

THE
PRINCETON REVIEW.

APRIL, 1845.

No. II.

ART. I.—*The Life of Isaac Milner, D. D., F. R. S., Dean of Carlisle, President of Queen's College, and Professor of Mathematics in the University of Cambridge, &c.* By his niece, Mary Milner, author of the "Christian Mother." Second Edition abridged. London. 1844.

DR. JOHNSON once observed, in conversation, 'that no man is so important to society, that his death makes a chasm which cannot be filled up.' This sentiment is so far true, that affairs of the world never cease to go forward in some way, however many important persons are taken away; but it is not true that the space occupied by some men can immediately be filled by others. Dr. Johnson, himself, left no man behind him who entirely filled his place. The same may be said of our Washington and also of our Franklin. The same is true of Luther, Calvin, John Wesley, and others. Dr. Milner, we think, is another example of a man who left a great chasm in the literary and religious society, with which he was connected, which has not been filled to this day.

The writer of the life of this eminent man, makes an apology for the length of time which had elapsed after the death of her uncle, before this biography appeared; but she makes this sensible remark, "That the value which may be reasonably supposed to belong to a faithful Memoir of the Life and Character, of the late ISAAC MILNER, is by

ART. VI.—*The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold, D.D., late Head-Master of Rugby School, and Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford.* By Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, M. A., Fellow and Tutor of University College, Oxford. First American, from the third English Edition. The two volumes complete in one. New York. D. Appleton and Co. 1845. pp. 516, 8vo.

ALTHOUGH three, at least, of the great British Reviews have noticed this work at length, we are not deterred from making it the subject of an article. From such a heap of wealth, each critic will draw that for which he and his brethren have an affinity; and we have nowhere seen those things deduced, which most nearly relate to the interests of religion and education in America. Besides, we shall not attempt to write what may take the place of the book, but what may induce our readers to resort to it with expectation. For the preacher, the patriot, and the instructor of youth, it has a charm not surpassed, we believe it will be acknowledged, by any biography of our day. Arnold was one of those fresh, original, vigorous, genial minds, which do not appear oftener than once in an age: a character of so many sides, that it is not to be exhausted of its fascinations, by a variety of scrutinizing views. To the strength and learning of the English mind, he added much of the German enthusiasm, and all the freedom of the American. As we go on in the development of his opinions, we find amidst much to condemn, a continual approximation towards evangelical purity. Unbounded liberty of thought might have made him a rationalist, as he certainly was a latitudinarian: but it was checked by extraordinary learning, and still more by increasing faith and devotion. The bent of his whole soul was towards the religious growth of his country and his race, and, in order to this, towards such an education of youth as was never dreamed of before, amidst the stiff, traditionary methods of England. In the pursuit of this great end, he has thrown a glory around the work of education, which gives a sort of heroic grandeur to the schoolmaster, and will we trust stimulate thousands to engage in this honourable and responsible calling, with a new sense of its Christian dignity.

That we have read every page of this long memoir,

with unfailling interest, is less than we might truly say. Even where opinions are expressed, which we consider false and dangerous, they are the utterance of a liberal and a glowing mind, of a noble spirit, of a soul ever rising truthward and of one whom we love even more than we admire. It is difficult to say whether we are struck more with the generous loftiness of the sentiment, or the unaffected, sturdy, outright Attic cogency of its idiomatic English form. Happy would it be for the numerous youth who will hang over these pages, with wonder at the exuberance of Arnold's ancient learning and at his exquisite taste, if they could only have eyes to see how these very accomplishments led him to discard that feminine richness of style which cloy us, in the laboured nothings of some popular authors. He wrote too fast to write with a trick. In his sermons, as in his every-day letters, we perceive the marks of a single casting; no afterthoughts, no *purpurei panni*, none of the vaunted *limae labor*, but the pouring forth of thoughts in fusion.

Thomas Arnold was born on June 13th, 1795, at West Cowes, Isle of Wight. Till he went to Oxford, he was a shy and somewhat formal boy. From his infancy he was used to the sight of ships and soldiers; and his favourite sports were mimic battles and sea-fights. He loved the old ballads, and wrote plays. But his passion was for history and geography. At fourteen, he had inklings of the revelations which he was afterwards to learn from Niebuhr. "I verily believe," says he, "that half, at least, of the Roman history is, if not totally false, at least scandalously exaggerated." The events of his early life made deep traces. In his own handwriting, he preserved for his children, every date in the family history. How he regarded the place of his early school education, is manifest in the following passage of a journal in 1828. "Warminster, January 5th [1828]. I have not written this date for more than twenty years, and how little could I foresee when I wrote it last, what would happen to me in the interval. And now to look forward twenty years—how little can I guess of that also. Only may He in whose hands are time and eternity, keep me evermore his own; that whether I live, I may live unto him; or whether I die, I may die unto Him; may He guide me with his counsel, and after that receive me to glory, through Jesus Christ our Saviour."

In 1811, he was elected a scholar of Corpus Christi Col-

lege, Oxford. Concerning this period of his life, there are some valuable contributions from the pen of his friend Mr. Justice Coleridge. Though not among the highest in university honours, he was no common youth. Even then, he showed the daring and polemic turn which marked him through all his years. He ventured to admire Coleridge and Wordsworth, but was smitten with the love of Aristotle, Thucydides and Herodotus, a passion which never left him. Of the first of these he said, in later life: "I could not consent to send my son to a university where he would lose the study of him altogether." "I have not" he adds "forgotten *the dear old Stagyrite.*" It was a taste which contributed to masculine firmness, and made him always reject the vague, illogical generalities of the dreaming philosophy. In 1815 he was elected Fellow of Oriel College. Among the fellows at that time were Coplestone, Davison, Whately, Keble, Hawkins and Hampden. Newman and Pusey were added, after he left the society. During four years, he remained at Oxford, taking private pupils, and studying history. In December 1818 he was ordained deacon, and in 1820 he was married, having been previously settled at Laleham near Staines. There could have been little in Oxford to engender evangelical devotion; whatever high sentiments he afterwards attained, were the results of a process of breaking out from the hard integuments of the old-fashioned church of England formalism, that iciest, flintiest, ghashtiest of all sepulchral crypts. Yet he thought thus, and here is the finger-post to all his future road.

"Above all, it was necessary for a right understanding, not only of his religious opinions, but of his whole character, to enter into the peculiar feeling of love and adoration which he entertained towards our Lord Jesus Christ,—peculiar in the distinctness and intensity which, as it characterized almost all his common impressions, so in this case gave additional strength and meaning to those feelings with which he regarded not only His work of Redemption but Himself, as a living Friend and Master. 'In that unknown world in which our thoughts become instantly lost,' it was his real support and delight to remember that 'still there is one object on which our thoughts and imaginations may fasten, no less than our affections; that amidst the light, dark from excess of brilliance which surrounds the throne of God, we may yet discern the gracious form of the Son of Man,' (Serm. vol. iii. p. 90.) In that consciousness which pressed upon him at times even heavily, of the difficulty of considering God in his own nature, believing as he did that 'Providence, the Supreme Being, the Deity, and other such terms, repel us to an infinite dis

tance,' and that the revelation of the Father, in Himself unapproachable, is to be looked upon rather as the promise of another life, than as the support of this life, it was to him a thought of perhaps more than usual comfort to feel that 'our God' is 'Jesus Christ our Lord, the image of the invisible God,' and that 'in Him is represented all the fulness of the Godhead, until we know even as we are known,' (vol. v. p. 222.) And with this full conviction both of his conscience and understanding, that He of whom he spoke was 'still the very selfsame Jesus in all human affections and divine excellences ;' there was a vividness and tenderness in his conception of Him, on which, if one may so say, all his feelings of human friendship and affection seemed to fasten as on their natural object, 'bringing before him His actions, imaging to himself His very voice and look,' there was to him (so to speak) a greatness in the image thus formed of Him, on which all his natural instincts of reverence, all his range of historical interests, all his admiration of truth and goodness at once centred. 'Where can we find a name so holy as that we may surrender our whole souls to it, before which obedience, reverence without measure, intense humility, most unreserved adoration may all be duly rendered?' was the earnest inquiry of his whole nature intellectual and moral, no less than religious. And the answer to it in like manner expressed what he endeavoured to make the rule of his own personal conduct, and the centre of all his moral and religious convictions: 'One name there is, and one alone, one alone in heaven and earth—not truth, not justice, not benevolence, not Christ's mother, not His holiest servants, not his blessed sacraments, nor His very mystical body the Church, but Himself only who died for us and rose again, Jesus Christ, both God and man.' (Serm. vol. iv. p. 210.)—pp. 30. 31.

At Laleham he was a busy teacher, but he had spare time for philosophy and history, and worked at a Lexicon of Thucydides, and an edition of that author. In 1825, he became acquainted with Niebuhr's Rome, the first German work he ever read. Perhaps no man living was more prepared to appreciate the labours of the great historical revolutionist. "It is," says he, "a work of such extraordinary ability and learning, that it opened wide before my eyes the extent of my own ignorance." But he was also drawn to the greatest of sciences; and used to look back to a visit to Dr. Whately, as a marked era in the formation of his views, especially in regard to the great truth respecting the *Christian Priesthood*. In 1828, he published a volume of sermons, the following extract concerning which merits close attention.

"1. 'If the sermons are read, I do not care one farthing if the readers think me the most unclassical writer in the English language. It will only remove me to a greater distance from the men of elegant minds with whom I shall most loathe to be associated. But, how-

ever, I have looked at the sermons again, with a view to correcting the baldness which you complain of, and in some places, I have endeavoured to correct it. And I again assure you, that I will not knowingly leave unaltered any thing violent, harsh, or dogmatical. I am not conscious of the *ex cathedrâ* tone of my sermons—at least not beyond what appears to me proper in the pulpit, where one does in a manner speak *ex cathedrâ*. But I think my decided tone is generally employed in putting forward the sentiments of Scripture, not in drawing my own conclusions from it.'

"2. In answer to a complaint that 'they carry the standard so high as to unchristianize half the community,' he says, 'I do not see how the standard can be carried higher than Christ or his Apostles carry it, and I do not think that we ought to put it lower. I am sure that the habitually fixing it so much lower, especially in all our institutions and public practice, has been most mischievous.'

"3. 'I am very much gratified by what you say of my sermons; yet pained to find that their tone is generally felt to be so hard and severe. I believe the reason is, that I mostly thought of my pupils in preaching, and almost always of the higher classes, who I cannot but think have commonly very little of the 'bruised reed' about them. You must remember that I never had the regular care of a parish, and therefore have seen comparatively little of those cases of a troubled spirit, and of a fearful and anxious conscience, which require comfort far more than warning. But still, after all, I fear that the *intense mercy of the Gospel* has not been so prominently represented as it should have been, while I have been labouring to express its purity.'"—p. 43.

In June, 1828, he received what are called Priest's orders, and in April and November of the same year, took the degrees of B. D. and D. D., and in August, entered on the mastership of Rugby school. The American reader needs to be reminded that the great English schools are unlike anything known among us: differing from our academies in the number of students and the thoroughness and extent of classical training; and from our colleges, in the old-time peculiarities of flogging, constant presence of the teachers, and corporal liabilities. For such a station he had been laboriously preparing himself. The year before, he had visited Rome, and had become acquainted with the Chevalier Bunsen, successor to Niebuhr as Prussian minister at the papal court. He thought, and it was the thought of a learned, a wise and Christian soul, that no charge could be more sacred, than that of training young men for Christ. The deep seriousness of his religious views, even when he was lamentably in the dark as to the intense mercy of the gospel, made him shudder at the hypocritical time-serving bias of sundry clergymen. "I met five Englishmen at the public table at our inn at Milan, who gave me great matter for

cogitation. One was a clergyman, and just returned from Egypt; the rest were young men, i. e. between twenty-five and thirty, and apparently of no profession. I may safely say, that since I was an under-graduate, I never heard any conversation so profligate as that which they all indulged in, the clergyman particularly; indeed, it was not merely gross, but avowed principles of wickedness, such as I do not remember ever to have heard in Oxford. But what struck me most was, that with this sensuality there was united some intellectual activity; they were not ignorant, but seemed bent on gaining a great variety of solid information from their travels. Now this union of vice and intellectual power and knowledge seems to me rather a sign of the age, and if it goes on, it threatens to produce one of the most fearful forms of Antichrist which has yet appeared."

He longed for reformation. All his fine taste, all his love for antiquity, did not blind him to the abuses of popery; his was not the mind to be caught with the middle-age trumpery of sculptured idolatry and painted mysticism; he saw and he loathed the very objects which Newman and Pusey sighed to borrow from the papists; of whom he said: "In Italy they seem to me to have no more title to the name [of Christians] than if the statues of Venus and Juno occupied the place of those of the virgin. It is just the old Heathenism, and, as I should think, with a worse system of deceit." He was full of such views, when he took his mastership. He desired to make Rugby "a place of Christian education." We cannot omit this characteristic snatch: "We are all in the midst of confusion; the books all packed, and half the furniture; and on Tuesday, if God will, we shall leave this dear place, this nine years' home of such exceeding happiness. But it boots not to look backwards. Forwards, forwards, forwards,—should be one's motto. I trust you will see us in our new dwelling ere long; I shall want to see my old friends there, to wear off the gloss of its newness."

At Rugby, Dr. Arnold spent fourteen years of his life; years of intense, enthusiastic, fruitful action. To the frivolous and ignorant, and to those who never consider the priceless diamond of a boy's soul, he seemed to be buried,—a mere schoolmaster. "What a pity," said such, "that a man fit to be a statesman should be employed in teaching school-boys!" He lived to show them very fearfully, that he was at a post of power; and, being dead, he yet speak-

eth. Every day, for these fourteen years, he was struggling through that self-education which he believed to belong to a teacher. All his religion and all his politics, as well as all his learning, bore on this. With an order, a persistency, and a fearlessness, which were not less than those of great commanders, he carried out his fixed idea, in spite of public sneers, and eventual slander and enmity. He was resolved to act forth his conviction. "Christian education" was his word. And the religion was not to be a simple addendum, or a simple ingredient, but the prime, actuating power of the whole affair. All other teaching was to be, not collateral, but subsidiary to the rearing of noble English boys in Christianity. It was a grand conception. Would to God, that our schools and colleges were baptized with a spirit, which is professed in the constitution of every one of them! No wonder he left his impression on his work.

"But whatever interest attaches to the more external circumstances of his administration, and to his relations with others, who were concerned in it, is of course centred in his own personal government of the boys. The natural effect of his concentration of interest on what he used to call 'our great self,' the school, was that the separate existence of the school was in return almost merged in him. This was not indeed his own intention, but it was precisely because he thought so much of the institution and so little of himself, that, in spite of his efforts to make it work independently of any personal influence of his own, it became so thoroughly dependent upon him, and so thoroughly penetrated with his spirit. From one end of it to the other, whatever defects it had were his defects; whatever excellencies it had were his excellencies. It was not the master who was beloved or disliked for the sake of the school, but the school which was beloved or disliked for the sake of the master. Whatever peculiarity of character was impressed on the scholars whom it sent forth, was derived not from the genius of the place, but from the genius of the man. Throughout, whether in the school itself, or in its after effects, the one image we have before us is not Rugby, but

ARNOLD.

"What was his great object has already appeared from his letters; namely, the hope of making the school a place of really Christian education; words which in his mouth meant something very different from the general professions which every good teacher must be supposed to make, and which no teacher even in the worst times of English education could have openly ventured to disclaim; but which it is exceedingly difficult so to explain, as that they shall not seem to exceed or fall short of the truth.

"It was not an attempt merely to give more theological instruction, or to introduce sacred words into school admonitions; there may have been some occasions for religious advice that might have been turned to more advantage, some religious practices which

might have been more constantly or effectually encouraged. His design arose out of the very nature of his office: the relation of an instructor to his pupils was to him, like all the other relations of human life, only in a healthy state, when subordinate to their common relation to God. 'The business of a schoolmaster,' he used to say, 'no less than that of a parish minister, is the cure of souls.' The idea of a Christian school, again, was to him the natural result, so to speak, of the very idea of a school in itself; exactly as the idea of a Christian State seemed to him to be involved in the very idea of a state itself. The intellectual training was not for a moment underrated, and the machinery of the school was left to have its own way. But he looked upon the whole as bearing on the advancement of the one end of all instruction and education; the boys were still treated as schoolboys, but as schoolboys who must grow up to be Christian men; whose age did not prevent their faults from being sins, or their excellences from being noble and Christian virtues; whose situation did not of itself make the application of Christian principles to their daily lives an impracticable vision.

"His education, in short, it was once observed amidst the vehement outcry by which he used to be assailed, was not (according to the popular phrase) based upon religion, but was itself *religious*. It was this chiefly which gave a oneness to his work amidst a great variety of means and occupations, and a steadiness to the general system amidst its almost unceasing change. It was this which makes it difficult to separate one part of his work from another, and which often made it impossible for his pupils to say, in after life, of much that had influenced them, whether they had derived it from what was spoken in school, in the pulpit, or in private. And, therefore, when either in direct religious teaching, or on particular occasions, Christian principles were expressly introduced by him, they had not the appearance of a rhetorical flourish, or of a temporary appeal to the feelings; they were looked upon as the natural expression of what was constantly implied: it was felt that he had the power, in which so many teachers have been deficient, of saying what he did mean, and of not saying what he did not mean,—the power of doing what was right, and speaking what was true, and thinking what was good, independently of any professional or conventional notions that so to act, speak, or think, was becoming or expedient."

"Perhaps the liveliest representation of this general spirit, as distinguished from its exemplification in particular parts of the discipline and instruction, would be formed by recalling his manner, as he appeared in the great school, where the boys used to meet when the whole school was assembled collectively, and not in its different forms or classes. Then, whether on his usual entrance every morning to prayers before the first lesson, or on the more special emergencies which might require his presence, he seemed to stand before them, not merely as the head-master, but as the representative of the school. There he spoke to them as members together with himself of the same great institution, whose character and reputation they had to sustain as well as he. He would dwell on the satisfaction he had in being head of a society, where noble and honourable feelings were encouraged, or on the disgrace which he felt in hearing of acts

of disorder or violence, such as in the humbler ranks of life would render them amenable to the laws of their country; or again, on the trust which he placed in their honour as gentlemen, and the baseness of any instance in which it was abused. 'Is this a Christian school?' he indignantly asked at the end of one of those addresses, in which he had spoken of an extensive display of bad feeling amongst the boys, and then added,—'I cannot remain here if all is to be carried on by constraint and force; if I am to be here as a gaoler, I will resign my office at once.' And few scenes can be recorded more characteristic of him than on one of these occasions, when, in consequence of a disturbance, he had been obliged to send away several boys, and when, in the midst of the general spirit of discontent which this excited, he stood in his place before the assembled school, and said, 'It is *not* necessary that this should be a school of three hundred, or one hundred, or of fifty boys; but it is necessary that it should be a school of Christian gentlemen.'—p. 77.

"His own determination had been fixed long before he came to Rugby, and it was only after ascertaining that his power in this respect would be absolute, that he consented to become a candidate for the post. The retention of boys who were clearly incapable of deriving good from the system, or whose influence on others was decidedly and extensively pernicious, seemed to him not a necessary part of the trials of school, but an inexcusable and intolerable aggravation of them. 'Till a man learns that the first, second, and third duty of a schoolmaster is to get rid of unpromising subjects, a great public school,' he said, 'will never be what it might be, and what it ought to be.' The remonstrances which he encountered, both on public and private grounds, were vehement and numerous. But on these terms alone had he taken his office: and he solemnly and repeatedly declared, that on no other terms could he hold it, or justify the existence of the public school system in a Christian country."—p. 83.

We have made these extracts because we believe they contain the very spirit which, more than all things else, would give a blessing to the colleges of our country. It is the restoration of genuine and exalted Christianity to that place in our education which it holds in our ideal schedule, that would make our public institutions engines of glorious power for the country and the church.

The whole chapter concerning Dr. Arnold's school-methods is admirably written; but it is long, and does not admit of abridgment. He was a champion for classical studies; being himself a striking example of the power which they convey when pursued with large and philosophical views. While he spurned the word-catching littleness of small critics and pedants, he was equally opposed to the superficial, smattering plan, which, among us, makes it the whole business of schools (to use a provincial phrase) "to fit for college." He knew what learning was, both as

a scholar and a teacher, and he therefore shunned the compendious methods, *cane pejus et angue*. To the use of Latin verse, which he had once regarded as "one of the most contemptible prettinesses of the understanding," "I am becoming," he said, "in my old age more and more a convert." Greek and Latin grammars, in English, were introduced by him on his arrival, as they have been everywhere in America: he lived to regret this, "because the rules which in Latin fixed themselves in the boys' memories, when learned in English were forgotten."

Dr. Arnold was the first Englishman who drew attention in public schools, to the historical, political and philosophical value of philology and of the ancient writers, as distinguished from the anxious criticism of the preceding age. He gave great attention to the practice of original composition, always in subserviency to the great maxim which is death to mannerism, and which is illustrated by every page he ever wrote, that *the thought is the style*. The subjects given out by him for prose composition, during the last half-year of his life, speak for themselves, and deserve to be pondered by all teachers among us.* The perpetual spring

* "1. The difference between advantages and merits.

"2. On the excellences of Translation, and some of its difficulties.

"3. I've heard of hearts unkind, kind decds

With coldness still returning,

Alas! the gratitude of men

Hath oftener left me mourning.

"4. Conversation between Thomas Aquinas, James Watt, and Sir Walter Scott.

"5. How far the dramatic faculty is compatible with the love of truth.

"6. The principal events and men of England, France, Germany, and Holland, A. D. 1600.

"7. The ideal is superior to the real.

"8. The good and evil which resulted from the seven years' war.

"9. Cogitamus secundum naturam, loquimur ex præceptis, agimus e consuetudine. (Bacon.)

"10. Magnus esse debet historiam legentibus fructus, superioris ævi calamitates cum hæc nostrâ humanitate et tranquillitate conferentibus.

"11. Parum valet rerum ipsarum scientia, nisi accedat ingenii vigor, quæ informem molcm in veram doctrinam effingat.

"12. Henricus Jenkys, jam extremâ senectute, quæ in tam longâ vitâ memoriâ dignissima viderit, nepotibus enarrat.

"13. An bene constitutum sit debitoris non bona tantum, sed etiam corpus creditori esse obnoxium.

"14. Franco-Gallorum exercitus, devictâ inferiori Ægypto, auperiorem et urbem Thebas ingreditur.

"15. De sæculo, quo Esaias vaticinia sua edidit.

"16. Diversi nuntii a Novoburiensi prælio Londinum et Oxoniam pervenientes.

"17. Oxoniæ descriptio, qualem redivivus describeret Herodotus. (Greek.)

of his mind led him to act on the principle, that a teacher ought to be always learning, and so constantly above the level of his scholars. Like every great teacher, he glowed with zeal for his own subjects, and hence transferred the enthusiasm to his boys. This saved him from routine instruction, and from dealing forth the mortal, thrice-cooked *crambe* of former years. His writings show how his mind was acted on by his daily study of the ancients; and half-learned dealers in mongrel fustian might learn from him the secret, that more Greek and Latin would help them to wield purer and stronger English. The preachers and lecturers who drive us to our dictionaries, would have made his attic lip curl with scorn. Hence, as he wrote the same sort of fire-side idiom which one sees in Gifford, Isaac Milner, and Whately, he had a warm side for even the racier Plautine language of Bunyan and of Cobbett. Alas! we would try the same, were it not that it does not come by trying: yet Bentley and Porson and Fox attained it, by the same method, the thorough study of the ancients. One of the ways in which such a study works such a result, is shown by the following passage.

"In the common lessons, his scholarship was chiefly displayed in his power of extempore translation into English. This he had possessed in a remarkable degree from the time that he was a boy at

"18. Quæ in quascunque regiones peregrinantibus præcipuè notanda.

"19. Alexander Babylonem ingreditur, neque ita multò post morbo correptus, inter summum suorum fletum et dolorem animum exiit.

"20. Africa provincia, postquam Romanis subjecta esset, quæ potissimum vices usque ad hanc ætatem subierit.

"21. Non ea est vitæ nostræ ratio ut sciamus omnia, neque ut de omnibus incerti dubitemus; sed ut neque scientes planè, neque ignorantes, probabili causâ moti credamus.

"22. Definiantur voces quæ sequuntur, τὸ τίμιον, τὸ καλὸν, ἑκκλησία, fides: necnon voces Anglicæ.—'revolution,' 'philosophy,' 'art,' 'religion,' 'duty,' 'romantic,' 'sublime,' 'pretty.'

"23. Judæus quidam Athenas devectus Socrati de republicâ et puerorum institutione disputanti forte auditorem se et interrogatorem præbet.

"24. De veris rerum miraculis.

"25. De primævis animalibus et terræ hujus mirandis vicibus,

"26. Europam per ætatem anni 1815 circumvectus, quem rerum statum apud singulos populos offendisset.

"27. Descriptio monasterii, quæ sit singularum domi partium distributio, qualemque ibi vitam degant monachi.

"28. De celeberrimis quæ in omni memoriâ scriptæ sunt legibus.

"29. Calendarium naturale.

"30. Ea demum vera est voluptas quæ non tam spe delectat, quam recordatione præterita—('Look not on pleasures as they come, but go.')

—pp.462,463.

Winchester, where the practice of reading the whole passage from Greek or Latin into good English, without construing each particular sentence word by word, had been much encouraged by Dr. Gabell, and in his youthful vacations during his Oxford course he used to enliven the sick-bed of his sister Susannah by the readiness with which in the evenings he would sit down by her side, and translate book after book of the history of Herodotus. So essential did he consider this method to a sound study of the classics, that he published an elaborate defence of it in the Quarterly Journal of Education; and, when delivering his Modern History lectures at Oxford, where he much lamented the prevalence of the opposite system, he could not resist the temptation of protesting against it, with no other excuse for introducing the subject, than the mention of the Latin style of the middle age historians. In itself he looked upon it as the only means of really entering into the spirit of the ancient authors; and, requiring as he did besides, that the translation should be made into idiomatic English, and if possible, into that style of English which most corresponded to the period or the subject of the Greek or Latin writer in question, he considered it further as an excellent exercise in the principles of taste and in the knowledge and use of the English language, no less than of those of Greece or Rome. No one must suppose that these translations in the least resembled the paraphrases in his notes to Thucydides, which are avowedly not translations, but explanations; he was constantly on the watch for any inadequacy or redundancy of expression—the version was to represent, and no more than represent, the exact words of the original; and those who, either as his colleagues or his pupils, were present at his lessons, well knew the accuracy with which every shade of meaning would be reproduced in a different shape, and the rapidity with which he would pounce on any mistake of grammar or construction, however dexterously concealed in the folds of a free translation.”—p. 95.

The independent mind of Arnold did not relish indiscriminately all that is brought down in the ‘huge drag-net’ of antiquity. Though constantly reading the Greek tragedies, he thought them overrated; and as to the second-rate Latin poets, such as Tibullus and Propertius, he said: “I do really think that any examiners incur a serious responsibility who require or encourage the reading of these books for scholarships; of all useless reading, surely the reading of indifferent poets is most useless.” He clung to Demosthenes; of Thucydides, he spoke with affectionate familiarity, having him almost by heart; in later life, he added Plato to the “dear old Stagyritye;” Herodotus and Homer were to him what they have been to all great learned men.

But over and above all this, religion towered, as the presiding genius of his school. The following extract, and especially its closing sentences, may well rebuke many a Christian seminary in our own land.

“Before entering on his instructions in theology, which both for himself and his scholars had most peculiar interest, it is right to notice the religious character which more or less pervaded the rest of the lessons. When his pupils heard him in preaching recommend them ‘to note in any common work that they read, such judgments of men and things, and such a tone in speaking of them as are manifestly at variance with the spirit of Christ,’ (Serm. vol. iii. p. 116,) or when they heard him ask ‘whether the Christian ever feels more keenly awake to the purity of the spirit of the Gospel, than when he reads the history of crimes related with no true sense of their evil,’ (Serm. vol. ii. p. 223,) instances would immediately occur to them from his own practice, to prove how truly he felt what he said. No direct instruction could leave on their minds a livelier image of his disgust at moral evil, than the black cloud of indignation which passed over his face when speaking of the crimes of Napoleon, or of Cæsar, and the dead pause which followed, as if the acts had just been committed in his very presence. No expression of his reverence for a high standard of Christian excellence could have been more striking than the almost involuntary expressions of admiration which broke from him whenever mention was made of St. Louis of France. No general teaching of the providential government of the world could have left a deeper impression, than the casual allusions to it, which occurred as they came to any of the critical moments in the history of Greece and Rome. No more forcible contrast could have been drawn between the value of Christianity and heathenism, than the manner with which, for example, after reading in the earlier part of the lesson one of the Scripture descriptions of the Gentile world, ‘Now,’ he said, as he opened the Satires of Horace, ‘we shall see what it was.’

“Still it was in the scripture lessons that this found most scope. In the lower forms it was rather that more prominence was given to them, and that they were placed under better regulations than that they were increased in amount. In the Sixth Form, besides the lectures on Sunday, he introduced two lectures on the Old or New Testament in the course of the week, so that a boy who remained there three years would often have read through a great part of the New Testament, much of the Old Testament, and especially of the Psalms in the Septuagint version, and also committed much of them to memory; whilst at times he would deliver lectures on the history of the early Church, or of the English Reformation. In these lessons on the scriptures he would insist much on the importance of familiarity with the very words of the sacred writers, and of the exact place where passages occurred; on a thorough acquaintance with the different parts of the story contained in the several gospels, that they might be referred to at once; on the knowledge of the times when, and the persons to whom, the Epistles were written.”—pp. 97, 98.

Among many errors, which however fell off like unripe figs, one by one, Arnold possessed the root of the matter, and in it the vivifying, formative principle, which made his whole religious life a tendency toward the Cross. His religion was summed up in one word—Christ. In the very

paragraphs in which his caustic satire falls on the "Evangelicals," he often reveals the feelings which were bringing him daily nearer to their ground. "He seemed," says a pupil, "to have the freshest view of our Lord's life and death that I ever knew a man to possess. His rich mind filled up the naked outline of the gospel history; it was to him the most interesting *fact* that has ever happened—as real, as *exciting* (if I may use the expression) as any recent event in modern history of which the actual effects are visible." This flowed forth in the sermons which he preached to the boys. They were fresh in every sense. As they were always delivered in the afternoon, they were written almost invariably between the morning and afternoon service, so that the ink of the last sentence was not always dry when the chapel-bell began to sound." "A man," he said, "could hardly preach on the same subject, without writing a better sermon than he had written a few years before." Tried by the standard of a more complete theology, there is doubtless in these sermons a lamentable want of full and gracious views of Christ and the gospel; yet how unspeakably is their tone raised above that of the tinkling cymbal which is too often appended to the "excellent liturgy!" And the effect of all this teaching was acknowledged at Oxford, as we learn from Dr. Moberly, Head Master at Winchester.

"Possibly," he writes, after describing his own recollections as a schoolboy, "other schools may have been less deep in these delinquencies than Winchester; I believe that in many respects they were. But I did not find, on going to the University, that I was under disadvantages as compared with those who came from other places; on the contrary, the tone of young men at the University, whether they came from Winchester, Eton, Rugby, Harrow, or wherever else, was universally irreligious. A religious undergraduate was very rare, very much laughed at when he appeared; and I think I may confidently say, hardly to be found among public-school men; or, if this be too strongly said, hardly to be found, except in cases where private and domestic training, or good dispositions, had prevailed over the school habits and tendencies. A most singular and striking change has come upon our public schools—a change too great for any person to appreciate adequately, who has not known them in both these times. This change is undoubtedly part of a general improvement of our generation in respect of piety and reverence, but I am sure that to Dr. Arnold's personal earnest simplicity of purpose, strength of character, power of influence, and piety, which none who ever came near him could mistake or question, the carrying of this improvement into our schools is mainly attributable. He was the first. It soon began to be matter of observation to us in

the University, that his pupils brought quite a different character with them to Oxford than that which we knew elsewhere. I do not speak of opinions; but his pupils were thoughtful, manly-minded, conscious of duty and obligation, when they first came to college; we regretted, indeed, that they were often deeply imbued with principles which we disapproved, but we cordially acknowledged the immense improvement in their characters in respect of morality and personal piety, and looked on Dr. Arnold as exercising an influence for good, which (for how many years I know not) had been absolutely unknown to our public schools."—p. 118.

Passing to another field of his influence, we may class Dr. Arnold's published works among the most remarkable of his day. Among these are his Sermons, of which five volumes have appeared, the last being posthumous. They were preached in 1829, at Laleham; from 1832 to 1842, in Rugby chapel. To these must be added his two Sermons on Prophecy, 1839. Then come his 'Fragments on Church and State;' one of which has been published separately; the others are to appear. In Philology, the Edition of Thucydides was first printed in 1839. It exhibited the learning which was not rare in similar British works, with an enlarged view of historical philosophy, which was all his own. Between 1838 and 1842, he produced his great work, the 'History of Rome,' which was broken off by his death, at the end of the Second Punic War. In 1842 the 'Introductory Lectures to Modern History,' delivered in his professorship at Oxford, were given to the public. Besides these, he was the author of nine pamphlets; and among the topics treated in them were, 'The Christian Duty of conceding the Roman Catholic Claims,' 1828; the 'Principles of Church Reform,' 1833; the 'Revival of the Order of Deacons,' 1841. To the Edinburgh Review, he contributed two articles, on the 'Letters of an Episcopalian,' 1826; on 'The Hampden Controversy,' 1836. To the Quarterly, a review of Niebuhr, 1825. To the British Critic, the reviews of 'Wat Tyler,' and 'De Rancé,' 1819-20; and to the Quarterly Journal of Education, the papers on 'Rugby School,' and on 'the Discipline of Public Schools, by a Wykehamist,' 1834-35.

Dr. Arnold's authorship was a fruit of the same inward impulse which carried forward his school-labours. He loved his country, with all the passion of a Roman. He longed, he burned, for her subjugation to Christian truth. Hence his pen, to borrow a famous expression, seemed to set the paper on fire. "I have a testimony to deliver"—"I must

write or die"—these were his expressions. "It is in my nature always to attack that evil that seems to me most present." So his opinions, religious and political, being the natural and irrepressible efflux of his individuality, could not be assorted with those of any party in church or state. As to the green withs of traditionary prelatical dogmas, which lace and benumb smaller minds, his burning soul brake them 'as a thread of tow is broken when it toucheth the fire.' The chimera, called the Church, which has usurped all the divine marks of God's elect bride, he viewed in its true light. "When I hear men talk of the Church," he used to say, "I cannot help recalling how Abbé Sièyes replied to the question, 'What is the Tiers Etat?' by saying, 'La nation, moins la noblesse et le clergè;' and so I, if I were asked, What are the laity? would answer, The Church minus the Clergy." "This," he said, "is the view taken of the Church in the New Testament; can it be said that it is the view held amongst ourselves, and if not, is not the difference incalculable?" It was as frustrating the union of all Christians, in accomplishing what he believed to be the true end enjoined by their common Master, that he felt so strongly against the desire for uniformity of opinion or worship, which he used to denounce under the name of sectarianism; it was as annihilating what he believed to be the apostolical idea of a Church, that he felt so strongly against that principle of separation between the clergy and laity, which he used to denounce under the name of priestcraft. "As far as the principle on which Archbishop Laud and his followers acted went to reactuate the idea of the Church, as a co-ordinate and living power, by virtue of Christ's institution and express promise, I go along with them, but I soon discover that by the Church they meant the clergy, the hierarchy exclusively, and there I fly off from them at a tangent. For it is this very interpretation of the Church that, according to my conviction, constituted the first and fundamental apostacy." Such was the motto from Coleridge's Remains, which he selected as the full expression of his own views, and it was as realizing this idea, that he turned eagerly to all institutions which seemed likely to impress on Christians the moral, as distinct from the ceremonial character of their religion, the equal responsibility and power which they possessed, not "as friends or honorary members" of the Church, but as its most essential parts. Such (to make intelligible, by a few instances, what

in general language must be obscure) was his desire to revive the order of deacons, as a link between the clergy and laity—his defence of the union of laymen with clerical synods, of clergy with the civil legislature—his belief that an authoritative permission to administer the Eucharist, as well as Baptism, might be beneficially granted to civil or military officers, in congregations where it was impossible to procure the presence of clergy—his wish for the restoration of Church discipline, “which never can and never ought to be restored, till the Church puts an end to the usurpation of her powers by the clergy; and which, though it must be vain when opposed to public opinion, yet, when it is the expression of that opinion, can achieve any thing.”

We need not wonder that Keble should break with a man who could write—“I never have thought that what people call the Primitive Church, and much less the Anti-Nicene Church more generally, was any better authority *per se*, than the Church of Rome, or the Greek Church.” Nay, he writes worse, even the essence of damning dissent, when he thus addresses Dr. Hawkins:

“Now, to insist on the necessity of Episcopacy, is exactly like insisting on the necessity of circumcision; both are and were lawful, but to insist on either as *necessary*, is unchristian, and binding the Church with a yoke of carnal ordinances; and the reason why circumcision, although expressly commanded once, was declared not binding upon Christians, is much stronger against the binding nature of Episcopacy, which never was commanded at all; the reason being, that all forms of government and ritual are in the Christian Church indifferent and are to be decided by the Church itself, *pro temporum et locorum ratione*, ‘the Church’ not being the clergy, but the congregation of Christians.

“If you will refer me to any book which contains what you think the truth, put sensibly, on the subject of the Apostolical Succession, I shall really be greatly obliged to you to mention it. I went over the matter again in the holidays with Warburton and Hooker; and the result was a complete confirmation of the views, which I have entertained for years, and a more complete appreciation of the confusions on which the High Church doctrine rests, and of the causes which have led to its growth at different times.

“By the way, I never accused Keble or Newman of saying, that to belong to a true Church would save a bad man; but of what is equally unchristian, that a good man was not safe unless he belonged to an Episcopal Church; which is exactly not allowing God’s seal without it be countersigned by one of their own forging. Nor did I say, they were bad men, but much the contrary; though I think that their doctrine, which they believe, I doubt not, to be true, is in itself schismatical, profane, and unchristian. And I think it highly important that the evils of the doctrine should be shown in the

strongest terms; but no word of mine has impeached the sincerity or general character of the men; and, in this respect, I will carefully avoid every expression that may be thought uncharitable"—pp. 227, 228.

Such opposition, from any one, might well disturb the vigils of those whose mental discipline was among the martyrologies of the age of ignorance, or the figure and hues of lecterns, faldstools, altar-linen, and tiles for ehaneels, or conspiring in dim conelave the reproduction of every carved cross or mitre which came from the tool of monastic serfs and idolatrous devotees; but from one who equal to each of them in his book-craft, and more than equal to them all in discourse and conflict of argument, it was what returning Achilles was to Troy. He knew, and he laughed to scorn, the gaping admiration with which such men glorified every abuse or accident of the ehureh, and sprinkled holy water not only on the shrine, but on every ladder and scaffold; and he hit it off well, in a similitude, when speaking of the Anglican ecelesiastical constitution; "if that may be said to have a constitution which never was constituted, but was left as avowedly unfinished as Cologne Cathedral, where they left a erane standing on one of the half-built towers, three hundred years ago, and have renewed the crane from time to time, as it wore out, as a sign not only that the building was incomplete, but that the friends of the Church hoped to finish the work whenever they could. Had it been in England, the erane would have been speedily destroyed, and the friends of the Church would have said that the Chureh was finished perfectly already, and that none but its enemies would dare to suggest that it wanted any thing to eomplete its symmetry and usefulness." Hence his generous heart went forth to men who had received no prelati cal anointing, as those who should help forward Christ's eause. "I hear," he writes to the Chevalier Bunsen, "both from India and the Mediterranean, the most delightful aecounts of the zeal and resources of the American Missionaries, that none are doing so much in the cause of Christ as they are. *They will take our place in the world, I think not unworthily*, though with far less advantages, in many respects, than those which we have so fatally wasted." His learning and his standing were such that he could afford to speak such things, better than some among us, whose ehief stock resides in the hat, the gesture, the poorly-mimicked forms, and daily bells of the worst and weakest of British churehmen; and who,

as we heard a witty friend say, make up in 'sounding brass' what they lack in 'charity.' Strange as it must appear to this class, Arnold actually recommends Doddridge's *Rise and Progress*, in connexion with Taylor's *Holy Living*. He was for admitting Dissenters to the Universities; and, speaking of this point, touches the thing with the needle's point, by saying: "It is vain to deny, that *the Church of England clergy have politically been a party in the country*, from Elizabeth's time downward, and a party opposed to the cause, which, in the main, has been the cause of improvement." Let a few more Arnolds arise in the establishment, and we shall see a renewal, under better auspices, of the experiment, which nobly though unsuccessfully sought to rid free-born Englishmen from the yoke of priestcraft and prescription, in the seventeenth century. Full of these indignant feelings towards the assumptions of High-Churchmen, he wrote passages never to be forgiven, " 'on the fanatacism which has been the peculiar disgrace of the Church of England,' 'a dress, a ritual, a name, a ceremony, a technical phraseology,—the superstition of a priesthood without its power,—the form of Episcopal government without its substance—a system imperfect and paralyzed, not independent, not sovereign,—afraid to cast off the subjection against which it was perpetually murmuring,—objects so pitiful, that, if gained ever so completely, they would make no man the wiser, or the better; they would lead to no good, intellectual, moral, or spiritual.' (Ed. Rev. vol. lxiii. p. 235)".

The majority of American Episcopalians dare not whisper in their secret chambers such declarations as abound in the writings of the Oxford professor. "The intolerance of their presumption in calling themselves the only true Church, would, to my mind, go very near to decide against them; but in all respects they seem to me to resemble those fanatical sects, which have from time to time arisen, and will do so to the end of the world." "I have been looking through the Tracts, which are to me a memorable proof of their idolatry; some of the idols are better than others, some being indeed as very a 'truncus ficulnus' as ever the most degraded superstition worshipped; but, as to Christianity, there is more of it in any one of Mrs. Sherwood's or Mrs. Cameron's, or indeed of any of the Tract Society's, than in all the two Oxford octavos. And these men would exclude John Bunyan, and Mrs. Fry, and John Howard,

from Christ's Church, while they exalt the Nonjurors into confessors, and Laud into a Martyr!" Nor did he wish to sit and say these things, among his boys at Rugby, where none could reply. The spirit of his opposition to Newmanism is clearly and characteristically displayed, in a letter of 1836, to Archbishop Whately :

"I never yet in my life made any application for preferment, nor have I desired it. But I confess, if Hampden is to be made a Bishop, I wish that they would put me in his place at Oxford. I should be a very great loser in point of income by the change, and, till lately, I have never fancied that I could be more useful any where else than at Rugby. But I think under present circumstances that I could do much more good at Oxford. I could not supply your place, but I could supply it better than it is supplied now. I should have a large body of very promising young men disposed to listen to me for old affection's sake, and my fondness for young men's society would soon bring others about me whom I might influence. I should be of weight from my classical knowledge, and I am old enough now to set down many of the men who are foremost in spreading their mischief, and to give some sanction of authority to those who think as I do, but who at present want a man to lean upon. . . . They could not get up the same clamour against me, for the bugbear of Apostolical Succession would not do, and it would puzzle even — to get up a charge of Socinianism against me out of my Sermons. *Furthermore, my spirit of pugnaciousness would rejoice in fighting out the battle with the Judaizers, as it were in a saw-pit.* . . . I am satisfied that we should live in Oxford amidst any quantity of abuse unhurt in health or spirits, and I should expatiate as heretofore in Bagley Wood and on Shotover."—p. 282.

He hated the revived popish system, in its principle : it set something in the place of Christ. "It is clear to me, that Newman and his party are idolaters ; they put Christ's church, and Christ's sacraments, and Christ's ministers, in the place of Christ himself." And hence he blew away, as a man blows away his child's soap-bubble, the laboured arguments against scrutiny of these mysterious rubricalities, produced by Dr. Pusey, the darkest and feeblest, and most anile, though most noted of all their reasoners. "According to Pusey, the forty-fourth chapter of Isaiah is Rationalism, and the man who bowed down to the stock of a tree was an humble man, who did not inquire but believe. But if Isaiah be right, and speaks the words of God, then Pusey, and the man who bowed down to the stock of a tree, should learn that God is not served by folly."

Dr. Arnold was a man so entirely loose from the harness of any party, and so bold in his expressions, that we run the risk of misrepresenting his system of ecclesiastical poli-

ty, when we try to gather it from the *membra disjecta* of his tracts and letters. We shall be safest, in rehearsing as often as may be his own words. Every sentence should be read with this caution, that his position was that of assault. Groaning with a heart and mind bursting for Christian freedom, and stung to the quick, as a freeman and a scholar, by the impudent sneers of those who laid claim to exclusive erudition and taste, in behalf of hoary abuses and puling mock-devotion, Arnold struck out in every direction, with British courage and gospel *παρρησία*, at everything which bore the guise of despotism and hierarchy. All the Greek and all the Roman maxims concerning freedom of thought and action, derived from his life-long acquaintance with the classics, wrought in him, as they did in Milton, to force out invective against the paltry copyists, who dreamed in the light of painted windows and the pinched-up contours of saints' images, till they forgot the forms of truth and beauty in these grotesques of the middle age. To his mind, the Church was a great idea, highly abstracted from all temporary or conventional forms, and still more rejecting the narrow, petrified, half-gothic working-model of the popish era, as this was held up for the pattern, by Newman, Sewell, and Ward. He would, doubtless, have admired, as much as they, and on principles far more enlarged, all that is beautiful in Latin hymns, pointed architecture, or the prettinesses of material and optical devotion, which shine in the splendid volumes of Pugin. He even overstepped the mark, in favouring pictures and other implements of superstition, as aids of piety; but all the shades of ancient sages and fathers of the best age would have risen to scorn him, if he had sat down with the Newmanites to guess the shape of the cross in every house and every object of nature, where it is descried by the infantine perspicacity of Sewell, or to pick out the sacred emblem in the mullions of windows or the diaper-work of altar-cloths. The Cross and the Church were something more sublime for him: and they equally outshone all the glories of the Anglican hierarchy, orders, rites, and rubrics. Hence he could no more comprehend their way of looking at the Church, than a New Testament disciple could have done. "I never can make out," he writes to Dr. Hawkins, "from any body except the strong Newmanites, what the essence of Episcopacy is supposed to be."—"W. Law holds this ground: there must be a succession in order to keep up the myste-

rious gift bestowed on the priesthood, which gift makes Baptism wash away sin, and converts the elements in the Lord's Supper into effectual means of grace. This is intelligible and consistent, though I believe it to be in the highest degree false and Antichristian." Hence he looked on Dissenters as fellow Christians and fellow Britons, who had been thrust out of their rights. "If we sacrifice that phantom *Uniformity*, which has been our curse ever since the Reformation, I am fully persuaded that a union might be effected without difficulty." He was at length resolved, therefore, "to cling," as he says in one of his later letters, "not from choice, but from necessity, to the protestant tendency of laying the whole stress on Christian Religion, and adjourning his idea of the Church sine die." As the want of religion in others produces ritualism, so its presence in him led towards the gospel and away from Rome. "It has seemed to me," he writes to Coleridge, "that an extreme fondness for our 'dear mother the panther'* is a snare to which the noblest minds are most liable. It seems to me that all, absolutely all, of our religious affections and veneration should go to Christ himself, and that protestantism, catholicism, and every other name which expresses Christianity and some differentia or proprium besides, is so far an evil, and when made an object of attachment, leads to superstition and error." So far was he from thinking that Christianity had settled into the Anglican shape as its final crystallization, that he even forbodes a day "when the Constitution must fall to save the Commonwealth, and the Church of England perish for the sake of the Church of Christ." The Church had become, he asserted, "an affair of clergy, not of people, of preaching and ceremonies, not of living, of Sundays and synagogues, instead of one of all days and all places, houses, streets, towns, and country." From this idea, he set out as his point of departure, in all his attempts against hierarchism: the presence of Christ, he believed, would scourge these intruders out of the temple. "Suppose a young man, when he begins to think seriously upon life, resolving to turn to God, and studying the scriptures to learn the way—it is clear that all this stuff about the true church would never so much as come into his head." It is the grand argument against all Puseyism; and it fully accounts for the liberality with which he gave the hand to men of different communions, in opposition to the ritualists of Oxford, who claim all grace for their own

* "Dryden's 'Hind and Panther.'"

inventions. "I call all this Judaizing," says he, "a direct idolatry—it is exalting the Church and the Sacraments into the place of Christ, as others have exalted his mother, and others in the same spirit exalted circumcision. There is something almost ludicrous, if the matter were not too serious, in the way in which —— speaks of Calvin and the best and ablest of his followers, and some of the great living writers of Germany, as of men labouring under a judicial blindness. 'This people who knoweth not the law,' i. e. as interpreted by the tradition and doctors of the Church, 'are accursed.' It is vain to argue with such men; only when they ascribe a judicial blindness to Calvin and Zuingli, or to Tholuck, Nitzsch, and Bunsen, one cannot but be reminded of those who 'with lies made the heart of the righteous sad, whom God had not made sad,' or of those who denied St. Paul's apostleship and spirituality, because he was not one of the original twelve Apostles, and because he would not preach circumcision." After this, no one need marvel that Dr. Arnold was an object of suspicion among the high-churchmen; that even the archbishop of Canterbury refused him the pulpit at Lambeth.

The Samaritan schismatics of the Scottish Kirk were, in Arnold's view, brethren, in spite of presbytery and the lack of printed prayer. He admitted their claims as citizens. "In all British colonies," said he, "it is manifest that the Scotch church has exactly equal rights with the English, equal rights even legally;" and when he attended Presbyterian worship, though he naturally preferred his own, he employs language which is both curious and refreshing:

"1. I was at church (at Greenock) twice on Sunday, once at the Presbyterian Church and once at the Episcopal Chapel. My impressions, received five years ago, were again renewed and strengthened as to the merits of the Presbyterian Church and our own. The singing is to me delightful,—I do not mean the music, but the heartiness with which all the congregation join in it. And I exceedingly like the local and particular prayers and addresses which the freedom of their services allows the minister to use. On the other hand, the people should be protected from the tediousness or dulness of their minister; and that is admirably effected by a Liturgy, and especially by such a Liturgy as ours. As to the repetitions in our Service, they arise chiefly from Laud's folly in joining two Services into one; but the repetition of the Lord's Prayer I can hardly think objectionable; not that I would contend for it, but neither would I complain of it. Some freedom in the Service the minister certainly should have; some power of insertion to suit the particular time and place; some power of explaining on the spot whatever is read from the Scriptures

which may require explanation, or at any rate of stating the context. It does seem to me that the reforms required in our Liturgy and Service are so obvious, and so little affect the system itself, that their long omission is doubly blameable. But more remains behind, and of far greater difficulty:—to make the Church at once popular and dignified,—to give the people their just share in its government, without introducing a democratical spirit,—to give the clergy a thorough sympathy with their flocks, without altogether lowering their rank and tone. When Wesley said to his ministers, that they had no more to do with being gentlemen than with being dancing-masters, τὸ μὲν ὀρθῶς εἶπε, τὸ δὲ ἡμαρτεν. In Christ's communication with His Apostles there is always a marked dignity and delicacy, a total absence of all that coarseness and vulgarity into which Wesley's doctrine would infallibly lead us. Yet even in Christ, the Lord and Master of His Disciples, there is a sympathy, which is a very different thing from condescension, a spirit of unaffected kindness and, I had almost said, of sociability, which the spirit of gentlemanliness has doubtless greatly dulled in the Church of England. 'I have called you friends,' is a text which applies to the Christian minister in his dealings with his brethren and equals, in an infinitely stronger degree than it could do to Him, who was our Lord and Master, and whose calling us brethren was not of nature, but out of the condescension of His infinite love. And he who shall thus far keep and thus far get rid of the spirit of gentlemanliness, would go near to make the Church of England all but perfect, no less in its popularity than in its real deserving of popularity, καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων εἰρήσθω ἀπὶ τοσοῦτο, ἀνεμι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνω λόγον."—p. 482.

Let us not be supposed, by these extracts, to misrepresent Arnold as vindicating our own peculiarities. This is not the point. It is his lofty overlooking of all peculiarities not belonging to the essence of Christianity. His post of observation was high; too high, we apprehend, for just discrimination of minor yet important lines. His comprehension would seem to have taken in both Romanists and Unitarians; in both cases, as we shall see, because his charity ascribed to them a proper regard to Christ, which he considered as the great bond of union.

The tenet of *clerical priesthood*, which is the corner-stone of the antichristian house, was, in Dr. Arnold's esteem, an offence of the most odious sort. His doctrine of the proper eternal and incommunicable priesthood of Christ, and the secondary priesthood of all believers, reminds us sometimes of Neander, and sometimes of Whately, but oftener of the Bible. "It is," says he, "because my whole mind and soul repose with intense satisfaction on the truths taught by St. John and St. Paul, that I abhor the Judaism of the Newmanites;—it is because I so earnestly desire the revival of

the church that I abhor the doctrine of the priesthood." "But my quarrel with Newman and with the Romanists, and with the dominant party in the Church up to Cyprian, —(Ignatius, I firmly believe, is not be classed with them, vehement as his language is,)—my quarrel with them all—and all that I have named are exactly in the same boat—is, that they have put a false Church in the place of the true, and through their counterfeit have destroyed the reality, as paper money drives away gold. And this false church is the priesthood, to which are ascribed all the powers really belonging to the true church, with others which do not and cannot belong to any human power. But the Priesthood and the Succession are inseparable, the Succession having no meaning whatever if there be not a Priesthood, as W. Law saw and maintained; arguing, and I think plausibly enough, that the Succession was necessary to carry on the priestly virtue which alone makes the acts of the ministry available." Yet we must add other expressions to set him right; such as these: "I am for *high-church*, but *no priest*." This thought was ever present during his repeated journeys among the seats of Roman Catholic power; notwithstanding his intense and avowed admiration for the beauty of the arts which sacerdotal craft has subsidized. "There is," so he wrote in his journal, at Chartres, in 1837, "no more provoking confusion to my mind, than that which is often made between the magnificence and beauty of the Romish church and its superstitions. No one abhors more than I do the essence of popery, i. e. priestcraft; or the setting up a quantity of human mediators, interpreters, between God and man. But this is retained by those false protestants who call themselves high churchmen; while they have sacrificed of popery only its better and more popular parts; its beauty and its impressiveness." To which we may subjoin his more explicit statement in 1841.

"I think that it is very desirable to show the connection of the Church with the Synagogue, a point on which Whately insists strongly. I should also like to go into the question as to the *δεύτεραι διατάξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων*, mentioned in that famous fragment of Irenæus. That the Church system, or rather the Priest system, is not to be found in Scripture, is as certain as that the worship of Jupiter is not the doctrine of the Gospel: the only shadow of an apostolical origin of it rests on the notion, that after the destruction of Jerusalem, the surviving apostles altered the earlier Christian service, and made the Eucharist answer to the sacrifice of the Temple.

I believe this to be unsupported as to its historical basis, and perverted doctrinally: if there be any foundation for the fact, it was not that the Eucharist was to succeed to the Temple sacrifices, one carnal sacrifice, and carnal priest succeeding to another; but that the spiritual sacrifice of each man's self to God, connected always, according to Bunsen, with the commemoration of Christ's sacrifice in the Eucharist, was now visibly the only sacrifice anywhere offered to God; and thus, as was foretold, the carnal worship had utterly perished, and the spiritual worship was established in its room. That the great Enemy should have turned his very defeat into his greatest victory, and have converted the spiritual self-sacrifice in which each man was his own priest, into the carnal and lying sacrifice of the Mass, is to my mind, more than anything else the exact fulfilment of the apostolical language concerning Antichrist."—p. 409.

We scarcely know how to touch the great point of Dr. Arnold's creed, that to which all his feelings, studies and labours converged; we mean his theory of the church. Believing it to be utterly erroneous, the beautiful vision of a bold and sanguine mind, incapable of being realized in any state of society short of the latter-day glory, and absolutely ruinous in its consequences, in such a state as ours, we nevertheless admire the manner in which it is set forth. We have seen how sorrowful were his views of the actual state of the British church. With all its antiquity, all its wealth and learning, all its successive triumphs over dissenting freedom, and all its assumptions, it had grievously betrayed its trust. And as Puseyism was an effort, in one direction, to restore animation to the languid mass by fire from Rome, so Arnold aimed, in the opposite direction, to reconstruct the system by a denial of all priesthood and hierarchy, and an appeal to the State. His hypothesis is not that of the high-churchmen, who subject the state to the church, nor that of the Americans, who separate the two, as co-ordinate independent organizations, but that which may be summarily expressed in the phrase, *The church is the state*. From Aristotle and the philosophic statesmen of the old world, he had derived the ideal of a polity, which should have for its very end the accomplishment of human welfare, physical and moral. This organism he contemplated as including religion in its very notion. A perfect state would be therefore a Christian church. All its members would serve God and be happy; and as he abjured the belief of a sacerdotal power, he regarded this assemblage as the church. Hence the conjunction of apparent extremes in his system. Democratical in his opinions

on some points, and anti-hierarchical on all, he gloried in the supremacy of the king. For thus he expounds his own belief:

“The king, before the introduction of Christianity, had been the head of the state; he was equally the head of *the perfected state, that is the church.*”—“The founders of the Protestant church of England considered the church and state as identical; the Christian nation of England was the church of England; the head of that nation was, for that very reason, the head of the church.”

With such views, Political Philosophy occupied his thoughts as a part of his Christianity. “I hold with Algeron Sidney,” said he, “that there are but two things of vital importance,—those which he calls Religion and Politics; but which I would rather call our duties and affections towards God, and our duties and feelings towards men; science and literature are but a poor make up for the want of these.” When, from being a Tory, he became a strenuous Whig, and an advocate for reform, it was because he believed the principles involved to be, as Mr. Stanley says, “in their most perfect development identical with Christianity itself.” He even went so far as to maintain that the civil power was better qualified than the clergy to fix the doctrines of the church. And when pressed with the obvious anomaly of such dissenters as Jews living in the bosom of this Christian church-state, he boldly cut the knot, and declared that they should be regarded as *peregrini* and sojourning aliens. But the exception should have taught him, that other dissenters, on lesser points, but in vastly greater numbers and force, exist in every state; and that, without extreme despotism, no governing power could ever represent so heterogeneous a mass, in regard to any sufficient scheme of doctrine or practice.

The Greek idea of a state was well suited to polities into which Christianity had not entered: it may be well suited even to Christian nations, abstracting all religion. But the kingdom of Christ, as represented in scripture, and as existing in all lands under the mighty operation of the Holy Spirit, refuses to coalesce with any form of government, merely civil. Not only Erastus and Hobbes, but the great scheming minds of the Commonwealth, broke down in the attempt. The nearest approach to a Christian nation which the world has seen, was perhaps effected by the ‘Solemn League and Covenant.’ That it failed, we must

ascribe to the incongruity of the two kingdoms ; namely, the civil and the ecclesiastical. The maxim *imperium in imperio*, received as axiomatic in all these controversies, and turning like a flaming sword every way, has sometimes subjected the church to the state, or the state to the church, and sometimes in theory driven both into one. It has been from time immemorial cited as destroying the basis of a Free Church, and is the formula expressive of every argument against the American system. But it fails to reach the case, the moment it is shown that the scope and movement of the *imperium* in the two cases are altogether in different planes. Man, it is true, is the object of government, in both cases, but man in respects widely different. The State seeks man's good ; the Church seeks man's good ; but we leap too hastily to the conclusion, when we say with Arnold, the Church and the State are therefore one and the same. It is inconceivable, that the greatest of all human attributes should not be admitted to create a difference,—we mean *the immortality of man*. The State does not take cognizance of Eternity. The Church has this for its very end. Civil governors, in their arrogance, have patronized religion, as subsidiary to their methods of temporal happiness : and Arnold rebukes this in Victor Cousin ; but the gospel reduces this element to an inappreciable point, and throws the two worlds into one. Death, which is the expiring point of states as well as individuals, opens to the Church its chief field of progress. Hence our fundamental doctrine has always been that of our Founder : *My kingdom is not of this world*.

Union of church and state, or identity of church and state, is conceivable on one only of two suppositions ; either that the dominant power subdues the dissentient portion into uniformity, or that the whole body is and continues to be absolutely of one mind. So long as men differ about their religion, so long will cases occur which defy the comprehending grasp of national religion. Indifferentism will do it : popery will do it. But even in these extreme instances, there will sometimes be an insurrection, as in Switzerland, and sometimes a Reformation, as among the Romanists.

In the freest countries, cases may occur in which the respective functions of church and state may not be clearly defined. But need this impugn our system, when within the bosom of both one and the other domain the very same

questions arise, as to the limits of power? The same human acts may fall under the view of church and state, but in different respects. Those things which are called, in a pregnant phrase, the *temporalities* of the church, may come to lie within the disposing power of the state: it is in regard to these, that so many conflicts have been waged; but they are not essential to the perfect development of the spiritual rule. The headship of Christ over his own body has sometimes been asserted by those who at the same time were entangled by the remaining meshes of the state-net: such controversies as have arisen from this conflict of kingdoms—and they have been bitter—are not to be charged to the true principle, which by its intrinsic vitality will work on, till it sloughs off the morbid excreescence. The same offences may have two aspects, the civil and the ecclesiastical, and may fall under the cognizance of both codes; but without in any degree confounding the free operation of the different kingdoms. History shows us, that the church, by its functionaries, has crept into civil authority; and on the other hand, that politicians have prostituted the church to serve their temporal ends, by means of its strong hold on religious beings; and the world is yet to see the thorough trial of the two powers, freely working in their independent spheres. But the failure of all other methods, and the blessed results of our own, in its inception—for it is no more—beget in us the liveliest hope, that under mature freedom, and especially under more exalted Christianity, the doctrine of the absolute independence of the church on the state, will be established before the world, as no longer a theory, but a fact.

The scheme of Arnold is, by his own acknowledgment, ideal, as much as the opposite one of Ward. It presupposes a population already united in faith, in order to the existence of a governing centre; for the latter, except on the Vatican hypothesis, must be the result of the former: the ruled must give character to the rulers. That England is unfit for such a polity, is manifest from the extent of comprehension (to use a word almost technical in a former age) approved by Dr. Arnold. He would embrace *in the church*, not only the better sort of Papists, but the better sort of Unitarians. To apply such a method to any existing country, would, by the cancelling of disputed tenets, reduce the creed of the state to the minimum, which, in an analogous case, is the result in the religion of our state schools. And

even then, no conceivable end is gained but that which our author indignantly explodes, uniformity. Suppose this obtained in the mass, sufficiently to ensure a consistent government in matters of faith: where there is uniformity by law, there must be penalty for dissent; and such penalty is persecution.

The difficulties which exist in the progress of our national experiment, strike us as less than might have been expected. A so-called Christian government might indeed have cantoned our whole territory into parishes; it might have precipitated the organization of churches; it might have furnished as many pastors as Jeroboam furnished priests; it might have supplied stipends from the national revenue. That it has not done so, is the grand objection and rebuke of transatlantic reasoners. That it has not done so, is matter of our daily thanks to God; who, by granting us, in good measure, the ends thus sought, by other means, and means agreeable to the idea of a spiritual kingdom, has preserved us from the untold evils of compulsory settlements, unconverted ministers, and violated consciences in case of dissent. And such is our persuasion of the sufficiency which resides in the scriptural principle of Christ's prerogative, that we fear most from the impatient wish which often possesses Christian churches, to carry forward the Lord's work by human and civil auxiliaries. Though the want of religion is not a want which supplies itself, and though whole tracts of increasing population lie waste from this cause, it does not follow that the want is to be supplied by the civil arm or the national treasure. Christ has ordained a plan for the supply of this very want, by which the church "mightily grew and increased," while governments gave her nothing but martyrdoms; and by which she can certainly extend herself, when persecution has given place to prosperity. The spiritual kingdom may exist and gain influence, while its subjects are a minority in a nation: it loses its distinctive character, as an *ecclesia*, when the theory supposes such a diffusion of its powers, as to reach the whole unconverted mass. Yet this is presupposed as the basis of Dr. Arnold's scheme. It perpetuates its reign through every revolution in governments, and among forms of every species. And what is still more comforting, though most of all forgotten, it is so far from demanding any such uniformity as even the most perfect state could give, that it disregards a thousand matters which divide sect from

sect, and keeps an invisible unity by connexion with the unseen head of the church.

The disposition to confound the government which is essential to the kingdom of Christ, with the municipal regulations of particular churches, and to arrogate to courts or officers, however pure and scriptural, the sole authority which resides ultimately in the ever-present source of power, seems to be latent in every body of organized Christians. It is the high-church dogma, which reigned in the papacy, and which reappears wherever worldly power increases. It may be the intention of Providence, by means of the extraordinary division of Christians in America, often on points the most trivial, to repress this disposition towards an authority not contained in the divine grant, by preventing the aggregation of worldly power in any preponderating portion. At any rate, we know of no one opinion, no even that of the right of the people to choose their own rulers, which is more deeply settled in the unanimous decision of our country, than that church and state ought not to be, and cannot be united or identified. It is a judgment which grows with our growth; which no exempt cases, irregularities, defects of strength, or mutual discords have availed in any degree to shake; which no reports of what occurs in the old world have weakened; and which is equally strong in the minds of the most zealous propagandists, the most experienced statesmen, and the humblest private disciples. All we ask is free scope for the truth and grace now operating, and, by the infinite favour of God, more abundant measures of these heavenly principles.

We have more than once alluded to the latitudinary views of Dr. Arnold; but we feel constrained to advert to these with greater particularity, lest our admiration for his genius, learning and devotion, should seem to justify his errors. His carelessness in regard to important differences seems to us to have had a direct connexion with his theory of the church. In order that the state might possess ecclesiastical functions, and yet avoid persecution, it was necessary that the national creed should be meager, and that a favourable eye should be cast on religionists of the most remote beliefs. The poetic element of his soul concurred with this tendency of his understanding, to make him tolerant of symbols and superstitions; which he abhorred, when imposed as a part of the sacerdotal pomp. The cross, the oratory by the wayside, the daily church-prayers,

the festival, the sculpture and painting, were all admitted by him. He could freely receive pious Romanists into his Utopian commonwealth. And then, proceeding to the other pole, he was slow to believe that Unitarian unbelievers are as bad as they are represented. That he judged thus from want of familiarity with their actual condition, is made probable by the fact, that he went far from his own neighbourhood to find these pious Unitarians; as for example, to New England. He dreamed that the absence of the Athanasian creed had changed the Socinian mind. "I heard some time since," says he to Archbishop Whately, "as a matter of fact, that in the United States, where the Episcopal church has expelled this creed, the character of Unitarianism is very different from what it is in England, and is returning towards High Arianism." In one of his celebrated pamphlets, he had made it essential to those included in his scheme of comprehension, that they should *address Christ as an object of worship*. This, though it would embrace *Socinus*, would shut out Priestley, and all the Humanitarians of America. That it was founded on a wrong judgment of fact, is evident from his letter to Mr. Smith of Norwich, March 9, 1833. In writing to our countryman, Mr. Abbott, he betrays the same anxiety to catch at some testimony in behalf of this erroneous conclusion. "I have understood," says he, "that Unitarianism is becoming very prevalent in Boston, and I am anxious to know what the complexion of Unitarianism amongst you is. I mean whether it is Arian or Socinian, and whether its disciples are for the most part men of hard minds and indifferent to religion, or whether they are zealous in the service of Christ, according to their own notions of his claims upon their gratitude and love." He therefore says expressly: "a Unitarian, as such, is a Christian." This is latitude enough, even in regard to High Arians. Yet, when he comes to speak of the tenet itself, he rejects it with indignation. "As for the Unitarian interpretations of St. Paul and St. John, they are really such monstrosities of extravagance, that to any one used to the critical study of the ancient writers, they appear too bad to have been ever maintained in earnest." And, in a letter to a Unitarian parent of one of his boys, he is plain enough to say: "I feel bound to teach the essentials of Christianity to all those committed to my care—and with these the tenets of the Unitarians alone, among all the dissenters in the kingdom,

are in my judgment irreconcilable." The truth seems to be, that when his syncretism was out of sight, he found the divinity of our Lord to be as fundamental as it is to other Christians.

In the personal experience of Dr. Arnold, a high place was given to the Lord Jesus, as the Divine Redeemer, and only way of approach to the Father. He desired his presence, to use his own expression, to be as constant as was the Shecinah to the Israelites. As he advanced in life, this feeling gained strength, and towards the end of his career, was manifested by touching language, in his diary, his conversation, and his sermons. The following passage, from his last journal, needs no comment for a believing reader.

"Tuesday evening, May 24.—Two days have passed and I am mercifully restored to my health and strength. To-morrow I hope to be able to resume my usual duties. Now then is the dangerous moment. . . . O gracious Father, keep me now through Thy Holy Spirit: keep my heart soft and tender, now in health and amidst the bustle of the world: keep the thought of Thyself present to me as my Father in Jesus Christ: and keep alive in me a spirit of love and meekness to all men, that I may be at once gentle and active and firm. O strengthen me to bear pain, or sickness, or danger, or whatever Thou shalt be pleased to lay upon me, as Christ's soldier and servant; and let my faith overcome the world daily. Strengthen my faith, that I may realize to my mind the things eternal—death, and things after death, and Thyself. O save me from my sins, from myself, and from my spiritual enemy, and keep me ever thine through Jesus Christ. Lord, hear my prayers also for my dearest wife, my dear children, my many and kind friends, my household,—for all those committed to my care, and for us to whom they are committed,—I pray also for our country, and for Thy Holy Church in all the world. Perfect and bless the work of Thy Spirit in the hearts of all Thy people, and may Thy kingdom come and Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven. I pray for this, and for all that Thou seest me to need, for Jesus Christ's sake."—p. 442.

When his fourteenth year at Rugby was drawing to a close, he preached his last sermon in the chapel, and thus addressed his pupils. "The real point which concerns us all, is not whether our sin be of one kind or of another, more or less venial, or more or less mischievous in man's judgment, and to our worldly interests; but whether we struggle against all sin because it is sin; whether we have or have not placed ourselves consciously under the banner of our Lord Jesus Christ, trusting in Him, cleaving to Him, feeding on Him by faith daily, and so resolved, and contin-

ually renewing our resolution, to be His faithful soldiers and servants to our lives' end. To this," he said, "I would call you all, so long as I am permitted to speak to you—to this I do call you all, and especially all who are likely to meet here again after a short interval, that you may return Christ's servants with a believing and loving heart; and, if this be so, I care little as to what particular form temptations from without may take; there will be a security within—a security not of man, but of God." Though apparently in good health, his mind seemed drawn to the other world. The parting address to his boys, which they expected in a day or two, never came. "But it is not to be wondered at, if they remarked with peculiar interest, that the last subject which he had set them for an exercise was 'Domus Ultima;' that the last translation for Latin verses was from the touching lines on the death of Sir Philip Sydney, in Spenser's 'Ruins of Time;'—that the last words with which he closed his last lecture on the New Testament were in commenting on the passage of St. John:—'It does not yet appear what we shall be; but we know that when He shall appear we shall be like Him, for we shall see Him as He is.'—'So, too," he said, "in the Corinthians, 'For now we see through a glass darkly, but then face to face.'—'Yes," he added, with marked fervency, "the mere contemplation of Christ shall transform us into His likeness."

The very last entry in his Diary, the night before his sudden seizure, contained these words.

"Saturday evening, June 11th.—The day after to-morrow is my birthday, if I am permitted to live to see it—my forty-seventh birthday since my birth. How large a portion of my life on earth is already passed. And then—what is to follow this life? How visibly my outward work seems contracting and softening away into the gentler employments of old age. In one sense, how nearly can I now say, 'Vixi.' And I thank God that, as far as ambition is concerned, it is, I trust, fully mortified; I have no desire other than to step back from my present place in the world, and not to rise to a higher. Still there are works which, with God's permission, I would do before the night cometh; especially that great work, if I might be permitted to take part in it. But, above all, let me mind my own personal work,—to keep myself pure and zealous and believing,—labouring to do God's will, yet not anxious that it should be done by me rather than by others, if God disapproves of my doing it."—p. 449.

"It was between five and six o'clock on Sunday morning that he awoke with a sharp pain across his chest, which he mentioned to his wife, on her asking whether he felt well,—adding that he had

felt it slightly on the preceding day, before and after bathing. He then again composed himself to sleep; but her watchful care, always anxious, even to nervousness, at the least indication of illness, was at once awakened; and on finding from him that the pain increased, and that it seemed to pass from his chest to his left arm, her alarm was so much roused from a remembrance of having heard of this in connection with Angina Pectoris, and its fatal consequences, that in spite of his remonstrances, she rose and called up an old servant, whom they usually consulted in cases of illness, from her having so long attended the sick bed of his sister Susannah. Reassured by her confidence that there was no ground for fear, but still anxious, Mrs. Arnold returned to his room. She observed him, as she was dressing herself, lying still, but with his hands clasped, his lips moving, and his eyes raised upwards, as if engaged in prayer, when all at once he repeated firmly and earnestly, 'And Jesus said unto him, Thomas, because thou hast seen thou hast believed; blessed are they who have not seen, and yet have believed;' and soon afterwards, with a solemnity of manner and depth of utterance, which spoke more than the words themselves, 'But if ye be without chastisement, whereof all are partakers, then are ye bastards and not sons.'

"From time to time he seemed to be in severe suffering; and, on the entrance of the old servant before mentioned, said, 'Ah! Elizabeth, if I had been as much accustomed to pain as dear Susannah was, I should bear it better.' To his wife, however, he uttered no expressions of acute pain, dwelling only on the moments of comparative ease, and observing that he did not know what it was. But the more than usual earnestness which marked his tone and manner, especially in repeating the verses from scripture, had again roused her worst fears: and she ordered messengers to be sent for medical assistance, which he had at first requested her not to do, from not liking to disturb at that early hour the usual medical attendant, who had been suffering from indisposition. She then took up the Prayer Book, and was looking for a Psalm to read to him, when he said quickly, 'The fifty-first'—which she accordingly read by his bedside, reminding him, at the seventh verse, that it was the favourite verse of one of the old almswomen, whom he was in the habit of visiting: and at the twelfth verse, 'O give me the comfort of Thy help again, and establish me with Thy free Spirit:'—he repeated it after her very earnestly. She then read the prayer in the 'Visitation of the Sick,' beginning, 'The Almighty Lord, who is a most strong tower,' &c., kneeling herself at the foot of the bed, and altering it into a common prayer for them both.

"As the clock struck a quarter to seven, Dr. Bucknill (the son of the usual medical attendant) entered the room. He was then lying on his back—his countenance much as usual—his pulse, though regular, was very quick, and a cold perspiration on the brow and cheeks. But his tone was cheerful—'How is your father?' he asked on the physician's entrance; 'I am sorry to disturb you so early—I knew that your father was unwell, and that you had enough to do.' He described the pain, speaking of it as having been very severe, and then said, 'What is it?' Whilst the physician was pausing for a moment before he replied, the pain returned, and remedies were

applied till it passed away ; and Mrs. Arnold, seeing by the measures used that the medical man was himself alarmed, left the room for a few moments to call up her second son, the eldest of the family then at Rugby, and impart her anxiety to him ; and during her absence her husband again asked what it was, and was answered that it was the spasm of the heart. He exclaimed, in his peculiar manner of recognition, 'Ha !' and then on being asked if he had ever in his life fainted—'No, never.' If he had ever had difficulty of breathing? 'No, never.'—If he had ever had sharp pain in the chest? 'No, never.'—If any of his family had ever had the disease of the chest? 'Yes, my father had—he died of it.'—What age was he? 'Fifty-three.'—Was it suddenly fatal? 'Yes, suddenly fatal.' He then asked, 'If the disease of the heart was a common disease?' 'Not very common.' 'Where do we find it most?' 'In large towns I think.' 'Why?' (Two or three causes were mentioned.) 'Is it generally fatal?' 'Yes, I am afraid it is.'

"The physician then quitted the house for medicine, leaving Mrs. Arnold, now fully aware from him of her husband's state. At this moment she was joined by her son, who entered the room with no serious apprehension, and, on his coming up to the bed, his father, with his usual gladness of expression towards him, asked—'How is your deafness, my boy?' (he had been suffering from it the night before)—and then, playfully alluding to an old accusation against him, 'You must not stay here; you know you do not like a sick room.' He then sate down with his mother at the foot of the bed, and presently his father said in a low voice: 'My son, thank God for me; and, as his son did not at once catch his meaning, he went on saying—'thank God, Tom, for giving me this pain; I have suffered so little pain in my life, that I feel it is very good for me; now God has given it to me, and I do so thank him for it.' And again, after a pause, he said—alluding to a wish, which his son had often heard him express, that if he ever had to suffer pain, his faculties might be unaffected by it—'How thankful I am that my head is untouched.' Meanwhile his wife, who still had sounding in her ears the tone in which he had repeated the passage from the Epistle to the Hebrews, again turned to the Prayer Book, and began to read the Exhortation, in which it occurs in 'the Visitation of the Sick.' He listened with deep attention, saying emphatically—'Yes,' at the end of many of the sentences. 'There should be no greater comfort to Christian persons than to be made like unto Christ.' 'Yes.'—'By suffering patiently troubles, adversities, and sickness.'—'Yes.' 'He entered not into His glory before He was crucified.'—'Yes.' At the words 'everlasting life,' she stopped, and his son said—'I wish, dear papa, we had you at Fox Ilow.' He made no answer, but the last conscious look, which remained fixed in his wife's memory, was the look of intense tenderness and love with which he smiled upon them both at that moment.

"The physician now returned with the medicines, and the former remedies were applied: there was a slight return of the spasms, after which he said: 'If the pain is again as severe as it was before you came, I do not know how I can bear it.' He then, with his eyes fixed upon the physician, who rather felt than saw them upon him, so as to make it impossible not to answer the exact truth, repeated

one or two of his former questions about the cause of the disease, and ended with asking, 'Is it likely to return?' and, on being told that it was, 'Is it generally suddenly fatal?'—'Generally.' On being asked whether he had any pain, he replied that he had none, but from the mustard plaster on his chest, with a remark on the severity of the spasms in comparison with this outward pain; and then, a few moments afterwards, inquired what medicine was to be given; and on being told, answered, 'Ah, very well.' The physician, who was dropping the laudanum into a glass, turned round, and saw him looking quite calm, but with his eyes shut. In another minute he heard a rattle in the throat, and a convulsive struggle—flew to the bed, caught his head upon his shoulder, and called to one of the servants to fetch Mrs. Arnold. She had but just left the room before his last conversation with the physician, in order to acquaint her son with his father's danger, of which he was still unconscious, when she heard herself called from above. She rushed up stairs, told her son to bring the rest of the children, and with her own hand applied the remedies that were brought in the hope of reviving animation, though herself feeling, from the moment that she saw him, that he had already passed away. He was indeed no longer conscious. The sobs and cries of his children as they entered and saw their father's state, made no impression upon him—the eyes were fixed—the countenance was unmoved: there was a heaving of the chest—deep gasps escaped at prolonged intervals—and just as the usual medical attendant arrived, and as the old school-house servant, in an agony of grief, rushed with the others into the room, in the hope of seeing his master once more—he breathed his last."—pp. 449-452.

The mingled beauty and strength of such a character as Arnold's deeply affect us, as we close the volume. Educated to discern and taste all that is graceful and fair, by daily converse with the highest models, and living in a domestic group of winning endearments, he nevertheless sacrificed no energy of fibre, and athletic struggling for mastery. It is to us the wonderful part of his life. The portrait of his sister, his "most dear and blessed sister," (p. 197) deserves to be engraved on a tablet of marble. Fox How, his northern country-seat was a haven of joyful peace. "It is," said he, "with a mixed feeling of solemnity and tenderness that I regard our mountain nest, whose surpassing sweetness, I think I may safely say, adds a positive happiness to every one of my waking hours passed in it." As he looked about him on his wife and children, the thought which always prevailed, was that of "a whole house transplanted entire from earth to heaven, without one failure." Natural scenery and works of art filled him with pleasure, such as no common mind could contain. His journals of tours on the Continent, especially his Italian tours,

though hasty, fragmentary, and hidden in the small print of the appendix, are equal in value to many quartos. But the outward beauty, while it thrilled him, conducted him back to the higher inward beauty. Thus, amidst a rapturous description of the plain of the Velino, he turns aside to say: "Much more beautiful, because made truly after God's image, are the forms and colours of kind and wise and holy thoughts and words and actions; more truly beautiful is one hour of old Mrs. Price's patient waiting for the Lord's time, and her cheerful and kind interest in us all, feeling as if she owed us anything,—than this glorious valley of the Velinus." The strong practical tendency of his soul did not, as in some one-sided people, make him undervalue the emotions of beauty and wonder. "I hold" says he, "the lines 'nil admirari,' &c., to be as utterly false as any moral sentiment ever uttered." And in other places, of the same maxim, he writes to an old pupil: "I suppose that Pococuranteism (excuse the word) is much the order of the day among young men. I observe symptoms of it here and am always dreading its ascendancy, though we have some who struggle nobly against it. I believe that 'Nil admirari,' in this sense, is the Devil's favourite text; and he could not choose a better to introduce his pupils into the more esoteric parts of his doctrine." And he loved to train his children, to see in external things that something deeper than the surface, which the false analysis of hard minds denies under the name of romance." "Once again," he writes home from Genoa, "I am on the shore of the Mediterranean. I saw it only from a distance when I was last in Italy, but now I am once more on its very edge, and have been on it and in it. True it is, that the Mediterranean is no more than a vast mass of salt water, if people choose to think it so; but it is also the most magnificent thing in the world, if you choose to think it so; and it is as truly the latter as it is the former. And as the pococurante temper is not the happiest, and that which can admire heartily is much more akin to that which can love heartily, *ὁ δὲ ἀγαπῶν θεῶν ἡδὴ ὁμοίος*, so, my children, I wish that if ever you come to Genoa, you may think the Mediterranean to be more than any common sea, and may be unable to look upon it without a deep stirring of delight."

The other quality, to which we alluded, is, however, still more rare. Many are tasteful, many are affectionate, but how few withal are strong! If one attribute more than

another strikes every reader in the life of Arnold, it is his earnestness. He took life, as he said, "in earnest." He felt a vocation; he saw a mighty work; he was up and doing. Mere scholarship, mere poetry, were flowers which he trampled down in his progress. It need scarcely be said, that while this made him condemn the puerilities of the Oxford school, it kept him equally remote from the toys and games of literature. He might have been a Parr, knowing to an ounce the weight of every chime of bells in England, or balancing the lines of lapidary Latin. But he was in earnest; he felt life to be a reality. From beginning to end, his course shows no revery, no saunter. The petty dalliances with poetry and poetic philosophy, which grace *coteries*, and reduce even the scholar to a plaything, Arnold probably never thought of. Every pamphlet, every volume, every letter, bears on sober and lofty realities. His very failure in his grand church-hypothesis, was the failure of a mind attempting the highest political problem. We are ashamed and humbled when we read of such men, and are led to inquire whether the secret of all powerful action in the ministry as out of it, does not reside in the concentration of mind and purpose on the very highest problems of the race.

Coastal Survey.

- ART. VIII.—1. *Principal Documents relating to the Survey of the Coast of the United States since 1816.* Published by F. R. Hassler, Superintendent of the Survey. Two vols. 8vo. New York, 1834.
2. *Executive Congressional Documents since 1832*
3. *First Report of Professor A. D. Bache, Superintendent of the Coast Survey, showing the Progress of the Work during the year ending November, 1844.*

Our readers who are in the habit of perusing the proceedings of congress, must have seen frequent notices of the important work now in progress in our country, called the coast survey. Yet from the tenor of the frequent inquiries we have heard in reference to this work, we are led to believe that there exists in the public mind generally no very definite idea of its nature and importance. We have