His Divine Majesty by opening the door of Heaven and inviting within its portals His bitter, unrelenting, rebellious, blaspheming enemy? It is in view of this insuperable objection of the Restitution theory that the clumsy and gratuitous hypothesis of annihilation has been invented, in order to save the Deity from the inconceivable degradation of having to give in to the sinner, if only he be sufficiently persistent, thus encouraging sin and rewarding revolt (*The Month*, January, 1882, p. 15).

We have seen already one fatal objection to this theory, that the rebel might and would often exercise his free will, and prefer rebellion to the bitter end. But there is another fatal objection to it. It would represent a God of Infinite holiness and an Infinite love of good, who does not, so far as our knowledge of Him goes, hate sin with a hatred as unending and immeasurable. It would give us a maimed and one-sided view of the Divine perfections. The obverse side of the medal would not correspond to the converse. The eternity of bliss would proclaim an Infinite love of good, the non-eternity of Hell would proclaim only a limited hatred of evil. While professing to exalt one attribute of God, it would lower another. It would destroy the symmetry of the Divine nature as manifested to man. It would leave a gap in the exhibition of the Divine attributes; the Divine justice hating sin eternally and immeasurably would be hidden from the eyes of man (*id.* March, 1882, p. 313).

*Ninth.* A very able article appeared in the *Dublin Review* for January, 1881, from which I take the following extracts :

Let it be observed, in the first place, that we are not bound to be able to solve all difficulties which may be urged against a thesis which, from other sources, is abundantly proved. Even in matters of physical science, no one expects this. There are difficulties against the law of gravitation itself which cannot be solved. Yet no one thinks of doubting the existence of the law. . . . It is well known that two lines may have such relative properties that they may continually approach each other and yet never meet (p. 139).

Man is not merely a unit, but is the member of a system, of a universe. And we do not know how large or how complicated is the whole universe of creation. The principal end of Almighty God must, of necessity, be His own glory, and His secondary purpose, if we may so speak, must be the showing forth of His glory in creation as a whole (p. 142).

But the reason why mortal sin is *everlastingly* punished is because it is an act of *measureless malice* against the Supreme God. . . . God's very being is Omnipotence. Sin refuses to "serve"; that is, to remain within the primary essential order (p. 140).

The dogma of the Eternity of Punishment cannot, it is admitted, be proved from reason alone. It is God's revelation which makes us certain of it. Yet reason does not contradict it; nay, as we see, reason expects and anticipates it (p. 141).

*Tenth.* As God possessed the power to create rational beings, it was certainly proper that He should exert that power in a proper manner. In bestowing intellect upon man God gave him free-will, its necessary incident. This gift is one of inestimable value and dignity. And as all finite intelligences can be best governed by law, properly so called, the wilful abuse of so great a gift as that of free-will must be a most grievous sin.

The great St. Augustine states the case thus :

As God is the perfect good, He envies no good whatever to His creatures. To all He gives the good they have, whether it be the less, the greater, or the greatest good. To Adam it was a great gift that he need not have died, although he was able to cause his own death ; and to all men it is a great gift to receive a will from God that is able to avoid sin, even although it is able to commit sin. It is scarcely necessary to enlarge upon the beauty and splendour of such a gift. What an honour it is to man, that from the first he is put in a state in which, although tempted to sin, and able to sin, he may still abstain from sin, and so win for himself that better state of existence, in which he can sin no more. What a privilege it is to be so placed that, with God's help, he may become the author and architect of his own unchangeable happiness, and by exercising constancy in the midst of instability may purchase an estate of eternal immutability (cited *Endowments of Man*, p. 267).

But this splendid gift of free-will has its dark as well as its bright aspect. If we properly use it we shall be entitled to a state of everlasting happiness ; but if we wilfully and obstinately abuse it, and finally die in a state of impenitence, we will be ordained to endless punishment. These two opposite states are fairly placed before us for our free and untrammelled choice, and we select for ourselves our own future condition.

Christ completed His most merciful scheme of redemption, and left His finished code of law for our government, in which our duties are set forth, and in which the nature and duration of the punishment to be inflicted for rebellion against Him are *plainly* specified *in advance*, that we might assuredly know what we must expect in case of *final* disobedience. He also organized His great and perpetual institution, the infallible Church, to be the depositary and witness of His law, and to exercise the continuing executive and judicial functions of His visible government among men, and thus made her His teaching agent for all coming time. We are thus not only placed in possession of the law itself, but we are perpetually notified and urged by His Church to obey His law, and continually and solemnly warned by her of the clear consequences of neglecting so great and costly a salvation. If, *after all this*, we freely and deliberately make



our *permanent* choice of our future state by a voluntary and final act of our own will, can we rightfully complain when God takes us at our own word and consigns us to the state we have chosen? In the very nature and reason of things it would seem that there ought to be an eternal separation of the good and faithful subjects of the great King from the wilful and obstinate rebels.

Says St. Augustine :

To the most excellent of creatures, to rational souls, God has granted that they cannot be corrupted against their wills ; they cannot be corrupted so long as they keep their obedience to the Lord their God, and adhere to His unchangeable beauty. But if they will not keep their obedience, they are corrupted by their own will in their sins ; and against their own will they will be corrupted in their punishment (cited *Endowments of Man*, p. 233).

I have thus examined the more important *abstract theoretical* objections against Christianity. I have also in preceding pages given my reasons why we have neither the jurisdiction nor the adequate capacity to judge such questions. But even with our partial knowledge of the facts, and our small capacity to judge, I think we are justified in believing that more good reasons can be urged against these merely abstract theoretical objections than can be given in their support.

As an illustration I will refer to the following incident related by Rev. J. L. Porter, the noted traveller in Palestine :

It was noon when I left Jezreel. The sun was blazing in the centre of a cloudless sky. The plain, usually so silent and desolate, was all astir with the flocks and herds of Bedawin, who had crossed the Jordan two days previously, like locusts for multitude, and like locusts for destruction. I found one of the petty sheikhs at Jezreel, and engaged him to ride with me to Carmel, to prevent annoyance and perhaps danger; for his tribe were not of good repute. He was a fine specimen of the Ishmaelite, wild, free, and generous. He was finely mounted too, and quite willing to show off by word and act the matchless perfections of his mare. He asked me of my country, especially of what he called the "fire-ships" and "fire-horses," of which somebody had given him an account, though he had evidently not believed a single word of it. After I had described as well as I could the construction, and power, and speed of steam-boat and locomotive, he came close up, and laying his hand on my arm, and looking with eagle glance straight into my face, he said in a deep, impetuous voice, "*Ya Beg ! by the life of the prophet, are you laughing at my beard, or is it truth you tell?*" Of course I assured him I was stating simple facts. He shook his head and turned away, half perplexed, half disappointed. He rode on in advance for nearly ten minutes without saying a word; then turning he related with perfect gravity a story of his uncle, who had ridden on the back of a *Jann* from Bagdad to India and back again in a single night. There was a great deal of quiet irony in this. I didn't believe a word of his story, and he didn't believe a word of mine (*Giant Cities of Bashan*, p. 258).

Now, this self-sufficient sheikh could not comprehend how a ship

and locomotive could be propelled by the power of steam, and for that reason he rejected the evidence and explanation of the fact, and peremptorily decided against it. And yet he was a thousand times more competent to determine such a question *properly* than we are to know and comprehend the deep and hidden reasons for the action of God.

## CHAPTER XX.

### MISCELLANEOUS CONSIDERATIONS.

#### *Infidelity as a Standard of Morals.*

WHILE truth, from its very nature, must necessarily be *one*, and, therefore, perfectly consistent in all its constituent elements, the forms of error may be at all times, and generally are, multitudinous and contradictory. This is an age distinguished for the number and varied character of its scientific discoveries, mechanical inventions, and multifarious theories, especially in regard to religion. But the very facts of their number and contradictory variety indicate the probable, if not certain, ultimate result that these numerous and conflicting false theories in reference to man's origin, nature, duty, and destiny will *mainly* concentrate in that *only* consistent theory of infidelity—atheism. Sooner or later the great and controlling majority of the opponents of Christianity will be driven, by continued and closer investigation and the inexorable demands of logical consistency, to this *final* position.

As I have repeatedly stated, whoever concedes the existence of God must necessarily admit that He created the universe; that, as He created, He must govern it in some proper form; and that He would adopt that method *best* adapted to attain the great and consistent purposes intended. And when we once admit the existence of the One Supreme and His rightful power to govern His own creation in some proper form, there can be no theory of government suggested so beautiful, so merciful, so practical, and so consistent as that of Christianity. These are the *best* of reasons why God should have adopted that sublime theory.

As God possessed the power to create limited intelligences, it would seem clear that He should, at some proper time, exercise such power and not let it lie dormant for ever. As man, in his present state, is a terrestrial being and is not permitted to dwell in the visible presence of his Creator, from whom, like the angels in heaven, he could receive personally such commands, from time to time, as the Divine Lawmaker might give, it was most proper that a *general* code of law should be prescribed in advance for his government. And as such law must be made known to man in some form *before* he could be

under government, there was no mode of promulgation so proper as that in his own language.

From long ages of experience we have had ample opportunities to learn and understand those plain, luminous fundamental principles which must enter into and constitute all true theories of government intended for such beings as men. If we can form any clear and morally certain conceptions upon any subject, we are certainly able to arrive at some reasonable conclusions respecting the *plainest* principles which would form the basis of the divine code. From the exalted character of the Legislator we can readily see that His system would include all the true and leading principles of political governments, while it would exclude all their imperfections. His government would be perfect in all its elements, and perfect in its practical administration in all essential respects. A perfect theory of law would properly require the parties under government to practise the virtues of which they were capable under all the circumstances of their condition. And for this reason such a system would go far beyond the various civil codes of men, and embrace a much more elevated and comprehensive circle of duties to be performed. In proportion to the capacity of the Lawgiver would be the extent and perfection of His code and the efficient manner of its promulgation and administration. And, in the very nature of a *supernatural* system of law, it must reveal many truths and prescribe to us many duties which the mightiest efforts of unaided human reason could never discover.

Now, according to our knowledge of the plainest fundamental principles of all laws wisely intended for the government of men, we may reasonably conclude that God would govern men by law, properly so called ; that such law would be perfect and thus necessarily include some of the sublimest truths and all the virtues the race could believe and practise in the present mode of existence ; that this code must necessarily be made known to the parties governed in some proper form *before* government could exist ; and that, while an Infinite Being might *possibly* adopt some other mode of promulgating His will to men, it is far more reasonable to suppose He would make a direct revelation expressed in human language, because it seems to our reason the best method in which such a revelation could be made.

These among other reasons, taken in connection with the evident inconsistency and inferiority of all theories which admit the existence of God and at the same time deny the fact of His express revelation, will sooner or later, as I think, compel the great majority of their supporters to take refuge in atheism. And I consider *indifference* as generally but *silent* atheism. He who believes in the existence of God cannot consistently be indifferent, as a state of indifference must at last logically rest upon pure atheism.

As I regard atheism to be the aggressive, growing, simple, consistent, and most formidable theory of infidelity, and soon to become, if it is not now, the predominant power among the enemies of Christianity, I shall consider what would be the probable state of human society under the legitimate extension and practical application of its principles. For this purpose I will suppose the great and governing majority of the people of a whole community to be sincere believers in that theory. The great mass of men will generally reduce to practice the theory they believe, and will thus freely avail themselves of all the *privileges* it plainly allows. And even in cases of doubt they will often take advantage of such a state and decide the case according to their own inclinations and present interests.

There can be no theory of morality except that which is based upon law ; and there can be no law without a penalty. The practical effect of a law will depend upon the *justice* of its provisions and the *certainty* of their execution. It is, therefore, clear that such a theory as atheism—which denies the existence of a future state and its consequently adequate and certain punishment of crime—must depend *entirely* upon the *uncertainty* of present punishment. And this punishment can only be that prescribed by the criminal laws of the state, by public opinion, and that inflicted by the acts of individuals.

The first great infirmity of the human criminal code is its *incompleteness*. From the nature of human society, and the various and complex relations of its members with each other, no code of criminal law can possibly include *all* the crimes against pure morality. It is, from its limited capacity, incompetent to correctly define and adequately punish many grievous offences against the code of moral justice. There are thousands of acts of injustice that no criminal statutes can possibly reach and redress. No such laws can prescribe gratitude, charity, and many other beautiful virtues. It is only the plainer and grosser crimes which the laws of the state can punish. And even in a vast number of cases where such laws assume to regulate to some extent the acts of parties bearing towards each other the tenderest relations of life, such as husband and wife, parent and child, how many acts of wilful injustice must escape definition and punishment !

It is, therefore, a *very low-grade* theory of morality which only requires obedience to the laws of the state. Such may be legal but not moral justice. To escape all punishment under the criminal laws of the state, except in the very rare case of the conviction of an innocent person, the party under government has only to make himself acquainted with them and carefully keep within their limits. This knowledge he can easily acquire, as the criminal code is small in comparison to the laws regulating civil and business transactions. Even the mass of men can substantially learn the criminal law by in-

quiry of others and from the current newspaper reports of judicial proceedings. But after having carefully avoided any violation of the criminal code, the party under government has a wide latitude in which to practise injustice without violating any municipal law and without the fear of legal punishment.

The second great infirmity of the criminal code of the state is found in the *uncertainty* and *imperfection* of its practical administration. I have already expressed the opinion that only about one crime in twenty, upon an average, is actually punished. This opinion of mine is the result of careful observation of men and things, especially while I was district-attorney for some three years, which position led me to make a close investigation of criminal cases and the history of criminals, not only as exhibited in the instances coming within my own professional knowledge, but in the still more numerous cases recorded in the books. And even in those cases where the trials resulted in conviction and sentence a large proportion of the criminals were not adequately punished, owing mainly to the too great leniency of the jurors and judges and the mistaken exercise of the power to pardon or commute.

This great imperfection in human criminal justice arises mainly from man's limited capacity, but often from the want of integrity on the part of witnesses and jurors. The attorney for the state and the judge of the court must not only know clearly and follow rigidly the law governing the particular case under trial, but the acts constituting the offence charged must be established by evidence beyond all reasonable doubt. And as crimes are nearly always committed secretly and with the greatest caution and cunning, the task of proving the facts alleged to the satisfaction of the court and jury, under the rigid rules of evidence in criminal cases, is so great that the guilty most frequently escape punishment. This is especially true in regard to several classes of crime, which I shall notice separately.

*First.* Arson, which at common law was the malicious and wilful burning of the house or outhouse of another person, but has been, by the statutes of some states, so extended as to include ships, is a crime so easily and secretly committed that conviction is most difficult. As of a somewhat kindred nature I may mention the malicious use of explosives. These most terrible engines of destruction have been of late years brought to such a fatal degree of perfection by the progressive science of chemistry, are so easily, quickly, and cheaply manufactured, occupy so little space when finished, and can be so readily used with comparative impunity, that the probable future consequences of their frequent employment should cause very serious consideration.

*Second.* Bribery is one of those crimes most destructive of public justice, and is yet most difficult of legal detection. As it is de-

liberately committed, and generally with due caution, and for these reasons is only positively known to two parties—the giver and receiver—and as both are guilty, it is most difficult to prove. Neither of the guilty parties can be *compelled* to testify against the other, as his testimony would criminate himself. Besides this generally insuperable difficulty, the bribe may be ostensibly given and received for another and a lawful purpose, while the receiver tacitly knows what is really expected of him, and accepts the bribe with that silent understanding. We have every reason to believe that this offence is very often committed in various cunning and ingenious forms, and yet we hear of very few convictions for this crime.

*Third.* The last offence I shall separately notice in this connection, and one that most materially affects the public administration of justice, and is yet so often committed with impunity, is the great crime of perjury. This impunity arises from the nature of the act and the corresponding character of the law regarding it. A conviction for this offence can only be had upon the testimony of two or more witnesses, or upon that of one witness whose testimony is supported by strong corroborative circumstances; because in the case of a single unsupported witness it is but oath against oath, and there is no preponderance of evidence against the accused. In all cases, therefore, where the true facts are only known to two persons, either one can commit perjury without fear of legal punishment.

In regard to these three classes of cases—arson, bribery, and perjury—I do not think that the convictions exceed more than one per cent. of the crimes actually committed.

It must be readily conceded that public opinion has a tendency to restrain the acts of individuals within the limits prescribed by that opinion. But this influence only extends to cases *known* to the public; and even as to these known cases public opinion is limited in its power of restraint, as it may be safely set at defiance by the rich, the powerful, and the obscure. And when public opinion itself is vitiated it is clear that such a power becomes an aid rather than a repression to vice.

A practical man living in a nation of atheists, and engaged in any of the numerous active business pursuits of life, would naturally and logically reason in this way :

“I am a sincere believer in atheism, and reside in the United States, where the great majority of the people believe in and act upon the same theory. I have been in successful business for myself some ten years. As under our theory there can be no future state, either of rewards or punishments, my purpose has been, and still is, to accumulate money *here*, because wealth not only procures me and my family the necessaries and comforts of life, but it brings me power, security, and respect in the community where I live. Man, being but

an intellectual beast, destined to perish like the inferior animals, must look *only* to his *present* condition.

“During my business life I have been frequently cheated, and in turn I have often cheated others. In this way I have made up my losses; otherwise I should have been much injured, if not financially ruined. I have not confined my action to those who have cheated me, because they were upon their guard, and I could not often succeed against them. I therefore cheated when, where, and whom I could.

“I have heretofore carefully kept within the criminal laws of the state, and have not committed any act that would subject me to a prosecution for a penal offence, because I found opportunities for many unjust acts not unlawful, even if discovered, and yet profitable to me. For example, if my merchant omitted, through mistake, to charge me with an article I had purchased, I said nothing. If my creditor died, and his legal representatives never called on me for the debt, because there was no evidence left of the indebtedness, I never mentioned it. So in many other ways I have had opportunities to cheat others and yet not violate any criminal law or incur any censure from public opinion.

“In these cases the gain, upon an average, was not large in each instance; but the sum total has added much to my capital, credit, and annual income. My uncle, who was my confidential adviser and business teacher, and who was an old, successful business man, assured me that the gains thus saved during a long, active business life would amount in the aggregate, with their accumulations and advantages, to a large portion of a fortune. This result he had learned from experience.

“I have also known many men who paid their debts by going through bankruptcy or insolvency; and in many of these cases there was every reason to believe that there had been a fraudulent concealment of property, because these men grew rich again *very soon*, but never discharged *any* of their *old* indebtedness.

“It is true that some of our orators and writers plausibly and eloquently advocate the most exact justice between man and man, as well as towards the state, upon the broad ground of the public welfare. It must be readily conceded that if ALL men could be induced thus to act towards each other as well as towards the state, it would add much to the present happiness of each individual and of the whole nation. But this result is wholly *impracticable* under the theory of atheism.

“These orators and philosophers constitute but a small minority, whose literary, professional, and other exceptional positions mainly exempt them from the great and often-recurring temptations and trials which waylay and beset the path of those engaged in the more



practical and difficult affairs of daily life. These orators and philosophers are mere theorists, whose knowledge of human nature and of business is most superficial, because *only* acquired from the works of like theorists, and not from actual observation in the hard, practical school of rough experience.

“I can well understand how the sincere believer in the truth of Christianity can afford to practise all the virtues advocated by these theorists, because the Christian has ample and consistent present personal motives for his action. He firmly believes that he will be ultimately certainly and adequately punished for disobedience, or rewarded for obedience, whether OTHERS obey his code or not. The firm assurance of this result is his *present* compensation. Whatever losses he may sustain in this world he considers but good investments in the next. His conduct does not depend upon the action of *others* in rejecting his theory. His duty is to obey the law of Christ, and he will receive the promised personal reward. As he seeks an *ultimate* good beyond the power of others to destroy, he can safely put his theory in practice *now*. He can well act upon the precept, Do unto others as ye would that they should do unto you.

“But it cannot be so under our theory. I must do the best I can with impunity for myself without regard to the rights of others, because I have no adequate motive to practise these virtues, but every motive to the contrary. My present gains are *certain* and *important*, and there is no *certain* present or future punishment for my action. It is idle and vain for these men to urge me to endure all the losses that may be occasioned by the unjust actions of others, and, at the same time, reap none of the profits by a like course of conduct on my part. I will not act upon such a one-sided philosophy. As I am compelled to suffer the *evil* I will also enjoy the *good* of our theory. I know it is urged that such a practice will ultimately result in the extreme degradation and misery of society. But this may not happen for several centuries to come. I and my immediate descendants will probably have passed away before this low state of society will be reached. I care nothing for those of my posterity who may be born after my death. I only feel some interest in those I may see. Even if I did care for those I may never see, there is one consideration which to my mind is *practically conclusive*. I am *only one* of many millions, and *my* action *either* way will not cause or prevent the result which will follow. I cannot, therefore, make sacrifices which will not bring me or my posterity any good either in the present or future. If I could be rewarded for such present sacrifices—as under the Christian theory—whether others do right or not, then I would not hesitate to make them. But as my success must depend upon the *like* action of the many millions of my countrymen, and as there is not the *slightest reasonable* hope of such concerted action, I must take

things as I find them, and, in this mercenary struggle, do the best I can for myself and let others take care of themselves as best they may. And while I have so far refrained from violating the criminal laws of the state, I can see no reason why any one should obey them in cases where he can commit offences with impunity and with profit to himself. The criminal code is only intended for those criminals who can be convicted under the *legal* methods of trial and proof. As to *secret* crimes, these laws, as well as public opinion, are entirely impotent. In such cases the only question involved is one of power and expediency, and not of principle."

It must also be conceded that the fear of individual acts of revenge would tend to restrain unjust action on the part of others in many cases. But the abuse of this dangerous method of punishment would, as a general rule, more than counterbalance all its good effects. No theory of criminal law can authorize it, as no code can allow a man to be a judge in his own case. A man's self-love would prompt him to exaggerate the injury he has received, and mitigate that which he has inflicted. We often read of bitter feuds between families which finally terminate in the slaughter of several members of both parties. In these cases each family thinks the other to be in the wrong. Under the theory of revenge the violent and powerful have greatly the advantage over the weak and peaceful. It is a partial, irregular, and turbulent method of justice which no theory of civil government can consistently tolerate. And yet it must exist to a dangerous extent under the theory of atheism. When the injured party has no redress at law, because he cannot prove the facts he knows to exist, or because of some other impediment, he is prompted to acts of revenge, as they are, under the circumstances, the *only* punishment that can be inflicted upon the offender, according to this theory. But the Christian has no reason to resort to the animal practice of revenge, because he firmly believes that he will be punished if he does, and rewarded if he does not, and that the party who has injured him—unless that party does penance for his sin and repairs the injury to the extent of his ability—will be certainly and adequately punished without any act of revenge on his part. It is true that this punishment is not immediate; but every sensible man can well see that an adequate punishment inflicted twenty, or even fifty, years hence upon an immortal being will be equally just and severe as if suffered to-day.

It is, therefore, clear that the firm believer of the Christian theory acts under *two* motives: the fear of present and future punishment, and the hope of future reward. And the fear of future punishment and the hope of future reward are far more important in his estimation, and exert a much greater influence upon his mind in promoting virtue and preventing vice, than does the fear of present punishment, because his theory teaches him that the future consequences are cer-

tain, much greater in degree, and everlasting in duration. Whereas the firm believer in the theory of atheism acts only under *one*, and that the *weaker*, motive: the fear of the uncertain present punishment which may be inflicted by the criminal laws of the state, by public opinion, and by the revengeful acts of individuals. And in the *numerous* cases where no present punishment can follow he has nothing to fear, according to the legitimate principles of his theory.

Although we may not reasonably hope to attain a state of society where no offences will be committed against criminal, and no wrongs done against moral, justice, because men are possessed of free-will and are now subject to temptation and trial, it must still be obvious that there may be a very great difference in *degree* between the condition of one state and that of another. There is a great and most important difference between one and ten per centum, which I think is about a fair estimate of the difference between the best attainable state of Christian society and that of a community where the great majority are atheists. While society can well bear one per centum of evil, it will find ten per centum an intolerable burden.

As no firm believer in Christianity can consistently commit a crime or violate the laws of moral justice, very few, as a general rule, will practically act contrary to the divine law. Whatever proportion of the members of a community will obey the Christian code will be good men and obedient citizens or subjects, and the state and individuals will be thus secure to that extent against injustice. If, for example, one-half of the people of a nation were sincere Christians there would only be left one-half to do evil. In such a case the sincere Christians would not only be free from evil practices themselves, but they would exert a very powerful restraining influence for good upon the unbelievers. Many of the latter class would be influenced by their Christian education, the good example of parents, brothers and sisters, wives and children, relatives, companions, and friends, and by many other ties which bind men together in all the numerous relations of life. Others would be restrained by a state of doubt; while many open advocates and representative men of the theory, knowing that it was reproached with moral weakness, would be anxious to show that atheists could be practically good men. But let the great majority of the people become confirmed atheists, so that each one would feel certain that his theory was securely and permanently established, then the conditions would be wholly changed, these restraints would be removed, and the legitimate results of such a theory would *plainly* appear.

I cannot conceive the existence of such a faculty as conscience, except under a theory of accountability, where a free agent may obey or violate the law of that theory at his own election. Where a theory prescribes no punishment for wrongful acts, as judged by the theory

itself, there can be no such principle as conscience. It would be vain and idle to talk about conscience where there can be no right and no wrong. And I maintain the position that conscience will logically partake of the genuine nature of the theory upon which it rests. Like theory, like conscience. And while I would not contend that the sincere believers in the theory of atheism can have no conscience, I do maintain that it would be generally and logically as incomplete as the theory itself, and as uncertain as the actual infliction of the punishment it prescribes. I readily admit that in exceptional cases some believers in the theory would rise to a nobler position and possess a better conscience, which would be really, though perhaps unconsciously, derived from a higher and purer source of morality. But these exceptional cases would be so few as to have little, if any, practical and appreciable effect upon the masses of society.

The general prevalence of atheism would necessarily destroy that confidence which men must repose in each other in order to attain a virtuous and happy state of society. Life would then become a mercenary and unprincipled struggle for present existence. Each one would know that others, like himself, had no fear of any certain future punishment for vice; and this knowledge would naturally create the most painful and intense distrust and suspicion in the minds of all. While one man, in particular cases, might rely upon his legal rights, the injured party, or one who erroneously thought he was injured, might resort to the law of force. The excessive love of money and the inordinate desire of power and distinction would dominate the minds of the leaders of society. Men would always be carefully watching for opportunities and lying in wait to overreach others. Friendships would be suspicious and unsteady. A man's near relatives would be his only reliable friends; and this would lead to the sacrifice of just principle to the love of kindred, as we have seen in the case of Felix and his brother Pallas, mentioned by Tacitus. Intercourse between the higher and governing classes would be characterized by polished external politeness and the profuse use of the most skilfully framed but undeserved compliments. The most profound hypocrisy would become the general and governing rule with these classes.

This position is sustained by the authentic facts of Roman history so clearly and forcibly stated by Gibbon in extracts already given in this work. He was not only a competent judge and historian in such a case, but, being himself an infidel, his statements and conclusions are to be regarded as those of an adversary of Christianity, and thus worthy of the more confidence.

According to Gibbon, "The various modes of worship, which prevailed in the Roman world, were all considered by the people, as equally true; by the philosopher, as equally false; and by the mag-

istrate, as equally useful." "In their writings and conversations the philosophers of antiquity asserted the independent dignity of reason; but they resigned their actions to the commands of law and custom. Viewing with a smile of pity and indulgence the various errors of the vulgar, they diligently practised the ceremonies of their fathers, devoutly frequented the temples of the gods; and sometimes condescending to act a part on the theatre of superstition, they concealed the sentiments of an atheist under the sacerdotal robes. Reasoners of such a temper were scarcely inclined to wrangle about their respective modes of faith, or of worship. It was indifferent to them what shape the folly of the multitude might choose to assume; and they approached with the same inward contempt, and the same external reverence, the altars of the Libyan, the Olympian, or the Capitoline Jupiter"—and "the magistrates were themselves philosophers."

When learned philosophers and grave magistrates would perform the ceremonies of religion with equal "inward contempt and external reverence," they would hardly hesitate to practise the same profound hypocrisy to accomplish any other interested purpose.

This profound hypocrisy I consider to be but the legitimate and inevitable product of flexible atheism; and however adroitly and successfully it may be concealed for a time, it will sooner or later, with all its accompanying vices, permeate every order of society from the highest to the lowest.

When this low state of society shall have been reached the *plain* results will be most deplorable. Besides the degradation and miseries of individuals the operations of civil government will become vitiated. Bribery will invade the legislative halls, corrupt the public officers, and destroy the sacredness of the ballot to such an extent that the people will lose all confidence in the justice of the laws, the impartiality of their practical administration, and in the fairness of the elections. Perjury will become one of the leading vices, pervading all ranks of society. Witnesses will fear no punishment in a future state, and, in most cases, none in this.

A belief in a future state, and in the certainty of punishment for this crime, was held by the Roman emperors as most important to secure true testimony. "The emperors managed the arts of divination as a convenient instrument of policy," says Gibbon, "and they respected, as the firmest bond of society, the useful persuasion, that, either in this or in a future life, the crime of perjury is most assuredly punished by the avenging gods." And from the extract in regard to the Chinese found on page 492 of this work, it will be seen that "this corruption in high places has a demoralizing effect on the people generally"; that "dishonesty prevails to a frightful extent," and that "the Chinese set little or no value upon truth, and thus some slight excuse is afforded for the use of torture in their courts of justice;

for it is argued that where the value of an oath is not understood, some other means must be resorted to to extract evidence, and the readiest means to hand is doubtless torture."

In this extract the writer does not give the reason why this corruption prevails in high places among the Chinese; but Mr. Seward, in an extract found on the same page, states the true cause where he says: "The Chinese remain now as they were five thousand years ago, materialists."

I believe that where atheism becomes generally prevalent in a nation torture will not only be the "readiest means to extract evidence," but it will, in due time, become the most practical and efficient, if not the only, means available for such a purpose. And I believe that atheism is incompatible with all representative forms of government, and that despotism must ultimately become the only practical theory of government for a nation of atheists. There is, in my best judgment, a certain amount of virtue required to exist among the people of a nation in order to sustain free institutions, which the theory of atheism can never effectually teach, because inconsistent with its fundamental principle. And I can but think that the attempt to govern a people without religion is a fearful and appalling experiment to make.

#### THE CHRISTIAN THEORY.

There is a plain distinction between understanding and comprehending a true theory or doctrine. I may understand and believe a mystery while I cannot comprehend the full nature of its constituent elements and the manner of their union and operation. For example, I can understand and believe the sublime doctrine of the Trinity, but I cannot comprehend it.

Christianity contains mysteries, and presents many points difficult of human comprehension. But this fact is but a proof of its divine origin, because it is just what we might most reasonably expect to find in a supernatural revelation. When we form a conception, even inadequate, of the existence and character of God, as manifested in His visible creation, and as proven by the positive evidences of Christianity, we can readily understand that the knowledge of the Infinite Mind must be so great and extensive that our finite capacity cannot contain and comprehend it all. There is no one man who can fully know and comprehend all the discovered truths of science and art. He would be a very great man who knew all that has been known to the race. And as the mind of the greatest man is so much inferior to that of the human race, how much greater than the mind and knowledge of the entire race of man must be the mind and knowledge of the Infinitely Wise!

And were I to indulge my reason as to what a religion should be, I would ask, what would religion be worth without mysteries? What heavenly principle is there in that proud faith that refuses to believe in mysteries, because incomprehensible to fallible reason? And what reason is there in the supposition that a fallible mind can comprehend the nature of mysteries? Were a being to appear to me for the purpose of teaching me a religion, the first thing my reason tells me I have a right to ask, is a sufficient proof of his character. As I am competent to judge of testimony, and to determine from my knowledge of some of the laws of nature whether a particular event be a miracle or not, I could form a conclusion as to the fact whether the messenger was sent of God, or whether he was an impostor. When satisfied that he was divinely commissioned, I should be prepared to believe him upon his *word alone*. Knowing my own limited powers, I should expect him to reveal to me many plain and simple facts and doctrines, regulating my conduct towards my fellow-men on earth; but in reference to the heavenly world, and the nature of the blessed spirits who inhabit it, and the nature of God and His institutions, I should expect him to reveal to me some incomprehensible mysteries, which he would rightfully require me to believe implicitly upon his word alone. If he revealed to me no truth or mystery above my finite comprehension, I should be tempted to doubt whether he knew any thing supernatural, and whether he had come from that heaven which even the learned, eloquent, and inspired Paul would not attempt to describe (*The Path*, p. 576).

It would seem, therefore, most reasonable that an express general revelation from God to man should contain many plain and simple truths readily comprehensible to him, and, at the same time, some of a more sublime and mysterious nature which He would require him to believe *solely* upon His word as the Divine Lawgiver. Unless this revelation contained truths of *both* kinds, it would appear to be very incomplete.

It would also seem proper in the nature of an express general and final revelation of God's will to men, prescribing their whole duty to themselves and to God, that mysteries should not only exist in the theory itself, but that some of these mysteries should be revealed to the parties governed. Such a revelation would not only fill the highest capacity of the human mind, and test the fidelity of men to their Creator by requiring them to believe, *upon His word alone*, certain mysteries they could understand but not comprehend, but it would become necessary to enable them to render that homage which is rightfully due to Him. For example, it was necessary that the great mystery of the Trinity should be understood and believed by men before they could properly adore Christ as God. As a mediator must be the common friend and equal of two or more parties between whom a controversy exists, it was required that Christ should be both God and man. This fact must be known to us before we can intelligently offer adoration to Christ as the Son of God. Suppose Christ had performed all the miracles and given all the proofs as alleged in the history of His life, but had made no claim to be the equal of God, then He would have been rightfully regarded as only an inspired man like Moses, and as only entitled to the same character of respect.

It was, therefore, not only proper that mysteries should exist in such a theory, but it was necessary that such of these mysteries should be revealed to men as they were required to know and believe, in order that they might render proper homage and obedience.

But while it would be necessary to reveal to men such mysteries themselves, there could be no cause why such revelation should go beyond this extent, for several reasons :

*First.* In their present state men are not competent to comprehend these sublime mysteries.

*Second.* Even conceding, for the sake of the argument only, that men did now possess the required mental capacity, the revelation of such additional particulars as might become necessary to enable them to attain this comprehension would most probably be so extensive as to be too great for their investigation in this life. Unless God should reveal to men *all* His own knowledge, and thus make them, in their present condition, as wise as Himself in this respect, He must necessarily put *some* limit to His revelation. And whatever limit He might select, short of the most plenary revelation, would still leave many mysteries unexplained to human comprehension. The curiosity and perverse ingenuity of men would raise *new* questions and objections, and thus the same state of unreasonable perplexity would still exist.

*Third.* There would be nothing for men to learn in a future state, notwithstanding the ample opportunities they would there enjoy in the eternity before them and exempt from the perplexing cares of this life. But the contrary position of St. Paul is most reasonable, and is entirely consistent with the theory of a present general and final revelation from God.

We see now through a glass in a dark manner: but then face to face. Now I know in part: but then I shall know even as I am known (1. Cor. xiii. 12).

How much deep meaning is contained in that beautiful passage, "but then I shall know even as I am known" !

I regard the theory of Christianity as entirely consistent in all its parts, and as the perfection of reason. And as it is an *affirmative* theory, and not one of mere negation, this complete consistency of one feature with another is one of the strongest evidences of its truth, since the invention of a consistent theory, so elaborate and sublime, would be a task of superhuman difficulty. No theory could be more reasonable, more just, merciful, and efficient. Taken and considered as an entire system, it is fitted to produce the greatest temporal and eternal good for man, and to add to the greater glory of God. It appeals to the main elements of man's nature—to his sense of justice, to his gratitude, to his admiration, to his expansive love for the members of his own race, to his fear of future punish-



ment, and to his hope of future reward. This theory is perfect in every aspect—perfect in the grandeur of its conception, perfect in its just provisions, perfect in its ability to impartially execute these provisions with unerring certainty, and perfect in its paternal and kindly character. It does claim as undoubted the right of the Legislator to make sacrifices for the good of His own intelligent creatures through the voluntary labors and sufferings of His only Son, who was the Redeemer of His own brethren.

According to this great theory, God created Adam, and not only endowed him with all the powers essential to a terrestrial being, but bestowed upon him certain supernatural gifts not necessarily required by his situation as an inhabitant of the earth, placed him in a garden of beauty and plenty, and gave him a simple and just law for his government; that in the exercise of his free-will Adam violated this law, forfeited these supernatural gifts, and was thus reduced by his own voluntary act to an inferior but still valuable position, and that this condition descended to his posterity by way of inheritance. As Adam had voluntarily become a criminal, he could not possibly perform any act which would restore him to his former high estate; nor could his posterity do so, because no one can have a right to gifts, and no mere man could perform, by his own power, acts so meritorious as to deserve blessings so great. But God loved His own intelligent creatures more intensely than the most affectionate human father could love his own children. And while these creatures had violated His just law, they had done so under mitigative circumstances. Therefore, for reasons so clearly and beautifully stated; in part, by Bishop Ullathorne in the extracts commencing on page 513, God provided a conditional restoration to be accomplished at the proper time, as already explained in previous pages of this work.

In His incarnation, birth, and life Christ became our *visible* companion, subject to our sufferings and temptations; but without sin; and thus left us, for our practical instruction, imitation, and consolation, the noblest example of the most exalted virtue ever witnessed by men. Even Gibbon speaks, as we have seen, of “His mild constancy in the midst of cruel and voluntary sufferings, his universal benevolence, and the sublime simplicity of his actions and character.” Only those who sincerely try to imitate this example can form even an inadequate though substantially correct conception of its value and beauty. So in His cruel death Christ became our ransom; and in the great Sacrament of the Eucharist He gives Himself to be our food for the support and comfort of our pilgrimage on earth. And in His kingdom above He promises to give us Himself in the Beatific Vision for our everlasting enjoyment. As wise and powerful as He is, He could do no more than give us Himself for our companion

and example, our ransom, our present comfort, and our eternal reward.

And having completed this costly conditional restoration of our race, He left us a perfect code of law, with ample and infallible agencies for its further and universal promulgation, interpretation, and administration through all coming time. During His public ministry He personally selected twelve men to accompany Him and be His witnesses, and personally instructed and commissioned eleven of them to be His first teachers. On the day of Pentecost, in fulfilment of His previous promise to build His Church, against which the gates of hell should never prevail, He, by the action of His infallible agents, organized and set up that great and visible institution as His teaching agent for all nations. Having thus finished all the work His Father had given Him to do, He ascended up where He was before, leaving us His perfect law for our government and His infallible Church for our guidance in this present state of trial and probation.

Were any one to ask me how he could believe this theory I should answer in the words of our Lord: "Ask, and it shall be given you: seek, and you shall find."

But these voluntary acts must be performed with the proper dispositions. The seeker must be perfectly loyal to truth; and this loyalty consists of an earnest desire to know the truth, and a firm determination to follow it when known, whithersoever it may lead him. He must appear in his *true* position as an inferior and not as an equal, as one bound to obey, and who is not allowed to negotiate or propose terms of his own. He must seek to find, not to make. He must cease to practise all injustice, and resolutely set aside all evil habits, that he may know of the doctrine whether it be of God (John vii. 17). He must, for the time, try on the Christian garment to learn how perfect it is and see how well it may fit him; and if it fully satisfies all his just desires he may reasonably conclude that it was intended for him, as a man believes that the key which readily unlocks his door was made for the lock it so exactly fits. If he has done injustice to others he must repent in order that he may believe (Matt. xxi. 32). He must be impartial and humble, and not value the approbation of men more than the will of God (John v. 44).

The seeker, then, must be *worthy* before he can hope to know and believe the truth. And this worthiness depends upon himself, because loyalty to truth is a voluntary state, and investigation a free act of his own.

This position is most reasonable in itself and is most consistent with any theory which admits the possible existence of God, or even of truth itself. And for these reasons it is one proof of the truth of Christianity. This sentiment was held by the martyrs of the ancient

Church. In his letter to Diognetus the great author says: "I administer the things delivered to me to those that are disciples worthy of the truth." And the holy Pothinus, Bishop of Lyons, when he was over ninety years of age, and when asked by the Roman magistrate concerning the Christian faith, firmly replied: "If thou art worthy thou shalt know." So the holy Polycarp, when the proconsul said to him, "Persuade the people," at once replied: "To thee I have thought it right to offer an account [of my faith]; for we are taught to give all due honour (which entails no injury upon ourselves) to the powers and authorities which are ordained of God. But as *these*, I do not deem them worthy of receiving any account from me."

When the *worthy* inquirer has voluntarily and impartially exercised his reason to the extent of his ability and opportunities, he will not fail to arrive at the conclusion that God exists as the Creator and Governor of all things except Himself. While men differ much less in their natural powers of intellect than in their opportunities and educations, they can all investigate, reflect, and learn enough of others to enable them to believe these fundamental truths.

But when the inquirer has reached these conclusions he may not yet actually believe in the truth of the Christian revelation. In some comparatively rare cases, where the worthy inquirer possesses superior intellect and ample opportunity, he may, by long, careful study, profound reasoning, personal experience, and close observation, come to the conclusion that God truly made the Christian revelation, and that it is impossible for Him to lie. This case, however, is quite exceptional. The great mass of men, either by choice or from necessity, arrive at true faith in a different way.

Our Lord said: "Ask, and it shall be given you." When the worthy inquirer has arrived at the conclusion that God exists as the Creator and Governor of all things but Himself, then he must logically believe in the efficiency of prayer for all purposes for which it is relevant; and thus the practice of reverent and humble supplication to our Father and our God becomes as natural as it is to breathe. A late case illustrative of the power of prayer is related by Archbishop Gibbons, as coming under his own personal observation. A candid and intelligent deist consulted the archbishop as to the truth of Christianity. The archbishop, having exhausted argument in vain, finally obtained the consent of this gentleman to reverently repeat this simple prayer: "O God! give me light to see the truth and strength to follow it." This soon led to his conversion. But the suppliant should be in that pure and humble disposition of soul so well described by Cardinal Newman:

"Lead, kindly Light, amid the encircling gloom,  
Lead Thou me on;  
The night is dark, and I am far from home;  
Lead Thou me on.

Keep Thou my feet; I do not ask to see  
Far distant scenes—one step enough for me.

“I was not ever thus, nor prayed that Thou  
Shouldst lead me on.  
I loved to choose and see my path, but now  
Lead Thou me on.  
I loved the garish day, and, spite of fears,  
Pride ruled my will. Remember not past years.”

And it is perfectly reasonable that God should require us, as a general rule, to ask for the blessings we need. It would seem evident that in all intercourse between God and man each party should appear in the proper character. Such intercourse should be frank and honest, each recognizing the real position of the other. While “holy and terrible is His name,” God is still “merciful, compassionate, and just.” By the very act of humble prayer the suppliant acknowledges his true position as an inferior, confesses that he is needy, and expresses his confidence in the ability and disposition of his Father to give. In His great sermon Christ said: “If you then being evil, know how to give good gifts to your children: how much more will your Father who is in heaven, give good things to them that ask him?”

Faith, then, is the result of the free concurrent action of God and of the worthy believer.

On the part of God this free action consists in the original adoption of the plan of redemption; in God sending His own Son in the fulness of time; in the death of Christ; in the prescription by Him of a perfect code of law for our government; in His performance of miracles in attestation of His character and in evidence of the truth of the revelation He made (John v. 36, x. 25, 38; Acts xvii. 31); in the creation of the Church as His infallible agent for the preservation, further promulgation, and practical administration of His law; in the sending forth by this Church of teachers to preach the Word of God, that faith might come by hearing (Rom. x. 14, 15, 17); in the interior revelations sometimes made by the Father (Matt. xvi. 17); in the inspiration of the Holy Ghost (1 Cor. xii. 3); and in the pre-eminent motions of the grace given by God (Eph. ii. 8; Acts xvi. 14).

And this grace which saves us is not limited to *believers alone*, but is given to the worthy *seeker* of faith. The language of St. Paul, in the last preceding reference, is very explicit: “For by grace you are saved through faith, and that not of yourselves: for it is the gift of God.”

Now, it is plain from this language that *both* grace and faith, as the general rule, are necessary to salvation; but grace, as here used, *precedes* faith. So St. Peter says: “God resisteth the proud, but to the humble he giveth grace” (1 Peter v. 5; see James iv. 6). The word *humble* is here used in its broadest sense, and must include the sincere seeker who properly asks for grace. If the worthy seeker can

efficiently pray to God for anything, it would seem clear that he can do so for aid to know and believe the truth, as this knowledge and belief constitute the main purposes of his investigation. The simple prayer proposed by Archbishop Gibbons, as already given, clearly expresses the meaning of the Scriptures and the dictates of reason.

But how is faith the gift of God? By every act of His which tends to this *final* result.

We are separately told in the Scriptures that we are *saved* by grace (Eph. ii. 8); by faith (Gal. v. 5, 6); by hope (Rom. viii. 24), and by baptism (Acts ii. 38; Rom. vi. 3, 4; 1 Peter iii. 21); that we are *justified* by faith (Gal. ii. 16), by grace (Titus iii. 7), and by works (James ii. 24).

Now, when one of these writers tells us, for example, in one place that we are saved by grace, in a second by faith, in a third by hope, and in a fourth by baptism, he does not mean to contradict himself or any other inspired writer by the *manner* of his statement, but his meaning is that we are saved by *all* the means separately mentioned. When, in one place, he is treating of faith, he has that subject prominently in his mind, and his language is simply *inclusive* of faith, and not exclusive of grace or hope. The true meaning of all the passages taken together is that *all* the elements stated are requisite to salvation or justification.

So when St. Paul said to the Athenians: "Because he hath appointed a day wherein he will judge the world in equity, by the man whom he hath appointed, giving faith to all, by raising him up from the dead" (Acts xvii. 31), his language is not *exclusive* of other elements not there mentioned, and he did not thus mean that the miracle stated was the *only* requisite to make faith the gift of God. For we are told that "the Lord opened the heart of Lydia to attend to those things which were said by Paul." And the same apostle tells the Ephesians that they were "saved by grace through faith." Now, as the grace there mentioned preceded faith in point of time and was one of the agents in the salvation of the Ephesians, it must have been one of the elements that made faith the gift of God. I have already concisely mentioned the main acts of God in the salvation of men; and these and all His other acts which tend to produce faith concur to make it the gift of God. And faith is called a *gift*, because, in the contemplation of abstract justice, man can perform no act that will merit a treasure so great as faith. In a note to *The Path*, p. 437, I endeavored to clearly state the true view "regarding the merit of good works under the law of Christ"; but the note is too long for insertion here, and it cannot be abridged without impairing its force.

The concurrent action on the part of the seeker, in order to obtain faith, has been already stated.

God, who wishes that man should freely co-operate with his Crea-

tor in the great work of his own salvation, and thus, under the Christian theory, in some sense to merit faith, has so tempered light with darkness that the entire truths of faith, far from appearing self-evident, are surrounded with a certain haze of obscurity, which, in most cases, requires the assisting grace of God and the corresponding free and vigorous action of the will of the seeker, in order to see these truths clearly. But this grace is always given at the proper time and in the requisite measure to the seeker who properly implores it. And it is given by God to fulfil His own voluntary promise contained in His code, and which promise has thus become a matter of inviolable law, which system of law was, however, adopted through His grace and not by our merit. So that while the seeker, according to the principles of abstract justice, could never merit faith by any act of his, he can, in the contemplation of the Christian theory, merit it, as God in His mercy has promised to consider as meritorious that which has no merit in itself when judged by the law of abstract justice.

In these ways the worthy seekers obtain that abiding faith which banishes all fear that God may not have spoken—a faith which, in most cases, is greater than that which the evidences of the truth of Christianity would produce in their minds independently of the grace of God. And this is that firm and practical faith which enhances all the innocent pleasures of this life, mitigates its partial evils, and can render our old age the happiest period of our earthly existence. The true Christian is not subject to those fits of dark despair which must at times haunt the minds of unbelievers. He sees his mortal frame wasting away, and knows that he will soon sink into the dreamless grave just before him; but he fears not its cold silence and repulsive decay, because death, to him, is but “the gate of endless joy.”

“And I wondered why spirits should cling  
To their clay with a struggle and sigh;  
When life’s purple autumn is better than spring,  
And the soul flies away, like a sparrow, to sing  
In a climate where leaves never die.”

This sublime faith not only renders the Christian content and happy with his individual condition, but it should inspire him with unflinching confidence in the ultimate success of the great and beautiful cause itself. We have every reason to think that the present state of unbelief is owing to *temporary* causes, and that it will pass away when they are gone.

The great and surprising scientific discoveries and mechanical inventions of the present century have immensely increased the spirit of enterprise, have added to the means of present enjoyment, have stimulated the desire for display and the consequent eager and mer-

cenary struggle for riches, have greatly augmented the pride and self-sufficiency of the human intellect, and have thus mainly absorbed the attention of men to the temporary exclusion of religion. The rapid progress of science and invention has been the predominant fact of the nineteenth century.

But the very fact of this *rapid* progress is the strongest indication that it cannot last. Suppose the same rate of progress should continue for a thousand years, what would be the state of human knowledge at the end of that period? Who can estimate it? I have expressed the opinion that the variations of our domesticated animals have their limits, and that these limits have been substantially reached in some cases, and are not very far from them in others. I think it is just so in regard to scientific discoveries and mechanical inventions. The *greatest* and *most* difficult have been made. As a consequence the time will come when men will cease to be so much absorbed in what is called progress, and will then learn to distinguish between progress in the progressive and permanence in the permanent. Then there will come a great and mighty reaction. While all will admit the importance of these discoveries and inventions to the present comfort and happiness of the race, they will at the same time appreciate the *still greater* importance of religion. When the public mind shall have become willing to listen to the discussion of nobler and sublimer themes, then some great, comprehensive, and gifted mind, or a succession of such minds, will arise, and with irresistible logic will sweep away the many wild theories and plausible sophistries which now bewilder the minds of so many. God will be certain, in due time, to take care of His own cause.

“When obstacles and trials seem  
Like prison walls to be,  
I do the little I can do,  
And leave the rest to Thee.”

During my long and varied experience, and my careful observation of men, I found a much greater relative number of good people among the professors of Christianity than among unbelievers. For example, the former were more honest in their business dealings with their fellow-men, and more just and considerate in all other respects. It is true I found among them, but not properly of them, some of the most profound hypocrites; but “hypocrisy is the homage vice pays to virtue.” No true theory can possibly protect itself against the hypocrite. It is only the genuine coin which is counterfeited, while the base metal is not worthy of imitation. I readily admit that I found many honorable and excellent men as citizens and neighbors among those who rejected Christianity; but, at the same time, I found all the really bad people on that side. And I did not find among unbe-

lievers the highest and noblest examples of pure virtue. They do not possess the great virtues of humility and resignation, and have not the brave and patient martyr-spirit of the true believer.

I must now bring my work to a close. If I have written too much I hope the reader will forgive me. I could not well make my positions, and the reasons given in support of them, clear and intelligible to all in fewer words. If, in discussing this great subject, I shall have inadvertently said anything that will cause unnecessary pain to others, no one will regret it more than myself. What I have stated has been uttered with a kind and generous intent, and will, I believe, be generally received by my readers in the same earnest and frank spirit in which it has been written. I have no interest in this question but the simple and loyal love of truth. I *know* that my religion has been the source of the greatest happiness to me in years that have fled, and that it is still dearer to me now, and I believe will so continue to the end of my journey. Oh ! let me live the life and let me die the death of the Christian. Of my religion I can say, in the ardent and glowing words of the great St. Augustine : “ Too late have I known thee, O ancient Truth ! too late have I loved thee, O ancient Beauty ! ”

I will close this work in the language of the late Cardinal Wiseman, because I consider his observations more applicable to my humble efforts than they were to the profound and eloquent productions of his own gifted pen :

And first, I may naturally be asked what addition I consider myself to have made to the evidences of Christianity. Now, to this question I should reply with most measured reserve. I hold those evidences to be something too inwardly and deeply seated in the heart, to have their sum increased or diminished easily by the power of outward considerations. However we may require and use such proofs of its truths, as learned men have ably collected, when reasoning with the opponents of Christianity, I believe no one is conscious of clinging to its sublime doctrines and its consoling promises, on the ground of such logical demonstrations; even as an able theorist shall show you many cogent reasons, founded on the social and natural laws, why ye should love your parents, and yet both he and you know that not for those reasons have you loved them, but from a far holier and more inward impulse. And so, when we once have embraced true religion, its motives, or evidences, need not longer be sought in the reasonings of books; they become incorporated with our holiest affections; they result from our finding the necessity for our happiness of the truths they uphold; in our there discovering the key to the secrets of our nature, the solution of all mental problems, the reconciliation of all contradictions in our anomalous condition, the answer to all the solemn questions of our restless consciousness.

















