

Dominick McCausland and Adam's ancestors: an Irish evangelical responds to the scientific challenge to biblical inerrancy¹

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Dominick McCausland (1806–73), a Conservative lawyer from a Church of Ireland landed family, moved from writing on biblical prophecy to trying to reconcile a literal reading of Genesis with geology and archaeology. Among other things, he argued that Genesis described only the creation of Adamite man, allegedly the only form of humanity capable of generating civilization, while pre-Adamite races were condemned to stasis and disappearance before the expanding descendants of Japhet.² This essay discusses how McCausland's denunciations of evolutionary theory selectively impose material from contemporary popular science over a framework supplied by the pre-millennialist school of biblical interpretation.

Dominick McCausland was the third son of the landowner Marcus Langford McCausland of Roe Park, near Limavady. McCausland's father died when he was young; as a result, his upbringing was dominated by his mother, who recognized his intelligence and expected great things from him.³ Initially, he was educated in England and the Royal School, Dungannon (1820–2), progressing to Trinity College Dublin, from where he graduated in 1827, winning the college gold medal for science. McCausland studied Hebrew,⁴ a fact that indicated he was intended for the Church of Ireland ministry. However, shortly after graduation he unsuccessfully sat the Trinity College fellowship examination; subsequently, he broke down from overwork. After two years' convalescence, his mother urged him to try again, but McCausland chose to study for the bar. His decision was influenced by the fact that Trinity fellows were expected to be celibate, and perhaps his exposure to the anti-ecclesial views of John Nelson Darby, with whom his biblical commentaries suggest some affinity, also had an impact. Furthermore, although McCausland was a member of the Church of Ireland and one of his sons became an Anglican clergyman, he

¹ Thanks to Paul Bew, Derval Fitzgerald, Greta Jones, David Livingstone and James McGuire. ² For a history of pre-Adamite theory, see D.N. Livingstone, *Adam's ancestors: race, religion and the politics of human origins* (Baltimore, MD, 2008). ³ An elder brother, John Kennedy McCausland, distinguished himself as an officer in India in the 1840s and 1850s, becoming a lieutenant-general. ⁴ W.D. Ferguson in D. McCausland, *Sermons in stones; or, scripture confirmed by geology* (London, 1873), p. xxxi.

displays a noticeably 'low' ecclesiology; at one point he claimed that any genuine post-apostolic church of Jesus must be obscured and humbled. One of his criticisms of the Roman church was that it replicated the superseded Jewish temple priesthood; this was a standard Protestant accusation of judaizing against Rome, to which the equivalent Catholic accusation was that Protestantism displayed pharisaic text-based legalism.⁵

From 1837, although he lived in Dublin, McCausland practised on the North-West Circuit, which included his native Co. Londonderry. In 1859, he was appointed crown prosecutor by Conservative attorney-general James Whiteside.⁶ Shortly after taking up this position, McCausland was elected father of the circuit (that is, senior barrister presiding at circuit dinners) by his colleagues, who liked his shyly courteous and conciliatory manner; he retained this position until his death (28 June 1873).

McCausland devoted his leisure to compiling and revising theological works. In 1841, he published *The latter days of the Jewish Church and nation, as revealed in the Apocalypse*; this was followed by *The times of the Gentiles as revealed in the Apocalypse* (1852), which was revised and combined as *The latter days of Jerusalem and Rome as revealed in the Apocalypse* (1859).⁷ In 1856, he published *Sermons in stones; or scripture confirmed by geology*, which had eleven editions in McCausland's lifetime and was translated into Italian, German, French and modern Greek.

The first edition of *Sermons in stones* advocated monogenism (the belief that all human beings descended from Adam and Eve, whose creation McCausland placed within the traditional biblical chronology);⁸ but by 1864, when he published *Adam and the Adamite*, McCausland had adopted pre-Adamism, which was the belief that Adam was the ancestor of certain races only and other human races derive from separate earlier creations.⁹ In this respect, McCausland was influenced by Edward William Lane, as is evident from several references to *The genesis of the earth and of man* (2nd ed. 1860).¹⁰ Lane's arguments include ideas about the supposed superiority of inflectional Caucasian and Semitic languages over the agglutinative languages of other peoples he replicates.¹¹

McCausland's views of human history are expanded in his published YMCA lecture *Shinar* (1867), and receive final expression in *The builders of Babel* (1871), which traces the descendants of Ham, Shem and Japheth after their separation at the Tower of Babel; along with his previous major books, this can be seen as an universal history of mankind within a rethought biblical frame of reference, a genre familiar in earlier

⁵ D. McCausland, *Builders of Babel* (London, 1867), pp 198–9. ⁶ In 1867, McCausland lectured the Dublin Church of Ireland Young Men's Society on the Tower of Babel and how archaeology and ethnography allegedly upheld the inerrancy of scripture; Whiteside and his ally Joseph Napier used the YMCA to identify and encourage bright young Conservative recruits in the defence of church and constitution. ⁷ Throughout this article, *Latter days* will refer to this revised and combined volume. ⁸ McCausland, *Adam and the Adamite* (London, 1868), pp 163–4n. ⁹ *Adam and the Adamite* went through five editions, the last in 1882. ¹⁰ For example, *Adamite*, pp 171–3, 298. ¹¹ Livingstone, *Adam's ancestors*, pp 100–3.

centuries but falling into disrepute even as McCausland wrote. Nonetheless, McCausland devoted great effort to revising his works to keep up with new research and rethink his ideas. According to the memoir by his friend William Dwyer Ferguson, which was affixed to the twelfth edition of *Sermons in stones* published shortly after McCausland's death, he revised the third edition of *Adam and the Adamite* by dictating revisions even when he could no longer hold a pen. But, for all McCausland's efforts, the Ferguson memoir conveys a strong sense of unfulfilled promise. McCausland's work is marked by pessimistic undercurrents that reflect both his pre-millennial belief that the Christian millennium would be preceded by a time of trial and apostasy, and the increasing embattlement of Church of Ireland Toryism in the era of disestablishment.

McCausland's first major work was a commentary on the Book of Revelation. Its prophecy schema resembles that of John Nelson Darby – futurist, dispensationalist and pre-millenarian.¹² As such, McCausland believed that instead of the post-millennialist view that the spread of Christianity would continually improve the world, culminating in a thousand years' happiness before the return of Jesus,¹³ the world would sink further into turmoil and apostasy until Jesus returned to defeat Antichrist and begin the millennium. And, as a futurist, McCausland held that although enough of the prophecies of the Apocalypse had been fulfilled to confirm their divine inspiration, most remain unfulfilled; these would be realized not throughout history past and present (historicism), but in a future age or dispensation (dispensationalism), beginning with the return of the Jews to Palestine, which McCausland thought was imminent. While McCausland regretfully noted the re-imposition of Ottoman rule over Syria (1840) after its temporary conquest by Mehmet Ali of Egypt (which some evangelicals predicted would lead to the return of the Jews), he predicted the region would remain chaotic until stability was achieved by restoring the Jews to their ancestral home.¹⁴ Such futurism is based on a Protestant concern that the Bible should be self-interpreting, whereas historicism implies it can only be understood through extra-textual knowledge of obscure and perhaps fictitious events of medieval history.¹⁵

Like Darby, McCausland believed that the Bible's primary concern was with the Jews, and the era of the Gentile Church was a mere parenthesis.¹⁶ However, whereas Darby expected true believers to be caught up into Heaven before the Tribulation presided over by Antichrist, McCausland predicted that rationalism would produce universal Gentile apostasy with true faith preserved only among the Jews during the Tribulation. Like many Protestant commentators, he saw Rome as the city of Antichrist, the Church of Rome as the mystery of iniquity described in scripture, and the rise of Tractarianism within the Church of England as a sign of reviving papal

¹² For the Darbyite schema, see G. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American culture* (Oxford, 1980). ¹³ McCausland repeatedly attacks this view; see, for example, D. McCausland, *Latter days of Jerusalem and Rome* (London, 1859), pp 369–70. ¹⁴ *Latter days*, pp 299–300. ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 295. ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp 138, 308.

power.¹⁷ He admitted that the Italian crisis of 1858–9, which coincided with the final version of his book, was destroying the temporal power of the papacy; but he believed its spiritual power, stronger and more deadly, would thereby increase. The conservative McCausland supposed that the then current tendency towards democracy would lead by inevitable reaction to despotism, and that the papacy, the most effective despotism, would triumph as a result. However, he differs from similar commentators in his insistence that the biblical Antichrist was not the papal institution but an individual future pope installed as temporal ruler in Jerusalem; his defeat by the risen Christ would lead to the millennium and the saints would rule the earth from the New Jerusalem (brought down from heaven) until a Satanically inspired revolt of subject peoples heralded the Last Judgment.

Certainly, other versions of millennialism predicted a world inhabited entirely by saints; but, this image of a race of saints ruling less regenerate humanity from an earthly New Jerusalem may also be an expression of colonial siege mentality. McCausland dourly predicts that the ability of Antichrist to disguise himself as an angel of light means that he will be a rationalist social reformer. He also suggests that the mark of the Beast would be offered as a compromise to those refusing to accept Antichrist as a religious leader but willing to acknowledge his political supremacy; this concept echoes contemporary Tory-evangelical condemnations of Whig compromise with political Catholicism.¹⁸

Further contemporary references can be found in McCausland's use of ethnographic research in seeking the lost ten tribes of Israel, whom he believed to have lapsed into idolatry and lost awareness of their identity. In *Latter days*, McCausland investigates the Karens of Burma¹⁹ and the Hazara of Afghanistan and wonders whether the Afghans may be the lost tribes who will revert to Judaism and march eastward to rescue their brethren of Judah from Antichrist. He suggests that the recent opening up of the Chinese Empire (by the Opium War) was providential, since the lost tribes might be within its borders.²⁰ Of particular relevance to this essay, he argues that geological discoveries show that the earth was initially covered by sea without any dry land; hence it is apt that in its latter days there should be no sea, as is stated in the Apocalypse:

May not this be fulfilled, without involving in its fulfilment physical impossibilities, by the conversion of the surface of our globe, by volcanic disturbances, into a world of islands, without any of those extensive continents or oceans which now exist?²¹

McCausland's thought is strongly binary; here Jew and Gentile, elsewhere scientist and religionist, or Semite and Japhetite. In each, McCausland presents himself as

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp 441–2. ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 203. For an earlier pre-millennialist interpretation of nineteenth-century British and Irish history, with particular reference to Catholic Emancipation, see Patrick Maume (ed.), *Irish recollections*, by Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna (Dublin, 2004). ¹⁹ *Latter days*, p. 48. ²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 300. ²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 483.

expounder of the divine plan by which these divisions are to be healed. His reasoning is lawyer-like in combining insistence on strict respect for the text with the wildest creative interpretation, which is presented as unquestionably correct. For example, when discussing whether the apocalyptic prophesies of the Olivet Discourse refer to the destruction of Jerusalem in AD70 by Titus or its future beleaguering by Antichrist, he suggests that Jesus predicted both events but Matthew and Mark omitted the first siege while Luke omitted the second. Everything is to be measured by Baconian inductive reasoning, which McCausland saw as the benchmark of truth.²² In this way, Divine language must possess absolute precision²³ and sceptical Bible criticism heralds impending apostasy and persecution.²⁴ Though McCausland frequently uses typology, he insists the Bible narrative must be literal, not merely symbolic:²⁵

All this we have found to be consistent with the prophetic symbols, with the other scriptures, and with historic facts; while every other system of interpretation imposes the necessity of spiritualizing the language of the prophecy to an extent that is dangerous in principle, and which renders all reasoning unsatisfactory and inconclusive.

That such a principle is most dangerous is manifest, when we consider that to construe the casting of Satan out of heaven as a figurative incident, entails as a consequence that the presence of Satan in heaven is also figurative; and then the record in the books of Job and Zechariah, of Satan appearing in the presence of God in Heaven, as the accuser, must be taken to be figurative likewise. Admitting that, how can the Christian resist the conclusion of the free-thinker, that the temptation or fall, or any other supernatural incident among the inspired records, is but an allegory or a myth?²⁶

McCausland also suggests at various points that the original Greek of the Gospels supports his readings better than the English translation. And in *Sermons in stones*, McCausland similarly draws on his knowledge of Hebrew to modify standard translations of Genesis.

Sermons in stones argues that there is no conflict between scripture and geology; indeed, they actually confirm each other. Thus, McCausland rejects the claim by the Scottish Presbyterian leader Thomas Chalmers that Genesis describes a re-creation after the Earth's previous fauna were destroyed by catastrophe²⁷ because there is no positive proof for it. Many ancient species found in the geological record, he argues, still exist or existed in conjunction with man, and it is inconsistent with the principle

²² D. McCausland, *Sermons in stones; or scripture confirmed by geology* (London, 1873), p. xli.

²³ *Latter days*, p. 135. ²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp 498–9. ²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 134. ²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp 501–2.

²⁷ *Sermons*, pp 117–18, 133–5, 138–9. For a discussion of Chalmers and variants of this theory envisaging pre-Adamite humans in the pre-catastrophic fauna, see Livingstone, *Adam's ancestors*, pp 83–91.

of divine economy to postulate the creation and destruction of a pre-catastrophic world for no apparent purpose:

God is a God of Order. Consistency and regularity are stamped on every portion of His work, and proclaim that such are the distinguishing attributes of the great Architect of the heavens and the earth, and all that therein is. But this interpretation of His word represents Him as one who pursues different plans, at different times, for the production of similar effects; which, being a departure from the previously declared laws of nature, must be ascribed to a miraculous interference of the Deity, without any warrant, object, or necessity for it.²⁸

McCausland deploys a variant of the 'day-age' theory associated with the Scottish Calvinist geologist Hugh Miller (1802–56)²⁹ to claim the geological epochs correspond to the days of creation; this confirms the Mosaic account providing 'evidence of the inspiration of Holy Writ . . . manifestly of a higher order than any which has been supplied by fulfilled prophecy'.³⁰

Amid vivid visual descriptions of the different eras and their life-forms in a style drawn from contemporary popular science, McCausland offers emendations to the biblical narrative. For example, he suggests that the phrase normally translated 'the first day' should be 'a first day'³¹ (so the world could have existed previously); and 'without form and void' means only that the world was invisible and unfurnished.³² He also posits that when God's spirit brooded on the face of the waters, this meant that from the second day the Spirit seeded the oceans with life and created submarine creatures, adding others on the third and fourth days. Thus, McCausland suggests, the earliest aquatic animals lack eyes because they were created before the light. The statement that 'all creatures that move' were created on the fifth day, which was taken to mean that no animals existed previously, actually means only 'all reptiles that creep'.³³ Furthermore, McCausland suggests that Moses did not specifically mention aquatic fauna (leading to Genesis being misread as saying that there were no living creatures before the fourth day), because in his divinely inspired vision he could not see under water! So, where Hugh Miller maintained that only the third, fifth and sixth days were discernable in the rocks, McCausland claims the first, second and fourth days are visible also.³⁴

McCausland deploys John Tyndall's discovery that in the Carboniferous Epoch the atmosphere was dominated by carbonic clouds (now called the greenhouse effect)³⁵ as further evidence for his theories; he argues that the biblical reference to light being created on the second day and the sun, moon and stars on the fourth does not mean the heavenly bodies were created then, but that they became visible as the

²⁸ *Sermons*, p. 137. ²⁹ M.A. Taylor, *Hugh Miller: stonemason, geologist, writer* (Edinburgh, 2007); *Sermons*, pp 82, 127–31, 139–41. ³⁰ *Sermons*, p. 243. ³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 170. ³² *Ibid.*, p. 154. ³³ *Ibid.*, pp 206–7. ³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp 146–7, 156–70. ³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp 76–7, 196.

carbonic clouds dispersed.³⁶ McCausland identifies these clouds with the firmament of Genesis and is indignant with writers who point out (correctly) that the Hebrews thought the firmament a solid vault.³⁷

McCausland adamantly maintains a hierarchical Great Chain of Being whereby God created each class of fauna separately in order of complexity, that he 'imposed a law of progress on himself',³⁸ that 'Each of the leading associate classes of the creation were in succession the monarchs of the world [before Man appeared]'. We are complacently told that insects were created in the Oolite period 'to feed on and enjoy the increasing bounties of Providence; while, on the other hand, new families of insectivorous creatures . . . are introduced with them, to check their increase, and maintain the due proportion which a wise Creator has willed should at all times exist among the various races of animals on the earth'. This process continues when

Man appears on the scene; advancing outwards from the uncivilized savage races of mankind to the civilized and civilizing sons of Adam. But the Creator is never absent; for the Power that infused life into the Eozoon of the Laurentian in the infancy of the world, is the same Power that breathed the breath of life into the nostrils of our forefather Adam.³⁹

The last step in this process will be the millennium – the final age or Sabbath, when Man as he now exists will be supplanted by the glorified inhabitants of the New Jerusalem.⁴⁰ This brings McCausland into conflict with all forms of evolutionism:

Very different is the development or transmutation theory, which was first proposed by Lamarck and De Maillet . . . that organic life commenced in the lowest and most simple forms; and being endued with an inherent property of progressive improvement, it has advanced, by the operation of pre-ordained natural laws, from the inferior to the superior orders of beings without any interference on the part of the deity, or any exercise of his immediately superintending power in the mundane economy . . . This theory, so dishonouring to God and degrading to Man, was soon rejected as an absurdity by the common sense of mankind. It was however revived, with a little variation, by the author of the *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation*.⁴¹

In particular, McCausland ridicules the consequent dispute about whether the monkey or the frog was the progenitor of humanity, mocking *Vestiges'* claim that it

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 172. ³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 261; S.L. Jaki, *Genesis 1 through the ages* (London, 1992). ³⁸ *Sermons*, pp 37, 92, 122. 'In [the fossils] we are permitted to study some of those links, of antique type and pattern, in the chain of being that unites the highest with the lowest species of organic life, and both with the omnipresent author of their existence'. *Sermons*, p. 92. ³⁹ *Sermons*, p. 122. ⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, appendix A, pp 259–64; appendix B, pp 265–78. ⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp 220–3.

must have been the frog because it, like mankind, has a calf to its leg.⁴² In relation to this question, McCausland writes:

[It] has been recently revived with the publication of Dr Darwin's *Origin of Species*, in which an attempt has been made to solve the mystery of the creation of life, by seeking to establish the proposition, that every existing species has been produced by generation from previously existing species . . . It must be conceded that by the principle of natural selection we can account for the origin of many varieties of the same species; but that is far short of the proposition, that an accumulation of inherited varieties may constitute a species difference.⁴³

McCausland then seizes on Darwin's diplomatic remark that all animals might descend from 'some one primordial form, into which life was first breathed':

This admits that life has been produced upon our planet by one, if not more, divine creative fiat; and such being the case it is more reasonable, as well as more natural, to account for the appearance of distinct orders of living creatures, from time to time, by the exercise of similar acts of Divine power, than by a vain endeavour to link together animals in relationship by descent that are wholly dissimilar in organization, and in all the habits, propensities, and instincts of their lives.⁴⁴

McCausland says the fossil record is less imperfect than Darwin maintains, because if intermediate forms existed they would have been discovered.⁴⁵ Finally, he proclaims the origin of species is beyond human reason, only communicable by divine revelation: 'leaning on God's Word, and reading the written and the stony records together, we are preserved from all such whimsical reveries and dangerous speculations'.⁴⁶

McCausland attacks Lamarck, Chalmers and Darwin throughout his later works. His central objection to evolutionary theory is that it implies a non-interventionist watchmaker God who set the earth in motion and, by extension, might be assumed not to intervene in human history as does the biblical deity, particularly in pre-millennialist interpretations:⁴⁷

Such is the theory of progressive development, which, admitting the existence of God, excludes Him from all immediate superintendence over the affairs of the world which he has created and furnished; and, by degrading man to the level of the brutes that perish, deprives his soul of all claim to immortality. But for these consequences, so strangely welcome to many a human heart living in a state of resistance to God, this fanciful dogma must have been long since

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 222n. ⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp 238–9. ⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 230. ⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 231. ⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp 231, 233. ⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp 224–7 (need for continuous divine intervention).

discarded by all reasoning minds as one of those amusing conceits which are frequently the offspring of perverted learning and misapplied research.⁴⁸

Accordingly, McCausland is convinced that the biblical narrative indicates the fixity of species. Thus, when an ingenious apologist tried to explain how the world's animal species fitted in the Ark by suggesting that Noah brought a few species from which the later multiplicity developed through natural selection, his use of the Darwinian concept was seen by McCausland as sufficient to discredit him.⁴⁹ He expresses sheer disgust that 'The man of science, on alleged scientific grounds, derives Caucasian man, not merely from the lowest species of humanity, but descends to a lower depth to seek his parentage in the monkey, the ape, or the gorilla',⁵⁰ and that 'The reasoning of Darwin, Huxley, Lubbock and others of the same school of thought, relegate the existence of man to an endless series of natural procreation without any defined beginnings'.⁵¹ He was confident, however, that the missing link between humanity and earlier species 'never has, and never will be, discovered'.⁵²

Two appendices to the revised edition of *Sermons* polemicize against Baden Powell's essay in *Essays and reviews* (1860), which argued that the Mosaic cosmology contradicted the discoveries of science and hence could not be divinely inspired. McCausland disagreed with at least two of Powell's critics, the apologists Birks and McCaul. Birks reacted to Powell's criticisms by reviving Chalmers' claim that a cataclysm involving the extinction of all previous life preceded the six-day creation (or rather re-creation) of Genesis, while McCaul tried to combine the Genesis narrative with the nebular hypothesis of *Vestiges*.⁵³

In *Adam and the Adamite* McCausland tries to harmonize scripture with geology, archaeology, history, language and ethnology: 'The physical sciences have been brought to bear on God's word and it must be defended and vindicated with the same weapons'.⁵⁴ If the Bible does not strictly establish the date of Adam's birth and genealogy, he proclaims, 'the whole fabric of the revelation must collapse'.⁵⁵ Thus, he supplies not only allegedly scientific arguments for his theory that all humanity except Caucasians and Semites are of pre-Adamite origin, but a discourse (with map) on the precise location of Paradise. In this way, McCausland habitually situates himself between the 'excesses' of scientist and 'religionist'. In *Sermons in stones*, Chalmers plays the latter role; whereas, *Adam and the Adamite* balances criticism of evolutionism with attacks on the degenerationist form of creationism associated with Archbishop Richard Whately, who argued that present-day primitive peoples descended from more advanced ancestors.⁵⁶ The degenerationist theory that the 'Negro and Mongol' developed from the Caucasian after Noah's Flood, and the rival view that Adam was black and the Caucasian a later development was dismissed by

48 *Ibid.*, p. 227. 49 *Builders*, p. 11. 50 *Ibid.*, p. 304. 51 *Ibid.*, p. 330. 52 *Adamite*, p. 191. 53 *Sermons*, appendix A, pp 259–64; appendix B, pp 265–78. 54 *Adamite*, p. 4. 55 *Ibid.*, p. 8. 56 *Ibid.*, pp 33, 73–5; *Builders*, p. 303. For a brief discussion of Whateleyan degenerationism, see P. Maume, 'The Orientalism of William Cooke Taylor' in R. Blyth & K. Jeffrey (eds), *The British Empire and its contested pasts* (Dublin, 2009), pp 77–94.

McCausland; he argued that that this idea possessed 'all the vices of the Lamarckian and Darwinian theories of the production of the species without any of their plausibilities'.⁵⁷

In support of his pre-Adamite theory, McCausland offers a revised translation of the first chapters of Genesis, where 'Adam' ['Man'] and 'ha-Adam' are translated as 'the Adamite' with 'ish' (also conventionally translated 'man') meaning mankind as a whole.⁵⁸ McCausland proclaims that the divine commission to multiply and replenish the earth is addressed specifically to Europeans. Pre-Adamite peoples are stationary; they have no literature, their languages are like those of infants or deaf and dumb people.⁵⁹ Furthermore, he argues that without the Adamite there would be no worship of God as McCausland did not believe in the concept of natural religion preceding revelation.⁶⁰ The Chinese, according to McCausland, are descendants of Cain; originally nomads in Central Asia, they poured into China displacing the aboriginal peoples, and after the dilution to insignificance of Cain's Adamite blood, remained static and Godless.⁶¹ The representative Semite, for McCausland, is the prophet contemptuous of institutions; the representative Japhetite is the scientific philosopher.

Proto-Indo European, according to McCausland, appeared at the Tower of Babel as the language of the descendants of Japheth; as proof he provides an elaborate narrative (drawing on various sciences, including recent archaeological discoveries) of their expansion into India and Europe. McCausland claims the earliest Hindu scriptures, the Vedas, are essentially monotheistic and reflect memories of the original revelations to Adam and Noah; he eagerly adapted Gladstone's suggestion that the Homeric poems display similar inspiration.⁶² Gladstone's diaries show that he read both *Adam and the Adamite* and *The builders of Babel*.⁶³

McCausland shows awareness of the difference between Neanderthal and Cro-Magnon man (he does not use these names), seeing the former as Stone Age aborigines and the latter as conquering Bronze Age Adamites.⁶⁴ He argues that the betaghs, or slave-class of Celtic society were aborigines subjected by the incoming Celts; and his view that the betaghs were eventually freed when Teutonic liberty

⁵⁷ *Adamite*, p. 304. Livingstone is mistaken in stating McCausland's reference to the derivation of 'Adam' from 'red' implies he thought Adam might have been black (*Adam's ancestors*, p. 151), see *Adamite*, pp 185–8. ⁵⁸ *Adamite*, pp 166–70. ⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp 110–11. ⁶⁰ *Builders*, pp 20–2; *Sermons*, p. 124. ⁶¹ *Adamite*, pp 196–7, 254–63. ⁶² *Builders*, pp 29–232. ⁶³ H.C.G. Matthew (ed.), *The Gladstone diaries*, VI (1861–8) (Oxford, 1978), p. 332, and *The Gladstone diaries*, VII (July 1871–Dec. 1874), pp 23–4. Gladstone certainly entertained pre-Adamite theories in the 1880s, but these do not appear to have derived from McCausland, since he emphasized the idea that Atlantis – in which McCausland took no interest – was the home of the pre-Adamites (letter to Sir Richard Owen, 23 Oct. 1885 in D. Lathbury (ed.), *Correspondence on church and religion of William Ewart Gladstone*, II (London, 1910), pp 107–9). This view implies that the pre-Adamites were mighty civilization-builders equal or superior in natural endowments to Adamic man – unlike McCausland's racially inferior pre-Adamites, but somewhat resembling the (Adamic) Hamites, whom McCausland postulates in *The Builders of Babel*. ⁶⁴ *Adamite*, p. 54.

abolished such distinctions conveys how the English conquests of Ireland fitted into McCausland's overall schema.⁶⁵

The builders of Babel purports to fill the gap in salvation history by explaining what the descendants of Ham and Japheth did between the Tower of Babel and the emergence of Greek civilization. Here, a larger role is played by the Hamites,⁶⁶ who in *Adam and the Adamite* are obscure and inconspicuous.⁶⁷ Here, they appear as city-dwellers, world-conquerors and explorers living by trade and 'combining military and mercantile power with the lowest religion and morality' in a manner that suggests misgivings about the commercial and social development of British and European civilization in McCausland's own epoch. However, there may be an Anglo-Protestant subtext, with the Hamites as the defeated Jacobites and the absolutist Catholic European monarchies – particularly the French – of the recent past. The highly speculative (not to say imaginative) nature of the whole construct is emphasized by McCausland's treatment of the Phoenicians. In *Shinar* (1867), he saw them as Semites,⁶⁸ but apparently realized that by making them racial Hamites (albeit Semitic in language) he could heighten the supposedly non-political nature of the Semites. Making the Phoenicians into Hamites could also strengthen his claim that civilizations not attributable to Japhetites were founded by Hamites. The pagodas of Burma and the step pyramids of Mesoamerica become evidence of Hamite/Phoenician settlement, and the erotically decorated temples of India are attributed to Hamite influence, compounded by the phallic worship of 'Thamulian' (that is, Tamil) aborigines. The biblical curse on Ham is fulfilled by cultural absorption and loss of separate identity, and McCausland predicts that the non-Persian cuneiform tablets of Mesopotamia (which he believed contained the literature of the Hamites) would, by divine decree, never be deciphered.

McCausland maintains Semites have no skill for government, but are always patriarchal and are naturally and instinctively religious. He argues that Old Testament Israelites showed little aptitude for kingship, except when copying their neighbours and that the Arab conquests from the seventh century onwards were driven by proselytism rather than desire for territory. McCausland conveniently maintains that the sedentary populations of the Middle East are of Hamitic descent; the only 'true' Semites are desert Arabs and wandering Jews.⁶⁹ His discussion is strongly influenced by Ernest Renan, except that where Renan suggests this racial tendency led Semites to invent monotheism without any supernatural input, McCausland argues this tendency was divinely created and fostered to make the Semites fit bearers of the revelations received through the prophets. He even suggests Mohammed, though an impostor, might have been divinely raised up to spread knowledge of the God of Abraham. McCausland's division between Semites and Japhetites recalls Matthew Arnold's distinction between Celt and Saxon, except that where Arnold abandons

⁶⁵ *Adamite*, p. 265. ⁶⁶ McCausland's pre-Adamite scenario excludes the traditional Christian racist belief that the Hamites were black. ⁶⁷ *Adamite*, pp 223–7. ⁶⁸ *Shinar*, p. 17. ⁶⁹ *Builders*, p. 25.

the biblical framework for nineteenth-century 'racial science', McCausland grafts contemporary ethnography onto the older framework. As Arnold advocates synthesis of Saxon and Celt, McCausland tries to reconcile Semitic religion and Japhetite science.

McCausland's account of Japhetite achievements, especially after the freeing of the mind from 'sacerdotalism' by the Reformation, rises to a near-ecstatic account of modern science and technology and the global dissemination of the Gospel – reminiscent of the post-millennialists he criticized. Isaac Newton (whose writings on the prophecies he admired) opened the sanctuary of divine law; electricity and magnetism bring us closer to divine providence.⁷⁰

The vast material and intellectual wealth of Europe and America has accumulated from a very small capital in a comparatively short period of time; and if progress is to continue with the same multiplication of speed and volume that marks the progress of the last few years, the work of the Japhetite will soon be completed, and his destiny accomplished. Everything has assumed colossal dimensions. Monster exhibitions and monster armies – monster guns and monster ships – monster hotels and monster shops – are the order of the day. Luxuries and literature, formerly confined to the few, are now provided for the million; and the simple offspring of fire and water [i.e. the steam engine] is the source from which this mighty flood of innovations has issued on the earth.⁷¹ ... Hurrying from place to place, bringing the ends of the earth and its inhabitants together by the rushing railway and the lightning speed of the electric telegraph, accumulating and extending knowledge that increases power, and concentrates force for production, and thereby multiplying and extending population throughout the earth, are the characteristics of our own times, and realize the prophetic decree of the enlargement of Japhet.⁷²

His portrayal of a predestined conquest and resettlement of the world by Adamites (with the Celts driven to seek out the New World by onrolling waves of Teutonic settlement, the Teutons in turn being driven after them by the Slavs, who will follow suit across the Atlantic)⁷³ and the disappearance of all other races display the same sense that history is speeding up, while incidentally revealing horribly racist attitudes:⁷⁴

Our Livingstones and Bakers, Grants and Burtons, sons of Japhet, are now exploring and seeking an entrance for our overflowing populations into the vast and hitherto unknown and misapprehended continent of Africa; and unless climate and soil forbid, the abode of the Negro will, in a few genera-

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp 236–7. ⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 269. ⁷² *Ibid.*, pp 333–4. ⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp 220–1. ⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp 278ff.

tions, be the emporium of commerce and the home of the Japhetite, in the same manner as the hills and valleys, the plains and prairies of the United States and British North America are now, and have been, the abode of the same people.⁷⁵

A similar displacement by Japhetite settlers is predicted for China, Japan and South Asia.⁷⁶

McCausland's last major refinement of his theories, however, displays pre-millennialist pessimism haunted by images of vanished civilizations displaced by divine judgment; his catalogues of technological accomplishment suggest a certain weariness and bewilderment at the pace of technological development since his youth:

Here is a period in the world's history, styled by a prophet [Daniel 12:4] who wrote six hundred years before the Christian era, 'the time of the end', adding, 'many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased. Whether this restlessness and enlargement of knowledge is intended to characterize 'the time of the end', or the period that is immediately to precede it, all must admit that it is remarkably descriptive of the present state of the civilized world.⁷⁷

McCausland displays discernable unease at the processes of massacre and bloodshed accompanying 'Japhetite' expansion, arguing both that it fulfils a divine decree and reflects the curse of Eden.⁷⁸ In the millennium, God will supplant the flawed Japhetite with a higher race and a better way of evangelization. Furthermore, he defends himself by pointing out that belief in monogenism has not prevented hideous mistreatment of primitive races.⁷⁹ McCausland insists that the redemption of mankind by the Adamite Jesus raises up the lesser human races also and that non-Adamites such as the Ethiopian eunuch baptized in the Acts of the Apostles are fully capable of salvation.

McCausland argues that where the Semite's failing is neglect of intermediate causes and attribution of everything to direct divine intervention, the Japhetites' besetting fault is rationalism, leading them to discover intermediate causes while ignoring Divine Providence.⁸⁰

The rapid advance of material civilization has never been accompanied by a corresponding advance in the moral culture of the community; on the contrary, it is found, that the higher the intellectual attainments, and the greater the prosperity, the more prevalent is the contempt or the perversion

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 296. ⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 183. ⁷⁷ Ibid., pp 333–4. ⁷⁸ *Adamite*, pp 266–7. ⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 304. ⁸⁰ McCausland originally stated this in *Shinar*, published as Irish disestablishment returned to the political agenda. *Shinar*, pp 44–5.

of God's word. The Babylon of the Revelation, which typifies the climax of progressing civilization, presents to view a community which combines the highest commercial prosperity and the most refined luxury with a low moral condition and gross apostasy; and all are buried together on the confines of a better dispensation, typified by the New Jerusalem, which is to be the scene of a future reign of righteousness and peace on the earth.⁸¹

Thus McCausland brings his readers full circle, back into his earlier prophecy writings.

McCausland had a fairly significant contemporary readership and in 1911 was noteworthy enough for mention in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* ('Preadamites').⁸² Now, he is only cited by racist exponents of Identity Theology, and to visit his works is to discover a buried intellectual landscape, its extinct fauna unable to adapt to changed conditions.

⁸¹ *Builders*, p. 283. ⁸² www.newadvent.org/cathen/12370a.htm (accessed 30 June 2009). For McCausland's critical reception, see Livingstone, *Adam's ancestors*, pp 104–5, 164; for his later use by white supremacists, see pp 198, 208, 218.