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THE
CHRISTIAN REVIEW.

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Editors.

JAMES J. WOOLSEY.
WILLIAM C. ULYAT.

Assistant Editors.

R. TURNBULL, D.D. PROFESSOR H. B. HACKETT.
J. N. MURDOCK, D.D. PROFESSOR J. L. LINCOLN.
WM. R. WILLIAMS, D.D.

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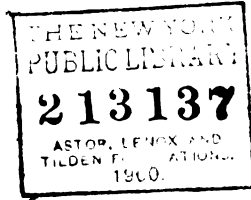
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THE
CHRISTIAN REVIEW.

NO. LXXXIII.—JANUARY, 1856.

THE ÆSTHETIC INFLUENCE OF NATURE.

The Soul in Nature; with Supplementary Contributions. By
HANS CHRISTIAN OERSTED. London: Henry G. Bohn.
1852.

THE aspects of a country always impress themselves upon the soul of man, and awaken both his reason and his imagination. His reason is awakened by the observation of the relations and the changes in matter which indicate the operation of different forces. The super-position and the other relations of the strata of the earth's crust, suggest to the mind interesting problems as to the genetic origin of the earth, the solution of which constitutes geology. The vast multitude of stars scattered in such varying groups throughout illimitable space, and presenting such different combinations and appearances; and the motions of the solar system in the different orbits, and the eccentric wanderings of the comets: all appeal to the inquiring mind and present to it complicated problems which promote the development of mathematical thought, and result in the sublime generalizations and deductions of astronomy. The manifold differences and resemblances in the vegetable kingdom interest the mind, and excite a desire to conquer the diversities and bring them into the unity of a system; and thus the science of botany is built up. The unceasing mutations of combination and decomposition, ever taking place in the material of the telluric

world, present to the reason those phenomena which classified and resolved make up the science of chemistry. And so every portion of the material world is constantly presenting to the mind of man problems of thought which it is his greatest delight and his noblest employment to solve; thus developing within him powers of reason of which he would otherwise be altogether unconscious.

Just as the contemplation of the agencies, which are employed by nature in producing the transformations of matter, develops the reason of man, so does the contemplation of the beautiful forms, which cover the surface of the earth, awaken his imagination. The beautiful scenery of nature impresses us with the sense of an unseen spirituality, and the imagination, kindled by the inspiration which breathes from the forms of beauty, weaves the poet's dream and gives to nature the charms of fancy. And the man of science, after he has traced with laborious steps the mysterious forces by which the earth is formed, dwells in imaginative contemplation on the scenes of beauty spread out upon its surface. The most impressive book which has been given to science in this age, is the fruits of the impressions made upon the mind of the author by the peculiar aspects of the earth at the spot where he was born. *The Foot-prints of the Creator* would never have been written, if Hugh Miller had not been born on the *Old Red Sandstone* of Scotland. The profound scientific reasonings of that book were suggested by the facts written on the stones; and the exquisite delineations of scenery with which here and there the argument is adorned, were impressed upon the imagination of the author by the beauty of the locality where his young eyes first beheld the charms of nature. And no man is more fully aware of the influence which particular localities exert on the mind, giving direction to the thoughts, than Mr. Miller himself. In the dedication of his first work on geology, *The Old Red Sandstone*, to Sir Roderick Murchison, the author of the *Silurian System*, he says:—

“Smith, the father of English geology, loved to remark that he had been born upon the Oolite—the formation whose various deposits he was the first to distinguish and describe, and from which, as from a meridian line of the geographer, the geological scale has been graduated on both

sides. I have thought of the circumstance when, on visiting in my native district the birthplace of the author of the *Silurian System*, I found it situated among the more ancient fossiliferous rocks of the North of Scotland, the lower formation of the Old Red Sandstone spreading out beneath and around it, and the first-formed deposit of the system, the great conglomerate, rising high on the neighboring hills. It is unquestionably no slight advantage to be placed, at that early stage of life, when the mind collects its facts with greatest avidity, and the curiosity is most alive, in localities where there is much to attract observation that has escaped the notice of others. Like the gentleman whom I have the honor of addressing, I too was born on the Old Red Sandstone, and first broke ground as an inquirer into geological fact in a formation scarce at all known to the geologist, and in which there still remains much for future discoverers to examine and describe."

As we pass along the delightful pages of both *The Old Red Sandstone* and *The Foot-prints*, and see how sentiment is commingled with reasoning, we feel that the philosopher is thinking amidst the associations of the boy. On the scenery which overlays and surrounds the Old Red Sandstone, the delighted eyes of the boy had often dwelt before those profound truths had emerged from the rocks beneath to animate the reason of the philosopher. His young spirit had often rejoiced amidst the sweet influences of the beauties of nature. The first morning after he had, when a boy, begun his toils in the stone quarries, we find him rejoicing in the beauty of the surrounding scenery, and refreshing his soul by the suggested sentiments :

"All the workmen (says he) rested at mid-day, and I went to enjoy my half hour alone on a mossy knoll in the neighboring wood, which commands through the trees a wide prospect of the bay and the opposite shore. There was not a wrinkle on the water, nor a cloud in the sky, and the branches were as moveless in the calm as if they had been traced on canvas. From a wooded promontory that stretched half way across the frith, there ascended a thin column of smoke. It rose straight as the line of a plummet for more than a thousand yards, and then, on reaching a thinner stratum of air, spread out equally on every side, like the foliage of a stately tree. Ben Nevis rose to the west, white with the yet unwasted snows of winter, and sharply defined in the clear atmosphere, as if all its sunny slopes and blue retiring hollows had been chiselled in marble. A line of snow ran along the opposite hills ; and all above was white, and all below was purple. They reminded me of the pretty French story in which an old artist is described as tasking the ingenuity of his

future son-in-law, by giving him as a subject for his pencil, a flower-piece composed of only white flowers, of which one half were to bear their proper color, the other half a deep purple hue, and yet all be perfectly natural; and how the young man resolved the riddle, and gained his mistress, by introducing a transparent purple vase into the picture and making the light pass through it on the flowers that were drooping over the edge. I returned to the quarry, convinced that a very exquisite pleasure may be a very cheap one, and that the busiest employment may afford leisure to enjoy it."

Thus did the surrounding scenery cheer and strengthen the heart, and kindle the imagination of the boy, until his reason unfolded so as to discern the great geological truths, that at once converted his field of labor into a field of science; and the laboring man became a philosopher. And now that he is a philosopher, the æsthetic aspects of nature exert as powerful an influence over his feelings and imagination, as the profound truths, which come up from the bosom of the earth, do over his reason, giving a brilliancy to his writings that constitutes half of their charm. For what can be more refreshing than those occasional sketches of scenery, with which he enlivens us along the path of scientific inquiry? The imagination descends from its brighter realm, to adorn the solid structure reared by reason.

Baron Humboldt is another striking example of a mind deeply susceptible to natural scenery. Hear what he says of himself:

"I would not, however, omit calling attention to the fact, that impressions arising from apparently accidental circumstances often, as is repeatedly confirmed by experience, exercise so powerful an effect on the youthful mind, as to determine the whole direction of a man's career through life. The child's pleasure in the form of countries, and of seas and lakes, as delineated in maps; the desire to behold southern stars invisible in our hemisphere; the representation of palms and cedars of Lebanon as depicted in our illustrated bibles, may all implant in the mind the first impulse to travel into distant countries. If I might be permitted to instance my own experience, and recall to mind the source from whence sprang my early and fixed desire to visit the land of the tropics, I should name George Forster's *Delineations of the South Sea Islands*, the pictures of Hodge, which represented the shores of the Ganges, and which I first saw at the house of Warren Hastings in London, and a colossal dragon tree in an old tower of the Botanical Garden at Berlin."

The curiosity awakened in the mind of Humboldt by these causes, led him to navigate almost every sea, and to traverse the most striking portions of the earth—from the gorgeous Alpine tropical landscapes of South America, to the dreary wastes of the steppes in Northern Asia. He was thus led to see more of the earth, than any one of the thousands of millions who have dwelt upon it. From his own individual experience, he has been enabled to delineate a scientific picture of the world. Amidst all his toilsome travels and tedious scientific observations and instrumental experiments, the refreshing influences of the beauties of natural scenery animated his heart, and fired his imagination in the pictures after pictures presented by the earth, the ocean, and the sky. It was not the mere cold curiosity of the man of science, with his books and his instruments, that led him over the earth. Reason alone never did and never can induce any man to undertake such a pilgrimage, nor could it sustain him amidst its toils. The feelings and the imagination, roused by what has been seen, and by what is anticipated, give to man his power in all his greatest enterprises and his noblest works. Humboldt gives us occasionally in his *Cosmos*, glimpses of the pleasing and refreshing influences which the aspects of nature shed upon his mind.

“In reflecting (says he) upon the different degrees of enjoyment presented to us in the contemplation of nature, we find that the first place must be assigned to a sensation, which is wholly independent of an intimate acquaintance with physical phenomena presented to our view, or of the peculiar character of the region surrounding us. In the uniform plain, bounded only by a distant horizon, where the lowly heather, the cistus, or waving grasses deck the soil; on the ocean shore, where waves, softly rippling over the beach, leave a track green with the weeds of the sea; everywhere the mind penetrated by the same sense of the grandeur and vast expanse of nature, revealing to the soul, by a mysterious inspiration, the existence of laws that regulate the forces of the universe. Mere communion with nature, mere contact with the air, exercise a soothing yet strengthening influence on the wearied spirit, calm the storm of passion, and soften the heart when shaken by sorrow to its inmost depths.”

Here we see Humboldt, in his eightieth year, remembering with joy, and recording in the last book he expected to give to the world, the exquisite delight which the beauties of

nature, in his wanderings over the earth, awakened within his soul. He has devoted a long life to the cultivation of the physical sciences, and when he presents, at its close, the picture of the universe which these sciences have delineated before his mental eye, he chastens and sublimates that picture by the mellowing hue of the feelings awakened by the æsthetic aspects of nature. The pleasures of the imagination mingle with the satisfactions of reason. The joys of the heart cluster around the monument which the intellect has reared, to adorn and to hallow it.

Having shown the æsthetic influence of the material world upon the minds of two living men distinguished, not in the province of sentiment, but in the colder domain of science, we can, with confidence, proceed to the consideration of the same influence upon nations, where the aggregates of minds are swayed in the same way, by the peculiar features of the countries they inhabit. If we had begun our argument with the consideration of nations, as perhaps the more systematic treatment of the subject requires, it might have been obnoxious to the charge of the vagueness of generality. But having shown, by strong individual examples, that man is powerfully influenced by the æsthetic aspects of the scenery which surrounds him, we establish it as a sure principle of human nature, which must come into play in the history of nations, and determine many of their peculiar characteristics.

Let us now turn our attention to that country which stands the most distinguished in ancient history for its æsthetic culture.

The history of Greece opens with scenes of the imagination; with myths and legends. How did all these myths and legends originate? What made the Greeks conceive and cherish and preserve such works of the imagination? One cause must be sought in the peculiar features of the country. Of all parts of Europe, Greece is amongst the most remarkable for its mountains, hills, and valleys. There are no plains anywhere. It is the very home of seclusion and mystery. Every stream that flows through the cleft of a mountain brings to the imagination some story of the region beyond. Mountains and hills, and not rivers, make barriers between tribes of

early settlers in a country. Each tribe knows all within the horizon of its own valleys; but beyond, all is fiction. The myths and legends originated in the mystery which hangs over a country thus shut up in valleys by mountains and hills. They are the stories of an unlettered and imaginative age, current amongst a people which the poets of a later period elaborate, amplify, and adorn.

But it was not only this peculiar configuration of the country which heightened in the Greeks the mythopoeic propensity common to all nations in the earlier ages of their history, which caused the Greeks to invent so many myths; but the myths, as will be presently shown, originated in the direct contemplation of nature.

In the contemplation of nature, there are three stages of progress, the mythical, the poetical, and the scientific. The mythical is in the earliest ages of society, when all things address themselves to the feelings and the imagination, and men do not discriminate between the fictions of the imagination and the perceptions of reason, as is exemplified in the mythology of nations. The poetical is, when men do distinguish between the fictions of the imagination and the perceptions of reason, but yet blend them together in their views of nature for the sake of effect; as is exemplified in poetry. The scientific is, when men look at nature with the cold eye of reason, uncolored by the feelings; as is exemplified in the physical sciences.

It is the mythical stage which we are considering: when marvels and prodigies are believed in; when the feelings and the imagination are almost the only faculties of the mind that are exercised; when there is no such thing as recorded facts, no such thing as positive science, no such thing as a critical standard for testing any kind of truth; when all that is called knowledge is but the natural, unconsidered effusions of the unlettered, imaginative, and believing man. It is in this state of mind that those myths and popular stories originate which constitute the earliest intellectual stock of every people. And they are believed in, not as fictions, but as realities.

Of all the nations of the earth, the Greeks had the greatest

number, the most consistent, and the most beautiful myths and legends. And they originated from the direct contemplation of nature. The personages who figured in them were personified physical powers. At the earliest period of their history, the Greeks had no idea of any invariable sequences in nature. They supposed that all the operations were carried on by the habitual agency of intelligent and voluntary beings. In no other way could they account for the physical phenomena which they saw around them. From this view of nature, their gods, their giants, and their superhuman persons originated.

There is in the mind of man an imaginative, personifying sympathy. It is most strongly manifested in the earliest stages of society. Amongst the Greeks it was almost unbounded, because of their singularly active imaginations. They personified almost everything in the material world. The greater operations of nature they conceived to be carried on by the agency of the superior gods, whom they con-founded and identified with the departments of the physical world. And the minor operations of nature they ascribed to inferior agents.

“The great Olympic gods,” says Grote in his history of Greece, “were in fact only the most exalted amongst an aggregate of quasi-human or ultra-human personages,—dæmons, heroes, nymphs, eponyms (or name-giving), genii, identified with each river, mountain, cape, town, village, or known circumscription of country.”

“The extensive and multiform personifications here faintly sketched,” continues Grote, “pervaded in every direction the mental system of the Greeks, and were identified intimately both with their conception and with the description of phenomena, present as well as past. That which to us is interesting as the mere creation of an exuberant fancy, was to the Greek genuine and venerated reality. Both the earth and the solid heavens (Gæa and Uranos) were conceived and spoken of by him as endowed with appetite, feeling, sex, and most of the various attributes of humanity. Instead of a sun such as we now see subject to astronomical laws, and forming the centre of a system of changes which we can ascertain and foreknow, he saw the great god Hélios mounting his chariot in the morning in the east, reaching at mid-day the height of the solid heaven, and arriving in the evening at the western horizon, with horses fatigued and desirous of repose. To us these appear puerile though pleasing fancies; but to a Homeric Greek they seemed perfectly natural

and plausible. In his view the description of the sun, as given in a modern astronomical treatise, would have appeared not merely absurd, but repulsive and impious. Even in later times, when the positive spirit of inquiry has made considerable progress, Anaxagoras and the other astronomers incurred the charge of blasphemy for dispersonifying Hêlios, and trying to assign invariable laws to the solar phenomena. Personifying fiction was in this way blended by the Homeric Greeks with their conception of the physical phenomena before them, not simply in the way of poetical ornament, but as a genuine portion of their every-day belief."

We see then, how, in the infancy of the human mind, the external world acts upon the feelings and the imagination of men. The reason is almost unexercised. The feelings and the imagination control all the beliefs. The material world is believed to be constituted of actual personages of both sexes, masculine and feminine, according as the influences are stern or gentle. Olympus and Parnassus and Helicon, each had its own myths, corresponding in some degree with its respective features. Olympus was the peculiar abode of the gods, Helicon of Apollo and the Muses. The physical aspects of the mountains differed accordingly. Olympus was rugged and cloud-capped upon its cold peaks. Helicon was sylvan and full of fountains and grottoes. And Arcadia, lying shut up in its clusters of valleys amidst pastoral seclusion, was the scene of all those stories of rural sentiment which the imaginations of the Greeks invented.

The myths and legends of Greece became a permanent part of Grecian literature. They were embodied in the poems of Homer and Hesiod, and thus became immortal. The Greeks were placed in peculiar social and political circumstances for developing and preserving their myths and legends. Never were so many independent communities clustered together in so small a territory. They were cut off from much intercourse with each other, by the barriers of mountains and inaccessible hills; and they were equally secluded from the rest of the world. From these causes, the Greeks were the most exclusive and self-dependent people who have attained high position in history. The entire transition of the Greek mind from its earliest dawn was accomplished by its own inherent powers, with but comparatively little aid from foreign culture. From the poetry of Homer to the philoso-

phy of Plato and Aristotle, there is little else than unaided Greek thought. One thread of thought and of feeling, and that entirely Hellenic, runs through the whole. The mythical ideas which were the spontaneous effusion of the early Greek mind, impressed by the aspects of nature, were transmitted and transfused into the poetry, the history, the theology, and the philosophy of the mature Greek intellect, and constituted more or less of the opinions of the wisest men. This was the case with no other people who have attained a place in history. The Teutonic and Celtic populations of Europe had their mythology. The Hindoos and Persians have theirs; and so have most, if not all nations. But what is imperfectly exhibited in them, is clearly manifested in the Greeks. We may, therefore, use the Greek civilization as the true natural type of human progress distinctly marked at each stage, and constituting an example from which we can reason in regard to man in general.

Such, then, is the character of the first stage in the contemplation of the material world. We see how its æsthetic aspects overpower the mind, and subordinate reason to the feelings and the imagination. To this the poetical stage succeeds.

When positive science, with its cardinal idea of invariable sequence, begins to supplant the notion of the agency of voluntary beings everywhere present performing the operations of nature, the personifications become mere poetical fancies. Reason takes the reins of the intellectual progress, and the feelings and the imagination assume their proper functions in the mental economy. Then, the æsthetic aspects of nature exert no more than their proper truthful influence upon the feelings and the imagination. The poetical takes the place of the mythical.

It is true that poetry, as an art, may exist long before the mythical age passes away, and the myths themselves become subjects of poetry; as is shown in Homer and Hesiod. But this does not preclude the distinction between the mythical and the poetical contemplation of nature. Because there is surely a difference between believing that the personifications of nature are actual persons, and that they are mere poetical

fancies. Though poetry therefore may exist in the mythical age, still the poetical contemplation of nature does not; because, as yet, the personifications of nature are believed in as real persons, and not as mere poetical fancies. When the personifications become mere poetical fancies, then the poetical stage of contemplation has been arrived at.

The remainder of our inquiry will proceed through the poetical stage of the contemplation of nature. This stage of contemplation never passes away. Nations and individuals always contemplate nature poetically, no matter how far science has progressed. Science never can disenchant nature of its poetical expression. Poetry will flourish in the feelings of men in contemplating nature, as long as nature shall wear its present aspects. It is then only *logically*, that the poetical and the scientific stages of contemplating nature succeed each other. The mythical passes away entirely before the poetical succeeds, but the poetical continues through the whole period of the scientific. Even at this time of inordinate scientific contemplation, nature still awakens poetic fancies in the imaginations of men. The man of science, no less than the poet, realizes the fact in his own experience; as we have seen in Miller and Humboldt. We shall, therefore, in the remainder of our inquiry, consider ourselves as within both the poetical and scientific stages of the contemplation of nature, and shall say nothing more about the distinctions which we have been illustrating.

Let us then return to Grecian civilization, and mark the transition from the mythical to the poetical contemplation of nature, and see how the aspects of nature continued to impress the Greek mind throughout its literature.

As the history of Greece opens with scenes of the imagination, so does its literature open with poetry. The Iliad and Odyssey are the foundations of the literature of Greece. They moulded the whole of Grecian thought, the oratory, the history, and the philosophy. And sculpture and painting were inspired by the masterly delineations of the Homeric poems. The chariots, the armor, the sacred vessels, the persons of the heroes and heroines, and the gods and goddesses are described with such accuracy, and are conceived in such

ideal perfection, that the Greek mind, at a later period, could not but reproduce them in the arts of sculpture and painting.

Now, nothing is more manifest in the Homeric poems than the influence of the aspects of nature. It is true, that the Greek mind was directed more towards the realities of active life than towards the phenomena of nature, and therefore the description of natural scenery did not become a distinct branch of poetry; but the epic, the lyric, and the dramatic, in which human actions and passions are described, were the kinds of poetry in which the Greek mind manifested itself. In these kinds of poetry descriptions of natural scenery occur only as incidental accessories and not as special creations of the imagination. But then, the very deepest sense of the beauty of nature is manifested by these incidental descriptions thrown into the most animated scenes of human action. What, for example, can show more susceptibility to the aspects of nature, than the bringing into the most stirring scenes of the Iliad natural imagery, to illustrate and heighten the spirit of the narrative? The mind of the poet, smitten and inspired by the strongest sympathy in contemplating human actions, and striving after the most impressive modes of expressing its feelings and its thoughts, seizes upon striking scenery and objects in nature, and makes them the vehicle of conveying its own fires, to kindle a conflagration in the bosoms of others. This is manifested throughout the Homeric poems. Who does not recollect, at once, that beautiful natural imagery which is employed to heighten the description of the camp fires of the Grecian host before the walls of Troy?

“As when about the silver moon,
 when air is free from wind,
 And stars shine clear, to whose sweet beams
 high prospects and the brows
 Of all steep hills and pinnacles
 thrust up themselves for shows,
 And even the lowly valleys joy
 to glitter in their sight;—
 When the unmeasured firmament
 bursts to disclose her light,
 And all the signs in heaven are seen,
 that glad the shepherd’s heart.”

In this impressive description, besides other things, the effect of the scene upon the shepherd's heart is depicted; thus showing that the humblest rejoiced in the beauty of nature. This one passage from the Iliad would be quite sufficient to show the great power of natural scenery in firing the imaginations of the Greeks. But we will now cite an instance, which, more than any other, shows the profound sense of the beauty of natural scenery felt by the Greeks. In that masterpiece of artistic conception, the shield of Achilles, many of the ornaments wrought upon it by divine art are natural scenery.

"Next this, the eye, the art of Vulcan leads
Deep through fair forests, and a length of meads;
And stalls and folds, and scatter'd cots between,
And fleecy flocks, that whiten all the scene."

If natural scenery had not a particular charm for the Greek mind, no such representation as this would have been depicted on this fabric, simulated to have been made by a god. And what is more, the crowning conception of the work was borrowed from nature. The last ornament which was to throw a glory over the whole, was the ocean flowing around the shield in mimic life.

"Then the broad shield complete the artist crown'd
With his last hand, and pour'd the ocean round,
In living silver seem'd the waves to roll
And beat the buckler's verge and bound the whole."

We have said, that in Greek poetry natural imagery is used only as an incidental accessory; yet there are instances where it has been introduced for its own sake. In the catalogue of the Grecian ships, engaged in the Trojan war, given in the second book of the Iliad, the States of Greece, to which the ships respectively belonged, are described by the peculiar aspect of their scenery. We would quote all the instances, if the warmth of our comments could give life to them: but as they would, like transplanted flowers, lose their lustre, we shall cite but two.

Arcadia is thus described:

“ Where, under high Cyllené, crown'd with wood,
 The shaded tomb of old Æpytus stood ;
 From Ripé, Stratie, and Zezea's bordering towns,
 The Phemean fields, and Orchomenian downs,
 Where the fat herds in plenteous pasture rove,
 And Stymphelus with her surrounding grove,
 Pharrhasia on her snowy cliffs reclin'd,
 And high Enispé shook by wintry wind.”

This description, as well as all the others, are considered so characteristic, as to show that Homer was intimately acquainted with the scenery of each country.

The country of Syloemenes' command is thus described :

“ Where Erythinus' rising cliffs are seen,
 Thy groves of box, Cytorus ! ever green ;
 And where Ægyllalus and Cromna lie,
 And lofty Sesanus invades the sky ;
 And where Parthemenes roll'd through banks of flowers,
 Reflects her bordering palaces and towers.”

Here then are descriptions of natural scenery thrown into the Iliad, because of its impression upon the mind. And so many descriptions, in immediate succession, are given, as to show that the fancy could range over them all, with the same delight that the eye beholds the aspects of the countries described. A dry catalogue of the number of ships from each country, instead of being dull, like the report of a secretary of the navy, is made intensely captivating by the various pictures of nature. The descriptions were as delightful to the Greeks, as the narrative of the warlike actions of their heroes.

Every reader of the Odyssey is familiar with the beautiful descriptions of natural scenery scattered through it. In the fifth book, the grove near Calypso's grotto, “ where even an immortal would linger with admiration, rejoicing in the beautiful view,” cannot but touch the sensibilities of every cultivated mind. And who has forgotten the description of the garden of Alcinous in the seventh book, where all the beauties of spring, the luxuriance of summer, and the richness of autumn are mingled together into one never-failing scene of rural charms ?

The Homeric poems carried this sensibility to the beauties

of nature down through the whole of Grecian literature. It is manifested in the deepest tragedies of the great dramatists. In the gloom of the darkest and saddest scenes, descriptions of natural imagery, soft and bright, are sometimes presented, to heighten the tragic effect, by the contrast between the repose of nature and the frenzy of passion. As, for example, when the fated Ædipus, the victim of a mysterious passion, is represented by Sophocles in the midst of "the verdant gloom of the thickly mantling ivy, the narcissus steeped in dew, the golden-beaming crocus, and the hardy and ever fresh-sprouting olive-tree."

But it is not in the tragic poets only that the delineations of natural scenery is given. In the comic dramatists, instances are given in burlesque that are remarkable for truthfulness, individuality, and distinctness; showing with what keen sensibility the poet had felt the scenery of nature. In the "Clouds" of Aristophanes, where the approach of the chorus is described, there is one of the most truthful delineations of clouds in connection with the landscape to be found in all literature. And though the clouds are personified, yet they are kept within the similitude of nature. They are still clouds moving in a hill country.

"Fly swift, ye clouds, and give yourselves to view!
 Whether on high Olympus' sacred top,
 Snow-crown'd, ye sit, or in the azure vales
 Of your father Ocean sporting weave
 Your misty dance, or dip your golden urns
 In the seven mouths of Nile.

And o'er the mountain's pine-capt brow
 Towering your fleecy mantle throw:
 Thence let us scan the wide-stretch'd scene,
 Groves, lawns, and rilling streams between,
 And stormy Neptune's vast expanse,
 And grasp all nature at a glance."

None but an accurate and delighted observer of nature could have written such a description. It was the commingling of land and sea, of hills and hollows and ravines in the landscape of Greece, that had often presented to the im-

aginative sympathy of Aristophanes the picture of clouds descending and rising, sometimes revealing and sometimes obscuring the scenery of the earth and the ocean. And when he was ridiculing the science of the Sophists, which attempted to explain the nature of clouds, though all is done in a spirit of comedy, he yet depicts nature as she lay pictured in his memory. He gives a Grecian landscape of clouds. It has the individuality of a hill country surrounded by an ocean visible everywhere.

We see then, that in the fiery narrative of the great epic, in the deep pathos of the tragic muse, and in the mimic spirit of comedy, a sense of beauty to the aspects of nature was ever present to the Greek mind.

Our investigation has already brought us far into the era of the scientific observation of nature by the Greeks. And here again, the susceptibility to the æsthetic aspects of nature is manifested. The very word which the Greek philosophers used to express world (*cosmos*) showed their sense of the beauty of nature. The word means ornament, and shows that it was the beauty of nature which moulded their conception of its character. Their imaginative sympathy, rather than their reason, was awakened by the contemplation of nature. And the reader of Plato knows with what vivid hues of the imagination he has colored all his remarks upon the physical world. And even Aristotle, the most scientific and coldest observer amongst the Greeks, could thus speak of nature :

“ If they could suddenly behold the earth, and the sea, and the vault of heaven ; could recognize the expanse of the cloudy firmament and the might of the winds of heaven, and admire the sun in its majesty, beauty, and radiant effulgence ; and lastly, when night veiled the earth in darkness, they could behold the starry heavens, the changing moon, and the stars rising and setting in unvarying course ordained from eternity ; they would surely exclaim, there are gods, and such great things must be the work of their hands.”

We have now seen that, after the mythopoeic age had passed away, and poetry, and history, and philosophy had become civilizing influences, the æsthetic aspects of nature still awakened the imaginative sympathy of the Greeks. The

peculiar hill scenery, together with the bright and cheerful aspect of the sea visible from every part of Greece, could not but exert a powerful influence on the minds of the inhabitants. In no country is inland and maritime life more entirely blended. The Greeks dwelt upon the sea as well as upon the land. Their history is full of maritime expeditions. The Argonautic expedition of Jason in search of the golden fleece, was one of a thousand heroic adventures by sea which make up the legendary history of Greece. And the Trojan war, the greatest of all these expeditions of the heroic age, together with the subsequent wanderings of Ulysses by sea and by land, the first celebrated in the Iliad and the second in the Odyssey, shows how much of the sea the Greeks must have seen. And, besides these voyages of chivalrous adventure, stimulated by imaginative sympathy and a love of daring, commerce led the Greeks to maritime life. They planted colonies, and widened the limits of their home. All this gave animation to life, enlarged the range of thought, and imparted to it more various hues. The sacred ship that made an annual voyage to the island of Delos to bear votive gifts to the temple of Apollo, carried with it the common sentiments of Greece, to cluster around the distant island. In all these voyages, so full of romance, the minds of the voyagers were peculiarly conditioned for noting the æsthetic aspects of the sea. And it is manifested in the poetry of the Greeks. The aspects of the sea, whether in tempest or in calm, are depicted in all their individuality. Old Æschylus saw, as we now see, smiles in that play of light on the dimpled face of a calm sea, and has thus expressed it:

“The countless playful smiles
Of ocean's waves.”

Æschylus has passed from the earth for more than two thousand years, and yet nature is the same. His mind gladdened at the same aspect of the sea that now pleases us. Nature does not change. Neither does the mind of man. They are bound together in an enduring sympathy.

And there were many causes appealing to the imaginative sympathy which made the Greeks familiar also with the in-

land scenery. Their religion, with its temples built in every state, together with their national festivals, caused the Greeks to travel from their respective homes to so many distant common centres of national sympathy. They, in this way, saw the whole inland scenery. The Greek was, in fact, a charmed life. The beautiful was the ruling influence. In the sacred country of Olympia, where stood the temple of Jupiter Olympus, all the Greeks assembled at festivals. Here was the sanctuary of art. The sacred grove of olive and plane trees on the banks of the river Alpheus was filled with thousands of monuments and statues of the most perfect art, erected in honor of gods, and heroes, and conquerors. In the centre stood the national temple of Olympian Jove, containing the colossal statue of that God, the masterpiece of Phidias. The temple of Juno Lucina, the theatre, and the prytaneum also stood amidst the sacred grove. Here, on this romantic spot, did the universal Greek mind breathe the atmosphere of beauty. With their minds thus fired by the glories of art, the Greeks could the more keenly appreciate the glories of nature.

But it is not only by their literature and art, that the beautiful is shown to have been the ruling influence in the civilization of the Greeks. It is also shown by the political supremacy of Athens. Athens, the peculiar nurse of the arts and of literature, became the ruling power. In this city all the business of life was transacted amidst the halo of beauty. Art and nature cast their mingled charms everywhere and over everything.

In a plain, surrounded on three sides by mountains, and by the sea on the fourth, Athens was built all around the hill of the Acropolis, round towards the mountains, but chiefly towards the sea; and upon this hill were built the glories of architecture. At the entrance of the hill were the temples of the guardian deities of Athens. On the left was the temple of Pallas and of Neptune; on the right rose far above every thing else the glorious Parthenon, the pride of Athens, with its colossal statue of Minerva by Phidias. At the foot of the hill was the Odeon and the theatre of Bacchus, where the immortal dramas were performed. At a little distance was the

hill upon which the Areopagus held its sessions; and also the hill of the Pnyx, where the people met to deliberate upon public affairs. And thousands of other monuments of art were scattered over the city.

Every ship, as it approached the city, could behold from afar the splendors which crowned the Acropolis. And from the Acropolis could be seen the two peaks of Hymettus on the east; Pentelicus, with its quarries of white marble, on the north; to the north-west the Citheron was seen at a great distance, rising above smaller mountains; and Lauricum, with its silver mines, lay to the south-east, almost at the end of the peninsula. And towards the south-west the eye could sweep over the harbors and Saronic bay, with the islands of Salamis and Ægina, as far as the lofty citadel of Corinth.

Here then, amidst the glories of nature stood Athens with her glories of art. It was in the order of history, that the beautiful should triumph over the useful in Greek civilization. It was the decree of providence that Athens should rule, and not Bœotia.

“Athens the fair, where great Erectheus sway’d,
That ow’d his nurture to the blue-eyed maid.”

In the Trojan war, Bœotia stood at the head of the states in the catalogue of the ships. It was then the wealthiest and the most populous of the Greek States. But in it material interests predominated. In the fifth book of the Iliad, when Oresbius the king of Bœotia is slain, Homer gives the character of the people:

“Oresbius in his painted mitre gay
In fat Bœotia held his wealthy sway,
Where lakes surround low Hylé’s watery plain,
And prince and people studious of their gain.”

How different would have been the history of Greece, if Bœotia, and not Athens, had become the ruling power—if avarice, and not imaginative sympathy, had become the chief element in Greek civilization! Like Tyre and Carthage, Athens would have had her merchant princes, but not her

poets, orators, historians, philosophers, sculptors, and painters. And her wealth would have perished, and, not like her works of thought, have survived for the use of all succeeding generations of men.

In the discussion of our subject, we pass in the order of history from Greece to Rome. There was much less of enchantment in Roman than in Grecian life. The Romans were a much less imaginative people than the Greeks. From causes which are hidden in the unknown history of races, and which no sagacity can penetrate, the Romans were much duller in their emotional nature. Their imaginative sympathy was not so easily quickened, nor after it was quickened was it so overmastering in controlling all the intellectual operations. But still, the Romans were far from being an unimaginative people. Their earlier history is laid in fabulous stories full of romance. The ballad-poetry which embodied many of these stories, and which Cicero wished so much had been preserved, wholly perished. The great mirror then, which reflected the imaginative period of Roman life, has been lost. But yet, the stories which have been set forth in the narrative of Livy, as real history of the earlier times, show that the Romans were full of imaginâtion and sentiment, at a period of which we now only see the tints on the horizon of history. The foundation of the eternal city was laid in romance. Romulus and Remus, nursed by a she-wolf, were its founders. The rape of the Sabine women; the nightly meetings of Numa and the Nymph by the well in the sacred grove; the fight of the three Romans and three Albans; the crime of Tullia; the simulated madness of Brutus; the wrongs of Lucretia; the heroic actions of Horatius Cocles, of Scævola, and of Clœlia; the battle of Regillus, won by the aid of Castor and Pollux; the story of Coriolanus, the war which he kindled against his country, the subsequent struggle of his feelings, and the final triumph of his patriotism at the intercession of his mother; the sad story of Virginia, with many others, have come down to us, giving a glimpse of the period when imagination ruled the thoughts of the Romans.

As the Romans were a much less imaginative people than the Greeks, this alone would prevent them from expressing

in their literature as much sympathy with nature. But there were other causes also which contributed to this result. The very origin of the Roman people forbids us to expect, that the aspects of nature would influence their imaginations as much as they did the Greeks. The Greeks were from the earliest times divided into many tribes, inhabiting contiguous but separated territories. The Romans, at first, possessed only a single village. And it was by the incorporation of foreigners and their territories with this original district, that the Roman nation was gradually formed and consolidated. There was no ancient nationality adorned with legends of heroic exploits of a common ancestry, extending back into the twilight of fable, associated with different localities, to animate that great Rome, the mistress of the world. She could look back with but little sympathy to that petty Rome, which beleaguered the little town of Veii for as many years as Agamemnon did Troy. The Roman pride of country was wholly centred in that great Rome, pressing on to universal conquest under the terrible standard of the eagle.

From this constitution of the Roman territory, the aspects of nature would not exercise so powerful an influence upon the minds of the people, as if, like the Greeks, they had from the first been one race, inhabiting many districts of various aspects, associated with their earliest memories. And the old Romans were too, in their habits, an inland rural people. They did not, like the Greeks, mingle inland and maritime life together. And therefore, they did not note with that intimate sympathy the aspects of nature, which familiarity with the contrast between land and sea always awakens. Still, however, though their earlier literature, which was the spontaneous outpourings of their inward feelings and outward observations, has been lost, we shall find in the literature which has come down to us, as well as from their habits of life detailed in history, that the Romans had a genuine sympathy with the æsthetic aspects of nature.

In examining the literature of the Romans for the purpose of finding evidences of the manner in which their minds were impressed by the aspects of nature, the poem of Lucretius *Concerning the Nature of Things*, at once arrests attention.

In this poem, an attempt is made to explain the processes of nature and the origin of things. It is in fact a didactic poem of science. It cannot therefore be adduced so much as an example of the influence of the æsthetic aspects of nature upon the feelings and the imagination, as it can as an example of the influence of the phenomena upon the reason. The poem, however, abounds in powerful pictures of nature and the noblest poetry; and shows how nature can rouse the imaginative sympathy of the poet, even when his purpose is rather that of the philosopher.

The writings of Virgil, of Horace, and of Ovid, are so familiar to scholars, that we shall not attempt to adduce from them examples of sympathy with the aspects of nature. Throughout the writings of each of these poets, a lively sensibility to nature is manifested. The same power of description, or the same deep sympathy with nature, is not manifested, which is to be found in the Greek poets; but still we can see that, like all true poets, they felt the harmonies of nature. And besides the writings of these poets, their lives show that they loved the scenes of nature. They all dwelt much amidst rural scenery, round about the hill country of Rome. The villas of the educated Romans at Tusculum and Tibur, at Misenum, at Puteoli and at Baiæ, show how much the Romans delighted in the mild influence of rural shades. And none more than the great orator and statesman, Cicero, delighted in converse with nature.

“The consideration and contemplation of nature,” says he, “is a sort of natural food of our minds and our understandings. We stand erect, we seem to become more elevated, we despise human things, and meditating upon these superior and celestial things, we contemn our concerns as trifling and little.”

He was born on the Volscian hills, and his manly mind retained to the last a love for the scenery of nature which had moulded the feelings of the boy. When he wished “to give himself up to meditation, reading, and writing,” he retired to one of his villas either at Tusculum, Arpinum, Cumæa, or Antium. In one of his letters to Atticus, he says:

“Nothing can be more charming than this solitude—nothing more

charming than this country place, the neighboring shore, and the view of the sea. In the lonely island of Asturia, at the mouth of the river of the same name, on the shore of the Tyrrhæan sea, no human being disturbs me; and when early in the morning I retire to the leafy recesses of some thick and wild wood, I do not leave it till evening. Next to my Atticus, nothing is so dear to me as solitude, in which I hold communion with philosophy, although interrupted by tears. I struggle as much as I am able against such emotions, but as yet I am not equal to the contest."

What can be more interesting than such an insight into the character of so eminent a man as Cicero? His heart, tried in the calamitous affairs of his country, still softened into tenderness amidst the gentle influences of the aspects of nature. And much of that grand thought, so nobly expressed in his philosophical writings, is but the growth of those germs of mingled feeling and reason, which the surrounding scenery of his own native hills kindled in his soul.

We have now seen how the aspects of nature influenced the minds of the pagan world—how Greece and Rome were impressed by that same face of nature which we now behold. A new order of ideas will now enter into our investigation. The current of European civilization, at this point, receives a new stream of thought. The Jewish and the Christian writers bring in their ideas to influence the minds of men in their views of nature.

It may seem a bold proposition, but yet we do not hesitate to make it: That modern science rests upon the great cardinal ideas of nature which were brought into European thought by the Jewish Scriptures. The Jews, as well as all the other Semitic nations, were distinguished for their broad, contemplative consideration of nature. The grand notion that the universe was created by one personal God, in a regular order of phases adapted to each stage of an ultimate purpose, which is presented as the first thought in Jewish history, is a truth so profound and so necessary to a proper apprehension of the phenomena of nature, that it stands as the first condition of all the interpretations and reasonings of modern science. This great scientific truth is written all over the Jewish and Christian Scriptures. The current of physical thought bears it all the way through, from Genesis

to Revelation. It is never lost sight of. The Jewish mind, therefore, always looked upon the universe as the work of God, as a scheme of powers and processes invented by a designing mind, to show forth his own glory, and to minister to the comforts and the delights of his creature, man. The Jewish view of nature was, therefore, entirely phenomenal. Its secrets could only, in their view, be known by observation. There was no transcendental process by which you could evolve from the depths of human reason a knowledge of physical truth. Look at the clear ideas of scientific observation presented in the 36th, 37th, and 38th chapters of the Book of Job; and see how like modern ideas are the views of nature presented in the Psalms. All these clear conceptions are dependent upon the cardinal notion, that the world was created by a personal, intelligent God, for a special purpose.

These physical ideas were brought into European thought by Christianity; and after they had become fixed notions of the European mind, and the pagan view of nature had faded away, the germs of a real science, which had grown up on the same ideas in the mind of the Arabs, another Semitic nation, were brought into Europe and engrafted on that basis of ideas which the Europeans had derived from the Jews. That the Arabs are the founders of physical science in the modern sense is quite clear. And that their success in interpreting the processes of nature better than the Greeks did, was owing to those Jewish or Semitic views of nature, which we have indicated, is evident to our minds. Although, therefore, the accomplishments of modern civilization, with its style of literature, are for the most part derived from the elegant culture of the Greeks and Romans, yet its science is based in those cardinal physical ideas which have been derived from the Jews.

With these cardinal scientific ideas came also from the Jews a far nobler poetic contemplation of nature than that manifested in Greek and Roman literature. Where, for example, can anything at all comparable with the 104th Psalm be found in all Greek and Roman literature? The poetic contemplation of nature in this psalm is founded upon the ideas of creation contained in the first and second chapters of Gen-

esis; and so is the whole physical imagery of all Hebrew poetry. The sublime imagery of Job, the beautiful imagery of Solomon's Songs, the imagery, mingled of the sublime and the beautiful, of the Psalms, are but the physical realities of nature poetically contemplated; and there is no poetry in the world so full of natural imagery as that of the Jews. Nature is one continual source of poetic inspiration. This results from the Jewish view of nature. Everything is considered as the work of one God, who presides with a parent's sympathy over all he has made. Nature is his work and his servant. It ministers to the comforts and the delights of his child and creature, man. And God is continually renewing and refreshing the vegetable world, with his rains, his dews, and his sunshine. He takes care of his little flowers. He clothes them in exquisite beauty.

Theological ideas come to the aid of the natural impressions which the external world makes upon the mind, and kindle up that glowing sympathy with nature everywhere expressed in Hebrew poetry. The inanimate objects of nature thus come to be considered as the fellow-creatures of man. And they are all personified as having life and feeling, and rejoicing in existence, and praising their Creator. But they are never deified. They never rise higher in the personifications than as messengers and servants of the Creator. They are never endowed with any supernatural or divine character. The sun is spoken of as the messenger and the servant of the Creator, and in the 19th Psalm is represented as a bridegroom; but he is never contemplated as the great god Hélios, as amongst the ancient Greeks. The personifications of Hebrew poetry never rise above the attributes of man and woman. The view of nature as the work of one God, who, as a spirit, exists separate and above nature, ever guarding it as the home of his creature, man, and the beauty of which had been spread out to delight man, at once precluded any such idolatrous and deifying view of nature as that presented in Greek poetry. Hebrew poetry, therefore, in its personifications, brings nature home to the bosom of man. It endows the objects of nature with human attributes. The majesty of man and the grace of woman is

seen in those objects which respectively impress us with the characteristic of the one or the other. This is the view taken of the objects of nature when they are considered in their human relations; but when they are considered in their relations to the Creator, they are considered as expressive of his attributes or of his power. The thunder is represented as his voice, and the whirlwind as his anger. And so his more gentle attributes are considered as exemplified in the dews and the warm breath of spring. But never is nature deified, as in Pagan literature.

Its profound sensibility to the aspects of nature, and its peculiar character of personification, have been transferred from the literature of the Jews into that of modern Europe. We shall find that the style of contemplating nature in modern literature is entirely Biblical. Let us take a survey of this literature. The first that meets us is the Italian.

He who may be considered as the founder of modern Christian literature, as distinguished from the Pagan, is the poet Dante. His great poem, which treats of Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise, at once shows us that we are in a new era of thought. A new range of ideas prevails over the contemplations.

In this poem of Dante, though the most spiritual in all literature, there are frequent descriptions of real scenery in nature, and throughout the whole poem a profound and exquisite sense of the beauties of nature is manifested.

The life of Dante was exceedingly peculiar. He lived in the spiritual world more than in the natural. His own heart was the chief domain of his contemplations. Smitten when a youth with an all-absorbing love for the Florentine girl, Beatrice, who was torn from him by death, he brooded forever after over her idealized image. The future, rather than this world, became the subject of his thoughts, the home of his affections; and, from the fact that Beatrice is introduced in so singular a way at the very threshold of the poem as to make it appear that the peculiar introduction was framed with the sole view of introducing her thus early into the immortal work, it would seem that she was the muse who inspired the great song. Burns celebrated Mary in Heaven

by a simple ode. Dante has celebrated Beatrice in Paradise by a grand epic. The whole poem is planned with reference to her agency in it. And it is beyond question that the song assumes a new style, the numbers run in a liquid sweetness that shows that the poet's heart is touched with uncommon pathos whenever Beatrice is present. And whenever she herself becomes the theme of the song, the poet, to use his own words, seems

. "Like to the lark
That, warbling in the air, expatiates long,
Then, trilling out his last sweet melody,
Drops, satiate with the sweetness."

Though treating of the spiritual world—Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise—Dante's imaginative sympathy led him to bring into his poem the most imposing and the most captivating natural imagery. The deep shades of the dismal scenery of nature are brought into it, to cast a grander horror over the dolorous regions of hell. At the opening of the fourth canto, the poet describes himself as awakened from a profound sleep, by "a crash of heavy thunder." And now he first beholds

. "the lamentable vale,
The dread abyss, that joins a thunderous sound
Of plaints innumerable. Dark and deep,
And thick with clouds o'erspread, his eye in vain
Explored its bottom, nor could aught discern."

In the ninth canto there is a description of natural scenery, with all the individuality of nature, that is remarkable for its condensed energy. The spirit of the scenery is admirably portrayed in the style of the poetry.

"And now there came o'er the perturbed waves,
Loud-crashing, terrible, a sound that made
Either shore tremble, as if of a wind
Impetuous, from conflicting vapors sprung,
That 'gainst some forest driving all its might,
Plucks off the branches, beats them down, and hurls
Afar; then onward passing, proudly sweeps
Its whirlwind rage, while beasts and shepherds fly."

Sometimes the beautiful scenery of nature, which the agonized sufferers had seen on earth, is retraced by memory, to give a new woe to their exceeding torments.

“One drop of water now, alas! I crave.
The rills that glitter down the grassy slopes
Of Castino, making fresh and soft
The banks whereby they glide to Arno's stream,
Stand ever in my view.”

Thus the beauties of nature and the terrors of nature are both depicted, to give a transcendant horror to the amplitude of woe spread out all around.

Descriptions of natural scenery occur much oftener in the Purgatory than in either of the other parts of the poem. In the opening of the twenty-eighth canto, the forest of the terrestrial Paradise is described.

“A pleasant air
That intermitted never, never veered,
Smote on my temples, gently as a wind
Of softest influence: at which the sprays,
Obedient all, leaned trembling to that part
Where first the holy mountain casts his shade;
Yet were not so disordered but that still
Upon their tops the feathered choristers
Applied their wonted art, and with full joy
Welcomed those hours of prime, and warbled shrill
Amid leaves that to their jocund lays
Kept tenor; even as from branch to branch
Along piny forests on the shore
Of Chiasi rolls the gathering melody
When Eolus hath from his cavern loosed
The dripping South.”

In the Paradise there is but little natural imagery. In the thirtieth canto, however, from the beginning to the close, there is much beautiful description. A river of light is described as flowing through the scene.

“I looked,
And in likeness of a river I saw
Light flowing, from whose amber-seeming waves
Flashed up effulgence, as they glided on

'Twixt banks on either side painted with Spring,
Incredible how fair; and, from the tide,
There ever and anon, outstarting, flew
Sparkles instinct with life; and in the flowers
Did set them, like rubies chased with gold:
Then, as if drunk with odors, plunged again
Into the wondrous flood; from which, as one
Re-entered, still another rose."

In Italian literature, Petrarch, next after Dante, claims our attention. From his earliest childhood he manifested extraordinary sensibility to the charms of nature. When a boy, he went with a party to see the beautiful valley of Vaucluse. As soon as he beheld the landscape, he exclaimed: "Here, now, is a retirement suited to my taste, and preferable, in my eyes, to the greatest and most splendid cities." It might have been anticipated that one charmed by nature at so early an age would show it in whatever of imaginative thought he might give to the world. But such an anticipation has not been realized. Like many men of exalted imaginative sympathy, he was, at an early age, brought under the spell of that sentiment which often rules the most finely fashioned minds with uncontrollable sway. In the church of St. Clara, in the city of Avignon, Petrarch for the first time saw Laura, dressed "in a green mantle, sprinkled with violets, on which her golden hair fell plaited in tresses." She made an instant impression upon his heart, which cast over his whole subsequent life the disastrous gloom of a hopeless love. His mind was thus turned, at an early period, from the sensuous to the emotional world. His poetry was circumscribed in its range, because of the fixed gaze of his poetic eye upon the idol who ever sat enthroned in the horizon of his imagination. We therefore meet in his poetry but little evidence of sympathy with nature. But his life shows that he retained to the last the deepest sensibility to nature. He spent many years in the solitude of the beautiful valley of Vaucluse, to assuage, by the gentle influences of its exquisite scenery, the sadness of his hopeless love. In his letters from this rural seclusion he often speaks of his pleasures amidst the scenery. And, in his frequent visits to

different countries, he noted with delight the aspects of nature. In a letter from Naples, to Cardinal Colonna, he gives a description of the scenery about Baiæ that shows how it impressed his imagination.

"I was rejoiced," says he, "to behold places described by Virgil, and, what is more surprising, by Homer before him. I have seen the Lucerne Lake, famous for its fine oysters; the Lake Avernus, with waters as black as pitch, and fishes of the same color swimming in it; marshes formed by the standing waters of Acheron, and the mountain whose roots go down to hell. The terrible aspect of this place, the thick shades with which it is covered by a surrounding wood, and the pestilent odor which this water exhales, characterize it very justly as the Tartarus of the poets. There wants only the boat of Charon, which, however, would be unnecessary, as there is only a shallow ford to pass over. The Styx and the kingdom of Pluto are now hid from our sight. Awed by what I had heard and read of these mournful approaches to the dead, I was contented to view them at my feet from the top of a high mountain. The laborer, the shepherd, and the sailor dare not approach them nearer.

"I have seen the ruins of the grotto of the famous Cumæan Sybil; it is a hideous rock suspended in the Avernian Lake. Its situation strikes the mind with horror. There still remain the hundred mouths by which the gods conveyed their oracles; these are now dumb, and there is only one God, who speaks in heaven and on earth. These uninhabited ruins serve as the resort of birds of unlucky omen. Not far off is that dreadful cavern which leads, it is said, to the infernal regions."

In all ages natural scenery like this has impressed man with notions of infernal regions. And the poets have always borrowed from such scenery their descriptions of the place of future torments. Sir R. Murchison, on a geological visit to the boracic lakes of Tuscany, was so impressed by the dolorous mutterings of the subterranean vapors bursting upwards from the burning depths, that he said, in his account of the scene: "If the intensely hot vapor-gusts which have issued for centuries from cavities in the rocks of the Tuscan Maremma had been as well known to Dante as they were to Targioni Tozzetti, their graphic describer in the last century, the great poet would surely have selected them as a finer illustration of infernal agency than the feeble 'bullicami of Viterbo.'" The Tuscans have always associated these lakes with the infernal regions.

Just as horrid scenery impresses the mind with thoughts of

hell, so does beautiful scenery impress it with sentiments of heaven. All are acquainted, by hearsay at least, with Loch Lomond, the beautiful lake of Scotland. The devoted missionary, John M'Donald, wrote in his diary, which has been published: "I took an opportunity of visiting Loch Lomond, and was exceedingly delighted. O, how sweet and tranquil was the bosom of the lake! I thought of the peace of God, that passeth understanding." Many an imaginative visitor has made a similar exclamation.

Thus it is that the scenery of nature, in its different aspects, impresses man with sentiments that correspond with those religious doctrines on which his destiny hangs. It stirs his soul to its inmost depths. The horrors which it awakens, leads his imagination on to the dolorous regions of a future world of woe; and the joyous aspirations which lovely scenes inspire, lead the imagination to scenes of surpassing beauty in a future world. The poetry of woe and the poetry of joy, may thus find their inspiration in the scenery of Nature.

We now approach the age of physical discovery—the age when those vast maritime enterprises brought the knowledge of the whole earth, and the exploration of the celestial spaces brought the knowledge of the whole heavens, before the eye of man—the age of Columbus and of Copernicus. These two great men were endowed with the very highest imaginative sympathy. They both looked, with the eye of the poet, no less than of the geographer and the astronomer, over the vast fields of their discoveries. The old mariner was stirred to his inmost soul by the beauty of the new countries which he discovered.

"The beauty of the new land (says he) far surpasses the *Campina de Cordova*. The trees are bright with an ever-verdant foliage, and are always laden with fruit. The plants on the ground are high and flowering. The air is warm as that of April in Castile, and the nightingale sings more melodiously than words can describe. At night the song of other smaller birds resounds sweetly, and I have also heard our grasshoppers and frogs. Once I came to a deeply enclosed harbor, and saw a high mountain that had never been seen by any mortal eye, and from whence gentle waters flowed down. The mountain was covered with firs, and variously-formed trees, adorned with beautiful blossoms. On sailing up the stream, which empties itself into the bay, I was astonished

at the cool shade, the clear crystal-like water, and the number of the singing birds. I felt as if I could never leave so charming a spot, as if a thousand tongues would fail to describe all these things, and as if my hand were spell-bound and refused to write."

This seems but little like the journal of an old seaman, who had been weather-beaten on many an untravelled track of the ocean. Though it was the thirst for gold and for the riches of commerce, which, to a great extent, led to the prosecution of distant voyages at this period, yet the spirit of adventure and the pleasures of the imagination fired the souls of the great navigators, Columbus, Cabot, and Gama. Theirs was the heroism of maritime life. No mere pecuniary profits were the rewards after which they aspired. But Columbus rose above them all in the plenitude of mind. He was one of the most accurate and discerning observers known to the history of physical discovery; and his warm imaginative sympathy enabled him to depict the objects and the scenery of nature with the pen of a master.

And it was with no cold eye of reason that Copernicus surveyed the heavens. In his system of a central sun, he beheld not only order but beauty.

"By no other arrangement (he exclaimed) have I been able to find so admirable a symmetry of the universe, and so harmonious a connection of orbits, as by placing the lamp of the world, the sun, in the midst of the beautiful temple of nature as a kingly throne, ruling the whole family of circling stars that revolve around him."

It was thus with the imaginative sympathy of a poet, that Copernicus contemplated the heavens embraced in the system that his reason had discovered.

Contemporary with Columbus, lived his friend, Leonardo da Vinci, a man at once a great philosopher, scientist, and artist. Reason and imagination both in so exalted a degree were given to him, that it is hard to say, whether philosophy, science, or art was his proper sphere; as he rose above the greatest men in all. He is excelled only by Bacon in the insight into the nature and importance of induction in physical inquiry, and only by Michael Angelo in genius for art. And Michael Angelo, Raphael, and Titian were also

men of this time. So that the sublimest art sprung up and flourished at the very time that those great enterprises of physical discovery on the earth and in the heavens were begun, which laid the foundations of modern science. And Da Vinci showed the harmony between reason and imagination—between science and art—by being himself a master in both. And thus it was that the profoundest scientific views of nature combined with the noblest sentiments of art in the mind of one man, constituted him a fit representative in his time, of that noble civilization which is alike distinguished for the sublimities of science and the glories of art.

We have now arrived at a point in our investigation, where all the literatures of Europe lie spread out before us. We must, on account of the extent of the field and the limits of a review, pass by those of the Continent, and come to the literature of England.

In English literature we shall find the fullest proof of the views which we have been presenting. The noblest works of science stand side by side with the noblest poetry. Bacon is contemporary with Shakspeare, Newton with Milton, Black with Burns, and the noble band of later scientists with the poets who have shed so much lustre upon the present century. And so far from the scientific investigation of nature disenchanting it of its poetic aspects, the poetic contemplation of nature is a characteristic feature in British literature. And whatever may be the opinion of superficial observers, it is manifest that at no time in British history did public taste demand a larger gloss of imaginative beauty upon literary works than now. Even the manly prose of history must be tinged with poetic hues. And in all British science, there is no work near so imaginative, in its coloring, as Miller's *Foot-prints of the Creator*. And this feature in the work has been as much praised by men of science—by Buckland, Murchison, and Brewster—as by the mere literary reader. A new era seems to have dawned upon science. The imaginative splendors which the sublime mind of Bacon saw in prospect, gilding the works of science, are beginning now to shed their lustre. As Bacon's mind became more and more imaginative as he grew older, so does scientific contemplation

become more poetic—imagination lends more aid to reason—as knowledge progresses towards that grand unity, where all the sciences shall flow into one vast expanse of waters mirroring the material universe.

English literature is by far the noblest that has as yet grown out of the history of man. It embodies the highest civilization with which humanity has been ennobled. And there is in it, that, after which we are now seeking—a much profounder sympathy between the spirit of man and the material world, than in any other literature. And so far from this sympathy having a tendency to materialize spirit—to bring it down to the brutishness of matter—it has the most ennobling influence. The grandest spirits have been those who have dwelt most in the contemplation of nature. We shall find, therefore, in the poets of England, a far deeper and more various, and at the same time, more rational imaginative sympathy with nature, than with those which we have passed in review. Not a tinge of the mythopoeic deifying spirit of the ancient pagan literature will be found in their contemplations of nature; but the broad, rational, and truthful spirit of the Jewish physical notions, which modern science has confirmed, pervades it everywhere.

But we must stop here, and be content with these general remarks upon English literature, as we have already exceeded our proper limits. We should also like to make some remarks upon the book at the head of this article; as it treats of topics kindred to those which we have discussed.

ART. II.—THE UNICORN.

THE new and truly improved version of Job, now in course of publication by the Bible Union, suggests the much contested word רֵעַם, *Reem*, which we think erroneously translated in most of the versions both ancient and modern. The Septuagint, the oldest of versions, renders the word by *μυροχέρως*; which was followed by Luther and the transla-

tors of the English version, who translate the word by unicorn; an animal much better known in heraldry, than in zoology. It is fatal to this rendering that the Scriptures never speak of the horn of the reem, but always of its horns, in the plural number. In one instance, in our common version, is the singular *horn* used, but it is italicised, which indicates that it is not found in the original.

Jerome in the Vulgate followed the Septuagint in part, but where the word occurs in Job he rendered it by rhinoceros. The Sanskrit version by the Calcutta missionaries, so far as published, and the Burmese version throughout, adopt Jerome's rendering of rhinoceros. This rendering was probably chosen by Jerome, because though some species have a second small horn, the rhinoceros has ever had the reputation of being a unicorn animal; and the Septuagint translators, it may be presumed, had it in view when they made their translation, as Ephraim Syrus undoubtedly had, when he said of the reem: "It is said to be like an ox, but with one horn, found in the southern regions." The same objection then might be urged against this second rendering, which lies against the first; but what is more decisive is, that the rhinoceros is not found anywhere in Asia west of the Indus. and is confined to the tropics in both Asia and Africa. The reem, being so familiar to Moses, David, Isaiah, and Job, must have existed in Palestine or the neighboring countries. Then the peculiar characteristic of the reem was its horns, and it was these which made it formidable; but this is not true of the rhinoceros. Its horn is small, and less to be dreaded than the horns of a common cow. The Karen name *Tadokhau*, "the great foot," indicates its most striking characteristic. One species has a skin apparently bullet proof, and the Karen specific name is formed from the word designating a shield. I have met them in the jungles, without a moiety of the apprehension from their horns, that I had of the horns of the wild buffaloes which often crossed my path. I recollect pursuing one with a party of Karens for a considerable distance, and a musket ball had not the slightest effect in retarding its progress; so it appeared more like the behemoth, or hippopotamus, than the reem.

De Wette's version has *der Buffel*, the buffalo, and this signification of the word is received by the best critics. Gesenius says in his *Manual Lexicon*, as translated by Robinson: "The species of animal here meant is somewhat doubtful; but we need not hesitate to understand—the *bos bubalus* or oriental buffalo." In his *Thesaurus* he gives the definition without any indication of doubt. Hengstenberg, in his *Commentary on the Psalms*, renders the word by buffalo without note or comment, as if the matter were beyond question. Of American critics, Stuart has buffalo in his *Christomathy*, Noyes the same word in his translations, Robinson contended strongly for it in his edition of *Calmet*, and Barnes, the last writer on *Job* before Conant, advocates the same translation.

This rendering seems to be based on grossly erroneous views of the character of the buffalo. "The oriental buffalo," observes Robinson, "appears to be so closely allied to our common ox that, without attentive examination, it might be easily mistaken for a variety of that animal." The *Karens* say, a sheep is "a kind of a goat;" and by a parity of reasoning, a buffalo is a kind of an ox; but in no other way. The buffalo with its black and almost hairless skin, "huge horns," and clumsy body, offers a strong contrast to the red hairy skin, short horns, and more elegant appearance of the ox. Europeans in India often call it "the great hog," and its dirty habits of wallowing in the mire, as it does daily wherever it can find a mud hole, assimilate it more to the hog than to the ox.

Barnes says, it is "an animal which differs from the American buffalo only in the shape of the horns, and the absence of the dewlap." It is well known that the American buffalo is not a buffalo, but a bison, and the two differ from each other much more than either from the common ox; and according to modern naturalists, the difference between them is not merely specific, but generic—the buffaloes forming one genus, and the bisons another. The buffalo is not wholly destitute of the dewlap. Swainson says; the buffaloes have "a small dewlap on the breast;" but they differ from the bisons among other things, in having "no hunch on the back," no "very long hairs under the jaws and throat,"

and no mane upon the shoulders. The buffalo, too, has one pair of ribs less than the bison, and is altogether a widely different animal.

Barnes remarks again of the buffalo, that it "has been recently domesticated;" but in the laws of Menu, the great Hindoo legislator whom they identify with Noah, a book supposed to have been written about the time of David, domestic buffaloes are frequently mentioned. It would appear that at that time they were used to draw carts: for in one place it is said: "If a man shall be driving a cart, and his bullocks or buffaloes start and run against a house, he shall not be held in fault. If he run against the steps, let him put up new ones. If he run against the balustrades, let him replace them; there is no fine. If the cart shall not run against the house, but the bullocks, the buffaloes, the yoke, or other things belonging to the cart, there is no fine; nor if a plough shall run against a house."

The buffalo has performed for man, from the earliest historic times, the precise things which the Scriptures tell us the reem would not—"Will the unicorn be willing to serve thee or abide by thy crib?" The buffalo does both as readily as the ox, the horse, or the elephant. "Canst thou bind the unicorn with his band in the furrow? or will he harrow the valleys after thee?" The buffalo may be seen yoked to the plough and harrow in India, as customary as the ox was in Judea. In the Tenasserim provinces, nearly every acre of paddy land is exclusively ploughed and harrowed by buffaloes. "Wilt thou believe him that he will bring home thy seed; or gather it into thy barn?" The buffalo brings all the sheaves from the field on sleds to the threshing-floor, where he treads out the corn; after which the grain is put into carts which the buffalo draws to the barn. The buffalo, though a fiercer animal usually to strangers than the common ox, is perfectly docile with its owner; readily obeying a woman or child that attends it. It will be easily seen that though to render reem by buffalo may pass in Germany, where the buffalo is known only by an occasional stuffed specimen in the museums, yet in the East, where from the Indus to the Irrawady, and from the Sheinam to the Hohan-

gho, it may be seen ploughing and treading out the corn in every cultivated field, and where the missionary has often his baggage drawn by buffaloes, and may sometimes be seen riding in a cart or sled behind one, as I have frequently been; to translate reem by buffalo, were to make the Scriptures ridiculous. Again, if the Hebrew called the buffalo *reem*, then the Arabs would probably designate it by the same name; but in Arabic the buffalo is *jamus*.

When the Hebrew fails, it is legitimate to seek light from the cognate languages, particularly the Arabic; and when the names of the objects of nature are concerned, it is the more to be depended upon, such words being found much less liable to change in allied languages, than those which designate objects of thought. The sun, moon, and stars; day and night; earth, air, fire, and water; mountain, river, and sea; house, ox, cow, camel, sheep, dog, bird, goose, fish, conch, midge, and many objects of the senses, have radically the same names now in Europe, America, and India that they had in the family of Japhet, before the dispersion on the Highlands of Asia. It is so also in the Shemitish languages. By far the larger proportion of the conspicuous objects of nature common to the Hebrews and Arabs, have the same names, with usual dialectic differences, in Hebrew that they have, the present day, in Arabic. Take for instance, the grains and leguminous plants mentioned in the Bible for an illustration, and it will be found in every instance, that the modern Arabic name corresponds to the Hebrews.

An examination of the names of quadrupeds produces similar results.*

Did our limits admit of it, we might present an ample list, showing that in every instance, where a noun exists in Arabic corresponding to the name of a known quadruped in Hebrew, it designates the same animal. The inference then is unavoidable, that in the single unknown instance of the reem, where the two nouns are identical, they designate the same animal. Reem in Arabic denotes a fierce species of

* Dr. Mason has prepared a long list of these, in Arabic and Hebrew, showing their identity of signification.

oryx, an untameable antelope. "Strong, active, and vigilant," says Swainson, "they not only repel the hyæna and the jackal, but can even intimidate the lion. To attack them is indeed dangerous, for if assailed or put on the defence, they raise the tail, couch the ears, toss their heads with a menacing look, and with a tremulous and shrill warning snort, drop their head low between their forelegs, inverting the horns to near the ground, and dart with incredible velocity upon their enemies. From the sharpness of their horns, they are still manufactured into the heads of spears, as in the days of Strabo. The Arabs and other natives of the climates where the animals are found, do not consider them as antelopes, but as species of buffaloes." A careful comparison of all the passages which allude to the animal, with the description given above from a naturalist, who never conjectured probably that it was the fabled unicorn, shows that in every respect the correspondence is precise. It was remarkable, according to our English version, for its strength, or according to Gesenius for its speed; and the oryx is remarkable for both. It could not be yoked up and made to till the soil, neither can the oryx. The strength of the animal was in its horns: and so it is in the oryx. "There was something peculiar in the horns of this animal," and so there is in the horns of the oryx. They are described as very long and spirally twisted; and so adapted for weapons of war, that they have been manufactured into the heads of spears from time immemorial. To complete the correspondence, the reem was associated by the sacred writers with bovine animals; and so the inhabitants of the countries where it is found associate the oryx.

Most translations, our common English version among the number, are more imperfect in the matters pertaining to natural science, than in any other. The reason is, we are dependent for our information on philologists who are not men of science, or on men of science who are not philologists. To insure accurate information, we require residents in the East, well versed in the original Scriptures, thoroughly acquainted with the vernacular dialects, and sufficiently familiar with the natural sciences to discriminate scientifically

genera, if not species. The Hebrew and Greek Testaments contain between seven and eight hundred names of natural productions, found in the countries where the books were written. Michaelis says, "There are upwards of two hundred and fifty botanical terms." These names and terms enter into many thousands of verses, the proper rendering of which depends upon a correct knowledge of the things designated. And how much more lucid and interesting the Bible will appear, if these terms be rightly translated.

Throughout the ancient Scriptures we find constant allusions to the works of nature; and our Saviour in his parables and similitudes continually draws from the natural scenes of earth, that "the invisible things of Him from the creation of the world might be clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made." But had his hearers been unacquainted with the particular names and properties of the plants or animals to which he referred, they could never have felt as they did, the overwhelming power of his arguments and illustrations. And yet, by some translators, a very considerable proportion of the botanical and zoological names that occur in the Bible are unnecessarily transferred. "Not being a zoologist, botanist, or mineralogist," wrote a distinguished translator, "I have not unfrequently, in disposing of technical terms whose meaning I could not satisfactorily settle, gone the whole animal, plant, or mineral, as the case might be, and transferred it." In this way many words are transferred for which there are good vernacular names, and a native has in his Bible a barbarous word that conveys no idea, while it may be the original designates a flower that is wafting its fragrance within the lattice where he sits reading. This is no fancy sketch. The camphire of the English Bible, the exquisitely fragrant *Lawsonia inermis*, or henna, is rendered in one Indian version by gum camphor, and in another the name is transferred, while the shrub itself is growing by the doors of myriads of native houses in both Indias, and for which there are established vernacular names in every Indian language to which I can refer.

Such transfers always cast a deep shadow over the signification of the passage in which they occur, and sometimes

wrap it in impenetrable darkness. For instance, Christ says to the Scribes and Pharisees, "Ye pay tithes of mint and anise, and cummin, and have omitted the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and faith." Here the antithesis can only be seen by a knowledge of the trifling character of mint, anise,* and cummin, yet in one or two Indian versions all these names are transferred, which renders the clause, without a paraphrase, as unintelligible as the English Bible would be with as many Choctaw words in their place. Still nothing could be more unnecessary, for the readers of the versions are nearly as familiar with mint, anise, and cummin, as the people of Europe, and have well established names for them in their language.

In two versions, made several thousand miles apart, the translators transferred the original word for wood-aloes, although the people for whom they wrote were well acquainted with it, and there were good terms in the language into which they were translating by which to render the word; but of both facts the translators were manifestly ignorant.

Rusen Muller was, till recently, the author of the best work extant on the Botany of the Bible, yet his unskilful treatment of the subject sufficiently attests his slight knowledge of the science. His descriptions are ill written, and bring before the eye of the reader no definite picture. They are often, moreover, very defective, giving popular names, as beans and lentils, which are indefinite and applicable to different species, and even to different genera, without the systematic names, which alone are determinate, and enable a translator to render accurately. Occasionally his statements are erroneous. Of agallochum or wood-aloes, he says, "There is a species of this tree that grows in the Moluccas, called *garo*. Linnæus has described it as *Exæcaria agallocha*." It would perhaps be difficult to find two trees in the whole vegetable kingdom with more opposite properties than these two species. Both are found on the Tenasserim

* I quote the language of the English version, but am well aware that *ανηθον* ought to be rendered *dill*, which it is in the Karen Bible.

coast. *Akyau* is very fragrant, and is agallochum or wood-aloës. The other, *tayau*, is abundant near the sea, the juice of which is said to produce the most intense pain, and often blindness, if it enters the eye. From its power to produce blindness, the Karens call it the *Blau-mai*, or blind tree; and the natives are so much afraid of it, that I have sometimes found it difficult to induce my boatmen to pull up beneath its shade. Rumphius was first to report that this tree produced wood-aloës, and in this he was probably led astray designedly by natives. Agallochum is scarce, and sells for a high price; so the natives endeavor to keep Europeans in ignorance of the tree by which it is produced, and of the localities where it is found.

In Carpenter's Natural History of the Bible, an English work reprinted by Abbott, a description of the gecko is given. "It is thus described," says the author, by Cèpede: 'Of all the oviparous quadrupeds whose history we are publishing, this is the first that contains a deadly poison. This deadly lizard, which deserves all our attention by his dangerous properties, has some resemblance to the chameleon. The name gecko imitates the cry of this animal, which is heard especially before rain. It is found in Egypt, India, Amboyna, &c. It inhabits, by choice, the crannies of half-rotten trees, as well as humid places. It is sometimes met with in houses, where it occasions great alarm, and where every exertion is used to destroy it speedily. Bontius states that its bite is so venomous, that if the part bitten be not cut away or burned, death ensues in a few hours.' It is well known in India that the gecko is as harmless as the cricket. I have had them drop from the ceiling upon my naked hand, and hang suspended by the feet from my fingers without the slightest pain or inflammation ensuing."

Stuart on Rev. xxi. 18, says: "The bottom row of foundation stones was *jasper*—which is of a green transparent color, streaked with red veins." Such a definition of jasper I have never been able to find in any work on mineralogy; and Webster, following Dana, defines it, "An opaque, impure variety of quartz, of red, yellow, and also of some dull colors." The distinctive character of jasper from other

minerals that resemble it, is "its opacity." The Greek word, as used by the apostle, undoubtedly designated the stone now called heliotrope or bloodstone.

Murray, in his *Encyclopedia of Geography*, one of the first works of its class, says: "To the fig tribe belongs the famous banyan of India, commonly called peepul tree—(*Ficus religiosa*)." But the famous banyan is not commonly called peepul, but bir; and the peepul is not the banyan, but the *Ficus religiosa*; and the banyan is not *Ficus religiosa*, but *Ficus Indicus*.

With teachers such as these Europeans and Americans go to India, and find themselves in the midst of a fauna and flora with which they are utterly unacquainted. In ordinary circumstances, the professional duties of most men preclude them from bestowing the time and attention to the natural sciences, necessary to enable them to determine accurately the character of the objects of nature with which they are unacquainted. It is not remarkable then that Indian literature abounds in errors. Wherever there is European society, there is found a numerous class of English names incorrectly applied to Indian productions, which almost unavoidably leads the translator or author astray, when unable to make a scientific examination for himself. In Burmah, for instance, it has passed from conversation to books published within the last ten or fifteen years, that tumeric is saffron; the flower of the thorn-apple, the trumpet flower: the euphorbia plant, a cactus; the tamarind tree, the tamarisk, and its timber, iron wood; millet, barley; the ebony tree is the cabbage tree of one author, and the fig tree of another; while ebony, not being supposed to exist, though abundant, is defined "a kind of a tree;" the fennel-flower is a "kind of rice;" nettles, "a kind of thorn;" sweetflag, sugar cane; the date tree is the Palmyra palm, and the Palmyra, the talipot. Tin is lead; mica, talc; serpentine, jasper; the camelian, a garnet or ruby; gamboge, realgar; natron—the carbonate of soda is saltpetre—the nitrate of potash; and antimony is bismuth, according to one authority, and James' powder, according to another. The porcupine is a hedgehog; the shrew-mouse, a musk-rat; the sand-badger, a

hyena; the deer, an elk; the monitor, a guana; and the bloodsucker, a chameleon. The adjutant is a gull; the eagle an adjutant, or, according to one writer, a swan; the horn-bill, a crane; and the sunbird, a skylark.

Writers like these furnish the material with which the savans of France and Germany construct some of their learned dissertations. Indeed the ablest naturalists, if they have not travelled, are necessarily shut up to such sources for their information. Prof. Agassiz, probably the best read as well as the most skilful naturalist of the age, wrote on "Cyprionides," in his work on Lake Superior: "They do not seem to occur in the northernmost fresh-water streams, *nor anywhere in the tropics*, except in very high altitudes, where recently a few have been found in the Andes." Yet, between twelve and seventeen degrees of north latitude, I have noticed and recorded between thirty and forty different species of Cyprins, all found at inconsiderable altitudes above the sea.

ART. III.—THE REV. SPENCER H. CONE, D. D.

The Funeral Sermon on the Death of the Rev. Spencer Houghton Cone, D. D., late Pastor of the First Baptist Church, New York. Preached by the Rev. THOMAS ARMITAGE, D. D. Published by request of the Church. New York. 1855.

"THE wheels of nature," said the eloquent Robert Hall, in the closing paragraph of his funeral sermon for the beloved Dr. Ryland, "are not made to roll backward; every thing presses on towards eternity: from the birth of time an impetuous current has set in, which bears all the sons of men towards that interminable ocean. Meanwhile heaven is attracting to itself whatever is congenial to its nature, is enriching itself by the spoils of earth, and collecting within its capacious bosom whatever is pure, permanent, and divine; leaving nothing for the last fire to consume but the objects

and the slaves of concupiscence; while everything which grace has prepared and beautified shall be gathered and selected from the ruins of the world to adorn that eternal city, which 'hath no need of the sun, neither of the moon to shine in it, for the glory of God doth enlighten it, and the Lamb is the light thereof.' "

This great change, which is conveying our fellow-Christians in rapid succession to heaven, ought to be attentively regarded by us, as full of instruction, admonition, and encouragement. If "precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints," this removal ought to be of interest to us also; if their excellences blessed the world they have left, we should imitate their example; if their labors have ceased to impart blessings to mankind, our diligence should be increased, that the cause of righteousness and happiness may be still extended; and if they have entered on the eternal Sabbath, we also should be hastening to that day of God. Influenced by these views, we propose to write a few paragraphs on the life and character of our late estimable brother and fellow-laborer in the kingdom of Christ, Dr. Cone. He has "fulfilled his course," and from the zeal and ardor with which he pursued it, there are many important lessons to be learned.

Spencer H. Cone was born at Princeton, New Jersey, on the 30th of April, 1785. We are informed by Dr. Armitage, that his ancestry, on his father's side, can be traced to the first settlers of New England; and on his mother's side, to the first colonists of Virginia. His father was a stern republican, of polished manners, high-spirited and fearless, and fought with great bravery in the Revolutionary war. His mother was remarkable for great personal beauty, vigorous intellect, and indomitable moral energy. Both Mr. and Mrs. Cone were members of the Baptist church at Hopewell, N. J., the latter uniting with it a few months after the birth of Spencer. Speaking of his mother, and of a narrative of facts he received from her, he says:—"As I was sleeping in her lap, she was much drawn out in prayer for her babe, and supposed she received an answer, with the assurance that the child should live to preach the gospel of Christ. This assur-

ance never left her; and it induced her to make the most persevering efforts to send me to Princeton—a course, at first, very much against my father's will. This she told me after my conversion; it had been a comfort to her in the darkest hour of domestic trial; for she had never doubted but that her hope would be sooner or later completed." She happily lived to see him successfully laboring in the ministry.

It usually happens, that those who become subjects of divine grace, are more or less impressed with the importance of religion in early life. This was the case with Spencer H. Cone. At eight years of age he accompanied his grandfather Houghton to the "Hopewell Great Meeting," an annual assembly at that time very common, and even now not unfrequently to be met with, when several days were devoted to worship and Christian intercourse. Among the preachers on that occasion was the late Rev. James M'Laughlin, a name which even yet calls tears of love and joy from many eyes; he preached from one of his favorite texts—"Is there no balm in Gilead? is there no physician there?" Jer. viii. 22. Our departed brother wrote, "This sermon deeply affected me; it left upon my mind an impression never eradicated—a system of theology never forgotten—namely, 1. Total depravity. 2. Universal condemnation. 3. Salvation alone by the balm of Gilead—the blood of the Lamb. I was so affected by this sermon, that for months I was afraid to go to sleep without saying the Lord's prayer, as it is called, or some other little form taught me by my mother. But the impression wore off, and left me thoughtless and playful as it found me."

"About two years after this," says Dr. Armitage, "he accompanied his mother to hear a sermon, from Dr. Ashbel Green, of Philadelphia: Dr. Green preached very powerfully from John i. 29. "Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world." His mind was again seized with distressing convictions of his ruined condition as a sinner, of his base ingratitude, and of the efficacy of the blood and righteousness of Christ alone to save him. For a time, he strove again to do good, but strove in his own strength; and evil, and only evil was present with him; so that he soon ceased to pray, and gave himself up again to folly.

"At twelve years of age he entered Princeton College, and at fourteen was pursuing his studies with avidity, when his father was unexpectedly taken away by death. This distressing affliction threw upon

him the necessity of retiring from college, that he might devote himself to teaching for his own support, and the support of his mother, his brother, and three sisters. He spent seven years as a teacher, in Princeton, Springfield, and Bordentown, in N. J., and in the Philadelphia Academy, which was then under the supervision of Dr. Abercrombie. His favorite department was in the Latin and Greek languages, and in the Bordentown Academy he had the entire charge of the department." Page 8.

It would seem that by this time his religious impressions had been entirely removed, or at least, he had never yet become decided for Christ and his cause. In the good providence of God he was restrained from any "excess of riot," and maintained a high reputation for sobriety, manliness, and perseverance; we see him, however, at twenty-one, entering on engagements which must have grieved the soul of his pious mother.

We confess to having felt some difficulty as to whether we should make more than a passing reference to the six or seven years which Mr. Cone passed on the stage, and have at length resolved on stating a few facts, derived from the best sources, partly because they are illustrative of his character, and chiefly because some very erroneous statements of the matter have for several years past been prevalent.

It seems, then, that in very early life, Mr. Cone had no strong predilections for theatrical amusements; it is even said that he had never been at a theatre a dozen of times till he appeared as an actor, and that he entered the profession partly because some of his friends thought he would excel in it, but principally because a larger income than he now had was necessary for the support of his mother and the family. From *Durang's Philadelphia Stage, from 1749 to 1821*, we copy a few sentences relative to his *début* in 1806. He says, "During this season a young gentleman made his first appearance, June 27, as Achmet, in *Barbarossa*, with much success. . . . This debutant was Spencer H. Cone. He was a young gentleman of fine education and manly figure. Flattered with his success, he enrolled himself among the regular sons of Thespis, and steadily ascended the devious theatrical path with credit, playing juvenile tragedy and second gentleman of comedy very respectably."

After mentioning some of the events of Mr. Cone's subsequent life, he gives an account of a difference between the young actor and the managers, in which the public very warmly took his part; "at one time handbills were posted on the front pillars of the theatre, and distributed over the city, inscribed 'Cone, or no play.'" The public, "in a measure, carried their point."

From *Wood's Recollections of the Stage*, we learn a very characteristic fact relative to our friend. It seems that 1811 was a year of some confusion in the theatrical affairs of Philadelphia, and our author says, "Among the benefit failures Cone's was one, in consequence of which he issued the following card :

'TO THE PUBLIC.

'FIRST NIGHT IN AMERICA OF THE PEASANT BOY.'

'Having sustained a *heavy loss*, instead of receiving a *benefit*, and at the solicitation of several friends warmly interested in my welfare, I am induced *once again* to try the strength of that tenure by which I have hitherto held the patronage of my fellow-citizens. Whether the chilling neglect I have this season for the first time experienced, proceeded from lethargic indifference, or pointed contempt, time will speedily determine. I cannot refrain from thus publicly expressing my thanks to the managers for their liberality, in granting me the first night of a *new drama*, written by the favorite author of the day, and which I confidently trust the approbation of a Philadelphian audience will sanction as one of the most elegant and interesting productions of his pen.

'SPENCER H. CONE.'

"The second attempt," says the historian, "proved more successful, the receipts reaching \$735."

Durang, speaking of December 21, 1812, says, "On that occasion Mr. Cone performed *Lothair*, being his last appearance on the stage. In the course of the evening he delivered a farewell address, written for the occasion." Elsewhere, the same writer says, "He was a great favorite with the audience," and closes his statement with the quiet remark, "We hope he does not abuse the stage, for he did very well on it in the way of income." Mr. Cone himself says, "Filled with mortification and disgust, I resolved to abandon the stage for ever. And I left a profession more calculated to

harden the heart, and put away from men the thoughts of dying, than, perhaps, almost any other." It is certain that he did not leave the stage because the stage would not sustain him; for the very first year it gave him one thousand dollars, and his last engagement was at the rate of thirty dollars a week, beside "benefit nights" at Philadelphia and Baltimore.

It would appear that during even these years of gaiety and folly, young Cone was neither without powerful convictions of conscience, nor destitute of amiable feelings, especially towards his pious mother. In reference to the latter subject, the Rev. Dr. S. Cox, when speaking at his funeral, said, "His character for morality, and for a domestic and holy affection (I had almost said) for his mother and other relations, had won for him a peculiar fame, even before he knew Christ." At the time he was teaching in Philadelphia she was a member of the First Baptist Church in that city, under the care of the Rev. Dr. Rogers, and afterwards of the Rev. Dr. Staughton; while, however, he was much charmed with the eloquence of the latter gentleman, he says, "My mind was unaffected by anything I heard." From Sabbath to Sabbath, even year after year, the good old lady leaned upon the arm of her son to and from the house of God, and must have often sighed as he praised, like the ancient Jews, the "very lovely song of one that had a pleasant voice, and could play well on an instrument." Alas! "he heard His words, but did them not."

But he was not without feeling, and strong feeling induced by other means. "At all times," says Dr. Armitage, "he stood in awe of his mother's prayers," and while he was teaching at Springfield, his mind was powerfully affected, in a manner which shall be described in his own words, as used in a sermon to young people from his own pulpit, in 1844:—

"Blessed with health and a great flow of animal spirits, God was not in all my thoughts; but though I had forgotten him, he had not forgotten me; and He was pleased to visit me in a dream, which no changes of time or place can erase from memory.

"I seemed to be falling down a well backwards, with my face turned

towards the top. There I saw one standing, having the appearance of a man. His face was fresh and ruddy; his eyes, like the blue sky, beamed with benevolence, and I recollect his countenance as distinctly as though I had seen it but yesterday. He intimated his willingness to lift me out of the well if I wished; but I looked to the sides, and looked down, and saw here and there projections of earth and stones; and imagining that I could lay hold upon these and climb up myself, I declined his assistance. I now began to sway my body to the right and left, and to make vigorous efforts to lay hold of some projection, and thereby arrest my downward course; conscious, all the while, that the being at the top of the well, whether man or angel, was able and willing to help—but I was resolved to save myself. In an instant, to my utter amazement, the well immeasurably widened, like the mouth of a bell, and I was lost in the bottomless pit. The flames almost touched me; my arms sunk lifeless by my side; my strength was gone, my heart seemed to be suffocated and ready to burst; I looked up to the good being at the top of the well; he stood there still, regarding me with the tenderest compassion; in unspeakable anguish I cried, 'Save me! save me!' and in a moment I was at the top of the well—I was safe! and the terrors of my dream all vanished away. I have never regarded dreams as worth remembering, and yet this dream told me the story of my life in such vivid colors, that I could not drive it from my mind. I was oppressed—terrified—at the prospect of hell, and began to pray and read the Bible diligently."

We have already seen that, at nearly the close of the year 1812, Mr. Cone left the stage, and we shall now perceive that the two or three years following this period were fraught with events of the highest importance both to himself and the circle in which he moved.

On May 10, 1813, he was married to Miss Sallie Wallace Morrell, of Philadelphia, a lady who is said to have "made his home the seat of domestic bliss," till she was separated from him by the hand of death, after a union of more than forty-one years, August 15, 1854, leaving her husband and two sons to mourn their loss. During the same year he entered the office of *The Baltimore American*, and took charge of its books and funds. Within a year, however, he left it, and associated himself with Mr. John Norvell in the purchase and editorship of *The Baltimore Whig*, a paper devoted to the doctrines and measures of the Democratic school, as put forth by Jefferson and administered by Madison. At the same period he became connected with the army, and was engaged in the war, as we shall hereafter see,

then raging between this country and Great Britain. He first filled the office of Lieutenant in the corps of Sharpshooters, and afterwards that of Captain of the Union Artillery Company. Dr. Armitage tells us that "he entered Fort M'Henry, and stood bravely at his post all through the shower of shells which tore up the earth at his feet, and tore his men to pieces at his side, during the bombardment. And, under the same authority, he threw himself into the hottest of the fight at Long-log-lane, Bladensburg, and Baltimore."

During all this time almost infinitely greater changes were going on in his character and prospects, for which himself and many others will eternally praise the sovereign mercy of heaven. We must give the narrative in his own glowing words, for we can neither abridge nor change it to advantage. We copy the passage from his sermon to the young, from which we have already given an extract.

"In the month of November, 1813, after breakfast, I took up the newspaper, and saw, among other things, a large sale of books advertised at Wood's auction rooms, and said to myself, I will look in as I go to the office, and see what they are. I did so, and the first book I took up was a volume of the works of John Newton. In an instant, my whole life passed in review before me. I remembered taking that book out of the college library at Princeton, and reading Newton's life to my mother. His dream of the lost ring reminded me forcibly of my dream of the well, and I felt an ardent desire to own the book, and read the dream again. I left the rooms, having first requested Mr. Wood, who was a particular friend, to put it up for sale as soon as he saw me in the evening, as it was the only work I wanted. He promised to do so, and I immediately went out towards our office, which was nearly opposite: but I had scarcely reached the middle of the street, when a voice, 'like the sound of many waters,' said to me, 'THIS IS YOUR LAST WARNING!' I trembled like an aspen leaf—I felt myself to be in the grasp of the Almighty—and an earthquake could not have increased my dismay. Sermons heard when only eight years old, on the Balm of Gilead, and on the Lamb of God—the dream—all were painfully present, and I thought my hour of doom had come. I went to the office, took down the day-book to charge the new advertisements, but my hand trembled so that I could not write, and I put the book back in its place. I went out into South street—then walked up and down Market street in the crowd till dinner-time, to drown, if it were possible, my thoughts and feelings. But all in vain. The sound still rung, not only in my ears, but through my heart, like the

sound of a trumpet—THIS IS YOUR LAST WARNING! I went home to dinner, endeavoring to conceal my feelings as much as possible from my wife. The day wore heavily away; I was at the auction room at the hour; purchased *the book* that seemed to be strangely connected with my weal or woe; returned to my house immediately, and read Newton's eventful life entirely through before retiring to rest. There seemed to be some strong points of resemblance between us; he had been rescued from the wrath to come; what would become of me? I found that he read the Bible, and obtained light. I went to bed with the determination of rising early to imitate his example, and search the Scriptures. My dear young wife thought I was going mad. Oh no! no! I was not mad. He who had compassion on the poor Gadarene, was now bringing me to my right mind, in a way that I knew not."*

It never was possible for Spencer H. Cone to be inactive, or to delay what he considered to be his duty. Few men could adopt the language of David with more propriety, as to holy promptitude—"I made haste, and delayed not to keep thy commandments." Let us again listen to his statement:—

"I wished immediately to be baptized. There was no question as to the right way. I had read the New Testament so thoroughly that the doctrines of the gospel were perfectly plain, though I had not conferred with flesh and blood, or asked any one what church I ought to join. Next day I went to brother Lewis Richards, pastor of the First Baptist Church, Baltimore, to inquire when I could be baptized. He said he would converse with me on Wednesday, being then engaged, and let me know. I called according to appointment, and he requested me to relate my Christian experience. I told him what God had done for my soul. He said if I would come to their church meeting next Friday afternoon, at three o'clock, he would be glad to hear me say the same thing again. Accordingly I went. Half a dozen brethren and forty or fifty sisters were present. The old man called me to him, beside the communion table, and asked me to tell those who were present what the Lord had done for

* He now commenced with great diligence to read the Scriptures, and to attend on preaching, with the direct view of learning in what way he could be saved; but several months elapsed before his views became clear on this weighty matter. Prayer, ardent and persevering, was his practice and his source of happiness. He says, when speaking of his being engaged in this duty, "I felt that as a sinner I was condemned and justly exposed to immediate and everlasting destruction. I saw distinctly that in Christ alone I must be saved, if saved at all; and the view I at that moment had of God's method of saving sinners, I do still most heartily entertain, after thirty years' experience of his love."

me. As there was no other candidate, he wished me to be particular in my relation. I enjoyed great liberty of speech; my soul was lighted up as upon the wings of a dove, and I felt as if I should stay but a very short time upon earth. With a melting heart, I recounted all the way in which the Lord my God had brought me out of darkness into his marvellous light; and the narrative was responded to by sobs and tears from many of those who were present. The pastor asked but one question—when I wished to be baptized? I replied, ‘to-morrow.’ He said it was too cold, the ice was thick, and he was lame with rheumatism. Several members said—‘Oh! try brother Richards; we have not had one baptism for so many months past.’ He consented. Many came and took me by the hand, and bid me God speed. Some said, ‘we have not heard such a sermon as your experience in many a year; the Lord will make a preacher of you.’ On Saturday morning, February 4, 1814, I was baptized in the Patapsco, by Elder Lewis Richards, the ice having been cut for the purpose. It was more than a foot thick, and the spectators, with many of my old companions among them, stood on the ice, within a few yards of where I was buried, and went away, saying, ‘He is mad; he’ll not stick to that long!’ In coming out of the water I felt a strong desire to tell to all around what a dear Saviour I had found, but my sense of propriety prevented me from speaking.”

Yes, the good brethren and sisters of the little church at Baltimore were right when they said, “The Lord will make a preacher of you.” How could it be otherwise? Was he not a young man of brilliant oratorical powers, of intense ardor, of undoubted piety, of flaming zeal, and well acquainted with the moral wants of mankind, and the adaptation of the gospel to their necessities? Who could hesitate as to his duty? He himself did. He felt the force of his obligations, but he felt also his insufficiency, and supposed that years of preparatory study were among the principal qualifications for the work of the ministry. His heart struggled against the counsels of his friends, and though he gave up the select school in which he was now the principal, it was to enter on an appointment he had obtained in the Treasury Department at Washington, to which city he removed his residence and his membership, uniting with the First Baptist Church there. This was in the early part of 1815. Little did he suppose that all this was the direct path to the pulpit. For the last time we quote his own words:—

“In the course of three or four weeks, the deacon of the little church

at the Navy-yard asked me to go with him to their Lord's day morning prayer meeting. They had no pastor, and asked me to lead the meeting, and give the little band of twenty or thirty a word of exhortation. In reading 1 John ii. 1, I was forcibly impressed with the words, 'If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ, the righteous;' and I spoke from them without embarrassment for nearly an hour, to my own utter surprise. This was my first attempt to preach Christ crucified to my fellow men.

"At their earnest request, I agreed to speak for them again the next Lord's morning. It somehow leaked out that Mr. Cone, formerly on the stage, was to preach. When I went to fulfil the appointment, their little meeting-house on the Commons, near the Navy-yard, was surrounded with an immense crowd, while within it was so full that I reached the pulpit steps with difficulty. This was the greatest trial I ever had as a preacher in view of an audience. When I came in sight of the crowd I was tempted to turn back, and when I rose up to commence public worship Satan assured me that my mouth should be stopped if I attempted to preach; that the cause of my precious Saviour would be sadly wounded; that I had better say to the people, I was not prepared to address so large an assembly, and then go home. The suggestion was so plausible, I did not think at the moment that it came from the great deceiver, and I concluded to give out a hymn, read a chapter, pray, and sing again, and then determine how to act. While singing the second hymn, which closed with these words—

'Be thou my strength and righteousness,
My Jesus and my all!'

the worth of souls was presented to my mind with irresistible force. I never once thought of the want of words to tell the story of the cross, nor of the crowd of hearers; but directed them to Ephesians ii. 10, 'For we are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God hath before ordained that we should walk in them,' and spoke for an hour with fervor and rapidity. Wonderfully did the Lord help me that day; and I felt it to be so easy to preach Jesus, and I was so ready to spend and be spent in his service, that I consented to an appointment for the next Lord's day. My third sermon was from Malachi, iii. 16, 'Then they that feared the Lord spoke often one to another; and the Lord hearkened and heard it,' &c., and he gave me that day a soul for my hire, to encourage my heart, and to strengthen my hands—blessed be his holy name for ever! Oh, what am I, or what my father's house, that to me this grace should be given, 'to preach among the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ?'

It will be readily supposed that Mr. Cone was not long in fully entering on the duties of the ministry; in this same year of 1815, he was encouraged by the First Church at

Washington to engage in the work, and try the usual methods in such cases ordained to its sacred functions. In December of the same year he was elevated from the Treasury desk to be Chaplain of Congress. In March following he was invited by the Baptist Church at Alexandria, a few miles from Washington, to the pastorate, and in May assumed the charge, the church then numbering twenty-five members. After laboring among them for seven years, he resigned his pastorate, leaving in communion three hundred and nine members, among whom were some of the most intelligent and influential persons in the community.

As long ago as 1816, Mr. Cone paid his first ministerial visit to the city of New York, and preached in the pulpit of the Mulberry street Baptist Church. His labors produced a happy effect, and from that time frequent attempts were made to induce him to remove, that, to use the image of the prophet, he might "prophesy upon the thick boughs." At length the church in River street, finding it necessary to elect a colleague for their venerable and apostolic pastor, the Rev. John Williams, prevailed on Mr. Cone to accept a call, and when, in about two years afterwards, that excellent man was called to his rest, the whole charge was undertaken by our friend. The manner in which, for sixteen years, he honorably and successfully discharged his duties in this important position, we are not now called on fully to describe; suffice it to say that his popularity never declined, and that during his pastorate at Oliver street, he baptized into its fellowship on the profession of their faith, four hundred and forty-five persons.

In 1841, Mr. Cone accepted a call unanimously tendered to him by the First Baptist Church in New York. Though at that time a series of afflictive events had reduced their numbers, they were still wealthy, zealous, and influential; and to secure the services of a man whom they wisely considered as likely, under God, to raise them to a high state of prosperity, they readily consented to erect a new and beautiful house of worship, with large and convenient rooms for the use of denominational societies. In this church and from its pulpit he labored till his decease.

It is scarcely necessary to say, that he was constantly laborious at home and abroad; ordinations, dedication services, and ecclesiastical councils, as well as boards and committees of public societies, of his own and of other Christian connections, sought his services, and enjoyed them, when physical impossibilities did not interpose. He found that Solomon's statement, "In all labor there is profit," was at least true in the sense that labor gave him joy.

But even the most devoted servants of our Lord "are not suffered to continue, by reason of death." For two or three years past it was evident to those who saw Dr. Cone but seldom, that his physical powers were declining. It must be conceded that however he might be sustained by the full belief that he was correct in his views of the necessity of separating from many of his brethren in connection with the revision of the Scriptures, and the various movements which such a separation led him to, that the difficulties of his station affected his spirits, while the active labor of a protracted life were telling on his bodily frame. Besides, in August, 1854, "she who had stood at his side in all the changes of forty years, was taken away; and now he realized, as he never had before, that life is bounded by three-score years and ten, and that his foot rested on the margin of these bounds." Dr. Armitage says in reference to this event—

"I can never forget a scene which occurred in my own pulpit on the 4th of June last, illustrative of his deep sorrow under this bereavement. A young minister had lost his wife, and had brought her to the house of God where she formerly worshipped, that we might celebrate her funeral services. Dr. Cone was present, and rose in the pulpit to address the friends. But as he opened his mouth to speak, his eye caught a glance of the young brother, quivering with suppressed grief before the coffin of his sleeping wife. The sight was too much for his very sensitive heart, and he was overwhelmed. For some moments he stood unable to utter a word. The big tears came pouring down his cheeks, and he attempted to brace himself against his emotions in his own peculiar way, but failed. At length, regaining perfect control of his heart, he said, in tones of hallowed tenderness, "It is hard to bury a young wife, my dear brother. But when you have lived with one forty and two years—the wife of your youth—the mother of your children—the companion of your lonely hours—the undeviating and always reliable friend of your whole life—then indeed the stroke is heavy."—p.p. 16, 17.

We know not that we can describe the closing scenes of Dr. Cone's life better than in the language of the funeral sermon, nor do we think that our readers will consider our quotations too many or too long:—

“On the 9th day of August, [1855] he felt a numbness stealing over his limbs, and remarked to an old friend from Virginia, who had called upon him, ‘I have been laboring hard and incessantly from the age of fourteen, and now I feel my work is done.’ On the 10th, he rose in the morning and, contrary to his custom for some time past, took the Bible himself to read a portion at family worship, instead of requesting his son to read for him. Twice he faltered in the reading, as if his sight failed him, which created a slight surprise at the moment. Then the family kneeled down together before the Throne of Grace for the last time! His prayer was characterized by two things, which attracted the attention of those present, and left an impression that will be immortal—an unusual fervency, which amounted to a ‘wrestling’ with God; and a direct personality of supplication for himself, such as he was scarcely ever known to use before at the family altar. He prayed that, as a shepherd, he might give up the sheep into the hands of ‘the Good Shepherd,’ who gave his life for them—as a watchman upon the towers of Zion, he might be free from the blood of all men—as a steward, he might render his account with joy—as a servant, he might be found faithful in a few things at least, and that God would accept himself, and all his poor services, to the glory of his grace. Prayer being ended, and the sacred oracles being laid aside, he retired to his room, where in a short time, ‘he was taken sick of the sickness whereof he died.’

“Only five days before this, he had preached to you that memorable last sermon, from the very appropriate words of the Saviour, ‘No man cometh unto the Father but by me;’ and now he was to feel all the preciousness of the divine annunciation. About two hours after Dr. Cone was stricken with paralysis, and while his physicians were anxiously prescribing the method of his treatment, Deacon Hillman was endeavoring to afford him a little relief by rubbing the foot that was paralyzed. He looked down upon the deacon, and remarked with great difficulty of articulation, ‘I have kept on the harness until my work is done. The spirit of a man will sustain his infirmity, but a wounded spirit who can bear? *But I have no wounded spirit.* What a blessed thing it is to know that when we leave this body, we are going to a better place.” He then proceeded to quote several rich promises from God's word. He also spoke earnestly of the covenant of grace, ‘ordered in all things, and sure;’ for the foundation of his faith was laid

‘In oaths, and promises, and blood.’

“After this, he dropped a part of a sentence now and then to Dr. Devan, one of his beloved physicians; but they were, for the most part,

so broken and disconnected, that it would be unsatisfactory to repeat them here. He lingered on for eighteen days, and all that human skill and kindness could do was done to effect his recovery. But, in his own significant phraseology, his '*work was done.*' And early on the 28th of August, about the ordinary time for his family devotions, he came unto 'Mount Zion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem.'"

In his theological views Dr. Cone ranked with the more rigid Calvinists, sympathizing with Gill rather than with Fuller. He advocated a limited atonement made for sinners, and felt himself bound only to invite those to the acceptance of spiritual blessings who gave evidence of their being numbered with the elect, by the qualifications of heart which they possessed. It is true that the warm promptings of his generous nature, and his tender sympathies for the unconverted, led him at times to a much freer address to such persons than his creed might seem to warrant; generally, however, he was guarded in his addresses to them, as if apprehensive of inspiring them with hopes impossible to be realized.

His large and noble heart panted, too, for the salvation of a lost world, and no man among us was more ready to labor or to make sacrifices for the heathen. No small difficulty could keep him away from the meetings of his brethren on missionary business, or induce him to consent to comparatively slight efforts in the sacred cause when great ones were at all practicable. Over no Baptist minister's grave in this vast country will there be more tears shed by missionaries, and their wives, than over his. They know that they enjoyed his full sympathies and his prayers, and that he spared no effort to advance their comfort, or increase their usefulness.

It will be readily believed that Dr. Cone was no cordial friend to that *kind* of effort which was made some years ago for the promotion of revivals. We well remember occupying a seat in the pulpit of the First Church, on a Lord's day morning in 1844, in company with its pastor and the late excellent Dr. Sharp, of Boston. The gentleman last named preached. His object was to guard the hearers of his friend against the danger of departing from the old paths. Could the reader have witnessed the evident delight of Dr. Cone, as

the speaker proceeded, he would never have forgotten the scene. At the close of the services, after a moment spent in the expression of his thanks, Mr. Cone was missing. In a minute or two, however, he was again at the side of his friend, saying, "Doctor, that sermon must go to press tomorrow morning; an ample sum is contributed to issue a thousand copies." This is but one of numerous instances which might be adduced, evincing his energy of character and influence with his people. The sermon, however, was, perhaps wisely, retained by its venerable author.

On one subject, as is well known, Dr. Cone differed from very many of his brethren with whom for the greater part of his life he had been wont to co-operate. For a long time the thought had been maturing in his own mind, and at length he became confirmed in the conviction, that it was the duty of the Baptists to take immediate measures to secure a more correct version of the English Scriptures. Naturally possessed of strong emotions, he now became intensely alive to the importance of this subject. He regarded it unsurpassed in its present claim upon the Baptist Zion. On one occasion he was heard to say, "I regard it as much *my duty* to aid in procuring a revision of our English Bible as to preach the gospel." No doubt in this he was sincere. The strength with which this subject took hold of his emotional nature, may serve as a key to the unremitting zeal he everywhere evinced for the speedy attainment of the end desired.

Some of his brethren were ready to join the intrepid adventurer in securing an object, which, in their estimation, was fraught with incalculable advantage to fallen humanity. Others, again, while they sympathized with the general subject of revision, did not view it as a matter of the first importance, and deemed it inexpedient to attempt its accomplishment under circumstances which appeared to them to be so singularly inauspicious as to defeat the end contemplated. And there were some who viewed the entire movement as highly infelicitous, and void of any special claim upon the benevolent labors of Zion for the salvation of a lost world. But this subject has been so recently and fully discussed, that

we regard any further notice of it, in this connection, unnecessary.

Dr. Cone laid no claim to superior scholarship. We once heard him remark, with great humility and good taste, that on entering the ministry the question came up whether he should, with such resources as he had, endeavor to be practically useful as a preacher of Christ, or devote a considerable portion of his time to mere literary and intellectual culture. The field before him was white unto the harvest, and he was compelled to come to the conclusion that he must forego all regard to literary reputation, and thrust in his sickle and reap. Hence, he was most at home in the domain of practical and experimental religion. In the pulpit his appearance and manner were unusually impressive; his voice musical and powerful. He was a popular and eminently useful preacher; and, on the whole, he possessed a well-balanced mind, while his clear perception, his talent of description, his exact memory, and his warm affections never allowed him to have an inattentive or uninterested congregation. We may here use the language of a public writer several years ago, whose description, though incorrect in almost every other particular, gives a faithful picture of him in the pulpit. "The style of Dr. Cone is marked and striking—his words are well chosen, and each one is placed in a position where it will produce the most *telling* effect. His thoughts are always couched in beautiful language, and his sermons are always replete with interesting and instructive material. In his manner there is a force and earnestness which speaks, in language more potent than words, of the emotions and feelings of his soul. Knowing the path which leads to death and ruin, he would have his hearers avoid it, while he points them to a brighter and a better one, whose termination is everlasting bliss."

We entirely agree with Dr. Armitage as to the admirable and deeply impressive manner in which Dr. Cone conducted the psalmody of worship, and wish he had given us a few illustrations; we will endeavor to supply one or two. There are yet living a few persons who remember the intense interest attendant on his first entering Dr. Staughton's pulpit at

Philadelphia. When his preaching was announced, thousands who had seen him on another stage now flocked to hear him; it seemed as though the whole city had gathered together, and even that vast building in Sansom street was altogether unequal to the occasion. He seemed to read the thoughts of his hearers, and commenced the service with reading the hymn beginning—

“The wondering world inquires to know
Why I should love my Jesus so;
‘What are his charms,’ say they, ‘above
The objects of a mortal’s love?’”

The look, the tone, the manner of all this produced a thrilling sensation, and in Philadelphia, as everywhere else, his popularity never waned, nor did his congregations lessen.

Even since we began to write this paper we have been told, on the best authority, another fact of this kind. Soon after Dr. Cone’s settlement in Oliver street, a wealthy merchant of Hudson, we believe not a professor of religion, being in New York, and attracted by the fame of the new preacher, went to hear him, placing himself at an extreme distance from the pulpit. After awhile the preacher read his first hymn—

“Curst be the man, for ever curst,
That doth one wilful sin commit:
Death and destruction for the first,
Without relief and infinite.”

The gentleman said he could describe the feelings he was compelled to cherish, and the manner in which he was wrought upon, in no other way than the sound of thunder trumpeted into his ear, producing a thrill of terror which could never be lost.

We remember once entering the church in Broome street, on a Lord’s day morning, as he was reading the first line of the hymn,

“The deluge at the Almighty’s call,” etc.

Our first thought was that it was somewhat inappropriate to the occasion, but before he reached its close it seemed to us the most highly beautiful and appropriate hymn in the world, and awakened in us the happiest emotions.

Dr. Cone had a remarkable tact for the execution of ecclesiastical business; and hence he was, more frequently perhaps than any other man in his denomination, called to preside at public meetings. To say nothing here of his Presidency, first of the American and Foreign Bible Society, from its origin till 1850, and afterwards of the American Bible Union; or of his being many years, before either of these Societies existed, a Secretary of the American Bible Society, he was for many years together the Moderator of each of the Associations to which he belonged; and in 1832, 1835, and 1838 he was elected President of the Triennial Convention, including representatives of the Baptist Body from every State of the Union. Those who remember the manner in which he discharged the duties of this office may well shed an additional tear over his loss. Not very many, perhaps, who were present at the Convention in Richmond, in 1835, will cast their eyes over this page, but those who may do so will remember the impression he then produced. The delegation from England, consisting of the late venerable and beloved Drs. Cox and Hoby, when speaking in their printed volume of the manner in which he gave them, at the request of the body, the hand of fellowship, say, "Well did he sustain the dignity of his office, while with equal affection and eloquence he received us as brethren beloved for our work's sake, and emphatically as *Englishmen*, as *Christians*, and as *Ministers*. 'We welcome you,' said he, 'to our country, our churches, our houses, and our hearts.' When the tumult of emotion had subsided, after a few moments of solemn stillness which succeeded the President's address, he rose and gave out a stanza of the hymn which commences,—

'Blest be the tie that binds
Our hearts in Christian love.'

We happen to know that this statement was not made in a merely complimentary manner, as we heard more than once from their own lips even stronger expressions of admiration of his spirit and conduct.

Perhaps his talent in discharging the duties of a chairman was best evinced in preventing the introduction of irrelevant

matter. Did the reader ever see his look, or witness the gentle shrug of his shoulders, when some one has risen to propose a resolution which he deemed inappropriate, and heard him quickly and quietly remark, "I guess no one will second that motion?" If so, he must be convinced of the truth of our remark.

It is probable, however, that on no other occasion was his control of a public body so fully shown, as at the fourth annual meeting of the American and Foreign Bible Society, held at Baltimore, in 1841. The reader will possibly recollect the circumstances in which our denomination was then placed. For nearly a generation had the whole body of Baptists, from Maine to Georgia, acted in perfect harmony in sending missionaries to the heathen, and sustaining them in their labors; and with almost equal harmony had they acted in labors at home, as also from its origin, four years before this period, in the American and Foreign Bible Society. But dark clouds were now hovering over the whole land; opposing elements were collecting alike from the North and the South; flashes of lightning had for some time past indicated the approach of a storm, which was to rend the body asunder at Baltimore, during that last week in April. Or, to change the figure, one class of brethren had determined, cost what it might, to seek the immediate destruction of the system of slavery, or at least to hold no farther fellowship with those who sustained it; and another class resolved, if possible, to continue united efforts to extend the gospel, in which all had hitherto united as one. Strongly excited feelings had already been privately manifested, and as no one could tell whether the awful explosion would take place in the Bible Society, or in the Home Mission, or in the Triennial Convention of Foreign Missions, alarm prevailed. It was the lot of the Bible Society to meet first, on the morning of Tuesday. Brother Cone was in the chair, and after the usual preliminaries, rose to deliver his annual address. It was eminently characteristic. He evidently felt his solemn responsibility, as giving, in some degree, tone to the meetings of many days, and made an effort, if possible, to ward off

the danger. From the speech, as printed with the fourth Annual Report, we give an extract :

"To the successful prosecution of this enterprise *union is indispensable*. Do soldiers and politicians, and men of the world, appreciate duly the importance of this principle, in their various spheres of action? God forbid that they should continue to be wiser in their generation, than the children of light are in theirs. In coming to this house to-day, my heart was deeply affected, while I leaned upon the arm of a brother, and gazed upon the Calvert street monument, erected to the memory of the brave men who fell at the battle of the North Point, September 12, 1814. The first names which my eyes rested upon were M'Comas and Wells; and in an instant the scenes of that memorable day were present. We belonged to the battalion of Sharpshooters, and were stationed in the edge of a wood, some five or six miles from the Point; when one of the videts riding furiously to head quarters, delivered the stirring news that the British were landing below us. The general immediately sent one of his aides along the line for two hundred volunteers, including forty Sharpshooters, to feel the pulse of the enemy. As they stepped out, one after another, Wells said to me, 'I am this day twenty-one years old—just out of my apprenticeship; I know I shall be shot; but I'll go with you, live or die.' We advanced rapidly to ascertain the position of the invaders, and were soon upon them; swift flew the leaden messengers, and one of the first was sent to poor Wells; it passed through his head, and he faintly exclaimed, '*I am a dead man!*' Oh, never shall I forget the sound of his voice as he uttered the words, nor the expression of his glassy eye, as he looked up in my face—fell across my feet, and expired.

"My brethren, shall men thus devote themselves to their country, and follow their leader, whether to live or die; and shall we not manifest equal devotion to the cause of the Great Captain of our salvation? Do we talk of *union*? Baltimoreans! participators in the scenes of September, 1814, preach to American Baptists, I beseech you, on the nature and necessity of union. Remember the bombardment of Fort M'Henry, as from the opposite hill-top we watched the range of each successive shell, and as it exploded, groaned inwardly as though it were the death-knell of some brother in arms; remember, that full ten thousand men were at the same moment pressing with hostile feet our native soil, and already within a few miles of this devoted city; remember, that as we prepared to meet them, how every avenue for miles around was crowded with women and children, flying for safety; *then*, when we saw some troops from Maryland, Virginia, and Pennsylvania coming to our aid, did we ask 'From what States do they come?' did we pause to discuss domestic institutions or local prejudices? No! the stars and stripes upon their floating banner bespoke a common country and a common cause; and to preserve the bold American eagle from the paws of the British lion, was the ardent, the common purpose of every patriotic heart. We

heard the immortal Washington, the father of his country, though dead yet speaking—' *United we stand, divided we fall* ;' and shoulder to shoulder we breasted the storm of war. And shall we not much rather be united in wielding the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God—in obeying the commandment of Him who ' came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them ?'

" Brethren, excuse this extemporaneous burst of feeling, and these allusions to the battle-field and garments rolled in blood—they came upon me suddenly with a force that would not brook control. But let me not be misunderstood: I love my country, and were it necessary, should not hesitate a moment to stand forth again in her defence; but I abhor war, and deprecate its recurrence as one of the greatest of national calamities—especially a war between Great Britain and the United States. Let us strive against it, and pray always that these two nations, now accomplishing so much in extending the means of civilization and salvation to earth's remotest bound, may henceforth be delightfully and profitably employed in provoking one another to love and good works."

The result of this address, delivered in his own animated manner, was to allay the storm, and to produce a sacred determination to maintain the peace and union which had so long reigned; and the object, for that time, was secured.

But we must close, and must not stay to speak of his friendship, his hospitality, and other excellences of his character. It was not our intention to anticipate, in respect to these and kindred topics, the memoirs of our departed friend, now in course of preparation. We have endeavored to speak with impartiality, but if any of our readers think we have expressed feelings or used language too glowing, we are not disposed to retract. Life with us is too short, and our work is too important to allow us to contend with our brethren, or to cherish any other than the utmost kindness to the memory of those with whom we humbly hope to spend an immortality of holy joy and union.

ARTICLE IV.—GENERAL VIEW OF THEOLOGICAL SCIENCE—ITS PROGRESS AND PRESENT STATE.

- I. *Biblical Archæology.*
- II. *Biblical Introduction.*
- III. *Biblical Criticism.*
- IV. *Biblical Interpretation or Exegesis, and Hermeneutics.*
- V. *Biblical Theology.*
- VI. *Homiletics and Pastoral Theology.*
- VII. *Ecclesiastical History and Apologetics.*

HAVING, in a previous article,* considered the first four departments of theology named above, we now proceed to the fifth.

V. After having become thoroughly acquainted with biblical archæology, introduction, criticism, and the rules of exegesis, the theological student is prepared to enter the grand citadel of the Christian faith, viz: *Biblical Theology*, or the *Doctrines of the Bible*. Some critics suppose that doctrinal subjects should be considered before interpretation, and some *vice versâ*. The two are so intimately connected that they ought, in reality, to be considered together. If we first fix upon the doctrine contained in any passage of the Scriptures, we shall interpret it in accordance with that tenet, and the decision upon the doctrine really decides the character of the interpretation. On the other hand, if we first determine by the laws of hermeneutics what the passage means, the sentiment or doctrine is apparent. The student should never decide upon the doctrine of a passage without first applying to it the rules of interpretation, and should never attempt to interpret without a reference to the doctrine of the passage as compared with parallel passages. Still these are distinct departments of biblical science, and should be considered separately.

The learned Dr. Credner defines *Biblical Theology* to be, "the scientific form of the religious opinions contained in the

* See *Christian Review*, Vol. xx., No. 82.

Bible." He would make it historical entirely—the history of doctrines without any predilections for any one of them. The consideration of doctrines he would term *Dogmatics*. According to this view, dogmatics presupposes the inspiration of the Scriptures, while the reverse is true in respect to *Biblical Theology*. The latter makes the question of inspiration rest upon the historical facts deduced in the examination. We prefer to include in Biblical Theology, though not quite as scientific, dogmatics or doctrines, and consider the history of opinions under the head of *Ecclesiastical History*.

The *doctrines* of the Bible, as we have already intimated in the introductory remarks to this article, lie at the foundation of the whole science of theology; but what is the foundation on which those doctrines rest? We answer, the *Bible*. Even the existence of a Supreme Ruler of the universe is one of the doctrines of divine revelation, and was doubtless introduced from the Bible, as we have already intimated, into other systems of religion besides the Christian.

Admitting the inspiration of the Scriptures, we must believe every tenet there revealed. But as moral and religious truth cannot easily be proved by mathematical demonstration, and as different minds are not always similarly impressed by the same truths, we would ask whether there are not certain principles which may be adopted as the basis of truth and of the Bible, and which, at the same time, will be readily admitted by all intelligent minds? If the existence of a Supreme Being, or of more gods than one, lies at the basis of theology and of every system of religion, as we have intimated, can we not, aside from the proper source of evidence, the Sacred Scriptures, establish this doctrine by laying down such principles as even the sceptic will admit? He adverts immediately to reason and philosophy. It is unphilosophical, he exclaims, to believe, without demonstration, doctrines so incomprehensible as many which are contained in the Scriptures. Allow us to pursue this subject for a few moments. What is philosophy, what is the Christian faith, and what are the relations existing between the two? The answer to these questions will reveal the true foundation of all the present systems of reform and substitutes for evan-

gical religion. *Philosophy*, etymologically considered, means the love of wisdom; but it is used to signify an explanation of the reasons of things. An eminent writer,* says that "it is the product of human thought acting upon the data given by the world without or the world within, and eliciting therefrom principles, laws, and systems." It investigates the causes of all physical and mental phenomena, taking nothing for granted which is not in accordance with reason. From facts, it derives laws and systems. It seeks for something fixed, immutable, eternal. It endeavors to lay a foundation—to establish laws—to form a system, which, on rational principles, will account for all of the phenomena of matter and mind. These principles it calls the laws of nature—of the universe. It makes law and system, immutable, eternal, divine. The mere philosopher thinks not of the great source and origin of all law. Nature is his God.

Christian Faith is the belief in a Supreme Being, who is the Creator of all things—the source of all the laws of matter and mind, and it recognizes a future state of rewards and punishments. *Theologically* considered, it denotes the system of religious belief contained in the Sacred Scriptures, and *evangelically* considered, an entire reliance upon Jesus Christ as our Mediator and Redeemer.

The difference between faith and philosophy is obvious. The one is belief—the assent of the mind to what another person has declared upon his own authority. The other takes the assertion or authority of no one—disbelieves everything which cannot be proved by reason. The one relies upon facts and persons, and the other upon law, system, and reason. The one admits revelation, miracles, and mysteries, while the other denies the whole, because they cannot be demonstrated by reason. Christianity upbraids philosophy as an ungrateful, rebellious, and sceptical child—as ascribing to human reason those principles which she had imparted—as

* See an admirable article by Prof. H. B. Smith, of the Union Theological Seminary, in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* (Nov., 1849), upon *faith* and *philosophy*, to which we are indebted for some of our ideas advanced on biblical theology.

the originator of divisions and heresies in the church of God—as pointing out a way for mankind which leads to no haven of rest for the weary traveller; but which leads to darkness, without a ray of hope—to eternal nonentity. Philosophy, on the other hand, represents herself as the handmaid of religion. She asserts that Christianity has been defended, superstition expelled, and the highest achievements of the gospel accomplished by her instrumentality.

Is this so? We answer: both pleas are, to some extent, true. Philosophy undoubtedly originated from religion, and derived from it many of its principles. At the same time, the latter has often received aid from the former, and both may and ought to be helps to each other; but philosophy, in its present state, seems, in many cases, to be a foe to religion. One class of philosophers assert that there is no certainty even in respect to mind and morals excepting what is derived from the laws of matter. We must regard the laws of nature, and that is all which is required of us. There is no hereafter—this world limits our being. All beyond, to say the least, is uncertain. Other philosophers are remarkably benevolent—wish to reform mankind and make them happy; but all of their philanthropic efforts are confined to this world. There is indeed, according to their views, a heaven, as the Scriptures declare; but it is here. All is uncertain beyond the grave. Others, still more impressed with the truths of inspiration, assert, that to love God is the duty of man; but that love, being the essence of religion, is inherent in us. We are inspired, and that is sufficient. It is not necessary to believe in the inspiration nor doctrines of the Bible. These philosophers pretend that they have a more permanent foundation for human belief—one which is in accordance with the laws of nature. Others advance still farther, and maintain that they have established principles which will explain everything. They revere Christianity as the highest development of man's religious nature; but they stand above it. They have established a system which will explain all others—which will even reduce to the comprehension of human reason the sublime mysteries of the Christian faith. This is pantheism; but not exactly that of

Spinoza and Bruno, which makes the universe God. They carry their system to a higher state of refinement, and assert that the Spirit of God pervades everything, and that everything lives through Him and in Him. God is in us, and we are in God. Every human being is a part of God—partly human, partly divine. So Jesus Christ holds the same relation to God, and is really no more divine than any other human being.

This philosophy, in different shades, extensively prevails in Germany at the present time. Rationalism, transcendentalism, neology, and naturalism are some of the terms by which it is represented. From the deleterious influence of corrupt systems of philosophy, some have maintained that we should reject all philosophy and scientific investigation, as they seemed to be opposed to evangelical religion. But more enlightened views now prevail. Let the Christian be a philosopher. Let him be prepared to meet the rationalist and pantheist upon their own ground. Pantheism really destroys the personality of God, by maintaining that He is everything and that everything is God. We should show by a course of reasoning that this cardinal doctrine of divine revelation (the personality of God) cannot be rejected without doing violence to the human mind. Thus we can bring reason—human philosophy—to the aid of Christianity. We should distinguish between true and false philosophy. We need not fear that the latter will be opposed to Christianity. It may in many cases be above reason, but will not violate it. Philosophy should be brought into our theological discussions. It is intermingled with all of the metaphysical, moral, and religious systems ever formed by the ingenuity of man. In order to show sceptics that they are wrong, we must come near them, take them by the hand, and prove to them by principles and arguments, which they must themselves admit, that they have embraced a false philosophy. Reason and philosophy are as valuable to us as to infidelity. In the department of Biblical Theology we should bring to bear upon every doctrine, not only the authority of revelation, but every correct principle of human philosophy. We should have our principles fixed; we should have Christ in our

hearts, the cross in our eye, and then go forth into the strongholds of Satan. We should approach the enemy sufficiently near to examine carefully their citadel, its fortifications, its heavy ordnance and lighter artillery, the different kinds of weapons and the temper of their steel. Our theological students should be drilled for the contest, until they shall be prepared for the most insidious or ferocious attack. It is a singular idea, which prevails to some extent at the present time, that it is dangerous for inexperienced students to become acquainted with the sophistry of the schools—the evils of rationalism and infidelity, lest they should be converted to those systems of false philosophy, and make shipwreck of their faith. If such an acquaintance will convert them to infidelity, let them go. We wish for no such soldiers. We must have strong men. We live in an age of learning and mental power, and many of our opponents are not destitute of either. We must have men of as high attainments. Whether it is congenial with our wishes and feelings or not, we are obliged to contend with some of the most erudite minds and strongest intellects, and we must be prepared to meet the foe. We have had men of power, who have united Christianity and philosophy. Such were Augustine, Anselm, Pascal, Butler, and our own Edwards. They applied their learning and intellects to the subjugation of error, and demolished the very foundations upon which their able opponents reared their structures of sophistry. In taking such a course as we have marked out, we are aware that formidable dangers surround us, but was there ever a victory won without facing the cannon's mouth? While we have the Saviour as our leader, we must go forward, fearing no evil, and press through every danger to sure victory and triumph. It is admitted by all intelligent sceptics that there are many difficult problems in respect to God and his relations to man which the most profound human philosophy cannot solve. Christianity should here be brought forward, and we should philosophically show that such a system as the Christian scheme can alone explain those acknowledged mysteries. We can present an array of facts, history, experience, testimonies, which philosophy must admit, or violate its own ac-

knowledged principles. But if our testimonies are discredited, we should press the question whether a system could be formed which would account for so many of the mysteries of our destiny as Christianity. Where the personality of God and the possibility of a revelation to man are not admitted by our opponent, we must undertake to establish those cardinal truths by a course of reasoning. We must do this or we can have no influence over such sceptical minds. We must do it, or give up the ground to our sophistical opponents. When we shall have established the *possibility* and *probability* of a revelation, then we must irrefragably prove that a divine revelation has been given to man, and when its authenticity has once been established, the doctrines which it reveals must unavoidably be received. Admitting the Bible to be a divine revelation, the question may then be asked, what are its doctrines? and we may find it necessary to prove that each doctrine either harmonizes with human reason and correct philosophy, or is clearly above them. To cry infidelity, or German rationalism, will not demolish the sophistical but able and learned arguments of the opposing philosophy. The grand stand-point in our modern false philosophy is, that the phenomena of the universe may be adequately accounted for by law and system. We should unanswerably refute this deceptive idea. It is easy to show that it does not solve the various mysteries of our being. We may demand of our opponents that they should show the *origin* of law and system, which they assert account for everything.

One striking characteristic of Christianity, and which distinguishes it from every other system of religion, is that a vicarious Sufferer and Mediator, Jesus Christ, who was man as well as God, is its central point. Prophets, apostles and evangelists wrote concerning him. His life was an example for our imitation; his death was our redemption; heaven and earth, through his mediation, are reconciled. This is the beacon light which enables us to shun the dark waters of rationalism, and all of the various shades of pantheistic theology. Evangelical divines in Germany are driven to the necessity of admitting the personality of Jesus Christ, and that he is the centre and soul of biblical theology, or of going

over to the ranks of cold rationalism. The breach between evangelical religion and neology is constantly becoming wider. The attempt to reconcile the former with the ever-changing forms of the latter was commendable, but entirely unsuccessful, and in some cases injurious to individuals. Some eminent and good men were scathed with the deceptive and learned sophisms of their opponents, from the fact that evangelical doctrines were not firmly fixed in their belief. They were not fully prepared for the onset. Their columns wavered and fell back, and some in despair of victory went over to the enemy; but when the strong minds and pious hearts had a little time for reflection, they retired for awhile into their only stronghold and rock of defence, the *doctrines of the cross*. They there changed some of their armor, brightened and sharpened their steel, and then went forth against their foes with renewed energy and wonderful success. Once let the mind and heart be deeply imbued with the doctrines of the crucified One, and there is no danger. The theologian may then face the most formidable opposition, and the sword of the Spirit will cut its way through the solid columns of neology and pantheism. Dogmatism and ritualism on the one hand, and deistical and pantheistic abstractions and mysticisms on the other, have pressed with tremendous power upon evangelical Christianity in Germany; but the advocates of the latter have found a middle ground between these sophisms in the personality and divinity of Jesus Christ, and we rejoice to believe that the scientific and learned German mind is gradually emerging from the dense mist and darkness which has so long enveloped it. The grand conflict for the *world*, between evangelical Christianity and formalism has occurred in that land of science. The great Neander, Tholuck, Hengstenberg, Ullmann, Schleiermacher, and others have faced the foe, and accomplished the grand triumph of modern times in respect to Christianity. Instead of condemning them, as we would the sceptical Strauss and his coadjutors, though some of their sentiments are very erroneous, we should bestow upon them our heartiest thanks for the good which they have accomplished. What affects Christianity in Germany affects it here, and

what the great evangelic minds have accomplished there we must accomplish here. We must make the person of Christ the grand central point of Christianity. That must be the corner stone of our biblical theology. In order to grapple with the erroneous tendencies of the age in which we live, we must go to the fountain of truth and holiness—we must sit at Jesus' feet and learn of him. We must become theoretically and experimentally acquainted with the doctrines of the cross.

In answer then to the inquiry presented above, whether there are not certain principles which may be adopted as the basis of truth and of the Bible, and which will be admitted by all intelligent minds, we would say still farther :

One class of theologians maintain that *tradition*, as well as the Bible, lies at the basis of theology. They even consider the former as more authoritative than the latter. To the dogmas of a pretended infallible church, even the word of God must succumb. *That* must be interpreted in accordance with the decisions of her councils. To refute these pretensions, we must show that the church has always been fallible and her decisions often erroneous. We must prove that the oral traditions of the Jews, which were subsequently reduced to writing in the Talmud, are not so authoritative as the Bible, since truths and facts handed down orally from father to son, would be much more likely to be corrupted, partially suppressed, or forgotten, than carefully written documents. The former were likely to be delivered in a very different form, by different persons, at different times. Many truths which the Saviour delivered to his disciples, not being recorded, have been irretrievably lost. In oral tradition there is more opportunity for fraud and corruption by design. These and other considerations which might be presented, show that the safest basis for our religious belief—for *biblical theology*, is the *Bible*. Let us adhere to that. It has a foundation which cannot be moved. Let reason, philosophy, and learning be employed to defend the word of God and its holy precepts from the assaults of infidelity; but let the Christian theologian take that blessed book alone as the basis of his creed. But to the sceptic, we must prove by reason,

as we have shown above—by principles which he will admit, that a revelation has been made to man, and that the Bible is that revelation, and thus compel him, by principles which he cannot reject, to receive the Bible as the basis of truth.

Various text books on biblical or doctrinal theology have been published. This branch of theological science was not brought into the form of a system until near the close of the last century, when G. T. Zachariæ issued his great work in two and subsequently in four volumes, at Göttingen. A fifth was afterwards added by Vollborth. About the same time Ammon prepared a work of a similar character, and then G. C. Storr issued his *Doctrinæ Christianæ*, which was translated into German by T. G. Flatt, and into English by Dr. Shumacker. This work has been adopted as a text book in some of our theological seminaries. It is highly valued in this country, though some critics in Germany regard it as not sufficiently scientific. F. P. Gabler, of Altorf, issued a work in which he endeavored to avoid the defects of Storr, and establish biblical theology on a truly historical basis. G. L. Baur and G. P. C. Kaiser followed, and the learned De Wette and Baumgarten-Crusius endeavored to improve upon Baur and Kaiser. In 1836, D. G. Conrad Von Cölln published a valuable work upon this subject, which has been highly spoken of in Germany. Gramberg, Varke, G. F. Ehler, Bertholdt, Gfrörer, Pähne, George, Usteri, Frommann, and Köstlin have, within a few years, issued works bearing upon this subject.

VI. *Homiletics and Pastoral Theology* are intimately connected, and may properly be considered together. The former is *really* one method of interpretation; or, as in all sermons, one or more passages of Scripture are expounded. Homiletics now includes not only sermonizing, but pulpit oratory, the posture of the preacher and hearers, the time and place of preaching, and all the exercises of public worship. *Pastoral Theology* includes the private visits of a pastor to the people of his charge, the proper instructions to be given according to the circumstances of each, and other parochial duties which are well understood.

These are important branches of theology, as the pulpit furnishes that practical form of Christianity which is in-

tended to act upon the masses of mankind, and is the grand agency, which, aided by the mighty Spirit from on high, is designed to convert a lost and wretched world. What we have said above on biblical theology, applies with equal force to the pulpit. The sacred desk is the place for sound argument—the defence of the doctrines of Christianity, as well as for more practical instructions. Perhaps one fault of our time is, that the pulpit is too hortatory, and not sufficiently doctrinal. Every sermon should be based on some principle of our holy religion. The intellect must first be convinced if the preacher would effectually reach the heart. Such a course characterized the preaching of the apostles. They held up the great doctrines of the Cross, and especially that one of salvation by faith in Jesus Christ, and exhibited in their sermons beautiful *simplicity*, *great earnestness*, and *holy boldness*. They did not attempt to prepare elegant addresses. They endeavored to present the truth intelligibly. Their eloquence was that of *truth* presented with simplicity and pathos, with a realizing sense in the speakers of the awful realities of eternity, which were soon to be revealed to their hearers. They were intent upon benefiting souls, and spoke as dying men to their dying fellow-men. They feared nothing but to disobey their Lord. From tortures and death, which were often before them, they did not shrink. Resolved to go forward, they pressed through every danger to fulfil their great commission. But when those holy men passed from the scenes of this world, that noble simplicity and pathos began to decline in their successors. Still there were some shining lights among the early Christian Fathers on whom the mantles of the apostles seemed to rest. Their discourses were addressed to *catechumens* and to the faithful. Those addressed to the former were not particularly argumentative nor doctrinal, while those addressed to the latter were both. After the time of the Clements, the Gregories, Chrysostom, and their contemporaries, the pulpit lamentably degenerated until the dawn of the Reformation. Hottinger informs us that a collection of sermons prepared by the theological faculty of Vienna, in 1430, contains a minute history of the thirty pieces of silver which Judas received for be-

traying Jesus. Their history is traced back to Zerah, who coined them. Subsequently passing through various hands, they reached the Virgin Mary as a present from the Magi. Other things as ridiculous appeared in the theology of that period. A corrupt, oppressive, and pretended infallible church had the control of learning and religion, and the pulpit expatiated upon little else than the intercession of departed saints, the authority and infallibility of the church, the importance of granting indulgences, purgatory, relics, and a variety of other themes as ridiculous as they are unscriptural. From the sixth to the twelfth centuries, the authority for doctrines was not the Bible, but the writings of the Fathers. During the dark ages, the grand inquiry was, in respect to all religious matters, what is the decision of the Pope? That, though based on tradition, must be received without examination.

But when the light of the Reformation dispelled the gloom of that dismal period, the pulpit regained, to some extent, its primitive simplicity and fidelity. Still the acerbity of controversialists, and the worldliness of professed Christians, dimmed the light of evangelical religion. Dry, theoretical speculations on morality and religion, an erroneous, secular theology, took the place of the simple, primitive doctrines of the cross, and such evangelical, devoted men as Hanserd Knollys, Baxter, Howe, and their compeers were denounced as fanatics. The sad result was, that the pulpit as well as every department of theology was secularized, and Christendom was rent by the Arian, Socinian, and other heresies, which eventually led, in many cases, to the rankest infidelity. The art of sermonizing, as far as finished style, intellectual and ratiocinative power, and brilliant oratory are concerned, has reached a high state of perfection; but, in many cases, even among evangelical denominations, the desire for elegant composition and intellectual refinement, has caused the real object of the pulpit to be lost sight of. The plain, pointed truths of the gospel, the stern, uncompromising doctrines of the cross, have been avoided for fear of giving offence, and not unfrequently are sermons the mere hortatory efforts of an almost thoughtless mind. We think, however, that there is begin-

ning to be a feeling in favor of returning to the practice of doctrinal preaching, or promising more stability in respect to the pastoral relation and greater success in saving the lost.

The influence of rationalism on the pulpit has been anticipated in our remarks on biblical theology, and need not be farther discussed.

VII. *Ecclesiastical History* and *Apologetics* are important departments of theology. The latter we have anticipated in our remarks on biblical theology, as it is intimately connected with that department, and, in connection with polemics, might not inappropriately be called the controversial part of biblical or doctrinal theology. Polemics relates to the great controversies which have shaken the religious world since the commencement of the Christian era. The controversy in the apostolic age in respect to justification by faith, or by the deeds of the law; that between Paganism and Christianity in the second century; that in respect to restoring the lapsed to church fellowship and millenarianism in the third; the Miletian and Arian controversies in the fourth century; that of Pelagius in the fifth; the Manichæan and Marcionite controversies in the eighth century, and others in later times, are instances both of apologetics and polemics. *Apologies*, which were defences of Christianity, should be distinguished from polemical discussions, which sometimes, indeed, embrace all the doctrines of Christianity, but usually relate to one doctrine, or the creed of a particular sect or party. Formal apologies in favor of Christianity were not written until after the apostolic age. In these, Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Origen, Chrysostom, and their cotemporaries participated. Not until the eighteenth century did apologetics become a separate branch of theology. After Christianity was fully established, polemics, for the most part, took the place of apologetics. In modern times we have had some able apologies; but generally the controversies of the present age partake more of the polemic than of the apologetic form.

Ecclesiastical History narrates the external and internal condition of Christianity from its establishment to the present time. The *external* condition includes prosperous and adverse events, and the *internal* condition relates to the leaders of the

church, her doctrines, laws, worship, heresies, etc. This is a subject of great magnitude, and we scarcely have space in the present article to name minutely even the *divisions* under which it should be considered. Dr. Credner divides it into the history of the spread of Christianity; history of the doctrines of the church; history of the moral influence of Christianity; history of religious confessions and fanaticisms arising from Christianity; history of civil constitutions in Christian countries; history of the relation of the church to the state; ecclesiastical antiquities, or archæology; history of some Christian sects, such as the Jewish Christians, Roman Catholics; history of the Protestant church, of Presbyterians, Methodists, etc.; church history of some countries and nations; history of Christian literature. Most of these may be subdivided into minor divisions.

This department of theological science has been cultivated from an early period. The first ecclesiastical history which has been handed down to us, is the *Acts of the Apostles*, by Luke, the evangelist. Hegesippus, in the second century, wrote a church history in five books, which is not extant, with the exception of a few fragments preserved by Eusebius. The work of Eusebius is the first uninspired ecclesiastical history which has reached our times. It gives a fragmentary history of the church down to A. D. 324. The authorities which he consulted, according to Flügge, were sixty in number, many of which are now lost. In the fifth century Socrates prepared a more impartial and critical history than that of Eusebius, extending down to A. D. 439. Ecclesiastical histories were also written by Hermias Sozomenus, of Palestine, extending to A. D. 423; by Theodoret, of Cyprus, extending to A. D. 429; by Philostorgius, to 425; by Rufinus, of Aquileia, to 410; Sulpicius Severus, to 400; Theodorus, of Constantinople, to 518; Evargius, of Antioch, to 594; and Cassiodorus, to about 550. Very few scholars distinguished themselves in this department of theology during the dark ages. In the eighth century, Gregory, of Tours, wrote the church history of the Franks, and Bede prepared a history of the old British and Anglo-Saxon church. In the ninth century, Haymo, Anastatius, and some others

prepared meagre histories of the church. As these works were founded on traditions which historians did not dare to question, they were very deficient. During the latter part of the eleventh and the first of the twelfth century, classical literature revived, and free inquiry began to prevail. But it was not till after the Reformation had been fully ushered in, that important works upon this subject appeared. In Italy, Baronius, a zealous Catholic, published a church history in twelve volumes, folio, in 1588—1607, at Rome. Zaccaria, Gallandi, Muratori, Paolo Sarpi, and other Italians wrote works bearing upon this subject. About the same time, the French scholars, Godeau, Natalis Alexander (Noël), Claude Fleury, the eloquent Bossuet, Tillemont and others, contributed important additions to this department. In Germany, the Roman Catholic scholars, Dannemayr, Stolberg, Ritter, Hefele, Hurter, and others, prepared ecclesiastical histories; but it is chiefly to Protestants that we are to look for critical works in this department. In 1552, Matthias Flacius issued the celebrated *Centuriæ Magdeburgenses*, in thirteen volumes, in which he defends Protestantism. The labor and expense in the preparation of the work were immense. J. H. Hottinger, in 1655—1667, issued, in nine volumes, a counterpart to the Centuries. Important works on this subject have been published by F. Spanheim, of Leyden, the French historians, J. and S. Basnage, Beza, J. Claude, J. Beausobre and others, Heidegger in Switzerland, W. Cave, N. Lardner, and others. In 1699, G. Arnold issued at Frankfort an ecclesiastical history, in which he regarded the *sects*, and not the general church, either Catholic or Protestant, as the channel of progress for the Christian life. He endeavored to make church history a delineation of true piety. Milner followed in the same track. The same evangelical style has been revived in the admirable and unsurpassed work of Augustus Neander. Since the middle of the eighteenth century, ecclesiastical history has been cultivated almost exclusively in Germany. After the time of Mosheim, it was considered as necessary for the church historian not only to relate events, but to examine the causes and secret springs which were instrumental in producing them. This method gave more free-

dom to the historian, and his investigations, in some instances, were pushed so far, that he lost sight of the Providence of God in history, and endeavored to account for everything from natural causes. Hence was ushered in rationalism, and all of its attendant evils. But notwithstanding its boldness, sophistry, and impiety, its critical and learned investigations have greatly advanced sacred philology, and almost every department of theological science. For this we ought to acknowledge our indebtedness.

In 1718, E. Wiseman, and in 1755, J. Lawrence von Mosheim, formed an era in this department. The latter, especially, investigated impartially and critically the sources and causes of events, and was, at the same time, evangelical. He took the first rank as an ecclesiastical historian in the last century, and even to this day, particularly out of Germany, he is held in high repute. Pfaff, S. J. Baumgarten, Cotta, and others wrote works inferior to that of Mosheim, and in 1810 was completed the ponderous and able work of J. M. Schröckh, which, with Tzschirner's continuation, made forty-five volumes. It was diffuse and rationalistic, but valuable on account of its treasury of learning. Spittler, Stäudlin, Roos, J. G. and W. F. Walch, J. A. Cramer and others prepared works upon this subject in the latter part of the last century. Planck, who died in 1833, stood upon the verge of rationalism, but has given us a valuable history of the doctrines of Protestantism. The learned Venema, of Holland, and subsequently Turretin, P. E. Jablonsky, Münscher, and others prepared less voluminous histories. We ought to mention the late History of the Reformation by Merle D'Aubigné, which has had an immense circulation in the English language. It is well written and eminently evangelical, but based on more elaborate German works. The most distinguished ecclesiastical historians of the neological school are J. S. Semler of Halle, Henke, Vater, Schmidt of Giessen, Rettberg, Danz, and Gieseler. The latter is a rationalist, though his neological views are not apparent in his ecclesiastical history.

Near the close of the last century, an attempt was made to scientifically refute rationalism by such scholars as Jacobi,

Hamann, Schleiermacher, Herder, Schilling, and others; and as we have stated in our remarks on biblical theology, the tendency in Germany is decidedly in favor of evangelical Christianity. There are really two schools in that land of scholars. One is that of Neander and Schleiermacher, and has been advocated in general by such men as Rheinwald, Vogt, Hossbach, Semisch, Jacobi, Henry, Liebner, Bindemann, and others. These writers, on many subjects, differ widely in their views. They are liberal, and sometimes sceptical; still they admit the personality of God, and the tendency of their theology is decidedly evangelical. Scientific research and learning have great influence with them, and they listen attentively to arguments from any source—from those of the most diverse sentiments; still they cling to the Rock of Ages, as the only true foundation of their system.

The other is the *Hegelian* school, whose advocates admit Christianity to be a religion, but not miraculous—not divine. It is not, in their estimation, particularly a personal matter, but a thing of the intellect—not practical, but theoretical. This school does not admit the personality of God or man. It makes Christianity entirely objective, while the Neandrian school makes it subjective, a reality, a matter of the heart. The learned F. C. Baur of Tübingen, Schwyler, and even the *extreme* of rationalism, D. F. Strauss, are advocates of the Hegelian philosophy. Another class of able writers are included in this school, but evidently lean towards evangelical religion. Such are Dorner, Mareinecke, Ullmann, Leo, Daub, Kliefoth, G. A. Meier, Ranke, and others.

There is, in Germany, a remarkable spirit of scientific research, and it will undoubtedly increase. Almost every shade of belief is found among critics of the same school. They push their inquiries with the greatest boldness and learning, in every direction, and we can but believe that such untiring efforts and profound criticisms will eventually be overruled by a wise and merciful Providence, and result, as we have already intimated, in the advancement of evangelical Christianity.

ART. V.—ORIGEN.

Our readers have not, it is presumed, forgotten the truly learned and thorough examination of Origen's supposed testimony in favor of infant baptism by Dr. Chase, in an earlier number of this Review;* and will perhaps be led, by the interest which that article awakened in their minds, to welcome a biographical sketch of Origen. The writer is greatly indebted for the facts presented in this narrative to the able work of Professor Redepenning, the title of which is given below.†

Origen was born in Alexandria, in the year of our Lord 185; and before his death he obtained from his iron diligence the surname Adamantius. His parents were both Christians; and were possessed of a moderate estate. His father, Leonidas, has been called, by mistake, a bishop. No contemporaneous author alludes to any office of the kind. Yet he belonged to the more respectable members of the church, and besides a good knowledge of the Scriptures, had a somewhat liberal education, and was therefore able to direct the studies of his son. Neander conjectures that he was a rhetorician, a teacher of the Greek language and literature. Christians hesitated, and indeed mostly refused, to send their children to heathen schools through fear of idolatry; but they did not fear to *give* instruction, nor did pagan families scruple to employ them. Literary and scientific culture was eagerly sought, and a Christian who could bestow it readily found employment, even in the day of persecution. By not a few the church was held in great respect, and a Christian teacher might be chosen at Alexandria in preference to another.

There were now at Alexandria two classes of Christians, the one favorable to Greek learning and the allegorical method of interpretation; the other hostile to liberal culture and tenacious of the literal sense of Scripture. Of this latter

* Vol. xix., p. 180, sq.

† Origenes. Eine Darstellung seines Lebens und seiner Lehre von Ernst Rud Redepenning. 1841-46.

class certain monks went so far as to affirm that God is corporeal. But there is no ground for the conjecture that Leonidas belonged to this party, and defended a strictly literal interpretation of the Scriptures. He conducted the religious education of his son, and required him daily to commit a portion of divine truth to memory. How far he attempted to explain or enforce this truth we are not informed. He may have occasionally intimated something to his favorite child in regard to a deeper, spiritual sense of the recited word. At most, however, he spoke only by hints. But "the child is father of the man," and Origen soon began to betray the spirit of his riper years, to seek for some occult, profound, divine import in the simplest narratives of holy men. If the obvious verbal sense of any passage afforded a rare and sublime thought, he asked for nothing further; but if it seemed to be commonplace or contradictory to any other passage of the Bible, he felt called upon to look about for a different and better interpretation. He often questioned his father upon difficult passages, but the latter was unable in many cases to give assistance, and professed to disapprove his premature inquisitiveness, referring him for the time being to the literal and obvious meaning. Yet Leonidas rejoiced in secret at the intelligence of his son, and finding him asleep, would uncover his breast and kiss it as a dwelling-place of the Holy Ghost. We may therefore presume that he discerned with a father's interest and a Christian's gratitude the power of Origen's mind, and the elevation of his spirit; but at the same time, knew the danger to which an ardent and speculative intellect is exposed in youth, and wisely strove to make his son postpone the investigation of themes especially high and difficult, until a later period of life. He rejoiced, indeed, but it was with trembling and prayer. This appears to be an impartial judgment upon Leonidas; and it takes away all foundation for the opinions that he advocated a strictly verbal interpretation of God's word. He was an Alexandrian Christian and scholar; and the defects as well as excellences of Origen may, without doubt, be traced to the father's influence, in some degree at least. Geometry, arithmetic, grammar, and rhetoric, were

among the branches of study which Origen prosecuted under the direction of his father. These sciences were considered preparatory to a philosophical education. Origen appears to have known, in early life, the venerable Pantænus, and to have heard his instructions; not, however, as a regular pupil; for ancient writers never mention such a relation of these eminent teachers to each other. But already before the death of Leonidas, Origen had attended the lectures of Titus Flavius Clement. While enjoying his tuition he became acquainted with Alexander, afterwards bishop of Jerusalem, whose parents were friends to his own. The words of Clement fell upon a good soil. As he convinced old men and young philosophers and scholars, of the divine origin and character of Christianity, of the vanity of idol-worship, of the manifold errors in pagan philosophy, and of the affinity which its higher doctrines bore to the word of God; as he discoursed with eloquence, learning, and enthusiasm in defence of the holy religion which Origen had been taught from childhood, and had accepted with a faith that never wavered till death; the effect must have been great upon his future successor's mind.

In A. D. 202, when Origen was seventeen years of age, the persecution of *Septimius Severus* began and raged with unprecedented severity. Since the death of Marcus Aurelius, A. D. 180, Christians had enjoyed rest and peace. There had been no attempt, at least by the Emperor, to arrest the spread of Christianity, and no organized and formidable effort from any quarter to oppress the believers. In particular cities or provinces they were, to be sure, ever liable to abuse and destruction; for no law shielded them in the practice, far less in the propagation, of a *religio illicita*. Yet the cruel Commodus protected them; and for a time Septimius Severus was not hostile: perhaps, because he owed his recovery from a dangerous sickness to the holy anointing oil given him, it is reported, by a Christian.* At length, however, in A. D. 202, he prohibited, under severe penalties, any of his subjects from embracing Christianity. *Judeos fieri sub gravi*

* Tertullian ad. Scap. c. 4.

pœna vetuit. Idem etiam de Christianis sanxit. Though such a decree might seem to protect those who were previously members of the church, Neander is inclined to believe that it "would pronounce all to be criminal, *without exception*, who had ever become Christians." At the same time the laws against secret societies were renewed, and these laws might easily be turned against Christians. In fact, persecutions soon broke out in all the provinces, raging so frightfully in many parts of the empire, that the last times were thought to be at the door, and continuing until the close of this Emperor's reign. The Egyptian Church, which in spite of earlier assaults, was now spread over all Thebais, suffered severely. Christians were taken from all parts of the provinces to Alexandria, there to be tried and executed. Among the first who were seized in this hour of darkness was Leonidas, the father of Origen. There is no reason to believe he exposed himself to danger unsought. For Pantænus, Clement, and the more intelligent Christians of Alexandria did not feel at liberty to seize the crown of martyrdom, and take the kingdom of heaven, as it were, by violence. The words of Christ in Matt. x. 23, seemed to forbid such a course. Yet the youthful Origen vehemently longed to seal his faith by a baptism of fire and blood. He had scarcely reached his eighteenth year; but the attractions of life and the fear of death had no power over him. The imprisonment of his father matured his purpose of delivering himself to the authorities, and the entreaties of his mother were insufficient to change it. She then, it is said, concealed his clothes, and thus compelled him to remain at home. Yet he wrote to his father, urging him to be joyful and steadfast in his confession. His later treatise upon martyrdom may be only a fuller and more emphatic reiteration of this youthful appeal; but from the letter itself these words alone have been preserved: "Be careful not to change your mind on our account." *Ἐπεχε, μή δὲ ἡμᾶς ἄλλο τι φρονήσῃς.* Leonidas continued steadfast, was beheaded,* and his property con-

* According to the Roman Martyrology, on the 22d of April, A.D. 202.

fiscated by the government. Persecution was profitable to those in office.

Origen was the oldest of six children, now left with their mother to struggle against poverty. They were not, however, friendless. The primitive Christians, living in times which tried men's souls, were distinguished for mutual love and abundant almsgiving. A fund was established in each of the several churches, to be applied by the bishop in aid of the sick and destitute. The faithful contributed to this fund whenever they partook of the Lord's Supper, and many were thereby made glad in poverty. The mocker Lucian, and the apostate Julian, both bear witness to the liberal charity of Christians. A rich and noble lady received Origen into her house. Led to Christianity by an earnest longing after truth, she appears to have been too indulgent to all who laid claim to special wisdom. A Gnostic from Antioch, Paul by name, was at this time residing in her family as an adopted son. He not only enjoyed her confidence, but to some extent also that of many orthodox believers who resorted to his lectures. Origen could not avoid often coming in contact with him; yet nothing could move him to join with such a teacher in prayer. He was not led astray by the compliance of others; but even now exhibited the firmness with which he always held fast to known truth, and which protected him through life from fatal errors in speculation. With redoubled energy he perfected those branches of knowledge which he had prosecuted under the direction of his father, that he might soon be able to earn a livelihood, and leave his somewhat difficult and disagreeable position.

It has been thought that Origen betrayed, in his treatment of the Antiochian Gnostic, a kind of bigoted sternness altogether unlike and alien to the mild and charitable judgment which, at a later period, was in a high degree characteristic of him. Yet his dislike to the errorist was by no means the expression of contracted, intolerant zeal. The dualistic Gnosis of Syria could not fail deeply to wound every lively Christian feeling; and no earnest believer could unite in such a prayer as must proceed from the lips of one who defended that system. Long after, Origen says: "*Melius est cum*

nullo orare, quam cum malis orare." His feelings were very ardent, his independence of will and tenacity of purpose were very great, and his natural abilities were quite extraordinary. Holy zeal and devotion, enthusiasm for the gospel, a burning desire for knowledge, and unwavering faith, were the glowing elements united in his heart. Thus furnished and inspired, he entered upon the great work of life.

From the persecution already mentioned, the principal teachers in the capital of Egypt had fled; not through fear of suffering, but from a sense of duty. This we know to have been the case with Clement. The Catechetical school was broken up. In the meantime Origen began to give lessons in grammar and ancient literature. He was successful. Several pagans applied for instruction in the Christian faith. Two of these, Plutarch and Heraclas, were converted, as the first fruits of his labor. They were brothers. The former died not long after, a faithful martyr of Jesus; and the latter became an ascetic, a catechetical teacher, and subsequently bishop of Alexandria. Origen, though not yet eighteen years of age, was now regularly approved as a teacher by Demetrius. About this time Aquila was made Proconsul of Egypt, instead of Laetus. His entrance upon office was distinguished by redoubled cruelty to the Christians. The persecution, commenced the year before, broke out anew and more terribly. Origen drew attention to himself not only by teaching, but also by visiting and encouraging the imprisoned. He stood by them with all boldness even till the last moment. But he was wonderfully preserved. More than once was he stoned and dangerously injured, when he came to comfort the martyrs, and give them the fraternal kiss. He escaped many plots. At one time a mob, strengthened by the imperial soldiery, surrounded his house; but he escaped by flight; at another, a crowd of heathen seized him, cut the hair from his head, and leading him to the steps of the temple of Serapis, commanded him to give palm-branches, according to the custom of the priests of this temple, to all who entered. He took the palm branches and distributed them, crying with a loud voice: "Take not the palms of the idol, but the palms of Christ."

Plutarch fell among the first sacrifices in the renewed persecution. Many other pupils of Origen soon followed; Serenus was burned; Heraclides, a catechumen, and Hero, recently baptized, died by the sword; in like manner, after dreadful tortures, fell a second Serenus. Origen stood by them to the last. Escaping we know not how, as many a bold man does, his reputation and the number of his hearers daily increased. Educated heathen came to him for instruction. He now sold copies of the classics, which he had made, for a stipend of *four oboli per diem*, that he might be free from care, and able to instruct gratuitously. This event in the life of Origen reminds us of Reuchlin, in Paris, learning kalligraphy and transcribing Greek authors to procure money for the purchase of books. Many a youth resorted to this means for a support during the Middle Ages.

It must be observed that the daily income thus secured by Origen, was less than *five cents*; a sum quite too small for his comfortable support. It was, however, in his own opinion amply sufficient. Abstaining from wine and every luxury, going barefoot for a series of years, and having but one garment, which imperfectly sheltered him from the cold, the pittance received was enough; "the barrel of meal wasted not, neither did the cruse of oil fail." He was an ascetic. He believed it wise to treat the body with rigor. After teaching all day, he spent most of the night in searching the Scriptures. When he slept, it was upon the bare ground. Jerome applied to him the epithet *Χαλκέντερος*, and a frame of brass or adamant could hardly have endured more than did that of Origen. His health was indeed injured by this severity; but not so much as to interrupt his labors, or quench the ardor of his zeal. The language of Paul, "Every man that striveth for the mastery is temperate in all things," and, "I keep under my body and bring it into subjection," could easily be made to sanction a course of life favored by the spirit of the age, and recommended by the practice of great numbers who were thought to be preëminently holy. Yet not until a later period did Christians fully yield to this spirit, and imitate the Jewish *Therapeutæ*, by retiring from active life, and devoting themselves to meditation.

Clement, it will be recollected, had written a work entitled, "What rich man can be saved?" exhibiting the formidable temptations awaiting those who possess wealth and the small probability of their entering the kingdom of God. Origen adopted the views of his teacher with his usual decision. He loved poverty. In a writing composed some thirty years later, he reckons himself among the poor, and in a homily he says: "I tremble when I remember that Jesus demands of his disciples the renunciation of all property. I would therefore pronounce my own sentence before all my accusers—I will not conceal my guilt, lest I become doubly sinful. I will preach the requirement of Christ, though I am conscious of having failed to comply with it hitherto. Let us hasten, then, to become priests of the Lord, and have no heritage upon earth, but have the Lord for our portion."

It is necessary to speak, also, of an act which Origen is said to have performed about this time. He had committed the work of classical teaching to others, and was himself wholly employed in giving religious instruction. Not only men, but also women, married and unmarried, were his hearers; and during the persecution, it was often necessary for them, in order to avoid danger, to employ the hours of night in listening to his words. Wishing to prevent all occasion for suspicion and slander, we are told that he fulfilled upon himself, in a literal sense, the word of Christ, in Matt. xix. 12. It is not to be supposed, for a moment, that our Saviour had reference in this passage, to physical mutilation, but only to abstinence from marriage, "for the kingdom of heaven's sake." Neither do his words, nor those of Paul,* favor the papal doctrine of clerical celibacy. But the act which Origen is said to have performed was in harmony with the spirit of the age. Several of the Roman Emperors enacted laws against its perpetration. It is not, therefore, strange, that a young and ardent Christian, ready to practice the extremest self-denial, and eager to count all things but loss for Christ, should commit such an error.—But if, as may be true, he was chargeable with such a deed, he shrank from having it

* 1 Cor. vii. 32. sq.

known. Demetrius, however, was soon aware of it, and at first admired his courage, and exhorted him to continue the more in his work of instruction. At a later period, however, he charged Origen with it as a sin and folly. In his riper age the latter understood the words of Jesus correctly, and more than once warns others against a literal interpretation of them. In a note upon the passage, he says: . . . ἡμεῖς δὲ Χριστὸν θεοῦ, τὸν λογὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, κατὰ σάρκα καὶ κατὰ τὸ γράμμα ποτὲ νοήσαντες, νῦν οὐκέτι γινώσκοντες.

For several years we find Origen steadily engaged in his catechetical labors. His efforts were unwearied. His educated hearers constantly increased. Every variety of speculative belief was entertained by them. Though by no means ignorant of philosophy, he coveted a more intimate acquaintance with it as taught by the several schools. At this time *Ammonius Saccas* was at the zenith of his fame in Alexandria. This illustrious man, born of Christian parents, endeavored to unite philosophy with Christianity. Porphyry asserts that he abandoned the religion of his youth, and observed the rites of paganism; but Jerome and Eusebius both deny the truth of this statement. Their testimony is decisive. Origen, now about twenty-six years of age, repaired to the school of Ammonius in order to perfect his knowledge of Greek speculation. An eloquent exposition of Platonic ideas and an ingenious reconciliation of them with Christianity, rewarded his attention. It is to be feared that Christian truth was often adjusted to the wisdom of man, rather than the reverse. Yet there is no reason to suppose Ammonius gave an essentially new direction to the mind of his distinguished pupil. He at most strengthened an existing bias, and illustrated his method of linking together speculative and revealed truth. The attempt to combine current philosophical opinions with the doctrines taught by inspiration, has been made in every age since the advent of Christ. Consciously or unconsciously, men will do this, and the more false and pagan the philosophy of any period, the sadder will be its effect upon religion. Alexandria was famous for the eclectic tendency of its scholars. The feeling was almost universal, that all systems of belief were in possession of more or less truth. Origen

shared in this feeling, and was pleased to have his pupils investigate every kind of philosophy except the Epicurean. This he regarded as essentially atheistic and pernicious. It was a plant from which no honey could be extracted, Affected thus by the *genius loci* and imbued with the spirit of his age, it is not wonderful that Origen erred in some of his opinions, and often made wretched work of interpretation. The writings of Philo, Plato, Longinus, and others had quite as much to do with his views as did those of Ammonius. Yet the lessons now taken doubtless enabled him to carry out more effectually his plan of teaching. This required him to instruct those addicted to paganism, first in language, mathematics, and other preliminary studies; then in heathen philosophy, selecting the good and rejecting the evil; and lastly in Christianity, showing the affinity of whatever was good in human speculation with the divine religion. The method pursued by Origen, frequently resulted in the conversion of his pupils. Many were thus added to the church. But it may be a question whether they were all so entirely alienated from their early belief, and so fully persuaded of their duty to serve Christ alone, as might have been desirable.

In A.D. 211, *Severus* died, and the persecution ceased. Origen availed himself of this opportunity to visit Rome. He wished to know the venerable church in the metropolis, and believed fraternal interchange of thought advantageous to piety. *Zephyrinus* was bishop over the Christians in Rome. The work of Hippolytus, recently brought to light, does not give him a very high character. Yet educated in the "eternal city," he was doubtless a genuine Roman in spirit and policy. He could appreciate the formal, organic, visible church; the value of tradition, order, and law: but he can hardly have possessed any great aptitude or relish for devout speculation, any proper sense of the inherent beauty of truth, any just idea of the spiritual body of Christ. With such a man Origen found, we think, little sympathy. His enthusiasm for study, his quick and restless fancy, his wide and bold range of thought, his allegorical method of interpretation, his unworldly self-denying spirit, must awaken in the Roman quite

as much wonder and doubt as love and delight. Origen's stay was brief, and did not materially change his views of Christianity. He was far from becoming a churchman. He always believed the faith of merely nominal Christians to be vain. He distinguished between the visible and invisible church. By the true church of Christ he understood the union and fellowship of the saints in heaven and on earth. All these are joined together, he taught, by an intimate spiritual communion. Thus united, they are the body of the Lord, chosen and quickened by Him. The church is old as the world; in a certain sense, in the purpose of God, it was before the foundation of the earth. It has no spot or wrinkle, is holy and without blame. Those alone who truly believe are its members. It is that "Jerusalem above" into which no one of earthly mind can rise or enter; and whose citizens all possess a spiritual vision which discerns the invisible. This is the true ark delivering from the flood; out of it there is no salvation; whoever leaves it is guilty of his own death. That organization which bears the name of the church, although it is called the house of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth, always contains usurers and money changers, like those which Christ scourged out of the temple. When their sins are outbreaking, and repentance does not follow admonition in private or before the church, they are to be cast out. "If thy right hand offend thee, cut it off and cast it from thee." This signifies, that if the presbyter and servant of the word acts contrary to the discipline of the church and the rules of the gospel, and thus offends the brethren, he should be excluded and rejected by them in a full assembly. Because of one sinner the curse rested upon Israel, and they were overcome by their enemies. Church officers, he says, are the eye of the body; they should be distinguished for watchfulness, circumspection, foresight, caring for all. Though their dignity is royal, they must be servants of the church, full of humility. The clerical office does not insure the salvation of its possessor. Let the servant of the church strive earnestly for true dignity, which should be greater in a priest than in a deacon; and greater in a deacon than a layman. It will be found, he says, that church officers

are superior in virtue and excellence to heathen governors. Yet immoral, avaricious priests and bishops are not wanting, who accumulate wealth from the church, and forget that spiritual gifts and teaching should never be venal. The ambitious also press into these offices. Bad rulers are often a punishment to the church, for lukewarmness and sin. But let the priest know that the keys of the kingdom of heaven, which he bears, are chastity, integrity, and every other virtue. Whoever, enlightened by the Father, can honestly repeat Peter's confession, is also a rock, on which the Lord builds his church. According to the verbal sense, Christ's language was directed to Peter, but its deeper meaning applies to every one who is like Peter. Whoever possesses that union of doctrines, works, and thoughts which constitute full salvation, is the church which God has built; the impure soul is neither a rock, nor the church, nor any part of it.

These views, maintained through life by Origen, prove that his visit to the world's capital did not give a Roman turn to his conception of the church. Outward catholicism, an imitation of Jewish theocracy, was there predominant, and under Zephyrinus it began first to exhibit a definite and stable form. Fortunately, we think, he was not the man to mould the opinions of Origen.

It may be noticed, that, in Bunsen's opinion, Origen listened at this time to a discourse from Hippolytus; for the latter mentions having preached before the former. If this hypothesis be correct, we may infer the acquaintance of these two Christian scholars. Hippolytus would be unlikely to notice the presence of a stranger, and make record of the same in a treatise for the public. Besides, the usual church letters taken by Christians on a journey must introduce Origen as a catechetical teacher to the pastors, wherever he might pause on his way.

It will be remembered that two brothers, Plutarch and Heraclas, were the first of Origen's pupils who received the faith. One had scarcely put on the white robe of baptism, when he was called to the honor of martyrdom. The other, Heraclas, was preserved for a high office in the church. Soon after his conversion he began to attend the lectures of Am-

monius Saccas. More than four years he listened to this eloquent teacher, and at length assumed the philosopher's cloak. Yet his interest in sacred learning appears to have continued, and his character to have been irreproachable. For Origen appeals to the example of Heraclas in justification of his own course when he resorted to Ammonius for instruction in philosophy. And now, when after a short absence he returned to his native city, and was urged by *Demetrius* to resume his labors in the catechetical school, he chose Heraclas, as a man of zeal, knowledge, and eloquence, for his associate, and committed to him the work of elementary teaching, reserving for himself the guidance of those who were more advanced. By their mutual and incessant efforts the school reached its culminating point. Pupils came to them in throngs from morning till night. Bible readings and interpretations were the basis of their instructions: they convinced their new pupils of the foolishness of idolatry, led them from the worship of visible objects to the Creator of all, showed them clearly by many predictions that Christ was the promised Saviour, and made those who were qualified for it acquainted with the deeper import of Scripture. "To some," says Origen, "who can be led only to a believing reception of Christian truth we make the simple announcement of it. Others we instruct scientifically, and as much as possible by way of question and answer."

About this time (A. D. 215), Origen, against the custom of the age, learned the Hebrew language. He desired to lay a sure foundation for his biblical studies, and to compare the Septuagint version of the Old Testament with the original text. He imagined that Hebrew was the primitive language spoken by Adam, and conjectured that it might become again the universal dialect before the end of the world. The various tongues, with the exception of Hebrew, are the work, he thinks, of those angels to whom the Lord has committed the different kingdoms and lands. It is his will, however, that men should call upon him in all languages. Names, too, bear an essential relation to the things designated by them. We must not overlook the interpretation of names; whoever wishes perfectly to understand the Holy

Scriptures must give strict attention to their significance. The appellations of places stand related to that which Jesus wrought in them. Names, also, have a mysterious power by their very sound: that of Jesus works miracles; demons fear it. Views of this kind explain Origen's wish to understand the Hebrew.

Yet he believed the Septuagint no less inspired and reliable than the original. He was ready to find a hidden glory in language most obscure or utterly devoid of sense. In one place he justifies his faith in the inspiration of the Bible by these arguments. Revealed truth, he says, has gained an influence beyond that exercised by any system of human wisdom; it has been already received by nearly all nations. This fact confirms the prophecies; for they have foretold it. Moreover in the law, the psalms, and the prophets we find the life, the sufferings, and the death of Christ delineated, and his resurrection announced beforehand. Besides, a higher power was manifest in all the works of the apostles, and this guarantees the divine origin of their doctrine. We are also certain of the same by inner experience; for that breath of the spirit which gave origin to these writings, still visits the reader. Before Christ's advent, the divinity of the Holy Scriptures could not be fully proved; now their internal economy, their godlike character, their deep, spiritual meaning are clear to the eyes of all: the Old Testament has been unveiled by the New. Nor is the latter at all inferior to the former; one and the same spirit, proceeding from the same God, did for the evangelists and apostles what it had done for the prophets. The entire record bears this spirit; and neither the law nor the prophets, neither the gospel nor the apostolic letters, contain anything in which the fulness of the Divine Majesty does not come down to us. "Yet he found passages where the letter seemed to him untenable;" where he could only relieve his mind by spiritualizing the meaning. And he was led to say "that these things so untenable according to the letter—these mythical coverings of a higher sense are interspersed, as stones of stumbling, for the purpose of exciting men to deeper investigation."* He

*Neander, vol. I. p. 555.

thought that much of the Holy Writ was capable of three-fold interpretation, *literal*, *allegorical*, and *spiritual*; adapted respectively to the man of sense, the man of faith, and the man of knowledge.

Entertaining such views of God's word, it cannot be surprising that Origen derived less benefit from the knowledge of Hebrew than he otherwise might. Yet it was far from useless. It had an important bearing upon his labors for establishing the genuine text of the Septuagint in his Hexapla, and it incited others to engage in the same course of study. Interpretation gained much in the end, though Origen often spent his strength for nought, in consequence of having adopted a false theory. It is not, however, to be imagined that his knowledge of Hebrew was ever very perfect. To the last he relied, in a great measure, upon the opinions of converted Jews, whose ideas of exegesis were at this period Rabbinic or Cabbalistic, rather than correct.

In the meantime, while occupied in reading the Hebrew and comparing it with the Greek, he became acquainted, it is thought, with *Ambrose*, a respectable and wealthy Alexandrian, who in his search for higher truth had turned to one of the heretical sects of Egypt. Attracted by Origen's reputation for learning and profundity, Ambrose attended his lectures, and was led to renounce his errors. Henceforth they were closely united, and were mutual helps to each other.

Origen's reputation had now spread beyond Egypt. The governor of Arabia, probably a Roman, sent letters to Demetrius, bishop of Alexandria, and to the prefect of Egypt, entreating them to send him Origen without delay. The particular subject upon which he desired this Christian scholar's instruction or advice is nowhere mentioned; but we are justified in supposing it to have been religious. Origen made the journey to Arabia, accomplished it would seem the object of it, and presently returned to Alexandria. He left a good name in Arabia, and in the course of our narrative we shall follow him thither again.

In the fifth year of his reign (A. D. 216), Caracalla led an army into the capital of Egypt. He had conceived an inextinguishable hatred against this city, as the source of many

biting sarcasms upon himself for the murder of his brother, and he came now to take signal revenge. *Dion Cassius* says: "But Caracalla, although professing great love for Alexander, wanted little of utterly destroying the people of his city. For hearing that he had been mocked and ridiculed by them for many other things, and especially for the murder of his brother, he rushed against Alexandria, concealing his wrath and pretending good will and love to them. But when he had entered the suburbs, having greeted by the right hand the principal men (who had come with certain religious mysteries), even as if about to make them his guests, he thereupon murdered them. Then putting his whole force under arms he hurled it into the city, whose streets and roofs he had preoccupied, and whose inhabitants he had forewarned to remain at home: and, to omit the particular calamities which overwhelmed the wretched city, he slew so many that, venturing to say nothing of their multitude, but writing deliberately, it could be of no consequence how many, or who of them perished; for *all* were thought worthy of death. A part of their property was plundered, and a part destroyed. Many of those who came with Caracalla were ignorantly slain; and strangers in great numbers also perished. For as the city was large and men in every part of it were cut down both by day and by night, it was impossible to distinguish any one, even had it been desired; they died wherever they happened to be, and their bodies were cast into deep trenches, in order that the greatness of the calamity might not be perceived by the survivors. The wrath of Caracalla fell heavily upon scholars." The museum, which had enjoyed the favor of both *Antonines*, was devoted to ruin; and those connected with it were murdered or driven into exile. *Herodian* relates, that the Emperor, under pretence of forming a Macedonian phalanx, called the young men of Alexandria together into the Gymnasium, where they were all cut in pieces by his soldiery.

Meanwhile Origen had secretly left the city and turned his face toward Jerusalem. He was welcomed to the Holy City by bishop *Alexander*, his old friend; and was requested to expound the Scriptures publicly in the church. He was still

a layman, and according to the usage which prevailed in Egypt was not authorized to preach. In Palestine, however, no such restriction obtained; and Origen, acting upon the principle laid down by Paul, complied with the request of his friend, little anticipating, it may be presumed, the consequences to follow. Leaving Jerusalem he went down to Cæsarea, and was received with great respect by *Theoctistus*, bishop of the church in that place. He was also here induced to speak in the church as an interpreter of God's word. Moreover, while in Palestine, he appears to have paid a flying visit to Jericho, and to have found there in a jar one of those manuscripts which he used in preparing the Hexapla. Whether he now made it an object to see the principal cities of the Holy Land cannot be known. His labors in Alexandria must have produced in his mind a thirst for more accurate knowledge respecting the geography of Palestine, and have prepared him to seize with avidity upon every circumstance which could be made to illustrate the Sacred Volume. When, at length, Demetrius heard of his public labors in Jerusalem and Cæsarea, he is said to have written to the bishops a severe remonstrance, and to have recalled Origen to his native city. Alexander and Theoctistus forwarded a reply to this letter of Demetrius, in justification of their conduct and in defence of Origen. They affirmed that laymen were often exhorted by the bishops of Palestine to address the brethren.

On his return to Egypt Origen resumed his duties as a teacher. But these did not wholly occupy his attention. Urged on by Ambrose, who aided him in every possible way, he began the Hexapla. Epiphanius informs us that this was the work which Ambrose first moved him to undertake. Origen shrank from the task, not as too laborious, but as too sacred. Yet the importunities of his friend prevailed. Ambrose spared no expense in procuring manuscripts. He furnished Origen with seven amanuenses, who wrote in turn by his dictation. He provided also many transcribers, that copies might be multiplied for circulation. It is said that girls who wrote a very beautiful hand were employed. But the Hexapla was not a work to be soon completed. Epiphanius

mentions that it occupied a portion of Origen's time for twenty-eight years, and was ultimately finished in Tyre not long before his death.

Thus busy and useful, Origen passed more than six years after his return from Palestine. In A. D. 222, *Alexander Severus* ascended the imperial throne, and proved to be a just and clement sovereign. To his mother *Mamaca* he was indebted in a great measure for those principles of equity and virtue which characterized his reign. She was a native of Emesa, in Syria; and must have been from early life acquainted with our holy religion. Like many noble women in the first ages of Christianity, she approved the truth, and befriended its humble advocates. Leaving Rome in 223, *Alexander Severus* appears to have accompanied his mother to Antioch of Syria. From this city, where the believers were first called Christians, where Paul, and Barnabas, and Ignatius had preached the glad tidings of peace, Mamaca sent a company of soldiers to escort Origen to her presence; for the fame of his learning and wisdom had reached her ears, and she was anxious to hear the gospel from his lips. He remained a considerable time at the imperial court, boldly announcing the truth, and affirming the divine power of Christianity. Eusebius declares that he "exhibited innumerable matters calculated to promote the glory of the Lord." He then hastened back to Egypt and resumed his customary employments.

We have already noticed his incipient labors upon the Hexapla. This important work was now prosecuted. But another of equal value, namely, his Commentary upon the Gospel of John, was first given to the public. This was doubtless the earliest commentary, in the modern sense, which was ever written upon any portion of the Bible. Consisting of more than thirty-two books, only about nine of which have reached our time, it was the fruit of learning, piety, and imagination; a treasure of rich thoughts and just explanations, to which subsequent commentators have been greatly indebted. Much of chaff was naturally mingled with the wheat, but the latter was abundant and predominant. The plan of Origen's work was good. Verbal criticism, a careful examination of

the train of thought, and a constant regard to the principles elsewhere taught in the Record, were to be faithfully combined: and we can but lament the loss of so large a part of this primitive Exposition. It was written and published in single books. The first five of these were composed at Alexandria in the period before us. Origen was now in the midst of his days. He was at least thirty-seven years of age when he returned from his visit to Antioch, and began to compose his interpretation of the fourth gospel. Not in boyhood, not prematurely and rashly, not without long continued preparatory studies, did he undertake an Exposition of the inspired Word.

The activity of Origen was almost incredible. Stimulated by Ambrose, who manifested an "inexpressible zeal in the study of the sacred Scriptures," he wrote eight books of his Commentary on Genesis, and his Exposition of the first twenty-five Psalms. He also gave to the public an interpretation of Lamentations and the Song of Solomon. In the meantime he attempted a systematic representation of doctrines. He wrote a short treatise upon the Resurrection. And he prepared a work upon the fundamental truths of religion, attempting to exhibit in a scientific form the principal articles of Christian faith. In this work, entitled *περὶ ἀρχῶν*, he professes to regard Christ as *The Truth*, and Divine revelation as the highest source of knowledge. "Omnes qui credunt—scientiam, quæ provocat homines ad bene beateque vivendum, non aliunde, quam ab ipsis verbis Christi doctrinaque suscipiunt." And yet he has given free scope to imagination in this treatise, and has maintained several opinions quite unknown to the word of God, and irreconcilable with it. The method of discussion is generally this. Origen first states very briefly the dogma to be explained and vindicated; then the rational arguments in its favor, with a reply to objections; and lastly, proofs from Scripture are adduced. The following analysis is a condensation of that given by Redepenning in his *Life of Origen*.

In the *first book* it is shown conclusively, that God is a Spirit perfectly incorporeal. After establishing this point, the Word or Logos is set forth as the Revealer of the Absolute

Spirit, the Image of His goodness, the Brightness of His glory, the Truth and the Life, eternally in God, yet a self-subsistent life, begotten by the will of the Father and inferior to Him. The Holy Spirit is now described as the Sanctifier, and is made subordinate to the Father and the Son. Origen then proceeds to teach the original *likeness* of all created beings, and to assert that their moral conduct is the sole cause of their present gradations of excellence. At some period in the remote future, they will again, with equal glory, surround the throne of the Invisible, until some new sin effect new changes. He believed that by this view alone was it possible to reconcile the actual state of mankind with perfect righteousness on the part of God. Dr. Julius Müller and Dr. Edward Beecher have adopted the same opinion, with unimportant modifications. Origen supposed that only one created spirit had persevered in its primeval innocence, and with that soul was the eternal Logos united in the person of Jesus Christ.

The *second book* treats of the world and of mankind as they now exist—of the incarnation and its results, and of the last things. The whole creation is finite; the number of beings is limited; for even an infinite God could not embrace an infinite world. The God of the Old Testament is shown to be the Father of Jesus Christ; and the latter is proved to have possessed a complete human nature, body and soul. Then follows a section on the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, and the work which He performs in the hearts of men. In conclusion, Origen gives his views of the resurrection, of future punishment, and of eternal life.

The *third book* treats of the freedom of the will. He avers that in every moment of time, man is absolutely free to choose between good and evil. Instead of hereditary sin, he teaches that each individual is laden with guilt incurred before entering this world, and that the amount of such guilt regulates the bodily and spiritual gifts conferred upon men. All may struggle upward and at length recover the good they have forfeited. There is no strictly penal suffering; it is all disciplinary, and reformatory. Satan himself may return to his allegiance in the "restitution of all things."

But that restitution may not be final. Equipose and freedom of will may lead to apostacy *ad infinitum*.

In the *fourth book*, Origen gives his theory in regard to the interpretation of Scripture. Then follows a recapitulation of the principal ideas of his treatise, when he thus concludes: "All true knowledge is an immense spiritual vision; it rests upon that susceptibility for divine truth which the Scriptures call a godly mind. That which takes place deep within our souls is also known to the Divine Being. This writing is but a rule and guide to the doctrine of perfect wisdom."

Such is a brief outline of Origen's Treatise *περὶ ἀρχῶν*; a treatise which contains many bold and perilous speculations, which dares a solution of the deepest and darkest problems of the universe, which contains all the leading thoughts of spiritual rationalism in modern times; and which Origen, with his profound reverence for the word of God, was able to write only because his principles of interpretation were utterly wrong.

In the year A. D. 228, when Origen was forty-three years old, he was invited to make a journey into Greece. The churches of that region were rent by internal factions, and unable to withstand the inroads of heresy. Furnished with a letter of commendation by Demetrius, he took his way through Palestine to Achaia. At Cæsarea he was ordained a *presbyter* by *Theoctistus*, *Alexander*, and other bishops of this province. The reasons which moved Origen and his friends to this step are unknown. Perhaps he was importunate to teach in the church, and was unwilling again to deviate from the Alexandrian usage and thus offend his bishop. Perhaps he was led to accept of ordination in view of his expected labors in Greece. At all events the consecration took place, and the teacher continued his journey into Greece. A discussion was held in Athens, which excited great attention. The written account of it was soon greatly falsified; but it is understood that Origen did not speak without effect. He may also have availed himself of this opportunity to become acquainted with the philosophical schools of Athens. He appears to have returned by Ephesus and Antioch to Alexandria, in the year A. D. 230.

Hitherto Demetrius had treated Origen with tolerable fairness. But decided enmity was now exhibited. *Rufinus* says, that the bishop and his friends "could no longer endure the fame of his eloquence and learning, for so long as he taught, all in comparison with him appeared dumb." Demetrius may have felt himself personally slighted by the course of Origen, and have thought his episcopal authority in danger. Accusations were now heaped upon the new presbyter and successful teacher, which he compares to a raging storm. Unable or unwilling to bear the violence of his foes, he left Alexandria never to return. Demetrius called together an Egyptian synod in 231, to sit in judgment upon the exile. He was pronounced unworthy of the catechetical office, and excluded from the Alexandrian church. Many presbyters were included in this synod. But Demetrius was not content. A portion of the bishops, but none of the presbyters, were called together again; and by this picked council Origen was deposed from the office of presbyter. All the churches of the Roman Empire, except those of Palestine and Phoenicia, Arabia, and Greece, approved the sentence.

Palestine now became the second home of Origen. His immediate residence was Cæsarea. From this place he soon wrote a letter to his friends in Egypt vindicating himself, and asserting that some of his writings had been falsified. In particular he denies ever having taught the future salvation of the devil. In his new sphere of activity Origen soon resumed his Commentary on John, and delivered lectures as before. Theoctistus and Alexander were often his hearers. Their churches were always open to him as a preacher. A theological school flourished in the city similar to that in Alexandria, but confined to the pursuit of Christian knowledge. Springing into life under the care of so renowned a scholar and so powerful a man, this school gave an impulse to biblical study in the Holy Land, and drew a multitude of eager students to Cæsarea. And though its glory passed away with Origen, yet we are indebted to its influence for a series of learned pastors in that city; for Pamphilus, for Eusebius, the father of ecclesiastical history, and for several others. *Gregory Thaumaturgas* was perhaps the most eminent

pupil of Origen at Cæsarea. He had come from Pontus to attend a famous law school in the neighboring Berytus. While passing a few days with a sister resident in Cæsarea, Gregory met with Origen, and listened to a series of addresses delivered by him upon the true philosophy and the variety of every worldly good. Charmed by the truth, and by the peace, enthusiasm, power, and clearness of mind which were revealed by the speaker, Gregory decided, after some hesitation, to relinquish his plan of life, his fatherland and his relations, for the further study of divine things and the work of the ministry. His brother, *Athenodorus*, took the same course. They were bound to Origen, not merely by admiration for his ability and knowledge, but also by strong attachment to his person. The relation was one of ardent friendship. The early austerities of their teacher had not extinguished his warmth of heart. He had the enviable power of winning the love and confidence of the young men who listened to his instructions. When Gregory, a few years after, left Cæsarea, he uttered beautiful words of gratitude in a parting address to Origen.

But we must turn our eyes from this picture of Christian friendship and peaceful study to witness the ravages of another storm. The enmity of paganism had been restrained, but not conquered, by the just administration of Alexander Severus. In A. D. 235, by the murder of his predecessor, *Maximin*, the *Thracian*, ascended the throne, and turned his wild rage against the overseers of the churches. As he could not escape in Cæsarea, Origen took refuge in Cappadocia, with *Firmilian*, a bishop who had invited him thither. Yet there was peril even here. "*Serenianus tunc fuit in nostra provincia præses, acerbus et dirus persecutor.*" (In Cyp. c. 9.) Origen was forced to conceal himself in the house of a Christian virgin, *Juliana*, where he was hidden from the world two years. So, at a later period, and to foil the vengeance of other enemies, *Luther*, was shut up for a time in the castle of Wartburg. *Juliana* had inherited the library of *Symmachus*, known by his translation of the Old Testament, and his Ebionite commentaries on the word of God. In this library

the concealed refugee found much to occupy his leisure and aid his labors on the *Hexapla*.

But the violence which Origen escaped fell upon his faithful friend *Ambrose*, and upon *Proctetus*, a presbyter of *Cæsarea*. Both were dear to him; both were thrust into prison. It was thought they would be summoned before the Emperor in Germany and there suffer death. To encourage them Origen composed his work on *Martyrdom*, an exhortation to steadfastness. This work illustrates the excellences and defects of Origen's theology. It shows his great and unwavering confidence in the word of God, his lofty standard of Christian virtue, his faith in the atonement of Christ, his spiritual and heavenward temper of mind. But it exhibits also his belief of the pre-existence and apostacy of human souls, in the justifying merit of patient suffering and death on the part of Christians, and in the unreal and transitory nature of matter. He looked with contempt upon the body. He supposed the whole material universe created for the reception and discipline of fallen spirits, and destined to annihilation after their recovery. Hence should they fall again from purity, another universe must be created again for their abode.

About this time he wrote for *Ambrose* a treatise upon prayer. He defined this act of worship to be a turning of the spirit to God, an elevation of the soul above the body, above the visible earth and heaven, and a union of it with the Spirit poured out through the whole world, with God who filleth all things. It is a high prerogative of creatures endowed with reason. The universe of spirits is a great praying church. Christ, the High Priest of heaven, prays with us continually. The Holy Ghost prays, and is the spirit of prayer in us. All good angels pray. Sun and moon praise the Lord: so do all the stars of light. And prayer is heard and answered, notwithstanding the eternal, immutable, and unerring fore-knowledge of God.

The second part of this treatise is an interpretation of the Lord's Prayer. Origen calls the one recorded by *Matthew* the model of all prayers. He distinguishes it from that pre-

served in Luke, affirming the evangelists to be accurate and reliable historians, unable to differ in relating the same thing.

Our Father, the Lord began: in the Old Testament no worshipper addresses God as Father. Christ procured the adoption for us. May every one be actually a child of God, in order to call Him Father in truth! The brightest dignity of Christians, their being born from the seed of God, is shown in good actions, and their whole life is but a perpetual cry to God: "Father in heaven,"—where our citizenship is. The heavens contain him not; no bodily form includes Him; He is not in space; everything corporeal is also perishable, divisible. But corporeal objects bear the marks of his power and glory; they are, so to speak, the emanations of His Godhead.

Hallowed be thy name. A name expresses the peculiarity of any being, that by which it is distinguished from every other. Names have a mysterious harmony with the nature of those who bear them; hence saints of the old or new covenant, as Abraham and Paul, on experiencing great inner transformations, changed their names. God is eternal, immutable, *He is*; but there are very few who in the least degree perceive his holiness in all things. Let us pray to Him now, that the conceptions of Him, formed by each one of us, may be holy; that this pure Being may appear in His creation, and in His providence, in His electing and condemning, permitting and restraining, punishing and rewarding. Only by holiness united with concord and unanimity do we come, by recollection, to a true and high knowledge of God's nature; possessing a spark of his divinity, which is reanimated in us. For the Scripture says: *Let us exult the name of God upon itself—ἐπιπροαυτό*—and this takes place, when the divine within us rises up to praise the power of God, which it shares. His name should sanctify us.

Thy kingdom come. It comes not outwardly; it is within us; it is but the holy ruling of God in our hearts, the establishment of His authority in the spirit, the exaltation of that which is highest in us above our lower nature, the orderly succession of wise thoughts. The words of salvation

which we preach, and the works of righteousness which they perform, are the kingdom of Christ: for He is the Word and the Righteousness.

The "essential"* bread of this prayer cannot mean bodily food; it signifies nutriment suited to our true nature, to the incorporeal in us; that imperishable food which remains unto eternal life, which the Son of Man gives unto us; it signifies faith in Him, nay Himself, the bread from heaven. Hence the evangelists here choose a word wholly foreign to the Greek, which they have formed in imitation of an Old Testament expression. (Ex. xix. 5.)

Forgive us our debts. We are upon the world's stage, in sight of men and angels. We owe much to ourselves and to men, and much is unpaid. We are also debtors to Christ, who has purchased us with His own blood. We are also bound not to grieve that Holy Spirit. Moreover, we are every moment under obligations to the angels who protect us, to the church, to our office, calling, and rank. No one is entirely free from guilt, even if he has to lament former neglects and transgressions only; and the "handwriting against us" is inscribed in our own spirit. By an earnest endeavor no longer to remain guilty, we may destroy that debt. We also have many debtors, and have power to forgive them, mindful of our own guilt. Moreover men, to whom Christ has given authority, mediate for others the forgiveness of sins, which God alone can grant. Only mortal sins, idolatry, adultery, and fornication, cannot be forgiven.

And lead us not into temptation. We here pray not to be overcome, either in human temptations, which the warfare of the flesh, or of our own heart against the Spirit prepares, or in conflicts with "principalities" and evil spirits, which cannot always be shunned. The wicked one, from whom may God deliver us! is the devil. May his darts be quenched on the shield of faith, and the fountains of living water in us destroy the flame of every temptation.

The murder of Maximin by his troops in A.D. 238, restored peace to the church. Fabian was now bishop at

* ἐπιούσιον—Jerome, "supersubstantialem."

Rome, Babylas at Antioch, and Heraclas at Alexandria. Dionysius, who had studied under Origen, was over the catechetical school. Origen returned to Cæsarea, and at once resumed his exegetical labors. He wrote his Commentary on Isaiah, of which Eusebius had thirty books, though only fragments have come down to us. He also began an Exposition of Ezekiel, a single fragment of which now exists. Ere long he went to Athens, and, on his way, it seems, visited Nicomedia and his old friend Ambrose, who had been released from prison and was residing in that country. During this journey, Origen had a discussion with a certain *Bassus*, perhaps a Valentinian, and appealed to the Apocryphal story of Susannah. *Julius Africanus* was present at this debate. He was a native of Libya, but was residing at Nicopolis or Emmaus. He ascertained afterwards, that the section quoted was wholly wanting in the Hebrew text, and exhibited, moreover, clear marks of spuriousness. In a letter to Origen, he freely disclosed his doubts respecting the passage. He received an answer from Nicomedia. In it Origen strove to remove his objections and doubts. He says the Jewish elders removed the narrative from their text, because it endangered the honor of their order, and believes all peculiarities of style and play upon words may be explained. Ambrose assisted him in framing this reply. To this time we may, perhaps, assign a letter of Origen, to his former pupil, Gregory Thaumaturgas, exhorting him to renounce all ambition for distinction as a lawyer or philosopher, and give himself wholly to the defence of Christian truth. From Nicomedia Origen proceeded to Athens, and remained in that city a considerable period. Here he finished his Exposition of Ezekiel, and began a Commentary on the Song of Songs. This Song he treated as an allegory, Christ being represented by the royal bridegroom, and His Church, or a single soul, being veiled under the bride, Salumith.

It would detain us too long to speak of all the commentaries which he prepared about this time. Most of them have perished, or come down to us in Latin translations by Jerome and Rufinus. It is to be lamented that both these scholars ventured to suppress many expressions which they disliked,

and sometimes to substitute or add explanations of their own.

From Athens Origen returned to Cæsarea. His friend *Firmilian*, bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, paid him a long visit. It is supposed that Firmilian was on his way to a synod in Bostra, on the confines of Palestine. The doctrines of Beryllus, of Bostra, occasioned this synod; and the movement extended over Arabia. Beryllus denied the personality of Christ before the incarnation. God the Father, he taught, took up his abode in a complete man, the Son.* Of course this was an unequivocal denial of any Trinity in the Godhead. The doctrine met with strong opposition. The synod of Bostra decided against Beryllus, but could not win him to adopt their views. Origen was therefore invited to come and reason with the heretic. He complied; and after a private and familiar interview, in which he ascertained the exact state of his opponent's mind, they joined in debate before the bishops. The result was remarkable; for Beryllus was convinced of his error, and made an immediate recantation. Afterwards he signified his thanks to Origen in a letter. This occurred in the year 244.

Soon after this, Origen is said to have been called into Arabia to contend against another error. The resurrection of the body was denied; and in a large synod he took up the subject and refuted the arguments brought in favor of such a denial. It is not easy to see how Origen could say much in defence of a proper resurrection, without coming in conflict with his ideas respecting matter. By laying special emphasis upon the spirituality of the reanimated body, he probably succeeded, however, in keeping his system together. He declares that our future bodies will be all eye, all ear, all action, all motion.

In A.D. 244, *Philip the Arabian* ascended the imperial throne. Through the five years of his reign Christians were suffered to live in peace. And during this period Origen wrote his work against Celsus, a production of great merit, and now extant in the Greek original. Celsus, it is believed,

* See Neander, I. 593, for another view.

published his *Λόγος ἀληθής* in the reign of Marcus Aurelius; and now for sixty years it had been in high repute among the pagans. He was an eclectic philosopher of the Platonic school, learned, acute, bitter. His work has not been preserved in a separate form. But Origen, in his reply to that work, follows Celsus step by step, quoting his language, it would seem, with entire accuracy, demolishing, with great learning and ability, his sceptical objections to Christianity, and refuting his abominable charges against this new religion. The limits appropriate to such an article as the present prevent our giving a more particular account, or an abstract, of this Apology. It is not, perhaps, inferior to any treatise of the kind produced in the early ages of Christianity.

Apart from this treatise, Origen now toiled incessantly upon the Hexapla, and upon commentaries. His vigor scarcely abated with advancing age. The Hexapla contained mostly six, but in part seven, eight, or nine copies of the Old Testament in parallel columns. In the first column was the Hebrew text in Hebrew letters; in the second, this text in Greek letters; in the third, the version of Aquila; in the fourth, that of Symmachus; in the fifth, that of the Seventy; in the sixth, that of Theodotion; in the seventh, eighth, and ninth, three versions known from their position as the *Quinta*, *Sexta*, et *Septima Editiones*. This great work perished after a time; we know it only by description, and by considerable fragments preserved in the writings of Jerome and others.

Origen also executed a similar work, the Tetrapla, containing the versions of the Seventy, Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion.

But his end was approaching. In A.D. 249 *Decius* succeeded *Philip*, and entered upon a most systematic and relentless persecution of Christians. It was his design to extinguish the name and faith. Fabian at Rome, Alexander at Jerusalem, and Babylas at Antioch, died in honor of the truth. Origen seems to have gone to Tyre before the outbreak. He was seized, thrust into prison, and a heavy iron collar put about his neck. He was tortured many days. He was

threatened with death at the stake. But his steadfastness continued. And as his judge did not wish to take his life, he survived the torture and the persecution. But not long; for his sufferings had ruined his health. In A.D. 254, and in the seventieth year of his age, he fell asleep. The work of life was done.

Besides a great number of letters and homilies, he had written commentaries on a large part of the Bible, had formed the Hexapla and Tetrapla, composed an able Apology and several doctrinal treatises, taught Christianity to a great number of young men, and travelled extensively. He was in labors abundant. And we must admire and love the man, while we reject many of his opinions. We know nothing of his personal appearance, except that he was small of stature, and of winning address. Intelligence and love beamed from his countenance.

ART. VI.—THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.

History of the Council of Trent, from the French of L. F. BUNGENER. Edited from the second London Edition, with a Summary of the Acts of the Council, by JOHN McCLINTOCK, D.D. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1855.

A Text-Book of Popery, comprising a Brief History of the Council of Trent, and a Complete View of Roman Catholic Theology. By J. M. CRAMP, D.D. Third Edition. London: Houlston & Stoneman, Paternoster Row. 1851.

THERE is no higher authority with Roman Catholics, in matters of doctrine and discipline, than the decisions of a general council, solemnly ratified and confirmed by the sovereign pontiff. Such pontifical sanction is not by all Romanists regarded as essential to the validity of the acts of a general council; but where such decrees are so ratified, no Catholic will deny that they constitute the highest possible source of appeal, and the ultimate authority for faith and practice.

The Romish church generally acknowledges eighteen such general councils, though there is some diversity between the Cisalpine and the Transalpine writers, in their enumeration. Of these eighteen, that of Trent is the last, and in its origin, history, and results, by far the most remarkable of them all. Three centuries have now nearly elapsed since the Trentine fathers—amidst acclamations of *anathema cunctis hæreticis*—dispersed from the closing session of this memorable council. From that time till the present, its doctrinal decrees have ever been regarded as the acknowledged and authoritative standard of the doctrines of Rome. Whatever is found in these decrees may fairly and legitimately be regarded as a doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church, the validity of which no faithful son of the church will presume to deny or to dispute. The creed to which every Romish bishop and priest has solemnly expressed his adherence, and which every genuine Catholic cordially receives, is the creed of Pope Pius IV., the pontiff by whom all the acts and decrees of the council were solemnly ratified and confirmed. This is the present creed of the Romish church. In thirteen articles it embraces a summary of the doctrines established by the decrees of Trent, and in the fourteenth and fifteenth articles the believer is made to say—"I also profess and undoubtedly receive all other things delivered, defined, and declared by the sacred canons, and general councils, and particularly by the holy Council of Trent; and likewise, I also condemn, reject, and anathematize all things contrary thereto, and all heresies whatsoever, condemned, rejected, and anathematized by the church. This true Catholic faith, *out of which no one can be saved*,* which I now freely profess and truly hold, I promise, vow, and swear, most constantly to hold and profess the same, whole and entire, with God's assistance, to the end of my life."

Dr. McClintock† has truly remarked: "The acknowledged creed of Rome is contained in the acts and decrees of the Council of Trent—there and nowhere else. Quote the most

* "Extra quam, nemo salvus esse potest."

† The editor of the American edition of Bungener's *History of the Council*. See the Introduction which he has prefixed to that work.

celebrated Roman doctors—an angelical Aquinas, or a sainted Liguori—and you will be told that their writings are “not authoritative.” Cite a catechism, a prayer-book, a breviary—your mouth is closed, at once, with the declaration that the church recognizes none of these as giving her creed. Pursue your quest as far as you may, you will find no book, no formulary, no summary of doctrine, recognized as binding, except the canons and decrees of Trent. The canons of Trent are the very citadel of Rome.”

From the above observations, it will be seen that a knowledge of the history and the decrees of the Council of Trent is absolutely essential to a correct understanding of the doctrines of the Romish church. Mr. Butler, the celebrated Romish controversialist, in his *Book of the Roman Catholic Church*, demands that “in every religious controversy between Protestants and Roman Catholics, the following rule should be rigidly observed, viz., “That no doctrine should be ascribed to the Roman Catholics as a body except such as is an article of their faith.” If this rule is a just one—and we have no disposition to repudiate it—then, we ask, how can any one be qualified to engage in this great controversy, or even to judge of its merits, who has not made himself familiar with the accredited decrees and formularies in which those articles of faith are embodied?

A diligent perusal and careful study of such works, as those whose titles we have prefixed to this article, will do much towards imparting that knowledge which is necessary to a correct understanding of the matters in dispute between Romanists and Protestants. If we would be armed for the present and the coming conflict between Romish error and Bible truth, we must adopt the advice of one of England’s brightest lights,* in a recent sermon—“Study popery anew. The remedy I would propose against the threatened influx of of papal power, is to study afresh the tenets of the papacy, to understand its errors, to chronicle its crimes, to mark well that its character is as immutable as its pretensions are arrogant; and that everywhere and always, it has proved itself

* Rev. Thomas Binney, D.D., Pastor of the Weigh-house Chapel, London.

to be a thing which at once insults God and degrades man."

The *History of the Council of Trent* by Bungener is a work of recent origin. Its author, an accomplished clergyman of the Reformed Church of France, has recently placed himself in the front rank of the Protestant writers of Europe, by his graphic and eloquent *historico-dramatic* works (if the word may be pardoned) entitled—*The Priest and the Huguenot—The Preacher and the King*, &c. The present work will not detract from his well-earned honors. It is a well-conceived and well-executed attempt to popularize a knowledge of the historical intricacies which originated and influenced the Council of Trent from its inception, through all its various sessions and recesses, from its inauguration in 1545 to its final dispersion, eighteen years afterwards, in 1563. In this the author has succeeded in an admirable degree. The book is written in a graphic and animated style, and is well adapted to convey to readers of every class, a general impression of the history of the council and the doctrines which it promulgated. Yet it is not a work adequately adapted to meet the wants of the quiet student of history and theology. It would be but poorly adapted as an armory for the Protestant controversialist, or a text-book for the college or the theological seminary. Probably it was never intended for such a purpose. Its statements of the doctrinal decisions of the council are not sufficiently clear and precise, and they are very seldom given in the language of the doctrinal decrees. This, to the careful student, is a serious defect, as he cannot learn from Bungener's book *precisely* what Rome teaches on the points discussed.* The work seems to be written, rather for the meridian of Papal France, than Protestant England or America, and the author seems to assume that the doctrinal teachings of Trent are generally known. Yet the theological discussions of the council are related in a lively style, accompanied generally with pregnant reflections,

* This deficiency, Dr. McClintock, whose editorial labors have much enhanced the value of the American edition, has, in part, but only in part, supplied, by abridging from Landon's *Manual of Councils* a brief account of the sessions of the Council of Trent in chronological order.

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and sometimes with powerful arguments against the dogmas of Rome. The defects which are found in Bungener are admirably supplied by the work of Dr. Cramp (the second of the works placed at the head of this article), formerly a useful and influential Baptist pastor in England, now a Professor in Acadia College, Nova Scotia. The *Text Book of Popery*, besides an interesting narrative of the historical circumstances connected with the origin, progress, and termination of the council, contains all the doctrinal decrees both in English and in the original Latin. Dr. McClintock has given a brief account, in his Introduction to Bungener, of the principal works that have been written on the council. We have been surprised, however, to find that he has not even mentioned the valuable work of Dr. Cramp, especially as it has been before the public for some twenty-five years, and was republished in America by Daniel Appleton, shortly after the appearance of the first edition in London. In many respects, we regard it as more valuable to the student than that of Bungener; and were we asked to name one of these works, as a sole guide to the doings and the doctrines of the Council of Trent, we should most unhesitatingly give it the preference. Both, however, may be read very profitably in connection, and much more benefit may be derived by the student, by so reading them—period by period—than by the study of either work by itself. The work of Dr. Cramp is still often sought after in America, though it has been long out of print. We should be glad to see a republication, on this side of the Atlantic, of the last much improved and enlarged London edition.

The principal authorities from which both Bungener and Cramp derive their facts, are the voluminous works of Father Paul Sarpi, Cardinal Pallavicini, and Le Plat; though we perceive that Bungener, in addition to these three original works, makes considerable use of the brief and compendious history of the council, written in French, by Peter Jurieu.

Instead, however, of entering into a minute criticism of the excellences or defects of these two modern histories of the Council of Trent, we shall content ourselves with cordially commending them both to the attention and study of the

reader, and occupy the remainder of this article in a brief historical review of the council itself, and in offering, *en passant*, such reflections as that review, to our own mind, has suggested.

For more than a quarter of a century prior to the opening of the council in 1545, the subject of summoning a general council had agitated the mind of Christendom. As long before as the 28th of November, 1518, Luther, while yet in communion with the church of Rome, had solemnly appealed from the decision of the Pope to a general council. It was a month after his appearance, at Augsburg, before the papal legate, Cardinal Cajetan, and in the following bold and decisive language—"Seeing that the Pope, who is God's vicar upon earth, may, like any other man, fall into error, commit sin, and utter falsehoods, and that the appeal to a general council is the only safeguard against acts of injustice which it is impossible to resist; on these grounds, I find myself obliged to have recourse to such an appeal."

This appeal of the courageous Reformer was, at the time it was made, regarded by Frederick of Saxony and the other German princes, as a bold, if not a rash proceeding. It was striking a blow at the supreme and cherished prerogative of the Pope; and a former pontiff, Pius II., had pronounced the greater excommunication against any man, however exalted—though he might be the Emperor himself—who should be guilty of such daring contempt of the infallible papal authority. Two years later, Luther was bolder still; and ere long, the German princes were as loud as he in their demands for a general council. In 1518, Luther had acknowledged the Pope, as "God's vicar upon earth." In 1520, when he renewed his appeal, in response to Leo's bull of excommunication, he used far different language—"Forasmuch," says he, "as a general council of the Christian church is superior to the Pope, especially in matters of faith; forasmuch as the authority of the Pope is not superior, but inferior to Scripture, and he has no right to slay Christ's sheep, or cast them into the jaws of the wolf; I Martin Luther, an Augustine, and doctor of the Holy Scriptures, at Wittemberg, in my own behalf, and on behalf of such as stand or shall stand

on my side, do, by this instrument, appeal from his holiness, Pope Leo, to a general Christian council, hereafter to be held. I appeal," he also adds, "from the aforesaid Pope Leo; *first*, as an unjust, hasty, and oppressive judge, who condemns me without having given me a hearing, and without declaring the grounds of his judgment;—*secondly*, as a heretic and apostate, misguided, hardened, and condemned by Holy Writ, who requires me to deny the necessity of Christian faith in the sacraments;—*thirdly*, as an enemy, an antichrist, an adversary of the Scriptures, and a usurper of their authority, who presumes to set up his own decrees against all the declarations of the word of God;—*fourthly*, as a contemner, a calumniator, a blasphemer of the holy Christian church, and of every free council, who asserts that a council is nothing in itself."

At the close of this appeal, which was dated November 17th, 1520, Luther proceeds "most humbly to beseech the most serene, illustrious, excellent, wise, and worthy lords, Charles the Roman Emperor, the electors, princes, counts, barons, knights, gentlemen, cities, and municipalities of the whole German nation" to adhere to this his protest, and to unite with him "to resist the antichristian proceedings of the Pope."

There was nothing the Popes hated and dreaded more than a general council. The calling of such a body was the recognition of a rival power, equal, and in the judgment of many, superior to the pontifical throne. Leo knew too well the existence of flagrant abuses in papal discipline, and flagrant irregularities and crimes in the papal hierarchy—from the Pope himself down through cardinals and bishops to the lowest priest or monk—which such a council, if once assembled, might undertake to reform. He, doubtless, thought of the Council of Constance, which deposed Pope John XXIII., and however glad he might have been to see Martin Luther share the fate of John Huss, yet the burning of a single heretic would have been a poor consolation for the possible loss of his throne, or even for the exposure of the corruption, rapacity, and lust of himself and his clergy, and the reform of their most *profitable* abuses. We need not won-

der, therefore, that Leo and his successors exerted their utmost energies to defeat the plan of a general council, or, at least, to put off the evil day as far as possible.

Whether these were the motives or not which led Leo to treat this appeal of Luther with neglect and contempt, certain it is that he and his successors, Adrian VI., Clement VII., and Paul III., were successful in putting off, under various pretexts, the assembling of a council for a quarter of a century from the date of this appeal, viz: from the year 1520 to the year 1545.

And in all this, who can fail to discover the overruling hand of HIM who is "wonderful in counsel and excellent in working?" Had the demand been at once regarded, and a general council assembled in the infancy of the Reformation, while its friends were few, its principles had made but little progress, and even its patrons among the German princes were but timid and wavering adherents—in all probability, the work would have been nipped in the bud, its few friends overawed by the decisions of so just an assembly, Luther burned at the stake, and the Reformation have been at an end.

God designed that the Reformation should live. It was a tree of his own planting; its branches were to spread over other lands, and its fruit was to bless the nations. Luther, who was God's instrument in planting this tree, and his faithful fellow-laborers who should gather around him, must dig about it and cultivate it; that in the lapse of a quarter of a century, it might so strike its roots, and extend its growth, as to defy the power of any papal council to root it up, or to cut it down. Whatever were man's reasons, these seem to us to have been God's reasons, why all appeals of reformers, backed soon afterwards by the demands of Emperor and princes, for a general council, were for so long a time ineffectual. Before the assembling of the Council of Trent, the tree had attained a growth, and acquired a strength, which might defy the power of earth and hell to root it up. Whatever might have been the consequences had a council been summoned within a year or two of Luther's appeal, the Council of Trent came too late to destroy or even to retard the Reformation.

“That council,” says Bungener (p. 19), “which Luther had called for in 1517, and which he might have dreaded in 1520—in 1545, even before it had opened, had altogether ceased, before he descended to the grave, to give any serious ground of alarm to the Reformation. It had lost its charm before it met. Twenty-five years of delays had proved superabundantly—to some that Rome did not wish for a council, never had seriously wished for it, and could not have any wish for it,—to others, that the princes who had most called for it really cared very little about it;—to the Protestants, that no concession whatever would be made to them;—to the Roman Catholics, that small abuses would be amended, and the great ones preserved;—to all, in fine, that it would not be the church’s council, but the Pope’s council.”

And so it was the Pope’s council; for it was presided over by his legates, the Cardinals De Monte, Santa Croce, and Pole, and others in later sessions—it was controlled by his creatures, the Italian bishops, of whom he always contrived to have a majority. There was a constant communication between the Pope at Rome and his obedient vassals at Trent,—and no decree passed, or was even submitted to the council, without his approval. Such an assembly could not, therefore, be regarded as free; nor is it surprising that to all the entreaties of the Emperor, and all the overtures of the Pope to the Protestants, that they would submit the matters in dispute to the council, they should constantly reply that they could take no part in a council presided over by the Pope, in the person of his legates, nor would they for an instant acknowledge the authority of such a body. We are aware, indeed, that this all-controlling influence of the Pope in the doings of the council has been disputed by some Romish writers,* but no one can read its history by Father Paul, or even by the ultra papist Pallavicini, without abundant evidence of the fact. Proofs will multiply as we proceed to give an outline of the sessions and decrees of the council.

* See *The Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent, with Preliminary Essays upon the History of the Council*, by Rev. J. Waterworth. Also a Review of this work, in *Brownson’s Quarterly Review*, for April, 1849.

The first session was held December 13th, 1545. The long period of eighteen years elapsed between its opening and its closing session, December 4th, 1563; yet of these years, only a little over four were occupied in the deliberations and acts of the Council at Trent.

Its sessions may be divided into three periods. The *first*, from its opening till March 11th, 1547, a period of one year and three months; when, upon a report of a malignant fever or plague, generally considered groundless, but upon which the historians differ, the council was adjourned to meet at Bologna, in the Pope's dominions. Only a majority agreed to this adjournment, and they chiefly the Italian bishops, the blinded tools of the Pope. The dissenting minority remained still at Trent. After a few feeble attempts to renew the business of the council at Bologna, the Italian bishops were dismissed by the Pope to their homes, and the council indefinitely suspended.

The *second* period was about one year, viz., from May 1st, 1551, when the eleventh session was held at Trent, till April 28th, 1552, the date of its second adjournment, on account of a panic produced by the victories of Duke Maurice, of Saxony, over the Emperor Charles V. Fearful that the victorious Saxon prince would extend his conquests to Trent, they hastily adjourned for a period of *two* years, which delay was destined, from a variety of causes, to be protracted to *ten* years before they should meet again.

The *third* period, which was the longest of the three during which the council continued together, commenced January 18th, 1562, when the fathers assembled, after their long recess, and held the seventeenth session, and continued till December 13th, 1563, the day of its closing session and final adjournment.

The number of *sessions*, properly so called, was twenty-five, although at some of them very little business was done, except to meet and adjourn. These sessions were held for the authoritative enactment and promulgation of the decrees which had been previously debated at the general meetings of the council, called *congregations*, corresponding to what,

in modern parliamentary phrase, would be termed *committee of the whole*.

"The order of business in the council," as remarks Dr. McClintock, the editor of "Bungener," (p. 43,) "was fixed as follows: *First*, the subjects for discussion were arranged by *committees*,* composed of bishops and doctors; *second*, these subjects were then debated in meetings composed of all the members, called technically *congregations*, in which all decrees were to pass by a majority of votes; *third*, the resolutions thus adopted were to be published and confirmed in the *sessions*, which were to be held openly in the cathedral, with mass and preaching, and in which no discussions were to be allowed."

The first three sessions of the council were of comparatively little importance. At the first, an opening sermon was preached by the Bishop of Bitonto. This sermon is given in full by Le Plat (Vol. I. p. 12—22), and a considerable sketch of it is given in English by Dr. Cramp (p. 33). It affords a singular specimen of silly boasting, empty bombast, and childish absurdity. At the second session it was decided, in partial compliance with the demands of the Emperor for reform in the abuses of the church, that one subject of *discipline* and one of *doctrine* should be decided at each session of the council. At the third session, the fathers did little more than to repeat the Nicene creed, and some were heard, as they left the council, complaining to one another that the grand result of the negotiations of twenty years was that they had come together to repeat a creed twelve hundred years old!

The *fourth* session was held on the 8th of April, 1546, and was one of the most memorable, and perhaps the most important of the whole twenty-five. In it a decree was passed which declared the *Apocryphal Books* of equal authority with all the books of the Old and New Testament, and anathematized all who should not receive these books as sacred and canonical;—which established the old *Latin Vulgate* as the

* These committees were appointed by the Pope's legates, and the Italians were in the majority.

authentic standard of appeal;—forbade any *private interpretation* of Scripture “contrary to that which is held by holy mother church, or contrary to the unanimous interpretation of the fathers;”^{*}—destroyed the *liberty of the press*, by prohibiting all persons to print books relating to religion, or “even to retain in possession” such books, “unless they have been first examined and approved by the ordinary,” under penalty of anathema and pecuniary fine;—and which declared *tradition* equally a rule of faith with the Sacred Scriptures, to be received “with equal piety and veneration” (“*pari pietatis affectu ac reverentiâ*”).

The decree of which the above is a very brief synopsis is peculiarly worthy of study at the present day, as affording an authentic exhibition of popery as it was at Trent two centuries ago, and as it still is in relation to the subjects which we have italicised in the last paragraph.

When we remember that one professed design of the council was to reclaim the Protestants, and bring them back as erring sons, into the bosom of the church, we cannot but wonder at the presumption which should enact decrees so utterly opposed to their cherished and dearest principles, as the supremacy of the word of God as the only rule of faith, the right of private judgment, and the liberty of the press; and the more astonishing does this infatuation seem, when we remember that all this was done by a little company of men, consisting, at this session, of just *fifty-eight persons in all!* For, although at the later sessions the number of delegates increased to over two hundred, at this the assembly consisted of only eight archbishops, forty-one bishops, three abbots, and six generals of orders.

Probably an event which had recently taken place—sad and mournful to the reformers, but welcome and joyful to their enemies—encouraged them in this unwonted daring.

^{*} The words of the decree, at this point, are, “*Contra eum sensum, quem tenuit et tenet sancta mater ecclesia, cujus est judicare de vero sensu et interpretatione Scripturarum sancturam, aut etiam contra unanimum consensum Patrum.*” If this latter rule were conscientiously observed, it would be very difficult to get any interpretation whatever of sacred Scripture; for on how few subjects do “the fathers” unanimously agree.

We allude to the death of Luther, the great apostle of the Reformation, which occurred at Eisleben, his native place, on the 18th of February, 1546, just seven weeks before this fourth session of the council.

The effect of this intelligence upon the council is graphically and eloquently described by Bungener (p. 61). The third session was over, when the fathers had met *to repeat the creed*, when one day—the 22d of February—

“The council met to deliberate in good earnest. The legates appeared radiant with smiles. Why so? Nobody could tell. Could it be, because the council was now about to put itself in motion, and because, after having held a session for the *Credo*, they would not be obliged to hold one for the *Pater*, as was remarked by some mischievous wits. This was doubted. The legates had not hitherto looked like men who were eager for the council proceeding to business. Could it be that the Emperor had at last consented to declare war against the Protestants? Possibly so; a courier had arrived from Germany that very morning. No. It was because of something else; something better still—*Luther was dead!*”

“Yes, the veteran father of the Reformation was dead—if the Reformation had any father but God—any mother but the Word of God. He was dead, but only after having viewed with a smile of pity the grand projects and the small intrigues of men, so infatuated as to think of arresting, by their decrees, the movements of human thought and the very breath of God. And see now, how glad they are, these very men! Even when feeble and dying, the old monk of Wittemberg still terrified them. One might have said, that they could never turn round to look at Germany without their eyes meeting his, and without quailing before that eagle glance which had once embraced all Europe from the top of the donjon towers of the Wartburg. At Trent, at Rome, at Vienna, wherever partisans and champions of the popedom were to be found, never could they meet by two or three, without a voice, at once serious and sarcastic, seeming to pierce the wall, to overawe thieves, and to silence them. Now, then, ye oracles of the council, you may proceed at your ease, Shut, shut the Bible! Luther no longer lives to open it. Poor insensate creatures! see you not that once opened, no human power shall shut it? ‘My good princes and lords,’ said Luther shortly before his death, ‘you are truly far too eager to see me die—me who am but a poor man. You fancy, then, that after that, you shall have got the victory!’ But no; they did not think so, for they proceeded to close their ranks, and to advance more vigorously than ever against the book which he had used as his own buckler, and that of his adherents.”

In the fifth, sixth, and seventh of the remaining sessions

which were held in this first period of the council, decrees were passed upon original sin, justification, and the sacraments, which were declared to be seven in number, viz.: baptism, confirmation, eucharist, penance, extreme unction, orders, and matrimony.

When the decree concerning original sin was under discussion, a fierce debate sprung up upon a subject which has of late occupied a considerable share of public attention—the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary. A quarrel on this abstruse and useless question had existed in the Romish church for more than four centuries prior to the Council of Trent. The fierce and intemperate disputes between “the Cordeliers and the Jacobins,”—“the Dominicans and Franciscans,” had long divided the church into rival and contending parties. Even the Popes had declared themselves on opposite sides, but always as divines, never as Popes. The celebrated St. Bernard, in the middle of the twelfth century, had opposed it, and called the idea “a presumptuous novelty, the mother of temerity, the sister of superstition, the daughter of fickleness.” Johannes Scotus, eighty years later, advocated the doctrine, but only as “a possibility,” and if admitted, to be held only as “a matter of sentiment.” He argued that

“Christ redeemed all mankind; nevertheless he could not have been a perfect Redeemer, had there not been one being, at least, whom he should save, not only from the *consequences* of original sin, but from original sin itself. And who could this being have been but his own mother? Admirable reasonings these,” says Bungener, “on which a man of science could not admit the existence of a single plant, of an insect, of an atom—yet with which people have so often been content in establishing the sublimest mysteries!”

With such a diversity of opinion, the fathers of Trent prudently resolved (in modern parlance) to *dodge* the question, and to leave it undecided whether the Virgin Mary, like all the rest of Adam's posterity—Christ only excepted—was herself born in original sin. Bungener, writing a few years prior to the recent papal decision, remarks, with singular sagacity and foresight (p. 125), “At the present day matters stand thus. There are no positive decrees; but every

bishop that asks leave to establish the worship of the Immaculate Conception in his diocese, has this granted to him by the Pope, and hence it has now become almost universal. Let but some years more elapse, and nothing will prevent the fact from taking its place definitely among the articles of the faith."

Pius IX., in the year 1854, fulfilled this shrewd conjecture, without a council, on his own individual authority—what the Popes of the Trentine age, three centuries earlier, dared not do, nor even the council itself. He established the Immaculate Conception as a recognized dogma of the church.

Dr. Cramp adds to his history of the doings of the council on this subject some interesting but melancholy facts, illustrative of the idolatrous reverence and worship paid by Romanists to the "Immaculate Virgin Mary." The following specimen is from a poem in honor of the Virgin, found in a little book, published by the Roman Catholic booksellers in London, entitled "The Little Office of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, in Latin and English, for the use of the Confraternity of the Scapulary, and other devout Christians." The extract is given here, because of the explanation which it furnishes of this doctrine—only an opinion when these lines were written—but now an established dogma of the Romish church :

"Sing, O my lips, and joyfully proclaim
The spotless Virgin's praise and glorious name.
O Lady pure! extend thy gracious aid;
Guard me from all my foes, O spotless Maid!

Thee from Eternity, the world's great Lord
Ordained thee mother of His own pure Word;
Thee, He adorned His Spouse, and *made thee free*
From Adam's sin, that stained his progeny—
Free art thou from the fatal curse of earth,
Holy and pure before thy joyful birth.

Oh guard us safely in our dubious way,
Lead us secure to Heaven's eternal day;
And in that last and awful hour of death,
Sweet Virgin Queen, receive our parting breath."

In the interval between the first and second periods of the council, on the 10th of November, 1549, Pope Paul III. died, and Cardinal De Monte, the former legate of the council, was chosen to the pontifical chair, and took the title of Julius III. A characteristic anecdote is copied by Cramp from Thuanus, in relation to this wicked and unscrupulous man. Soon after his election to the popedom, Julius bestowed a cardinal's hat on a young man named Innocent, the keeper of his monkey. When the cardinals remonstrated with him on the occasion of this promotion, he replied—"And what merit did you discover in me, that you raised me to the popedom?" Such was the man whose influence prevailed more than any other, in establishing the decrees which we have enumerated, in the first eight sessions of the self-styled "sacred, holy, cecumenical, and general Council of Trent."

Under the pontificate of the same Pope, the council was convened again, May 1, 1551. In his bull for reassembling the council, the lordly pontiff asserted that he alone possessed the power of convening and directing general councils, commanded, "in the plenitude of apostolical authority," the prelates to repair to Trent, promised (or *threatened*) to preside, if possible, in person, and denounced eternal vengeance on all who should disregard his decree. Wolfius says that Julius III. about this time issued a new coinage, with this presumptuous motto, "Gens et regnum quod mihi non paruerit, peribit."* The promise or threat of his personal presidency, however, was never executed, although Julius, by his legates, exercised an almost absolute control over the council, during the twelve months that it continued together till its second adjournment. The principal doctrinal decrees of this period were those relating to transubstantiation, penance, auricular confession, satisfaction, and extreme unction.

When the council separated the second time, they adjourned for only two years, but it was not till January 18th, 1562, after an interval of nearly ten years, that it reassembled, under the pontificate of Pope Pius IV., to put the finish-

* "The nation and kingdom which will not obey me shall perish." Wolfius, *Lect Memorab.* tom. II., p 640.

ing stroke to its work. The principal subjects embraced by the decrees and the canons of this closing period were the mass, the sacrament of orders, matrimony, indulgences, invocation of saints, the use of images and relics, and the denial of the cup to the laity. It is a mistake to suppose, as is frequently done, that the decrees of the Council of Trent were discussed with Christian harmony or decorum, or decided by the unanimous convictions of the assembled fathers. Even a cursory examination of the works of Sarpi, Pallavicini, and Le Plat, the original authorities on this subject, is abundantly sufficient to correct this erroneous supposition. Nothing can be farther from the truth. Instead of harmony, there was bickering, strife, contention—descending on some occasion to personal vituperation and abuse, and even to bodily violence.* Many speeches delivered in the council, as well as votes, were in firm and decided opposition to the pontifical control, and to the unscriptural character of the doctrines established; and some of the members were even accused of being "Protestants in the monks' dress."

The debates on withholding the cup from the laity, as given by the original historians, are well worthy of study. Some of the speeches exhibit, of course, the most entire subservience to pontifical dictation; others of them exhibit a noble independence, and more than one would not discredit a Protestant theologian. Among the latter, was an eloquent oration of a learned divine, who had been sent by the Emperor and clergy of Hungary as their delegate, who, in his after life, became a Protestant, and adopted *Baptist sentiments*

* Pallavicini gives a circumstantial account, in the sixth chapter of his eighth book, of a quarrel which led to personal violence between two of the *holy fathers*, St. Felix, bishop of Cava, and Zannetine, bishop of Cheronæa. After a speech by the former, the latter whispered to a friend that he was "disgusted with the man's ignorance and effrontery." St. Felix, hearing part of the words, demanded of Zannetine to repeat what he had said. The latter repeated aloud the words he had used, when the bishop of Cava, with a countenance inflamed with rage, rushed upon Zannetine, and seized him by the beard, tore out a handful of hair and fled. ("*Saïssant son collègue à la barbe, il lui arracha force poils, et se retira aussitôt.*") It was well that pistols and bowie knives were unknown in those days, or the historian might have had occasion to record more bloody scenes than this.

in relation to the ordinances of the gospel. This learned and eloquent man was the accomplished Andrew Dudith, who was received to the council as the bishop of Tinia, to which preferment he had been appointed by the Emperor of Hungary. As the readers of the CHRISTIAN REVIEW may well be supposed to feel some interest in whatever relates to this *future Baptist in the Council of Trent*, we will here give a few particulars in relation to him, which are not found in Cramp or Bungener.* He was the son of Jerome Dudith, a privy councillor of Ladislaus, king of Hungary, and a noble Venetian lady, his wife. He was born at the family castle, near Buda, in February, 1533, and was sent to the Council of Trent in 1562, when under thirty years of age. Previous to this, he had accompanied Cardinal Pole to England, whose life he afterwards published in eloquent Latin; he had paid a visit to Italy, and acquired much celebrity as a scholar by the publication of some learned classical criticisms; he had also been received with much favor at the court of Catherine de Medici of France; and having addressed that queen in Italian, she had complimented him by the remark that she had thought it impossible for a Hungarian to speak Italian with so much eloquence and ease. Admired and applauded wherever he went, he visited, in 1561, the court of the Emperor at Vienna, and was, by Ferdinand, appointed to the bishopric of Tinia in 1561. In the council to which he was sent the following year, his extraordinary talents and eloquence soon attracted attention. He made one oration in favor of the marriage of the clergy, and another, of great power, against withholding the cup from the laity. This latter has been preserved by Le Plat,† and is one of the most elaborate and conclusive speeches in all that voluminous collection. He spoke with such eloquence and power, that even the legates, though opposed to his views, could not withhold their approbation. They wrote to Cardinal Borromei that the orator had occupied the time intended for other

* Cramp makes a brief but honorable mention of Dudith, in a note of three lines, p. 271. Bungener does not mention his name.

† Le Plat, *Acta et Monumenta*, vol. V., p. 472-488.

business, but that the council were so charmed with him, that it had not been perceived. They had never heard anything like it. But Dudith was too independent to submit his own opinion to that of the Pope and his legates, and as the views which he so eloquently advocated were opposed to the decrees which they were determined should pass, he was, at the request of the Pope, soon recalled by the Emperor Ferdinand, who approved his conduct, and rewarded him with other preferments.*

The only allusion which Pallavicini, who is always unfair towards the opponents of the papal views, makes to this eloquent oration of Dudith, which excited the approbation of his friends, the fear of his enemies, and the admiration of all, is the following ill-natured remark. "L'évêque de Tinia, procureur de clergé de Hongrie, fit à sa manière, une espece de harangue, dont le poids n'egalait pas la grosseur; et dans laquelle il prouva, non la bonté de sa cause, mais l'ardeur de son zele."†

A few years after his return home, Dudith renounced the errors of popery, and resigned all his ecclesiastical honors and preferments, principally in consequence of the impression made upon his mind by the writings of the two celebrated Baptist writers, Blandrata and Davidis. He was excommunicated by the Pope, but, like Luther, treated his anathema with contempt, and still continued to enjoy the Emperor's protection. He subsequently became a member and an occasional teacher of a Polish Baptist church in the town of Smila. He died in 1589, at Breslau in Silesia, at the age of fifty-six.

A division took place at Trent in the congregation, held September 9th, 1562, on the question upon which Dudith made his eloquent speech, which serves to confirm our remark upon the want of unanimity in the decisions of the council. There were 166 votes in all, which were divided as follows: 29 approved of conceding the cup to the laity in all

* For additional particulars of Andrew Dudith, see *Robinson's Ecclesiastical Researches*, p. 591-594.

† French edition of Pallavicini in 3 vols., royal octavo: Montrouge, 1844. Vol. 3, b. 18, c. 4, s. 22, p. 1274.

cases; 31 others were in favor of the same concession, but wished the execution of the proposed decree to be committed to the discretion and will of the Pope; 38 opposed the concession altogether; 24 were in favor of referring the matter absolutely to the Pope; 19 were in favor of granting the cup to the Bohemians and the Hungarians, represented by Dudith, but to refuse it to all others; 14 desired to further the postponement of the subject; and 11 were altogether undecided or neutral. Such was the chaos of opinion existing among these popish fathers, who undertook to frame a creed for the whole Christian world. The same diversity of views were exhibited on many other questions, when submitted to the unbiased votes of the assembly. All this discussion ended, however, in just such a conclusion as was predetermined at Rome. The decree was passed denying the cup to the laity in just the terms the Pope wished, and the curse against opposers was annexed in the usual form—“Whoever shall affirm that the holy Catholic church had not just grounds and reasons for restricting the laity and non-officiating clergy to communion, in the species of bread only:—let him be accursed!”

The fact was notorious that there was a constant communication between the Pope's legates at Trent and their master at Rome, and that the decrees to be presented to the council, both on doctrine and discipline, were so framed as to meet his approbation, and duly submitted to his inspection. So that a witty expression employed first by De Lanssac, one of the French ambassadors to the council (in a letter to De Lisle, another ambassador at Rome), grew into a proverb—viz., that, “the Holy Spirit was sent in a travelling bag from Rome to Trent.”†

The same influence from Rome effectually prevented the enactment of any such reformatory decrees, as might abridge the privileges, or diminish the revenues of the Pope and his creatures. True, there were some slight reforms effected—principally to suppress scandal—such for instance, as that “the

† Cramp, p. 250. Le Plat, vol. V., p. 169. The Trentine fathers, in issuing their decrees, professed to be under the guidance of the Holy Spirit (in *Spiritu Sancto legitime congregata*).

children of priests were forbidden to hold any ecclesiastical office in the same church in which their fathers officiated"—an enactment, by the way, which unwittingly revealed the corrupt state of the morals among the papal clergy. Viewed with Romish eyes, some of the reformatory decrees in relation to pluralities, episcopal residence, simony, &c., appeared of considerable importance, but scarcely anything was done, in the way of reform, to meet the just demands of the Emperor and the princes of Germany, and the better portion of the laity, who had so long been scandalized by the corruption and vices of the Pope, the cardinals, and the whole Roman hierarchy. The opinion formed by some of the result of the council, in this branch of their labors, may be surmised from a satirical Latin verse given by Le Plat,* composed probably by some one of the Spanish members, when their endeavors to procure reform had proved ineffectual, of which the learned reader will excuse the translation we have subjoined, and with which we shall close our remarks on the doings of this famous council.

“ Concilii quæ prima fuit, si quæris origo,
 Quo medium dicam, quo quoque finis erat?
 A nihilo incepit, medium finisque recedet
 In nihil. Ex nihilo nascitur ecce nihil ”

If of this noted council you demand,
 What the beginning, middle, and the close?
 We answer that from nothing it began,—
 In nothing ended—lol from nothing, nothing flows.

ART. VII.—PROGRESS OF BAPTIST PRINCIPLES.

The Progress of Baptist Principles in the Last Hundred Years.

By THOMAS F. CURTIS, Professor of Theology in the University at Lewisburg, Pa., and author of *Communion, &c.*, &c. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. New York: Sheldon, Lamport & Blakeman. 1855. 422 pp., 12mo.

“It cannot be denied, but by those who would dispute against the sun, that with America, and in America, a new

* Vol. VII., part 2, p. 389.

era commences in human affairs. This era is distinguished by free representative governments, by entire religious liberty, by improved systems of national intercourse, by a newly-awakened and an unconquerable spirit of free inquiry, and by a diffusion of knowledge through the community, such as has been before altogether unknown or unheard of." The volume before us will point out how far this "new era in human affairs," so emphatically asserted by Daniel Webster, is indebted to the influence of Baptist principles.

This is a book of mark. They greatly err, who imagine, on reading or hearing its title, that it is merely a "partizan book." It records the history of great principles. Every man, of every creed or of no creed, will find it alike interesting, as indicating the progress of his race for the last century. Every American, who glories in the progress of his country, is especially bound to read it, and ponder the profound lesson it involves. To be ignorant of facts so important in themselves, so world-wide in their relations, and so pregnant with the destinies of the vast future of our country and of humanity, is to be deprecated, especially so by any man who studies the signs of the times, and honestly wishes to perform his duties as an American citizen and a Christian.

To Baptists who take up this book we would commend these other words of the great statesman before quoted, only using the word "nations" by analogy, to suggest the idea of religious denominations: "It is not to inflate national vanity, nor to swell a light and empty feeling of self-importance, but it is that we may judge justly of our situation and of our own duties, that I earnestly urge this consideration of our position and our character among the nations of the earth. Let us contemplate this connection, which binds the prosperity of others to our own; and let us manfully discharge all the duties which it imposes. If we cherish the virtues and the principles of our fathers, Heaven will assist us to carry on the work of human liberty and human happiness."

The occasion of this volume is thus stated by the author, but not as usual in the preface. Lest it should be overlooked by any reader, we choose to give it here:

"Not quite a century ago was born one who for many

years was a Baptist minister of great usefulness. It has been the lot of the writer of these pages to preach occasionally in the pulpit that was once his, and to administer the rites of religion to several of his descendants of three successive generations. Three of his children, eleven of his grandchildren, and either five or six of his great-grandchildren, have, to the knowledge of the author, joined the same denomination, by a profession of their personal faith in Christian baptism. Nor is he aware of more than one of all his descendants having reached the age of twenty who has died without being baptized, or who is now living without having submitted to that ordinance. Most of them have made a profession of religion early in life, and one most satisfactory case, some years ago, at the early age of ten years. It was when some of these young persons were about to be baptized, that the writer was naturally led to consider the progress in this country of those principles of which their great-grandfather had been so powerful an advocate. Then it was that the ideas of this work first presented themselves to the author.

“And these circumstances are now mentioned both for the encouragement of pious parents who dedicate their children to God by prayer, as showing His love and faithfulness to children’s children, and also to relieve the scruples and fears of such Christians as suppose that infant baptism is required in order to render His gracious promises to Christian parents more firmly sealed and sure. Baptists maintain as strongly as others the duty of *all* parents to bring up their children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. They acknowledge the propriety of Christians consecrating themselves and every relation they sustain to God, whether, as husbands or as wives, or as parents, and humbly dedicating all connected with them. ‘Thus are their children holy, and thus their wives or husbands.’ (1 Cor. vii. 14.)”

Our author is usually happy in his arrangements, but in this one instance we venture to differ with him. An introduction so appropriate and conciliatory we confess seems to us quite as appropriate for a preface to the whole volume as to the chapter in which it occurs, and much more likely to win the attention of conscientious and candid Pedobaptists.

Professor Curtis has given us a copious and attractive table of contents, arranged in the clearest order; yet from that alone no one could imagine the richness of the actual fare. It indicates, indeed, the breadth and range of the topics, but by no means the variety of the facts and testimonies, the perfection of their arrangement, the force of their application, or the rare felicity of illustration by which they are made luminous and decisive.

We think he greatly undervalues his own work, when he says, in opening his preface, "This volume might almost be called 'Concessions of Pedobaptists as to the Errors of Infant Baptism, and the importance of Baptist Principles.' The aim of the writer has chiefly been to arrange these authorities, and point out the consequences of these admissions." Inferior men, in our opinion, might have done all this; but Professor Curtis—with all due deference to his modest opinion of himself—has done far more. An acute Pedobaptist clergyman, whose attention is much directed to the controversy, remarked to us, "I have read but the first two sentences of the preface, yet I see that this man knows what he is about." Now we must be permitted to doubt the sagaciousness of our Pedobaptist friend in this particular. Yea, we must even doubt whether the author himself was aware of the extent of his own services to the cause of truth, when he penned those modest prefatory sentences. It will be one great object in this article to point out the actual scope and value of these services.

The work is divided into three books. The first book treats of the progress of those Baptist principles which have been actually adopted, or conceded in theory by the most enlightened Pedobaptists within the last hundred years, both in this country and abroad. The second book discusses those lesser points which are still in controversy; and the third book, the progress of those great principles of evangelical Christianity held in common by true Protestants, but most consistently by the Baptists. The concluding chapter sums up the results of the work, and gives the reasons why it was written.

We cannot perhaps do better than to give the author's

brief introduction entire. It exposes a mistake of great moment.

“By many persons Baptists are supposed to differ from other evangelical Christians merely in relation to two points of a single rite—the *form* and *time* of baptism. Hence, even when believed to be correct in their opinions, they are supposed to be wrong in spirit, lacking in charity, building up a sect upon a ceremony, and making every other Christian ‘an offender for a word.’

“Those who have fairly examined their history, however, will have observed that they have uniformly maintained a body of principles of which their baptism has been merely the appointed symbol. Some of these they have held alone, and others frequently in common with Christians of different denominations.

“The present work is intended to trace out the *progress* of Baptist principles during the last hundred years, *their coherence and consistency.*”

After reducing these principles to three classes, to which he assigns the three grand divisions of his work, the author remarks of the first class—those which have been by degrees conceded in theory by many of the wisest and best of other denominations—that they “will be found to form such a basis of concessions as to leave it impossible that opposite principles should long survive among enlightened evangelical Christians.” This is strong language; but so far as this country of full religious freedom is concerned, it appears to be amply justified by the facts here first collected in anything like proper order, to show their bearing on the practical result.

These “conceded principles” are five, and are thus stated:

1. Freedom of Conscience and the entire Separation of Church and State.
2. A Converted Church Membership.
3. Sacraments inoperative without Choice and Faith.
4. Believers the only Scriptural Subjects of Baptism.
5. Immersion always the Baptism of the New Testament.

We find the following interesting fact in the opening remarks:

“A Pedobaptist gentleman in Philadelphia has been for some years making a collection of all works on the baptismal controversy. He has already obtained more than fourteen hundred volumes in the English language alone, which he proposes to arrange chronologically, and to present to the library of Princeton Theological Seminary. In examining this collection, two things are specially noticeable: that this controversy had of late years been conducted in a far more Christian spirit, and that the points of difference are greatly narrowed down.”

The change in spirit is seen by comparing the views of Dr. Featley, two hundred years ago, with those of Chevalier Bunsen, in our own time, as to the propriety of allowing the Baptists even a civil toleration. The former, in his *Dippers Dipped*, thinks fines, fetters, and banishment the fit punishment of such opinions; the latter, in his *Hippolytus*, does not see “for what good internal reason the Baptists, as such, can be excluded from a national church.” Perhaps he forgets in this expression of liberal feeling, that the Baptists are in principle radically and for ever opposed to church establishments.

But the degree in which the points in controversy have narrowed down is still more remarkable. Our author illustrates this point by a figure of singular beauty and point. He is speaking of the times following the Reformation.

“Often where the heart was evangelical, many of the remains of popery hung about it, as a fog will linger on the surface of the waters, while at a little elevation all is clear. It may not impede the current or the tide, or the motion of the vessels borne upon the surface, but prevents the navigators from seeing where they are going, or pursuing an undeviating course with certainty and safety. The clearness and consistency of Baptist principles have enabled those who have held them to penetrate these vapors with precision and ease, as a ship guided by a well-adjusted compass sails through a mist at sea. But then the directness with which they have advanced to their point, has seemed to others not only dangerous to them, but to all around. By degrees those fogs have been clearing away. Vast multitudes of the most

pious men of the age, many of them Pedobaptists in name, have become what Dr. Bushnell calls 'Baptists in theory,' to such an extent that they ought, as he admits, in all consistency to become so in practice.

"There is nothing which will be more likely to surprise the student of the ecclesiastical history of this country, than to notice that many of the points which were in dispute a hundred years ago, and which were originally regarded as Baptist peculiarities, have become established principles of the great unwritten creed—the general religious sentiment of the whole country—the common law, so to speak, of American Christianity. It is probable that when some of them are named, the only astonishment and difficulty with many readers will be to realize that these things were ever disputed or even doubted."

Freedom of conscience is the first illustration of the truth of these remarks. Few of the millions who enjoy this inestimable blessing in all its plenitude, are aware that it is inseparable from Baptist principles, and that to them chiefly is our country indebted for the first assertion, example, and vindication of this great right of our common nature. Of the first of these positions, Prof. Curtis gives a series of the most luminous historical proofs—which, however, admit of being brightened and strengthened still further by other additional facts—from the earliest ages of Christianity, and particularly from the time of the Reformation to our own times. Of the second, he adduces another demonstrative series of proofs from the history of our own country, showing also the gradually increasing influence of the principle over the sentiments and institutions of other nations, both cisatlantic and transatlantic, including England, Europe, Turkey, and China, within the last hundred years. This is a portion worthy of profound study. Every Baptist, especially, should ponder it with wonder and gratitude. The facts are both authentic and decisive. They are not yet known as they should be, even by ourselves. Perhaps they were never so fully collected, or so happily arranged; though by no means exhausting the subject, they are sufficient for the purpose; and Prof. Curtis is careful to

guage and guard their just effect on the reader's mind, by the following discriminating observations which we find on p. 57 :

“Nor was it any confidence in the purity of human nature so long before to contend for an unrestrained conscience ; rather was it a strong sense of the want which all men feel of just such a system as the gospel to meet their deepest necessities ; and to heal the diseases of the soul. It was not that they were indifferent to religion or to truth ; but because they knew that while the sword of the magistrate might produce hypocrites, it could never make Christians. It was not even that they grudged tithes ; but because they relied on the power of religion to support worship, and felt it an injury and an insult to conscience to make men pay for systems in which they did not believe. It was not (in fine) that they despised governments, but because they honored the government and authority of God, that they denied the jurisdiction of the magistrate in matters of religion.”

We are glad to see this great principle, as a Baptist principle, here put on its real grounds. No doubt Unitarians and Infidels, Irreligionists, and Anarchists have united in maintaining entire liberty of conscience and the separation of Church and State, and from the very motives above referred to ; but among Baptists always, and now also among other evangelical Christians, it is maintained as inseparable from the gospel itself, which makes free every human conscience, because “every one of us shall give account of himself unto God.” “He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved ; and he that believeth not shall be damned.” In the words of a great orator and statesman of Rhode Island, “What man can deem himself free, when in the primary concern and consolation of his present, and the hopes and fears of his future existence, he is shackled by authority, debarred from light, and taught to shrink from a vagrant uprising thought of non-conformity to the prescribed creed as blasphemy and enmity towards God?” Hence too, it follows that where religious liberty exists, as a vital principle in any community, it naturally opens the path to political liberty ; and that without

religious freedom civil and political liberty cannot be securely or long maintained. Of the last of these positions what striking instances have we seen in France, in Spain, in Mexico, and in South America! Of the former the history of our own country supplies the most illustrious example. "Political freedom," it has been eloquently said, "with cautious if not timid step, with her person half concealed, and the brightness of her glory veiled, attended in the train of the Protestant Reformation. In the North American Colonies she marched with a fearless and defying tread and bearing, and with a voice sometimes loud and dread, sometimes soft and composed, scattered dismay over her foes, or breathed hope and condolence to her votaries; because her way was opened by her pioneer—because she was strengthened, sustained, and invincibly secured by her heaven-born sister, Religious Freedom.*

And whence had this Religious Freedom its origin in this country? Prof. Curtis has shown that its origin was in Rhode Island, among the Baptists; that there and by them it was planted; among them alone at first it flourished in its fulness of power and sweetness; and from them alone was gradually disseminated over the land. We know that even since 1850 this honor has been claimed for Maryland Catholics, both by prelates and statesmen; but the facts presented in this book settle the question forever. We are happy to add here a testimony, which seems to have escaped Prof. Curtis' notice, from the great historical oration of Hon. William Hunter, from which we have before quoted:

"Do you not perceive, freemen of Rhode Island, that the basis of your political institutions was not merely *toleration*, but a *perfect freedom* in matters of religious concernment? No nice exceptions, no insulting indulgences, which while they allow the exercise of voluntary worship, deny the *right*, and pretend to confer a favor,—deface the consistent beauty of our plan. Your ancestors announced this opinion, and enjoyed its legal exercise, long before the able and amiable Roman Catholic Lord Baltimore, or the sagacious and bene-

* Hunter's Oration before the citizens of Providence, 1826.

volent Quaker William Penn, adopted and enforced it. In this great discovery, *you have the incontestable merit of priority.* This is a glory of which you cannot be robbed—a glory which no historian dare pass by unnoticed; though he may be born in a land which reluctantly eulogizes what it secretly envies, the proud preëminence in effectuating that which has contributed to the repose and felicity of mankind, more than any other discovery or declaration—saving that of the GOSPEL, whence it was borrowed, and from which it necessarily results.” To the same effect is the late testimony of the learned German historian Gervinus, to which the readers of this Review can hardly be strangers. “Thus far at least,” as our author remarks, “has the whole world been coming round to those great truths first embodied, vindicated, and maintained by the Baptists. Except the Russian domination, there is hardly a country of importance in the world that has not felt the power of this principle. Progress has been made which a hundred years ago would have been impossible to anticipate; and from America to China, from England to India, doctrines of religious liberty have been carried home to the hearts of many millions.”

But the Baptists of Rhode Island did not first “discover” this principle, as some imagine. It was held by all the Baptists before them with equal precision and purity in the Old World—by the Waldenses as by the Mennonites; by Andrew Dudith, in the sixteenth century, as by John Milton, in the seventeenth; by John Smyth and Mr. Helwiss, in Holland, as clearly as by John Clarke and Roger Williams, in Rhode Island. And it was thus held at that time by them alone. No other denomination avowed it. Papists, Protestants, Lutherans, Calvinists, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Brownists, and Independents alike repudiated it as the dreadful dogma of the despised Anabaptists. John Robinson denounced it as strongly, if not as violently, as John Knox. He defends stoutly the power of the civil magistrate to “punish civilly religious actions;” “by compulsion to repress public and notable idolatry; as also to provide that the truth of God in his ordinances be taught and published, and by some penalty to provoke his subjects universally unto hearing for

their instruction and conversion; yea, to inflict the same upon them, *if, after due teaching, they offer not themselves unto the church.*" These opinions of Robinson were planted in Massachusetts by the Pilgrims, and there soon bore their bloody fruits. But the opposite opinions of his Baptist antagonist Smith were borne back to England by his church, in the face of persecution, and thence were brought a few years after to Rhode Island.

The embarkation of the Pilgrims for the New World, in 1620, has been long and justly celebrated; but it remains for another age to celebrate, in a way worthy of its sublime glory, the return of that little Baptist church to their native land, in 1611, nine years earlier, as they declared, "to minister to Christ in the persons of their persecuted brethren;" and on the question of persecution itself, "to challenge the King and State to their faces, and not give way to them, no, not a foot." In their Confession of Faith, of 1614, they explicitly declare that "the magistrate is not to meddle with religion, or matters of conscience, nor compel men to this or that form of religion, because Christ is the King and Lawgiver of the Church and Conscience." It was the very year that King James issued our present English version of the Bible, in which this noble band of Christian heroes unfurled in England the banner of moral and religious freedom, and offered up themselves for its defence in this Thermopylæ of the Christian world. "How much England, how much America, how much the whole world owes, and will owe, to this one great act of unsurpassed moral heroism," says Professor Curtis, "who can tell? From the hour that they set foot in England those principles have been steadily advancing."

[CONTINUED IN THE NEXT NUMBER.]

ART. VIII.—NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

Illustrations of Scripture, suggested by a Tour through the Holy Land. By HORATIO B. HACKETT, Professor in Newton Theological Institution. (Boston: Heath & Graves. 1855. 12mo, pp. 340.) *Bible Light from Bible Lands*. By the Rev. JOSEPH ANDERSON, Helensburgh, Scotland. (New York: R. Carter & Brothers. 1856. 12mo, pp. 343.) We have here two works very similar in general design. Both are intended to illustrate certain portions of the sacred writings, by reference to things as now existing in the Holy Land. Neither, properly speaking, is a book of travels, though both writers make constant use of their respective experiences and observations while travelling in Palestine.

Our readers have already seen portions of Dr. Hackett's work, which we originally published in this journal. All who read his contributions to our pages, we are sure, will welcome this admirable volume. The work is divided into eight chapters, entitled, respectively, Eastern Travelling; Manners and Customs; Climate, Soil, and Productions; Agriculture, its Operations and Implements; Geographical Accuracy of the Bible; Jewish Opinions and Usages; Jerusalem and its Environs; and Sketches of Particular Places. Under these heads the learned author has treated a great variety of topics, all tending to elucidate the sacred volume. The various sketches, though exhibiting a remarkable power of condensation, are ample, and, withal, singularly clear and terse in expression. Dr. Hackett makes no attempt at fine writing. His style, however, is always pure, generally elegant, and sometimes it rises to real grandeur and power. He has undoubtedly given us one of the most useful works on the Holy Land, for popular use, ever issued from the American press.

There is less unity in Mr. Anderson's work than in Professor Hackett's, though his arrangement is not without its merits. He divides his work into three books. Book I. treats of "Predictions Verified;" Book II., of "Descriptions Illustrated;" and Book III., of "Allusions Explained." He embraces a somewhat wider range than the Newton Professor, and is less methodical in arrangement, and more diffuse in style. Still his work is valuable, and will contribute to the better understanding of the sacred oracles.

Sabbath Evening Readings on the New Testament. St. John. By the Rev. JOHN CUMMING, D. D., F. R. S. E., Minister of the Scotch National Church, Crown Court, London. (Boston: John P. Jewett & Co. 1856. 12mo, pp. 464.) Dr. Cumming is one of the most voluminous religious writers of the present day. We have often alluded to his peculiarities in these pages, though we have never felt able to speak in very high terms of his productions. For scholars and theologians his works have little value, being, in fact, only a very cumbrous and wordy rehash of matter which is more accessible in other forms. And the value of his works for popular

reading is much diminished by their want of distinctness and point. His style is diffuse and ornate, and abounds in figures and similes, which are sometimes quite felicitous. He is always sound in doctrine, and barring his hatred of Romanism, which at times is almost excessive, evangelical in feeling. We must give our readers one or two illustrative passages. The following comprises a part of the author's reflections on our Lord's meeting with the woman of Samaria :

"Mark here the preacher of this wonderful sermon, Jesus, the Son of God, weary, hungry, thirsty, seated upon the well of Samaria! How clearly Christ was man! We can go with the Unitarian here in everything, and say that Christ is man. We have no doubt that he is man. We only object to the Unitarian's refusing to turn over the page of his Bible, and read upon the obverse side, he is also God. All that can be predicated of God can be said of Jesus; all that can be predicated of man can also be said of him. Then here he was, the Creator of heaven and earth, weary, exhausted, and seeking rest: here he is—He that opened all the springs and channels of the earth, that placed the ocean in his oozy bed, that controls the waves, and sends his showers to refresh the moor—here he is, seated by the side of Jacob's well, asking a stranger woman from Samaria, 'Give me to drink.' How true, 'though rich, for our sakes he became poor, that we through his poverty might be made rich.'

"We learn another lesson. Persons often come seeking an earthly object, and unexpectedly they retire with a heavenly one. This woman came to draw water from Jacob's well, and she drinks, ere she goes, from the fountain of Jacob's God. This woman came seeking a supply for her household; unexpectedly, when she went away with a supply of living water for thousands of men in Samaria. Some come to church to scoff, and they retire to pray; some come to hear a human preacher, and unexpectedly they hear the preacher's God. Some come seeking water from the cisterns of time, and they go away, unexpectedly to themselves—and it will not be the least part of their song of gratitude throughout eternity—refreshed with water from the fountain of living waters. I have noticed the carping words of the woman: 'How is it that thou, being a Jew, askest drink of me, which am a woman of Samaria?' I have noticed the miserable ecclesiastical prejudice that subsisted in sects then, and, strange to say, amid the light of the nineteenth century, subsists amidst the church still; though one feels that, like snow after a thaw, it is only found in patches here and there, where the Sun of Righteousness has not yet penetrated. Jesus instantly tells her, what was far more precious than the settlement of an ecclesiastical dispute, "If thou knewest the gift of God, and who it is that saith unto thee, Give me to drink, thou wouldst have asked of him, and he would have given thee living water.' 'If thou knewest the gift of God.' Who is that gift of God? All things are gifts of God: one is *the* gift of God. Hence the apostle says, 'Thanks be to God for his unspeakable gift.' There is not a flower that blooms in the garden, or that wafts its sweetness on the desert air, that his breath did not give fragrance to, and his hand give tints to; there is not a star in the sky that he did not make; there is nothing so exquisitely minute that his fingers did not form; there is nothing so magnificently great that his power did not make it. The first showers of spring, the storms of winter, the sunshine of summer, are all God's gifts. There is not a crumb on our table that is not his gift; and if you had eyes to see, and knew his gift, you would see upon the bread that is on your table the stamp and superscription of him that was nailed to the cross for us. But above all earthly, providential, and temporal gifts, there is one that is *the* gift; and if thou knewest the gift of God thou wouldst have asked of him, 'God so loved

the world that he gave ;' that is, he made the gift of—' that he gave his only begotten son, that whosoever believeth on him should not perish, but have eternal life.' And then he tells her, 'If thou knewest, thou wouldst have asked.' Does not that teach that prayer must be preceded by knowledge? 'If thou knewest the gift, thou wouldst have asked of him.' If you knew what you are, what God has done for you, your lips would not be dumb, and your hearts would not be prayerless. And then he adds, very beautifully, 'Thou wouldst have asked, and he would have given thee ;' implying that as sure as the empty creature asks, so sure the full God will abundantly give ; and he would have given you living water to drink. He contrasts the water contained in the well of Jacob with that living water that he had to bestow" (pp. 56—58).

This extract affords a fair sample of the average of this volume. These pages furnish nothing, we believe, less orthodox in doctrine, and scarcely any thing less common-place. Occasionally, however, the author says things which, if not more original, are yet more graphic and striking. We instance the following, on *Christ the Way* :

"When Christ announced in these words, 'I am the way,' he indicated certain great truths. First there is union restored between heaven, to which he went, and earth, that has travelled away from it. Earth was separated from heaven by sin, as an island struck off from a grand continent ; and a dreary, a deep, and an unpassable sea of wrath rolls in the mid-channel between. Jesus Christ is the way that bridges that deep sea, that reunites the severed island to the ancient continent, and of twain antagonistic precipices makes one holy, united, and happy one. Ask the deist, 'How shall I cross this deep, broad chasm?' His answer is, 'You must risk it.' Ask the Romanist, 'How shall I cross this deep chasm that is between a sinful world and a holy continent?' and his answer will be, 'The church, aided by the Virgin Mary ; the suffrages of priests, the penances you pay, and the absolution of the church.' But ask the Christian, 'How shall I get to heaven?' and his answer is, 'There is only one way, and that way spans the chasm, re-knits the shores of the severed land, brings into union and communion those who are not only severed but antagonistic to each other ; one end of the way, like Jacob's ladder, resting on the lowest level of humanity ; the other end of the way, like the same glorious ladder, touching the very throne of God, and enabling them that are here in this realm of exile to reach the heaven that Christ has gone to make ready for all that come to the Father by him" (pp. 238, 239).

If our readers like this, they can obtain more of it by purchasing this volume ; and then, should they desire to follow our author farther, there are nearly thirty similar volumes from the same hand, all occupying about the same literary and theological level.

The Bible Union Reporter, containing The English Scriptures Revived. Monthly. (New York American Bible Union. 1855. 4to.) We have received Numbers I. and II. of this work, containing a part of the Revision of the Book of Job, by Rev. Dr. CONANT, Professor in the Rochester Theological Seminary. We believe that there has been an additional number issued, but we have not seen it. We will frankly say that we are pleased with that portion of Professor Conant's work now before us. All scholars will endorse the commendation of it, expressed by one of our contributors,

in the present number of this journal. Professor Conant is a ripe scholar, and possesses not only a sound judgment, but great refinement of taste. To a comprehensive and critical knowledge of Hebrew, and a thorough acquaintance with the literature of his theme, he adds those other indispensable qualifications in a reviser of the English Scriptures, a nice appreciation of the force of English terms, and a rare facility in combining them.

We have examined, with some care, the alterations which the learned reviser has made in the common version, and we designed to speak of them somewhat in detail. But we find ourselves compelled to forego this intention. It is proper to say, however, that scarcely a change has been made for which there does not exist a solid reason; while in the majority of instances the changes are of so obvious a character as to justify themselves. Of course, he has availed himself freely of the labors of those who have gone before him in this field of sacred research. We fancy that we can here and there trace the influence of the two or three English translators who have hitherto gleaned most successfully in the same field; though it is evident that he has followed no one with anything bordering on servility. He is more terse and finished than Barnes, and less sweeping in his alterations than Wemyss. His revision, so far, presents something more than a combination of the excellences of these writers, with not many of their defects. If he has a fault, we think it is on the side of conservatism. Still it may be better to err in this direction, than unnecessarily to shock the reverence so deeply rooted in the hearts of our people for the style and idioms of the common version.

As compared with our English version, we think there can be no question in reference to the greater accuracy of Professor Conant's revision. And we think that in point of suitableness, copiousness, dignity, and harmony of diction, the improvement which he has made is still more marked. Let our readers compare the following, comprising the third chapter of Job, with the common version :

“Afterward Job opened his mouth, and cursed his day. And Job answered and said :

“Perish the day wherein I was born ;
 And the night, which said : a man child is conceived !
 That day, let it be darkness :
 Let not God from above seek for it,
 Nor light shine forth upon it.
 Let darkness and death-shade reclaim it ;
 Let clouds rest upon it ;
 Let darkenings of the day affright it,
 That night, thick darkness seize upon it !
 Let it not rejoice among the days of the year,
 Nor come into the number of the months.
 Lo, let that night be barren,
 And no sound of joy enter therein.
 Let them that curse days curse it ;
 They that are skilled to rouse up Leviathan.
 Let the stars of its twilight be dark ;
 Let it wait for light, and there be none ;

Neither let it behold the eyelids of the morning,
Because it did not shut the doors of the womb that bore me,
And hide sorrow from my eyes.

“Wherefore did I not die from the womb—
Come forth from the womb and expire?
Why were the knees ready for me,
And why the breast, that I might suck?
For now, I had lain down and should be at rest;
I had slept, then would there be repose for me:
With kings and counsellors of the earth,
Who have built themselves ruins:
Or with princes, who had gold,
Who filled their houses with silver;
Or like a hidden, untimely birth, I should not be;
As infants that never see light.
There the wicked cease from troubling,
And there the weary are at rest.
The prisoners are all at ease;
They hear not the taskmaster's voice.
Small and great, both are there;
And the servant is free from his master.

“Wherefore gives He light to the wretched,
And life to the sorrowful in heart;
Who long for death, and it comes not,
And search for it more than for hidden treasure;
Who are joyful, even to exulting,
Are glad, when they find the grave:
To a man, whose way is hidden,
And God hedgeth about him?
For with my food comes my sighing;
And my moans are poured forth as water.
For I feared evil, and it has overtaken me;
And that which I dreaded is come upon me;
I was not at ease; nor was I secure;
Nor was I at rest; yet trouble came.”

This is very fine; and it gives the reader a very fair idea of the manner in which Professor Conant has executed his delicate task. We shall watch the continuation of his work with great interest.

Patriarchy, or the Family: Its Constitution and Probation. By JOHN HARRIS, D.D., author of “Pre-Adamite Earth,” “Man Primeval,” &c. (Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1855. 12mo, pp. 472.) This work is evidently intended as a supplement to the author's previous volume, entitled “Man Primeval.” In that work he discussed the constitution and relations of the individual man. In this he treats of the family, or the unfolding of the individual man into the social man. He divides his work into four parts. Part first discusses the principles which underlie the domestic constitution. The second part treats of the transition stages of the institution, as developed in the early history of the race. The third part discusses the reasonableness of the Divine method, and the grounds of the changes unfolded by the history of the institution. Part fourth is devoted to a consideration of the ultimate end of the domestic economy as a me-

dium of the Divine manifestation. It will be seen from this very general statement of the author's method, that he discusses the family in its constitution, its history, and its relations, physical, social, moral, and religious. This he has done with ability and good taste. His work is calculated to do good as a corrective of the excesses which have recently been manifested under the name of "Free Love." He discusses the true relations of the sexes with great clearness and force, and sets the divine law of marriage on an immovable basis. We hope that this volume will be extensively read. If it should not succeed in reclaiming the lawless, it will at least furnish the orderly and virtuous with arguments wherewith to combat the licentious sophistries of the time.

The World's Jubilee. By ANNA SILLIMAN. (New York: M. W. Dodd. 1856. 12mo, pp. 343.) The author of this work is a Millenarian, and defends that view with considerable ability. We can commend the volume to those of our readers who desire to read a temperate, judicious, yet earnest statement and defence of the doctrine of an earthly Millennium.

The Heroes and Martyrs of the Modern Missionary Enterprise, by L. E. SMITH, Esq., is a well-written volume of some five hundred octavo pages. The work is illustrated with portraits of several of the missionaries, from steel plates, which, from their artistic skill, add materially to the general interest of the volume.

It will be found a welcome parlor companion with those who feel a lively interest in the cause of Missions; and is well adapted to fan the love of Christ to their hearts in an intenser flame, and engage them, with warmer aspirations, to seek out and conduct the benighted to the Way and Light of Life.

It is published by C. W. Polter, 56 Westminster St., Providence, R. I.

The Heathen Religion, in its Popular and Symbolical Development. By Rev. JOSEPH B. GROSS. (Boston: John P. Jewett & Co. 1856. 12mo, pp. 372.) We have a work here written avowedly in the interest of heathenism. In his introduction the author says: "Nothing but a shameful ignorance, a pitiable prejudice, or the most contemptible pride, which denounces all investigations as a useless or a criminal labor, can have thus misrepresented the theology of heathenism, and distorted—nay, caricatured—its forms of religious worship. It is time that posterity should raise its voice in vindication of violated truth, and that the present age should learn to recognize in the hoary past at least a little of that common sense of which it boasts with as much self-complacency as if the prerogative of reason was the birthright only of modern times." The writer, we should judge, belongs to the Carlyle and Emerson school. Though he is a man of some research, and writes with considerable power, we cannot regard him as having laid his client under very weighty obligations.

Bethel; or the Claims of Public Worship. By W. W. EVERTS. (Louis-

ville: Hull & Bro. New York: Sheldon, Lamport & Co. 1855. pp. 192.) This is a tract for the times. There is a neglect of the sanctuary which every good man would like to see remedied, and which this little book may contribute in some degree to do away. As the author observes, the Sabbath is worse than useless without public worship. As a literary production, it has its blemishes. The thirteenth and sixteenth sections might be merged; the name of the tenth is not happy, it being the same as the title of the book itself. The table of contents and the sections in the body do not correspond. Yet it bears evident marks of patient thought, close observation, and attentive reading. We should be pleased to see it in general circulation, and its contents in the hearts of every professor of religion, and of our whole nation. The theme might be extended, and in a separate work, by showing what is needful, that the house of God may be filled.

Christian Theism. The Testimony of Reason and Revelation to the Existence and Character of the Supreme Being. By ROBERT ANCHOR THOMPSON, M. A. (New York: Harper & Brothers. 1855.)

Theism: The Witness of Reason and Nature to an All-wise and Beneficent Creator. By Rev. JOHN TULLOCH, D.D., Principal and Primarius Professor of Theology, St. Mary's College, St. Andrews. (New York: Carter & Brothers. 1855.)

God Revealed in Creation and in Christ: Including an Examination of the Development Theory contained in "The Vestiges of Creation." By JAMES WALKER, Author of "The Philosophy of the Plan of Salvation." (Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1855.)

We group these books together, because they relate to the same subject, and two of them are the recent Burnet Prize Essays, in reference to the origin of which, we presume, our readers are well informed. We have already expressed, in general terms, our estimate of Dr. Tulloch's work, which is written with great ability, and deserves a place in the library of every thinker. It is the second Prize Essay, but in our judgment ought to have been the first. Mr. Thompson's work, it is true, is a thoughtful and scholarly production, full of valuable information, and containing many important suggestions in the topics with which it is occupied; but, in arrangement and in logical power, it is somewhat faulty. It attempts too much, and while it discusses almost everything relative to the subject of natural and revealed religion, in their mutual connections, it leaves several points in considerable obscurity. Yet the book is exceedingly valuable in many respects. It is the production evidently of a man thoroughly acquainted with the whole range of philosophical and theological investigation. Except in the formal histories of metaphysical philosophy and of religious opinions, we do not know a work which contains so much condensed information on these and kindred topics. Here and there, too, we meet in its pages some truly eloquent passages. The style is perhaps a little too diffuse and ornate for such inquiries; yet it is always clear, accurate, and elegant. Mr. Thompson does not undertake to prove the existence of a supreme God. He

assumes, in fact, this great truth, as an instinctive or intuitive conviction of the human mind ; and his whole object is to vindicate its mental validity. Hence, instead of citing the various evidences in nature which are supposed to prove the Divine existence, he enters into an extended investigation of the mental powers, and traces the conviction to our deepest constitutional beliefs and wants. Having satisfied himself, and, it is to be hoped, his readers upon this point, he then proceeds to elucidate and enforce his general principles, by their application to the various facts and phenomena in nature and in man through which God reveals himself. He dwells, at some length, upon the question of the divine attributes, and especially the divine personality, and refutes, with much ingenious reasoning, the various infidel and atheistic theories which have appeared in the world. His remarks, especially upon the "pantheistic" and "positive" philosophies of modern times, are ingenious and valuable. We do not accept all Mr. Thompson's philosophical or theological views. He seems to us to waver somewhat in his own mind between the systems of Cousin and Hamilton, now yielding to the one and then to the other ; so that his reasoning occasionally becomes perplexed ; yet he is everywhere so candid and so cautious, that no truly intelligent reader can fail to make the necessary corrections. In this respect, however, Dr. Tulloch's work is more satisfactory. We know not, in fact, where to find a more thorough course of argument, for the existence and attributes of a supreme creative power and intelligent governor of the universe. Dr. Tulloch is everywhere consistent with himself. His style is clear, terse, and vigorous ; his logic precise and rigid ; and his general views both profound and philosophical.

Upon the relations between natural and revealed religions, or more strictly, between the teachings of Nature and of the Holy Scriptures, both of these learned gentlemen have said some excellent things. On the great and vexed questions pertaining to the origin of evil, the freedom of the will, and Divine Providence, sometimes spoken of as general or as special providence, they hold discriminating, and, in our opinion, scriptural views. Not perhaps strictly Calvinistic, they are certainly evangelical, maintaining, in no ambiguous terms, the great doctrines of the Gospel pertaining to the ruin and the redemption of man.

As to Mr. Walker's new work, it may be sufficient to say, that, while it will not enhance the reputation which he has gained by his "Philosophy of the Plan of Salvation," a new and improved edition of which has just appeared from the press of Messrs. Gould & Lincoln, it will not seriously detract from it. The author, however, is less familiar with the literature and philosophy of the subject which, in his second work, he has undertaken to discuss. The style is not as simple, nor even as accurate, as that of his first work. It has a more ambitious tone. He is not as much at home in the theories of Comte and others, to which he makes some reference. By not doing justice to his opponents, he scarcely does justice to himself in this respect. Still, he makes several important suggestions on the subject of the divine existence and government, and has supplied a sufficiently satisfactory

refutation of the Development Theory, as taught in the "Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation." The second part of his work, in which he passes to the question of revealed religion, is to us more interesting and valuable. He confounds, indeed, or rather confuses somewhat, natural with moral law, between which there are important points of difference, and reasons too exclusively from mere natural or mathematical relations to those of a spiritual kind, to be entirely satisfactory; but the general scope and spirit of his argument are admirable. We must, however, frankly confess that we vastly prefer his "Philosophy of the Plan of Salvation," which is one of the best practical books, of the kind to which it belongs, in the English language. Without indulging in any uncertain speculations, yet without assuming too much, it presents a clear, common-sense argument for the truth and excellence of our holy religion, which any candid mind can appreciate. We have occasionally loaned it to a sincere inquirer, and always found that it produced more or less good effect. In one case it was the principal means, under God, of rescuing an interesting young man from the vortex of infidelity.

Mr. Walker, in the second part of his new work, says some striking things on what he calls the "compensatory merit" of Christ, which deserve the attention of theologians. The following is a specimen of his mode of thinking upon this subject:

"In the case of each individual that is restored to obedience" (by means of the sacrifice of Christ), "his own sinful habits, whether produced by his own sinful propensities or by the influence of others, are broken, and a countervailing influence is established which will in the end eradicate the evil from the heart. The effect of a man's sin in other minds does not flow backward, but forward. The stream of evil that one man originates in the mind of others, runs forward in the life history of individuals towards the end of time. Suppose an individual pursuing his own inclination to them, and affected at the same time by my bad example; he is arrested in his life of disobedience, and now truly believes in Christ. The character and love of Jesus becoming operative by faith, changes his will—a will strongly determined by natural inclination, and strengthened in that determination by my example. So the power of Christ's merit meets the aggregate of evil in penitents, whether that evil be produced by their own evil inclinations, or by the influence of others. It reaches the sources of demerit, and substitutes a countervailing power in the heart. If, then, in the progress of human history, those evil effects which I and others have occasioned, should be met as they flow on in the minds of men, and when met, be counteracted, my evil would be removed from the system of which I form a part, and the law of the system would have nothing against me.

"Now history declares, and the Bible frequently and explicitly affirms the great truth, that the fountain of love opened at Calvary sends forth a stream that augments in volume and power; checked at times, but then again bursting the barrier, and flowing onward in the course of time. The flowing blood of Jesus, purifying from sin, is the rich and affecting symbol of this divine efficacy, which is finally to fill the earth, to take away the sins of the world! The time therefore will actually come, when all the effects of my sin upon myself, and all the effects of my sin in others, which remain in the current of the world's history, will be met and counteracted by the power of love exhibited in the sacrifice of Christ. The first Adam as a living being origi-

nated a stream of evil, which descended in the life-flow of the race ; the second Adam as a life-giving spirit originated a stream of mercy, which meets the dark current and sweetens it into love. Thus the flow of the love fountain will in the end purify the earth from sin and uncleanness" (pp. 196-7).

In concluding our notice of these books, we may be permitted to remark, that one grand difficulty with the method of philosophical discussion which they adopt arises from their abstract or logical character. They reason sometimes too little from facts and too much from assumptions, and hence it often happens that their abstract conclusions, fairly and logically deduced from their premises, do not in all respects correspond to the facts in the case. For example, assume the principle that the Gospel is *in all respects* a power of counteracting the sin of the individual not only in himself, but in society or the race, and apply it logically and simply as an abstract assumption to the sin of Adam, and you reach a conclusion far beyond what facts or the word of God appear to warrant. For his sin, the type and occasion of all the sin in this fallen world, must, on the assumption referred to, be counteracted not only in individuals, but in the race, and this not only at one time or in one place, but in all times and in all places. The reasoning here proceeds *mathematically*, and demands a conclusion as wide as the premises. No exceptions and modifications as in moral reasoning, or reasoning from concrete realities, which are every-day facts, are admissible. The fact is, an algebraic formula will not apply here ; and hence all Mr. Walker's "algebraic" compensatory power, upon which he reasons (p. 189), falls to the ground. In this sense "supernatural merit, compensatory for human demerit," cannot in the proper sense of the words be shown to "balance the moral system, and bring the sum of the superior and inferior agencies into accordance with the claims of the legal principle," and thus by *compensation* and *rectification* settle the account. If, indeed, the language is used figuratively and the proper discriminations are made, all well ; but this ought to be distinctly understood. Otherwise such mathematical equations, as in the case of Spinoza, may be carried far beyond the bounds which believers in the Bible or in the practical reality of things ever dreamed of. It is in this way, as Coleridge ("Aids to Reflection") suggests, that the more *logically* sometimes we reason upon religious matters, the more absurd and dangerous our conclusions.

The Skeptical Era in Modern History ; or, the Infidelity of the Eighteenth Century the Product of Spiritual Despotism. By T. M. Post. (New York : C. Scribner. 1856. 12mo, pp. 264.)

Dr. Post is a clear thinker and a forcible writer. He has treated the subject, in the volume before us, with signal ability. He begins with an exhibition of the fact of the awful eclipse of Faith which has occurred in these modern times, setting forth, in a clear and masterly manner, its phases and its progress. Then he passes to consider its causes. Here he treats first of those causes which he regards as secondary, such as the low state of morality and the general licentiousness of the age of Louis XIV. ; the long period of

religious strife which preceded the revolution in philosophy, inaugurated by Bacon in physics, and by Des Cartes in metaphysics, and the Reformation in religion under Luther; and the impulse given to commerce, and the consequent predominance of the idea of wealth. Having discussed these points, the author next proceeds to what he calls the *fons et origo malorum*, viz., despotism, civil and spiritual. He lays the greater stress, however, upon the latter. He finds the great cause of modern unbelief in the spiritual despotism of Rome. In confirmation of this view, he dwells with special emphasis on the religious history of France, and then passes to a survey of the other Catholic countries of Europe. We give a part of the author's summing up of his argument in his own words:

"In attempting to trace the great defection of Christendom from the Christian faith during the last two centuries, we think we find their cause to be rather *practical* than *speculative*, more *moral* than *intellectual*, less *theological* than *ecclesiastical*. *The religious insurrection of nations was political and social, rather than metaphysical.* Their revolt was less from Christianity than the Church, or at least it was from Christianity *because of the Church*. It was less a quarrel with dogma than with life. So it was then: so it is now, and so it will be to the end. The world will read the living epistles of Christianity, more than even the written word. And its faith will be determined by the exhibition Christianity may make of itself in the life of individuals, communions, and communities, more than in the schools of philosophy, or the halls of theologic debate. And we venture to predict that if the faith of the world ever suffers again a similar disaster, it will be from similar causes; it will be not on pantheism, materialism, fatalism, pelagianism, but on some great MORAL APOSTASY OR PRACTICAL WRONG, that primarily, at least, it will be shipwrecked. Christianity then seemed to have allied itself with atrocious wrongs in society, to have become the champion of old and intolerable abuses and absurdities. And as men could not but distrust a religion which seemed to be in conflict with their conscience and moral sense, so they were compelled to hate one which threw itself across the path of human progress, opposed itself to social amelioration, and conspired with the oppressors and liberticides of the world" (pp. 257, 258).

We think Dr. Post has effectually met the charge, so often made by Romanists, that the infidelity of modern times is due to the development of Protestant ideas. We commend his book to thoughtful men of all parties. It exhibits a thorough mastery of the Philosophy of History, and is every way an able performance. Perhaps the style is a little florid, but even this is adapted to popular effect, and may serve to give greater currency to the author's comprehensive generalizations and powerful reasoning.

India, Ancient and Modern: With a particular account of the state and prospects of Christianity. By DAVID O. ALLEN, D. D., Member of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, &c. (Boston: John P. Jewett & Co. 8vo, pp. 618.)

Dr. Allen was for more than twenty years a missionary of the American Board in India. He was led by the frequent inquiries made of him here, in reference to matters pertaining to that region, to the conviction that a work which should afford a comprehensive view of its geography, history, political institutions, social life, and religion, would be acceptable to the Ameri-

can public. Most of the English works relating to India are confined to the period of the English rule, and to the countries where that rule has been exercised. The aim of Dr. Allen has been to give the reader a comprehensive view of the whole country, and to furnish a compend of its history from the earliest times until the present. The chapter on the propagation of Christianity in India presents a rapid glance at the various efforts made to plant the Gospel there, from the days of the apostles till the modern age of missions.

Dr. Allen assigns several reasons for depending chiefly on the preaching of the Gospel by native preachers, for the conversion of the people. Amongst these reasons he mentions the enervating effects of the climate on Americans and Europeans, the nature and number of the languages, the cheapness of such an agency, &c. We heartily concur in this view of the author. We have long been of the opinion that one chief part of missionary work in all heathen lands, must be to raise up bands of native preachers, to labor among their brethren.

This will prove an acceptable work. Though it cannot lay claim to a very high degree of literary merit, it is a plain, sensible, and greatly condensed account of a country and a people occupying a large place in the history of the past, and identified with the best hopes of Christians for the renovation of the race. It is beautifully printed, and is, on the whole, a work of more than ordinary value.

The Life of Rev. Robert Newton, D. D. By THOMAS JACKSON. (New York: Carlton & Phillips. 1855. 12mo, pp. 427.)

Dr. Newton was a remarkable man. He was not so much distinguished for the splendor of his genius or for philosophical depth, as for the general symmetry of his character, and the solid common sense which was one of his most marked intellectual features. He was a man of profound piety, and as simple and transparent as the light of noonday. He rarely preached without seeing some good result of his labors. He was probably one of the most laborious ministers of modern times. It seems almost incredible that he could have borne up during so many years under the incessant labors which his friend, the venerable author of these memoirs, records of him. Dr. Jackson, who is now a Professor in the English Wesleyan College, is a veteran biographer, having already written the lives of Charles Wesley, the poet, and Richard Watson, the great theologian of Methodism. In this instance he has executed his task in a delightful manner, and produced one of the best religious biographies we have seen for many a day. He has made use of Dr. Newton's letters and papers, to illustrate, not to overlay, the narrative. In this respect he presents a model for the writers of biography. We have read this volume with deep interest, and we trust not without profit. We wish every minister in our denomination could read it.

Napoleon at St. Helena. Interesting Anecdotes and Remarkable Conversations of the Emperor, during the Five and a Half Years of his Captivity.

By JOHN S. C. ABBOTT. (New York : Harper & Brothers. 1855. Imperial 8vo, pp. 662.)

This ample volume, which is compiled from the works of O'Meara, Las Casas, Montholon, and others, is properly a companion to the author's History of Napoleon. The fallen Emperor, during the period of his exile, gave utterance to some of the sagest reflections on nearly every subject of human interest. These were recorded by the various persons in attendance upon him, and have been published to the world. But the original publications are so voluminous, and contain so much that is of comparatively minor importance, that Mr. Abbott wisely conceived the plan of culling from each what is most valuable, and combining the result in a single volume. He has executed his design in an able and satisfactory manner. The volume is beautifully printed, and, like the Life of Napoleon, by the same author, splendidly illustrated.

A Child's History of the United States. By JOHN BONNER. (In two volumes. New York : Harper & Brothers. 1855. 16mo, pp. 308, 326.)

This admirable history is after the manner of Dickens' "Child's History of England." It has been executed with good judgment and commendable care. It is just the book to put into the hands of children.

Light and Lore. A Sketch of the Life and Labors of the Rev. Justin Edwards, D. D. By REV. WILLIAM A. HALLOCK. (New York : American Tract Society. 1855. 12mo, pp. 556.)

Dr. Edwards was an earnest Christian, a laborious and faithful pastor, and a zealous promoter of various Christian reforms. He commenced his public career as pastor of the South Congregational Church, in Andover, thence he removed to Boston, and took charge of the Salem church ; he was next Secretary of the American Temperance Union, then President of Andover Theological Seminary, which post he vacated to become Secretary of the American and Foreign Sabbath Union. This last office he held for several years, and vacated it only a few years before his death. "He was a good man, full of faith and the Holy Ghost." Dr. Hallock has given us a very edifying and useful account of his active life.

Cyclopedia of American Literature ; Embracing Personal and Critical Notices of Authors, and Selections from their Writings, from the earliest period to the present day. By EVERT A. DUYCKINCK and GEORGE L. DUYCKINCK. (In two volumes. Vol. I. New York : C. Scribner. 1855. Imperial 8vo, pp. 674.) We have looked with interested expectation for the appearance of the work, the first volume of which is now before us. It relates to a department of our national history which seems hitherto to have attracted but little attention. The plan of the authors has been to include not only professed authors, but those also who have written on the various topics of practical import which have agitated our people during the varying scenes and

trials of our former history. They have also included the productions of those who, though born abroad, have produced their works on our soil.

The volume before us is chiefly occupied with the writers and literature of the Colonial and Revolutionary periods. The authors have gleaned these fields with rare patience and industry, and we think have worked up the results with equal judgment and good taste. They wisely determined to make their work comprehensive rather than critical; hence many writers who made their mark on their times by other means than their pens, have been admitted, though a critical estimate of the literary value of their productions would have excluded them from such a collection. The authors have occasionally been betrayed into an error, but this was inevitable in traversing so vast and obscure a field. The wonder is that their mistakes are so few, and they have collected so much that is rare and curious that they may well be pardoned for any slight omissions or misapprehensions. We have found this volume deeply interesting. More than this, we have felt a sense of pride in view of the fulness and excellence of our early literature.

Evenings with the Romanists; with an Introductory Chapter on the Moral Results of the Romish System. By the Rev. M. HOBART SEYMOUR, M.A. With Introductory Notice, by STEPHEN H. TYNG, D.D. (New York: R. Carter & Brothers. 1856. 12mo, pp. 479.) This is a book of some mark, on a subject which necessarily occupies a large share of attention, both in this country and in England. It purports to be a report of conversations between a Protestant and a Romanist, in reference to the dogmas of the papal church. It embraces a review of all the leading tenets, rites, and practices of Romanism, as set forth by the Councils and Fathers of that Hierarchy. We believe that Mr. Seymour intends to state fairly and fully not only the views of Romanists, but the arguments by which their ablest polemics have defended them. To these he opposes the ideas of Protestantism, and the grounds on which they rest. We are willing to rest the vindication of Protestantism on the grounds which he assumes. He is evidently master of the whole subject in dispute, and his work must bear no mean part in the great debate now going on between the two great forces of Spiritual Freedom and Spiritual Despotism. Mr. Seymour's introductory chapter is specially valuable. Its object is to show what Romanism is by its fruits in those countries where it predominates. The comparison which the author institutes between the practical morality of Protestant and Catholic countries is profoundly suggestive. We thank Messrs. Carter for issuing this work in its complete form, a Philadelphia publisher having put forth a mutilated edition. This volume is a faithful reprint of the author's English edition.

The Works of Philo Judæus, the contemporary of Josephus, translated from the Greek. By C. D. YONGE, B.A. (In 4 vols., 12mo. London: H. G. Bohn. New York: Bangs, Brothers & Co. 1855.) We have before alluded to this English version of the works of the celebrated Jewish Pla-

tonist. The works of Philo the Jew have exerted no slight influence on the Christian philosophy of succeeding ages, and they still have a value, as relating the history and developments of speculative opinions. We think that Mr. Yonge has made a faithful translation. Scholars, both in England and America, will thank him for thus bringing the writings of one so distinguished within the reach of all.

The Baptist Denomination. Now in press, and will soon be issued by the enterprising publishers, Sheldon, Lamport & Blakeman, 115 Nassau Street, New York, an original work by Rev. D. C. HAYNES, entitled, *The Baptist Denomination.*

This manual will prove a valuable contribution to our denominational literature; and whatever shall do such service we hail with gladness, and take pleasure in commending to our readers. Mr. Haynes has bestowed much labor in preparing the work for the press. He has brought together, in a connected chain, and condensed, much valuable and interesting information respecting the identity of the Baptist Denomination with the primitive church; the obligations of the world to the Baptists, and the duty of Baptists to the world; the doctrines, practice, and polity of Baptists; their sufferings for conscience' sake; schools of learning; missionary institutions, &c. Judging from the character of the work, and the growing interest of the members of our churches in the history of the denomination, the book of Mr. Haynes will be generally sought and perused with pleasure.

The Sabbath Institution. By Rev. FREDERICK DENISON, A.M.

We are pleased to see the Sabbath Institution traced, with much ability, through all its history, from Eden to the present time. This Mr. Denison has done, and his little book will meet the wants of many, who have failed to find just what they desired in previous works on the Sabbath Institution. We commend this work to the friends of the Saviour generally; believing that a careful perusal of it will tend to render the Sabbath more intensely precious to them, both as members of the household of faith and citizens of these United States.

The Congregational Psalmist. A Collection of Psalm Tunes adapted to a Selection of Hymns contained in the Psalmist, and intended for Congregational Use in Baptist Churches.

The design of this carefully arranged volume is excellent. The work cannot fail to facilitate the coming of that day, when our worshipping assemblies will join their respective choirs in this delightful part of divine service.

We have long felt that a reformation was called for at the very point contemplated by the preparation of this work. Why should not all the people praise God? Why should not all the youth be taught to sing, and thus early be preparing to join the assembly in songs of praise? Choirs may not be dispensed with. They may continue to be the conductors of public singing; yet the congregation should be able to unite with the choir, in

sustaining this part of the service of the House of God. Our pastors and people should take a deeper interest in promoting congregational singing. It is ardently hoped that the compiler, Rev. J. R. SCOTT, and the publisher, WM. N. SAGE, of Rochester, N. Y., will find a rich reward in furnishing this volume for our churches.

ART. IX.—THEOLOGICAL AND LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

UNITED STATES.

Phillips, Sampson & Co. have just issued two volumes of Mr. Prescott's *History of Philip the Second, King of Spain*. (8vo, pp. 618, 610.) We received this work at so late a day, that we are unable to speak of it with any degree of particularity. The theme is generally understood to be a favorite one with the accomplished historian. He has been many years engaged in collecting the materials for the work, and he seems to have been uncommonly fortunate in his researches. The History will doubtless prove worthy of the great facilities enjoyed by the author, and of his great reputation. The style is dignified, free, and elegant. The work is issued in a beautiful typographical dress. We propose to treat it more at large in a future number of this journal. Messrs. P. S. & Co. also issue new editions of Mr. Prescott's previous works.

We have received from Sheldon, Lamport & Co., in sheets, a work of considerable importance, and which we think is destined to create something of a sensation in theological circles. We refer to Dr. Sheldon's *Sin and Redemption*. (12mo, pp. 332.) We have not yet found time to examine it with sufficient care to entitle us to be heard respecting its merits. We prefer, therefore, simply to announce it here, reserving a deliberate expression of our estimate of it for our next number.

D. Appleton & Co. have just published a valuable work, entitled *Village and Farm Cottages*, designed to illustrate the requirements of American village homes. Our people need hints in reference to the application of art and taste in the structure of private and public buildings. We hail this work as an effort in the right direction. It is a beautifully printed octavo of about two hundred pages, illustrated with one hundred engravings. Messrs. D. A. & Co. announce a new *Dictionary of Biography*, edited by Dr. Hawks; and the *Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to the China Seas and Japan*, compiled from the papers of Commodore M. C. Perry, U. S. N., by Francis L. Hawks, D. D. (1 vol., 8vo.), with numerous illustrations.

J. S. Redfield announces for publication Mr. Kenrick's *Ancient Phœnicia*, a work similar in character to his "Ancient Egypt under the Pharaohs." Like the latter, which enjoys a deservedly high reputation, it is said to contain a condensed though full statement of all that is known of the country,

its people, institutions, arts, &c. It will doubtless be a work of great value. Mr. Redfield also announces Napier's *Peninsular War*, in 5 vols., 12mo, with portraits and plans. This work is regarded as a standard, and the public will be glad to see it in a form so portable.

Little, Brown & Co., Boston, announce a third volume of *Orations and Speeches*, by Edward Everett; *The Life and Correspondence of Daniel Webster*, in 2 vols., 8vo; *Contributions to the Natural History of the United States*, by Prof. Agassiz, in 10 quarto volumes; and a new work by Prof. Bowen, on *Political Economy*, as applied to the conditions and wants of the American people.

Harper & Brothers have just issued a new edition of Talfourd's *Life and Works of Charles Lamb*, including the "Final Memorials." The whole is comprised in two beautifully printed 12mo volumes. They announce as nearly ready for publication the third and fourth volumes of *Macaulay's History of England*. Among the other more important announcements of this house, we notice Squier's *Notes on Central America*, particularly the States of Honduras and San Salvador; Helps' *Spanish Conquest in America*, and its relation to the History of Slavery and the Government of the Colonies; and Ewbank's *Life in Brazil*, or a Journal of a Visit to the Land of the Cocoa and the Palm.

ENGLAND.

We see announced as nearly ready for publication, in England, the following works:—*Life and Writings of Rev. Ralph Wardlaw, D. D.*, with Selections from his Works; *A True Account of the Life and Death of Sir John King*, Counsellor-at-Law to King Charles II., from an original MS.; a new *Life of Milton*, by Keightley; Froude's *History of England*, from the Fall of Wolsey to the Death of Elizabeth; Massey's *History of the Reign of George the Third*, in four volumes; vols. II. and III. of Palgrave's *History of Normandy and of England*; vols. IV. and V. of Merivale's *History of the Romans under the Empire*; a new work, by the late Bishop of Lincoln, *The Church of Christ during the First Three Centuries*; Marsden's eighth and concluding part of *The History of Christian Churches and Sects*, from the Earliest Ages of Christianity; *Exeter Hall Lectures*, by leading Divines; *The Denyer Theological Prize: Essay* of Rev. J. S. Gelderdale; Butler's *Lectures on the History of Ancient Philosophy*, in 2 vols., 8vo; Dugald Stewart's *Philosophy of the Active and Moral Powers*, in 2 vols., 8vo, and his *Political Economy* (the latter now first published); Schler's *Introductory Treatise on Philosophy*; and several volumes of sermons, from some of the leading Divines of the country.

THE CONTINENT.

A new volume of the celebrated "Corpus Scriptorum Historiæ Byzantiæ" has just been published in Germany. It is the forty-eighth vol. of this important collection, containing vol. III. of *Nicephori Gregoræ Byzantina*

Hist., et ult. Rec. J. Bekker. The first two volumes were published in 1829 and 1830. The present volume contains the index for the whole.

Prof. Tischendorf has just published "*Anecdota Sacra et Profana ex Oriente et Occidente allata sive notitia codicum Græcorum, Orabiorum, Syriacorum, Copticorum, Hebriacorum, Æthiopicorum, Latinorum, cum excerptis multis maximam partem Græcis et triginta quinque Scripturarum antiquissimarum speciminebis.*" (Lipsæ: Graul.) The work is divided into two parts. The first consists of a description of the MSS. which the author collected during his two Eastern Tours in 1849 and in 1853, and now deposited in the public libraries of Leipsic and Dresden, and in the British Museum and Bodleian Library. The second part gives extracts from MSS. in the different libraries of Europe, which contain matter illustrative of the Patriotic times and literature.

Dr. R. R. Hagenbach has just issued "*Die Christliche Kirche vom vierten bis zum sechsten Jahrhundert.*" This volume forms the second part of the author's "*Vorlesungen über die ältere Kirchengeschichte.*" The Lectures on the History of the first Three Centuries were published in 1853, and were everywhere received with great favor.

Dr. H. A. Daniel has given to the world an additional volume of his "*Thesaurus hymnologicus, sive hymnorum, canticorum, sequentiarum collectio amplissima. Carmina collegit, apparatu critico ornavit, veterum interpretum notas selectas suasque adjecit.*" Tom. IV., supplementa ad Tom. I., cont., gr. 8vo.

Dr. Carl P. Fischer: "*Grundzüge des Systems der Philosophie, oder: Encyclopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften. 3. (letzter) Bd.: Die Wissenschaft der Idee des absoluten Geistes, oder der speculativen Theologie. A. u. d. T.; Grundzüge des Systems der speculativen Theologie, oder der Religionsphilosophie.*"

Dr. Karl F. Delitzsch has written a work entitled "*System der Biblischen Psychologie.*"

Dr. J. H. Friedlich has produced another *Life of Jesus*: "*Geschichte des Lebens Jesu Christi, mit chronologischen und andern historischen Untersuchungen*" (gr. 8vo).

E. Eckert: "*Der Tempel Salomonis d. p. General Charte d. Arbeitsplanes d. Revolutionsbandes*" M. Erklärungswort a. 13 Neben-Zeichnng. zur tech. Erklärg (gr. 4).

Those wishing to send orders for books, will find it to their advantage to notice the advertisement of WILLIAM K. CORNWELL, in the following sheets. Mr. Cornwell has extensive acquaintance with members of the trade, and will take particular pains to supply every article in the line procurable at the time the order is received.

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ARTICLE I.—THE JANSENISTS.

FOR that society of men and women who bore the honored name of Port Royalists we confess to a high veneration, and, we think, with reason, if genius and learning, the consecration of these endowments to the most exalted purposes, and the resolute defence of the doctrines of grace, in opposition to the atrocious principles and lax morality of their enemies, the Jesuits, deserve grateful remembrance. We are sorry to add, that they retained many of the errors of the Romish church. There was something singular in their position. They most sincerely loved and beautifully exemplified those doctrines of grace, and cultivated that regard for the Scriptures, which are inconsistent with Romanism, and yet, to the very last, they strangely clung to the Romish church, even when denounced as heretics and persecuted by that cruel mother with unrelenting ferocity.

The Jansenists were a portion of the Roman Catholic church which received its name from Cornelius Jansen, or Jansenius, a professor of theology at Louvain, and Bishop of Ypres, in the Netherlands. He was born in the year 1585, and bore a distinguished reputation for piety and learning. He was an ardent admirer of the writings of Augustine, and spent a large portion of his life in their diligent study, and in the preparation of his great work 'Augustinus,' in which he exhibits the views of that illustrious father of the church,

especially upon the doctrines of grace. The theology of Jansen was essentially evangelical and Calvinistic, though his followers earnestly repudiated the latter term. Just before his death, he left his work entirely subject to the Pope's disposal; but this disposition was disregarded by his friends, and, two years after the author's decease, it was printed. It immediately excited an intense interest, and a warfare which ended only with the extermination of the society which adopted his principles. The doctrines advocated in this work had a warm admirer in an intimate friend of Jansenius, Mons. du Vergier, afterward the famous Abbé St. Cyran, who was also a careful student of Augustine.

Du Vergier was born in 1581, and studied at the universities of Paris and Louvain. At the latter place he and Jansenius formed a close friendship, which was followed by most important results. Their theological sentiments were the same, and when the 'Augustinus' appeared, it at once found an able and appreciating defender in the surviving friend. He had already taught the doctrines of this work in France, among many who belonged, or afterward became attached to, the Society of Port Royal; and it was principally to the members of this body, as holding the religious views of Jansenius, that about the year 1640, the name Jansenist was applied. St. Cyran was therefore properly the founder of Jansenism, as an organized system, if any *man* can claim that honor; for, says Vinet, though the name of a man or a book was afterward imposed on this society, it did not in reality originate with either man or book, but is, so to speak, a spiritual and ascetic school, disowned by Catholicism, yet obstinately refusing to retaliate that disavowal.

The term Port Royal is much older than that of Jansenist, though they are often used interchangeably. The former may be traced as far back as the thirteenth century, when (1233) a Cistercian convent was founded, about six leagues from Paris, called Port Royal des Champs, for the reception of twelve ladies. It gradually increased in wealth and privileges, but, alas! fearfully degenerated from the strict principles of the order of St. Benedict, to which it belonged. About the close of the reign of Henry IV., the nuns became noto-

rious for gaiety, and love of dress and pleasure. Such was its character, when the advocate-general to the king sought and gained for his grand-daughter—afterward the illustrious Mere Angelique—then in her *eighth* year, the office of Lady Abbess, the duties of which she assumed in her eleventh year—a young mother, truly! She was one of twenty children who bore a name long illustrious in France—and also in the annals of Port Royal—that of Arnauld*. All these children became attached to the Jansenist party, and the widowed mother was also a member of the Port Royal Society.

The Mere Angelique, who had entered upon the duties of her office altogether in a worldly spirit, which also entirely characterized the nuns under her guidance, received, at length, in her seventeenth year, a new impulse in a higher direction. A Capuchin friar,* who afterward, in England, openly renounced popery, preached at Port Royal a discourse so evangelical and impressive as to produce a deep effect upon the mind of the young abbess. She became a changed woman, and with the energy characteristic of her family, and of her own powerful mind, she undertook the arduous work of “reforming” the convent. Her success was remarkable. Within five years the aspect of the place was entirely changed, and rigorous, not to say extreme austerities, superseded former gaiety and dissipation.

The nuns were taught to consider every instance of self-denial or devotion as worthless, unless it arose from love to God; and, that this was the mainspring of her religious character, we cannot for a moment doubt. The proofs of this are scattered through her life, and made doubly strong by her glorious death. The spirituality of her views, and especially her supreme love to Christ, and reliance upon his merits, are clearly shown in a book of devotion which she prepared, and which was condemned at Rome.

Under her powerful influence, aided also by other devoted persons, Port Royal became the abode of unquestionable piety—a light shining in a dark place.

The unhealthiness of the site of Port Royal des Champs, in

* Father Basil.

the valley of Chevreuse, caused the removal of the community, in 1645, to Paris, where Madame Arnauld, mother of the abbess, had purchased for them a large house, with magnificent gardens. A chaplain was left in the country to supply the parish church and take care of the house. The two monasteries formed one abbey, distinguished by the names Port Royal de Paris, and Port Royal des Champs.

The Abbé St. Cyran, who had already formed an acquaintance with some members of the Arnauld family, became the intimate friend and counsellor of the Abbess Angelique, and his was now the ruling spirit which formed the character and directed the movements of Port Royal. He appears to have been a man of vigorous, cultivated and well-balanced mind, and of devoted piety—firm and decided, yet humble and childlike. The Jansenist historians are extravagant in his praises; but after making every deduction for partiality or blind affection, and for unscriptural austerities, we must acknowledge him to have stood in the front ranks of piety. He appears to have been evangelical in his views of doctrine, and a most zealous advocate of spiritual religion, in opposition to the ceremonialism, or loose theology and morals which were so common in his church, especially among the Jesuits. His genius and learning procured him the offer of distinguished places in the church, but he refused them all, preferring seclusion, and the humble office of a pastor. For his rigid spirituality, displayed in the defence of a little work which had controverted the easy theology of Cardinal Richelieu, he incurred the displeasure of that ambitious prelate, and was thrown into prison, where he remained five years. But from that dungeon he exerted a constant and powerful influence, by means of an extensive correspondence. He was the acknowledged director of Port Royal, and regulated all its operations, chiefly through Father Singlin, the confessor of the community, a man of kindred spirit.

Chiefly under the influence of St. Cyran, both before and after his imprisonment, a large number of persons, some of them occupying distinguished stations, and eminent also for talent and learning, were led to abandon society, and the emoluments and honors of the world, in order to devote

themselves wholly to the cultivation of piety and to deeds of charity. These men retired to the abandoned monastery of Port Royal des Champs, the better to carry out their pious designs. They were called Recluses, and "were bound by no vows, and assumed the dress of no particular order," but sought to "imitate Christ, by a life of voluntary poverty, penance, and self-denial. Their time was divided between their devotion to God and their services to men. They all met together several times, both in the day and night, in the church. Twice each day the whole company attended the refectory. Some hours were occupied by each in their own cells, in meditation, in private prayer, and in diligently studying the Scriptures. The remainder of their time was taken up in labors of love for their fellow-creatures," each one, under the direction of the imprisoned St. Cyran, performing the office assigned him, however humble, according to his particular talent. Many of these were high-bred gentlemen, yet they gracefully condescended to the most ordinary employments, in the service of the community, for the benefit of the poor, and the instruction of mankind. Port Royal became, in fact, a "college of learned men," especially devoted to the education of the young; and their schools acquired a world-wide fame as "aiming at a more thorough course of study, with useful improvements in the method of instruction." Some of their number prepared books for, and taught schools; others wrote in defence of Christianity, or of their own peculiar views; others practised as physicians, among the poor; others settled disputes among their neighbors; and in unnumbered ways they sought to promote their own spiritual growth and the good of mankind. Here were prepared the Port Royal Greek and Latin Grammars, which obtained a wide celebrity, and, with other kindred works, gave an important impulse to the cause of classical learning. Here, in part, were composed the theological works of the "great Arnauld," the writer of one hundred and four volumes, which, says Voltaire,* had great currency in the author's day, but which, as being mainly controversial, have shared the fate of

* Siècle de Louis XIV., Tom. II.

the disputes that gave rise to them. Arnauld was a man of indomitable spirit, as is manifest in the reply which, after long years of toil and persecution, he made to his friend Nicole, whom he wished to engage in a new enterprise, but who had demurred, with the words, "We are now old; is it not time to rest?" "Rest!" exclaimed the unconquerable leader, "have we not all eternity to rest in?" From this retreat issued the *Moral Essays* of Nicole; and, under the auspices of Port Royal, De Saci prepared his French translation of the Bible; a work principally composed in the Bastille, where the author was for two years a prisoner for the truth's sake; and which, though scarcely meriting the place assigned it by his countrymen, has received the commendation of eminent scholars, and is still circulated, we believe, by the British and Foreign Bible Society. De Saci was an ardent lover of God's Word, and a man of beautiful humility, and also of fortitude and courage, such as true love inspires. He deserves a place among those prison worthies, Luther and Bunyan, from whose seclusion went forth a light to the ends of the earth.

Here should be mentioned the great historian, Tillemont, of whom Gibbon speaks with high respect; Fontaine, who wrote several works, and was distinguished for learning and piety; Rollin, the well-known historian; and Du Quesnel, the author of valuable "Reflections on the New Testament," which brought down upon him and his work the denunciations of the same infallible pope, Clement XI., who, at its first appearance had greatly praised it.* Racine, the celebrated dramatist, and, according to Voltaire, the poet who of all others best understood the human heart, was educated at Port Royal, and became its historian and advocate. Boileau, "the most perfect and most pure of French satirists," was the "personal friend of Arnauld and Pascal;" and Madame Sevigné, "the most graceful and simple of French letter-writers," was an admirer of the Jansenists, and felt the influence of their piety. And chief of all, Pascal, though not strictly

* "An excellent book," said the pope to the Abbé Renaudot. "We have no one at Rome who can write thus. I could wish to have the author near me."—*Voltaire, Siècle de Louis XIV.*

connected with the Port Royal Society, was closely identified with it in his sympathies and religious principles and practices, and occasionally retired to its solitude for spiritual discipline; and it was in defence of its leader, Arnauld, and to expose the Jesuits, that he wrote his famous Provincial Letters. This work had a powerful influence in turning the tide of public sentiment in favor of the Jansenists, and against the Society of Loyola.

To these distinguished names we may add that of Le Maitre, the most eloquent advocate of his day at the French bar, who renounced all his honors and retired to the seclusion of Port Royal. Among the nuns, the Abbess Angelique was a woman of vigorous and cultivated mind, of which fact she has left behind no inconsiderable proofs; and Jacqueline Pascal, also one of their number, was an every way worthy sister of the renowned author of the 'Provincials.' Vinet speaks of her "noble intellect," and of "everything that she wrote as bearing the stamp of mental superiority." Of her famous letter on the 'Formulary,' he says: "Closeness, sagacity, vigor of argument, energy of language, every ingredient of eloquence is there, and stands out in fine relief from an admirable background of humility." With reference to the brother and sister he finely says:

It is possible that in the history of certain races there may occur an illustrious moment in which the type of that race, after long elaboration, attains its distinct degree of energy and perfection, sets its distinct and deep imprint on two or three medals, and then is broken forever. It was so in the case of Blaise and Jacqueline—two precious vases, shattered by the mighty workings of truth, genius, and feeling within them. The covering was too frail to resist the internal pressure, and perhaps, if stronger, it might have fared no better. Blaise died at the age of thirty-nine; Jacqueline three years younger. But this brief space sufficed them to set the world a noble, an imperishable example.*

The literary and theological works which issued from Port Royal, formed an epoch in French literature. This was its Augustan age:

"It would not be too much to assert," says Ranke (History of the Popes), "that this mass of men of high intellect and filled with noble objects, who, in their mutual intercourse, and by their original and unassisted efforts, gave rise to a new tone of expression and a new method of communicating ideas, had a most remarkable influence on the whole form

* Vinet's Essay, 'Jacqueline Pascal,' p. 245.

and character of the literature of France, and hence, of Europe; and that the literary splendor of the age of Louis XIV. may be in part ascribed to the Society of Port Royal." "The literature of the nation," says Dr. Williams (*Miscellanies*), "in logic and in style, in sobriety and manly vigor of thought, as well as in purity of moral and religious character, was rapidly advanced by the devout Port Royalists." "This Society presented a union of great talents, profound learning, and sincere piety, which has rarely been excelled. (*Amer. Cyclop.*)

To return to the convent. The nuns at Port Royal having greatly increased in numbers (they now exceeding one-hundred-and-eighty), it became necessary, in 1648, to divide them, and a portion resumed the old habitation of Port Royal des Champs, after an absence of twenty-five years. The two houses, however, formed but one community. The "recluses," or solitaires, retired from the convent to a farm in the neighborhood; they and the nuns meeting only at church, but both under the same spiritual direction, and animated by the same spirit. The breath of even suspicion has never impeached the purity of the principles and lives of these devoted men and women. However mistaken and in many cases unscriptural may have been their methods, their objects were ever noble—piety and charity. They led no idle life, nor gave themselves up to spiritual raptures, like the mystics. They earnestly cultivated practical piety, and devoted special attention to the education of youth; so that their schools rivalled those of the Jesuits, and obtained a wide and well-deserved celebrity. Here they merit high praise. Their system of education was thorough and strict, yet conducted with tenderness and forbearance; and under the tuition of the nuns "great numbers of young ladies were educated, who afterward edified the world, the court, and the cloister, by their wisdom, piety, and talent;" and it was remarked, that the pupils always retained strong feelings of affection for their teachers. And, while a superior literary education was aimed at, they were especially careful of the moral and religious culture of the young, instructing them in the truths of Christianity,—the Scriptures being habitually studied in French and Latin.

The institution of Port Royal, in its two branches, now enjoyed a season of great prosperity; so that at one time, beside 250 stated inhabitants of the community, there were

between 300 and 400 pupils; and the "recluses" and occasional residents in the vicinity amounted to several hundred more. An extensive correspondence was also carried on, by which the influence of the Society was widely extended.

It should be added, that beside its usefulness in the department of education, it was distinguished for its extensive charities, both in the city and the country, means being furnished by benevolent friends. Indeed, at one time, when war was raging, Port Royal became an asylum and a hospital where several hundreds were supplied with food, and multitudes of sick and wounded were cared for.

Having given this general description of Port Royal, we would present a more particular view of its religious opinions and practices. And as we proceed we shall find its position in the religious world to have been quite anomalous. Now it seems to present an aspect of apostolic purity, and we are almost ready to exclaim with delight, Here surely primitive piety is revived; but in a moment we are tempted to turn our praise into unmitigated censure, so strangely and suddenly do seeming contradictions meet and blend in this remarkable society. More Protestant than Papal, it yet clings to Rome and denounces Luther and Calvin. Now its members seem caught up into the "third heavens" of devotion, and again we see them bowing at the feet of a man, called the Head of the Church. And yet in spite of all, the conviction forces itself upon us that the Jansenists were, as a body, truly devout, sincere believers in Christ.

What most strikes our Protestant wonder and admiration is, their singular veneration for the Sacred Scriptures, and their earnest efforts to translate and circulate them. In this they departed widely from the authorized practice of the Romish church. Thus Pius VII. declared:

We are worn down with poignant and bitter grief at hearing of the pernicious design, not very long ago entered upon, by which the most holy books of the Bible are everywhere dispersed in the several vernacular tongues. If we lament that men, the most renowned for piety and wisdom, have often failed in interpreting Scripture, what may not be feared if the Scriptures, translated into every vulgar tongue, are allowed to be freely read by the ignorant common people?

To this language of an *infallible* pope, uttering the senti-

ment of a church which boasts of never changing, we add the distinguished endorsement of Cardinal Wiseman. In his work entitled, 'The Catholic Doctrine of the Use of the Bible,' he says, "Though the Scriptures may be permitted, we do not urge them upon our people. We do not encourage them to read them."

Surely there is a wide gulf here between the Vatican and Port Royal. We see the Bible translated by one member of this Society into the common language, and an excellent commentary on the New Testament prepared by another, beside eighteen volumes of Instructions to the nuns on the Scripture of the day; we see the Bible forming the subject of daily study by every member, taught in their schools, carried by their devout physicians in their visits among the sick and poor, and in all their writings earnestly commended to every one, so that even their servants were distinguished for their knowledge of its truths. Under the auspices of Port Royal the *Mons* translation of the New Testament was prepared, by a company of learned ecclesiastics. The 'Memoirs' of the Society inform us that the "recluses" spent several hours of each day in private meditation, prayer, and reading of the Scriptures. They were advised to "begin by studying the Holy Scripture itself, without any commentary, only seeking for edification."

"In short," to use the language of, probably, St. Cyran, "draw continually from this pure source; the sacred waters have this peculiarity, that they proportion and accommodate themselves to the wants of every one; a lamb may ford them without fear, to quench his thirst; and an elephant may swim there, and find no bottom to their depths. A bishop of these latter times declared that he would go to the ends of the world with St. Augustine, but I would go there with the Bible. O, that I could but impress my heart with a fuller sense of the sacred respect with which that sacred volume should ever be perused."

To the nuns, the language of the Constitutions of Port Royal is:

Let them try to fill the treasury of their minds with God's Word, which is more desirable than gold or precious stones; so will the languishing flame of devotion in their souls be quickened by contact with that divine truth, for the Word of the Lord is full of fire.

It was a saying of St. Cyran:

"That the Holy Scriptures had been penned by the *direct* beam of the

Holy Spirit; the works of the Fathers (excellent as they were) only by the *reflex ray* emanating therefrom." "The Fathers read the Scriptures alone, and we likewise should find ALL there, if we in truth searched them as we ought. Every word in Scripture deserves to be weighed more attentively than pieces of gold." "God has various ways of drawing souls to Himself," he wrote to a friend, "yet I think you have cause to be particularly thankful that your heart, when it was first touched, was awakened by the Words of Christ himself in the Gospel. For surely no means of conversion can be more apostolic than the Word of God. This is the great means of conversion which God himself has appointed. By the sole distribution and dispersion of the Scriptures it is that God has converted, and still does convert, both Jews and Pagans. The Scriptures are the grand instrument by which God originally founded his church, and by which He still continually reforms, maintains, and augments it."*

To the Jesuits who would compel the nuns of Port Royal to sign the formulary (which we shall refer to hereafter), against their consciences, one of them replied :

All conscience is founded upon the Word of God, who is without variation or shadow of turning, and whose Word is immutable and cannot be broken. When the conscience is once formed, it cannot, therefore, be *re*-formed. Conscience must be solidly grounded, formed upon the rock of the Word of God, and not be continually re-formed on the shifting sands of the versatile notions of men :

And this was said with reference to a papal injunction to sign the formulary.

Among the one-hundred-and-one propositions condemned by the Pope, in the New Testament of Quesnel, who was at one time Director of Port Royal, are the following :

The study of the Scriptures is proper for all. To take away the New Testament from Christians, or to withhold from them the means of understanding it, is to shut up the mouth of Christ. To oppose the study of the Scriptures, especially of the Gospels, is to withdraw from the children the use of light, and place the Scriptures themselves under excommunication.

In conjunction with the Port Royalists, the Bishop of Alét, in the South of France, a man of kindred spirit, labored to extend the reading of the Scriptures among the people. He strongly urged De Saci and others to undertake a new translation for general use, and he inculcated upon the students in his theological seminary the diligent study of the Bible. As the result of these efforts, a great number of copies were sold or distributed gratis by the private Bible Societies which were established ; and even, for a time, the

◦ Memoirs of Port Royal.

French government and many of the bishops engaged in this good work, while yet Jesuit influence had not gained complete ascendancy—an influence always opposed to the circulation of the Scriptures. In many cases, however, the French bishops appear to have been driven to a show of zeal by the efforts of the Protestants.

Knowing the veneration of the Jansenists for the Word of God, we are not surprised to find them zealous advocates of the doctrine of *justification by faith* in the sacrifice and merits of Jesus Christ. This doctrine of Christ and his Apostles, taught also by Augustine, and afterward by his disciple, Jansenius, was acknowledged by his followers even in the face of bitter persecution :

“The true use of the written Word,” wrote De Sacy, “is to lead us to the living Word, which can alone invigorate and cure our souls, just as the steady contemplation of the brazen serpent could alone cure the wounds inflicted by the fiery serpents.” “The more we attach ourselves with singleness of eye to contemplate Christ upon the cross, and his wounds, which are the cure of ours, the more benefit shall we receive from that divine power which flows from Him to us, in order to bring us back to Him who is alone our strength and our rest. The sufferings of Christ are all our merits and plea; they are the source of all the mercies and grace we receive; it is by them only that we become living members of Christ Jesus. The Cross of Christ is an abundant and superabundant source of mercy; the Cross of Christ alone it is which sanctifies not only the blessed Virgin and St. John, but also the penitent thief and Mary Magdalen. The one no longer considered that he was a robber, nor the other that she was a sinner. They only considered those fountains of blood which poured from the body of Jesus Christ, as fully sufficient to drown, as in a holy deluge, the sins of the whole world. There they looked, and looking, found their cure.

“We indeed are, by the natural creation of Adam, nothing but sin, ingratitude, and pride; and we see nothing in ourselves but subjects of guilt, condemnation, and remorse. But that faith, by a vital reception of which we are Christians, after showing us this ground of corruption and sin, which ought profoundly to humble us, shows us with it the infinite mercy of God, founded upon the blood of Jesus Christ, as mediator and reconciler of men with God. We must then unite these two views, which ought never to be separated—the view of ourselves and our sins, and the view of Jesus Christ and of his merits. The first terrifies, the second reassures. The first deeply humbles, the second elevates, with what St. Augustine terms a holy presumption—the fruit not of pride, but of faith—and this confidence is firm, because it is humble. It is founded on the entire annihilation of hope from man; but on the mercy of God, and the efficacy of the blood of Christ—both of which are infinite.

“As for myself, I feel that I am poor interiorly; that I am destitute of every good thing; but O, my God, thou hast undertaken to cure me. God alone can be the physician of the soul. The blood of God alone can be our remedy; the Spirit of God alone can achieve our cure.”*

* De Sacy's Letters, vol. ii., pp. 677, 678.

What Christian heart can fail to respond to the following sentiments, so decidedly evangelical (excepting, of course, the allusion to transubstantiation), of one of the Port Royalist nuns, Madame de Valois, while undergoing cruel sufferings for her fidelity to the truth, and deprived of the sacraments of the church?

If I cannot have fellowship with my sisters, in partaking of thy most sacred body, and most precious blood, enable me, O Lord, to have fellowship and communion with thee, in thy sufferings; *thy sufferings* which are *the whole of our merits*, and which form our sole *plea of mercy* before the throne of God. By them alone it is that we are redeemed from death, and become living members of Jesus Christ; and by faith in them, by an intimate union with this divine Head, it is, that we become one body with Him; through Him alone it is, that God is willing to accept our bodies as a living sacrifice. There is but *one sacrifice* for sin; even the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world, which sacrifice was regarded by the eye of faith by all the saints of old times. I not only hope, but I trust, with full assurance, to obtain the pardon of all my sins, by offering by faith Jesus Christ, the alone true victim for the expiation of *all sin*.*

What more evangelical sentiment could be uttered than fell from the lips of the dying Angelique, abbess of Port Royal? "The mercy of God! All is included in that word *mercy*! Jesus! Jesus! thou art my God, my strength, my justification!"

Upon the subject of special, efficacious *grace*, the Jansenists did not differ materially from Calvin and the Reformers generally, as indeed they could not as followers of Augustine, between whom and Calvin there is an essential correspondence. And yet, for fear of being branded as heretics and Calvinists, a charge which the Jesuits were ever ready to bring against them, they tried to make out a difference upon this point between Port Royal and Geneva. Pascal attempted this in his eighteenth 'Provincial Letter,' but with little success; his vindication of the Jansenists from the "heresy" of Calvinism being based for the most part upon a misunderstanding, or misrepresentation, unintentional of course, of the French Reformer. Wherein, for instance, does the following fine passage from Pascal differ from the Reformed doctrine:

They [the Jansenists] know too well that man, of his own nature, has always the power of sinning, and of resisting grace; and that, since

* Memoirs of Port Royal, vol. ii., pp 108, 109, 110.

he became corrupt, he unhappily carries in his breast a fountain of concupiscence, which infinitely augments that power; but, that notwithstanding this, when it pleases God to visit him with his mercy, he makes the soul to do what he wills, and in the manner he wills it to be done, while, at the same time, the infallibility of the divine operation does not in any way destroy the natural liberty of man, in consequence of the secret and wonderful ways by which God operates this change. This has been most wonderfully explained by St. Augustine, in such a way as to dissipate all those imaginary inconsistencies which the opponents of efficacious grace suppose to exist between the sovereign power of grace over the free will and the power which the free will has to resist grace. For, according to that great saint, whom the popes and the church have held to be a standard authority on this subject, God transforms the heart of man, by shedding abroad in it a heavenly sweetness, which, surmounting the delights of the flesh, and inducing him to feel, on the one hand, his own mortality and nothingness, and to discover, on the other hand, the majesty and eternity of God, makes him conceive a distaste for the pleasures of sin, which interpose between him and incorruptible happiness. Finding his chiefest joy in the God who charms him, his soul is drawn towards him infallibly, but of its own accord, by a motion perfectly free, spontaneous, love-impelled; so that it would be its torment and punishment to be separated from him. Not but that the person has always the power of forsaking his God, and that he may not actually forsake him, provided he choose to do it. But how *could* he choose such a course, seeing that the will always inclines to that which is most agreeable to it, and that in the case we now suppose nothing can be more agreeable than the possession of that *one good*, which comprises in itself all other good things. '*Quod enim* (says St. Augustine) *amplius nos delectat, secundum operemur necesse est*—Our actions are necessarily determined by that which affords us the greatest pleasure.' Such is the manner in which God regulates the free will of man without encroaching on its freedom, and in which the free will, which always may, but never will, resist his grace, turns to God with a movement as voluntary as it is irresistible, whensoever he is pleased to draw it to himself by the sweet constraint of his efficacious inspirations.*

We are reminded of a similar passage in Luther: a comment upon John, vi. 44 :

This drawing [of the Father] is not such as the hangman employs when he carries a thief up the ladder and to the gallows; but it is a kind attraction and drawing towards himself, as sometimes a good-hearted man draws the people towards him by a friendly and accommodating demeanor. Thus also does God allure men and bring them mildly near himself, so that they remain with him willingly and joyfully.

Who can doubt that Pascal and Calvin and Luther are now rejoicing together over that sovereign efficacious grace which sweetly drew them to the Father, however widely separated they seemed, or thought themselves to be, on earth? And must there not have been a broad difference between Port Royal and Rome, when such propositions as

* The Provincial Letters, xviii. M'Crie's Transl.

the following from the Jansenist, Quesnel, were condemned as heretical by the pope ?

When God does not soften the heart by the unction of his grace, exhortations and external graces serve only to harden it the more. When God accompanies his command and his external word with the unction of his Spirit, and the internal power of his grace, it then works in the heart that obedience which it requires. The grace of Christ is the efficient source of all good actions, and is absolutely necessary to the performance of every good deed. Without grace, we can love nothing, except to our ruin.

And, as may be inferred from these, their views of grace, the Jansenists labored earnestly to introduce a spiritual in place of a sacramental religion, or of a reliance on rites and forms, on the outward operations of the priesthood, or anything short of the merits and grace of Jesus Christ, and the inward work of the Holy Spirit to enlighten, convert, and sanctify. They sent men to the Word of God, to the closet, to Christ. They taught that "deep sorrow for sin, arising from a genuine love to God, was indispensably necessary to a truly evangelical repentance," thus opposing the Jesuit doctrine that the *love of God* in repentance is superfluous. And yet with strange inconsistency they held (in common, however, with Augustine and many great Protestant names), the monstrous dogma of baptismal regeneration. Indeed, in tracing the history of Jansenism, we are perpetually stumbling upon such inconsistencies.

This fact is strikingly brought out in the following extract from the 'Thoughts' of Pascal, in which his Scriptural views of spiritual religion are seen in unnatural union with the unscriptural practices of his church; and it is interesting and yet painful to mark the struggles of his Christ-loving heart to reconcile the two :

In the infancy of the Christian Church, we see no Christians but those who were thoroughly instructed in all matters necessary to salvation ; but in these days we see on every side an ignorance so gross that it agonizes all those who have a tender regard for the interests of the Church. Formerly, it was necessary to come out from the world, in order to be received into the Church ; whilst in these days, we enter the Church almost at the same time that we enter the world. Hence it arises, that whilst then Christians were all well instructed, now there are many in a fearful state of ignorance ; then, those who had been initiated into Christianity by baptism, and who had renounced the vices of the world, to embrace the piety of the Church, rarely declined again to the world which they had left ; whilst now we commonly see the vices of the world in the hearts

of Christians. To induce them to seek instruction, they must be made to understand the difference of the customs which have obtained in the Church at different times. In the newly formed Christian Church, the catechumens, that is, those who offered for baptism, were instructed before the rite was conferred; and they were not admitted to it till after full instruction in the mysteries of religion; till after penitence for their former life; till after a great measure of knowledge of the grandeur and excellence of the profession of the Christian faith and obedience, on which they desire to enter forever; till after some eminent mark of real conversion of heart, and an extreme desire for baptism. These facts being made known to the whole Church, they then conferred upon them the sacrament of incorporation or initiation, by which they became members of the Church. But now, since baptism has been, for many very important reasons, permitted to infants before the dawn of reason, we find, through the negligence of parents, that nominal Christians grow old without any knowledge of our religion.

She [the Church] cannot see without bitter lamentation, this abuse of her richest blessings; and that the course which she has adopted for her children's safety, becomes the almost certain occasion of their ruin; for her spirit is not changed, though the primitive custom is.

The same spiritual aims appear also in the rigid asceticism of the Port Royalists, and their directors carefully warned them against that spiritual pride which might grow out of these acts and austerities. They especially aimed after humility, a deadness to the world, and a spirit of elevated devotion, to which also, in many instances, we cannot doubt they attained. Indeed, in that part of religion which may be denominated *devotion*, we may derive most important lessons from these, in many points, misguided Christians. The methods of their devotion, the ascetic character of their piety, are often extremely censurable, and yet underneath these beat the warm heart of Christian love. So much the truth constrains us to say. Their writings often present valuable suggestions upon self-denial. The Mere Angélique "thought it savored of pride, to be attempting great austerities." She often said, "that Christian perfection in outward conduct consists, not in extraordinary things, but in doing common things extraordinarily well." A letter of consolation from St. Marthe, a director of Port Royal to the abbess, contains a truly scriptural sentiment:

What must we do to hate our own life, and to take up our cross, as the gospel commands; and without doing which we cannot be Christ's disciples? Must we flee into eremitic seclusion? Must we undertake ascetic austerities? Rather let us submit with heartfelt bowedness to the will of God manifested in his providence; from the inmost soul believing that God

knows that which is best for us ; and from our inmost spirit cheerfully and gladly submitting to and bearing whatever cross is brought upon us.

Such truly Christian sentiments as these would seem to owe their freedom from the monastic taint, in a considerable measure, to the influence of persecution, which sent the disciples of this school more immediately to Christ, and made them feel that his Spirit only was life. For their asceticism often strikes us painfully. It was an unauthorized compliance with the customs of the Romish church, and a manifest departure from the gospel method of sanctification. It was a continual struggle not merely with sin, but against nature, against the divine constitution of the world and society, against some of the noblest and sweetest impulses and affections, against some of the most important means of self-discipline, and some of the most efficient means of usefulness. How can we justify Singlin, one of the confessors of Port Royal, in advising his disciples to renounce and despise the gifts of genius, lest they should foster vanity? A letter of the Mere Agnes to Jacqueline Pascal, a nun of Port Royal, gives *his* opinion about her cultivating and using her talent for writing: "It is better for you to hide your talents of that nature, instead of making them known. God will not require an account of them, and they must be buried, for the lot of woman is humility and silence. You ought to hate your genius, and all the other traits in your character which perhaps cause the world to retain you." And henceforth this noble girl, this gifted daughter of genius, whose talents, like her brother's, might have wrought so much in her Master's cause, sought for self-annihilation—a task, happily, impossible, as her splendid letter, already referred to, abundantly proves.

Another singular instance of this species of self-crucifixion was the confessor Singlin's forbidding Le Maitre, the eloquent advocate, to correct for the press a volume of his speeches. It must go forth to the world with all its imperfections, to mortify the author's pride!

We ought to be grateful that the light of Pascal's genius was not quenched by that "exaggerated devotion" which led him, at one time, to "consider a broom a superfluous piece of furniture," and to disregard even personal cleanli-

ness (for which, however, his sister rebuked him), thereby to mortify that delicacy and refinement of taste, and that love of neatness and beauty which were so natural to him, but which he feared might ensnare him; to wear next his skin a girdle of iron with sharp points, which, struck by his elbow, should recall his mind to religious subjects, when he caught it wandering; to declare "disease to be the natural state of Christians;" and to submit to other extravagant austerities.

We cannot refrain from quoting, in this connexion, the admirable remarks of Vinet :

No other band of Christians [than the Jansenists] has more loudly professed, or more sincerely practised, the voluntary and deliberate yielding of the creature's will to that of the Creator. No other has felt a deeper repentance and horror of sin. It seems, in these pious and vigorous minds, as if there was a struggle between love of God and hatred of self, and though we cannot without injustice say that the latter prevailed over the former, yet we may reasonably conclude that the latter, self-abhorrence, is the peculiar tone of Jansenist piety. It would appear that, according to their idea, God was not sufficiently avenged, and that the Christian, though hopeless of completing that vengeance, (mark this point), was yet bound to carry it on, and to attempt its consummation. If life was in itself a punishment, they must try to aggravate it, and if not, they must make it become such. The apostolic maxim, "Use the world as not abusing it," will not satisfy the members of this school, for their device is, "Use it not at all." St. Paul, while duly honoring Christian celibacy, had pronounced marriage honorable in all, but Pascal declares it "the most perilous and the lowest of Christian stations," and, on this ground alone, dissuades one of his nieces from marrying. His brother-in-law, M. Perier, always wore a girdle lined with iron points, but his humility always kept this fact a secret. He used also to have a plank in his bed, which he always made himself in order to prevent its discovery. Mental enjoyment was looked upon by some of these Christians as a different kind of sensuality or luxury, and they rigorously declined it, as a superfluity, only permissible to persons who had no taste for it. To sum up all in a word, they had no tie to earth nor to its inhabitants, save charity. This one cable fastens them to its shore, but all the rest are cut.*

He adds, in justice to their excellences, that the piety of Jansenism

was altogether spiritual, actual, and sincere. It had no toleration for sublime phantasies; the virtues it practised were useful and salutary; it aimed at justice and charity in its relations with mankind; and its morality is no exact, ingenious mechanism, but a living, pliant reality. In a word, these extraordinary beings were in their daily life, devoted friends to God and their neighbor.

After what we have presented of their Scriptural views of

* Jacqueline Pascal, p. p. 251, 254.

the glory and grace of Christ, it is sad to meet with an undue veneration for Mary. It by no means stands out as prominently among them as among other Catholic Orders, especially the Jesuits, and we have been struck with the absence of this dogma from the letters written to the nuns by their confessors, in the season of persecution. We are glad also to hear from the dying Angelique such language as the following :

St. Elizabeth said, in her day, with fervent gratitude, "Whence is it to me that the Mother of my Lord should visit me?" How much more gratitude should we feel, since our Lord himself visits us.

From this we turn with pain to a passage in one of Jacqueline Pascal's letters to her sister :

You must not fail to plead earnestly in your devotions, that our Lord and his *Mother* may obtain for me, by the merits of his death, that grace I so greatly need.

And especially, in her Regulations for Children, to such language as this :

We recommend the children to take the *Virgin Mary* as their Mother, and mediatrix, in their various troubles and wants. They are taught that she must be their model of prayer, meekness, silence, modesty, industry, and, in short, in every action. They are exhorted to keep her solemn festivals, to repeat her *chapelet* often, and her litanies every day.

And so they are exhorted to implore the protection of the saints, and their intercession for the graces they need.

We are glad to quote here a note of Dr. M'Crie to the ninth Provincial Letter :

The Jesuits raised a great outcry against Pascal for having, in this letter, as they alleged, turned the worship of the Virgin into ridicule. Nicole seriously undertakes his defence, and draws several distinctions between true and false devotion to the Virgin. The Mariolatry, or Mary-worship, of Pascal and the Port Royalists, was certainly a very different sort of thing from that practised in the Church of Rome ; but it is sad to see the straits to which these sincere devotees were reduced, in their attempts to reconcile this practice with the honor due to God and his Son.

The Jansenists considered themselves believers in *transubstantiation*, and certainly they never denied or rejected this "mystery." But it has been truly remarked, that their creed was practically at variance with it. And here again we have to wonder at their inconsistency, and at the false

position in which their outward communion with the Romish Church placed them.

It is somewhat difficult to ascertain the exact views which the Jansenists held of *the Church and the Pope*. Their *practice* we regard as often savoring of Protestantism (of which the Jesuits also accused them), especially when persecution proved their conscientious, unconquerable regard for the vital principles of the Gospel. And yet they wished to be regarded as faithful Romanists. It is with pain that we quote from the 'Provincial Letters,' the following sentiment of the devout, the large-hearted Pascal, in reply to an attack of the Jesuits :

Thanks be to God, I have no attachment to any Society whatever but to the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman Church, in which I wish to live and to die, in communion with the Pope, its supreme head, and out of which I am persuaded there is no salvation.—(Letter xvii.)

Ah, how little did the author of those dreadful words realize that the fellowship in doctrine and Christian experience between himself and the out-lawed, unchurched Protestants, was far greater than that between himself and the Church outside of which he declared salvation impossible. He did not know himself, nor those whom he denounced as heretics. Surely this language belies the true, deep feelings of his Christian heart. It would seem that Pascal and his fellow Jansenists had before their minds an ideal Church, the embodiment of truth and piety, having the Spirit of Christ, and constituting his "body," and therefore the sanctuary of all the righteous, the ark of safety, and invested with supreme authority ; and that, by a strange hallucination, they thought this beautiful ideal should bear the historical name of Roman, as if this corporation were its realization or representative. They gave reverence to the creation of their own minds, while they deemed themselves rendering homage to Rome. Were they startled by facts and events in the movements of the historical Church, which stared them in the face as contrary to truth and right?—instead of abjuring that Church, they sought relief by turning their gaze upon a picture of primitive purity and descanting upon *its* loveliness, as if there were an actual and logical connection

between the two. Pascal (in his fourteenth letter) thus discourses of the Church :

The chaste spouse of the Son of God, who, in imitation of her heavenly husband, can shed her own blood for others, but never the blood of others for herself, entertains a horror at the crime of murder altogether singular, and proportioned to the peculiar illumination which God has vouchsafed to bestow upon her. She views man, not simply as man, but as the image of the God whom she adores. She feels for every one of the race a holy respect, which imparts to him, in her eyes, a venerable character, as redeemed by an infinite price, to be made the temple of the living God. . . . For whether he be a believer or an unbeliever, she uniformly looks upon him, if not as one, at least as capable of becoming one, of her own children.

And this of the Roman-Catholic Church! which, as M'Crie remarks, was at this very time murdering the Piedmontese, and which, at an earlier date, was guilty of the Bartholomew massacre.

In regard to the question which divides the Romish Church, if we may so speak, into Catholic and Popish—where resides infallibility? In the whole body of the Church, or in the Pope? The Jansenists no doubt adopted the Gallican rather than the ultramontane and Jesuit view. When they refused their signatures to the Formulary, and thus disregarded a papal injunction, they did so in the belief that the voice of the general Church would have sustained them. And yet, they professed, in this refusal, to offer no indignity to the Pope's authority, because his infallibility, they said, extended only to matters of faith and doctrine, and not to those of fact, where he might err. Thus they did not formally deny the Pope's competency to determine the orthodoxy of the doctrines of Jansenism, professing here submission to his dictum; and yet we cannot peruse their writings, especially their letters, during the period of persecution, without feeling that, in fact, their attachment to the doctrines of grace could not be broken by papal thunder. They thought themselves good papists, but we rejoice to think they were better Christians. They loved the truth more than they revered the Pope. Such is our opinion.

Thus speaks a letter to the Port Royalist nuns by M. de St. Marthe, one of their confessors, with reference to the papal injunction, originating with the Jesuits, to sign a declaration that certain doctrines held by them and pronounced

heretical were really contained in the 'Augustinus' of Jansenius. The nuns refusing to sign contrary to their conscience, and in consequence incurring persecution, he says:

My sisters, do not fear all the threats which may be made concerning briefs and bulls, or all the mandates you may receive, whether by the authority of the Pope, or that of his Grace the Archbishop (of Paris). St. Paul says, "The end of the commandment is charity, out of a pure heart, and of a good conscience, and of faith unfeigned." If, then, you have reason to believe this commandment to be contrary to charity, and if you recognize that it does not lead to purity of heart, and that it does not accord with a good conscience, and that it does not spring from a faith unfeigned; how should you imagine you ought to conform to it? . . . And with the knowledge and light it has pleased God to afford you, whether briefs are handed you, or bulls fulminated against you, do not be astonished, for the apostle predicted all these things should happen.

It is gratifying to add to the quotation we have given from Pascal himself, proof of his "unconscious Protestantism." When the formulary authorized by the Pope, condemning certain propositions, professing to have been derived from Jansenius' work, was presented to the Jansenists for their signature, and some were for affixing their names, with a written reservation that such subscription should not be understood as censuring the doctrine of grace, Pascal earnestly opposed such a course as virtually condemning those doctrines which Christ had taught, and which St. Augustine had defended; and although "it grieved him," he said, "to find himself in a strait between God and the Pope, he could not sanction the sacrifice of truth to expediency."* And when he saw a majority voting for the signature, even though with a reservation,

"Pascal," to use the words of his niece, "who loved truth more than all things else, and who, in spite of his weakness, had spoken with great earnestness in order to impress his own convictions upon the others, was so overcome with grief, that he became suddenly faint, and lost both voice and consciousness. When Pascal had quite recovered his senses, Madame Perier (his sister) asked him what had occasioned the swoon? He replied, 'When I beheld so many persons to whom I believe that God has made known his truth, and who ought to be its defenders, thus giving way, I confess to you such a feeling of distress came over me, that I could not bear it, nor keep myself from fainting.'"

We gladly quote also the following from his 'Thoughts,' written after the Papal condemnation of the 'Provincial Letters':

* Jacqueline Pascal, p. 211.

I feared that I might have written erroneously, when I saw myself condemned; but the example of so many pious witnesses made me think differently. It is no longer allowable to write truth. The Inquisition is entirely corrupt or ignorant. It is better to obey God than man. I fear nothing. I hope for nothing. If my letters are condemned at Rome, that which I condemn in them is condemned in heaven. The Inquisition and the Society of Jesuits are the two scourges of the truth.

Jansenius himself had declared in his 'Augustinus' that he should be inclined to prefer the judgment of that Father to the decision of the Pope, on the ground that frequently his Holiness decided with a view to the promotion of peace, while Augustine's decisions were always based on truth—a proposition not very respectful to the Pope.*

Arnauld, in one of his works, even declared that the two apostles, Peter and Paul, should be regarded as of equal rank, and as founders of the Roman Catholic Church.

Among the Memoirs of Port Royal is found a "character," in the form of an epitaph, of the last prioress, Mére Claude Louise, which contains the following passage :

Interdicted the sacraments by pastors whom a mercenary cupidity had alone led into error, the Good Shepherd himself, the Prince and Bishop of our souls, the *only* immortal and *infallible Pontiff* [Solo immortalis et infallibilis Pontifice], more than compensated her, by nourishing her with an invisible food that the world knows not of. †

And when the Bishop, after a long but vain exhortation to the same lady, just before her death, to submit to the Church and sign the formula, asked her, "But who will present you to God? It will not be the Church, which you refuse to obey; nor yet will it be myself, who am the pastor to the sheep within her fold. What will you do when you have to appear before God, bearing the weight of your sins alone?"—the dying nun replied, "Having made peace through the blood of his cross, my Saviour hath reconciled all things unto himself in the body of his flesh, through death, to present us holy and unblamable and unreprouvable in his sight; if we continue in the faith grounded and settled, and be not moved away from the hope of the Gospel." ‡

Most worthy also of mention is the reply of one of the captive nuns, to the bishop who sought to obtain her signature, by threats to deprive her soul of the sacraments, and to cast out her body upon a dunghill, in case of refusal :

Well, I do not think your lordship will be able to discover any place to cast my body where our Saviour will not be able to find it, and raise it up at the last day; and if in the mean time, my soul be happy in heaven, it is of very little importance where my body is cast. But if at the awful

* Bib. Repos. 3d Ser., III., 695.

† Memoirs, II., p. 67.

‡ Memoirs, II., p. 56.

hour of death, I should be unjustly deprived of those assistances which the Church grants to all her children, by means of priests, who should be the servants of God, then God himself will, by his grace, immediately and abundantly supply their instrumentality. His divine power is no more to be circumscribed by the will, than his love by the want of charity in man.*

This language, and much more that might be quoted to the same effect, would show a radical disagreement on the part of the Jansenists with the papistic theory of salvation in the Church, and with that lately promulgated by Dr. Schaff, viz. : that separation from the visible church is also separation from Christ. We see these excommunicated disciples, cut off from the external church and its helps to salvation, trusting solely in the Redeemer, and regarding a living union to him alone as insuring eternal life. This is the purest type of Protestantism, this making the personal union of a soul to Christ of supreme importance. A greater remove from Popery is hardly possible. In this respect, the Jansenists were more Protestant than are some so-called Protestants.

In connection with the views of the Church above presented, we add the testimony of one of the Confessors of Port Royal, (M. de St. Marthe,) against the use of *force* in matters of religion :

The Apostles never resorted to force or to any worldly incitement either of pleasure or pain, to compel the will. They never persecuted or flattered the world, to make it renounce its errors ; but they suffered persecution from the world from those errors. . . . Beware then of the doctrines of those whose practice is so wholly opposed to that of the Lord

* Memoirs, &c., Vol. II. As a further illustration of the manner in which those who sympathized with the Jansenists allowed themselves to think and speak of the Pope, the following anecdote is given :

“ The Abbé Gagliagni, famous for his wit and learning, and more than suspected of heresy, was at one time commissioned by Benedict XIV., who was much attached to him, to make for him a collection of the fossil productions of Vesuvius. The collection was sent to the Pope, with a note : ‘ Beatissime Pater, dic ut lapides isti panes fiant’—(Holy Father, command that these stones be made bread ;) which procured him a handsome pension with the following reply from his Holiness : ‘ The Pope is rejoiced that the Abbé Gagliagni seems at length convinced that to the successors of St. Peter belongs the exclusive prerogative of seizing the true spirit of Scripture. His Holiness never gave any explanation with greater pleasure, since he is fully convinced that the interpretation herewith sent will perfectly satisfy the Abbé Gagliagni’s remaining doubts as to his infallibility.’ When the Bishop of Alèt heard this anecdote, he said gravely, ‘ I could be well satisfied if we had a Pontiff of less wit, and more reverence for God’s revealed Word.’”—(Memoirs of Port Royal, II.)

whom they profess to serve. Such practices are those the world was wont to use against the Church, not those of the Church against the world.

While the Jesuits maintained the absolute supremacy of the Church over the State, and the duty of the latter to inflict the temporal penalties imposed by the former upon spiritual offenders; the Jansenists preached against the temporal power of all ecclesiastics, and denied that the successors of St. Peter had any right to rule a temporal sovereign, or command his aid to execute their anathemas. (See *Lady Morgan's Italy*, II. 188.) Thus Port Royal became the defender of liberty.*

We must now briefly sketch the persecutions which befell the Jansenists, and which ended in the final extinction of the Port Royal Society. These persecutions were fomented chiefly by the Jesuits; for many reasons their bitter enemies, but especially because of the evangelical doctrines and spiritual religion of the Jansenists, and the vigorous assaults made by them upon their own lax principles and practices. They were jealous also of the increasing influence of the Port Royal Society, as for instance, in the confessional. They looked with malicious eyes upon the spreading celebrity of the literary and religious works which issued from the recluses of Les Granges. They saw with distress the rivalling and supplanting of their own far-famed schools, the means of so powerful an influence, by the new institutions of Port Royal, and resolved upon persecution; if possible, upon extermination; and they prosecuted their plans with atrocious perseverance and melancholy success.

* It is due to truth to record the following statement from Weiss' 'History of the French Protestant Refugees':

"The Jansenists themselves departed from the rigidity of their principles to approve the conduct of Louis XIV., [in revoking the Edict of Nantes.] After having long maintained in their writings that God receives no other homage than our love; that an enterprise originating in profanation would founder under the curse of heaven; and that their hair stood on end at the idea of even involuntary communion with the Calvinists, of a sudden they changed their tone, and declared by the organ of the great Arnauld, their most illustrious interpreter, that means had been employed a little too strong, but by no means unjust."—Vol. I., p. 125.

Into such shameful inconsistencies was their anomalous position in the Romish Church ever leading them. But the whole body should not be implicated in the above charge.

Before this, they had sought to suppress the 'Augustinus' of Jansen, and had caused his friend and interpreter, St. Cyran, to be thrown into a dungeon.

Meanwhile the Society of Port Royal was thoroughly imbued with the principles of Jansenism, chiefly through the influence of St. Cyran, and was of course a chosen mark for the envenomed arrows of the Jesuits.

Against five propositions professed to have been drawn from the 'Augustinus' by a Jesuit Father, a sentence was procured from the Pope, Innocent X. Most of the bishops of the Gallican Church joined in the proscription. It was also decreed that a declaration, to the effect that these five propositions were heretical, should be signed by all ecclesiastics, and all who belonged to religious houses, or were engaged in the education of children—a pointed attack upon the Jansenists.

Contrary to the expectations and hopes of the Jesuits, the Jansenists subscribed their names, in acknowledgment of the papal right to judge of doctrines, but each adding a denial of these propositions being in the work of Jansenius.

The disappointed Jesuits next obtained an order from the government to destroy the schools, under the direction of the Recluses, which was effected; and also for the dismissal of every scholar, postulant, and novice from both the houses of Port Royal. This plot, just on the eve of its being executed, was arrested for a time by what was considered an extraordinary interposition of Providence, in the shape of a miraculous cure—so the Jansenists regarded it. Whether the cure (of a pupil in the convent) was natural or supernatural, it served to awe the government into a retraction of its order for the destruction of Port Royal. The recluses returned, and the fame and influence of the society were greater than ever. This was in 1656.

The Jesuits were not, however, to be long delayed. Thirsting for their prey, they procured the fulmination of a bull from Alexander VII., in November of the same year, against the Jansenists, in which it was declared that the "five propositions" were not only heretical, but were really contained in the proscribed book; and, in accordance with the bull, a

second formulary was drawn up, in 1660, to be signed by all ecclesiastics and religious communities in France, in the following terms: "I condemn from my inmost soul, and by word of mouth, the doctrine of the five propositions which are contained in the book of Cornelius Jansenius—a doctrine which is not that of Augustine, whose sentiments Jansenius has misinterpreted."

But this time the Jansenists refused their signatures. They would acknowledge the papal right to decide upon matters of *faith*, but not upon matters of *fact*. The Pope, they said (see also Pascal's seventeenth letter), could determine whether certain doctrines were true or not, but he might be mistaken as to the fact of such doctrines being in the work of Jansenius. The nuns, particularly, would not affirm that these doctrines were contained in a Latin book which they could not read.

All along the Jansenists had been subjected to perpetual annoyances, but now persecution came in earnest. The dungeons of the Bastille were crowded with "Recluses," and the two houses of Port Royal were ordered to send away their scholars and novices.

The great object of all this was to reduce the nuns to obedience, and compel their signatures to the formulary. As a still more effectual measure, the Archbishop of Paris, attended by constables and soldiers, visited the convent in the city, and, after an insolent address, carried off eighteen nuns by force, the superiors among them, and imprisoned them in different convents, where they suffered harsh treatment for many months; the remainder being put under the espionage of nuns brought from another convent, and tormented by Jesuits who argued with them, and denounced excommunication, if they did not put their names to the formulary. But, out of one hundred nuns, only six submitted.

Ten months of cruel captivity had now passed away, when the exiles were brought back to Port Royal des Champs. Thirty-six nuns of this house, and thirteen from that of Paris, were reunited to their former companions. But they were still treated as prisoners, forbidden the sacraments, deprived of needful exercise in the open air, and denounced as heretics. During this persecution of several years, many

died from excessive cruelty. The "Recluses," meanwhile, were imprisoned, or hunted from place to place.

But, notwithstanding all this, Jansenism was gaining favor with many, and extending its influence; so that some of the French bishops espoused the cause of the persecuted Port Royalists. The high ground assumed by the Jesuits, of the Pope's infallibility, had already awakened feelings of resistance in many minds, and a demand for more lenient measures and a wider liberty. The Port Royalists had also now gained a powerful friend in a near relative of the king, the Duchess de Longueville, who had renounced her worldly ambition and become a humble Jansenist. Clement IX., a man of more pacific character than his predecessor, being now Pope, the duchess addressed to him an eloquent letter, in behalf of the suffering Port Royalists. After eighteen months of earnest effort, in conjunction with other influential friends, she had the joy to see the Pope enter upon measures of pacification. He still condemned the five propositions (to save his infallibility), but abstained from ascribing them to Jansenius; while the Jansenists conceded a full submission to his authority upon matters of *faith*, and agreed to preserve a respectful silence upon questions of *fact*. This was in 1668.

Thus the storm was stayed, the prison doors were opened, the "Recluses" returned to Port Royal, and a general feeling of joy was experienced throughout the nation. Port Royal now enjoyed eleven years of unexampled prosperity. Friends multiplied, munificent grants of money for benevolent purposes were made to the community, and its fame widely extended.

But the death of their friend, the duchess, in 1679, renewed the slumbering hostility of its enemies. The "Recluses" were again driven from Port Royal, most of them to die in exile and poverty; the nuns were forbidden to receive scholars or novices, and Port Royal de Paris and half their revenues were taken from them. At length came the terrible crisis. In 1711, the monastery, after a century of spiritual illumination, was totally demolished by order of the king; its burial-place was rifled of its bodies, in a most shameless manner, and the mangled forms thrown promiscuously into a pit; and

the walls of the church were blown up. Thus Port Royal perished from off the face of the earth.

The nuns, meanwhile, who had survived these terrible persecutions, lingered out their lives in solitary confinement in different convents, denied the sacraments, deprived often of the common necessities of life, and vexed by Jesuit priests who hovered round them in the hope of terrifying them into submission. But they bore every indignity and cruelty with exemplary patience, resolving never to deny the truth. Many of them, aged and infirm, did not long survive their exile, and died, praying for their enemies, and rejoicing to be counted worthy to suffer for Christ's sake.*

Many of the surviving Jansenists emigrated to Holland. Father Quesnel died in Amsterdam, in 1719, and with him Jansenism expired as a matter of special interest. Its subsequent history is one of comparative degeneracy, its friends becoming infected with fanaticism, and making pretensions to miraculous cures, as at the tomb of the famous Abbé de Paris, of which Hume makes use in his 'Essay on Miracles.' Even now there exists, in Holland, a small remnant of Jansenists, who still insist on their membership in the Roman Catholic Church, though lying under the papal ban as heretics and schismatics.

There are many practical reflections which spring up in the mind, on a perusal of the history of Jansenism. Not without design did God permit such a history to transpire, and it becomes us to study these lessons of his providence. In the remarkable revival of spiritual religion exhibited in the Port Royal Society we cannot fail to see the Divine hand.

Besides His purpose of calling many according to the "election of grace," may we not discover a design to *raise up a barrier against the inroads of Jesuitism?* Like Pietism, amid the formalism of the Lutheran, and Methodism, amid that of the Episcopal church, so Jansenism was an uprising of spiritual Christianity in the midst of a more terrible perversion of the gospel. Jesuitism was then in the ascendant, swaying the councils of Europe, controlling the papal influence, and

* Memoirs of Port Royal.

threatening the overthrow of all morality, religion and liberty. The Reformation had been checked in France and in other papal countries, chiefly through the zeal of the followers of Ignatius; but, behold, from a quarter least expected, the bosom of their own church, arises a foe to deal mighty blows, and humble the right arm of the Man of Sin. Would that the Jansenists had fully comprehended their mission! But as it was, they performed a great work, for which they should be held in grateful remembrance. They imposed a powerful check upon the infamous Society of Loyola, exposing its atrocious principles, and calling down upon it the scorn and derision of the world. They broke its power; they crippled its energies. Had they dared to go still further, and trace the corruption of the Jesuit Society up to the essential doctrines of Romanism itself; had they dared to say that the very constitutions of the Society of Ignatius, as sanctified by papal authority, were the fountain whence had issued, by a necessary development, the tremendous evils and errors which they combated; had they dared to stand only upon the Bible, then had they dealt a blow from which Jesuitism had never revived. But for this they had not the courage. Their anomalous position was a great restraint, and they only half performed the work which was given them to do. They were themselves blinded, cramped, crippled. They could do valiantly against the Jesuit fathers, but they could not grapple with Loyola himself. And hence the society survived their attacks.

Again, we are taught a lesson of Christian charity. "The wind bloweth where it listeth," and so the divine Spirit breathes with quickening power wheresoever it pleaseth Him. We, with our narrow views, would confine his working within certain sharply defined limits, but divine Mercy is free infinitely beyond our thoughts of it, and so the heavenly Dove scatters the dews of grace from his outspread wings over spots where we had least expected his presence. At first we are inclined to stand in doubt, but doubt gives way to praise, when with unprejudiced mind we see the manifest fruits of the Spirit. And thus we cannot for a moment doubt that within the pale of the nominal Catholic church have been

trained up many sons and daughters of the Lord Almighty. The Jansenists were a people eminently devout. They not only formed, in the language of Vinet, the "Alpine heights of Catholicism," but not a few of them furnished examples of piety seldom if ever surpassed among uninspired men. Protestantism need not fear this acknowledgment, for piety has been nourished within the Catholic church by the essential truths which they hold in common, and in spite of the grievous errors which popery has added thereto, and which ruin so many souls. Hannah More was accustomed to read "a portion of Nicole, or some other good Jansenist, almost every day." Wesley spoke of the Port Royalists in high commendation. Haweis, of the Lady Huntington school of divines, has left in his "Church History" the following testimony to their worth:—

When I read Jansenius, or his disciples Pascal or Quesnel, I bow before such distinguished excellencies and confess them my brethren. Their principles are pure and evangelical, their morals formed upon the apostles and prophets, and their zeal to amend and convert blest with eminent success. "Leighton, in one age," says Dr. Williams (*Miscellanies*), "and Zinzendorf, in another, were supposed to have enkindled their piety, and formed in part their religious character, amidst the Jansenist Catholics of France, with whom each had mingled."

Much of our current Protestantism might, we think, learn from them, Catholics though they were, a lesson of genuine humility, of self-denying devotion to Christ, of separation from the world, of prayerfulness, of sweet Christian charity, of patience under injuries, of veneration for the Bible, and zeal in the propagation and defence of its truths. Well for us, in these days of outward bustle, could we catch something of their sweet devotional spirit, love of meditation, and earnestness in the cultivation of heart religion. Monastic piety must, indeed, have its serious defects; must want some of the features of a healthy and robust character; but what, on the other hand, shall we say of a religion which draws not its life from intimate daily communion with Christ and the Word of Truth; and is not this the true picture of very much of our current piety? Many full draughts from the Port Royal fountain might revive our drooping Christianity. Thus much

let us say in charity, and let us learn to welcome all signs of spiritual life wheresoever they appear."*

But, in the *third* place, our review of Jansenism, while it reveals much genuine piety as having existed within the Romish Church, far more, we fear, than at present when Jesuitism has been indorsed anew, yet *proves the essential corruption of Romanism*. Jansenism was not the legitimate fruit of popery. It grew up in spite of it, and when its true nature as essentially anti-papistic was discovered, it was disowned, and violently dissevered from the stock into which it had been unnaturally grafted. Rome has always persisted in saying that Jansenism is not Catholicism. We take her at her word, and thereby prove her own contrariety with Christianity. Never did Rome manifest a more vengeful spirit against the Protestant Reformation than against those who, in her own bosom, have loved and proclaimed the truth as it is in Jesus. In the melancholy history of Port Royal, we learn the natural antagonism of Rome to the doctrines of grace, to the word of God, to spiritual religion, to religious liberty.† She can harbor and honor conforming infidelity and obsequious profligacy, and atheism itself, but true piety is cast forth.

In the *fourth* place, we learn *the hopelessness of any essential improvement of Romanism*. It is radically, irremediably corrupt, past all cure. And, if we rightly understand prophecy and providence, we believe it is not God's design to reform

* Hannah More, writing to one of her sisters, says: "He [Dr. Johnson] reproved me with pretended sharpness, for reading 'Les Pensees de Pascal,' or any of the Port Royal authors, alleging, that as a good Protestant, I ought to abstain from books written by Catholics. I was beginning to stand upon my defence, when he took me with both hands, and with a tear running down his cheek, 'Child,' said he, with the most affecting earnestness, 'I am heartily glad that you read pious books, by whomsoever they may be written.'"

† The following incident which exhibits the king's [Louis XIV.] prejudices against the Jansenists, also illustrates the general feeling of the Romish Church towards them, and its disregard of religious sincerity if there be but outward conformity. When a certain gentleman was proposed to Louis as a proper travelling companion to the Dauphin, the king, mistaking him for another person, objected to him as a Jansenist: "Sire," said his informant, "he is so far from holding grace and election, that he doubts if there be even a God." "O," returned the king, "that is another affair; I really thought he had been a Jansenist; I have not the least objection."—Memoirs of Port Royal; Tour to Alét.

it into a spiritual church, but to let it develop its inherent elements of ruin, to let it go on from bad to worse, until divine vengeance consume it. Not that many individuals may not, meanwhile, grope their way amid its gloom to heaven; not that we may not hope for numerous conversions from its ranks; but as a body it is doomed to destruction. Its tendency has ever been downward, and its present aspects promise nothing favorable.

At various periods of her history, attempts at reform have been made, but never successfully. Luther at first thought only of amending the church. He was driven into a separation from it by finding it incurably wicked. It did not wish for improvement. And hence he did what alone an honest man under his circumstances could do—he abandoned it.

The Jansenists attempted another plan. They made an honest and earnest effort to purify the Romish Church. They saw and deplored and exposed many of its corruptions; they founded convents and schools; they preached; they wrote books; they translated and circulated the Scriptures; they set an example of eminent devotion and charity, and moreover, boldly, unmasked wickedness in places high and mighty, sparing no pains, shrinking from no perils, in what they deemed the cause of truth. And at one time, the Gallican Church seemed almost ready to advance many steps towards apostolic purity. A brighter day seemed ready to dawn. But no. These devoted men and women were not fighting for the truth according to the plan of Christ. Their nominal union with Rome was a sanction of her errors. Instead of planting themselves on the Word of God alone, and coming out from Rome, shaking off the dust of their feet as a witness against her sorceries and in despair of her recovery, they hesitated, feared, and attempted a vain compromise. They appealed to *Augustine*, when they should have appealed only to the Bible.

And thence we derive the more general lesson, not to expend our strength in efforts to reform and revivify old and corrupt churches, like the Armenian, Greek, and others, by endeavoring to infuse into them spiritual life, and to engraft

evangelical sentiments and feelings on the dead stock of formalism; but rather to plant alongside them true churches of Christ after the apostolical pattern, and to gather into them the Lord's chosen. And let those who, within the pale of the Papal or other apostate churches, whether in our own or foreign lands, have become spiritually enlightened and love the word of God, and trust in the grace of Christ, come out from such corrupt body, lest they become partakers of its plagues. Thus only can their Christian influence be free, untrammelled and powerful.

ARTICLE. II.—PROGRESS OF BAPTIST PRINCIPLES.*

FREEDOM of Conscience, of which we have spoken, is but a means of Religion, not an end. And yet, had Baptists nothing more to show as distinctive of their body, the success of this single principle might have fulfilled their Providential mission. It might have been said, "You have destroyed 'soul tyranny,' but you have not built up Truth and Holiness." Happily the Baptists were prepared to meet this imputation by pointing to the effects of their *second* distinctive principle—the precise and positive complement of the first—*A Converted Church Membership*.

Prof. Curtis traces with a firm yet discriminating hand the progress of opinion on this point within the last hundred years, both at home and abroad. He proves that general as its reception now is among most denominations in the United States, it was, with but rare and inconsistent exceptions, held only by the Baptists a century ago. The good influence of Whitfield, the two Tennents, and Edwards, in promoting a change for the better, is duly recognized and honored, as is also that of the Methodists in later years. Thus this great Baptist principle—the most vital of their entire organization—has triumphed, and has in fact, if not in creed, been incorporated by other communions. Our author says:

* A review of Prof. Curtis' work on the Progress of Baptist Principles for the last hundred years. Concluded from last No.

So wide spread, indeed, is the conviction that unconverted persons should not be communicants, that very few of them would think it right to partake, if invited. Denominations seem to be unpopular in proportion as they favor an unconverted membership. All of them, including Roman Catholics, Unitarians, and even Episcopalians, are shown by the last census to embrace not above a sixth of the whole church-going population.

The author justly regards this fact as constituting the great superiority of American over European Christianity, and cites Dr. Baird as concurring in this view. It has been worth all the prayers, struggles, and sufferings which it has cost to effect what has been accomplished. The principle is spreading also on every side, despite the efforts in other lands, where National Churches exist, to oppose it. It is sapping the basis of every Church Establishment in Europe. It is diffused by evangelical missions in the four quarters of the globe. Sacramentalism and Infant Baptism only feebly resist it in the United States; but these are evidently doomed to fall before it. "Evangelical truth, so far as it prevails, leads the people to become," as Dr. Nevin and Dr. Bushnell both show, "*Baptists in theory*, even where they neglect to become so in practice," and honest men will soon reduce theory to practice. Professor Curtis might have added that a converted *membership* will insure a converted *ministry*—a principle equally sacred and dear to Baptists.

The third principle, conceded to Baptists, is—*Sacraments inoperative without Choice and Faith*. A hundred years ago there were few Pedobaptists probably who did not suppose that baptism, or what was so called, rendered an infant more safe. This opinion is now condemned as superstitious, even in Europe, by such men as Coleridge and Bunsen, the latter of whom distinctly says, "it must be put down forever." Prof. Curtis, while quoting this opinion, expresses a doubt whether it can be put down, so long as infant baptism is retained—a doubt which will be shared by millions. Again, to refuse unconverted persons the Lord's Supper, and yet admit them to the ordinance of baptism, is so palpable an inconsistency, that no theory yet devised by the wit of man can reconcile or conceal it; and as many as have attempted it, from Jonathan Mitchell, of Cambridge, in 1662, to Dr. McClintock, of New York, in 1855, though men of acknow-

ledged ability, have "labored in the fire for very vanity." The one practice must in time destroy the other. In Europe generally this Gordian knot is not untied, but cut, by allowing and inviting, nay, legally compelling, all the baptized to come to the Lord's Supper, and in such churches both sacraments are regarded, at least in theory, as like means of saving grace. Thus the practice of infant baptism, in the opinion of our author, has poisoned every Protestant Confession, Rubric and Catechism in Europe, and to some extent also in this country. But so far as Baptist principles prevail, and modify the opinions of other denominations, this poison is counteracted. We quote the author's illustration :

The blood which goes into the lungs a dark inert mass, poisoned with carbonic acid, comes from them of a bright scarlet, having parted with its poison and absorbed the oxygen of the atmosphere. It is thus vitalized, and made capable of sustaining life. So in the Gospel, the sacraments need to be vitalized by a living Faith, in the experience of each professor; without which they only carry with them poison and death into every ramification of the spiritual system to which they extend.

This principle—that the sacraments have in them no saving power whatever, but depend for all their value and efficacy upon the faith of the recipient—all evangelical denominations now accept, or concede; ample proofs of this are furnished by our author; but he records also his deep conviction that

Until infant baptism be openly abandoned there is a constant tendency to reaction—a danger of relapse. The entering wedge for the recurrence of all that is most fatal in the delusions of Popery is in the crevice, and a few hard blows may at any moment split all other Protestantism to pieces.

These last are weighty words. O! that God would make them to tingle in the ears of all those who look upon Baptist principles as of little moment.

It is not our intention to follow our author thus closely through his entire work, or even this first part of it. We must limit ourselves to a few points, to which we attach special importance, and add a few reflections of our own.

The chapter illustrating the progress of a fourth great Baptist principle, entitled *Believers the only Scriptural Subjects of Baptism*, is one of great importance in a historical point of view. It forms, indeed, a most interesting chapter

in the History of Christian Doctrine. It occupies over fifty pages, and is valuable alike for its clear statement of Baptist views, and its happy selection, not mere collection, of Pedobaptist Concessions to Baptist views, both on the Scriptural and Historical Argument, including the historical rise of infant baptism as an innovation, and its gradual subversion of the original ordinance of Christ; but especially is it valuable for its ample collection of facts and statistics demonstrating beyond all dispute, the rapid and steady decline of infant baptism in Europe and in the United States. One feature which marks this decline of infant baptism is, that it is greatest where the people are the freest, where the Scriptures are most circulated, read, and revered as the only ultimate standard of appeal, and where vital religion is held in the highest esteem. This feature is highly significant. And this decline is apparent, not only in the *positive*, but also in the *relative* increase of the Baptists, as compared with the increase of population, on which it has gained within a century at an average rate of from 100 to 200 per cent., and as compared also with other denominations, whose increase, not excepting the Methodists, is vastly greater from abroad. It appears by the late census, that more than one-fourth of the whole church accommodation in the United States, is in the hands of those who resist infant baptism. But this is not all. Prof. Curtis proves that infant baptism is fast falling into disuse in the several Pedobaptist denominations themselves, especially among the most numerous bodies, as the Methodists, the Congregationalists, and the Presbyterians, both Old School and New. Some of the statistics he presents, taken from a comparison of official documents, reveal a secret sense of the soundness of Baptist principles, we had hardly imagined could so extensively pervade Pedobaptist denominations. We have only space to give the author's final conclusion, referring the reader to the volume itself for the details of the proof:

In one sentence, then, infant baptism is now completely the exception where it used to be the rule. If the Presbyterian returns furnish a fair average, out of twelve infants born, eleven go unbaptized. A hundred years ago the proportions were nearer the reverse.

We would call special attention to this result. At this

rate, infant baptism in this country will disappear before the end of another century. Within the last twenty years special efforts have been made to check this tendency by their ablest preachers and writers. But in vain. The voice that once blasted the barren figtree, has been uttered against infant baptism, and it is withering away. "Every plant which my Heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted up." Let no good man mourn over its fate. Every element of spiritual life and beauty will remain in the Church of Christ, and appear fresher and flourish all the more, when this noxious parasite shall have perished in its own decay.

The last Baptist principle, belonging to the class of the conceded, is very briefly discussed by Professor Curtis. It is—*Immersion always the Baptism of the New Testament.* But ample proofs of its concession by Pedobaptist scholars, of the first order, are crowded into this brief space. The general conclusion, derived from the several points conceded, is thus summed up :

Were each of these admissions but universally acted upon—were baptism delayed until the only proper time of full communion, *i. e.* that of personal faith, and were immersion alone practised, every division might be done away, and all Christians have now, as at first, "one Lord, one faith, and one baptism."

Let those who obstruct this blessed union consider whether by so doing they do not "fight against God."

The second book treats of Controverted Principles; that is, of those Baptist principles which are not conceded by the most enlightened men of other denominations. These are four, and are thus stated :

1. The command to Baptize a command to Immerse.
2. The importance of Believer's Baptism.
3. Infant Baptism injurious, as well as unscriptural.
4. Mixed Communion unwise and injurious.

These are the points still in controversy, and to these should the attention and strength of both parties be directed, if they really desire the victory of truth, and the union of all Christians in the truth "as it is in Jesus."

On the first point, Prof. Curtis has furnished an illustration

so decisive, that it ought, in our judgment, to blow away all the mist and clouds, and clear up the question to every understanding. We wish we had space to insert it here. A happier appeal to common sense, as a final test in a question of practical duty, we do not remember ever to have seen. Let any honest man—and we hold all evangelical Christians to be honest men—if he can, resist it. The argument is essentially philological and critical, yet it is here made precise and plain; it involves a fundamental principle of interpretation which is conceded by all parties in terms, but whose real practical bearings were perhaps never before set in so clear a light. The author has not failed here also to trace the progress of the evidence for the last hundred years. He shows that the mind of the age moves in the line of his argument.

Chapter second, on the importance of Believers' Baptism, if less original, is scriptural, luminous, and strong, and throughout abounds in happy illustration. That derived from the history of the Eddystone light-house is stated with uncommon felicity. The lesson it conveys we would do well to remember.

But the third chapter, on the Injurious Effects of Infant Baptism, is more masterly still. Here Prof. Curtis calmly but firmly grapples with the modern defences of this ancient innovation by such men as Coleridge, Bushnell, Bunsen, and the able writers of the 'North British Review.' These defences all rest ultimately upon the Romish dogma of "a discretionary power of the church" to change her own divine constitution. This, as advanced by Coleridge, in his *Aids to Reflection*, is first reduced to absurdity, and then the theory of "organic connection," advanced by Dr. Bushnell, shares the same fate, and its "dangerous tendencies" are fully pointed out in the language of Congregationalists themselves. The defence of Chevalier Bunsen is shown to involve the reform of the Bible itself, and that of the 'North British Review' a change of the Rule of Faith, as well as a reform in the rule of Biblical interpretation.

The fourth chapter, on the subject of Church Communion, sustains, by a historical review, as well as by argument, the much controverted Baptist principle, that open communion is

unwise and injurious. We commend this to the reader, especially its closing observations, as eminently able, impressive, and conciliatory, yet uncompromising. We think he proves, beyond dispute, these two points: that the ordinances of Christ are committed to the churches as guardians, and that the churches are organized by Christ as aggressive bodies to act with the multiple force of numbers, character and unity; and hence that the practice of open or mixed communion involves, on their part, both a breach of trust and a loss of power.

The third book is devoted to the progress of principles always held by evangelical Christians, but more consistently by Baptists. These are the three following:

1. The Sufficiency of Holy Scripture.
2. Salvation by Grace alone.
3. The Essential Priesthood of all Christians.

These great life-principles of the Protestant Reformation, it is the object of Prof. Curtis to show, from a review of facts for the last hundred years, require the acknowledgment of Baptist principles to be advocated with force, consistency, and efficiency. In executing his design, he displays a comprehensive range of thought, a discriminating judgment, a catholic spirit, and an intimate acquaintance with all the leading tendencies and movements of the age, both at home and abroad. We commend them all, but especially the last to the attention of the reader. It strikes a decisive blow at the root of all usurped sacerdotal power, whether in Romanism, Puseyism, or Episcopacy.

The fourth chapter of this part treats with ability the connection of Baptist principles with political liberty, particularly as developed within the last century in this country, and its effects on foreign nations. His facts, and his philosophy of the facts, will well repay perusal. They deserve to be better known. They corroborate the views of Senator Hunter, already cited, and will one day be fully acknowledged by all.

The concluding chapter contains a recapitulation of the facts historically established in the course of the work, and a justification of the author in spreading them before the world.

He pleads the just respect due to historical truth at all times and from all men; the direction and force of modern attacks upon evangelical Christianity; the weakening effect of the internal difficulties and inextricable entanglements of evangelical Pedobaptists; the immensely improved condition of the Baptists within the last hundred years; and the present relative positions and gradual approaches of these two great parties of Evangelical Christendom, as reasons which fully justify, and even demand, a fraternal freedom of utterance upon facts, which in reality are of equal interest and consequence to both.

An Appendix of about thirty pages, and two Indexes, one to the topics and the other to the texts discussed, add to the practical value of this well prepared volume, which we hesitate not to pronounce one of the most important contributions to the history of doctrines, to the philosophy of history, to ecclesiastical law, and to evangelical union; in a word, to the practical workings of Christianity on the largest scale, which has lately appeared from the American press.

We shall be indulged in a few reflections which have been suggested by its perusal.

The first of these is of special interest to us as Christian Reviewers—The importance of distinguishing Baptist principles from the conduct of any particular individual or body of Baptists. This is not always done. The imperfections of the latter are too apt to be ascribed to the former; whereas they are no more referable to Baptist principles than they are to the Bible itself. Baptist principles are professedly Bible principles, in the fullest sense. They disclaim all authority but that of Christ. They appeal to no other tribunal. His word is ultimate. Tried by this pure and lofty standard, spots must appear in us, and in all our churches. These spots are readily seized upon by an uncandid observer as the fruits of our principles, but they only exist in consequence of the want of a complete practical conformity to them. At the worst, they can only prove inconsistency or insincerity in our profession of faith and fellowship with our crucified Lord—a profession made voluntarily by ourselves in the solemn act of baptism. Baptists may, in certain in-

stances, be bigoted, worldly, or contentious about trifles; but Baptist principles are the most free, the most liberal, the most spiritual, the most charitable, fraternal, forbearing, forgiving. Baptists may, in certain instances, be ignorant, selfish, timid, temporizing; but Baptist principles are the most enlightened, the most self-denying, self-sacrificing, ennobling, and heroic. And, as this volume abundantly shows, they have borne such fruits within the last hundred years.

Again, if Baptists now are not what they ought to be, it is in a great measure because they do not fully understand their own principles. We are apt to complain that other denominations do not understand us, do not comprehend us; but how can we expect them to do so, until we take more pains to study, and comprehend and carry out Baptist principles? How few among us have fairly settled their own judgment as to the number, form, proportions, relations and vital consequences of these principles—their peculiar power, their worth, their history, their glory. Satisfied of their scriptural origin and truth, we overlook their real importance, until it is forced upon our attention by contrast, in the developments of time and history—startling developments, that arouse us from our thoughtless slumber. We forget that because our principles are *divine*, they are replete with divine power and wisdom—that the so-called “foolishness of God is wiser than men, and the weakness is stronger than men”—that one great end in creation is, “that now unto the principalities and powers in heavenly places might be made known through the Church the manifold wisdom of God.” How does this volume rebuke all such indifference or forgetfulness! How clearly does it demonstrate, by a great variety of facts, that all the attempts of men to improve upon the divine constitution of the Church have been a series of disastrous failures, and cannot now be defended except upon principles of the most dangerous and destructive tendency!

We would not in these remarks be understood to say, that Prof. Curtis has enumerated, classified, and developed all Baptist principles. No man has yet thus exhausted the subject. We think it would not be difficult to point out others almost equally essential to the divine system, which

the author of this volume would instantly recognize and indorse; as, for instance, a divinely called and qualified ministry. We might here and there suggest other facts and other testimonies tending to corroborate his own positions. We might even suggest the propriety of separating by some stronger line of distinction those Baptist principles which have been *generally and practically adopted* by other evangelical denominations in this country, within the last hundred years, from those which have only been *conceded in theory* by their most enlightened men at home and abroad. We might wish to add something more on the prodigious force of the evidence inherent in Baptist principles, that could thus carry not secret conviction only to the minds of such men, but even prompt their ingenuous confession in the very writings by which they hope to be remembered to the latest generations of time, though at the hazard of being condemned for practical inconsistency not only among men, but before the judgment seat of Christ. We might wish to place in bright contrast with this practical inconsistency the names of a long roll of illustrious men, who within the last hundred years have sacrificed the prejudices of education, the fascinations of custom, the ties of natural affection, position, rank, reputation, property, ease, the most attached friends and the most brilliant prospects, on the altar of Christian and Ministerial fidelity. But this does not alter our general estimate of the exceeding value of the labors of Prof. Curtis, in this almost untrodden field. More than any man living, he has made it his own. No new Professor of Theology ever sent forth a nobler Inaugural.

We can scarcely repress the conviction that the time is come, when Baptists everywhere must take a more decided stand, and rise up to the nobleness of their essential principles. We must live and speak like men who are intrusted with a divine commission which we are to carry out for the honor of Christ and the benefit of our brethren of every name and creed. As Neander has said, a great future is before us. The time for timid policy, if such a time ever existed, is now assuredly past. The glory of the New Testament, sealed with our Redeemer's blood—the world's universal need of

the principles of vital evangelical religion—the immense progress of the last hundred years—the cheering certainty of the future which is heralded by the past—the promised presence of our Lord in faithfully carrying out every feature of His great commission—all, all summon us to gird on our armor, and go forth to the battle with the full assurance of victory.

Truth crushed to earth will rise again,
The eternal years of God are hers;
While Error wounded, writhes in pain,
And dies amid her worshippers.

ART. III.—CHRIST IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.

“TESTAMENTUM vetus de Christo exhibendo, Novum de Christo exhibitio, agit; Novum in veteri latet, vetus in novo patet.” Such was the declaration of the great Augustine. What now is the testimony of the Saviour and his apostles on these points? or, in other words, *How much of Christ and the gospel do the New Testament writers discover in the Old Testament Scriptures?* We propose first briefly to present their testimony on this point, and then make some observations respecting the character and interpretation of some of the Messianic prophecies.

From the New Testament we learn that there are *things written concerning Christ*; in other words, prophecies relating to him, “*in all the Scriptures*” of the Old Testament: in the *Prophets*, Luke xviii. 31; in the *Law of Moses* and *all the prophets*, Luke xxiv. 27; Acts xxviii. 23; and in the *Law* and the *Prophets*, and the *Psalms*, Luke xxiv. 44.* On examination of these passages, in the connection where they are found, it will appear that the “*things concerning Christ*, in the minds of the writers or speakers, have reference mainly to the Saviour’s *sufferings, death and resurrection*. It is explicitly stated that David speaketh concerning Christ and his *resurrection*.

* See a previous article, entitled, *The Old Testament judged by the New*. Also Matt. xxvi. 24; Mark ix. 12; Luke xxii. 37; John xii. 16; Acts xiii. 29.

Acts ii. 25–31; xiii. 32 sq. Peter declares that God, by the mouth of *all* his prophets, foretold the sufferings of Christ. Acts iii. 18; 1 Pet. i. 11. Paul also affirms that Christ died for our sins, and rose again according to the Scriptures (1 Cor. xv. 3, 4); and that in announcing the sufferings, death, and resurrection of Christ, he said none other things than those which Moses and the prophets did say should come. Acts xxvi. 22, 23; Comp. Acts xiii. 27; xvii, 2, 3; John ii. 22; xx. 9. Our Saviour constantly represented his sufferings and death as something *necessary* to the accomplishment of Scripture prophecy, and hence inquires: How then (were I rescued from these) could the Scriptures be fulfilled? Matt. xxvi. 54–56; Mark xiv. 49; Luke xxiv. 26–46. It is also a remarkable circumstance, that the conversation which Moses and Elijah held with Jesus, on the mount of transfiguration, had reference to the *decease* which the latter should accomplish at Jerusalem. Luke ix. 31. May we not infer from this, also, that the “things concerning Jesus” in the *law* and the *prophets*, whether as sacrificial types or prophecies, all pointed to the *death* of Christ as the “one sacrifice” for sin.

Not only were our Saviour’s sufferings and death foretold by the prophets, but likewise his birth, character, mission, and the various important events of his earthly life. Moses and the prophets wrote concerning him (John v. 46; i. 45); yea, *all* the prophets, it is averred, have borne him witness (Acts x. 43), and have foretold of these gospel days. Acts iii. 21–24; Comp. Luke i. 70; Acts vii. 52; 1 Pet. i. 10.* David not only spake of Christ but in spirit, *i. e.*, by the Holy Ghost, called him his Lord. Matt. xxii. 43. Jesus, according to the evangelist Philip, is the subject of the prophecy in the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah (Acts viii. 35); and the same prophet, as John testifies, saw the glory of Christ, and spake of him. John xii. 41; † Comp. Isaiah vi. 1 sq.

* When it is said that there are things concerning Christ in *all* the Scriptures, and that *all* the prophets have testified of him, these expressions, it should be considered, serve merely to denote a *general* truth, and should not therefore be strained to their utmost tension of meaning.

† From this, and other passages in the New Testament, we might suppose that the apostles regarded Christ as “the angel of Jehovah,” the manifested Deity of the Old Testament. The Leader whom the Israelites tempted in the

Frequent mention also is made in the New Testament of the *promises* made unto the fathers, which promises refer to the Messiah and his great salvation. Acts xiii. 23-32; Rom. xv. 8; Gal. iii. 16.

Hence as the *promised* Messiah, prophet and king, he is called *the* Christ (John xi. 27; Acts xviii. 28), and the coming one, or, he who should come. Matt. xi. 3; xxi. 9; Luke xix. 38; John vi. 14. And thus the gospel itself was promised aforetime by the prophets in the Holy Scriptures. Rom. i. 2; iii. 21; xvi. 26; Titus i. 2. Its glad tidings were announced to Abraham, and therefore, as our Saviour declares, he rejoiced with exultation that he should see the day of Christ. Gal. iii. 8; John viii. 56. Even the law of commandments, contained in ordinances, *shadowed forth* good things to come, prefiguring, doubtless, that *better* sacrifice which has been offered up once for all, and thus serving as an educational guide to Christ. Heb. x. 1 sq.; Gal. iii. 24.

The patriarchs, indeed, saw these promises afar off, yet they embraced them through faith, and in this faith they died. Heb. xi. 13. The many prophets and righteous men of whom our Saviour speaks, were at least so far acquainted with the person and work of Christ, that they longed to behold these in actual manifestation, and they who inquired and searched diligently (we are not told, in vain) in regard to the time and the circumstances of the Redeemer's appearing, yet prophesied of the grace that should come unto us, and testified beforehand the sufferings of Christ, and the glory that should follow. Matt. xiii. 17; 1 Pet. i. 10, sq.

From all this we may learn with how much emphasis and truth the Saviour could say, "*The Scriptures testify of me.*" John v. 39. We may also learn one reason why the apostles and evangelists, in their preaching, appealed not so much to the miracles of Christ as to the Old Testament prophecies, and were accustomed to persuade their hearers, concerning Christ, both out of the law and the prophets, and to reason

wilderness was Christ. The spiritual rock from which they drank was Christ. Moses esteemed the reproaches of *Christ* greater riches than the treasures of Egypt. The (Holy) Spirit of *Christ* inspired the prophets who prophesied of the grace that should be revealed. See 1 Cor. x. 4-9; Heb. xi. 26; 1 Pet. i. 11.

with them out of the Scriptures, showing by them that Jesus is the Christ. Acts xxviii. 23; xvii. 2, 3; xviii. 28.

Another and very important phase of the subject yet remains to be presented; namely, the alleged *fulfillment of the Scriptures*, in the person of Jesus. Every student of the gospels (of Matthew and John especially) is familiar with the formula, *that the Scripture* (or the saying, or that which was spoken, &c.) *might be fulfilled*. We have now, perhaps, in our investigations, reached a point from which we may the better ascertain the meaning which the Saviour and the apostles attached to these terms.

From the character of some of the Scripture passages which are said to be fulfilled, many persons have supposed that this fulfillment does not generally denote an accomplishment of *prophecy*, but rather a "rhetorical accommodation" of certain declarations in the Old Testament to certain events recorded in the New. The event and the declaration have such a striking resemblance, that the one may be most happily described or illustrated by the other. In other words, what we supposed was a fulfillment of prophecy, is merely a rhetorical allusion or simile. Now, ten thousand such *accommodating* fulfillments as these could never prove the Messiahship of Jesus. Nay, if the fulfillments of Scripture in the New Testament are of this kind and order, then, in the language of Herder, we have merely an "accommodated Christ," and not the promised Messiah. Our Saviour everywhere speaks of his sufferings as necessary to the fulfillment of the Scriptures. Did he, then, endure all his indescribable agonies for the sake of rhetorical allusions and mere resemblances of words? Did all that happened to him take place *in order that* we might discover striking comparisons in the Old Testament? The son of perdition was lost, that the Scriptures might be fulfilled. But did he then perish for the sake of a simile? Some, however, would assign another meaning to the Greek particle, and render the phrase in question as follows: All this was done, *so that* the Scripture *was* fulfilled. But this rendering, even if it were grammatical, would not greatly help the matter. It has against it, however, both the laws of grammar and the general *usus loquendi*,

as Winer has shown in his 'Idioms of the New Testament, and never would it have been adopted by any one, except as a means of escape from some supposed difficulty of logic or doctrine.* "All things," says our Saviour, "which were written in the law of Moses, and in the prophets, and in the psalms, concerning me, *must* be fulfilled." But why *must* the Scriptures be fulfilled? Because they reveal the purposes of Jehovah respecting his Son. Hence the Saviour must suffer and die, *in order that* the Scriptures might be fulfilled. This does not necessarily designate the *sole* design or final cause of his sufferings and death; for by these, several objects may have been accomplished, while only one is here specified. Christ declares that there are things written concerning him in all the scriptures of the Old Testament. These things must be prophecies in the strictest sense. He also declared that these *must* be fulfilled, and that all his sufferings were undergone by him in order to their fulfillment. Without these sufferings, the Scriptures *could not* be fulfilled. Here, then, we have a fulfillment (of prophecy) in its strict sense. On the ground of this representation we can see how the

* "Former interpreters," says Winer, "above all, overlooked the fact, that *ἵνα* was frequently to be judged of after the Hebrew teleology, which confounds worldly consequences with divine designs and counsels, or rather represents each important result as ordered and intended by God (Comp. Exod. xi. 9; Ps. li. 4; Isaiah vi. 10; Jer. xxvii. 15; John xix. 24; Rom. xi. 31), and that therefore, in the language of the Scriptures, *ἵνα* (in order that) can be frequently used when, according to our view of the divine government, we should have used *ὥστε* (so that). Other passages were not carefully enough examined, or it would have become evident that *ἵνα* was correct, according to the common mode of thinking. In other passages, it was not taken into view that sometimes, on rhetorical grounds, *in order that* is used, which is a kind of hyperbole (*e. g.*, so then I must go thither, *in order to* bring on sickness! So then I have built the house, *in order to* see it burnt down!); or, finally, that *ἵνα* expresses only the necessary consequence (founded on the regular course of nature and of life) which he, who does something, designs as if unconsciously." On the phrase *ἵνα (δπως) πληρωθῆ*, &c. he remarks, "*It cannot be doubted that this formula, which was for some time translated *ita ut* (so that), has the stronger meaning, *in order that it might be fulfilled*, in the mouth (as of the Jewish teachers, so) of Jesus and the apostles. Their meaning was: *God has predicted that this should be done; therefore, as the divine prophecies are true, it could not but occur.*" So Olshausen, De Wette, and others. The first remark of Weiner's we deem specially important for the correct interpretation of the Scriptures.*

apostles, when describing important events in our Saviour's life, could employ the above formula, and say "all this was done, in order that the Scripture might be fulfilled." We do not deny that the word *fulfill* is sometimes used in the New Testament in a wider signification than this. It *may* have been used, even as we sometimes use it, in the way of accommodation. Our Saviour, addressing the scribes and pharisees, says: "Ye hypocrites, well did Isaiah prophesy of you." Matt. xv. 7. Here, perhaps, the original prophecy had no particular reference to these scribes and pharisees, only as their hypocrisies made it specially applicable to them. Again, in Matt. xiii. 14, Christ says: "In them (the multitude to whom he had been speaking) is fulfilled the prophecy of Esaias, which saith," &c. The apostle Paul makes application of this same prophecy, many years later, to the Jews of Rome. Acts xxviii. 25. In the commencement of the 78th psalm, which recounts the marvellous deeds which Jehovah wrought when he brought the Israelites out of Egypt, the poet says: "I will open my mouth in a parable; I will utter dark sayings of old." This is not properly a prediction, and yet Matthew remarks, that on one occasion Jesus spake to the multitude only in parables, *that the saying of the prophet might be fulfilled.* Matt. xiii. 35. See also Matt. ii. 17. A word or two now in reference to these "accommodations."

To our mind it appears evident that the Saviour, the apostles, and the New Testament writers generally, have discovered more of Christ and the gospel in the Old Testament than we should naturally have supposed. It would seem that, in their view, everything in the ancient Scriptures (to speak in general terms) pointed to Christ, and centered in him. Everything without him was imperfect and deficient, and hence must needs be *filled out*; that is, fulfilled in him and by him. Everything was thus preparatory to, and predicted of Christ. The inspired prophet who opened his mouth in parables was an imperfect representative of him who spake as never man spake. The paschal lamb whose bones should not be broken, was a prophetic symbol of the Lamb of God slain as a sacrifice for our sins. The infant Israel, adopted by Jehovah as his first born son, and called out of

Egypt, Hosea xi. 1, was a type of God's only begotten and well-beloved Son.* As all the Scriptures had reference to Christ, so in him *alone* must they be fulfilled. They could not even be *accommodated* to any other individual. Many persons, doubtless, have been crucified whose bones were not broken. Many children of God, doubtless, have been called out of Egypt; but the apostles could never have represented these and many other Scripture passages as *fulfilled* in any other individual than Christ. By some such view as this we shall be enabled more fully to understand the interpretation of the Old Testament by Christ and his apostles. We shall see that even the accommodations which they made of the Scriptures were, in an important sense, fulfilments of prophecy. We may call all this fanciful, but whether it be so or not, we cannot doubt that the apostles regarded these fulfillments, generally, as actual accomplishments of real prophecy.† And is not some such view as this both reasonable and correct? Is not the entire Old Testament, as even De Wette affirms, a great prophecy—a great type of Him who was to come? Is there not “in all the Scriptures” a looking toward Christ and his great salvation? Is not the sum of its teachings this: a Saviour is to come? Is there not a thick and impenetrable “veil” of obscurity resting on the Old Testament, unless, indeed, it is done away in Christ? And hence may we not term the entire Old Testament a *protevangelium*, the primal gospel? And in this gospel, which testifies of Christ, and reveals in all its parts so many things concerning

* Some biblical scholars, however, e. g., W. L. Alexander, of England, deny any reference to this passage in the New Testament.

† “That the opinion of the apostles, and of our Lord himself, in regard to miracles and prophecy, has been altogether changed and distorted by disputations of this sort (by *philosophizing*, instead of simply *interpreting*), must be conceded. . . . If the apostles were eye-witnesses, who could not be deceived, and have narrated all events and circumstances just as they occurred, and if our Lord was such as he is described in the New Testament, and such as adversaries themselves concede him to have been, then those interpreters surely act without consideration, who explain their language in such a way as to make them subject either to reproach, on account of fraud, or to correction, on account of error; who make Jesus either a juggler, deceiving the people by his arts (for no fraud can derive an excuse from the *intention* with which it is committed), or else a *vain-glorious man*, who boasts that this and that which the prophets have uttered without meaning (*ελεγκῆ*), has not only been fulfilled in himself, but was also *primarily* spoken in reference to him alone.” See article by J. A. H. Tittman, on the “Causes of forced interpretations of the New Testament.”—*Bib. Repos.* 1881. p. 489.

him, must we not, as Christian interpreters, expect to find Christ often therein? It has been said of Cocceius, that he finds Christ everywhere in the Old Testament; and of Grotius, that he finds him nowhere. Certainly, were we called upon to side with one or the other, we must take our stand with the former.

But this view of things, it may be objected, will lead to allegorizing and to "double senses." If it necessarily leads thither, our reply is: very well. Even double senses may not be the worst things in the world. In fact it were well if interpreters had always limited themselves to that number. Besides, do not all Christian interpreters attach a kind of double sense to much which is recorded in the Old Testament; for example—to the curse pronounced upon the serpent and upon Adam and Eve and the promise given them? or, coming down to later times, to much which is said in the prophets respecting David, Zion, Jerusalem, Israel, &c.? But whether this be so or not, it is acknowledged that *types* have a *double reference*, and it cannot be shown that prophecies *may* not have.—They *must* have it in some instances, or much of Scripture fulfillment, we conceive, is reduced to mere rhetorical accommodations. We believe there is a *divinely intended correspondence* between the old covenant and the new, and that certain declarations and prophecies of the Old Testament have from their nature, and were designed to have, a two-fold reference—a reference to something near at hand and inferior, and to something more remote and exalted.* We find this two-fold reference in many of the prophecies of the so-called Pseudo-Isaiah, chapters 40–66. Like two diverging rays falling upon an inner and outer concentric circle, so these prophecies, looking beyond the seventy years of Jeremiah and the seventy heptades of Daniel, embrace in one view both the deliverance from exile

* Bengel in his *Gnomon N. T.*, thus remarks: "Sæpe in N. T. allegantur vaticinia, quorum contextum prophetarum temporum non dubium est, quin auditores eorum ex *intentione divina* interpretari debuerint de rebus jam tum presentibus. Eadem vero *intentione divina*, *longius prospiciens*, sic formavit orationem, ut *magis proprie deinceps ea convenirent in tempora Messia*, et hanc intentionem divinam Apostoli nos docent, *nosque dociles habere debent.*"

by Cyrus and the greater deliverance to be effected by Christ. We find a two-fold reference in Nathan's prophecy to David, 2 Sam. 7: 12-16. This prophecy is several times referred to in the Psalms, (*e. g.* 89: 3, 4, 19, seq.; 132: 11,) and forms the basis of very many of the succeeding Messianic prophecies. No one can doubt that Solomon is referred to in this prophecy, nor can any one who yields entire deference to the teachings of Scripture doubt that reference is also had to one "greater than Solomon." That the New Testament writers discover a fullness of meaning in this prophecy which could not be exhausted in the person of Solomon, but only in the person of David's greater son, is fully evident from such passages as Acts 2: 30; 13: 23; Luke 1: 32, 33; Heb. 1: 5. A similar reference, we think, is also to be found in the 16th Psalm, a portion of which is interpreted by the Apostles Peter and Paul in the New Testament. Perhaps it may be well for us carefully to examine this Psalm in connection with the interpretation given, that we may the better understand the character of Messianic prophecy, and the true principles of Messianic interpretation; for this whole subject is attended with peculiar difficulties, as all who have paid much attention to it will allow, and as is further evinced by the tomes and volumes written on it and by the discordant theories which are therein advocated. We have, in the words of the Apostle Peter, without doubt, the same explanation of this psalm which only a few days previously he had heard while journeying to Emmaus from the lips of Christ himself.

First let us look at this psalm apart from any reference to the New Testament. It professes to have been written by David, who appears also to be the speaker throughout and to speak concerning himself. The position of the writer seems to be one of difficulty and danger, and hence he appeals to God for succour and declares his confidence in Him. In the latter part of the psalm he expresses a joyful assurance that he shall obtain the victory even over death and the grave, and a fullness of bliss in God's presence for ever. The psalm thus has a general affinity with many others in which the feelings of the suffering and afflicted righteous are portrayed. It bears especially a striking resemblance to the

psalm which follows. The closing verses of both, it will be observed, express substantially the same thought. The psalm is located amid others of the same general character and of the same authorship. If now we explain this psalm "according to the laws of interpretation common to all other books" (than the Bible,) as Professor Stuart would have us do, we shall undoubtedly refer all its parts directly and exclusively to its author, David. The contents of the psalm will not forbid our doing this; nay, if explained by "*the laws of human language employed in its ordinary way*" we must do this, though the difficulties which lie in our way were greater than they are. In the first seven verses, however, there is nothing which is not entirely applicable to David. The reference to him in the remaining verses is indeed more difficult, especially if they are understood *literally*. But we must remember that our author is a *poet*, and that much of his language is naturally figurative and even hyperbolic. Besides, in the reading of the 10th verse there is a variation in the Hebrew manuscripts, and we might with De Wette, Hengstenberg and others, translate it: "Thou wilt not abandon my soul to Hades nor suffer thy *holy one* to see the grave." In this and the closing verse the psalmist gives utterance to a confident hope of endless life and blessedness beyond the grave. Should any one however deny this reference to a future life, then these words might be compared with the declaration of the heathen poet, Horace: "*Non omnis moriar,*" &c.

Let us now transfer ourselves to Jerusalem, and listen to the discourse of Peter on the day of Pentecost. He is quoting from this very psalm, but his words, as they reach our ears, are taken from the Septuagint version and not from the original Hebrew. However, the Greek version in this case very accurately expresses the sense of the original. Having quoted the last four verses of the psalm, he then proceeds to its interpretation:—"Men and brethren, I may freely speak unto you of the patriarch David, that he is both dead and buried, and his sepulchre is with us unto this day. Therefore, being a prophet, and knowing that God had sworn with an oath to him, that of the fruit of his loins according to the

flesh, he would raise up Christ to sit on his throne; he seeing this, before spoke of *the resurrection of Christ*, that *his soul* was not left in hell neither *his flesh* did see corruption." See Acts 2: 25-36; the *locus classicus* of Messianic interpretation. A new world of light and thought now opens to our minds—*David speaks concerning Christ and his resurrection*—But how is this? for it appears rather strange. Could not Peter have put David's words into the mouth of Jesus by way of accommodation? Might not Matthew or John, after speaking in their gospels of the resurrection of Christ have added: "All this was done that the Scripture might be fulfilled; 'Thou wilt not leave my soul to Hades nor suffer thy holy one to see corruption?'" And then we might say: these words of the Psalmist serve very happily to express the fact of the Saviour's victorious resurrection from the grave? But no, he must give up the accommodation theory in this instance. There is too much of point and speciality in Peter's discourse to allow of this. Besides, the Apostle Paul has advanced the same interpretation of this psalm. In language stronger even than that of Peter, he says: "Wherefore," (in proof that God hath raised up Christ from the dead to die no more,) "he," (i. e. *God*, by the mouth of David,) "saith in another psalm: Thou shalt not suffer thine holy one to see corruption." Acts 13: 34-37. If then we will not acknowledge the authority, nor assent to the interpretation of the Apostles, we at least must say with De Wette: "The Apostles here assume a direct prophecy, which, however, cannot be recognized by the historical interpreter."

We return once more to our psalm. We have learned from the lips of inspired Apostles that David, in this psalm, speaketh concerning Christ and his resurrection. David, then, must have been divinely inspired to foreknow the future. Peter describes him as a prophet who foresaw what should happen to Christ. He says in another place, that the Holy Ghost spake by the mouth of David; and our Saviour affirmed that David spake in the Holy Ghost. Compare 2 Sam. 23: 2; 1 Sam. 16: 13. Christ also declared that there were things written concerning himself in the *Psalms* as well as in other parts of the Old Testament, and by his subsequent

remarks implies, that these things have reference to his sufferings and his rising from the dead. We will then again examine this psalm, keeping in view its particular reference to Christ. We see nothing, however, in the first seven verses which is *specially* applicable to Christ. Indeed these words in the mouth of the Saviour seem far less appropriate than the first part of the succeeding psalm. Nor does Peter say that David speaks concerning Christ in these verses or *throughout* the psalm, but only in the verses which he quotes, *i.e.* the last four. True, it would be more accordant with our habits of orderly consecutive thought to find but one subject in this psalm, since there appears to be but one speaker; it must be remembered, however, that the Holy Spirit of prophecy seldom follows our logical methods. It is scarcely less forced and arbitrary, as some might term it, to find a change of subject *in* the psalm, than it would be to make the Messiah the speaker throughout, since the psalm, connected as it is with others which have David for their speaker and subject, does yet not give the slightest notice or intimation of such a change. Besides, there are other psalms whose speakers are respectively the same throughout, which yet cannot, *as a whole*, be referred to the Messiah, for in them the speakers make confession of their *iniquities*. See Ps. 40, 41 and 69. This latter psalm especially, has more Messianic passages and is oftener referred to Christ in the New Testament than (perhaps with one exception) any other psalm in the Bible, and yet we hear the speaker saying: "O God, thou knowest my foolishness, and my sins are not hid from thee." In Nathan's prophecy to David, in which so many of the inspired writers have found a reference to Christ, God yet says: "If he commit iniquity, I will chasten him with the rod of men and with the stripes of the children of men." Now certainly we cannot, and we need not, throw away all these portions of Scripture as un-Messianic, nor shall we be led to do so, except through a faulty system of interpretation. While, therefore, we acknowledge that the whole of *this* psalm may be referred to Christ, we yet deny the *necessity* of this exclusive reference.

We come now to the verses quoted by the Apostle Peter.

These we unhesitatingly refer to Christ.* They are far more appropriate for him than for David or for any merely human person. But how then could David adopt such language, and why must it be referred to the Messiah? The Apostles will help us to answer this question in part. Paul simply affirms that these words must be referred to Christ rather than to David, because *they could not be fulfilled* in the person of the latter, "for David," he goes on to say, "after he had served his own generation, by the will of God, fell asleep, and was laid unto his fathers, and *saw corruption*; but he whom God raised again saw no corruption." Peter, however, not only states that David saw corruption, and therefore that these words could not be fulfilled in him, but informs us also how David could employ the language which he did. It was because he was a prophet, and hence foresaw that Christ was the one from his own loins, whom God had promised to establish on his throne, that he could speak of the resurrection of Christ.

This does not explain everything, but it serves to show how David could here connect himself in thought with his greater son, how he could thus become as one with him and lose himself in him, and thus speak in his person; for it is *David* still that speaks. We may also see how the words thus spoken are spoken in truth, not concerning himself, but in reference to the Messiah.

From this representation, it will be perceived that we do not regard the Messiah as the speaker in these verses, much less throughout the entire Psalm. It is *David* that speaks concerning Christ. Hence had he made confession of his sinfulness in the beginning of the Psalm, this to our minds would not at all affect the Messianic character of its closing verses. But it may be objected, if David thus speaks concerning himself in one verse and concerning Christ in the

* In saying this, we do not mean that David, as an isolated individual and apart from Christ, could not appropriate these words *in part* to himself. Doubtless, however, he was aware that the words he employed contained a fullness of meaning which could not be exhausted in himself, and that they could only be *fulfilled* in the person of the Messiah, to whom he felt himself united. But, whether David was fully conscious of this Messianic reference or not, it is certain at least that, "the Holy Ghost which spake by the mouth of David," employed this language with special reference to Christ.

next, and this too, without intimating any change of subject, how shall we know when the Scriptures have reference to Christ? In reply, we would say, we have at least the test and reason which Peter and Paul make use of, namely, *the impossibility of their fulfilment in any other person than the Messiah*. See Acts ii. 29, 34, xiii. 36. We, however, are not left to our unaided reason in determining the Messianic prophecies, since on this point we have not only the instructions of the Apostles, but of our Lord himself.

There are other objections to considering the Messiah as the speaker in this Psalm. It is eminently against the manner of David thus to ignore and forget himself throughout an entire Psalm. His writings are intensely subjective, and hence in them we do not often, nor long lose sight of David, his sufferings, his trust in God, his hopes of deliverance. We, therefore, without hesitation, assign the groundwork and general character of this Psalm to the experience, feelings, and hopes of its author. Besides, if David is the author of this Psalm, and yet *nothing* of David is seen in it, this would seem to establish the correctness of the theory which Hengstenberg advocates and which Professor Stuart combated so vehemently, namely, that "when the divine spirit comes into a man, his own soul goes out of him."* Certainly if this theory be true, David at least, could not often have spoken in the Holy Ghost.

While Professor Stuart would refer this Psalm wholly to Christ,† and others (even in our own land), would refer it wholly to David, Professor Hengstenberg, in his *later* Christology would refer it to neither, nor indeed, to any particular person. According to this learned and excellent author, the subject of this Psalm, as of many others, in which a suffering Messiah is predicted, is the *ideal righteous person*. As now this ideal character is only fully realized in Christ, so in him alone is *fulfilled* that which was declared of this ideal

* Hengstenberg's own statement is, "that the prophets were in an *ecstasy*, in which intelligent consciousness retired and individual agency was entirely suppressed by a powerful operation of the Divine Spirit, and reduced to a state of passiveness."

† See Bib. Repos., 1831, p. 51, *seq.*

righteous one. A serious objection against this theory, in our mind, is that it will not allow of any special, exclusive reference either to David or to Christ. Hence, for example, the psalmist could not have said with reference to Christ, "they pierced my hands and my feet," since, according to our author, "the Psalm has reference to Christ only as embodying the perfect idea of the *righteous man*"—a supposition which would render unsuitable anything having reference *exclusively* to Christ.*

We likewise object to this view of things as altogether *too abstract*, and too little subjective for David's manner. Besides, how can the subject of Psalms 40, 41, 69, &c. be the *ideal righteous* one, when the speaker makes confession of his sins and iniquities? For these and other reasons, we cannot assent to the correctness of this *idealistic* theory.

We have thus endeavored, not so much to develop the Old Testament Christology, but rather to present certain ground facts and first principles respecting it, as they are discovered from the stand-point of the New Testament. It only remains for us to notice an objection which may be urged against the testimony of Christ and the Apostles, as above presented. It is asked, if there are so many things concerning Christ in the Old Testament, why are they not more easily discovered? But is it strange, we ask in reply, that the carnal, worldly-minded Jews, and the self-righteous Scribes and Pharisees of our Saviour's time could not easily recognize their hoped-for national deliverer in the meek and lowly Jesus, and that so few of them responded to the joyful *eurēkamen* of Philip and Andrew, "*we have found the Messiah?*" Is it strange that even Christ's disciples, having lived and breathed so long in the atmosphere of pharisaic Judaism, were slow of heart to understand and *believe* all that the Prophets had spoken? And do we wonder that, to the *blinded* minds of the Jews, the same vail until this day remaineth untaken away in the reading of the Old Testament?

But does this vail rest on any *Christian* minds? Cannot

* See his "Commentary on the Psalms," vol. i. p. 357, *et seq.* Also, vol. iii. pp. 78-81 of the Appendix (English Translation.)

we discover the things concerning Christ in the Old Testament Scriptures? Does not the New Testament pour a flood of light on all its pages? Or has not the Holy Spirit illumined "what in *us* is dark?" There are some persons, doubtless, who can, in their own imagination, suggest some improvements in the character of prophecy, even as there are some who would have made a far different and better world than ours. Ammon, in his *Christology*, gives us, in a single sentence, a specimen of Messianic prophecy, which he deems preferable to all the oracles of the Old Testament put together.* Perhaps, however, the work of prophecy, like that of world-making, is more difficult than, at first thought, we might have supposed. Even now many of the Old Testament prophecies are so plain and explicit that sceptics look upon them as predictions *post eventum*, *i. e.* written after the events had transpired. Had all prophecy, therefore, the definiteness of history, its influence in many ways would, doubtless, be most pernicious. Hengstenberg goes so far as to say, that had the Messianic prophecies possessed this historical clearness their accomplishment would have been impossible; and this certainly, is a conceivable case. It seems to us also that impostors might, in many instances, take advantage of this explicitness of prophecy to practice their deceptions and wiles. It is well for us, therefore, even as an exercise of our faith and hope and love that, with the authors of these prophecies, we have to inquire and search diligently into their hidden mysteries, and that we *wait* for the full comprehension of them until we reach that world where we shall know even as also we are known.

* See the citation in Hengstenberg's *Christology*, vol. i. p. 242 (English Translation.)

ARTICLE IV.—ARCHIBALD ALEXANDER, D.D.

Life of Archibald Alexander, D.D., First Professor in the Theological Seminary, at Princeton, New Jersey. By JAS. W. ALEXANDER, D.D. New York: Charles Scribner. 1854.

BIOGRAPHIES, executed by near relatives, are not usually just portraiture of character. The insensible bias created by natural affection, diverts attention from defects, which may be quite apparent to one who is influenced by no private considerations; or the anxiety which such a biographer cherishes to guard against undue commendation, leads him to withhold praise to which the subject of whom he writes is fairly entitled. Dr. Alexander seems to have been fully aware of this embarrassment in preparing the memoirs of his father. Forewarned of his liability to err, he has avoided these extremes, and has given us a book which will commend itself to every candid mind by the impartiality, accuracy, and fidelity of its statements. He has not, like Dr. Hanna, the connexion and the biographer of Dr. Chalmers, so crowded his narrative with unimportant details and tedious repetitions, that a work which with proper condensation might have been compressed into one book of reasonable dimensions, has been carried through four thick volumes, and these supplemented by a fifth; but he has furnished us with a memoir so well proportioned and concise, and at the same time so unexaggerated and complete, that we could wish nothing supplied and nothing omitted. We willingly pause to pay this tribute to the author of the work before us, because we do not often have the opportunity of bestowing such praise on the writers or compilers of memoirs.

Archibald Alexander was in our view, one of the most valuable men whom God has ever given to our country. He was a Presbyterian; and his life was mainly given to the expositions of such views of Christianity as are pronounced orthodox in Presbyterian creeds or confessions of faith. But he has done so much for the vindication of our common Christianity from the aspersions of its libellers, and was in

many points so zealous and unwearied an advocate of that faith which is dear to the heart of every Christian, that we deem him richly entitled to notice in the pages of a Baptist Review. For more than sixty years he was an humble, laborious and self-denying servant of the Cross of Christ. Whether we regard the abundant pastoral and ministerial duties in which he was engaged up to the fortieth year of his life, or the hundreds of Christian heralds who were sent forth under his pious and effective training, at a more mature period of his career, to proclaim the glad tidings of salvation; or the numerous contributions which he made to the Christian literature of the day, we find him constantly putting into operation trains of hallowed influences whose extent and value can be ascertained by no human means of admeasurement.

Dr. Alexander appeared upon the stage, in a section of the country and at a period of time peculiarly needing the instructions of an evangelical ministry. He was born in what is now known as Rockbridge county, Virginia, in 1772. When he began his career as a preacher, in 1791, there were large districts of country in his native State, in which the people rarely heard a sermon of any kind; whilst much of what was called preaching, could only be so termed in the exercise of the most enlarged charity. Coming forward at such a time and with such eminent qualifications for usefulness, he appears to have been one of those men most unequivocally indicated by Providence for the accomplishment of a great work.

The preceptor who had the principal direction of his early studies was a man who united the vocations of schoolmaster and preacher, so common in the early history of our country, when the churches were few and feeble. To Mr. William Grahame, his first teacher, Dr. Alexander was often heard to acknowledge himself to be under peculiar obligations. He gave his mind a wise direction, at a most important period, and inculcated habits of thought which were of unspeakable value in all after life. It is often supposed that a teacher of inferior talents and attainments is fully qualified to instruct youth in those rudiments of learning which they must master

before they can advance to studies of higher dignity. But an instrument so tender and impressible as a youthful human soul, should be touched with a skilful hand. The tones which are then awakened may continue their reverberations forever.

When he was but seventeen years of age, the subject of our memoir was thrown upon his own resources. A tutorship in the family of a Virginia planter having been tendered to him, it was accepted. In this new position he had ample leisure for cultivating his mind and storing it with useful knowledge. Being obliged to give instruction in the classics to advanced students, it became necessary for him to review his school studies and to acquire critical habits, which he had not previously formed. It was to the necessity thus imposed upon him, that he ascribed that familiarity with the Latin language for which he was afterwards so remarkable.

In the family of Gen. Posey, his employer, the young preceptor became acquainted with a Mrs. Tyler, a pious lady, who was a member of the Baptist church. This lady appears to have taken a very deep interest in the spiritual condition of the young tutor, and to have held repeated conversations with him on religious subjects. The biographer, with his accustomed candor, does ample justice to the influence which this lady exerted upon his father. It is probable that she was the instrument employed by Providence in arresting the attention of the young teacher, and in fixing his mind on those great truths which subsequently led him to the Cross of Christ. Among other expedients to which she resorted for drawing his mind to serious reflection, she was in the habit of requesting him to read aloud religious books for her benefit. On one of these occasions he was powerfully impressed by a sermon which he read from Flavel. Says the narrative :

The discourse was upon the patience, forbearance and kindness of the Lord Jesus Christ to impenitent and obstinate sinners. As I proceeded to read aloud the truth took effect on my feelings, and every word I read seemed applicable to my own case. Before I finished the discourse, these emotions became too strong for restraint, and my voice began to falter. I laid down the book, rose hastily, and went out with a full heart, and hastened to my place of retirement. No sooner had I reached the spot than I dropped upon my knees, and attempted to pour out my feelings in

prayer; but I had not continued many minutes in this exercise before I was overwhelmed with a flood of joy. It was transport such as I had never known before, and seldom since. I have no recollection of any distinct views of Christ; but I was filled with a sense of the goodness and mercy of God; and this joy was accompanied with a full assurance that my state was happy, and that if I was then to die, I should go to Heaven. This ecstasy was too high to be lasting, but as it subsided, my feelings were calm and happy. It soon occurred to me, that possibly I had experienced the change called the new birth.

The emotions induced by reading this sermon, proved however, to be transient. For a few days, he tells us, that he guarded against everything which he knew to be wrong; "but in a short time, when the temptation presented itself, he transgressed as before." It was evident, notwithstanding, that the spirit of God was at work with him. His convictions returned from time to time, often with increased pungency. His mental exercises were protracted, and at times most painful. Once he had concluded that he could not possibly be saved, and that he must submit, as best he could to the righteous decision which condemned him to eternal death. It was not until several months had elapsed, and he had resigned his tutorship and returned home, that he obtained that view of Christ, as the Redeemer of sinners, by which he was enabled to look to him for salvation. As no part of the history of a good man is more important than that which records the great change by which he is made a new creature, we shall give in Dr. Alexander's own words a brief account of his conversion :

Mr. Mitchell began to enumerate the high privileges which I had enjoyed in my visit to Prince Edward, and said he hoped I had received abiding impressions from the many powerful sermons I had heard. I answered deliberately that what he had remarked about my privileges was very true; but that however great the means, they had proved of no avail to me: I had not yet in any degree experienced those convictions without which I could not expect to be saved, and that being now about to leave all these means, I had that day come to the conclusion that I should certainly be lost; that I knew it would be just, and that I had no one to blame but myself. To which he answered, that no certain degree of conviction was prescribed; that the only purpose which conviction could answer was to show us our need of Christ, "and this," added he, "you have." He then represented Christ as, an advocate before the throne of God, ready to undertake my cause, and able to save to the uttermost all that come unto God by him. A new view opened before me at this moment. I did feel that I needed a Saviour, and I knew that Christ, as an advocate was able to save me. This mere probability of salvation, after having given up all hope, was like the dawn of morning upon a dark

night; it was like life from the dead. These new views affected me exceedingly. I was like a man condemned to die, who is unexpectedly informed that there is a friend who can obtain a reprieve. I was unable to say anything. My tears prevented utterance.

The mental exercises of Dr. Alexander, in passing from death unto life, supply another illustration of the great difficulty which many persons experience in determining the time of their renewal. After the clear and satisfactory illumination just mentioned, we find the young convert again relapsing into such darkness and doubts as to induce him to question seriously whether he had been changed. In this vacillating state of mind he passed several months; sometimes almost rapturous in the manifestations of divine favor, and again oppressed with the most painful uncertainty as to his spiritual condition. Near the end of his life he believed that his conversion occurred when a tutor in the family of Gen. Posey. We have frequently met with persons who have suffered no little disquietude because they were unable to refer to any particular date as the period in which they experienced converting grace; whilst we have heard others confidently asserting their acceptance with God, on the ground of certain operations of which they were the subjects at particular seasons, and which, in their judgment, could have been no other than a divine work. Both of these classes may be in error. The apprehensions of the first are unnecessary, if they have reason for believing that now, as penitent sinners, they rely upon the righteousness of Christ and are diligently following true holiness; the confidence of the latter is presumptuous, unless they are daily "bringing forth fruits meet for repentance." The best evidence that any one is born of the spirit, is derived from the fact that in his life he bears the fruits of the spirit.

Hardly had Mr. Alexander made a profession of his faith before he was called upon to pray and to exhort publicly. It was customary in those days to urge young converts, indiscriminately to take a conspicuous part in religious assemblies. Young and obscure persons were thus drawn into public view with the intention, it was said, of committing them more decidedly to a religious life. But the ill effects of such a course were often apparent. Many became puffed up,

and subsequently fell away. Inflated with vanity, they were seeking the praise of men rather than the praise of God.

It was the design of Mr. Alexander, shortly after making a profession of his faith, to enter Princeton College. The requisite preparations were completed, and he was about leaving home for this purpose when, under the advice of an influential friend, his plans were changed. His delay seemed to be providential; for on the very day succeeding that on which he proposed to leave home, he was prostrated with a fever, which confined him in great suffering and peril for several weeks. His case for a time was pronounced desperate; but God had a work for him to do, and he was raised from the bed of sickness. Having recruited his health by a journey to the Springs of his native State, it became necessary for Mr. Alexander to choose some vocation to which his life should be devoted. He was fond of agricultural pursuits, and was strongly inclined to spend his days in the peaceful and salubrious employments of husbandry. But there were convictions upon his mind with regard to the ministry of which he could not divest himself. Friends, of whom he was in the habit of seeking counsel, earnestly urged upon his attention the duty of preaching the Gospel. The result was, that he directed his studies with a view to this work. Anxious to begin the study of theology with some method, he desired the direction of his former preceptor, the Rev. William Graham. The account of his interview with this original and powerful thinker is very striking. As we believe that the advice which it contains is quite pertinent to our own times, we shall quote the account, as recorded by the subject of the Memoir before us.

Accordingly I went to Mr. Graham, with a request that he would direct my studies. He smiled and said, "If you mean ever to be a theologian, you must come at it not by reading but by thinking." He then indicated the way of taking our opinions upon the authority of men, and of deciding questions by merely citing the judgments of this or that great theologian; repeating what he had just said, that I must learn to think for myself, and form my own opinions from the Bible. This conversation discouraged more than if he had told me to read half a dozen folios. For as to learning anything by my own thoughts, I had no idea of its practicability. But it did me more good than any directions or counsels I ever received. It threw me on my own resources, and led me to feel the necessity of disciplining my own thoughts and searching into the principles of things.

In the autumn of 1790, Mr. Alexander being then in the 19th year of his age, was induced to present himself to the Lexington Presbytery, as a candidate for the ministry. The Presbytery very cordially encouraged him to proceed with his studies: at the same time authorizing him according to the fashion of those days, to exercise his gifts as opportunity presented, before receiving the usual license which was granted to preachers. At the instance of his friend, Mr. Graham, his debut was made at a place called Kerr's Creek. Referring to this performance, he says:

Although I did not know a single word which I was to utter, I began with a rapidity and fluency equal to any I have enjoyed to this day. I was astonished at myself, and as I was young and small, the old people were not less astonished. From this time I exhorted at one place and another, several times every week. It was still a cross for me to hold forth at Lexington; and after efforts, unsatisfactory to myself, I often suffered keen anguish of spirit from various causes. At other times my heart was enlarged, my feelings were lively, so that I found delight in the utterance of the truth. At that time I seldom followed any premeditated train of thought; the words which I first spoke generally opened a track for me, which I pursued.

It is interesting to read in his own language this description of the earliest efforts of a man who subsequently became one of the most eminent pulpit-orators of America. Whilst we are far from holding up for imitation the example of one who "seldom followed any premeditated train of thought," and who depended upon the first words which he uttered to suggest those which were to succeed, we would also dissuade from an opposite extreme which forbids the utterance of any thought which has not first been diligently studied, and then embodied in the most precise and finished terms which the writer can command. Discourses of the former class may be diffuse and desultory, but gushing forth in all their freshness from the depths of the spirit they will often produce the deepest impressions where more polished rhetoric would have fallen powerless on the audience.

Having passed a few probationary months as an exhorter, Mr. Alexander was invited to preach before the Presbytery with a view to a license. His performances were quite satisfactory, and a license was accorded. Being now invested more fully with the ministerial prerogative, he thought it necessary to be

more careful in the preparation of his discourses. Preaching on one occasion at Charleston, with his notes lying upon the Bible before him, a puff of wind suddenly carried his manuscript into the midst of his congregation. He was so much mortified by the occurrence that he determined at the time to take no more paper with him into the pulpit; and to this resolution he adhered most strictly for twenty years.

From the date of his license, Mr. Alexander was a most laborious and successful preacher. During a greater portion of the time for several years, he was engaged as an itinerant minister to the destitute sections of Virginia. There being very few ministers in the country at the time, and still fewer of those who could be deemed evangelical, our young preacher performed very extensive circuits. It would be impossible to estimate the good which he was the means of accomplishing in these journeys. Crowds hung upon his burning words, wherever he went; seals of his ministry were apparent in many places; everywhere God's people were edified and comforted and the impenitent converted to Christ. To uncommon natural endowments for an orator, Divine grace had added a heart glowing with love to the Saviour and to the souls of men. The discipline to which he was necessarily subjected in his missionary tours was admirably adapted to develop those endowments which he had received both from nature and from grace. Appearing constantly before new congregations who assembled from various parts of the country, eager to hear what the youthful evangelist might say; stimulated by the decided and uniform success which appeared to follow every sermon; preaching sometimes in the open air, and sometimes in the rude church; sometimes in the town and again in the most sequestered retreats, he enjoyed very uncommon advantages for increasing his zeal as a Christian and his power as an orator. Rev. Dr. Hall, in a sermon on the death of Dr. Alexander, speaking of these circumstances of his early ministry, says :

It deserves to be noted by all ministers and candidates, that one of the chief external means by which Dr. Alexander attained what are often called his inimitable excellencies as a preacher, was his spending several years after license and ordination in itinerant missionary service, preaching in the humblest and most destitute places, often in the open air, and

adapting his language and manner to minds that needed the plainest kind of instruction. It will be a good day for the ministry and the church, when the performance of such a term of itinerant service shall be exacted as a part of the trials of every probationer before ordination.

We have in the memoir an interesting account of the manner in which the preacher made his preparations for these occasions. Although he eschewed notes, he did not as in the first instance of public exhortation, depend upon such thoughts as occurred without premeditation.

Some of the sermons which I most frequently preached during my ministry I studied out this winter, without putting pen to paper. Indeed I had no opportunity to write sermons. The houses in which I lodged had but one sitting-room, and I remained but a short time at any one place. The necessity of thus composing in the evening and morning where I lodged, or as I rode along the way, proved a good discipline, as it accustomed me to close thinking and to going over and over the same train of thought.

We are aware that it is very fashionable at the present day to decry the use of notes in the pulpit and to insist upon extempore discourse. Some good brethren have ascribed the low state of piety in the churches and the comparative inefficiency of the ministry to the practice of reading sermons. Much that we hear upon this topic is mere declamation. An eminent minister being asked which method preachers should employ, replied that they should be able to use all known methods for communicating truth. There is sound wisdom in the remark. It is folly to prescribe any particular plan as the best for all. A minister should possess such command of his pen as to be able to commit his thoughts to writing with facility. Practice should enable him to read his manuscript with fluency and effect. When necessary, he should be able to deliver memoriter what he has carefully pondered in his mind or committed to paper—a practice adopted by some eminent ministers both in Europe and in our own country. As he is liable to be called on at short notice, he should also be in the habit of speaking after a premeditation more or less careful as circumstances permit. The man who writes much will find that the practice of composition increases his power for extempore speaking; whilst the custom of extempore speaking, by promoting readiness of expression, enables one to write with greater ease. “*Oratoris optimus magister stylus*

est," (we quote from memory) said Cicero; and the truth of his declaration is abundantly confirmed by experience. Whilst ministers who would be "workmen needing not to be ashamed," should be able to employ these various means for the delivery of their messages, let each one adopt as his common practice that method by which he can be most successful. As a general rule we would earnestly recommend the plan of merely mental preparation pursued by Dr. Alexander. It will be found true, ordinarily, that a man who has *thoroughly studied* his subject and depends upon the moment *not for his thoughts*, but for the mere structure of his sentences, will speak more effectively and with more interest to his hearers, than the man who comes before them merely to repeat what has been prepared in the closet. His style may be wanting in that precision and energy which would have been attained by the careful construction of each sentence, but his method will secure other excellencies which such construction might have impaired. But to many minds this seems to be very difficult if not impracticable. Had Dr. Chalmers been divorced from his paper, it is said that he would have been vastly more powerful as a preacher. We doubt it. Dr. Chalmers himself tried the experiment repeatedly and faithfully and could not be satisfied. Reading, as a general rule, was undoubtedly the method for him. Had Robert Hall been required to read such sermons as he published on *Modern Infidelity*, and the death of the Princess Charlotte, they might have been praised for their beautiful composition, but they would not have moved his hearers as when they fell in extempore language from his own warm heart and glowing imagination. Extempore preaching was surely his best method. In like manner we recommend to every preacher whilst cultivating every known method for the expression of thought, to pursue as his general habit that course by which his own experience tells him that he can convey the truth most forcibly to the minds of his hearers.

Having been ordained a short time subsequent to his license, Mr. Alexander accepted invitations from several churches in Virginia to become their spiritual guide. We say from "several churches," for it was then a common practice

in that country for a minister to have the charge of four congregations; giving to each church one Sabbath in the month, and riding during the week many miles in visiting the people and reaching his different appointments. This state of things though very undesirable, seems to have been unavoidable, owing to the deficiency of ministers and the sparseness of the population. The young preacher enjoyed the same success after his labors were confined to a few congregations, as when performing his missionary tours. Like President Davies, who had preceded him in the same kind of service, he attained an influence and usefulness as a preacher which was surpassed by no man in the State. About this period the Presidency of Hampden Sidney College having become vacant, the attention of the Trustees was directed to Mr. Alexander as a suitable man for the office. This institution was chartered in 1783, having been founded chiefly with a view of educating young men for the ministry. As the field now presented afforded a better opportunity for personal improvement, whilst it promised an extended sphere of usefulness, it was accepted. But the preacher was not merged in the instructor. Mr. Alexander continued to preach regularly to several churches in the neighborhood of the institution.

It was about the year 1799, during his Presidency of the College, that Mr. Alexander was "almost persuaded" to connect himself with a Baptist church. His exercises on this subject were most anxious and protracted; and we must be permitted to say that if the youthful President could have resisted the Scotch bias which he doubtless inherited in favor of Pedo-Baptist views, and could have brought to the investigation his accustomed candor, he would have been altogether persuaded to adopt and to practice the ordinances of the Gospel in their purity. The occasion of his difficulties upon the baptismal question is not mentioned. In the autobiography which he wrote when advanced in life, he remarks, when referring to this subject:

About this time, I fell into doubt respecting the authority of infant baptism. The origin of these doubts was in too rigid notions as to the purity of the Church, with a belief that receiving infants had a corrupting tendency. I communicated my doubts very freely to my friends, Mr. Lyle and Mr. Speece, and found that they had both been troubled by the same.

We talked much privately on the subject, and often conversed with others, in hope of getting some new light. At length, Mr. Lyle and I determined to give up the practice of baptizing infants until we should receive more light. This determination we publicly communicated to our people, and left them to take such measures as they deemed expedient; but they seemed willing to await the issue. We also communicated to the Presbytery the state of our minds, and left them to do what seemed good in the case; but as they believed we were sincerely desirous of arriving at the truth, they took no steps, and I believe made no record.¹ Things remained in this posture for more than a year.

Here we have the record of the struggles of three pious and intelligent Presbyterian ministers on the subject of baptism. How can we explain these troubles? No controversy of which we are informed had occurred in which some able advocate of Baptist views had presented the subject in a new light. The only Baptist book (so far as we know), which they had been reading, was the Bible. And yet these three ministers, without a knowledge of each other's trials had all been perplexed on the same subject. Nor was it a temporary disturbance of their repose produced by some superficial cause and disappearing after a brief interval. The anxiety and suspense were protracted. "Things remained in this posture for more than a year." How strange, how almost impossible, that the minds of three persons, two of whom were among the most gifted and learned men which the Presbyterian Church in this country has produced, should have been simultaneously and without concert induced to doubt the soundness of Pedobaptist views, unless there were something in the sacred Scriptures calculated to awaken this suspicion in their minds. Nor are these extraordinary instances. We believe that there are multitudes of Pedobaptists at the present day, whose consciences are burdened on this subject. We are acquainted with not a few regular communicants in Pedobaptist churches, who constantly refuse to have their children baptized and whose refusal does not subject them to the censure of their churches. Scarcely a week passes which does not chronicle the renunciation of Methodism, Presbyterianism, or some other phase of Pedobaptist views, by a minister whose convictions of duty compel him to join a Baptist Church. If all those members of other denominations who sympathize with Bap-

tist views of the ordinances of the Gospel, believing them to be sound and scriptural, and believing with Mr. Alexander, that "receiving infants into the church has a corrupting tendency," should reduce their convictions to practice, the world would begin to think that the time was at hand when the Saviour's prayer for the unity of his people was about to be answered.

But how were our three ministers relieved from their difficulties? Of Mr. Lyle, the biographer says nothing. Mr. Speece was so fully persuaded of the correctness of Baptist views, that in the language of the memoir,

One Sunday morning he went to a Baptist meeting, held within two miles of the college, and without having given notice of his intention, was there re-baptized by immersion. On his return home, he seemed much satisfied with what he had done. The Church soon licensed him to preach, and he began to go about the country with his Baptist brethren.

We regret to add that Mr. Speece subsequently returned to his original connexion. The peace of conscience which he enjoyed after obeying Christ, might properly have been taken by him as evidence that he was in the path of duty, and might well have encouraged him to persevere in keeping those commandments which supplied so great reward. But why did not Mr. Alexander forsake a practice which he believed to be of corrupting tendency, and identify himself with those who were earnestly resisting this very practice? We have his answer in his own words :

Two considerations kept me back from joining the Baptists. The first was that the universal prevalence of infant baptism as early as the fourth and fifth centuries, was unaccountable on the supposition that no such practice existed in the times of the apostles. The other was that if the baptists are right, they are the only Christian Church on earth, and all other denominations are out of the visible church.

And is this all? We confess we read with surprise the statement that such considerations should have restrained an eminently good and great man from repudiating a dogma which is well described as "the pillar and ground of popery," and from connecting himself with the people who were earnestly contending for "the faith which was once delivered to the saints." If the prevalence of infant baptism in the fourth or fifth century be a conclusive evidence that

the practice existed in the apostolic churches, then every other corruption which disfigured the church in these centuries and which claimed to be derived from the Word of God, has the apostolic sanction and should now be practiced. And if the practice of the fourth and fifth centuries be apostolic why not the practices of the sixth and seventh or of the tenth and eleventh or of any century? Suppose Dr. Alexander had discovered that in the fourth and fifth centuries the doctrine of the Trinity was unknown, the doctrines of Faustus Socinus being universally received, or that the doctrine of the Restorationists was then generally held, would he on this account have concluded that the apostles were Socinians or Universalists? And yet, to act consistently with the first reason which restrained him from a church connexion with the Baptists, he would embrace these heretical views.

The second reason which he urges for not joining the Baptists is, in our view quite as unsatisfactory as the first. "If the Baptists are right, they are the only Christian church on earth, and all other denominations are out of the visible church." Now we think that if the Baptists are the only Christian church, this would have been an excellent reason why our inquirer should have identified himself with them. If they be the only church who observe the ordinances of the Gospel in their purity, award them all the honor to which such fidelity entitles them. But says our objector, "all other denominations are out of the visible church." Well! be it so. Is this impossible? Is the creed of the majority to be made the test of orthodoxy? Are we to conclude that the party in politics or in religion which is in the minority cannot be right? In the second term of Washington's administration, when France declared war against England, a large majority (perhaps nineteen-twentieths) of our citizens believed that we were bound by every consideration of gratitude to a former ally, as well as of just resentment against a former oppressor, to make common cause with France. But Washington dissenting utterly from the popular view, issued his proclamation enjoining the strictest neutrality. For this act, his great previous services could not save him from the

severest denunciations. His proclamation was called a royal edict, a high-handed usurpation of authority, and Mr. Genet, the French Minister, was encouraged by the people to set the message at defiance. Were Washington and the small party who acted with him necessarily wrong, because they were so decidedly in the minority? On the principle which kept Mr. Alexander out of the Baptist Church, Washington was wrong; but a few years convinced the whole country that he was wise in resisting the popular clamor. The remnant, (seven thousand men), who had not bowed the knee to Baal, were in the prophets' day, the only true people: all the rest were idolaters. The latter were greatly in the majority, but this should not have restrained one seeking the truth from joining the "remnant." The position of parties whether as to numbers, influence or standing, or any other question, should have no weight with us in determining our duty with regard to the ordinances of Jesus Christ. But does it necessarily follow, that if the Baptists are right, all other denominations are out of the "visible church." This depends very much on the meaning which we attach to the phrase. In one broad and comprehensive sense we claim and we love to claim a union with all who truly love the Lord Jesus Christ, and whose works of faith and zeal, however much we dissent from their views of church ordinances, prove them to be the people of God. We hail them as coadjutors in the service of Christ and as fellow candidates for the rewards of the pious. But what, after all, is this "visible church?" We should like to see a good definition of the phrase. It would be as difficult to produce one which would satisfy all parties, as it was to make terms for an "Evangelical alliance!" We entirely concur with a judicious writer,* in thinking it

Surprising that a clear head and warm heart, like Dr. Alexander's, should have been in this dangerous fog of a visible church. Any one who is resolutely bent on having a visible church in this world, that comprehends all the faithful, is on the high road to Romanism, at least in principle. Where a command of Christ is explicit, it is a poor resort to hide from it, behind this vague conception of a visible church.

* Rev. J. B. Kendrick, of Charleston, S. C.

Such were our author's reasons for not joining the Baptist church. When men of such acknowledged mental powers and earnest piety can urge no better considerations than these for not becoming Baptists, we surely have reason for feeling more than ever confirmed in our convictions that our principles are in accordance with the revealed word.

But let us follow our perplexed inquirer. For more than a year he has been in anxious doubt. By what process is he relieved at last? Let his own words tell us: "I determined to begin anew the examination of the subject, and to follow the evidence I might discover to whatever point it might lead me." Excellent determination! Worthy of the man and of the subject! But where did he begin this examination? Did he go to the "law and the testimony?" Did he first apply to that "Word which is truth," which is the only reliable "light to our path," and "which is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for *correction* and for *instruction in righteousness*." Surely this was the right place to begin. In the controversies held by Dr. Alexander, in later years with the Romanists and Prelatists, he began here. With this authority he should have begun now; and its decisions should have been conclusive. He should have begun and ended with Revelation. But this, we regret to say, was not his starting point. He says, "I began with the historical proofs of the early existence of this practice (infant baptism). At the beginning of the fifth century, infant baptism was undoubtedly universal!" Thus was he wrong in the commencement of his inquiries; and the premises not being legitimate it is not surprising that the conclusion should be incorrect. On this principle we should be under the necessity of subscribing sundry dogmas which have been long ago repudiated by the whole Protestant world.

But even in his historical investigations our inquirer was often confounded. Reaching the time of Tertullian, who flourished about the close of the second century, he finds a pious and learned Father denouncing infant baptism, and offering evidence to show that the innovation was just then introduced. Instead of receiving this testimony, he evades it by an argument very similar to that by which he was de-

tered from uniting with the Baptists; he could not think that Tertullian was right, and all the supporters of infant baptism were wrong. Following his investigations, he is at last plunged into the dark. The earliest Fathers are completely silent upon the subject. Having inquired of human testimony until it ceases to speak, what course does our inquirer next pursue? Is he now driven, from the utter absence of historical proofs, to turn from the traditions of men to the inspired fountain?

Here, says Dr. Alexander, I was brought to a stand; and though I had laid it down as a principle from which I would not depart, to receive no doctrine or practice for which there appeared no foundation in the Holy Scriptures. I had come to a state of mind, in which it appeared much more *probable* that it had its origin with the apostles, than that it had been privily brought in afterward. I was prepared to examine the Scriptures without any *bias against the doctrine*.

Can any one be surprised that our inquirer, having persuaded himself, by human testimony, of the "probability" that "infant baptism had its origin with the apostles," should find something in the Scriptures which he should interpret into a sanction of the rite? Precisely in the same way the Papist, whose church teaches him the doctrines of Transubstantiation and Purgatory, can discover these heresies in the sacred Scriptures. What is more common, when a man makes his creed from extraneous sources, and then applies to the Bible for some confirmation of his views, to find much which, in his judgment, is directly to the point. He who, with an unprepossessed mind, asks simply, "What do the Scriptures teach?" will ordinarily reach a very different result from him who searches the Bible in quest of something to sustain a cherished hypothesis. The advocate who consults his books solely for the purpose of ascertaining what the law is on any given subject, will be much more apt to place a faithful construction upon that law, than if he consulted the statutes in the hope of discovering something which might be propitious to the cause of his client. But, singularly-enough, Dr. Alexander tells us, after having "reached a state of mind in which it appeared probable that infant baptism had its origin with the apostles," he then considers himself "prepared to examine the Scriptures, without any bias

against the doctrine." And is not a bias on one side just as unfavorable to the discovery of truth as a bias on the other? You have already told us (see autobiography on page 47), that you "had a strong predilection for the way in which you had been educated;" and was it not under the influence of this "strong predilection," that you were led to begin your inquiries where Rome begins her investigations, and might not your mind have been so much warped by this "strong predilection," and those patriotic testimonies, as to be in a condition very unfavorable for the examination of the inspired Word. In your 'Evidences of Christianity,' now open before me, you give some capital advice as to the method which men should pursue in learning their duty from the Scriptures. You tell us that every one should "come to the interpretation of the Scriptures with an unbiassed mind, and in the exercise of a sound judgment, and with the aid of those rules and helps which reason and experience suggest, to obtain the sense of the several parts of the document; and although this sense may contradict our preconceived opinions, or clash with our inclinations, we ought implicitly to receive it, and not by a refined ingenuity and labored critical process to extort a meaning that will suit our own notions. This is not to form our opinions by the word of God, but to cut down the sublime and mysterious doctrines of Revelation to the measure of our own narrow conceptions." To all of this we say, amen. Had you discarded all other evidence for infant baptism, save that which is found in the Bible, we think you would have concluded with some eminent Pedobaptists of the present day, that the practice is not found in the word of God.

Having thus persuaded himself of the legitimacy of infant baptism, and the manner of administering the ordinance, Dr. Alexander settles it by a very summary process. "As to the mode of baptism," he says, "I hold it to be a dispute about a very trivial matter." This is the state of mind in which his inquiries as to the just administration of one of Christ's ordinances was commenced. With such a beginning, we are not surprised that he should have reached a conclusion which was entirely agreeable to his early predilections." His introductory postulate is as illegitimate, when he discusses the

"mode," as when he considers the subjects of the ordinance. We are far, very far from deeming it a trivial matter, whether the injunctions of Jesus Christ are observed in accordance with his directions, or agreeably to human preference. We must hold that he only is baptized who complies with the command of Christ *as he gave that command*. Our charity is not large enough to recognize any application of water as baptism. We know of but one way. If our Presbyterian friends are correct in their practice, we, who are known as Baptists, have yet to comply with the command of the Saviour in regard to this ordinance. But what is the conclusion, when the premises are given that the dispute about the mode is "trivial?" "So far," he says, "is it from being true, that all baptisms mentioned in the New Testament, were by a total immersion of the body, it cannot be proved that this was the mode in a single instance." We are not, with the premises before us, at all surprised at the conclusion. Error begets error. He who takes a wrong path at the beginning will end much further from the truth than when he began. The editor of the memoir before us has not recorded the process by which this result was reached. He simply says in connection with the foregoing remark, "Here follows an argument on this head which would not fall within our plan." We are glad that the argument is suppressed, for we do not think that it could have added anything to the reputation of the illustrious deceased. Dr. Alexander, in the conclusion at which he arrives respecting the "mode of baptism," is as much at variance with the learned and pious men of his own denomination and of other Pedobaptist communities, as he is with the tenets of Baptist churches. Dr. Macknight, Dr. Wall, Dr. Campbell, Dr. Adam Clarke, Dr. Chalmers, together with Calvin and Luther and a host of others whose learning and piety have made them "burning and shining lights" in the church, all admit that the "prevalent style in the Apostles' days was by immersion," that "immersion was the ancient mode of baptism," &c., &c. Dr. Alexander joins issue with his own brethren. When conducting his investigations as to the subjects of baptism, historical testimony was deemed reliable; had he appealed to this testimony on the question of

the mode, he would have ascertained that not only in the "fourth and fifth centuries the practice (immersion) was universal" but that it continued to be the "prevalent style" for thirteen hundred years. The corruption of the ordinance of baptism both in its mode and subjects, sprang from the corruption of Popery. It was "*Papa*" who first taught that it was lawful *in some cases* to depart from the ordinance as prescribed in the word. Having believed that it might be lawful in some cases, men were prepared to believe that it might be lawful in any case. We have not space to examine as we could wish Dr. Alexander's position on this subject. Indeed it is unnecessary. In almost any one of the thousand pamphlets which the baptismal controversy has evoked, the reader may find a triumphant refutation.

In 1801 Mr. Alexander resigned the Presidency of the College, and the pastoral charge of the churches to which he had been ministering. His object was to extend his acquaintance by making a visit to the northern States. The scenes and incidents of this tour form a very interesting portion of the memoir before us. It is always entertaining and instructive to hear from an intelligent observer his impressions of persons and places which are new to him. It was on this journey that Mr. Alexander met that gifted lady who subsequently became his wife. Rev. Dr. Waddel, celebrated as the blind preacher of Wirt's British Spy, and the Rev. John Todd had each invited him to attend the communion of their church. The trivial circumstance that the upper road by Dr. Waddel's seemed to be better, decided him to accept his invitation instead of Mr. Todd's. Here while spending a day or two he was so much impressed with the appearance of Janetta Waddel, as well as with her daughter-like deportment towards her aged parent, that before he left the house an engagement of marriage had been formed between them. Proceeding on his journey he arrived at Philadelphia in time to be present at the session of the Presbyterian General Assembly which convened on the 21st of May, 1800. Here he made the acquaintance of Dr. Jonathan Edwards, Dr. Green, Dr. McKnight, and the Rev. Samuel Miller, afterwards Dr. Miller, with whom he was so long associated at Princeton. From

Philadelphia he went to New York, thence into the New England States where he became acquainted with Drs. Strong, Hopkins, Patton, Emmons, and sundry other notable divines of that day. In Boston he met the Rev. Henry Kollock, who was afterwards settled in Savannah, Georgia, and was one of the most remarkable pulpit-orators of the country. He describes Mr. K. as "one of the most affectionate men he ever knew. His heart seemed to be forever overflowing with kind feelings." Speaking of the eagerness of the Bostonians to hear Mr. Kollock, he observes, "Poor Kollock was almost torn to pieces in the anxiety to secure his pulpit-services which was something new in Boston; for in composition and delivery he followed the French school, and having an impassioned manner he produced an extraordinary impression upon his audience." When in Boston he relates an amusing incident which befell him :

Dr. Morse took charge of me for the most part. He conducted me to the commencement and introduced me as the President of a College in Virginia. At my first arrival there was a laughable mistake about this Presidency. I had never intended to mention my connection with a college and I knew that Hampden Sidney was perfectly unknown. But Coffin had told Dr. Burnet that I had been President of Hampden Sidney, and Burnet in introducing me to Dr. Eckley, had written it Campden Sidney. This letter Dr. E. showed to Dr. Morse, and the American geographer was non-plused. He had never heard of the college. There was no way to clear up the difficulty but by applying to me. But by this the matter was little mended; for Dr. Morse in his geography had represented Hampden Sidney as nearly extinct. My honor as a President was not therefore very flattering. All titles of this sort, however, go for much in New England, and I was often placed before my seniors and betters.

Attending commencement at Dartmouth College, he made the acquaintance of the father of Daniel Webster, and heard the commencement speech of the latter. "Little dreaming of his future career in law, eloquence and statesmanship, he pronounced a discourse on the recent discoveries in Chemistry, especially those of Lavoisier then nearly made public."

Returning to Virginia, he married, resumed his duties as President of the College and as a minister of the Gospel. In the year 1806 there seemed to be considerable turbulence and insubordination among the students of the College. Whilst fretted by the restlessness of those whom he was obliged to govern, he received an invitation from a church in Philadel-

phia. He made a visit to this city, and then accepting the call of the church he took up his residence there. At this period his biographer thinks that he was in the zenith of his power as a preacher. His son says of him :

In subsequent years, and even to the close of his life, he recurred to these years of ministry in Virginia with fond emotion. They were connected with his most animating labors and most visible success. He never could cease to lament the loss of that peculiar warmth and cordiality which belonged to Southern Christians ; and he was often heard to say, that although he believed he had attained greater usefulness by his removal, he had sustained a great loss as to personal and social comfort. In all those things which attracted the observation of the public, these were his best days. An exuberant hilarity made his companionship delightful, as will be readily believed by those who remember the clear, loud laugh even of his later years. The circumstances in which he had grown up in his early ministry, among a number of active and inquiring minds, rendered controversy inevitable ; and we can recall the days in which debates on theological topics were carried to all the lengths of excitement, which are not inconsistent with good nature and Christian friendship. We regard the period we now bring to a close, as that in which, with regard to every important trait and faculty, his mind and character took their form. Wider range of knowledge, richer stores of experience, &c., he may have had with advancing years, but in whatsoever can attract in the man or impress in the preacher, he was just now at a point of culmination.

Dr. Alexander remained in Philadelphia about six years, growing constantly in the affections of his people, preaching, and performing pastoral labors with great success. During his residence here, he was repeatedly importuned to accept various important posts in different sections of the country. One of these was an invitation to the Presidency of the University of Georgia. Though the invitation was declined, Dr. Alexander's influence is felt in the institution to this day. The writer has very good reason for knowing that his invaluable work on the 'Evidences of Christianity' is the text book in which every graduate has been instructed for many years. By it, he being dead, is speaking most forcibly and most eloquently in behalf of Divine truth.

In 1812, when the Theological Seminary at Princeton was organized, all eyes were directed toward Dr. Alexander as the man for the post. The account of his election is so interesting that we subjoin a portion of it.

In the year 1812, the General Assembly, then in session in the city of Philadelphia, resolved to go into the election of a Professor. The Rev. Mr. Flinn, of Charleston, South Carolina, was Moderator. It was unanimously resolved to spend some time in prayer previously to the election,

and that not a single remark should be made by any member with reference to any candidate, before or after the balloting. Silently and prayerfully these guardians of the church began to prepare their votes. They felt the solemnity of the occasion, the importance of their trust. Not a word was spoken, not a whisper heard, as the teller passed around to collect the result. The votes were counted, the result declared, and the Rev. Dr. Alexander was pronounced elected. A venerable elder of the church in Philadelphia, of which Dr. Alexander was pastor, arose to speak; but his feelings choked utterance. How could he part with his beloved pastor? His tears flowed until he sat down in silence. The Rev. Dr. Miller arose and said, that he hoped the brother elected would not decline, however reluctant he might feel to accept; that if he had been selected by the voice of the church, however great the sacrifice, he would not dare refuse. Little did he dream that on the following year he should be called by the same voice to give up the attractions of the city, to devote his life to the labors of an instructor. The Rev. Mr. Flinn called on the Rev. Dr. Woodhull, of Monmouth, to follow in prayer. He declined. Two others were called on, and they declined, remarking that it was the Moderator's duty. He then addressed the Throne of Grace in such a manner, with such a strain of elevated devotion, that the members of the Assembly all remarked that he seemed almost inspired. Weeping and sobbing were heard throughout the house.

Entering upon the post which he had accepted at Princeton, Dr. Alexander addressed himself to his duties with that energy and industry which were so remarkably his characteristics. The number of students, though small at first, constantly increased; when, after a few years "the profiting appeared" of those who had enjoyed his instructions. The Seminary was soon filled up, exerting an influence which was commensurate with the power of the church under whose auspices it had been organized. His position at Princeton afforded him an opportunity for usefulness, superior in many respects to that which could have been commanded in any other position. In the knowledge which he imparted, the habits of thought and of study which he impressed, in the unaffected piety which he illustrated, in all that tends to adorn and to bless the human family, Dr. Alexander is living to-day in the hundreds of his pupils who are now dispersed in various parts of the world, and who are each wielding more or less of moral power. We occasionally hear insinuations thrown out, that Ministers would be more in the line of their duty in giving their exclusive attention to the preaching of the Word and to the performance of pastoral labor in some one congregation. This may be true, as a general rule. But it is not unfrequently the case that by taking

the control of minds who are to give tone to the piety and efficiency of the church, a minister may enlarge immeasurably the extent of his usefulness and influence. Who doubts that the distinguished man of whom we are now writing was the agent of an amount of good in the service of Jesus Christ, far greater than if he had spent his life in the pastoral care of the church of which he had charge in Philadelphia? A name no less respectable than Dr. Chalmers has expressed the opinion, that the chairs of our literary institutions should be filled by pious ministers of the Gospel.

A professorship, he says, (see *Memoirs*, vol. 2, p. 378) is a higher condition of usefulness than an ordinary parish. Some of you think that this holds true only of a theological professorship; but this is your mistake. There are many university subjects which, without being hurtfully transformed, admit of the very strongest impregnation of Christianity. Were there at this moment, fifty vacancies in the church and the same number of vacancies in our colleges, and fifty men to start into view equally rich in their qualifications for the one department and the other, some of you would be for sending them to the pulpits—I would be for sending them to the chairs. A christianized university, in respect of its professorships would be to me a mightier accession than a christianized country in respect of its parishes. And should there be a fountain out of which there emanated a thousand rills, it would be to the source that I should carry the salt of purification, and not to any of the streams which flow from it.

We are far from urging our brethren to enter indiscriminately upon all vacant chairs which may be accessible to them in colleges, or in seminaries, or in editor's studies. Their grand business is to "preach the Word;" for this they were called, and to this they have been ordained. But there are many instances in which ministers may render more efficient service in other positions. The education of our youth in literary institutions as well as in theological seminaries, should be in the hands of those who will, at the same time, teach the knowledge of God; and in no sphere is more piety, good sense and learning demanded, than in that of an editor who is preaching every week or every quarter to his thousands of patrons.

It is an instructive fact that Dr. Alexander's first work for the press did not appear until he had passed his half century. This was his book on the Evidences, which was published in 1823, in the hope of counteracting a sceptical spirit which was at that time prevalent among the young men of

Nassau Hall. This work was issued by the author when he was in the matured vigor of his extraordinary powers, and yet so modest was he, that it was sent forth, we are informed by his son, with trembling. The Evidences thus issued with apprehension, have proved to be one of the most popular and perhaps the most useful of all the author's productions. It has been extensively adopted as a text-book in many institutions of learning; while edition after edition is constantly needed to satisfy the demand for the work, both in England and the United States. The book is not so philosophical as Paley's, nor so modern (if we may use the phrase) as President Hopkins' and others which have appeared; but for simplicity and yet strength; comprehensiveness and yet brevity; profundity and yet lucidness, and for adaptation to usefulness to all classes—the untutored as well as the learned—it has no superior with which we are acquainted in this department. After the publication of the Evidences, Dr. Alexander gave much time to the preparation of works for the press; and, though beginning authorship at so late a period, he lived long enough to produce more than fifty publications, including his smaller works.

There was little at Princeton to break in upon the monotony of a Professor's life. Few positions are more unvarying in their daily routine of work than those of Instructors in Seminaries. The same perpetually recurring duties succeed each other month after month and year after year as successive classes come and depart. Without habits of watchful industry and application, the mind in *such* a situation is in danger of becoming stagnant, or at least of having its ideas circumscribed by a limited range of thought and of study. He was constantly engaged in enlarging the boundaries of his knowledge, in exploring new fields of theological inquiry, and in giving to the world the benefit of his acquisitions. Though he had probably reached his zenith as an effective pulpit orator when he went to Princeton, his progress in learning was marked and rapid, after circumstances afforded him favorable opportunities for reflection and study. He was especially careful in the keeping of his heart and directed no little of his attention to the maintenance and elevation of the

standard of piety in the hearts of his pupils. The Christian was never merged in the instructor; and while preparing the young men of the church for their sacred vocation, he seems never to have lost sight of the value of experimental godliness in those whose great business in life was to point sinners to the only refuge for the perishing. We have before us the points of his introductory lecture, delivered in the year 1819. It was on the 'Importance of vital piety and holy living, in all who aspire to the ministry of the Word.' In this connection he considers the following points:

"1. Live near to God, and seek to enjoy daily communion with the Father of your Spirits.

"2. Keep constantly in view the great end of that office which you seek; and let this stimulate you to exertion in all your preparatory studies.

"3. As students, maintain right feelings and conduct towards one another.

"4. Endeavor to attain and preserve tranquillity in your own souls."

This is a specimen of the manner in which he frequently spoke to the hearts and the consciences of his people.

For thirty-nine years, Dr. Alexander continued to discharge his duties in the Seminary; growing throughout this protracted period in the confidence and affection of the church with which he was connected and of the Christian world. In reviewing his life, there are some questions on which we have been compelled to differ from this excellent man; but notwithstanding these differences, we can join most cordially with the brethren of his own church in thanking God for having raised up such a noble advocate of the truth. We honor his memory. We have been profited, we trust, by his beautiful example of consistent piety; and we have been instructed and strengthened by his admirable defences of christianity; and we have been deeply moved by his eloquent exhortations. Peaceful and beautiful was the close of his extended life.

When approaching his end, he said to his wife, with great tenderness: "My dear, one of my last prayers will be, that you may have as serene and painless a departure as

mine.' Now I understand, as I never did before, what is meant by that promise, 'Thou wilt make all his bed in his sickness.'"

ARTICLE V.—SIN AND REDEMPTION.

Sin and Redemption: A series of Sermons, to which is added an Oration on Moral Freedom. By D. N. SHELDON, D.D., Pastor of the Elm Street Baptist Church in Bath., Me. New York: Sheldon, Lamport & Blakeman, 1856.

A BOOK which can wear these great names on its forehead is dignified by its subject aside from its contents, and at once arrests us. These are "the burdens of the Bible old," the master-ideas of Theology, the great facts of History. They suggest the questions—most serious, most profound—which have a personal and everlasting interest, not for the scholar only, but for the universal soul of man. In them we find more of man and more of God than in all sciences. Nor are they merely scientific; for, high and far reaching, they come closest to all that is most private in every human breast, and because they reach into the foundations and mysteries of life and being, is their interest unailing. The Christian mind of centuries has tried to span them, to penetrate and draw out their contents; and still they remain, unexhausted, if not inexhaustible. Wherefore we welcome every serious, intelligent effort to eclaircise them. They are to be brought into the light of reason, into harmony with knowledge, to be grounded in human conviction and experience. And this is to be accomplished by the contributions of many and various minds; perhaps by diverse and even contradictory theories. For any human explanations at the least we must expect to be incomplete and tentative. No representation yet made can be considered ultimate and exhaustive. No creed is conclusive against possible amendment or enlargement. Truth is cleared sometimes by denial as well as affirmation; is eliminated in contest and contrast: between deficient statement and

excessive statement it has been established. This has been the process of evolution in Christian doctrine. Between the upper and nether millstone it has been ground. Pelagius and Augustine were the complements of each other, it took Arius as well as Athanasius to settle the Nicene doctrine of the Trinity. The partial or false theory necessitates, and often by reaction produces the more sufficient and true one. The truth which is questioned is the truth which is examined, and at last fortified. It is something to have settled what is *not* true; and that cannot be done till it is presented and tried, and thus found wanting. And so when all forms of statement have been tried, and the partial and false discovered and swept out of the way, truth will begin to lay its foundations and come up into the light. And thus the Christian doctrine works itself clear through this very process of contradictions and errors. It is enucleated, not by any single person or age, but as all try their hand upon it, and line after line is drawn and erased, till the fair countenance of Truth shines out at last glorious as her Master's on the mount of Transfiguration. Therefore not without interest we ask, what this book of Dr. Sheldon's has to offer for the elucidation of the great facts which have given it a name.

It has the air of confidence in its own conclusions. There is in the author very little of the distrustful spirit of the seeker. He finds much to deny, and his denials are in a decisive tone, as of a man that is sure of his ground. He is earnest, and his earnestness seems to be the sincerity of conviction. It is consistent with the whole doctrine of the book to enforce always personal responsibility, throwing sin and redemption alike back with awful weight upon the individual.

This is good, though with our conception of Christianity it is by no means *all* the impression which needs to be made, as by-and-by shall be apparent. The book fails, to a surprising extent, to see and acknowledge the real truth contained in every explanation or doctrine of the atonement which has for the time been accepted. It desiccates the poetic element which pervades the Bible and the highest Christian experience drawn from it. It hardly allows the unreflective, unanalyzing mind of common piety to retain the objective symbols into which

it pours its feeling and faith, and which have over the common mind a mightier and deeper because indefinite influence, unless they are explained and reduced to intellectual formulas, and thus vacated of real power. In general, it does not appreciate the truth and life which other minds and the Church Universal have found in the doctrines it denies. It cuts down beliefs, dear and vital to multitudes of pious souls, certainly with no great tenderness, and expects that "partisans in religion, the men of hereditary faith, and the adherents to old creeds and formulas, will, of course, find fault." But its spirit is not illiberal; it grants the freedom it asks; it asserts the sacred right of independence; and herein it has our cordial sympathy. For this we have a sort of natural kindness towards dissenters, and heretics. Though they will not agree with us, though they deny the Christian truth, still they testify against intellectual cowardice, they assert the paramount authority of the very truth they may have mistaken. Liberty has its perils, but for all that let every mind be free. For entire freedom of thought we hold to be not more the now acknowledged right of every man, than it is the highest honor we can pay the truth itself, and the surest guaranty of its safety and triumph. There is an intellectual as well as moral timidity which is always afraid that truth will not take care of itself; that it will die if it is left with nothing to make men believe it but itself. It needs no help alien to its own nature. And we need suffer no pusillanimous fears for it, as long as men are left free to seek it, and it has "the eternal years of God" for its existence and triumph.

With great earnestness, Dr. Sheldon maintains the rights of the free mind. He claims that the soul shall submit to nothing the reason and authority of which it does not itself see and acknowledge:

¹ Moral freedom is a power which is required to bow to no authority and to reverence no law except the law and the authority of which it is itself capable of recognizing the necessity.—(p. 325.)

Thus thrown back upon its own individuality, and virtually left to only such restraints as it imposes upon itself, it seems to us that "the free mind" needs something more of instruction in the conditions, the responsibilities and the dan-

gers of freedom. Though somewhat qualified, it seems to us there is a strong tendency; in the whole course of the book, as well as of the oration on moral freedom, towards an excessive individualism. Man is considered as active rather than receptive. He is separated from the humanity with which he is in organic relations, and contemplated as a simple, self-sufficient individual force by himself. But the fact is, no man is a unit; he is indissolubly linked into a vast system, whose forces, whose actions and reactions affect him as much as his own individuality. He is passive to a universe of forces. Great laws and causes work in all history and all life mightier than any man's will, deeper than any man's consciousness. Nature, when she serves him, is his master still. He cannot rub out day and night. Electricity, gravitation, hot, cold, moist and dry he uses; but it is only after their own stiff, unalterable nature, and they use him after all. And so in the higher world of humanity. Life is everywhere conditioned. It flows between banks not of our making. History is not an unlinked chain; it is a process of organic development. It is a stream, and all its drops run into to-day. The past is in this present instant, in each man of us, with compulsive and inevitable power. There is a collective man as well as individual man; humanity as well as you and I; and, therefore, unconditional independence is not a fact, if it is a right. To attempt it is a folly. The wise man has no silly affectation of beginning *de novo*, and accepting nothing which is not original and all his own. He does not break from the past, for he has learned that knowledge, like history, is a growth. As he finds language here when he is born, so he finds truth: both the growth of the collective mind that ever survives the individual. He is free to use both, and have nothing which he does not originate himself; but he can save his freedom, and yet have a larger originality, and a surer and further progress, and a richer possession, by jointing his mind to this universal mind, and proceeding from its conclusions. Truth is evolved, unfolded; it does not leap at once complete, as Minerva out of Jupiter's head, unbegotten, unbegetting. As the ancients said, she is the daughter of Time. Genera-

tions, and ages, and the whole human mind bring it forth ; uncleaned, perhaps, and it is not for the individual mind to disown it. Take it, and wash it, and adopt it, for it will honor and serve you at last. In this very matter of theology, we say it is a perversion of all freedom, it is only a childish freedom, to ignore and disparage the beliefs and theologies of the church for eighteen centuries. Has the Christian mind of all these ages worked over these problems and produced no respectable, even in some sense, authoritative result ? There is a truth which has linked all these centuries, all churches and regenerate souls in one, which has been always imbedded in Christian consciousness, held *semper et ubique*, answering in its universality to Cicero's grand eulogy on the Law of Nature,* a truth which the collective Christian mind has drawn out of the Bible. It has been the unwritten belief and spiritual life of the church ; it has also been scientifically developed in confessions and theologies : the unwritten worth more than the written. It is granted that a desiccating process goes on, and will, so that these beliefs and theologies slough off their transient and sometimes ugly skins ; but the substance of doctrine remains, and our religious life, and our theological opinion, must be very much conditioned by this past life and belief of the church. They must flow out of that. The individual mind needs something out of itself, some road to get into, that its freedom may not be utterly barren, as it wanders and loses itself on tracks where it would never venture if it kept in view what the human mind has attempted, and in some correspondence with the truth it has already found, and always held. The individual mind rectifies, as our German cousins say, orients (*orientiren*) itself, partially, by these conclusions of the general Christian mind, as ultimately by the objective Revelation in the Divine Word. And so in all things, "the free mind" is to learn its limitations and the conditions under which freedom is health and progress. It cannot cut the thread of connection with what has been, and is, without sacrificing what is worth

* Nec erit alia lex Romæ, alia Athenis, alia nunc, alia post hac, sed et omnes gentes et omni tempore una lex et sempiterna, et immutabilis continebit, unusque erit communis quasi magister et imperator omnium Deus.

more than independence—freedom dissipating itself into boundless vagary and unproductiveness. It may fly towards the moon at “its own sweet will,” but the puffed balloon cannot fly out of the atmosphere, it will be blown by its winds; it is still held in the power of the earth it has for a time forsaken, and the aeronaut of reform, most free to fly in his air-lifted scheme must at last, come down to travel in the same train with the rest of the world, free to make it go faster and carry more if he can. And we could wish that Dr. Sheldon had tempered, what seems to us, the excessive individualism of his oration, by giving equal prominence to the other hemisphere of his subject, the necessary laws and responsibilities which environ “the free mind.”

But it is more than time for us to follow Dr. Sheldon from these outposts into his central doctrines of Sin and Redemption. We shall find, indeed, the same formative principle of doctrine at the centre as at the circumference. There is the same atomic theory of man; it is individualism still. Humanity is a collection of wills. Each will is independent; each soul falls by itself. Sin is an act, separate, incommunicable; character is in what man does, not what he is.

We will begin on the surface, with sin as a fact; for first it must be recognized and measured as a fact in human history and life. A feeble apprehension of its extent generally goes with a superficial theory of its nature. But where, with a clear perception of the dreadful evil of its nature in its solitary instances, there is a deep, even painful impression of the amount of moral evil in the world, there will be some corresponding depth of doctrine. Its quantity does not make or alter its quality. But certainly if it were exceptional, and not universal, this fact would at once necessitate serious amendments in the ordinary doctrine in regard to its origin, its consequences, and its remedy. We find in Dr. Sheldon's book the universality of sin admitted, but not very impressively asserted and enforced, as certainly is not necessary in order to meet any exigency in the author's doctrine. He says:

We believe in the universality of sin among such as have reached the age of moral accountability, of independent moral action. We believe, not that they never perform any right actions, but that they frequently, and often quite habitually, perform wrong ones. On this point we have no doubt; we think it confirmed by Scripture, and by the results of all history and of all experience.—(p. 114.)

We look for some bolder expression of this fact, which shall show a spirit penetrated and saddened by the prevalence and ravage of this dread power of wrong in the world. Certainly we shall not unreasonably expect to find in the sermon on the Creation of Man in the Divine Image, that the opportunity will be seized to make practically impressive the contrast between what God made man and what man has made himself; between the universality of the Divine Likeness and the universality of sin, the blot and desecration of that Image. But we find only an inferential admission of the universal sinfulness, or rather an apologetic exclusion of it as impertinent to the subject in hand.—(p. 54.) And the sermon drops into an utterly feeble conclusion :

We remark finally, that all men need—not a Divine regeneration, but —“much and careful instruction!”

However, the fact is acknowledged, that all men sin. And it is a fact to be accounted for. It must shed light upon other and related facts. It is large enough to sustain some inferences in regard to its nature, its origin, its effects, and God's method of dealing with it. The Christian mind has ever persisted in reading back of the fact, to trace its roots in the individual nature, and in humanity. It has refused to cut the race up into fragments, to find the disease in each part, and yet judge that it could be in each separately and self-originated, without some common ground out of which it springs. It has said, there must be some abnormal predisposition to evil rather than good, that evil so uniformly appears, even at the very opening of man's moral consciousness. It has found sin in the world; but it has found the will coming into coincidence with tendencies to wrong which antedate it; first, in the individual nature, and second, in the organic connection of the individual with the race. And if to save human responsibility, it has denied a quality of *guilt* to that which pre-

cedes the act of the will, it has not been able to deny, and we see not how any man can deny these antecedent facts, in which we find a reasonable, and the only satisfactory explanation of the unintermitted occurrence of sin in every human life. The universality of sin is not, by any means, the only proof of a congenital defect, but it is unaccountable without it.*

Dr. Sheldon refuses any inference of constitutional disorder, or natural corruption from this fact of universal sin: if, indeed he would not deny it on any ground. After pronouncing the idea of original sin wholly imaginary, and the term as commonly used, nonsensical, he says:

If, however, any choose to maintain the existence, in the posterity of Adam, of an originally disordered constitution, while yet they allow that in this constitution there is nothing of the nature of sin, this is a point concerning which we neither affirm anything nor deny anything. We certainly know no sufficient reason for affirming such a disordered constitution. Within the limits, however, of freedom and of responsibility, we should be willing to admit a deterioration of the original nature, whenever it can be proved. But we think it no argument for such a deterioration that sin is universal among men. (pp. 124, 125, as also p. 114, *et seq.*)

He locates sin in the will; while all predisposing causes and tendencies sin-ward, which, if they begin outside the sphere of freedom and moral accountability, early come into it, accepted by the will, to become a fund of moral disease and poison. This latency of evil, these propensities to wrong whose roots run back beyond consciousness, beyond birth even, into we know not what past, he disavows any certainty of. Some presumption he finds against such defect and predisposition to wrong in favor of a nature perfectly adjusted at the start.—(p. 121.) But there seems to be something quite difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile, between free will and uncorrupt nature at the start, and the uniform, never-failing fall of each individual of the race into sin, even under the most favorable influences for virtue.† This defect and taint of nature, which may be in part acquired, but is also aboriginal, it seems to us, is a fact just as real and just as manifest as sin itself, in which in every human life it issues. It is a fact which no jealousy for the voluntariness of sin requires us to doubt, as it seems to have led our

* Cf. Müller's *Christian Doctrine of Sin*, II: 298, Edinburgh, 1853.

† Müller, II: 292.

author to do. The will, indeed, makes this dark force, which lies in our nature, sinful by adopting it and linking it, through itself, to moral law. But it did not create it. There it lay a dark potency of evil, which, as it breaks into life, the will does not resist, but takes for its own law. Sin is in the will still—that is true—but so are there currents towards wrong in every human nature, traceable as far back as we can go, against which the will, allying with it reason, conscience, and all energies of God's grace, ought to set itself. This also is true. This perverse quality in human nature manifests itself early, too early and too spontaneously, not to be inherent. It shows itself to observation in our consciousness. For, allowing Dr. Sheldon's plea for the perversities of childhood, as in the nerves and sensibilities, and therefore no sign of a nature in which wrong is already rooted, do we not see in childhood perversities of temper, hate, deceit, selfishness, which are not of the nerves but of the soul, and which differ from the same things in manhood only as the blossom and the apple—the one the beginning, the other the elongation of the same thing, only with a larger sphere and a further unfolding. Says Tholuck, "Let us not deceive ourselves by the narrowness and childishness of the sphere in which the heart of a child moves. That boy who snatches away the meal of his young companions, when he becomes a man, would seize on countries and trample on the rights of nations."* And then, when we go into consciousness, far back as we go, we never find the transition-point where purity ceases and wrong begins. For what Müller says of the will is true of the whole nature, voluntary and involuntary. "If there were at the very *porta* of our conscious existence, such an *individual sin-fall* as the stepping forth of the will out of a state of pure indecision into a sinful decision, as a subversion of the course of development which up to that point had been normal, this dark deed with the nightly shadow in which it envelopes our entire life, would form the irremovable background of our memory. But who is able to say definitely when, and how, he,

* Guido and Julius, p. 121. Boston, 1854.

for the first time, acted in contradiction to his awakening moral consciousness?" "Sin does not first of all *originate* in him, it only *steps forth*." *

And so we go back of consciousness and out of it, out of the individual, and it seems to us that this fact of moral perversity, a crook of the normal rectitude of nature, a potency for evil, native and anterior to conscious sin, in which it is developed and prolonged, is involved not only in the universality of sin and its spontaneous eruption as from a latent disease, but also in the continuity, solidarity of the race, its organic life, whether by natural generation or spiritual transmission, in virtue of which one generation runs into another, the sin of one becomes the sin of many: idolatries, sensualities, lies are posthumous and reproductive. Moral qualities, like any others, are inlaid in this organic life. Not the color of the Malay's skin alone, but his Malay temper descends. Physiologic qualities, language, which is both physical and spiritual, and far as we go into the inmost nature, all human qualities survive the individual, and continue and spread. The elements of character are transmissible, and all personal qualities, through this organic connection of man with man and generation with generation. Now, it seems to us, absurd to expect each creature to derive bare existence from its ancestry, from natures death-struck and out of all moral harmony, and yet take no color or taint of moral obliquity with it. Says Dr. Sheldon—(p. 119):

Whatever is propagated, begotten and born, is mere being or nature, never moral character, which results from moral action.

"Mere being or nature," without qualities, capacities, ineities† of good and evil, is absurd.

"Moral character results" from many causes prior to consent or choice, and among them the inherent and derived dispositions towards evil within as they concur with similar objective tendencies. In an honorable anxiety to vindicate the personal responsibility of each individual for his own sin (which is clear enough), it is not necessary to dismiss the facts which

* II., 77, 290.

† Innèité, Leroux Encyclopedie Nouvelle.

seem almost as clear of the moral damage humanity has suffered, and that her damaged nature reproduces itself. To conciliate pravity of nature with entire personal responsibility for individual character and sin, may not be easy; but relief is not to be found in saying with Dr. Sheldon

We certainly know no sufficient reason for affirming such a disordered constitution.^o

He can by no means agree then with our author in his doctrine in regard to the connection between the fall of Adam and the moral condition of his posterity. Into his interpretation of Romans v. 12-19, we cannot and need not enter. As Olshausen says: "each man interprets it according to one of two theories which he holds—the dynamic or atomic."

Adam fell, and therefore in the very nature of things we begin at a moral disadvantage. We begin, not as he did, but on a lower plane, where he sunk. No nature is insulated from the race. The first moral development of each man is a wrong one, for it is in the line of the descent which Adam begun. "In Adam all die." In no unintelligible sense, we were in Adam. Adam "the old man" is in us, a corrupt part, an imminent "body of death." Consciousness, analogy, history, Scripture declare it.†

^o Regeneration, by E. H. Sears, American Unitarian Association, Boston, 1853, pp. 13, 64. A book which read in connection with Dr. Sheldon's, rather confuses one's ideas of theological geography.

† The doctrine of original sin as taught by evangelical Protestants generally is a legitimate inference from the universality of actual transgression. But this is not the sole source of proof. The Scriptures are full of it and no fair interpretation can void the doctrine from the numerous passages we might adduce. Redemption too by Christ, and Regeneration by the spirit suppose it. These latter doctrines, as expressed in the symbols of Christ's churches must fall with original sin. The denial of this leads to the denial of them. If man has not lost original righteousness and inherited a tendency to evil we need no Christ—we need no Holy Ghost. Hence, as Dr. Sheldon denies original sin we are not surprised to hear him say,—“that all men need, not a Divine regeneration, but much and careful instruction.” Such denials and substitutes as these of the author under review, we cannot receive. They contradict our views of Scripture, our reason, our experience, the voice of God, people in all ages, and render null that which is our only solace. True, the doctrine of original sin is attended with difficulties: but not perhaps insuperable ones. Yet, if it were, the fact is too legible to be rejected. Our doctrine was developed by Augustine; but it is older than he. It is native in the Scriptures. It was held and taught by the "angelical Doctor" in the thirteenth century. It was the doctrine too, of the Reformers. Nor is it now, nor do we believe it ever will be, an exploded dogma. The following is the subscribed view of Luther, Melancthon, Zwingle and others "Credimus quod peccatum originale sit nobis innatum, et ab Adamo in nos propagatum. Et quod sit tale peccatum, quod omnes homines damna-

It seems to us that Dr. Sheldon in refusing the extravaganzas,—as Coleridge calls them—of Dr. South and many other writers in regard to the exalted state and angelic faculties of our first parents has really reduced them very low, so that the fall is a very common and every-day affair. He says:

They began with nothing but their bare nature. They had in their own nature, in spite of its well-adjusted state, all that was needed to draw them into sin. pp. 64, 66.

But what is "bare nature?" It is "well-adjusted"—an *imperium* in which sense, reason and will have their right places and work harmoniously, and the tendency of the whole nature is right. Certainly it will require some force to shake it out of joint, and revolutionize its Divine adjustments.

But is it certain that Adam started with "bare nature," an undeveloped germ of infancy, cast out upon nature just as bare? Is it quite conceivable that there was *no* maturity of body and mind? The use of the senses, language, judgment, the power already developed of labor and self-sustenance, are there denied? or did he begin from "bare nature" and acquire them through years of experiment?

Again, is there any evidence that he fell at the start out of "bare nature," and not out of a life that had run on indefinitely in the course and habit of virtue?

And, again, is "bare nature" all? There was the Adamic nature, but did not a grand spiritual objective surround it, and flow in with unobstructed current of influence?

God was there in light and love; "a presence that could not be put by." And if He exerted no supernatural constraint, was there not in the natural dependence and communion of Adam's sinless condition, something to fortify his virtuous beginnings, and hold him from that fatal fall? But what followed the fall, into what condition was Adam brought? Already we have seen what has followed in the race. Neither in him or us, as Dr. Sheldon maintains, is there any es-

tion! obnoxios, faciat. Ita, quidem, ut nisi Jesum Christum nobis sine morte et vita subvenisset, omnes homines propter originale peccatum damnati fuissent, nec in regnum Dei, et ad aeternam felicitatem pervenire potuissent." The Augsburg confession on this point is "Peccatum originis habet privationem originalis justitiæ, et cum hoc inordinatam dispositionem partium animæ; unde non est privatio, sed quidam habitus corruptus." These are the views of Baptists in the present day.—Eds.

sential change, any numerical loss of faculty. He carried out of Paradise the capacities he carried in. Therefore he lost the Divine Image only as he broke its harmony. It lost its proportion, but not its parts. The flesh and the spirit, sense, reason, conscience, will remain; but the relation of each is so distorted, inverted, that God looking down into human nature, if he sees through the breaks and faults his Image, sees not his likeness, but often that of the demon.* Regeneration is not the insertion of any new substance. Indeed, as we have seen, a dark and heritable potency for evil lying in human nature, and getting the start in its moral development, so may there lie by its side the capability, the potency of redemption waiting for the touch of Divine Power to quicken it, and through it the whole soul "into newness of life?"

From the death in which the Bible sums the consequence of sin, our author eliminates that which is corporeal, and denies that the present law of mortality has any connection with sin. Against it he urges the immediacy of the penalty;† that all other physical conditions of their life were apparently the same as now; that it was implied in the very sentence of labor and sorrow for life, that life was limited; and that Christ did not come in an immortal body, or to save men from corporeal death,‡ and yet he strangely qualifies his doctrine in one sentence, by saying:

* In the text of the Second Sermon—"And God said, Let us make man in our own image, after our likeness," the Early Fathers maintained a distinction between *εικων* and *ομοιωσις* for which see Synonyms of the New Testament, by R. C. French, p. 77.

† In accounting for the fall of Adam, Dr. Sheldon says, (p. 67.)

"A first sin would not necessarily draw after it a second, a third and others; but as it would involve a triumph of appetite and a weakening of conscience, and thus an impairing of the defence against future sins, these might easily follow."

On this ground *when* did Adam fall? Was not the fall in the will, in its *first* deflection from God? Did not *one* sin answer the ends of the trial, and show a will dis severed from God? Yet the author urges as against natural death being in the penalty, that the Divine veracity would be compromised if the sentence were not literally and instantaneously executed, and says: "There was a general truth in the original penalty, though individual in its form and application. This truth is, that every transgressor of Gods law *shall die, in the day and hour of his transgression.* His sin *at once* changes his condition, and so avenges itself upon him. A part of the punishment may be delayed; but the beginnings of it in the soul take their date from the sin."

The last sentence is not far different from the position our author so strongly impugns, that physical death *began* to take effect with the sin, and that the rest of life was mortal and a process towards death.

‡ Is there no sense in which Christ "abolished death?"

I contend only that sin did not introduce the law of corporeal dissolution, or some corporeal change, through which the soul mounts up to a higher life.

Surely "some corporeal change," equivalent to death, and yet nothing like it, was possible had man continued sinless. What would have been the order of life in the world without sin is, perhaps, quite outside of our knowledge. That life here would have been interminable is quite improbable. The presumption is altogether for a transition; that what is now accomplished by the violent methods of death and resurrection would take place without them. This was the doctrine of Anselm.* This was also the conception of Augustine, that "Adam was created mortal, but not liable to death," the body being spiritualized and glorified without any violent process.† "As the spirit chose, of its own accord, to forsake God, so must it now forsake the body also," instead of keeping it through all stages of its spiritualization. This essentially was the doctrine of Jeremy Taylor.‡ And it is an altogether natural presumption.

But, disallowing any such objective alteration in the form of death, and allowing, as we are not forced to do, that the law of all other animal natures applied to man, the head of the animals, and differenced from them by a spiritual nature, upright and deathless, and that he, like them, would have been remanded to dust had no sin intervened, the subjective difference is great enough to warrant our including natural death in the consequences of sin, if not in its penalty. Sin has made death to be death, and not transition and orderly development—the darkest, and worst, and last catastrophe of our outward life, as it is the emblem and the name of our direst spiritual calamity; so that literally and truly it can be said, "By one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin." "Dying, thou shalt die," was the original sentence of God against sin; and, therefore, we cannot join with Dr. Sheldon in ejecting natural death from the consequence, and hardly with Harris§ from the penalty of sin.

* *Cur Deus Homo* ? cap. III, p. 90, Erlangen, 1884.

† Prof. Schaff, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 18, 226.

‡ Hitchcock's *Religion of Geology*, p. 95.;

§ *Man Primeval*, p. 178.

Other questions rise out of this part of the author's doctrine, but too short a space have we left for his theory of redemption. It is the complement of his doctrine of sin. It has the same radical defect; only here, in our way of conceiving Christianity, voiding redemption to a greater degree of what is vital in it. For, if it is the tendency and the distinct effect of Christianity to separate each soul into an unshared individuality, arraiging it by itself as a personal, responsible creature before God, this is only half of its doctrine or power; for its very purpose is not to dissever, but to join. Its method is mediation, communion, participation, faith; not independence and self-culture. The fundamental idea of Christianity is mediation, and redemption through that.* It is literally and truly, as our author says, at-onement. But this is not in some outside and merely reconciling way. It is really and vitally union with God in Christ. Character, life, grow not out of some root in us, but out of us rooted in Christ, who is one with the Father. Christ *in* me, I *in* Him. This is the Christianity of the New Testament.

Now, the formative principle of this book is widely, if not totally, different. It nicely divides between objective and subjective, while, as matter of fact, they are one in the unity of life. It makes life and character individual, incommunicable, untransferable, untransmissible. No soul is saved except in virtue of what is in itself:

His righteousness was available for himself as a being made under law, and for no one else. This personal righteousness of the Saviour—and it is the only righteousness which he ever had or could have—can obviously never become the righteousness of any other being. Why should any one speak of himself as having his righteousness. (p. 169)? . . . We must not forget that salvation is always an internal fact. A man is not saved any further than he is made truly right or righteous; his salvation must be, in a word, himself purified and saved; his righteousness must be himself made righteous. There is, there can be, no other saving righteousness than this. (p. 171). . . You have seen how *utterly groundless* are the theories which represent the sins of men as imputed to Christ, and the righteousness of Christ as imputed to believers. (p. 182).

Now, we will not stick for words; words are temporal, ideas eternal. As poetry has said with the truth of philoso-

* Ullman's *Essay on the Distinctive Character of Christianity in the Mystical Presence.* By Dr. Nevin.

phy, "Words are men's daughters, but God's sons are things." There is an idea under these words, imputation, transfer, as under all the terms of the old theology, most real and true. Redemption comes by union with Christ, the Mediator. It is a union vital and organic, such as of vine and branch. Now, what does it imply? Instead of there being no such thing as communication, or transfer, or transmission of moral qualities, this is exactly the process of Christianity, renovation by reception of, participation in, assimilation to Christ,—draft upon his fulness. He is the entire objective element in the life of the Christian; and all life is the union of subject and object in one. Verses without number, and in all modes of figure and suggestion, and assertion, are summed in that one which is the substance of Christianity,—At that day ye shall know that I AM IN MY FATHER, AND YOU IN ME, AND I IN YOU. BECAUSE I LIVE, YE SHALL LIVE ALSO.

So that it is not so much imputation as identification. And thus we stand, not by ourselves, or on our own merits, but in Him, and with all the advantage there is in being in Him, and clothed with His righteousness, not our own; the advantage not alone of good already received and appropriated, but of the whole fund, the infinite, everlasting righteousness there is there, "that we might be made the righteousness of God in Him." For he not only works holy effects in us by impartation, making us righteous: but by imputation also, or closer still by identification, we have the advantage for all moral purposes of that righteousness to which we are joined, and which constructively is ours, in virtue of our union to Him in whom it is. For there is not only Christ in us, vitally appropriated and incorporated into our spiritual feeling and character, but it is the complement of the objective Christ which is also ours. The two are one, and this is our refuge and our peace, our reliance and our rest.* And this too, in our view, is the guaranty of our

* Stung with conscious guilt, and the sword of injured justice drawn to smite us away from the heavenly kingdom, we are ready to sink in utter despair, when the bleeding Lamb of God arrests our attention. We look, and live. From the cross there comes over us a quickening power—a new element is imparted—life, eternal life, begins. We joyfully take Christ as our

purification and pardon, not in our wills and works, but that we may so utterly escape them, holding and possessing by faith a life and redeeming power, not of us, and yet ours, with which we become free of sin, its law, and its doom.

This makes the gospel a gospel for such as are weary and sore, broken in sin and helpless against it; for it gives them some objective power to which they can unite their souls in faith, and hanging them upon God in a Mediator, find in Him *their* wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and redemption. And thus would we assert this doctrine of imputation, which our author has thrown away, holding it as our union and identification with a Divine Mediator, in virtue of which we share and receive what is in Him, "faith being counted for righteousness," our being, and character, and privilege enlarged by junction with Him, finding in Him what can be

sacrificial offering, assured that He has taken us as His purchased possession. We throw ourselves forward upon His merits, as our only hope, and feel that He throws over us the spotless robe of His mysteriously wrought righteousness. "We love Him because He first loved us." Our justification is complete; our righteousness none can gainsay. We are now united to Christ as the branch to the vine. We live by faith in the Son of God. Here, and here alone, is the safety, the hope, the defence. The great Calvin has well remarked on the doctrine of imputation, "What is it to place our righteousness in the obedience of Christ, but to affirm that hereby only we are accounted righteous? because the obedience of Christ is imputed to us AS IF IT WERE OUR OWN."

President Edwards very justly says:

"I would explain what we mean by the imputation of Christ's righteousness. Sometimes the expression is taken by our divines in a larger sense for the imputation of all that Christ did and suffered for our redemption, whereby we are free from guilt, and stand righteous in the sight of God; and so implies the imputation both of Christ's satisfaction and obedience. But here I intend it in a stricter sense, for the imputation of that righteousness or moral goodness that comes by the obedience of Christ. And by that righteousness being imputed to us is meant no other than this, that that righteousness of Christ is accepted for us, and admitted, instead of that perfect inherent righteousness that ought to be in ourselves. Christ's perfect obedience shall be reckoned to our account, so that we shall have the benefit of it, as though we had performed it ourselves; and so we suppose that a title to eternal life is given to us as the reward of this righteousness. The Scripture uses the word *impute* in this sense, viz., for reckoning anything belonging to any person to another person's account, as Philemon, 18, 'If he hath wronged thee, or oweth thee ought, put that on mine account.' In the original it is *τουτο εμοι ελλογει*—*impute that to me*. It is a word of the same root with that which is translated *impute*. Rom. iv., 6, 'To whom God imputeth righteousness without works.' And it is the very same word that is used in Rom. v., 13, that is translated *impute*. 'Sin is not imputed where there is no law.'"—Edward's Works, London Edition, Vol. 1, p. 635.—Eds.

in us only from Him, the peace of our disturbance, the law and rectifying force of our wills, the reversal of our doom. And such doctrine we would show to have its analogy in all nature and life, only that the inexorable Atropos of the press waits to cut the lengthened thread of our discourse.

We turn, with entirely inadequate space left, to the other side, where Christ is "made to be sin for us." Dr. Sheldon refuses all theories of transfer, whether of guilt or punishment, or equivalent sufferings, or of governmental expedients for satisfying public justice, and offers for his own, that Christ was made sin by being brought into connection with it, by suffering opposition and death from sinners, adding thereto, seemingly, as an after-thought (p. 175), his loving and intimate sympathy with men in this condition, with the possibility that he may have also "achieved an important work in the spiritual world between his death and his resurrection;" all this working its effect in men, and producing repentance unto life.

Between the current scheme of Christ as offering satisfaction to public justice, as a governmental expedient to save the law in the sight of angels and distant worlds, and our author's we should prefer to err by excess rather than by deficiency, and take the first. That certainly is founded on a true idea. There is a moral order which is broken by sin, and it is joined again, and healed by the blood of the cross. But that inflected order is not in the air, or some supernal realm; it is in souls. There it has been broken, and there it must be restored. The confusion in this matter of atonement arises from looking at it in the light of civil law. The analogies do not hold. Rather do we find analogies in God's laws in nature, than in man's laws in society. Moral government is in souls. Nowhere else could the moral order be broken, and there it must be reinstated and its authority confirmed. The repair must be where the break is, and that is nowhere else than in the soul, where law has been violated and forgiveness must go.*

* The atonement is not merely subjective. It is objective too; and objective first. The justice of God needed to be satisfied: his law, broken in man, honored. This has been accomplished by the death of Christ. The term "satisfaction" is old as Tertullian: the idea, ancient almost as time. This was the the-

There, and there only, in the hearts of its subjects could Christ affect law and government by his blood. And there he did reach them, through the efforts wrought in the nature where they had been desecrated, and against which they set their penalties. For, by his sacrifice, he reinstates the law in the soul with an authority more venerable and awful than all penalties could give; and does this in the very fact or grant of forgiveness. His sufferings add somewhat to the law, which joining with it, re-establish and re-consecrate its violated majesty,* so that in fact he has reached the law as well as the souls where it had suffered violence, and where it was reacting with equal violence to break the sinner's peace, and cut off every hope that went forth towards a world to come. And thus the sinner is absolved, and yet God's moral rule secured, and rescued from all the peril to its authority which such absolution might otherwise induce. Remission of sin does not come as license; rather coming through his precious, unspeakable sacrifice in grim Golgotha of the Anointed Immanuel, it reconsecrates the law and protects it with all the sanctity of that divine life which went out in blood "that God might be just, and the justifier of him who believeth in Jesus." We see Jesus coming out of the bosom of the Father, into the world of sense and history, coming under its burdens, oppositions, malignities, that through that he might enter the world of souls, the inmost life and heart of man, to create there a

ology of the Fathers of the first two centuries—of the Schoolmen—of the Reformers and of Rome. It is the theology of the Scriptures; and has been the cherished belief of God's people in all ages. Atonement by sacrifice; the sacrifice of Christ, an offering to offended justice is the creed of all evangelical churches. And this has been the support and ground of hope to the burdened sinner as he has gauged the justice and the law of God and read the promise made to Faith. The design of the atonement is not governmental merely; nor does it find its purpose in the production simply of a subjective change in man. "The action of the atonement was GODWARD first, MANWARD next, and GODWARD afterwards again. Like all grace *beginning in heaven* and then after its work on earth *returning again to heaven.*"—EDS.

° The work of Christ and the work of the Spirit must not be confounded. Christ has satisfied the justice of God and made honorable the law. But no effect would be wrought in the hardened heart of man were it not for the presence and influence of that blessed and ineffable agent, the third person of the Trinity. He regenerates and sanctifies souls. "He writes anew the law upon the fleshy tablet of the heart." It is the error of the Romanist to confuse justification and sanctification. They are distinct. Justification comes first, by faith in Christ's merits, and is instantaneous and complete. Sanctification follows necessarily and inevitably a progressive work begun and continued by the Holy Ghost.—EDS.

feeling and a faith which shall see the law supplemented in his sacrifice, his blood healing its wounded honor.

So much at least we find of truth in this theory,* and more we might bring out; all of which, as far as we can see, our author has left out of his doctrine of Redemption—and, it seems to us, a vital loss. Law, government, justice—these must be reclaimed to have their power over our alienated wills, to go with the society and love, which, without the dread testimony of Christ's blood, would soften and quite melt away their authority over the soul too averse to God, too thirsty for wrong. If any one ask us to go with this scheme of a governmental atonement out beyond the stars, to see Christ through his cross reaching the angels to reassure them lest they should begin to find encouragement to sin by seeing it too readily forgiven; we can only let him go. But that to us does not seem to be the main purpose of the atonement. We believe that in it God was seeking to bring back an alienated and self seeking race to himself; that he saw that in this way, through his son and by his sacrifice, he could win to Himself by forgiveness what he could not hold by law; that so long as his love went forth into the human heart through such a vent of suffering in such a person as his Son, all that his just laws and established moral order suffered in the eyes of sinners would be more than made up in the reverence and obedient love which would come back to them, and to Him by means of the cross: that, therefore, and for reasons inscrutable to us, though never for absurd or contradictory ones, "He made Him who knew no sin to be sin for us, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him."

We must leave Dr. Sheldon's doctrine and his book at many points untouched; points where perhaps some will grieve as at a grave, and some will find a speculative quarrel; interpretations of Scripture and questions of Philosophy, and statements of doctrine.

We leave them, feeling that there is something which is not here; such as souls weary and sore and broken under sin want.

* The Governmental, not Dr. Sheldon's.

[It is with feelings of regret that we have felt obliged to introduce in our pages, an article uttering its loud and solemn and earnest protest against errors and such errors and at such a source. On the points of deepest interest to man, Dr. Sheldon is found to hold views radically unsound and unsafe. He denies original sin and imputed righteousness, and holds views to which all evangelical churches are opposed. His theology is far from being that of inspired men. "He has not retained in his doctrine of Redemption much which is expressed in the manifold symbols of the Scriptures, and which gives the Gospel its comforting and yet sanctifying power." The experience and belief of the people of God of all ages are virtually denied: and, in their stead, we have given us a rationalistic theory not new but an old one revived, which has been again and again met and exploded. His doctrine cannot satisfy the weary, heavy-laden sinner. "Professing to pare off the bark of human theory he has girdled the tree of the Lord's planting; and left—far as man's theory could kill it—the tree of Redeeming life blasted." Such doctrine cannot long find a response in human souls. It belies experience, is inadequate to our wants, and cannot stand the test of Scripture.

Since Dr. Sheldon holds such views, we are not sorry he has published them to the world. It will awaken thought—lead us to flee to and prize the truth of God more highly, and by provoking replies be a means perhaps of arresting a tide of error. The day of such opinions cannot but be short. The old theology has been too long intrenched in human thought, too sacredly enshrined in Christian hearts, and too powerfully illustrated by shining lights of many ages, to be easily moved.—EDS.]

THE HISTORY AND DESTINY OF COAL.

Mineral coal is now rapidly finding its way into every part of our own country and of the world. Its importance as an agent of human progress is daily becoming more apparent. We deem it fitting therefore to draw attention to the past history and the present influence of this fuel, and to the glimpses which the subject gives us of the future of our own country and of the world; of the future of our country in its connection with the future of the world.

At the present day it is impossible to determine the persons that first used mineral coal for fuel, or the age in which they lived. It is said, indeed, that the early Britons were accustomed to use it, probably long before the Roman conquest. In proof of this, reference is made to certain stone hammers and hatchets, found in some mines in Yorkshire. The proof, however, is by no means conclusive. It is probable that it was not used until nearly the commencement of the Christian era. Mr. Bruce, a clergyman of Newcastle upon Tyne, has traced the famous wall of Hadrian through its whole extent and thinks that he has discovered conclusive evidence of the use of coal by the Romans, possibly in the early part of the second century. We give his statement :

In nearly all of the stations of the line, the ashes of mineral coal have been found; and in some a store of unconsumed coal has been met with, which, though intended to give warmth to the primeval occupants of the isthmus, has been burnt in the grates of the modern English. In several places the sources of the coal can be pointed out; but the most extensive workings that I have heard of, are in the neighborhood of Grindon Lough, near Sewisigshields. Not long ago a shaft was sunk with the view of procuring the coal which was supposed to be beneath the surface. The projector soon found, that, though coal had been there, it was all removed. The ancient working stretched beneath the bed of the lake.

But the amount of coal consumed at that early day was probably not very large. And possibly the consumption ceased almost entirely when the Romans finally left the island, A. D. 411. Even as late as the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries we find indications that it had not yet come

to be generally considered as one of the necessaries of life. Newcastle-upon-Tyne at the close of the thirteenth century, was accustomed to use coal and to furnish it in small quantities to its immediate neighbors. About the year 1350, it was first introduced into London. It was mainly employed by manufacturers who were not at that time very numerous, nor possessed of great influence. The people of London, in general were sorely displeased with the fuel, and earnestly besought King Edward to banish it. The smoke was supposed to be prejudicial to health and was known to be by no means conducive to cleanliness. The King was fain to listen to their prayer, and the fuel was proscribed. Yet what could such proscriptions avail! The era of coal had begun and the opposition of kings and subjects could do no more than to stay for a brief season the day of its power. Notwithstanding the opposition, which from time to time arose, before the time of Charles I., (1625), the use of coal for fuel had become a necessity, and the worthy people of London were compelled to submit to all its accompanying smoke.

The cause of this necessity will be found in the growing manufactures of England; especially in the increasing manufacture of iron. Iron had been made in Britain for some centuries before the Christian era; some say for five or six hundred years previous. The manufacture was increased after the Roman conquest and continued until the departure of the conquerors, A.D. 411. From this time until the Norman conquest, A. D. 1066, it seems to have received very little attention; though some of the vast beds of cinder found in the forest of Dean, in Monmouthshire, are called *Danes' Cinders*, from the idea that they were made by the Danes during their residence on the island. But from the time of the Norman conquest, the production gradually increased. The increase, however, was very slow, for at the time when Edward III., at the request of the people of London, banished coal from the city, he also enacted a law forbidding the export of iron. The production at that date (1358), was not equal to the demand. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, large importations of implements of iron and steel, were made from Germany, Prussia and Spain. And it is a

fact worthy of note, that the manufacturers of England felt so deeply the necessity of protection for their rising iron trade, they were so deeply impressed with the evils of unrestricted importation, they feared so much a free foreign competition as to combine in earnest petitions to the House of Commons, not merely for a protective tariff, but for an absolute prohibition of certain articles. And in the time of Richard III., A.D. 1483, an act was passed entirely prohibiting the importation of knives, swords, tailors' shears, scissors, andirons, fire forks, gridirons, stock locks, keys, hinges, spurs, bits, stirrups, shoe buckles, iron wire, iron candlesticks, grates, chains and other things of like material.

It would seem that the trade flourished for a period subsequent to the enactment of the law; for in the year 1542, so great was the quantity of wood consumed in the smelting of iron (for wood charcoal was the only fuel used), and so great the consequent scarcity of that fuel, that a law was enacted forbidding the cutting down of any timber of the breadth of one foot at the stub for the purpose of making charcoal for the iron manufacture. This law applied to all places within fourteen miles of the sea, or of any navigable stream; except in the County of Sussex, and the Weald of Kent, and a few other places specified. In 1581, new restrictions were deemed necessary. Another act was passed limiting the erection of iron works because of the increasing scarcity of wood; "because" to us the language of the act "it [the supply of wood] doth daily decay and become scant, and will, in time to come, become much more scarce; by reason of which the prices are grown to be very great and unreasonable."

A new argument now has been found for the use of coal, and the citizens of London will soon be compelled to make a compromise between their love of neatness and their love of money. There will be plenty of coal in London by and by. The price of wood is becoming very great and unreasonable. There are anxious and sometimes angry expostulations at the wood wharves along the Thames. There are sage deliberations over mutton chops and pots of ale in London inns. There are grave discussions between the good man and his

wife, at home, about the enormousness of this particular item in their household expenses. Yes, and grave discussions in Parliament too; for only four years later we find another act passed prohibiting the erection of any new iron works, in Surrey, Kent and Sussex; and forbidding the use of timber of one foot square at the stub for any iron whatever. A new era is now opening for coal. It will come slowly on. But come it must. The industry of the world cannot be checked, and fuel must be secured for the making of iron. Without iron in larger and still larger quantities the bright prospects that are opening to the useful arts and manufactures can never be realized.

By these legislative enactments and by the causes which led to them, the attention of iron masters was called to the use of coal for the smelting of iron. At length, in 1619, after many unsuccessful attempts, the difficulty was overcome by Dud Dudley, a mere lad, fresh from Oxford University. He secured a patent from King James I., and for a few years went on amid great opposition and many difficulties making, as he says, "annually great store of iron, good and merchantable, and sold it at £12 per ton. I also made all sorts of cast-iron wares, as brewing-cisterns, pots, mortars, and better and cheaper than any yet were made in these nations with charcoal."

But the times of civil commotion which followed—the contest between Charles I. and his Parliament, the trial and execution of Charles, the overthrow of the Commonwealth—were not favorable to any steady progress in the mechanic arts. And in addition to this series of unfavorable circumstances, the use of coal in the iron trade had to encounter the jealousies and opposition of both master manufacturers and their men. So true is it, that men are generally very slow in their assent to great improvements in the arts, and that it requires much time to secure the full mastery over the natural agents made known to them. It can occasion no surprise, therefore, that more than one hundred years elapsed before coal came into general use in England for the smelting of iron. As a necessary consequence of the failure of one kind of fuel and the want of a proper substitute, the number of furnaces in the

kingdom diminished until in 1740, there were only 59 remaining not more than three-fourths of the former number. The sum total of their production was only 17,350 tons, an average for each furnace of about 29½ tons, or about 5½ tons per week. To meet the demand, which was vastly greater than the supply, large quantities during this period were imported from Russia and Sweden. In 1840, Mr. Jessop of the Butterly Iron Works, Derbyshire, reported to a committee of the House of Commons that the number of iron furnaces was 404, and the annual product 1,396,400 tons. He estimated the quantity of coal used in smelting at 4,877,000 tons, and the further quantity, for converting it into wrought iron, at 2,000,000; making a total of 6,877,400 tons of coal consumed in the product of pig and bar iron. Mr. Blackwell, a recent authority, himself a large producer of iron, estimates the production of England, Scotland, and Wales at 2,500,000 tons. The coal consumed in smelting would, according to the computation of Mr. Jessop above be 8,750,000, and for making bar iron 3,750,000; making the consumption of coal in 1850, for pig and bar iron amount to 12,500,000 tons. To smelt the same amount of iron, were charcoal used, it would require—on the average of 1½ tons of charcoal to a ton of metal—3,750,000 tons. The havoc made upon the woods and forests of the country by the annual production of 3,750,000 tons of charcoal would soon strip it of every stick of timber. It would be impossible for England to be what she now is without her beds of mineral coal.

The change in the locality of the iron manufacture in Great Britain in consequence of the change of fuel is worthy of note. The manufacture was formerly prosecuted in the forests of the South of England, and furnaces were found in abundance in Monmouthshire, Gloucestershire, Sussex, and Kent. But when the use of coal gave a new impulse to the trade, it rapidly concentrated around the great coal fields. At present South Wales, South Staffordshire and Scotland are the great iron producing regions. In 1850, South Wales produced 700,000, South Staffordshire 600,000, and Scotland 600,000 tons. The first draws its supplies from the great Welsh mines, the second from the Dudley coal fields, and the latter mainly

from the coal beds of East, West and Mid Lothians and Fife.

The annual consumption of coal in Great Britain is nearly 40,000,000 tons. This includes the amount used for the consumption of private families, for manufactures, steamboats and locomotives, and for the production of gas. The coal of England lights her darkness by night, diffuses comfort throughout her dwellings, bears her people rapidly from place to place, by land and water, and drives her myriad-armed machinery. In short, it is the coal of Great Britain that gives to her such a manufacturing ascendancy, and has secured to her the title of "the work-shop of the world." By this her vast industrial system has been called into being, and kept in vigorous motion. Shut up her coal mines and she would sink at once from her present position, to the rank of a third or fifth rate power in Europe.

In the United States, there has been a rapid increase in the consumption of coal, since the year 1823. In that year the amount of Lehigh coal consumed was only 2440 tons. The Schuylkill coal had not yet been brought into market. In 1825, 6500 tons were drawn from that source. In 1855, the product of all the anthracite mines was about six million tons. The bituminous coal of the United States is scattered so widely and worked in such a number of places that it is difficult to obtain any reliable statistics. It cannot, however be computed at less than 2,500,000 tons annually.

In other countries the increase in the consumption of coal has been very great. A few statistics will show how vast the coal trade has become. These estimates are for the year 1853.

Great Britain,	-	-	-	37,000,000
Belgium,	-	-	-	5,000,000
United States,	-	-	-	7,533,000
France,	-	-	-	4,200,000
Prussian States,	-	-	-	3,500,000
Austrian States,	-	-	-	700,000
Spain,	-	-	-	550,000
				<hr/>
Total				58,483,000

Here, then, we have the annual consumption of coal in the world. This enormous mass would furnish all the vessels of the United States—whether engaged in the navigation of the ocean, of our lakes, or our rivers—with cargoes. Or, if we suppose it to be placed in cars such as are used for its transportation, it would make a line sufficiently long to girdle twice the globe.

And the whole of this trade has developed itself within the brief period of about 300 years. The coal trade of the entire world at the time when the Pilgrim fathers landed at Plymouth Rock, would bear no comparison with the trade of one small county in Pennsylvania in the year 1855. Indeed, the true point from which to date the history of coal is that age when this fuel first came to be successfully used in the manufacture of iron, and when the steam engine—that gigantic herald of progress—awoke the spirit of invention and enterprise to unwonted and almost superhuman activity. Each year of late has witnessed new applications of machinery; and each new application of machinery has served to increase the demand for coal. Thus the way has been prepared for still other applications, and still larger demands. If the consumption of coal continues to increase at the present rate, the commencement of the twentieth century will witness an annual demand for 300,000,000 tons. And we may confidently look for a continual increase in the demand—an increase more nearly approximating to a geometrical than an arithmetical ratio. The age of steam has merely commenced. It were vain to speculate as to the number of ocean and river steamers, of stationary and locomotive engines that will be in operation on the first day of the next century. It is very probable that the number will exceed any calculations that would now be deemed reasonable. The supply of coal in the world must needs be large to meet the great present, and the vastly greater future, demands to be made.

In order to judge of the supply of coal, let us glance at the various localities in which the rich mineral deposit is found, and notice the extent of territory over which it spreads.

In the United States there are four main coal beds. One of them commences in the northern part of Pennsylvania, and

sweeping southward over western Virginia, and eastern Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee, terminates toward the central part of Alabama. It is estimated that this immense bed covers an area of 63,000 square miles, a space greater in extent than the whole of New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island. A second bed lies along the eastern side of the Mississippi River, embracing Illinois, and a part of Indiana and Kentucky. A third is found in Michigan. A fourth in Iowa and Missouri. Of the extent of the latter coal bed some idea may be formed from the explorations of D.D. Owen, Esq., U. S. Geologist. "Of this coal field," he says, (in Iowa alone, not including its extension south into Missouri) "the dimensions are as follows: Its average width from east to west is less than two hundred miles; its greatest length from north to south about one hundred and forty miles; its contents about 25,000 square miles." It extends into Missouri, covering in that State an area of nearly 20,000 square miles. Smaller deposits of coal have been found also in other portions of the United States, and it is probable that further geological surveys will bring to light still other beds of the mineral. If our present statistics can be relied on, the coal fields of the United States cover an area of about 150,000 square miles.

Deposits of coal are also found in England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland; France, Belgium, Austria, Prussia, Northern Italy, Spain, Russia, Persia, Hindostan, Assam, and China. It is found in the islands of Japan, Formosa, Borneo, some of the Philippines, Sumatra; in New Holland, New Zealand, Kerguelen's Land, and the Galapagos; in Guatemala, Peru, Bolivia, Chili, and at the Straits of Magellan. It will be evident from this hasty glance, that it is scarcely possible to pass more than three thousand miles, in any direction, across the face of the globe without meeting with it. It is dotted here and there on the great continents and on the islands of the sea. We find it in all climates and all situations; far up in Melville Island in the Arctic Ocean; in Borneo, Sumatra and the Galapagos on the very equator, and far south at the Straits of Magellan and Kerguelen's Land. And when that great Southern continent in the Antarctic Ocean, which has

been touched but not explored; when that *Ultima Thule* comes to be scanned by the geologist's keen eye, no doubt, even there, he will find, amid its frost-bound hills and valleys, vast beds of coal, to make a residence therein tolerable if not actually pleasant.

He who will take the map of the world, and mark down the coal deposits that have already been discovered, and ponder well the subject, will not find it easy to draw the conclusion that they have been thrown, hither and thither, at random, by mere blind chance. They seem, rather, to have been scattered by the hand of the Creator with very judicious care, as precious seed, which, though buried long, was destined to spring up at last, and bring forth a glorious harvest.

We come now to notice the relative amount of coal stored up in different countries, and to ask what inferences we are justified in drawing from the manner of its distribution. It is not possible to present very accurate statistics; yet they will no doubt be found sufficiently accurate for our purposes.*

United States, - - - - -	133,132
British America, - - - - -	18,000
Great Britain, - - - - -	11,859
Spain, - - - - -	3,408
France, - - - - -	1,719
Belgium, - - - - -	518
Total,	168,636

In the whole world there is probably an aggregate of 200,000 square miles of coal lands; and of this amount nearly three-fourths are found in the United States. The significance of this fact it were well for every citizen of this country to comprehend. It would perchance lead him to high thoughts of the destiny which this people may work out for itself; and it could scarcely fail to awaken, in a reflective mind, a fear, lest, by their own culpable neglect, they should at last come short of it.

At the present time, with her 12,000 square miles of coal,

* These statistics are very imperfect. Recent investigations in our own country make it probable, that our own coal lands are more nearly 160,000 square miles than the amount given above.

Great Britain digs annually, perhaps, 85,000,000 tons, while the United States, with twelve times that amount, digs only from 7,000,000 to 8,000,000. Great Britain digs and consumes four or five times the amount that the United States does ; for over 30,000,000 are for home consumption. The result is before our eyes, in the vast development of her manufactures and her commerce ; and in the position which she has, by these means, secured for herself among the nations of the earth. The elements of her might are to be found in the coal and iron which God has given to her, and in the ability to use them, as well as His other gifts, to good purpose.

But these means of wealth and power, these materials so indispensable to the progress of nations, and of the race, God has also given to these States with a liberal hand. And upon their citizens he has also bestowed the ability to use them for their own good, and for the good of the whole family of man. And from the measure of these gifts, from the quantity of these materials which his own country possesses, compared with what has fallen to the lot of other nations, the citizen of the United States may draw some just inferences in regard to the future of his own and of other lands.

If we make a brief comparison of the manufacturing and commercial statistics of Great Britain and the United States, it will be apparent, that the latter, though yet in its early youth is beginning already to contend, with no puerile energy, for the palm, with its great competitor. The manufacture of articles of iron, cotton, wool and leather is steadily advancing in our country. Our iron products for 1851, amounted to one half of those of Great Britain ; our cotton, one third ; our woollen, one third ; our leather, one half. Our manufactures, amid many reverses and difficulties, have made very encouraging progress, and our commerce has fully kept pace with our power of production.

The tonnage of the United States has been steadily increasing for the last sixty years. In 1801, her entire tonnage amounted only to 500,000 tons. In 1852, it was reported at 3,535,451, and was expected to advance at the rate of a quarter of a million of tons annually.

In the same year the tonnage of Great Britain was reported

to be 4,144,115 tons, showing an aggregate of 608,644 tons above that of the United States. In 1854, the United States counted 4,802,903 tons; and Great Britain 5,048,270 tons; an excess of only 240,267 tons in favor of the latter. In 1855 the tonnage of the United States was, by the lowest estimate that we have seen, 5,212,000 tons. It seems then that the annual increase since 1852 has been 558,850 tons—an increase more than twice as great as was expected. The annual increase of the tonnage of Great Britain during the years '53, '54 was only 424,577. If the two nations preserve the same ratio of increase in subsequent years, in 1859 the United States will lay claim to the largest tonnage in the world. She will be likely to assume at an early day the highest rank as a commercial people.

It would seem as though the words of the Hon. W. H. Seward, uttered in the Senate Chamber at Washington, in the winter of 1852, had waked up the people of the United States to more vigorous efforts. At the close of his discussion of the Cuba question he said:

You are already the great continental power of America. But does that content you? I trust it does not. You want the commerce of the world; which is the empire of the world. That is to be looked for not on the American lakes, nor on the Atlantic coast, nor on the Caribbean Sea, nor on the Mediterranean, nor on the Baltic, nor on the Atlantic Ocean, but on the Pacific Ocean and its islands and continents. Be not over confident. Disregard not France and England and Russia. Watch, them with jealousy and baffle their designs against you. But look for these great rivals where they are to be found; on those continents and seas where the prize for which you are contending with them is to be found. Open up a high way through your country from New York to San Francisco; put your domain under cultivation, and your ten thousand wheels of manufacture in motion; multiply your ships and send them forth to the East. The nation that draws most materials and provisions from the earth; and fabricates the most; and sells the most of productions and fabrics to other nations; must be and will be the great power of the earth.

We may well ask whether it is possible for these United States to become "the great power of the earth." In all humility and lowliness of mind we may watch all the eddies and ripples of that current on which we float, in order to ascertain whether it is true, that we are moving steadily forward to that position of great honor, but of equally great responsibility. True patriotism bids us look attentively at all that concerns the present and the future welfare of our country. It is not

for us to confine our attention to the present year or the present century. The staunch and sturdy Roman patriot was not content to labour for the Rome of his own day merely ; but the yearnings of his great heart went out for the Rome of all coming time. This yearning inspired his thoughts and developed his energies and controlled his life. Happy will it be for this nation, when the hearts of our citizens, and our Statesmen are filled with such a yearning for the welfare of our country and the honor of our name, in all ages, till the mystery of God shall be finished and the work of time shall end.

Our subject naturally leads us to ask, what position in regard to the nations of the world these United States may naturally expect to occupy ; what prophecies of the future God-Himself has written on the solid rocks. There are mute prophecies graven thereon in ages long since past, by God Himself, prophecies that point to a possible future position high as any nation has attained hitherto, higher than any other nation can hope to attain in days to come. There are gathered here, in this land, those natural elements which need only to be used aright, to make these United States eventually the great power of the earth. Our great competitor for this position is the Mother Country, and we very cheerfully bid her Godspeed in every honest effort to secure it for herself ; and enjoy it in perpetuity. If hers should be the honor, hers will also be the heavy responsibility. The force of circumstances, however, are against her in the race.

Most travellers on our Western waters have often witnessed an eager contest between two rival steamboats. The captain, the officers, the engineers, the firemen, the cook and the passengers, all at length enter into the spirit of the occasion ; and with breathless excitement they watch the progress of the two boats. Now one, and now the other shoots a few yards in advance. At length for mile after mile, onward they go, so nearly mated, that it might be thought one power impelled them both. Long is the suspense. But at last one of them begins to drop astern ; further and still further she falls behind. With undiminished speed the other pushes forward, until her lagging competitor is seen only in the dim distance,

and soon will be lost sight of altogether. The successful boat had a full supply of fuel and was enabled to push steadily on her way, while the rapidly diminishing supply of her less fortunate rival compelled her, at length, to abandon the hotly contested race.

Such it has seemed to us, is the contest between the United States and Great Britain. Of one stock, of one spirit; they are matched well for the race. It may well be thought that it will be contested long and earnestly. It becomes important then when we speculate on their chances in the race, to inquire into the comparative amount of fuel which they have in their holds. All other things remaining equal, their prospects for success must depend eventually upon this.

It may seem premature to speculate on the exhaustion of the supply of coal in Great Britain, when the area of her deposits is computed by thousands of square miles. But, thirty or forty millions of tons annually consumed, besides the waste in mining and transportation, which in the aggregate is very large, must eventually find the end of the largest possible supply. The subject has already attracted the attention of statesmen; and it would be a mark of profound wisdom were they to look at the subject more closely still. According to one computation, the supply, allowing for an increased consumption corresponding with what the last few years have witnessed, would be exhausted in about two hundred years. The bare possibility of the correctness of such a calculation ought to lead them to guard with the most jealous care the present and all future expenditure. The longest period that has been assigned to the duration of her supply of coal, is about seventeen hundred years. Even granting, what we sincerely hope may be true, that her supply is sufficient for the support of her fires for that long period; what is to become of her manufactures, what of her commerce, and what of her home comforts then? And, whether the supply is likely to suffice for two hundred or two thousand years, the difficulty of obtaining it will be increased from generation to generation. And what is to be the effect of even a small increase of cost, on the comfort of her people; and on her manufactures, especially those in which the cost

of the fuel is an important item in the cost of the product; and remotely what will be the effect on her commerce?

When a comparison is made between the consumption of coal in Great Britain with the probable supply, and the probable consumption in the United States with her estimated supply; it would seem that the day is coming when inevitably the latter must shoot far ahead of the stout competitor which she is now striving so earnestly to reach. There is a bare possibility that some new fuel may be found long before the coal of either country is exhausted; but until there is something more than a bare possibility of this, both Great Britain and the United States will do well to husband their resources, and guard with sedulous care against any lavish expenditure of their coal.

If the coal of the United States be indeed three-fourths of that laid up by God for the use of a world, what a boon they have received from Him, and how it becomes them to be grateful to Him for His peculiar blessing. Is this land indeed to be the final resting place of religion, civilization, and the arts? Is it true that the prophecy of Berkley is to be fulfilled to the letter?

“ Westward the course of empire takes its way,
The first four acts already past,
The fifth shall close the drama with the day,
Time's noblest offspring is her last.”

° On this subject we may quote the language of Dr. Buckland whose words it would be well for the citizens both of Great Britain and the United States to ponder well.

“ As no more coal is in process of formation, and our national prosperity must inevitably terminate with the exhaustion of these precious stores of mineral fuel which form the foundation of our greatest manufacturing and commercial establishments. I feel it my duty to entreat the attention of the legislature to two evil practices which are tending to accelerate the period when the contents of our coal mines will have been consumed. The first of these is the wanton waste which for more than fifty years has been committed by the coal-owners near New castle, by screening and burning annually in never extinguished lamps *fiery heaps* at the pits' mouths, more than one million of chaldrons of excellent small coal, being nearly one-third of the entire produce of the best coal-mines in England. This criminal destruction of the elements of our national industry, which is accelerating by one-third the not very distant period when these mines will be exhausted is perpetuated by colliers for the purpose of selling the remaining two-thirds at a greater profit than they would derive from the sale of the entire bulk unscreened to the coal merchant.”

The second evil of which he complains is the large exportation of coal to keep up in some cases rival manufacturing establishments that could not be continued without British coal. “ An increased duty on coal exported to any country excepting our own colonies, he says, might afford a remedy.” *Address at Anniversary of Geological Society, London 1841.*

Geology would seem to indicate it; for where are the materials for further progress to be sought, when the vast coal beds of the North American continent are exhausted? It would seem capable of demonstration, if the past history of the use of coal can be relied on as argument, that here the last act of the great drama is to be played. It is possible, that here may be, for long centuries, the grand centre of power and influence to the world. Then what should be the feelings of those to whom this land has fallen for a heritage? They should be filled with gratitude and with fear; and should sedulously guard this soil for the crowding millions that are yet to find here their home; and are from hence to send out under God, such an influence on the destinies of the world. Woe to the world, if this fair land with its rich stores, so prophetic of future eminence, be the home of the lawless; the dwelling place of the despisers of God's law; the abode of the rejecters of God's grace in Jesus Christ. It becomes American Christians by their love of their country, by their love for mankind, by their love for the God and Father and Redeemer of the human race, to do speedily, what is within their power, to spread the Gospel throughout all the land and to win all the inhabitants thereof to the love and service of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Once more to our statistics for another inference; and this inference will be of somewhat wider scope than the former. We have seen that three-fourths of the coal of the world belong to the United States; of the remaining fourth, three-fifths belong to Great Britain. That is, about nine-tenths of the coal of the world, have been thrown by the Creator into the hands of the Anglo-Saxon race; into the hands of that people who have always stood foremost in the fight when battle was to be done for liberty of conscience and for civil rights. Nine-tenths of the coal of the world in those hands which already hold the two great forces that control the world, commerce, and manufactures! There is certainly significance in the fact that to the two great Protestant powers of the world, have been given, unsought, so large a proportion of that fuel which constitutes the very bone and sinews of commerce and manufactures. He must be a very careless or a very credu-

lous reader, who can look over the history of the nations of the earth, and notice the causes that have conspired to raise them up, and those that have tended to hasten their fall, yet see no reasons for inferring a wisdom and a foresight superior to that of men. The distribution of coal, the scattering of tribes and peoples and the raising up of nations would all seem, on any just view of the subject, to be parts of the great plan on which the Creator and Governor of the world is conducting the world's government. And they all seem, moreover, to foreshadow purposes of great good to the human family. Let us look at the facts and see what inference they warrant. A race of men energetic and enterprising; fitted by their natural characteristics, by their mental and moral culture, and by their hold on the pure gospel of Jesus Christ, to be leaders in the onward march of humanity, have had thrust into their hands, unlooked for and unexpected, a treasure, which, if used aright, must secure to them a controlling influence on the affairs of the world. Is it not proper to infer that the God of Creation and of Providence is the God of the Bible, the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ; and that He has pre-arranged creation, and directed His providence, so as to further the work which the Gospel proposes to accomplish?

But we have not yet exhausted the subject. We have not yet examined all the evidences of the gracious purpose of the Creator and Governor of the world. At the very time when His first gift to the Anglo-Saxon race is coming to be properly valued, and to be used for its appropriate end; at the very time when it is raising this people to such a position among the various races of men, the two great gold fields of the world, California and Australia, are also made over to them. It is not necessary to narrate here the train of circumstances by which these two countries, with rich but, as yet, unthought of treasures, came into the power of the United States and Great Britain; and by which almost simultaneously, the long unknown treasure was brought to light in both countries. The fact is one that is full of meaning. It certainly gives us a new reason for considering the works of Creation and of Providence, as indicating a design on the part of God the Redeemer, a benevolent design towards

these nations themselves, and through them, towards the whole race of man.

Such peculiar dispensations toward these nations lift them to a distinguished position in the world, and give importance to all that pertains to their internal progress or their external policy. Sharing, jointly, in God's great blessings, it becomes them, as brothers, to stand side by side for the fulfillment of their united destiny. Great Britain is the elder, the United States the younger. The English have led the van in the use of that fuel which so rapidly generates power in the world. We with our Benjamin's portion, will emulate their example and push on in their footsteps. We will neither envy them their priority of birth or of influence, nor will we boast of the large provision made to secure to us a glorious future. Other thoughts fill our mind. Other desires arise in our heart. We think of both nations as depositories of God's holy word, and of the Glorious gospel; and as endowed with the means of power and influence among the nations of the earth, not for their own selfish aggrandizement, but in order that they may the more rapidly spread abroad God's word, and the more efficiently further the universal triumph of Christ's gospel. We desire, that they may both quit themselves nobly in their efforts for their own religious advancement, and use well all the power intrusted to them for the religious advancement of the world.

ARTICLE VII.—BIBLICAL AND CLASSICAL HYMNOLOGY.

THE Hebrews are the first people in connection with whom we have any authentic information on the subject of sacred hymns and music. At least two centuries before Orpheus tuned his lyre and sang the praises of the gods, the Israelitish nation used the timbrel and sang songs to Jehovah. The records of Moses carry us further back than those of any other author. He traces the invention of music to long years before the flood (Gen. iv., 21). The next mention which

he makes of the subject is in connection with Laban and Jacob, though it is in this case of a secular cast (Gen. xxxi., 26, 27). The fact of instruments suggests that vocal music must have been already cultivated. The 88th and 89th Psalms have been supposed by some—the learned Lightfoot* among others—to belong to the days of Egyptian bondage, and to be the oldest sacred songs extant. More modern commentators, however, attribute them to the times of David, and some even to the age of the Babylonish captivity. If Job is rightly placed among the patriarchs, it appears from the book bearing his name that musical instruments, and perhaps divine songs were common in the land of Ur (Job xxi., 12; xxx., 31). When God wrought deliverance for his people at the Red Sea, Moses and the children of Israel sang a song unto the Lord (Ex. xv., 1-19). So did Miriam, sister of Aaron, with all the women (Ex. xv., 20, 21). The 90th Psalm, it is generally supposed, is a production of Moses. The Jews attribute the nine that follow it to him likewise, though without sufficient reason. The thirty-second chapter of Deuteronomy is an ode by the same author, and was probably sung by the people. At a later period—in the times of the Judges—Deborah and Barak composed and sung a song that they might commemorate their escape from under the yoke of “Jabin, king of Canaan,” who, for twenty years, “mightily oppressed the children of Israel” (Judges 5). The prayer of Hannah, recorded in 1 Sam. ii., 1-10, is a religious ode. These embrace the chief of the notices of sacred music and song among the Hebrews, prior to the times of David, which has been handed down to us. From them we may learn that in the earliest times sacred melodies were composed, that instruments of music were used, and that all the people publicly sang the praises of God. Whether Psalmody was original with the Hebrews at the Exodus, or whether they had learned it in Egypt, or of some other people, is not certainly known. But as the earliest productions of any people are always lyrical and religious, and as the Egyptians were a wise nation and worshippers of

* Works, Vol. ii., p. 22.

the gods, it is natural to suppose, even had we no direct evidence of the fact, that sacred music was an art practised by this oldest and most civilized people of whom we have any extended record.

The most important era in hymnology and sacred music is the age of King David. He is the greatest composer of Psalmody the world has ever had—the first and the last, without a second or a rival. A sacred historian speaks of him under the honorable appellation of “the sweet Psalmist of Israel.” He is the divine Poet Laureate of the human race. He wrote more of the Psalms than any other individual; on which account, as also from the interest he took in introducing them in public worship, the whole collection is called by his name.

Beside the lyrical productions of David, the Scriptures contain numerous sacred songs by other authors. Some of the Psalms were composed by Moses, others by Asaph, the sons of Korah, Jeduthem, Heman, Ethan, and Solomon, and others still by persons whose names have been lost. Beginning with Moses and extending through a period of at least nine hundred years, and some say to even the age of the Maccabees (without, however, just grounds), the Church of God, under the ancient dispensation, had her poets, who, probably, composed odes as the necessities of the people required. Many of these are now lost. Solomon wrote a thousand and five songs (1 Kings iv., 32). But of this vast number we cannot say certainly that more than one (the 127th) is extant. In addition to the songs collected in the book of Psalms, there are several prayers in the other Scriptures which are of a lyrical character, as the prayers of Isaiah (Is. xxvi.), of Hezekiah (Is. xxxviii., 10-20), of Jonah (Jon. iii.), and of Habakkuk (Hab. iii.).

Most of these productions have been sung in all succeeding ages and under every clime :

“The songs that flowed on Zion’s hill
Are chaunted in God’s temple still,
And to the eye of Faith unfold
The glories of his house of old.”*

◦ Mrs. Hale.

They embrace almost every variety of sentiment suitable to devotional expression, yet not so as properly to prevent the introduction, in modern times, of additional hymns.

Music was set by the Jews to their odes. What the nature of this music was we have no exact information, as it has not been transmitted. Both vocal and instrumental was employed. David was an inventor of musical instruments (1 Chron. xxiii., 5; 2 Chron. vii., 6). In this too he was followed by other Jews (Amos vi., 5). Of the character of these instruments, of which in detail it would be difficult to discourse satisfactorily, we cannot here speak particularly, it being sufficient for our purpose to simply indicate that such things were used by the Israelites in the worship of God.

David formed choirs. The Levites being numerous, and many of them unemployed, he took three of the sons of Levi, with their children, and arranged them in twenty-four bands, who performed in turn, in the tabernacle, after the ark had rest. These sung and played at the dedication of Solomon's temple (2 Chron. v., 11-13), and afterward at the foundation of the second (Ezra iii., 9-10), while on the Sabbaths and other festivals, they stood by the altar of burnt sacrifice, praising the God of Jacob (1 Chron. xxvi., 4-6; xxv., 1; 2 Chron. xxix., 25). The number of singers in each band was twelve, making in all two hundred, fourscore, and eight. When David composed an ode, he sent it to the chief of these musicians, who, doubtless, arranged for it a tune, and performed it with his brethren. Thus new music as well as new hymns was continually appearing. In these choirs both men and women sang. The whole arrangement was, probably, by a Divine order, and must have been very novel and imposing, calculated to strike the worshippers with awe and inspire them with feelings of devotion.

The songs of Sion became very celebrated among other people; and often were the Jews in exile required to sing them (Psal. cxxxvii. 3); whence it may appear that not only the choirs but possibly the people too learned the melodies of the temple. Since the destruction of their city and their consequent dispersion, the cultivation of sacred music has not been with the Jews a prominent object of attention. It does not seem

consonant that it should be, as according to their notions respecting Jesus of Nazareth, the Lord their *Messiah* delayeth his coming. In a few places they sing, especially in Germany. But as a people they have lost that celebrity in music which the Fathers attained.

But not only the Jews; heathen nations also, of the remotest antiquity, had their religious songs. The oldest poems, remarks Plato,* consists of divine hymns. Linus is the first heathen poet of whom we find any record. His poems are of a sacred character. He was a *Greek*, and according to the legends a cotemporary of Joshua. Following him at the distance of about a century was Orpheus. He composed, it is said, several divine songs. Then followed Homer, a century later perhaps than Solomon, and in the days of Elijah. After Homer came Hesiod. The two latter have married the gods and religion to poetry. Several hymns were discovered during the last century† addressed to Apollo and other of the heathen deities. They are doubtless of very high antiquity. The ancient critics usually attributed them to Homer. Music was early connected by the Greeks with religion. Pythagoras, it is well known, regarded it as something divine eminently tending to enliven the affections and conducive to meditation. From the book of Daniel, it appears that in *Babylon* in the days of the Jewish captivity musical instruments were employed in religious worship in that city (Dan. iii. 5). The oldest specimen of *Latin* poetry extant is of a religious character. It is supposed to belong to the age of Romulus. Duntlop has given it in his history of Roman literature,‡ of which the following is his translation.

“Ye *Lares* aid us! Mars thou God of might!
 From murrain shield the flocks, the flowers from blight.
 For thee, O Mars! a feast shall be prepared;
 Salt and a wether from the herd;
 Invite by turn each demigod of Spring.
 Great Mars, assist us! Triumph! Triumph sing!”

Several interesting observations might be connected with this fragment of the Old Roman Hymnology; but nothing

* De Leg. B. 3. † At Moscow. Edited by Ruhenken. ‡ Vol. 1, p. 41.

more than its bare quotation is necessary. It fully illustrates the connection of poetry and music with religion and divine worship which prevailed among the early Romans. This hymn which has been discovered in modern times* used to be sung by the *Fratres Arvales*, a company of priests who officiated at Old Rome in the festivals called *Ambarvalia*. Clemens, Alexandrinus, and Porphyry make mention of the use of hymns by the *Egyptians* and *Indians*.—Arrianus, who flourished in the second century, and who was in his own country—Greece—a priest of Ceres and Proserpina, but who afterward, coming to Rome, devoted himself to philosophy under Epictetus, makes use of the following language—“If we are intelligent creatures what else should we do both in public and private, than to sing a hymn to the deity? If I was a nightingale, I would do as a nightingale, and if a swan, as a swan; but since I am a rational creature, I ought to praise God, and I exhort you to the self-same song: this is my work while I live, to sing an hymn to God, both by myself and before one or many.” We do not find, indeed, that the musical element in Heathen worship was of a very imposing character—such for example, as formerly attained among the Jews, and shortly afterward among the Christians. It is sufficient, however, to have found that it existed. It goes far, as we shall presently notice, towards establishing an important doctrine in connection with our subject.

We have pointed out the hymns and music of the Old Testament; it remains for us to consider the same in connection with the New Testament. Singing is here enjoined and regulated and examples given. At the institution of the supper, Jesus and his disciples “sung an hymn” (Matt. xxvi., 30: Mark, xiv., 26). According to some † Christ then instituted singing as an *ordinance* to be observed in his church for ever by *all* his people. The Vulgate translates the original (*ὑμνησάντες*) of the sacred historian by the words “*hymno dicto*.” Erasmus, in his translation of the New Testament, departs from this rendering and gives one more in accordance with the Greek. His words are “*cum cecinissent*.” For

* At Rome in 1778, on a stone, in digging foundations of Sacristy of St. Peter's.

† W. Bridge's works, vol. 4, p. 137.

this he received the commendation of Beza.* The rendering of the Vulgate in giving the singular for the plural, would confine the singing to perhaps but one of the company, which would be manifestly contrary to the sense of the original. The ambiguity of the word *ὑμνεω* has given rise to some perplexity. It may mean either to recite or to sing. Campbell has chosen to retain it as ambiguous by rendering it here, "and after the hymn."† But surely the plural form according to which they all joined, might have precluded the idea that the hymn was only recited. That which they sung was doubtless a part or the whole of what is called the great Hallel, a portion of the Psalms extending from the 113th to the 118th. These the Jews were accustomed to sing at the Passover. We do not find, however, that singing was any part of the institution as originally given by Moses. It was an addition of after ages. But our Lord accepted it, because suited to his kingdom. Melville draws from all this the inference that the church may be allowed to modify ordinances.‡ This is surely unfair. For the adoption of all of what was a corruption in one ordinance, in the institution of another, can by no means be construed as sanctioning even its introduction into the first; much less therefore can it give it the force of a pattern, to be followed in all similar cases by uninspired disciples. In accordance with this example of their Lord, his churches ever sing an hymn at the close of celebrating the Eucharist. There is something exceedingly touching, which every communicant may well feel, in Christ's thus singing an hymn with his disciples; and that immediately before he suffered. He was probably the precentor of this little congregation of chosen ones. It is usually regarded as unfit thus to sing songs on mournful occasions (Psalm cxxxvii: Dan. vi, 18), and it can only be justified by an element of joy being connected. This was the case with Christ. His crucifixion was connected with a crown. "For the joy that was set before him he endured the cross, despising the shame." The apostolic constitutions appointed the 34th Psalm to be sung at the Supper. In ages

* "Ut intelligatur apostolos una cum Christo cecinisse."

† Note on Matt. xxvi, 30.

‡ Sermons, vol. 2, p. 33.

subsequent, a selection was made of the 42d, 43d, 45th, 133d, 139th, or 145th.

In his first epistle to the Corinthians, Paul speaks of their having "a psalm" in their meetings, and directs that singing be done "with the spirit and with the understanding." (1 Cor. xiv., 15, 26.) He is speaking here of the gift of tongues, particularly that form of it which manifested itself in odes; and which, he says, should be controlled "to edification." This passage does not countenance simple singing in the heart. For the spirit referred to is the *spirit of God*. In the Epistles to the Ephesians and to the Colossians, Paul speaks of "psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs;" and enjoins the singing of them as a public service to be engaged in with a fervent heart by all the disciples. (Eph. v., 19, Col. iii, 16.) James, too, gives direction to sing psalms (James v., 13). From these passages it is evident psalmody was a part of worship practised and approved in the churches of the apostles, and that the whole body of Christ's people were expected to join in the service. The prophecies of Mary (Luke i., 46-56) and of Simeon (Luke ii., 25-35) are highly poetical, and were probably uttered in the form of singing. The heavenly host who appeared to the shepherds at Bethlehem, *sang* (Luke ii., 13,) God's praises; and Paul and Silas, at midnight, in the jail of Philippi, did the same; and so loud that the prisoners heard them. (Acts, xvi, 25.)

Singing, it thus appears, has been ordained a part of Church service. But it is to be observed further, that it is of the nature of moral obligation. We have seen sufficient to make it probable at least, that it has been practised in all the early ages, and by all people in their religious offerings. Hence we may infer that sacred music is natural to the race. Gale, in his Court of the Gentiles, labors to trace the origin of its existence among heathen nations to the Jews. The religious poetry of Linus, Orpheus, and other Greek authors (fabled or real), he derives from their contact with the Hebrews.* But it is highly probable that the musical art was cultivated in Egypt, long before the Mosaic era; and it is conceded that

* Vol. 1., B. 3., C. 1.

Grecian civilization sprung from the banks of the Nile. In the brilliant reign of Augustus, there was brought from Egypt to Rome a pillar which is supposed to have been erected by Sesostris, who ruled when Israel was a slave. On that pillar there is a representation of a musical instrument. Egyptian civilization and art, it is natural to suppose, began to decline after the exodus of Israel. It was at its height in the days of the patriarch Jacob, and dates its commencement to a period little short of the flood. From all this, we may gather that sacred music is a relic of the fall rather than of Mount Zion, and thus incumbent as a moral ordinance first. Jonathan Edwards, attributes the disposition to abound in singing which was manifested in New England in 1740, to the influence of the spirit of God.† In respect to singing as a religious duty, devolving upon all, the same divine is said to have observed, “that it is the command of God that all should sing—that they should make conscience of learning to sing, and that (where there is no natural inability), those who neglect to learn, live in sin.” But while thus the history of religious song reaches back to the remotest antiquity, as if emanating directly from the bosom of God; it advances in the Apocalyptic vision to a period in the future beyond the furthest imagination. Holy music is one of the revealed pleasures of Heaven: it is a service which will be transplanted from the earth to the skies (Rev. v., 8, 9: xv., 2, 3), and the only service we read of that will. Its practice therefore, cannot but be a matter of sacred obligation to all.

ARTICLE VIII.—NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

The Parabolic Teaching of Christ; or the Engravings of the New Testament. By the Rev. D. T. K. DRUMMOND, B.A., Oxon. (New York: R. Carter & Brothers. 1855. 8vo. pp. 440.) The Parables of our Lord have been, in all ages, a rich source of instruction to the church. But they have also proved a fruitful theme of discussion among interpreters of the sacred writings. What constitutes a Parable? Wherein do the distinctions lie between the Parable, the Allegory and the Proverb? and what is the true principle of interpretation to be applied to Parables? These questions have been variously answered and there will probably always be some diversity of opinion in reference to them.

Mr. Trench, the most noted among recent writers on the Parables, has given a definition of the Parable which will include all the illustrative teaching of our Lord. Yet, in fact, he discards his own definition, and omits some of the richest passages in his parabolic discourses. Why, with his idea of what constitutes the New Testament parable, he should have passed by such parables as those of the Good Shepherd, the Wise and Foolish Builders, the Old and New Garment, and the like, we are unable to see. He thus eliminates the parabolic teaching of our Lord of its most striking examples.

In our judgment, a work professing to treat of *the* Parables of our Lord, should include every instance and passage of his illustrative and figurative teaching. Whatever difficulty there may be, in given cases, in adjusting the terms of the illustration to certain formal definitions of a parable, it seems to be the more natural and consistent course to treat all "the dark sayings" of our Lord as parables. He foretold of himself, through the prophet, that he would open his mouth in parables; and this is declared, in the Gospel, to have been the exclusive method of his teaching; at least in certain places, and during certain periods of his ministry. And we find, in fact, that some parts of his teaching, which, according to our definitions and distinctions, would be allegories or proverbs, were put forth by him as parables, and received as such, by his disciples. For instance, Luke, in recording our Lord's remark concerning the blind leading the blind, "calls it a parable." And when Christ said, "Not that which goeth into the mouth defileth a man," Peter said "Declare unto us *this parable.*"

And while we thus adopt the principle of the largest inclusion, in deciding what is embraced in the parabolic teaching of our Lord, we are also in favor of as wide an application of the incidents in the parables as can be made to consist with fidelity to the central truths which they were meant to illustrate.

The work of Mr. Drummond is constructed in accordance with these views. He includes all the instances of our Lord's illustrative teaching in his treatment of the parables, and adopts a rule of interpretation which is at

once expansive and judicious. Though less critical than Mr. Trench, he is more practical. Though his work is enriched with few of those quotations from patristic and mediæval sources, which adorn the pages of Mr. Trench, it indicates no want of familiarity with the literature of its theme.

Mr. Drummond has departed from the chronological order of the parables, as contained in the sacred narrative, and grouped them according to their subjects. Part First embraces those parables which relate to "Man in Satan's Kingdom—his condition, his actings, and his prospects." Part Second contain those which treat of "The Prince of the Kingdom of Light." Part Third consists of those which are designed to illustrate "Christ's Work of Grace in its Personal and Experimental Character." Parts Fourth, Fifth and Sixth, contain those which relate to "Christ's Work of Grace in its Historical and Prophetical Character. This method has its advantages, in the way of exposition; though it tends to create a degree of confusion in reference to time and place. The work is written in a clear, straight forward style, and is thoroughly evangelical. We can cheerfully commend it to the ministers of our denomination as a safe and valuable guide in the study of our Lord's Parables.

The Gospel in Ezekiel; illustrated in a Series of Discourses. By the Rev. THOMAS GUTHRIE, D.D. (New York: R. Carter & Brothers. 1856. 12mo, pp. 395.) Whoever takes up this volume expecting to find a formal effort to demonstrate the evangelical character of Ezekiel's Prophecy, will be disappointed. It consists simply of a series of Gospel sermons, the texts for which are selected from that work. Dr. Guthrie writes in a glowing and somewhat florid style; but his views are scriptural, and are set forth under illustrations of rare copiousness and beauty. We cannot give a better idea of his style than by making a brief quotation. The following will serve as a fair sample of the general style of the volume:

"It is, indeed, amazing, to see what grace will do, and where grace will grow; in what unlikely places God has his people, and out of what unlikely circumstances he calls them. I have seen a tree crowning the summit of a naked rock; and there it stood—in search of food, sending its roots out over the bare stone and down into every cranny—securely anchored by these moorings to the stormy crag. We have wondered how it grew up there, amid such rough nursing, how it could have survived many a wintry blast, and where, indeed, it found food or footing. Yet, like one familiar with hardship and adversities, it has grown and lived; it has kept its feet when the pride of the valley has bent to the storm; and like brave men who think not of yielding, but nail their colors to the mast, it has maintained its proud position, and kept its green flag waving on nature's topmast battlements.

"More wonderful than this, however, it is to see where the grace of God will live and grow. Tender exotic, plant brought from a more genial clime, one would suppose that it would require the kindest nursing, and most propitious circumstances; yet look here—a Daniel is bred for God, and for the bravest services in his cause, in no pious home of Israel; he grows in saintship amidst the imposition and effeminacy of a heathen palace. Paul was a persecutor, and is called to be a preacher—was a murderer, and becomes a martyr—once, no pharisee so proud, now no publican so humble. Like those

fabled monsters, which sailing on broad and scaly wings, descended on their helpless prey with streams of fire issuing from their formidable mouths, he set off for Damascus, "breathing out threatening and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord." Jesus descended in person to meet his formidable persecutor, and selected him for his chiefest apostle. He bids him wash the blood of Stephen from his hands, and go preach the Gospel. And where afterwards has this very man some of his most devoted friends? Where but in Cæsar's household. What can more strikingly express the power of all-sufficient grace than the words of John Newton? One asked him whether he thought the heathen could be converted. "I have never doubted," he said, "that God could convert the heathen, since he converted me."—How should it keep hope alive under the darkest and most desponding circumstances, to see God calling grace out of the foulest sin? Look at this cold creeping worm! Playful childhood shrinks shuddering from its touch; yet a few weeks, and with merry laugh and flying feet that same childhood, over flowery meadows is hunting an insect that never lights upon the ground, but flitting in painted beauty from flower to flower, drinks nectar from their cups and sleeps the summer night away in the bosom of their perfumes. Change most wonderful! yet but a dull, earthly emblem of the divine transformation wrought in those who are transformed by the renewing of their minds." Gracious, glorious change! Have you felt it? May it be felt by all of us! You have it here in this woman, who, grieved in her mind, lies a-weeping at the feet of Jesus. She was a sinner. Her condition had been the basest; her bread the bitterest; her company the worst. She is casting off her vile sinful slough. She leaves it. She rises a new creature. The beauty of the Lord is on her; and now with wings of faith and love, wide outspread, she follows her Lord to heaven." (pp 177-179.)

We have received a very edifying volume entitled, *The Prayers of the Bible, with their Answers*, collected by a CHURCH MEMBER. (New York: A. S. Barnes, & Co. 1855. 12mo. pp. 340.) The design of the pious author of this volume has been to encourage the people of God to pray, by presenting an arrangement of the petitions of his servants, in former ages, with the answers which were granted to them. The work will also prove an effectual instructor in the exercise of prayer, by setting forth the forms and conditions of acceptable prayer, and teaching us how to offer it. Each petition is prefaced with illustrative and explanatory remarks. We commend the work to Christian readers.

A Commentary on the Greek Text of the Epistle of Paul to the Colossians. By JOHN EADIE, D.D., LL.D. (New York: R. Carter & Brothers. 1856. 8vo. pp. 308.) Our pages have heretofore borne testimony to the value of Dr. Eadie's critical and exegetical labors. His Commentary on the Greek Text of the Epistle to the Ephesians, is well known and highly valued by scholars. We are glad to see that he is prosecuting his design of completing a course of Exegetical Commentaries. Dr. Eadie's aim in the volume before us, as in his former work, has been to arrive at the meaning of the inspired writers, from a strict analysis of the words used, and by close attention to the logical connection of thought. We take great pleasure in saying that, in the main, we think the author has been successful in teaching the true meaning of the Apostle. And while his work is to be valued chief-

ly as an aid to the critical study of the Epistle, it is yet worthy of attention on account of its high practical tendency. We must, however, take occasion just to express our surprise that Dr. Eadie should deny that there is any reference to the primitive mode of baptism in Col. ii. 12. We supposed that to be a point in reference to which scholars had ceased to entertain doubts, and candid men to cavil.

The Prophets of the Restoration; or, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. A New Translation, with Notes. By the Rev. T. V. MOORE, D.D. (New York: Robert Carter & Bros., 1856. 8vo. pp. 408.) Dr. Moore, Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Richmond, Va., is well known as a ripe scholar and brilliant writer. We are glad to see his attention turned to the elucidation of the Sacred Oracles, in a form like the volume before us. He has selected an important portion of the prophetic writings; in his own language, "the last words of God to the Churches before the incarnation," and has aimed to awaken "some fresh interest in these parting words of the spirit of prophecy." After an elaborate General Introduction, in which he discusses, with great force, the nature of prophecy, and its position in the economy of the Old Testament, with a view to unfold the organic connection between prophecy and history in the development of the Redemptive Work, he proceeds to give new translations of the books of which he treats, prefacing each translation with a special introduction, and following it with copious notes. We are highly pleased with the manner in which Dr. Moore has performed his work. His arrangement is simple and natural. By printing his translation separate from the notes, he has been able to give us a correct idea of the structure and natural divisions of the respective books. By printing the text of the Received Version, at the head of the pages containing his Notes, he has facilitated references. One of the most useful features of this work is the practical inferences which the author has appended to each section of his Notes—by which means he has combined the excellences of the critical and the practical methods of interpretation. The author gracefully intimates a desire to dedicate his work to that body of men who are doing more for the world, and for whom the world is doing less in return, than any other class of workers in society—his "*Brethren in the Christian Ministry*." We do not hesitate to say that the volume will prove an invaluable aid to these unrequited and unappreciated toilers in the Gospel field. We hope they may be able to prove its value. We ought to speak in special praise of the superior style in which the work is issued from the press. It is beautifully printed, and is, every way, a most attractive work.

Rev. John Blakely, of Kirkintilloch, Scotland, has produced a very interesting volume on *The Theology of Inventions*; or the Manifestation of Deity in the Works of Art. The design of the author is to show "that mechanical inventions, in the discovery of their elements and principles, and in the construction of their parts, are, and ought to be viewed, as emanations of the wisdom, power, and beneficence of God." It is a generally accepted arti-

cle of Christian belief, not only that God is present in nature, subordinating its agencies and forces to moral uses, but that he also bears sway in the departments of invention and discovery, making every improvement subservient to his merciful designs towards this ruined world. Mr. Blakely sets all this in a very clear and satisfactory light in this volume. He also illustrates the beneficence of the Deity in the mitigation of human suffering and toil, through the producing and other arts. His work is well arranged and clearly written, and must tend to awaken higher conceptions of the care and loving-kindness of God, and to excite the hearts of men to more profound gratitude for his providential mercies. (New York : R. Carter & Brothers. 1856. 12mo. pp. 294.)

The Messrs. Carter, New York, have issued in a neat 18mo pamphlet the sermon preached at Crathie Church, last October, before Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, by Rev. JOHN CAIRD. The theme of the preacher is *Religion in Common Life*; and he discusses it in an evangelical spirit, and with force and beauty of diction. We are pleased to learn that her Majesty and his Royal Highness approve of such views as those contained in this admirable sermon. We quote a short passage, that our readers may form an estimate of its character.

“ Much as has been said of the infusion of religious principle and motive into our worldly work, there is a preliminary advice of greater importance still—that we *be religious*. Life comes before growth. The soldier must enlist before he can serve. In vain, direction how to keep the fire ever burning on the altar, if first it be not kindled. No religion can be genuine, no goodness can be constant or lasting, that springs not, as its primary source, from faith in Jesus Christ. To know Christ as my Saviour—to come with all my guilt and weakness to him in whom trembling penitents never fail to find a friend—to cast myself at his feet in whom all that is sublime in divine holiness is softened, though not obscured, by all that is beautiful in human tenderness—and, believing in that love stronger than death, which, for me, and such as me, drained the cup of untold sorrows, and bore without a murmur the bitter curse of sin, to trust my soul for time and eternity to his hands—this is the beginning of true religion. And it is the essential love with which the believer must ever look to Him to whom he owes so much, that constitutes the main spring of the religion of daily life. Selfishness may prompt to a formal religion, natural susceptibility may give rise to a fitful one, but for a life of constant, fervent piety amidst the world's cares and toils, no motive is sufficient save one—self-devoted love to Christ.” (pp. 48-50)

We repeat, we are gratified to see Royalty receiving such views as these with favor. We think our readers will regard the above extract as indicating anything but Unitarianism or rationalism, notwithstanding the clamors of a portion of the English press. We presume that the real ground of complaint in the premises is, that Mr. Caird is not a minister of the English Church, and that his views of religion are too spiritual, and give too little place to ritualism.

The Divine Love. By JOHN EADIE, D.D., LL.D. (Philadelphia : Lindsay & Blakiston. 1856. 12mo, pp. 340.) Dr. Eadie is becoming well and

favorably known in the United States, as a writer. In Scotland he has earned for himself a high reputation, which will in nothing be impaired by a careful reading of the volume named at the beginning of this notice; for the work is replete with interest, and cannot fail to gratify the general reader. The design of the volume is strictly for purposes practical and devotional. Yet no one can peruse its pages without being impressed that it is the product of a mind richly stored with a critical knowledge of the sacred Scriptures.

Never was there a grander theme; and seldom has that theme been presented in a manner at once more attractive and instructive.

The work is evangelical throughout, and this should serve as its passport to the confidence of those to whom its perusal is here recommended. The great doctrines of the Bible are fully recognized. Sin and redemption are here portrayed—the *one* fearfully debasing the sinner in the vilest dust—all guilty and condemned—the *other* lifting him, through boundless grace, to glory inconceivable and peace unspeakable. We will let the volume speak for itself, whereby our readers can judge of its style and character.

“ But the same fervor of the Divine love is seen, in the end contemplated, and in the peculiar instrumentality by which that end is achieved. He gave His only-begotten Son for this purpose, “ that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life.” The language plainly implies that the race are in a lost condition. The Son of God is given to keep them from perishing—from sinking into irretrievable ruin. It was a perdition great and terrible which sin had produced. What a frightful spectacle! a soul in ruins—away from God, and hostile to Him. His image gone, His glory in the dust, a darkened mind, a distracted or sensualized heart, a spirit in thralldom, appetite predominant, the divine law forgotten, conscience bribed, hushed, or quelled; and the end of man’s being not only unrealized, but, by a reversed polarity of inclination, fought against, and the end that was at the opposite extreme pursued and gained. And so the soul perishes—sinks, and sinks lower and lower still, till it falls into unending agony, and suffers the penalty of disloyal transgression. (p. 29.)

“ In His love He gave Himself. It was no inferior gift He selected, for no inferior gift could be the adequate expression of His love. It would be content with nothing else and nothing less. The divine lover gave himself. It found no donation worthy of itself but Himself. The fires of Lebanon to consume the “ cattle upon a thousand hills;” the lightnings of Jehovah to reduce the universe to ashes—these could not suffice to redeem a world. A Being originally above the law, and placed voluntarily by Himself beneath it; only He can so obey it as to satisfy it, and so suffer its penalty as to liberate it from the original transgressor. (p. 57.)

“ Let us now consider how Jesus is to be loved. If our creed be, there is none like Christ, then the language of our heart will be—None but Christ! Had He common claims, He might be worthy of common love. Had He any rival—were there any truth but His that could enlighten, or any blood but His that could sanctify, or any power but His that could vanquish sin, and lift the sinner to glory, then affection toward Him might be either endangered or divided. But His claims are paramount, and therefore love to Him must not only be ardent, but supreme. It must correspond to His merits and character, rising to the occasion; and, like Aaron’s rod, swallowing up every rival emotion.” (p. 189.)

Plymouth Collection of Hymns and Tunes; for the use of Christian Congregations, (New York: A. S. Barnes & Co.) This collection of Hymns, made by Rev. HENRY WARD BEECHER, is entitled to high praise. It is the most copious of any now in use, we believe, embracing nearly 1,400 hymns. The compiler has traversed a wide field, and has gleaned contributions from many who heretofore have never been enumerated among sacred poets. But he has gleaned little that we regard as unworthy, on the score of sentiment, devotional feeling, or purity of expression. Yet there are a few hymns that we never should use in the public worship of God,—some, because they are too awful to be either said or sung, as aids to devotion; and others, because they are too frivolous to be used in the solemn assemblies. As an instance of the first, we would mention that terrible lyric of Watts, beginning, “My thoughts on awful subjects roll,” in which the following stanzas occur:

“Then swift and dreadful she descends
Down to the fiery coast,
Among abominable fiends,
Herself a frightened ghost.”

“There endless crowds of sinners lie,
And darkness makes their chains;
Tortured with keen despair they cry,
Yet wait for fiercer pains.”

However true and scriptural such sentiments may be, we are at a loss to conceive how they are ever to be sung with true Christian feeling.

As instances of those hymns in this collection, which are wanting in dignity and solemnity, we may point to the one on p. 124, commencing—“We’re travelling home to heaven above,” to the one on p. 404, beginning—“I’m a Pilgrim,” and to the one on p. 407, commencing—“We shall see a light appear.” Some of the admirable hymns which Mr. Beecher has arranged under the title of *The Church*, subdivision of “Institutions and Ordinances,” we would have placed among those which he has included under the title *Children*. Some of those which he has collected under the title of *Missions and Reforms*, we might have characterized as too secular, if we had not often felt the need of something like them, in public meetings, called to promote certain branches of Reform or Benevolence.

With the slight abatements which we have noted, we like this collection of hymns. Of the tunes we are scarcely competent to speak; but our impression is, that, while some of them are objectionable on account of their associations, and others have little merit as compositions, the bulk of them are well adapted to the purposes of Protestant worship.

Baptist Thorough Religious Reformers. By JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, A. M. New York: Sheldon, Lamport, & Co. 1855. 18mo, pp. 162.)

We are here presented with a small volume containing great and weighty principles, many of which cannot fail of commending themselves to the judgment of the judicious reader. Had the reformation of the sixteenth

century been thoroughly founded and carried forward on the leading principles here offered to our consideration, the most opposing obstacles to the union of God's people, and consequently to the prevalence of the Gospel, had been taken out of the way. Obstacles, which, by reason of their inveteracy, and of having become largely incorporated with most of the ecclesiastical institutions of our times, may only and with great difficulty now be effectually removed. The volume is valuable, and will well repay a careful perusal. Correct principles underlie all uniform and correct practice.

A History of Philosophy, in Epitome, by Dr. ALBERT SCHWEGLER, is a work recently translated from the German by JULIUS SEELYE. (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1856. Small 8vo., pp. 365). The original work is regarded as the best manual on the History of Philosophy, from the School of Hegel. The author presents the whole progress of speculative philosophy, in consecutive order, beginning with Thales and coming down to Hegel, whose system he regards as the ripest product of philosophy. His views of the Greek and German Philosophies are especially valuable. The work appears to have been faithfully translated, and we take occasion to commend it to students.

The Philosophy of the Weather; and a Guide to its Changes. By T. B. BUTLER. (New York: D. Appleton & Co., Nos. 346 and 348 Broadway). 1856. 12mo, pp. 414.)

This interesting volume was handed to us at a period quite too late for an intelligent notice of it to appear in our present issue. We can do little more than call attention to the fact that such a work has been prepared by one who has given to the subject a large share of observation for the last forty years, and who has been prevailed upon to offer the results of his close and patient investigations to the public. Judge Butler has evidently made himself familiar with the "countenance of the sky," and he reads and interprets the face of the visible heavens with the ease and familiarity of an old acquaintance.

He has presented the subject in a new and attractive light, and as we are inclined to believe, shown on scientific principles that the weather is not governed by caprice, but, to an extent beyond what we have supposed, by fixed and invariable laws.

The subject is one which challenges a careful study, and we may well bring to its investigation our most mature thoughts.

The author has thus graphically laid before us the object of the volume:

"I propose to deal with *The Philosophy of the Weather*—to examine the nature and operation of the arrangements from which the phenomena result; to strip the subject, if possible, of some of the complication and mystery in which traditionary axioms and false theories continue to envelope it; to endeavor to grasp its principles, and unfold them in a plain, concise, and systematic manner, to the comprehension of 'the many,' who are equal partners with the scientific in its practical, if not in its philosophic interest; and to deduce a few general rules by which its changes may be understood, and ultimately to a considerable extent, foreseen."

Elements of Logic; together with an Introductory Review of Philosophy in General, and a Preliminary View of Reason. By HENRY P. TAPPAN. (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1856. Small 8vo., pp 467). Our readers will see, from the quite full descriptive title-page, which we here quote, that Prof. Tappan has undertaken a more comprehensive treatise on Logic than we are wont to see. Usually, Logic is regarded simply as the science of inference. But Prof. Tappan regards it not merely as a method of obtaining inferences from truths, but also as a method of determining those first truths, and general principles, on which alone the processes of deduction can proceed. He considers it as "that branch of Philosophy which expounds the laws of the reason, as the faculty of truth and reality." We have no time to speak at any length of this work, but will commend it to the notice of our readers as every way worthy of attention. It is clear in statement, acute in reasoning, and forcible in expression. It is issued in the best style of the Appletons.

We have received from Bangs, Brother & Co., volumes II. and III. of *The Natural History of Pliny*. (London: H. G. Bohn. 1856. 12mo, pp. 536.) Pliny was regarded, in his time, as a miracle of learning and industry. His Natural History embraces almost every thing in the domain of nature, and many things that lie within the province of art. It is translated by the late John Bostock, M.D., F. R. S., and H. T. Riley, Esq., B.A. It forms a part of Mr. Bohn's Classical Library. The present volume treats largely of insects, vines, trees, and diverges quite largely on the manufacture of wines.

History of the Reign of Philip the Second, King of Spain. By WILLIAM H. PRESCOTT. (Boston: Phillips, Sampson & Co., 1856. Vols. I. and II., 8vo, pp. 618, 610.) Mr. Prescott needs no introduction to the reading world. His admirable histories are read in both hemispheres, and in many languages. There is but one opinion with reference to the merits of his works among the students of history. He is generally allowed to possess some of the highest qualities as a historian. Indefatigable in the collection of his *material*, patient in research, critical in investigation, calm and discriminating in his judgment, possessing a nice historic sense which enables him to detect truth amidst the variances of discrepant and conflicting authorities, and, withal, master of a style at once brilliant and direct, graceful and strong, he has produced works which have taken their place among the world's classics.

The subject of the volumes before us, it is understood, has engaged the attention of the author during many years. And he could scarcely have found a theme more worthy of the maturity of his great powers. Considering the pitch of wealth and power to which the Spanish monarchy had risen during the reign of Charles V., the circumstances which favored the increase and perpetuation of its advantages, and the strange eclat which Philip's accession to power received from the voluntary, but ostentatious retirement of his father from the throne, the commencement of that prince's reign may well be

regarded as an era in the history of modern nations. His reign embraced the period, and his dominions were made the theatre, of those great events which have shaped or modified the condition of the political and religious world ever since. When he assumed the sceptre, Spain was at the culminating point of her power and splendor. The Netherlands, and a large part of Italy, besides those vast possessions of the New World, held by the titles of discovery, and conquest, acknowledged her sway. Splendid as was the patrimony on which the young prince then entered, he aimed to increase it; and circumstances seemed to favor his design. He sought to unite the fortunes of the English and Spanish crowns; a measure which promised to consolidate the two richest and most powerful monarchies of Europe, and to wed the commerce of the Indies to the treasures of Mexico and Peru. His hope, of course, was to make all his power and treasure and commerce only so many sources of aggrandizing the position and influence of his hereditary kingdom. But besides this universal sway of the Spanish sceptre, Philip sought to enforce the universal prevalence of the rule and dogmas of the Romish Church. It looked like a great stride toward the accomplishment of both these ends, when he was united in marriage with Queen Mary, of England. After the death of that unhappy princess, he endeavored to perpetuate his influence in England by means of a similar alliance with Queen Elizabeth. But failing in this, he finally entertained thoughts of subduing that kingdom, by a stroke of power, and launched against it the renowned expedition known as the Invincible Armada. He lived to see this mighty armament scattered, and lost; the Netherlands alienated, and in successful revolt; Protestantism triumphant in England, in the Netherlands, and in a large part of Germany; and bequeathed to his successors a dismembered empire, and a decaying power. Considering the military and pecuniary resources at his command, the prowess of his armies, the skill of his generals, his own consummate craft, and the powerful alliances which he was able to control, his failure in the two great objects of his reign deserves to be recorded among the miracles of history.

Mr. Prescott, in these volumes, enters on the task of writing a scientific narrative of the complicated events of Philip's reign. He is to trace the domestic and foreign policy of that monarch, to describe the alternate successes and reverses which he experienced, and to unfold the causes which, commencing in the measures of his reign, have borne their ripened fruit in the political and social condition of the Spanish monarchy of to-day. He begins with the gorgeous ceremony of the Emperor's abdication in favor of Philip, in 1655, and brings the narrative down to the death of his son, Carlos, and his wife, Isabella, and the execution of Counts Egmont, and Hoorne, in 1668. It will be seen, therefore, that these two volumes cover a period of only about thirteen, out of the forty-three, years of Philip's reign. Mr. Prescott writes with a remarkable degree of impartiality, rarely pausing to draw an inference from the facts and events which he chronicles. If he has any theories according to which he would adjust the course of his history, we have been unable to find them. Yet we think it is clear, from the views which he gives

us, of the character and policy of Philip, that the main clue to his measures, and the chief source of the heavy disasters which marked his reign, must be sought in his devotion to the Romish Church. The judicial calmness of the historian, will only serve to make his conclusion the more apparent and irresistible. Never have we been so profoundly impressed with the blindness and infatuation of Papacy, never have we so realized the revolting cruelty of the Inquisition, as while reading the calm and almost cold statements of these unimpassioned pages. Stripped of all the accessions of prejudice and passion, the author's words penetrate us with a sense of the terribleness of the scenes which he depicts. We may direct our readers, who have access to Mr. Prescott's volumes, to an account which he gives of an *auto da Fe*, which Philip witnessed at Valladolid, soon after his espousal to the beautiful Elizabeth, of France. (Vol. 1. p. 427.) His descriptions are always vivid and striking, his portraitures of character evince keen insight and just discrimination, and every part of the work betrays the hand of a master.

The History of Massachusetts. The Colonial Period. By JOHN STERSON BARRY. (Boston: Philips Sampson, & Co. 1855. pp. 516.) Our Literature is becoming quite rich in local and provincial history. The old annals and Records of particular States, and even of important municipalities are giving place to well arranged and philosophical narratives. We noticed, a few years since, the admirable "History of the State of New York," by Mr. Brodhead, and we now have to notice a similar work on the History of Massachusetts. If Mr. Barry has not had the good fortune to fall in with a mass of original matter, like that which led Mr. Brodhead to undertake his noble work, he has the merit of rare industry and perseverance in research. He has traversed all the field of history, bearing in any way on the elucidation of his theme, and the materials which he has collected, with so much labor, are wrought with equal tact and judgment. He seems to be impartial. His narrative is clear, and flows naturally, his reflections are just, and his conclusions generally worthy of acceptance. We will give one or two extracts from his pages, which will serve to illustrate the judicial spirit in which he writes, and at the same time, afford a fair example of his style. The following view of the revival idea of the Puritans, and their relation to the English Church and State, will be read with interest:

"It must not be forgotten, however, in defining the position of Puritanism in the reign of Elizabeth, that the controversies which convulsed the Kingdom, and threatened almost, to banish from the world the gentleness of the Gospel, were not wholly confined to the tippet and the surplice, the square cap and the liturgy. The Puritans were the harbingers of a political as of a moral revolution. They aimed not only to restore Christianity to its primitive simplicity, purging the church of the corruption of ages, but they aimed also to overthrow the idea, the main pillar of the prerogatives of royalty, that we should obey man rather than God. Doubtless the ultimate tendency of their views, was to republicanism, rather than to monarchy. They would yield in religion, nothing arbitrarily, to the temporal sovereign. It was their motto, that in Church matters, God's word was the guide, and though they cannot be properly accused of open disloyalty, it must, at the

same time be acknowledged that their loyalty did not extend so far as to approve the doctrine of passive obedience. And because the Church and the State were considered one and inseparable, and the unity of the former was deemed the safety of the latter, non-conformity was persecuted on the plea of necessity. This is the true secret of the opposition of the English Church to Puritanism and Independency. This Church, like that of Rome, had virtually assumed its own infallibility. It had driven down the stakes which were never more to be removed. It had interwoven the hierarchy with the whole temporal constitution of the realm. It had built up a system mid-way between Puritanism and the despotism of the Catholic Church, and the test of loyalty was undeviating conformity to the Canons of the Church, and implicit obedience to the mandates of the crown. The Church was yet in its infancy, surrounded by subtle foes, the State was trembling upon the verge of revolution, and the instinct of self-preservation, prompted persecution of all who refused to put forth their hands to aid in supporting the Ark of the Lord, and the supremacy of the crown." (p. 43.)

Mr. Barry writes in the spirit of the largest charity to the early Puritans of Massachusetts, but he also aims to be just to those who sustained persecution at their hands. After a fair and impartial narrative of the controversy with Roger Williams, which ended in his banishment from the colony, the author thus sums up the account :

"Such is a brief account of the circumstances connected with the banishment of Mr. Williams, and, viewing them with 'a calm, a steady, and a christian hand,' as he has solicited, and as justice requires, no one will say it was because of his immorality that he was thus 'driven from his house, land and wife, in the midst of a New England winter,' leaving his companion with an infant in her arms, and his oldest daughter but two years old. No one will say it was because he lacked ministerial abilities that he was compelled with a heavy heart to part from all dear to him, and plunge into the wilderness, where, sorely tost for fourteen weeks, in a bitter winter's season, not knowing what bread or bed did mean, he cast himself on the hospitality of the sons of the forest. In morals he was above reproach ; and towards him as a minister, there was a 'general sentiment of respect.' His own statement is, it was 'only for the holy truth of Christ Jesus, that he was denied the common air to breathe in, and a civil cohabitation on the same common earth.' But the facts of the case seem to show that it was because his opinions differed from the opinions of those among whom he lived, and were considered by them as dangerous and seditious, tending to the utter destruction of their community, that he was a sacrifice to honest convictions of truth and duty." (p. 241.)

In the above extract we can excuse the rather tame censure awarded to the intolerance and cruelty of Mr. William's persecutors, in view of the ample justice which the author does to the integrity of his character, and the purity of his motives. In the following paragraph Mr. Barry indicates clearly enough on which side of this controversy, his own sympathies are enlisted.

"His subsequent career belongs to the history of Rhode Island ; and in taking leave of him here, we need only say, that, however the conduct of our fathers, in their treatment of this excellent man may be regretted, upon the broad grounds of Christian toleration, the purity of his life, the fervency of his zeal, and the sincerity of his religious convictions, joined to the triumph of the principles he espoused, especially his doctrine of the sanctity of conscience, have gained for him an immortality of fame, as merited and as

precious as the fame of his judges; and as the fables and visions of one age become the facts and practice of that which succeeds, so the prosperity of that colony, for which he labored so earnestly, and its successful vindication of his once despised but now accepted doctrine of soul liberty, which the world is beginning to recognize as an immutable truth, renders its history one of interest and attraction in the annals of New England." (p. 244.)

We have only space to add, that the volume before us is the first of a series on its important theme. The history is here brought down to the issuing of what is known as the Province Charter, of 1692, by William III. And the arrival of Sir William Phipps, as the Governor of the newly constituted Province, composed of the colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth and Maine. This volume is well edited, and is issued in a substantial and elegant style.

We have received from Bangs Brother, & Co., New York, the seventh and concluding volume of Mr. Bohn's new edition of *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, by Edward Gibbon Esq., (12 mo., pp. 594.) This edition of Gibbon is more amply annotated, and more carefully edited, than any other of the many editions which have been issued either in the old world or the new. The editor has selected the better part of the notes of Guizot, Wenck, Schreiter, Hugo and others, with such additions and corrections as the most recent sources of information afford. If a multitude of notes can help a book, we think this edition of Gibbon's great work may be regarded as well nigh perfect.

The Confidential Correspondence of Napoleon Bonaparte with his Brother Joseph. Selected and Translated, with Explanatory Notes, from the "Memoires du Roi Joseph." (New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1856. 2 vols., 12mo., pp. 388, 372.) These volumes present some traits in the character of Napoleon which will gratify his admirers, with much that will be seized upon by his enemies, to justify their prejudices. His early letters to Joseph reveal a depth and earnestness of affection, for which he has scarcely received general credit. The capacity of the man, the boldness and originality of his views, his attention to the minutest details of business, and his oversight of the multifarious interests of his empire and its dependencies, are matters which stand forth conspicuously in these remarkable letters. No one who wishes to form a true estimate of the man will fail to peruse these volumes. No Life of Napoleon which we have ever seen gives, on the whole, so satisfactory a portraiture of him as may be gleaned from these letters.

We have before us a similar work, relating to one, who, if he has left a less splendid name, yet retains a stronger hold on the feelings of the people of this country, at least. We allude to *The Private Correspondence of Henry Clay.* Edited by CALVIN COLTON, LL.D. (New York: A. S. Barnes & Co. 1856. 8vo, pp. 639.) Mr. Clay was not in the habit of keeping copies of his letters, but such of them as could be reclaimed from those to whom they were addressed, or their representatives, have been collected, and are here given to the public. Dr. Colton deserves the thanks of the American people for the difficult labor which he has performed, with so good a degree of success.

Macaulay's History. If the number of readers of Macaulay's History, in this country, only bear a reasonable ratio to the number of editions that have been issued here, he may, at least, feel flattered with the reception of his work among our people, whether he receive any more substantial satisfaction or not. The great house of the Harpers alone, publish it in three different forms. First, there is their octavo Library Edition, printed on fine paper, and large open type; then there is their cheap octavo edition, in a style nearly uniform with their Library of Standard Novels; and last, there is their neatly printed and convenient duodecimo edition. There is an edition of the work published in Philadelphia, and another in Cincinnati. But one of the neatest and cheapest editions published in this country is that of Phillips, Sampson & Co., of Boston, corresponding closely, in size and general appearance, with the Harpers' 12mo. edition; only, that the former omits the ample Indexes, which the latter contains.

Of the merits of the history itself, it is quite unnecessary for us to speak. Everybody reads it, and everybody admires it. It is generally authentic, and though written in the spirit of a partisan, the judgments which it expresses, are, for the most part, correct. It is the most minute history of the times concerning which it treats; yet, the details which would be repulsive in any other hands, Mr. Macaulay contrives to make absolutely attractive. It was thought, by some, that the historian would retract, or, at least, modify some statements in his two former volumes; such as the charges which he preferred against William Penn; but, so far from this, he returns to the charge, in his new volumes, with additional circumstance. It seems clear that Mr. Dixon, the biographer of Penn, has not satisfied Mr. Macaulay that it was "one George Penne," and not William, the founder of Pennsylvania, who was the real culprit in the matter of the chief offence, which the historian alleged against him, in the second volume of his work. Of one thing we suppose there can be no doubt: Penn was a violent partisan of the exiled Stuarts, and it is not improbable that, with all the excellences of his character, he was often betrayed into questionable acts. It is notorious that he was in correspondence with James, that parts of this correspondence were intercepted, that he was arrested, and that he was on one occasion thereafter, wanting in that straight-forward, manly dealing towards the government of William, which might have been expected from his general professions and character. But we have neither the time nor the space to enter into this question. It is understood that Mr. Macaulay will soon take some notice of Mr. Dixon's animadversions.

Dreams and Realities in the Life of a Pastor and Teacher, by the author of "Parish Side," professes to give descriptions of actual scenes in the life of one who has spent many years in the double profession of a preacher and an educator. The book abounds in interesting scenes and sketches, and will prove agreeable to those who take pleasure in the class of works to which it belongs. (New York: Derby & Jackson. 1856. 12mo., pp. 439.)

The Attaché in Madrid, or Sketches of the Court of Isabella II., is a racy, gossiping book, about the present Court of Spain, said to have been translated from the German. Those who are curious to study life and manners in the Spanish capital will do well to obtain it. (New York : D. Appleton & Co. 1856. 12mo., pp. 368.)

The Shakspeare Papers of the late William Maginn, LL.D., Annotated by Dr. SHELTON MACKENZIE. (New York : Redfield. 1856. 12mo., pp. 353.) These papers comprise the third volume of Dr. Maginn's works, which Mr. Redfield is issuing, in uniform style. They were originally contributed to Bentley's Miscellany, and Fraser's Magazine, and consist of a critical estimate of the leading characters of Shakspeare's plays. Dr. Maginn controverts, with much warmth, the position taken by Dr. Farmer, in his Essay on the Learning of Shakspeare, that the great poet was ignorant of any language but his own; and that he derived all the classical quotations and allusions, to be found in his plays, at second hand. We have read portions of this volume with deep interest. Although unable to accept some of the views of the author, we can yet commend his papers as full of interest and power.

Mr. Redfield has just issued a fourth volume of *The Works of the late Edgar Allan Poe*. This volume contains the nautical story of "Arthur Gordon Pym," besides nineteen of his shorter sketches, contributed to the various magazines with which he held connection. We have here some of the most remarkable productions of a gifted, but unhappy genius. *Arthur Gordon Pym* is a story of great power, while some of the smaller pieces rank amongst the best contributions to the humorous literature of our times.

Edith Hale is a story of village life, told with more than usual success, by THRACE TALMON. The characters are well drawn, and the moral tone is unexceptionable. (Boston : Phillips, Sampson & Co. 1856. 12mo., pp. 521.)

Wolfsden: An Authentic Account of Things There and Thereunto Pertaining, as they are and have been. By J. B. (Boston : Phillips, Sampson & Co. 1856. 12mo., pp. 504.) The locality of this story is in the State of Maine. It betrays a new hand, and would be more acceptable if somewhat curtailed. Yet it presents some fine points, and will repay perusal.

Charlemont, or the Pride of the Village. A Tale of Kentucky. By GILMORE SIMMS, Esq. *Beauchampe, or the Kentucky Tragedy*. A Sequel to Charlemont. By the same author. (New York : Redfield. 1856. 12mo., pp. 447, 450.) These volumes contain a new story,—for notwithstanding the different titles, the story of these volumes is but one—of the gifted author of "The Partisan," etc. The tale is founded on a fearful domestic tragedy

which occurred in Kentucky a few years since, and which produced a profound sensation throughout the country. Mr. Simms has worked his materials with good effect, managing the incidents of the drama with his usual skill.

We have received from C. Scribner, New York, the second volume of the *Cyclopedia of American Literature*. By the BROTHERS DUYCKINCK. The work is now complete, in two imperial octavo volumes, amounting to nearly fifteen hundred pages. It embraces personal and critical notices of American authors, from the earliest day till the present time, with extracts from their writings. We have noticed the omission of some names which are entitled to a place in so comprehensive a collection of American Literature as this. But instead of being surprised that some are omitted, we rather wonder that so many are included. It was a great and difficult task that the authors entered upon, and there are few men in our country who could have executed it so well.

Sunlight and Heartlight; or, Fidelity and other Poems. By SYLVANUS DRYDEN PHELPS. (New York: Sheldon, Lamport & Co. 1856. 12mo., pp. 251.) Dr. Phelps is well known as the able and beloved Pastor of the First Baptist Church, New Haven. He is an excellent preacher, and a most estimable man. In the beautiful volume before us, he has given us the collected results of his relaxations from the graver and severer toils of an exacting profession. Dr. Phelps possesses a high degree of poetic feeling, and fine powers of description, and has written much that the public will like to see in this permanent form. Our space forbids us to extract largely from this volume, but we must find room for the following sonnet:—

“Ye winds! the formless messengers of God!
 Oft as I listen to your solemn lays,
 Ye make the memory of departed days—
 The home of infancy—the paths I trod,
 And friends I loved, ere childhood's scenes were o'er :
 I hear your tones in old familiar trees,
 I see the orchard nodding to the breeze,
 And hear the woodland of the mountain roar :
 Ye mind me well of long-passed evening times
 When with the household group around the hearth,
 I sat, and listened to your mournful chimes,
 While all within was joy and social mirth ;
 And now as by my dwelling-place ye sweep,
 Ye tell me of the graves where friends and kindred sleep.”

The Harpers have commenced the re-issue of Mr. Bohn's celebrated “Classical Library,” in a style uniform with the London editions, under the name of “Harpers' Classical Library.” This library consists of literal prose translations of the leading Greek and Latin Classics. We have received *Davidson's Virgil*, newly edited by Rev. T. A. BUCKLEY; *Smart's Horace*, issued under the supervision of the same editor; *Cicero's Offices and Moral Works*, trans-

lated by CYRUS R. EDMONDS; *Sallust, Florus and Vellius Paterculus*, translated by Rev. JOHN S. WATSON; *Cesar's Commentaries on the Gallic and Civil Wars*; and the *Anabasis and Memorabilia of Xenophon*, translated by Rev. J. S. WATSON, accompanied with the Geographical Commentary of W. F. Ainsworth, Esq.

Messrs. Lindsay & Blakiston, Philadelphia, have commenced the publication of a work in numbers, entitled *The Protestant Theological and Ecclesiastical Encyclopedia*. It is chiefly a condensed translation of Herzog's well known *Real Encyclopedia*, though some additions are made from other sources. The compilation is under the supervision Rev. G. H. A. Bomberger, D.D., of Philadelphia. It will prove a work of great value to students and ministers. Its articles cover a wide range, embracing Biblical Literature, Theology, Biography, &c. It is to be completed in twelve numbers imperial octavo, of 128 pages each, making two large volumes, of nearly 800 pages each.

The Life of John Chrysostom. By FREDERICK M. PERTHES. Translated from the German by ALVAH HOVEY and DAVID B. FORD. (Boston: John P. Jewett & Co. 1855. 16mo, pp. 360.) We regret that this excellent translation of a most useful and interesting book did not fall under our notice sooner. Brief and popular in style, it is just such a life of Chrysostom as ought to be in the hands of our people everywhere; and it unquestionably would be, were they as much interested in the History of Christianity, and in the lives of its most able and eloquent defenders, as they ought to be. But alas! our people generally are more attracted to the secular literature, nay more, we fear to the fictitious literature of the day, than to this, which ought profoundly to engage the attention of all Christian men. Chrysostom was one of the great lights, and one of the most devout and eloquent preachers of the early Church; and his life, in all the great elements of interest, infinitely transcends the majority of modern lives. Perthes' work, while popular in its general tone, is yet the production of an accurate scholar, and an able thinker. It is drawn from the best sources, and may be relied upon for accuracy. It contains many apt and beautiful quotations from the writings, and particularly from the discourses, of Chrysostom. The narrative is simple and flowing. The closing chapters are especially interesting. Here one gains a just conception of the piety as well as eloquence of "the golden mouthed" preacher.

The Life of Captain Nathan Hale the Martyr—Spy of the American Revolution. By J. W. STEWART. (Hartford: F. A. Brown. 1856. 12mo. pp. 230.) We hail this glowing tribute to the memory of "the Martyr Spy of the American Revolution," with a sense of gratitude to its accomplished author. Mr. Stewart has performed a work of love in the preparation of this life of NATHAN HALE. He has been obliged to work at great disadvantage, and on scanty *matériel*. Yet he has given us a volume rich in interest, and by no means barren of incident. It is remarkable that, while our people

know so much of Andre, and have felt so much sympathy for his fate, so little should be known respecting the self-devoted patriot who labored for his country, while living, and, in his cruel death, only regretted that he had but one life to sacrifice for its liberties. But he has at last found an appreciative biographer, and a worthy memorial. Mr. Stewart has given us a valuable book, combining all that is accessible concerning the early life, history and sad fate of the noble Martyr. We give the following description of his death-scene, in the glowing words of the biographer :

"His gait, as he approached the gallows, in spite of his pinioned arms, was upright and steady. No offending soldier to whom the choicer penalty has been assigned to receive the shot of his comrades, ever, in the midst of sympathy, and with the consciousness that he was allowed, at least, a soldier's death, marched more firmly to kneel upon his coffin than did Hale to meet the felon's doom. Through all the horror of his situation he maintained a deportment so dignified, a resolution so calm, a spirit so exalted by Christian readiness to meet his fate, and by the consciousness of duty done, and done in the holy cause of his country that his face wore the aspect of a seraph's—lifted, as it was, at frequent intervals, to heaven, and so radiant with hope, heroism and resignation.

"Thus looking, he stood at last—the few simple preparations being ended—elevated on one of the rounds of the gallows ladder, ready for the fatal fall. The coarse voice of Cunningham, whose eye watched every arrangement was now heard, scoffingly demanding from his victim, his dying speech and confession. Never was torturer more cheated of his purpose—never a victim endowed with utterance more sublime! One glance, it is said at Cunningham, one slight momentary contraction of his features into contempt, and he turned to look, filled again with holy energy and sweetness, upon the spectators—now impressed, most of them, with solemn awe, and some of them, the females, not forbearing to sob aloud. With a voice full, distinct, slow, which came mournfully thrilling from the very depths of his being, in words which patriotism will forever enshrine, and every monument to Hale's memory sink deepest into its stone, and every temple of liberty blazon highest on its entablature—at the very moment when the tightening knotted cord was to crush the life from his young body forever, he ejaculated as the last immortal testament of his heroic soul to the world he was leaving—*'I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country!'*" (pp. 132–134.)

True Friendship. A Discourse Commemorative of the Life and Character of the Rev. John Overton Choules, D.D. Delivered in the Second Baptist Church, Newport, R. I., on Sunday, Feb. 24th, 1856. By WILLIAM HAGUE, D.D. (New York: Sheldon, Blakeman & Co, pp. 76.)

We regard Dr. Hague as singularly happy in his choice of a subject. He was abundantly qualified; and well has he executed his mournful task. He has acted the part of a true friend by this discourse, in which he does justice to the departed. There are few men who knew Dr. Choules, but can bear testimony to his Christian kindness. The writer of this notice can witness to it as "spontaneous, disinterested, strong and lasting."

The sermon is founded on Psal. lxxxviii., 18, "Lover and friend has thou put far from me." After a suitable introduction, the theme—"The characteristics of true friendship"—is announced. Four are mentioned—personal integrity

religious principle, sense of honor, and congeniality of tastes. Then follows an account of Dr. Choules from his birth to his death, with a "few observations relating to a general estimate of his character;" the whole closing with an address to the church.

From the sermon we gather that Dr. Choules was borne in Bristol, England, in 1801; was baptized by Dr. Ryland when 19 years of age; emigrated to the United States in 1824; took charge soon after of the Red Hook Academy, Dutchess Co., N.Y.; became pastor of the Second Baptist Church, Newport, R. I., in 1827; of the First Baptist Church, New Bedford, Mass., in 1833; removed thence to the Washington-street Baptist Church, Buffalo; next became pastor of the Sixth-street Baptist Church, New York City, since disbanded; then was settled at Jamaica Plains; and finally at Newport again. He died, while on a visit in New York, quoting "Jesus lover of my soul," &c., Jan. 7th, 1856. Dr. Choules edited "James' Church Members' Guide;" "The Christian Offering for 1831 or 1832." "History of Missions;" "Neal's History of the Puritans;" and "Foster's, Statesmen of the English Commonwealth." He wrote "Young Americans Abroad," and "Cruise of the North Star;" furnished a Continuation of "Hinton's History of America;" edited the *Boston Christian Times*; was a Lecturer, and contributed to other papers and periodicals. The pages of this Review have been enriched by him.

We hope our readers will procure this sermon, and read it. It will well repay perusal.

The Christian Life; its course, its hindrances, and its helps. By THOMAS ARNOLD, D.D., &c. (Lindsay and Blakiston. 1856. 12mo, pp. 404.)

This work consists of an Introduction, with Thirty-nine Sermons, and a few pages of Notes. The introduction deals some effectual blows against the High Church party; but in the kindest possible spirit. It has before been published in this country, in a volume of his Miscellanies. The sermons are most of them short; but they abound in the "seeds of thought." This is the first of two volumes on the same general subject, each of which are complete in themselves. We are glad to see it published on this side of the Atlantic, and that it has already met with so much favor. It had reached in England some months ago the fifth edition. In the United States such a book is more specially wanted; for the tide has not yet begun to set, as in England, against the high church party, so that the battle of Christianity needs to be fought there on other grounds. Dr. Arnold complains that he has "been greatly misunderstood with respect to his estimate of the Christian church as distinguished from the Christian religion." But all those who read this volume will perceive that he is not out of love with the church of the New Testament, but only with its historical corruptions. We dismiss the book with favor, regretting we have not time for a more extended notice which we had intended.

The Prince of the House of David; or, Three Years in the Holy City. (New-York: Pudney & Russell. 1856. 12mo, pp. 454.)

This book professes to contain "A series of the letters of Adina, a Jewess of Alexandria, sojourning in Jerusalem in the days of Herod, addressed to her father, a wealthy Jew in Egypt, and relating, as by an eye-witness, all the scenes and wonderful incidents in the life of Jesus of Nazareth; from his baptism in Jordan to his crucifixion on Cavalry. Edited by the Rev. Prof. J. H. Ingraham, Rector of St. John's Church, Mobile." It has become quite popular. The volume before us, which has been in our possession some time, is one of its sixth thousand. From a cursory perusal of some of its chapters, it appears to us an attractive volume, and will, we trust, prove beneficial to those for whom it is specially intended. The cast of the book we wish to approve, but its execution is attended with serious difficulties. The author in his preface disclaims the charge of irreverence; but there is what we do not like—a mingling of fiction with facts, and those facts the most sacred in history. Prof. Ingraham has fallen into what seems to us the error of Mr. J. Talboys Wheeler, in his work recently issued in England, and now in course of being reprinted by the Harpers, entitled "The Life and Travels of Herodotus," in which, for the purpose of exhibiting the state of the world in the fifth century before Christ, an imaginary biography is linked to a real name, connected with which name we have many reliable facts. Now we think that such works as these are calculated to confuse our ideas, and in some minds perhaps produce more injurious effects. Our author, we perceive, assumes in the closing page as fact what we have no good reason to suppose ever was the case—that Paul preached the Gospel in Britain. This may be one of his fictions; but, as it is an historical question, its introduction does not appear proper. The serious blemish we have noted, to our mind sadly vitiates the whole work.

A View of the Scripture Revelations respecting Good and Evil Angels. By RICHARD WHATELY, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin, &c. (Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston. 1856. 12mo., pp. 174.)

Archbishop Whately is becoming a very voluminous author. But whatever emanates from his pen is worthy of perusal. We have read the greater part of this volume with pleasure; and hope to peruse the remainder. The author is not historical but biblical. When he philosophizes, he does it well. The contents were originally delivered as lectures to his parishioners, and are practical. There are three lectures on Good and five on Evil Angels. He does not much favor the ministration of good angels now; yet he does not deny. He contends for the reality of Demoniacs; and cuts up some "prevailing errors relative to Satanic agency." The lectures on "the Reasons for the Revelations Respecting these Spirits" contain many valuable suggestions. The whole work is interspersed with remarks tending to augment and strengthen the Christian evidences. We commend it to students and the laity too.

Daniel Verified in History and Chronology; showing the complete fulfilment of all his prophecies relating to civil affairs, before the close of the fifth century. By A. M. OSBORN, D.D., with an Introduction by D. D. WHEDON, D.D. (New York: Carlton & Phillips. 1856. 12mo, pp. 202.)

Works on Daniel we should think were sufficiently numerous. Still there may be points to be developed which have been overlooked — ends to accomplish, as the world rolls on, which require fresh discussion. What the claims of this little volume are to our special attention we do not know, as we received it too late for a careful perusal and comparison with similar works. We can do but little more than intimate its contents. It consists of five chapters. 1. Introduction. 2. The great image. 3. Vision of the four beasts. 4. Vision of ram and he-goat. 5. Periods of Chapter XII. The author thinks “that the 10th chapter has no connection with any other portion of the book.” He denies that the last verses of Chapter XII. teach the resurrection. The remarks of Dr. Whedon, in his brief introduction, on the study of prophecy, are just and appropriate. It appears intended for popular use; but, beyond this, it may have an historical and exegetical significance which our cursory glance at it has failed to discover.

We have received from the press of Crocker & Brewster, a 12mo pamphlet, pp. 54, entitled “Geological Proof of the Inspiration of the Bible.” The name of the author is not given; and we have not by us the means of ascertaining. We regret to say we have not time for its perusal, for the press standeth still.

The State of the Soul between Death and the Resurrection. By Rev. PHINEAS BLAKEMAN, North Madison, Conn. (New York: M. W. Dodd. 1855. 18mo, pp. 114.)

We received this little book last quarter, but had not room for a notice. What we then prepared based upon a perusal has been mislaid. We have time now only to indicate its contents. After an introduction follows five chapters. 1. Conscious existence of the soul after death. 2. Mode of the soul's existence in its disembodied state. 3. Location of the world in which the soul resides between death and the resurrection. 4. Employments of the soul in the intermediate state. 5. Duration of that state. The subject is presented after the Socratic method. Beside the instruction it imparts to students of the divine mystery, it is specially worthy the perusal of mourners.

The American Baptist Publication Society has issued during the last quarter a little work by Dr. W. S. PLUMER, Professor of Theology in Alleghany City, entitled *The Church and her Enemies*. It details in a practical way “the trials and triumphs of God's afflicted ones,” and is well worth perusal. (18mo, pp. 124.)

The same society has also issued recently *A Story of the West*, entitled *The Outcast Daughter*. 18mo, pp. 53.) This is an excellent little book for children, illustrating the safety and ultimate blessedness of those who, in the face of persecution, follow Christ by faith.

The Prison of Weltevreden ; and a Glance at the East Indian Archipelago. By WALTER M. GIBSON. (New York : J. C. Riker. 1855. 12mo, pp. 495.)

This book professes to give an account of the author's early life, and especially of his visit to the East Indian Archipelago, and his incarceration and escape from Weltevreden. There are some things about the work we do not like. But it will be interesting to all those who desire a knowledge of the character of the natives of the region visited by Mr. Gibson, and of the conduct of the Dutch there. It has been reprinted in London.

The Mystic and other Poems. By PHILIP JAMES BAILEY, Author of "Festus." (Ticknor & Fields. 1856. 12mo, pp. 159.)

The "other poems" of this volume are two—"a spiritual legend" and "a fairy tale." Those who liked the author's former productions will probably hail this with pleasure. As for ourselves we cannot read it. Its expression is bad ; and many of its sentiments, especially in the "legend," worse. The first line of "The Mystic" is

"Who holds not life more *yearful* than the hours."

Then follows more that is "mystical" enough, indeed. The specimen line we have given is we presume all-sufficient to most of our readers.

Selections from Modern Greek Writers, in Prose and Poetry ; with Notes by C. C. FELTON, LL.D., Eliot Professor of Greek Literature in Harvard University. (Cambridge : John Bartlett. London : Trübner & Co., 12 Paternoster Row. 1856. 12mo. pp. 215.)

We are pleased to see this volume. Its aim is in the right direction. Professor Felton deserves well of the friends of classic literature, for the able manner in which he has performed his delicate task, in preparing the work, and also for the interest he is taking to improve our knowledge of the Greek tongue, as a living language.

To some extent has the sentiment prevailed that the Greek language belonged to a remote ancient period. The Romaic has been considered as cruel and unsettled, little removed, in respect to purity and refinement, from the vernacular of barbarous nations, and entirely unlike the Greek spoken in the times of Alexander the Great. Professor Felton's work will tend to disabuse the minds of such. The truth is, ancient and modern Greek is substantially the same language. Changes have come over it, as over all things else, in the course of centuries. But the Greek has suffered less in this respect than most other tongues. Modern Greek approaches much nearer to that spoken in the Byzantine period than the Italian to ancient Latin. The selections of Prof. Felton furnish fair specimens of the language as employed by the best Greek authors of modern times.

The volume closes with some forty pages of explanatory notes, which will greatly facilitate the reading of the work by those familiar only with ancient Greek. The mechanical execution of the volume is excellent, and we take pleasure in commending it to the learned reader.

Essays on the Preaching required by the times, and the best method of obtaining it ; with Reminiscences and Illustrations of Methodist Preaching. By ABEL STEVENS. New York: Carlton & Phillips. 1855. 12mo, pp. 266. We are glad to see this thoughtful and earnest effort to unfold and enforce the true nature and design of preaching the gospel. It is a work applicable to all religious communities, though specially intended for the Methodist Ministry. There has been a tendency of late among preachers of all denominations, to depart from the simplicity of the gospel, in the ministrations of the pulpit. Essays and Lectures have too frequently taken the place of preaching. With many, it is to be feared, the idea of ministerial success has not included the salvation of their hearers, but has embraced little more than mere external prosperity. It is the aim of the author of the work before us to check these evil tendencies in the ministry. We think that his book is adapted to such a result. He clearly points out the defects of modern preaching, shows the cause of the inefficiency of the pulpit in our day, and suggests the proper remedy, and then concludes with notices of some of the early Methodist preachers. The book is written in a remarkably clear and forcible style, and the Methodist especially will read it with much interest.

Japan as it Was and Is. By RICHARD HILDRETH, author of *History of the United States*. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co. 1855. 12mo, pp. 576. To those who know Mr. Hildreth's character as an author, it is scarcely necessary to say that this volume contains a full and ample account of the interesting country to which it relates. It includes all that is known of the history, government, institutions and people of Japan, with special notices of the efforts of the western nations to open intercourse with them. Mr. Hildreth, with characteristic industry, has grouped together all that the world has hitherto known with reference to that important empire. He has given the most complete history of the Spanish, Dutch, and Portuguese relations with Japan to be found in any language, and there is no work in English which gives so full an account of the English and American efforts to open and maintain intercourse with its government and people.

The History of Russia from the Earliest Period to the Present Time. Compiled from the most authentic sources including the works of Karamsin, Tooke, and Ségur. By WALTER K. KELLY. (In 2 volumes. London: H. G. Bohn. New York: Bangs, Brothers & Co. 1855. 12mo, pp. 502, 526.) This compilation of Russian history will be regarded with interest at the present juncture. It is derived from reliable sources, and is written in the clear and animated style for which Mr. Kelly has come to be so well known. These volumes embrace all that general readers will desire concerning the past history and present position of the great northern despotism. They bring the history down to the death of Nicholas I. and the accession of Alexander II.

Lives of the Queens of England of the House of Hanover. By DR. DORAN, author of "Habits and Men," "Table Traits," &c. (New York: Redfield.

1855. pp. 420, 377.) Not one of the women commemorated in these volumes either possessed or did anything to deserve a place in history. Excepting the chance distinction of being a queen, not one of them has a claim to be remembered by posterity, unless it be the unfortunate Queen Caroline, wife of George IV. Yet Dr. Doran has contrived to make a very interesting and not altogether uninteresting record of lives which, for the most part, were uneventful. Many incidents in the history of some of these women, and some traits of their characters, must have appealed irresistibly to the author's love of the ludicrous. As a picture of the domestic life of the Georges, and as containing portraits of some of the principal personages of their times, these volumes possess considerable interest and importance. Dr. Doran is a sparkling writer, and has succeeded, in more than one instance, in making a very entertaining book out of a very trivial subject.

The Christ of History. An argument grounded in the Facts of His Life on Earth. By JOHN YOUNG, M. A. (New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1855.)

This is a reprint from the London edition of a work, which ought to receive greater attention in this country than it has hitherto secured. We regard it as decidedly the ablest exhibition of the character and claims of Jesus Christ, which has appeared for many years. The argument, though not absolutely new, is yet original in the method of treatment. The author assumes nothing but the simple historical facts in the Life of Christ, such as Strauss or any other sceptical writer would be willing to concede, irrespective of all miraculous claims, and on this ground alone vindicates His supreme divinity. The style of the work is remarkably simple and energetic, being completely free from the glare and tinsel of most of our modern "fine writings," and distinguished by apt and elegant expression. The work breathes also a noble Christian spirit. We trust it will receive an extensive circulation, especially among inquiring minds.

The Contrast between Good and Bad Men, illustrated by the Biography and Truths of the Bible. By GARDINER SPRING, D. D., L. L. D., Pastor of the Brick Presbyterian Church, New York. (New York: M. W. Dodd. 1855. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 417, 413.) The design of the venerable author of these beautifully printed volumes is to show the relative value of religion and irreligion by their respective effects in the lives and characters of men as related in the sacred record. It is a very judicious attempt to test the religion of the gospel by its fruits. The author vindicates the wisdom of the Christian by the truths which he receives, the motives which influence him, the duties he performs, the restraints he imposes on himself, the principles which give tone to his character, the hopes which animate him, the life he leads, and the death he dies. Dr. Spring's style, though not remarkable for vivacity and grace, is yet clear and strong, and is generally the vehicle of good sense and scriptural views.

My Father's House, or the Heaven of the Bible. By JAMES M. MAC-

DONALD, D. D. (New York: C. Scribner. 1855. 12mo, pp. 376. It is impossible, putting aside all curious and merely speculative views, for the Christian to think too much on the subject of his heavenly home. Hence the importance of a work which shall distinctly and soberly state the revelations of the Bible on so great a theme. We have been much gratified in the perusal of Dr. Macdonald's book. It is at once safe and profitable for Christian readers. He confines himself for the most part to the clear revelations of the Scriptures, and rarely branches off into unauthorized speculation. We cheerfully commend this volume to our readers.

ARTICLE VIII.—LITERARY AND THEOLOGICAL INTELLIGENCE.

UNITED STATES.

THE most noted book which has come into circulation during the past quarter, in theological circles, especially among Baptists, is that of Dr. Sheldon's on *Sin and Redemption*. It is reviewed in our present number. The first edition was soon exhausted; but its publishers have decided, we understand not to issue a second. The sentiments of Dr. Sheldon respecting the atonement remind us of those recently promulgated in England, and which are giving rise to some concern. We allude to those contained in the *Commentaries* of Rev. B. Jewett, Regius Professor of Greek, Oxford, on the Epistles to the Romans, Galatians, and Thessalonians.

The two new volumes of Macaulay's *History* have been issued in this country since our last. It has been issued by several houses, and in more varied editions than houses. Their reception gave rise to great enterprise on the part of publishers. Phillips, Sampson & Co. had their edition set up, stereotyped, printed, bound, in seven days. The sale of this history has been unprecedented, both in the United States and England. A brief notice of these volumes will be found on a preceding page: a more extended article on both these and the former may be given in a future number of this journal. A fifth volume may be expected very soon: it is said to be in press.

Among biographies, that of *Amos Lawrence* (which was issued about the time our January number went to press), has been deservedly popular. An octavo and duodecimo have been published, and several thousands of each sold.

The *Song of Hiawatha*, by Longfellow, is enjoying an extensive sale. 20,000 have been issued, and the demand continues. The critics differ widely in their opinions respecting it. It undoubtedly displays great poetic talent. All the world is reading it; its effect is charming. It is republished in London. Apropos, Messrs. J. B. Lippincott & Co. announce *The Myth of Hiawatha, and other Oral, Mythological and Allegorical Legends of the North American Indians*. By Henry R. Schoolcraft, LL.D.

The American Journal of Education and College Review, which consisted

of the fusion of two educational works, and which began the year as a monthly, has since separated again. *The American Journal of Education*, edited by Henry Barnard, LL.D., Hartford, is to appear henceforth bi-monthly. March number is in circulation: the next will be issued in May. The position of the *College Review* we have not learned.

Mr. C. B. Norton will not issue his list of new books published in the United States during the year 1855 until May next. We have seen a specimen copy, and, from a rough estimate, judge that about 2,000 volumes were published. Mr. Norton proposes to continue this useful work annually.

The Hebrews have decided to found a University in Cincinnati.

Efforts have recently been made to unite the Theological Schools of Yale College and East Windsor.

The Smithsonian Institution has received as a present from the University of Jena, a copy of the original work of Otto de Feurick—inventor of the air-pump—folio; 1672. It contains an engraving illustrating the celebrated experiment of the Magdeburg hemispheres.

The third volume of the *Life of Washington*, by Mr. Irving, is nearly ready. It will be followed by certainly another. Material has accumulated on the author's hands far beyond his expectations. Some of it has recently been discovered.

Seventeen hundred subscribers have been obtained for Agassiz's great work, *Contributions to the Natural History of the United States*. The number of subscribers is limited to 2,000. The success of the enterprise is considered complete. The first volume will be ready in June.

Crocker & Brewster announce a new edition of Robinson's great standard work, *Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai, and Arabia Petrea*. The three volumes of the former edition will be compressed into two, and a volume of entirely new matter added.

Messrs. Ticknor & Fields have issued a second edition of Dr. Warren's great work, *The Mastodon Giganteus of North America*. The former edition was not offered for sale, but was distributed among universities, learned societies and individuals, in this country and other parts of the world.

The January number of *Brownson's Quarterly* contains an article in review of one in our issue of October last—*Transcendental Road to Rome*. We saw it too late to give it anything more than a cursory glance.

The *Memoirs of Dr. Cone*, by his sons, are nearly ready.

Harper & Brothers will publish the twelfth and concluding volume of Grote's *History of Greece*, as soon as they can obtain a good portrait of the distinguished author. This is the best Grecian history extant.

The same house also announces the *History of Europe, from the fall of Napoleon in 1815, to the accession of Louis Napoleon in 1852*, by Sir Archibald Allison. The fifth volume of this work, bringing the history of France down to 1837, of England to 1834, of Germany to 1848, and of Turkey and Greece to 1841, has just been published in London.

'A new work is announced by Appleton & Co. from the pen of the author of the "Wide, Wide World," entitled *The Hills of the Shatemuc*.

A History and Repository of Pulpit Eloquence, by Heary Clay Fish, is announced by M. W. Dodd.

An edition of *Cicero de Senectute et de Amicitia*, by Professor Lincoln, is announced by Appleton & Co.

Phillips, Sampson & Co. announce *The Earnest Man: a Life of Dr. Judson*. By M. Conant. This is to be a smaller work than that of Dr. Wayland. It will meet a want which has long been felt. It has the approbation of Dr. Wayland: and the profits will be devoted to the benefit of the family.

Mr. Conant has been engaged also, for some time, on a *Popular History of English Bible Translations*. It will soon be issued by Messrs. Sheldon Blakeman & Co.

The *Commentaries of Olshausen*, edited by Professor Kendrick, of Rochester University, and so long announced, will, it is said, soon go to press. The first volume may be expected early in the Summer. Messrs. Sheldon, Blakeman & Co. are to be the publishers.

The *Sermons* of the Rev Mr. Spurge, (a young man who is now creating considerable sensation in London), with a sketch of his life, will soon be issued by the same house.

Several other works of interest have been issued or announced during the past quarter by various houses. Some of them, we hope, will receive more extended notice in our next. We have only space to add the titles of a few which have met our eye: *Lives of J. M. Mason, Killo, Tuleygrand, and Dr. Scudder. The Suffering Saviour*: by Krummacher. *Cyclopaedia of Biography*: by F. L. Hawks. *Philosophy of History*: by W. E. T. Shedd. *Liddell's History of Rome*. *Benton's Thirty Years in the United States Senate*. A new *Latin Dictionary*, from the press of Messrs. Lippincott & Co. Hayne's *History of the Baptist Denomination*. Dean Milman's *History of Latin Christianity*.

Appleton's *Cyclopaedia of Biography* has been received. A notice of this excellent work will appear in our next issue.

ENGLAND.

Considerable stir has been occasioned in England, owing to the rumored heterodoxy of the Queen. The true solution of the uproar appears to be, that her Majesty thinks with Archbishop Tillotson, that charity is above rubrics. The occasion of this stir is hinted in a notice, given in another part of this number, of a sermon by Dr. Caird.

Since our last issue, Samuel Rogers the well known banker and poet, and long a patron of learning and literary men has died. He leaves, it is said, five volumes of memoirs. *Recollections of his Table Talk* have been published by Rev. A. Dyce, and are already reprinted in the United States. Josiah Conder, for twenty-three years editor of the Patriot, and proprietor of the Eclectic Review has also recently deceased.

A new review has been projected to be carried on by the members of Cambridge and Oxford Universities and by others.

Several American books have been recently reprinted in England. Among these are W. H. Prescott's *History of Philip the Second*; *History of Ruth*, by Dr. Tyng; *Illustrations of Scripture*, by H. B. Hackett; *Oliver Cromwell*, by F. L. Hawks; *God revealed in creation and in Christ*, by J. B. Walker; and the first volume of *Princeton Essays*. The latter are received with great favor.

Paleairo's famous work on the benefits of Christ's death, supposed, under

the exterminating efforts of Rome, to have entirely disappeared, has recently been found in the library of St. John's College, Cambridge. Its popularity in the 16th century was immense. In Venice alone 40,000 copies were issued. It was translated into several languages. In view of its past history it will excite attention.

The *British and Foreign Evangelical Review* for January, republishes an article from our October number—*Essence and End of Infidelity*.

Darling's *Cyclopædia Bibliographica* arranged under subjects and pointing out the best books on each, is in active preparation, and will be ready for the press about the end of the year.

The new edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* is progressing. The 10th volume, just issued, contains a biography of Gibbon, by H. Rogers, of Goethe, by De Quincey, and of Goldsmith by Macaulay.

The *London Gazette* in a series of volumes from its commencement in 1675 to 1834 is in the London market.

A volume is in course of preparation entitled *Vital Statistics*, which will contain a record and biographical notice of about 4000 cases of persons who have attained the age of 100 years.

Faraday has published a third volume of *Experimental Researches in Electricity*. They are said to be "among the most important that the century has produced."

Faith in God and modern atheism compared in their essential nature, theoretic grounds, and practical influence, is the title of a new work by J. Buchanan, successor of Dr. Chalmers, as professor of Theology in the new College, Edinburgh. The material for this work, was made up by the author while occupying the Chair of apologetic theology. It is divided into four parts, the third of which is most valuable, because most practical. Several of its chapters have been published in separate forms for more general circulation.

The Hebrew text of the Old Testament has been revised by S. Davidson. It is an attempted improvement on the received one of Hooghtius. The whole text is not included; but only the parts needing emendation. But little use is made of the more extended labors of Kennicott and De Rossi.

Part first of a work entitled *Christ and other Masters* by C. Hardwick, has been published. It is valuable as grappling with present difficulties and objections. It combats the absolute religion of F. Newman, Mackey, and Theodore Parker.

A translation, by Rev. T. Meyer, from the German, of the *Internal history of German Protestantism*, by Dr. C. F. A. Kalmis, puts the English reader in possession of a valuable work. Dr. Kalmis is Ultra Lutheran in his views; but he gives us biographical notices of the leading men in the church "from Leibnitz and Wolff, to Tholuck, Neander, and Hengstenberg." Mr. Meyer has not altered the text except to occasionally interpose an exclamation, (!) which, perhaps, is an unwarrantable liberty.

The following are among some interesting works which have been recently issued, or which are on the eve of publication: *History of German Literature*, based on the work of Vilmar, by the Rev. F. Metcalfe; *Tholuck's commentary on the Psalms*, translated; a cheap edition of the entire works of J. Wesley; a work on Daniel and Revelation, by Prof. Auberhen; *Principles of Prophetic Interpretation*, by Prof. Fairbairn; *Cambridge Essays*, the counterpart of the Oxford; *Index to Blackwood's Magazine*, Vol. 1 to 50; *Memoirs of Ralph Wardlaw*, by W. L. Alexander; *Miscellaneous Pamphlets* on some of the leading questions agitated in the church during the last ten years, by Julius Charles Hare; *Difficulties of belief in connection with the Creation and Fall*, by Rawson Birks; *Truth of the Evangelic History, in opposition to D. F. Strauss*, by Wm. Gillespie.

GERMANY.

The German press is as prolific as ever. From a recent statement we gather, that during the first six months of 1855, 3876 volumes were published. At this rate; at the end of the year the number would amount to 7,752.

The reaction in philosophy and theology in Germany is said to be becoming more and more marked. This testimony in philosophy is witnessed in Weisse and A. F. Gröver, and in theology in Gruppe, Jessen, and Karl Forslaye.

The aged Professor Schlossen, of Heidelberg, has nearly completed his *Weltansicht für des Deutsche Volk*, commenced by him in 1844.

Alexander Von Humboldt is still employed in completing his *Cosmos*.

Dr. Ed. Vohse, author of *Geschichte der Deutschen Höfe*, has been imprisoned at Berlin, owing, it is said, to the contents of the last two volumes, which have been confiscated.

Dr. Pauli has published a second volume of his *Geschichte von England*. The history is brought down in it to the end of the fourteenth century.

St. Thomas of Canterbury, and his struggle for liberty, is the title of a new work by J. F. Buss.

A sixth volume of GIESLER'S *Church History*, containing the history of doctrine down to the Reformation, is announced.

The second volume of *Christology*, by THOMASIVS of Erlangen, is published. It is wholly devoted to the person of Vit, and is able, learned, and Lutheran. Another volume will complete the work.

Dr. B. WEISS has written on the *Doctrinal System of Peter*; Dr. C. PRANTL an *History of Logic in the West*; E. FEUERLEIN on the *Ethics of Vy. in its leading historical forms*.

The learned Dr. BUNSEN has recently published two volumes entitled *The Signs of the Times*. A favorite scheme in Prussia for some time has been to unite Lutheran and Reformed into one Evangelical Church. It has not been attended with the success hoped for. Dr. Bunsen advocates as a necessity the congregational principles based on liberty of conscience and personal conviction.

FRANCE.

During the year 1855 there has been printed in France 8,325 books and pamphlets. This is a larger number than in any preceding year for the last forty-four, except 1825. Since 1811, 271,994 volumes have been issued.

Cheap literature, or what is called in France "railway reading," is becoming very plentiful.

Guizot is said to be engaged on a new work on English history.

A collection of old French poetry, from the earliest times, is about to appear, in forty volumes, under the auspices of the government.

The works of Dr. Channing have been translated into French. Also Ranke's *History of France in the 15th and 16th centuries*.

Histoire de Règne de Louis 16th. This is another work by M. CAPEFIGUE, a voluminous historian.

The prize offered by the Academy of Moral and Political Science for a history of the French Monarchy from Philip Augustus to Louis XIV., has been obtained by A. Chevreul. It is published in two volumes.

Those wishing to send orders for books will find it to their advantage to notice the advertisement of WILLIAM K. CORNWELL, in the following sheets. Mr. Cornwell has an extensive acquaintance with members of the trade, and will take particular pains to supply every article in the line procurable at the time the order is received.

THE
CHRISTIAN REVIEW.

NO. LXXXV.—JULY, 1856.

ART. I.—REVIEW OF THE STRAUSSIAN THEORY.

The Life of Jesus; critically examined by DR. DAVID FRIEDRICH STRAUSS. Translated from the Fourth German Edition by MARION EVANS. New York: Published by CALVIN BLANCHARD, 1855.

THAT Germany is now recovering from her sad aberration, and is fast imbibing a more humble and evangelical spirit, and that she repudiates to-day, as earnestly as a people can, the false extravagances of Gospel mythicism, is subject of grateful admission. The theory of Strauss was years ago sifted throughout by her scholars, and afterwards consigned to the silence of the libraries, as a system tried and "found wanting,"—too gross for the philosophers, and too subtle for the common people. It can hardly be said to be working ill at the present stage of German development. Looking to these facts alone, with an impression that silence is the best condition of error, we might feel that the exhortation, "let the dead past bury its dead," might be appropriately suggested to him who should revive the theory, simply for the sake of replying to it. But transferring ourselves to our own country we shall find the aspect of things somewhat changed. Instead of finding our scholars and theologians eager to invent novel systems, we see them often complacently embracing German theories, long before outgrown and inoperative in the land where they originated; so true is it that we

have leaned on foreign speculation, and have awaked at a late hour to what is elsewhere exploded sentiment. Such a fact might lead to the presumption, at least, that our relations to the Straussian theory are at this day different from those of German writers, and hence that our duty in the case may also be different. It is not, indeed, affirmed that our people are, in any considerable degree, imbibing the sentiments of Strauss. God grant that the few potions we have already quaffed of the German infidelity may suffice. And yet the late publication, on a liberal scale, of a new and improved translation of the *Leben Jesu*,* and the occasional spectacle of an experimenter or novice gloating over its pages, together with the fact of its being a favorite book in the libraries of sceptics, sufficiently indicate that the work is having a circulation and influence among us. The question is, are we already well enough acquainted with the nature and purport of Strauss's book to oppose it intelligently, and prevent its noxious influence? If not, the subject which we have proposed to ourselves in this article is eminently practical, and is one deserving extensive discussion; and, indeed, were it not so practical, did it not bear so directly upon the interests of our holy religion, still we could not be persuaded that it is unnecessary to review a theory so mournfully instructive to the student and the historian of speculative theology.

David Friedrich Strauss was born at Ludwigsburg, in Würtemberg, A. D. 1808. His early studies were pursued mainly at Tübingen. While yet a youth he officiated, for a time, as a country curate. As early as 1831 we find him discharged from his cure, and, in Berlin, listening to the lectures of the Platonistic Schleiermacher. Neander had enjoyed the instructions of the same teacher. But though taught in the same theology, Neander and Strauss went forth with the most different views;—the one with instruments to attack historical Christianity, the other with weapons of defence. Strauss had eagerly seized upon the more airy and doubtful parts of his teacher's *philosophy*; Neander, on the other hand, though not always correct in his theories, has

* The work whose title is prefixed to this Article.

based himself on the underlying evangelical stratum of the same teacher's *theology*. The circumstance that these men had been fellow-pupils, will partially account for the fact of Neander's expressing more confidence in the moral purpose of Strauss, than any other opposing theologian in Germany. In A.D. 1835, when only twenty-seven years old, Strauss put forth at Tübingen, the home of his early discipline, the great production which has procured for him his unenviable notoriety. The "Life of Jesus," ponderous with its thousand octavo pages, quickly found its way to every literary table in the country. It agitated the schools to the centre. If a bloody moon had suddenly appeared full in the firmament, men would not have more stared, nor more shuddered. A young man had brought out a critical system, threatening destruction, with the ability, and dignity, and boldness of an older head, and with the cool indifference and great-scaled recklessness of one who knows no control, no accountability.

The work of Strauss passed quickly through three editions. A thousand critics whetted their knives against him. The calm persistent defence of the Evangelical History by Neander, with the help of other strong minds, had succeeded in weakening Strauss's confidence in his first positions. He recanted, therefore, some of his bolder statements, and the two editions which succeeded the first, were essentially modified in their doctrine. But now, finding himself committed to such views as would, if carried out to their legitimate results, undermine his entire system, he rushes back to his old post, expressing himself as chagrined with his own compliance. Accordingly, in some remarks accompanying the fourth edition of his work, published in A. D. 1840, he says:

The intermingling voices of opponents, critics, and fellow-laborers, to which I held it a duty attentively to listen, has confused the idea of the work in my mind. In the diligent comparison of divergent opinions, I had lost sight of the subject itself. Hence, on coming with a more collected mind to this last revision I found alterations at which I could not but wonder, and in which I had evidently done myself injustice. In all these passages the earlier readings are now restored; and thus my labor in this new edition has chiefly consisted in whetting, as it were, my good sword, to free it from the notches made in it rather by my own grinding than by the blows of my enemies.

Hence the Strauss whom we approach now is the Strauss of the first onset, only a little harder and fiercer-grown. It is to be expected that men who publish bold sentiments in their youth, will find occasion to alter or modify those views permanently in more advanced life. This is amply illustrated in the cases of Fichte in Germany, and Macaulay in England. But here is Strauss persistent to defend to the letter his early scheme; and now, at the age of forty-eight, his first speculations are become favorite tenets, former fancies are now his creed.

In order to a distinct appreciation of the position which Strauss occupies, and the proper grounds and spirit of his system, it is necessary briefly to review the progress of German infidelity, till its legitimate ripening in the mythical theory. We shall find the roots, and the stock upon which blossomed the night-flower of Straussism, far down the preceding years. Of course we can only notice that line of theological opinion in its more marked stages, which terminated in this theory, without referring to the counteracting force of the orthodox systems.

On the reaction which succeeded the great Reformation of the sixteenth century, there arose a progressive class of deists and sceptics, who opposed Christianity with the same weapons as Porphyry, Celsus and Julian had employed in the early ages of the Church. According to the laws of action and reaction, we are naturally to expect the appearance of the most angry opponents to Christianity immediately on the passage of the periods of its most triumphant success. So it was in the third and fourth centuries of the Church, when the leaven of the new truth had so permeated and changed society as to give new occasion to the saying, that "the world was turned upside down." So it was in the two centuries immediately following the Reformation. The mighty demonstration of the power of the Gospel of Christ, in its self-strengthening and aggression, could not be manifested without exciting the sharpest hostility of Satan's emissaries. Observe now the changing aspect of the opposition. At first it raves. Argument is neglected. Those who started forth after the glorious conquests of the sixteenth century despised all reason,

and boldly denounced the Gospel as a wild and senseless scheme. Such was the madness of the first outbreak. But soon the rising class of opponents, without softening at all their real hostility, resort to forms of reason, and push their offence with an air of learning. Their course is well defined. On certain assumed grounds they proceed to argue against Divine revelation. They summon every energy, ply every instrument, to undermine the Word of God. A part is reasoned away, and a part, indeed, peremptorily denied. This we find to be the general process during the seventeenth century, when the haters of the Gospel had become more crafty and cool.

“The deists of those times,” says our author, “renewed the polemic attacks of the pagan adversaries of Christianity in the bosom of the Christian Church; and gave to the public an irregular and confused mass of criticisms impugning the authenticity and credibility of the Scriptures, and exposing to contempt the events recorded in the Sacred Volume.”

These deists appear to have consisted of several classes. One denied to the Bible some of its distinguishing features; another excluded whole books. Now, it is asserted that the Jewish Religion cannot be a revelation from God, because, as they allege, it debases God to participation in every form of cruelty. Again, the miracles of the Bible are the subject of essential contempt; and then assaults are made upon the New Testament with the extremest abandonment of deistical ire.

Thus proceeded this reckless work. England appears to have been its chief agent till the beginning of the eighteenth century, when Germany, with more policy and more culture, seized upon the wild idea of destroying the force of the Scriptures. And it was indeed her prerogative, if any should claim it. With her general adaptedness and discipline for the work of literary and historical criticism, she added the trait of stolid indifference to the results of speculation, and plunged full length into the raging element of Deism. The watchword went round, and the cold-hearted work began. The product was natural. It will be enough to mention the “Wolfenbüttel Fragments,” aptly termed a *refined deistical extraction*, alike the result and the representative of the first

period of the regular German scepticism. These 'Fragments' at first fell heavy upon the times; but, edited anew, and published under the direction of Lessing in 1774, they excited unusual attention. The leading idea of the Fragmentist, Reimarus, was, that the Scriptures were but the record of one grand continuous system of fraud from beginning to end. He says, that even if God saw fit to work miracles, it would be by men less criminal than Moses, and if he chose to make communications to the world, it would be through men more reliable than the patriarchs and prophets! But yet he contends that miracles and all Divine communication are at once incredible and absurd, even granting that Moses and the prophets were not so bad; thus alternating his assumptions. He considers

the aim of Jesus to have been political; and his connection with John the Baptist a preconcerted arrangement, by which the one party should recommend the other to the people.

He views

the death of Jesus as an event by no means foreseen by himself, but which frustrated all his plans: a catastrophe which his disciples knew not how else to repair than by the fraudulent pretence that Jesus was risen from the dead, and by an artful alteration of his doctrines.

But even the mind of the unorthodox must soon recoil from the monstrous accusatory exposition of the Fragmentist, notwithstanding its continued infidelity; and hence a new interpretation was sought, which, while it denied the supernatural character of the Bible, would yet exclude all probability of fraudulent design on the part of those who penned its records or figured on its pages. Upon this, then, a new period of the unsanctified criticism was ushered in, and a distinct class of theologians rose up, who agreed with the Fragmentist in rejecting the miraculous element in the Scriptures, and so far were *Naturalists*, but who differed from the proper *Naturalists* in exalting the characters of Scripture from designing and deceitful men to an honorable position among the race, and in giving a new and more highly rational interpretation to the Divine word, especially in those parts which had previously been thought to teach miracles. They rationalized everything, and were denominated *Rationalists*

proper, though often called Naturalists in general reference. The Rationalists were the great class of speculators who overran Germany during the last part of the eighteenth, and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. Some of them rested satisfied with applying their mode of interpretation to the Old Testament alone. But what could be so easily explained away in the Old Testament as miracles, must share a like fate in the New Testament. Accordingly, we are not to wait long before we see the entire fabric of revelation taken down piece by piece in the soft insinuating way of rationalism; and the long chain of wonderful manifestations through the full length of the Bible, is smoothed away into a tame record of common transactions and man's most innocent self-deception. We have, then, the history not of deceiving, but of deceived men. To Dr. Paulus belongs the peculiar credit of flattening down the last record of the Bible into human ribaldry and silliness; and with the accomplishment of such a result closed the work of the Rationalists, and the second period of modern German scepticism.

The latter system was as philosophically connected with the former as it is possible for two great theories to be whose guiding principle is hostility to the full truth of God's Word. If rationalism made a less summary and slaughterous attack upon Christianity than pure naturalism, it was concocted out of not a whit more love for the system itself. The old deism was full of spite, and in madness employed naturalism as a slayer. Rationalism was speculative and wary, and used naturalism as a stepping-stone from which to steal the heart of Revelation. The deistical haters and open fighters of our religion do demand a shadow of respect, while the cunning rationalistic dissolvers and under-thrusters of it, with all their suspicious pretensions of honesty, with all their thousand low resorts, merit thorough contempt. These, forsooth, make our Saviour out to be a very virtuous man, but really stultified and self-deceived, believing he wrought miracles when he did not in fact, and going about the earth more like a drifting dreamer than a man of sense and purpose. To them, Goethe's poor straying Wilhelm Meister was a character of definite purpose compared with Jesus Christ,

and the Mephistopheles of that same author, milk-and-water character as he was, was not half so insipid as the Jesus of extreme rationalism. The old system did, at least, have the vigor of hatred and the heart spite, but the new appropriating much of the old shell for its form, was without its soul. In the old, there appeared at least the motive of fraud to prompt the activities represented in Scripture; but in the new, motive was banished. Those beings of the Bible, those transactions, were for no purpose. Things drifted along down its pages as a rudderless ship on the sly currents of a waveless sea.

And so this trifling with revealed truth was extended and popularized. The tide at first set to rolling amidst the most angry eddies now moved on almost unimpeded, though destined to a self-terminated career. We have seen exhibited two principal aspects of infidelity on the German soil. But the *third* is to come. Human systems tire. The speculations of men have ever been changeful. Those schemes, planned in the absence of truth and conscience, betray often speedily their own hollowness. Satan is restive. Necessity as well as device leads him to change his points and methods of attack. He is an experimenter; and, besides, avails himself of philosophy, as is evinced in the fact that the schemes of his agents often grow out of others in a consequential way. Hence we read the history of evil times, and account for measures; hence, too, we can anticipate future methods and turns. During the primary epoch of German resistance to the Bible, we beheld the grossest allegations against the actors of Revelation. A decent respect for God's truth, which is, after all, one of the hardest sentiments to eradicate from the human breast, was maintained, provided an optional interpretation of its contents was allowed. But though time-honored records, in the letter, were still tenacious of their hold upon the mind, ingenuity and malignity, as we have seen, combined their art and ire first to draw the divine life out of the sacred Word, and then make selfishness the grand motor from Genesis to Revelation. But the soberer reflection of the philosophers on the one hand, and the common sense of the people on the other, compelled a more char-

itable treatment of the Bible. The conduct of the opposition must be changed. Hence, in the second epoch, Moses and Jesus are put into better repute, or at least not so *offensive*. But the Word really has no more life or noble intent. The Bible, outwardly, is indeed retained, but only as the product and history of a mediocre humanity. This system, too, wrought its work, and was becoming distasteful. The absurdity and ridiculousness of the thousand *natural* explanations were too manifest. Human ingenuity must be tasked for a new development in the warfare upon the holy Word. And what shall it be? Can we not almost anticipate? We should be ready to answer, we think either a reaction must come next, or else a last plunge and a total rejection of Scripture. Policy, pride, and irreligion must combine to prevent the former. The same added to the blinding influence of a delusion will insure the latter. The Scriptures long pressed into insipidity, long interpreted into stale narration, will become, eventually, offensive. It is the literal truth and intense inner meaning of God's Word that give it its abiding attractiveness and force. Let these be filtered or flched away, and respect for the outward shape sooner or later dies. We should expect then that the next period in this course of centrifugal speculation, would be characterized by the widest divergence of respect for the *form* as well as the substance. The form had been for a long time retained simply to answer the ends of policy, and avoid the last violence to the sentiment of reverence. Again, too, there is a subjective principle even in mad philosophers which impels to new speculation for its own sake. Hence a change. Thus not only is some new development shown to be a necessity, but somewhat of its character is evolved as a logical consequent.

But let us see how far facts confirm our philosophy, in the examination of some of the features of the next infidel epoch:

"It was impossible," says Strauss,* "to rest satisfied with modes of proceeding so unhistorical on the one hand and so unphilosophical on the other. Added to which, the study of mythology now became far more

* Introduction of the "Leben Jesu."

general and more prolific in its results, and exerted an increasing influence on the views taken of Biblical history. Eichorn had indeed insisted that all primitive histories, whether Hebrew or Pagan, should be treated alike. But this equality gradually disappeared; for, though the mythical view became more and more developed in relation to profane history, the *natural* mode of explanation was still rigidly adhered to for the Hebrew records. All could not imitate Paulus, who sought to establish consistency of treatment by extending the same natural explanation which he gave to the Bible to such also of the Greek legends as presented any points of resemblance; on the contrary, opinion in general took the opposite course, and began to regard many of the Biblical narratives as *mythi*. Semler had already spoken of a kind of Jewish mythology, and had even called the histories of Samson and Esther *mythi*. Eichorn, too, had done much to prepare the way, now further pursued by Gabler, Schelling, and others, who established the notion of the *mythus* as one of universal application to ancient history, sacred as well as profane, according to the principle of Heyne: *A mythis omnis priscorum hominum cum historia tum philosophia procedit.*"

In 1820, Bauer ventured so far as to publish a Hebrew mythology from materials in the Old and New Testaments. De Wette, too, advocated a mythical interpretation of much of the Old Testament, accepting it as the proper alternative in rejecting the natural mode of explanation, which, by its 'own unnaturalness, he thinks, ever brings us back to the mythical. No supernaturalist was ever more zealous and diligent to expose and riddle the obsolescent modes of naturalism than the new theorizers who were struggling into existence. Although affecting to have more pleasure in the antecedent infidel systems than in the staunch old orthodox methods, they yet reacted against the former with a thoroughness of critical learning, which has continued to gratify many lovers of truth who may have no sympathy with the alternative which the mythologists chose for themselves. During the formation of the mythical theory, an anonymous writer in Bertholdt's Journal expressed himself in language like this:

The essential defect of the natural interpretation, as exhibited in its fullest development in Paulus's Commentary, is its unhistorical mode of procedure. It allows conjecture to supply the deficiencies of the record, adopts individual speculations as a substitute for real history; seeks by vain endeavors to represent that as natural which the narrative describes as supernatural, and, lastly, evaporates all sacredness and divinity from the Scriptures, reducing them to collections of amusing tales no longer meriting the name of history. This insufficiency of the *natural* mode of interpretation whilst the *supernatural* also is felt to be unsatisfactory, leads the mind to the *mythical view*, which leaves the substance of the narrative unassailed, and instead of venturing to explain the details, accepts the whole, *not indeed as true history, but as a sacred legend!*

The process, as in former systems, was gradual. At first the mythical theory was applied to portions of the Old Testament. Then, as the obstacles of prejudice and lingering scrupulousness gave way, the whole canon of that Book was soon distilled in the mythical alembic. But the laws and prophecies, the miracles and men of the Old Testament, being once admitted to be the figments and the fashions of legend, the impetuous tide would not long wait at the New. The latter is quickly regarded as a necessary subject of the mythical application. It is interesting to watch the new theory as it took up little by little into itself the Gospel narrative. In the first place, the accounts of the Saviour's birth are set down as an innocent fiction; and then the Resurrection and Ascension are brought into the category of myths. Here waited for a time the new criticism, as if some last presentiment forbade to etherealize the body itself of the Gospel histories.

Thus the two extremities were cut off by the pruning-knife of criticism, whilst the essential body of the history, the period from the baptism to the resurrection, remained unassailed.

Or, in the words of the reviewer of Greiling's *Life of Jesus*,

The entrance to the Gospel history was through the decorated portal of the Mythus, and the exit was similar to it; whilst the intermediate space was still traversed by the crooked and toilsome paths of natural interpretations.

The miracles of the intermediate portion, over which so many stumbled, were next easily disposed of as pure myths.

Many years and many minds were occupied in carrying so far forward the dazzling enterprise of sacred mythicism. But it remained for the bold and youthful Strauss to push on the system to its broadest application—to its legitimate terminus. He applied the last stroke and completed the process. And now the entire Gospel history, like the Old Testament, is merged in the same collection with Greek mythology and old wives' fables; and David Friedrich Strauss stood at the head of the advocates of the mythic theory, as Paulus, before, had of rationalism, and Reimarus, of pure naturalism;—the doubtful *three*, who must continue to enjoy the unenviable honor of being held as the responsible

representatives of their several systems. Neither angels nor men could desire to view the strange satisfaction of these men, as each laid on the cap-stone of his edifice! With the last exultation of each must have gone a sting to his deepest consciousness, converting his soul to the hardness of adamant. Their joy at the completion of their work must have resembled that of the fiend when he retired from his successful exploit in Eden.

Destitute of that moral sensibility which would be touched by the affecting story of the Gospel, and long taught to regard the Scriptures as a weak secular production, Strauss, with his constituents, easily sundered the last shred that attached them to their truth, and swung off fully upon the fairy ocean of their own imagination. A plausible system must be produced in order to exclude, with a show of logical exposition, the very letter of the Bible; and so a requisition is made upon mythology, and a third distinctive theory comes forth full grown.

Thus we have endeavored to trace the rise and growth of Straussism. Its roots we have found in the early opposition to the work of the Reformation; its stalk was jointed naturalism and rationalism. But, in contemplating the history of the development of the new theory, let us be again reminded that affection and respect for God's Word, undermined by the busy operations of two centuries, were entirely lost before that word was put to sleep in the mythic shades. And thus the philosopher who failed to retrace his steps and return to the first truths of Revelation, was driven to escape to some retreat like mythicism to account for his last infidelity to fact and sacredness. Arrived here to behold this last wreck, an indescribable sense of heart pain comes upon us; and as we come up nearer to Strauss, and begin to view the world and God from his stand-point, we shudder. We feel somehow transferred to a silent burning sea of witchery, and a copper, lurid sky, not unlike that in which the Ancient Mariner suffered his affecting ills; and in our reflections his simple lines are involuntarily uttered:

Down dropt the breeze, the sails dropped down,
'Twas sad as sad could be.

* * * * *
Day after day, day after day
We stuck, no breath nor motion,
As idle as a painted ship
Upon a painted ocean.
Water, water everywhere,
And all the boards did shrink;
Water, water everywhere,
Nor any drop to drink.

Having glanced at those developments in Biblical criticism which finally resulted in the adoption of the mythical view, perhaps we are prepared now to look more particularly into the nature of the attack of Strauss, considered in itself, apart from its antecedents. Strauss opens his inquiry with the forestalled and expressed conviction that the Gospel accounts are "the empty husk of historical semblance." Ignoring at once the possibility of Divine revelation, he sees nothing higher and deeper in the written Gospel than mere dead fragments thrown together by the careless hand of accident. And he proceeds with foregone conclusions, and a mass of sly presuppositions, to inquire if these records of the Evangelists can be historical. The early testimony to the genuineness of the Gospels is first reviewed with a summariness quite unworthy of Strauss's acknowledged ability. This he finds uncertain, contradictory, and entirely inconclusive. The usual external evidences being thus disposed of, in a sort of scramble, as at best doubtful, it is left to the Gospels themselves to decide the question of their genuineness by their internal grounds of evidence. Their unhistorical order, their apparent inconsistencies, their accounts of *miracles*, (and here, let it be observed, is a presumption essential to his whole system,) these and minor considerations of various forms, are deemed quite sufficient to overturn the already doubtful external testimony, and sweep the field clear for the setting up of his forthcoming establishment. He gives a blast from his horn, and the few intruding spectres that appear to prevent his full approach are dispersed at once far out of sight, and he swings in with his imposing array, with all the complacency of a man suspecting least of all his own imperfection. It is most of all amusing to observe with what absence of self-distrust he sets aside the opinion of

men, forsooth, discards all presumptions and preconceived notions, calls uproariously for candor and impartiality, and then, with expressions of great personal sincerity, proceeds to his beautiful task.

The next inquiry of Strauss is, how to account for the existence of these ungenue writings. He has read the stories of the heathen deities, and the tales of the Mussulman respecting his prophet; he has pored over the legends of the battles of the gods, the loves of Krishna, Jupiter, and the rest, the mythus of Apollo and Marsyas; and he recognizes in these the same qualities which he has been accustomed to find in the Bible. In the latter he thinks is the same tendency to the marvellous and extravagant, the same admixture of what we have been accustomed to call supernatural and miraculous, the same ascribing of results to the immediate agency of Divine power, as exists in the heathen mythology and in the deliverances of every ignorant tradition. But every legend of marvels and incongruities outside of the Bible, has by universal consent come to be regarded as the fiction of an aboriginal imagination, and more technically termed a *mythus*. The Bible, and especially the Gospels, then, being not unlike foreign legends, cannot be otherwise characterized than as fictions, legendary or mythical.

Mythology, Strauss regards as the natural product of the religious idea of man. There has ever been a subjective feeling seeking to represent itself objectively. This feeling, this pure religiousness, will catch at the slightest incident of remotest correspondence, and centre around it the numberless fictions of its own imagination. Not always, even, is there an actuality to which to attach its creations, but the whole is pure fancy. Such creativeness, such imagery, is the normal working of religion. The mythical element, which is color and fiction, is, then, only wanting. It is amongst the low and barbarous Esquimaux, that we find religion not yet drawn out into objective forms. It is in such refined philosophers as Strauss and his coadjutors, that we find the mind raised to a conception of the divine Unity without the medium or necessity of objective forms. The Jews were periodically impressed with the *religious idea*; and first giving

outward representation to this idea, afterwards believed their own fictions. Thus it was in reference to the Mosaic accounts; thus it was in the times of kings and prophecy. But it was nearly nineteen hundred years ago that the Jewish people were especially charged with the development of that religion which we call Christianity. They had been laboring under the weighty impression of a new religious sentiment. Their new conceptions, self-begotten, were struggling for outward shape. An ordinary man of common virtue claims to be the living expression of the great thought of the age, the very Christ. Full of the lofty *idea*, the Jews, partly in his lifetime and in the first few succeeding years, attached to the person and advent of the man named Jesus, purely by force of imagination, nearly all those matters we find recorded in the Evangelical narratives. The miraculous conception, journeys, conversations, miracles, prophecies, sublime instructions of Jesus, and then his resurrection and ascension; in fact, everything which we have been accustomed to connect with the Saviour, as so dear to Christian hearts, as so sublime in manifestation, except a common existence, a few benevolent acts, a few innocent but unwarranted claims, and his possessing the rank of a Rabbi, are construed as the myths of fancy, the fictions of legend. So great is the havoc wrought upon the Gospels.

A recent defender* of the truth, however, striving to shape Strauss's theory so as the better to append a favorite reply, says that Strauss rejects only the miraculous part of the Gospels, and admits a "broad basis of historical truth." But this is so far from being a veracious or adequate statement respecting Strauss, that it is only to be excused on the ground that the writer wishes to flaunt, in the opening of his argument, with an excessive air of liberality. The truth is, and the conviction deepens on every perusal of the "*Leben Jesu*," that Strauss intends daringly and steadily to strip the Christian narratives of every fact or implication which has in any way been sweet to the reflection of the follower of Jesus. The Gospels are left, after his raging criticisms,

* Young, in his popular work, entitled "*Christ of History*."

much in the condition of the site of a city or forest which the devouring element has suddenly swept over: only here and there a smoking ruin remains to mark the place where life, beauty, and magnificence were lately manifest.

Strauss admits a difficulty in conceiving how narratives, like the Gospels, which thus speak of imagination as a reality, can have been formed without intentional deceit, or believed without unexampled incredulity. But he thinks that if this be an objection, it applies with equal force to the heathen legends; and if profane mythology has steered clear of the difficulty, the Bible will not founder upon it. In both the heathen and the Jewish mythology the myths grew up gradually, and almost unconsciously to the people.

The mythus is not the work of one man, but of a whole body of men and of succeeding generations; the narrative passing from mouth to mouth, and, like a snowball, growing by the involuntary addition of one exaggerating feature from this, and another from that, narrator. In time, however, these legends are sure to fall into the way of some gifted minds, which will be stimulated by them to the exercise of their own poetical, religious, or didactic powers. Most of the mythical narratives which have come down to us from antiquity, are presented to us in this elaborated form.

Thus the Gospel myths, self-impelled, and by slow accretion, assumed finally a definite character. Geniuses, then,—as he must acknowledge our Gospel writers to be,—seizing upon them, have given them to us in their present shape. These the people having themselves first produced would quickly receive. The writers might add something, but they themselves would easily believe their own interpolations; for they would argue,—Such and such things must have been connected with the Messiah whenever he comes: Jesus is the Messiah; therefore, such and such things were connected with him. On no account is an *invention* of the mythus, in the proper sense of the word, conceivable. The hundred years which Strauss assumes to have elapsed before the Gospels were written, were not too short a time, he thinks, for perfecting the floating mythi; for the greater part did not begin during that period, but have their rise in the legends of the Old Testament. The expectation of a Christ, dim and varying it may be, had started up amongst the Israelitish people long antecedent to the advent of Jesus, and just then

had ripened into full maturity. All the Messianic ideas which the Old Testament contained, and which, besides, had largely lodged in the minds of the expectant Jews, would be transferred to Jesus, with but few changes to suit the times and the ordinary circumstances of his life, in the brief period between his birth and the writing of the Gospels. Thus only a few mythi would need to originate in the actual time of Christ. Such views are deemed by Strauss quite adequate to preclude every suspicion of doubtful design in the formation, or credulity in the reception of the "rich collection of Gospel myths."

In presenting the extent of mythic creation in the Gospels, Strauss is not the man to fetter himself in the outset by any narrow definitions, but gives sufficient breadth to his *mythus* to cover pure fictions, half historical accounts, legends, and gratuitous amplifications of the author. The generic name *evangelical mythus* he applies to every narrative directly or indirectly relating to Jesus, which may be considered not as the expression of a fact, but as the product of an idea of his earliest followers. Of this there are several specific forms. The *pure mythus* is the clearest fiction of the Gospel narrative, originating in whatever way. This fiction may be modified by some particular impression which the facts of Jesus' life made, or may be left free to take its character solely from the religious imagination. Examples of the pure mythus are the rending of the veil of the temple and the Transfiguration.* The *historical mythus* has for its groundwork a definite historical fact, which has been seized upon by religious enthusiasm, and twined around with mythical conceptions culled from the idea of a Christ. This mythus may be reared on a single saying of Jesus, as the stories of the barren fig-tree and the draught of fishes; or it may be founded on some act of the Saviour, as the mythical traits in the accounts of his Baptism. *Legend* is the proper term to be applied to those occasional "parts of the history which

* It was the design of the writer to present more at length examples illustrative of Strauss's method of applying these mythi, drawn from the *Leben Jesu*; but diverting as would be such a discussion, this must be omitted from want of space.

are characterized by indefiniteness and want of connection, by misconstruction and transformation, by strange combinations and confusion,—the natural results of a long course of oral transmission;” or it may be applied to “those parts distinguished by highly-colored and pictorial representations.” Thus, the account pertaining to the woman of Samaria, would be a legend of the first character; and certain parts in the history of the last days of Christ, would be instances of the second species of the legend. It will be observed that while in the case of the pure and historical mythi the *idea* is clothed by an immediate and direct act of the imagination, the legend is formed through uncertain tradition as it goes from mouth to mouth, or in some moment of high-wrought and crazed enthusiasm. The latter would owe its existence to a lack of veracity, memory, or consecutive thought, the former to a fruitful imagination. The last unhistorical element which Strauss mentions, is the *addition of the author*. Of course this part will be regarded as made up of the remnants which ingenuity cannot adjust under the other divisions, or which contemporary history does not snatch from the ruthless hand of an unsanctified criticism.

The mythical champion having given himself the widest liberty in definition, is equally liberal in furnishing the *criteria* by which to distinguish what is unhistorical in the Gospel narrative. The criteria are supplied in two principal classes: the *negative*, which are suggested by that phase of the mythus in which it appears simply as *not history*, and the *positive*, which are postulated by that phase of the mythus that is distinguished as obvious *fiction*. Of the negative criteria there are two kinds: (1.) When the substance of narration is irreconcilable with the known laws which govern the course of events, then it must be set down as a mythus. The chain of secondary causes must not be disturbed by an arbitrary, unusual act of interposition. By no means, then, can divine apparitions, voices from heaven, miracles, or prophecies, be admitted as historical. Neither must the long-established laws of succession, increase and decrease, be violated or superseded. Hence, for instance, if we are told of a celebrated man having already at his birth attracted the

attention and homage which could only be appropriate to his manhood, we are not to credit, at all, the tale. Nor, finally, can psychological laws be infringed in such a way as to suppose the Jewish Sanhedrim believed at once the report of the watch, that Jesus had risen from the dead, or John recollected faithfully the long discourses of Jesus. (2.) When an account is inconsistent with itself, or is in contradiction to other accounts, it has all the marks of being a mythus. It will be seen at once that this criterion is very useful for the purpose of the mythists. For the cases where, in absence of all candor, discrepancy in the records can be represented to exist, by the enemies of the Gospel, are not a few. It is heart-sickening to see verse after verse and chapter after chapter, in cold recklessness, by the light of this criterion, sacrificed to the rapacious mythus. But so it is, wherever there is the first indication of contradiction, wherever the least shade of inconsistency can be made out by the use of an ever-varying and deceitful stand-point, the sacred text is sentenced. Even the silence of one author upon a point of which another speaks, is put down as sufficient evidence that the partially-testified passage is a mythical formation, with no thought that the identical reasoning would prove that it was not a generally received mythus, and so might be a forgery or a *nothing!* Especially, too, if the Evangelists chance to vary their order of narrative, it is a trace of mythicism.

The positive criteria are: (1.) As to form—

If the form be poetical, if the actors converse in hymns and in a more diffuse and elevated strain than might be expected from their training and situation, such discourses, at all events, are not to be regarded as historical.

(2.) As to substance—

If the contents of a narrative strikingly accord with certain ideas existing and prevailing within the circle from which the narratives proceeded, which ideas themselves seem to be the product of preconceived opinions rather than of practical experience, it is more or less probable, according to the circumstances, that such a narrative is of mythical origin.

The principal peculiarity of this criterion is its convenient pliancy and ridiculous indefiniteness. The characteristics of the *legend* and of the *additions* of the author will be obvious.

But there is one sign of the mythus, not included above, which deserves particular statement, both on account of its singular novelty and its indispensableness when the mythical dissector is at his wit's end for a better device: When an account which by itself would be unsuspected, is given in connection with another portion which has already been consigned by the criteria, then the former account, being in bad company, has suspicion reflected upon it, thus justifying the presumption that it, too, is a mythus.

It is the method of the critical portion of the *Leben Jesu* to examine the incidents of each narrative, first from the supernaturalistic, and secondly from the rationalistic point of view, and, finally, to apply the mythical tests. It is needless to say that the last application is accompanied with pleasing success to the author in every case, and, with imagined triumph, he seems at last to retire in the halo of his grand *ignis fatuus*. Strauss confesses that a single one of his tests will rarely prove more than the possible or probable unhistorical character of the record. But whenever, as is the case in most instances, several criteria concur in their testimony, the result is certain. The narrative so tried is a *bona fide* mythus.

There are two apologetic considerations which ease the conscience of Strauss in this wholesale proscriptive criticism. The first is, that his work results in the reconciliation of Christianity with the advancing intelligence of mankind. The human mind in its development through successive ages becomes impatient of the old definitions, and throws off the conclusions of the olden time as a lifeless shell. In its independent strides it wearies of a philosophy which denies, in any case, the agency of natural causes, and believes in miraculous interpositions. The new mind sees everywhere connections, and an inviolable uniformity in the working of nature's laws, while the old conjectured often an inconceivable hiatus between a result and the great original cause. This casting off, therefore, of the hamperings and marvels of the superannuated Christian records being recognized as a necessity, it is a most grateful task to him who contributes to such an end. The second apology which our critic offers is, that although he should remove the last foundation of his-

torical Christianity, the *essence* of Christian faith, as a subjective experience, is genuine and eternal, and is so far independent of his criticism. Acknowledging that he has apparently annihilated the greatest part of what the Christian has been wont to believe concerning Christ, has uprooted many of the animating motives and consoling data which he has gathered from his faith,—has seemingly dissipated the boundless store of truth and life which for eighteen centuries has been the aliment of humanity,—he yet consoles himself with the unreal and impracticable *idea* that “the supernatural birth of Christ, his miracles, his resurrection and ascension, remain eternal truths” in the consciousness of the believer, unrelated to any outward fact. And so no injury is done to Christianity! The theory of Strauss, then, revolves to its original presupposition! No God above Nature and her invariable laws, and hence no Christ beyond the conceptions of the intellect.

It has been thought best to give so full a view of the rise and nature of the Straussian theory, in the first place because it was due to the author, in the second place because any good appreciation of it could hardly be obtained from a briefer exposition, and, finally, because it seemed that an articulate statement of the ground and contents of the system would carry with it, to reflecting minds, its own refutation; whereas a less comprehensive presentation might simply confound without instructing or deciding the mind.

The position of Strauss is already, and had been, by way of anticipation, prior to the appearance of his work, sufficiently controverted by the overwhelming accumulation of critical and historical Biblical literature, fitted to establish and illustrate the consistency and entire credibility of the Gospel narratives. The whole subject has been canvassed throughout; and to indicate that learned and critical inquiry, that “advancing intelligence,” that intellectual development, has neither its satisfaction nor its issue in rejecting historical Christianity, it is competent to adduce the grateful fact that at no time since the third century of the Gospel has there been such an intelligent and universal acquiescence in that great fact, as at the present day,—a day in which there is an

unequaled dissemination of knowledge, and a spirit of research not so fearless in any age.

It is proposed, in the few following pages, to make out a course of argument which may be sustained against the theory of Strauss. Parts of this argument have been urged in connection with a critical investigation of the Gospel text, or separately in a general form. The most thorough procedure would be, no doubt, to rout our author from his original stand-point in Pantheism, or, more personally, in Hegelianism; and for this purpose we should adduce those arguments which have been employed with great effect to prove that there is a God hyperphysical, and superintending, after the counsel of his own will, the complicated concerns of his Universe. The position of Strauss is manifestly sunk in a refined Pantheism. His earliest education and most prominent sceptical proclivities were in that direction. The pre-suppositions and most incidental affirmations made in the very genesis of his attack, are significant of his prevailing bias and creed. His Hegelianism gives absolute fixedness to the workings of his Deity, from everlasting to everlasting; and grounded in such a notion the fair conception of any such thing as a miraculous dispensation, is to him not only unreasonable but impossible. Whoever, therefore, convinces Strauss himself of his greatest errors in the *Leben Jesu* will have to employ the *argumentum ad hominem*, and effect an entire change in his view of the relation of the Supreme Being to the works of nature. But, for us, at this time, it will be enough to examine the system itself thus built, confessedly, on pantheistic foundations.

I. The external evidences which go to establish the credibility of our four Gospels as the genuine works of their reputed authors, are as conclusive as those that are alleged in support of the genuineness of any other work of antiquity. At the end of the third century, we find that the Gospels were not only received by the large body of Christians as credible, but were, in fact, the text-book of a national religion. Near the close of the second century, we have Clement and Tertullian, and a little later, Origen, all writers of *undisputed* veracity, unitedly testifying to the authenticity

of these narratives. They say, moreover, that, in their time, the Gospels were received without contradiction by the whole Church of God under heaven,—a church numbering, by reliable estimate, not less than three millions. These writers quote largely from Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, as being entirely authoritative, in that early period, *to themselves, and, what is of special import, to their opponents.* Contemporaneously with the two first mentioned lived Irenaeus, Bishop of Lyons, in Gaul, whose testimony is to the same effect. This Father, besides entertaining the conviction which universal and concordant tradition had produced upon him, had even enjoyed the personal acquaintance and instructions of Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, and disciple of the Apostle John. He thus stood in the same relation to the acts and the actors of the earliest Christianity, as the rising generation now stand to the men and the scenes of the American Revolution. Nay, even, in a nearer relation than Strauss himself stood to the works of the Lutheran Reformation. And was the Reformation a fact, or a myth, in the view of Strauss? It will be seen, then, that on the threshold of our inquiry we find a pure vein of testimony running from the earliest preachers through the “beloved disciple,” Polycarp, and Irenaeus, to the end of the second century, and that, too, over a period upon which some writers have cast the most doubt. We find, too, that this testimony is not only not contradicted, but is also supported by an unviolated body of tradition, agreeing to the same result. This general testimony is all the more valuable since it was often given contrary to worldly interest and pleasure. It need not be asked what must have been the controlling occasion, whether a real or fictitious one, of such a settled and favoring consent, as there appears to have been throughout the entire Christian world.

Justin Martyr, who flourished a few years after the death of the Evangelist John, adds important testimony, if more were needed. Although some German writers have disputed at large the correctness of Justin's statements, it is to be noticed that Strauss himself merely gives him a passing remark, not so much, indeed, doubting that his citations agree with passages in the Gospels, as casting aspersion upon

them because they are in somewhat close connection with things found in the Gospels. The late Prof. Norton,* an unorthodox theologian, in an admirable discussion, characterized as well by his patience of criticism as by his independence of thought, has, with others, established, with a wonderful accumulation of proof, the reliableness of the evidence usually adduced from Justin. One could not wish for stronger proofs than Prof. Norton has furnished. Says Dr. Lardner,† in his "great storehouse of ancient authority on this subject":

Justin has numerous quotations of our Gospels, except that of Mark, which he has seldom quoted. He quotes them as containing *authentic* accounts of Jesus Christ and his doctrine. He speaks of "memoirs" or records written by "apostles" and their "companions," plainly meaning the apostles and evangelists, Matthew and John, and the companions or disciples of apostles, Mark and Luke. These Gospels were read and expounded in the solemn assemblies of the Christians, as the books of the Old Testament were, and as they had been before in the Jewish synagogue.

It is a notable fact that Celsus, who early doubted the Divine origin of Christianity, in no instance denied the genuineness of its records. Celsus wrote about a hundred years after the time to which we refer the origin of the Gospels; and it is without explanation how a writer so capable of seeing and seizing on every possible advantage against the Christian faith should fail, at a period, too, so early, to bring any accusation against the authorship of the Gospels, especially if that were subject of doubt. He quotes them as being truly written by the apostles and their companions. Porphyry, who called in question the authenticity of the book of Daniel, and opposed Christianity very much in the spirit of Strauss, never says that the authors of the Gospels were other than is claimed. And, finally, the Apostate Julian employs every possible art against our Faith, but never thinks of attacking the authorship of our Gospels,—believes they were written by eye-witnesses of the facts recorded and by their associates.

These testimonies, positive and negative, seem decisive as

* Formerly Professor of Biblical Literature in the Divinity School of Harvard University. Author of several works relating to the Gospels.

† Credibility of the Gospel History. Part ii., chap. x., § 9.

to the point urged in this section of our discussion. If so, three of our Gospels were written as early as thirty years after the death of Christ. How much, either in quality, directness, or amount, does the evidence here adduced differ from that which we should naturally and reasonably look for, in confirmation of the authorship we claim for the Gospels? What other external evidence does Strauss demand? If we can be morally certain of the authenticity of any production of a time prior to the century immediately back of us, certainly we cannot be deceived with respect to our Gospels. Strauss passes over these corroborations with a sinuous wile, and having scared up some doubts, having put a double construction on certain unambiguous testimonies, crawls off, like one escaping from a situation peculiarly uncomfortable, to see what he can find elsewhere to justify his mean alarms. But the old testimony is not so easily nodded out of sight. Ghost as it appears to Strauss, it is a ghost that will not leave, but appears to haunt him ever and anon in his critical journey through the Gospels.

But let us inquire, by way of supplement to this branch of our discussion, when Strauss's *mythical* Gospels were written, and whether, even *as mythical*, they be not indeed the work of the very persons claimed by the orthodox as their authors? Were they formed during the first thirty years after Jesus' death? In this case we are to suppose the myths formed, written and believed in one generation. We are to suppose the apostles themselves, deluded by the intoxicating *idea*, and induced not only to believe the greatest and most rapid mythical hallucination of any age, but even to write it for truth. But Strauss, sanguine as he is in urging a rapid application of the Gospel mythus, does not pretend to think that it could have been constructed in this brief interval. For, to use his own words:

It would most unquestionably be an argument of decisive weight in favor of the credibility of the Biblical history, could it indeed be shown that it was written by eye-witnesses, or even by persons nearly contemporaneous with the events narrated.

Thus he is willing to admit that, *as mythical*, the Gospels could *not* have been written in thirty years after Christ, because otherwise he feels they must be authentic. But the

mythus must be sustained. That is always the "previous question." Hence setting aside, by one arbitrary stroke, the history which spreads over the next sixty years, and violating every natural conviction of writers and people in the second century, he boldly claims that the so-called Evangelical histories are *mythi* formed in the progress and written at the end of the first hundred years after Jesus died. They were written then, and attributed by forgery to Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, who had, in fact, died a long time before. Thus, whoever adopts the Straussian theory implicates himself in the greatest outrage ever committed against the plainest testimonies of history.

II. It will be felt, from what has been said, that there is a very *low probability* that the claims of Strauss are just. This is the state of the case before we examine other circumstances which properly come in as accompanying data, from which to draw our final conclusion. Let us take into account some strange things involved in, and necessitated by, an adoption of the mythical theory, and see whether our already low probability of its truth is raised or made still lower by such a proceeding.

(1.) It is affirmed on the Straussian principles that the whole of Christianity is to be found in Judaism. In other words, it is said that the character of the Messiah was formed already in the minds of the Jews before the advent of Jesus, while the mythical work of the first hundred years of Christianity was, generally, to apply this ideal character to the person of a human individual. Strauss confesses that the mythus could not, by any hypotheses, have grown up in that century. It was the result of a long series of Jewish conceptions. Now, it is a fact, indeed, that there was a pre-existing idea of the Messiah; but it was quite unlike that which was realized in Christ. Nearly all the anticipations of the Jews, respecting a great Deliverer, seem to have been disappointed and unanswered in Jesus. His self-denying life may be regarded as directly opposite to the self-glorification, national exclusion, and temporal exaltation which they had promised themselves at the coming of Christ. Says a writer in the *Christian Examiner* (Unitarian):

If there be one single fact of history which is indisputable, it is that Jesus did not meet the wishes of his nation ; but, just the contrary, he disappointed them all.

The present three millions of Jews in the world is a living argument against the assumption of Strauss. No nation like the Jewish preserves its old characteristics. Their present existence and prejudices are alike significant. If, then, there was not only not a proper conception corresponding to the Messianic character in Judaism (we mean practical Judaism, as sympathized in by the national mind), but even a contrary conception, the error of our critic is sufficiently manifest, and the case is harder for him than if he had conjectured at once the total uprising of the Gospel mythus after Christ came ; for the removal of an old prejudice is always harder than the inculcation of new ideas.

(2.) But, supposing Christ to be the actual counterpart of a Jewish religious idea, it still seems hard to account for the notorious fact that the Gentile nations who had come to cherish marked hostility and jealousy towards the Jews, were more ready to receive, and did, in truth, receive, far more extensively, the peculiarly Jewish *conception*, than the Jews themselves.

“The great majority,” says a distinguished Biblical scholar, “of those who embraced Christianity before the middle of the second century, consisted of converts from Heathenism.”

This must be still more a mystery to a mythologist when it is considered that many of the converts were from the most enlightened philosophical circles.*

(3.) The early Christian age was characteristically historical. No time, since that in which the barbaric legendary period of Greece became a historical fact, was less fitted for the production and reception of a mythical religious system such as Strauss propounds in the case of the Gospels. Strange that the assumed mythical propensity of that age was not contagious at all to the subsequent periods and to the surrounding races—a fact which neither history nor yet Dr. Strauss has ever communicated. We know that the

* But on the orthodox view how apt is the remark of Dr. Arnold : “Greek cultivation and Roman polity prepared men for Christianity.”

times of the second century were plainly matter of fact; and even granting the mythical formation of the Gospels, they must have got most thoroughly riddled in the terrible agitations of that period.

(4.) This leads us to another view of the case which is utterly inexplicable on the Straussian supposition, unless, in fact, we make mythicism the great motive principle in society, and not truth and actuality. The power of the doctrines and character brought forth in the Gospels, granting them mythical, has been greater than any objective fact, or collection of facts, since the dawn of time. What has so regenerated and revolutionized mind and heart? The strange *deceptions*, those enchanting *myths*, have nerved the soul of man more than any consideration ever proposed by people or kings. And further still, we would require of Strauss, if he persists to claim this as a proper force of his system, to explain the earnestness, and faith, and the unconquerable spirit of struggle, which so eminently characterized the Christians *before* the all-powerful mythical idea was fully developed at the close of the first century.

(5.) Strauss endeavors to give plausibility to the theory of myths in the Gospels by seeking to compare those writings with the records of the mythical religions of antiquity. But we contend that the Gospel records are entirely different from them. (a) In their origin. Other mythical systems have arisen in the dawn and twilight of time, and not at the very close of national existences. They have been formed, too, by the most gradual process, through vast dark, dim periods, when all is dreamy and chaotic. Thus it was with the legends of India, Egypt, Greece, Rome, Scandinavia, Mexico, and the Pacific Islands. (b) In their relations to intelligence. When Grecian myths were constructed, the people interested and related, had neither education nor literature. Just the contrary was the case of the Jews. And, besides:

All around them were highly cultivated cities and nations: Alexandria, with its gymnasia and schools; Athens, with its intellectual civilization; Arabia, with its treasures of learning; Antioch, famous for its erudition; and Rome, with its philosophers and historians.*

* Putnam's Monthly, No. xxxii., 1855.

(c) In matter and style. The narratives of the Gospel exhibit a character and teach a doctrine surpassing, whatever be their rise, all the compositions of the world in simple beauty and sublimity. The human mind has striven, and striven in vain, to vie with those same Gospels in presenting examples of such pure quality and unique excellence. The style of the Gospels is different from that of any acknowledged myth in the world. In the former we have a natural style, as if used upon matters of experience and certainty. In the latter it is well known that we have an unequal, incongruous expression, and a complexion that betrays the fiction that wears it. (d) In object. For instance, what is there similar in the aims of Homer and Hesiod with those of the Gospel writers? The former wrote, long after their myths were formed, in order to please the fancy and revel with the Muses. The latter, writing exactly in the midst of the materials they employed, wished to furnish the textbook of a new religion. The former wrote to commemorate a dying system; the latter to furnish the institutes of a religion, then in its incipency and long afterwards to reach on to its zenith. A similar comparison might be made between the writings of the Evangelists and the famous apocryphal Gospels. Would not Strauss admit a very significant distinction?

(6.) By the same criticisms which Strauss has applied to the Gospels, all history might be resolved into seminal ideas. In short, the whole past as it receded from us would become a continuous myth. All that would be necessary in order to account for the surprising changes of time to which we have been introduced in history,—revolutions of society and shakings of earth,—would be to suppose a long line of dreamy writers, whose business has been to record the variously evolving idea that has struggled in the silent chambers of their own imagination; which is to suppose the great actions of all time but the mistaken expression of an idea. To use the words of a writer* on this subject:

On Strauss's principles, all history loses its certainty, and becomes a mere phantom, an illusion. No biography was ever written of any indi-

* Professor Hackett, in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, Vol. ii., p. 61.

vidual, no history of any kingdom or nation, which may not be resolved into a set of myths as easily as the account of the Saviour contained in the Gospels. All confidence in the past is destroyed; all distinction between the ideal and actual is annihilated; and men can be certain of nothing which has taken place at any period remote at all from their own time, whatever may be the testimony by which it is supported.

It should be stated that several notable characters and events of history have been ironically resolved into mythical fiction by the use of Strauss's rules. The thing is, therefore, equally practicable in sacred and profane history. Thus Luther and the Reformation vanish into thin air.

Such are some of the difficulties that obviously present themselves on the admission of the mythical element into the Gospels. They serve to reduce to the merest assumption the already low probability that myths occupy the place of true history, in the first eventful hundred years of Christianity.

III. Our remarks upon the *criteria* of evangelical myths must necessarily be brief. These, as they have to do with the internal methods of Strauss' criticism, would properly belong to a more critical, point-by-point examination of the work than we profess to give. We shall show, however, in a *general* way, how little execution his instruments are really capable of doing.

(1.) "Accounts of miracles are mythical." This criterion is signalized by Strauss solely on the ground that, to his own mind, miracles are impossible and hence incredible. We have no purpose, at this time, of stating a formal argument to prove the credibility of a miraculous interposition. We believe every attack upon the Gospels because they contain miracles, has been thoroughly repulsed. It answers our purpose to insert simply a statement of Palfrey,* which he has sustained at length in a strong discussion of this topic:

First, miracles are credible events, provided the circumstances under which they are alleged to have taken place, are ascertained to have been such as might engage the Divine benevolence to address men in the way of an extraordinary interposition; and, secondly, that human testimony to their having been wrought under such circumstances becomes credible as it would be for other transactions, in the proportion of its clearness and strength.

* Lowell Lectures on the Evidences of Christianity, by J. G. Palfrey, Vol. I. Lect. II.

Those circumstances which form the condition of miracles, are shown to have existed at the time of the original publication of Christianity.

Neither, indeed, does it seem to us that miracles are incredible, if we take into account the common sense of mankind. That has never hesitated to believe in them. So much has it inclined to regard them as possible, that it has often supposed them to occur when they were wanting. It is only a refined uncommon sense philosophy that has ruled them out of all time. Strauss's own admission that the miracles and resurrection of Jesus Christ remain eternal subjective truths, implies that there is nothing in the supposition of miracles contradictory to the sentiment of consciousness. The human mind from the earliest ages has called for an incarnation of Deity, the great miracle of the world ;* and this, too, not as a subjective idea, but as an objective reality. The Christian miracles are probable, too, from the arguments of analogy. Divine interpositions, geologists say, have occurred at certain junctures during the progress and changes of the natural world. If new creations are facts of nature, they may be facts of religion ; for the same God who hath ordered the natural world is our moral governor.

In the philosophy of history, writers are accustomed to take some particular age or scene, and search for the great central idea that has governed its movements and changes ; and when they have obtained this controlling fact, this leading idea of the time, they seize upon it as the proper standpoint to occupy in making their philosophy and painting their picture. They judge of the validity of the central explaining view which has been seized upon by its adaptedness to account, not merely for the general course of events, but also for the minutest occurrences, processes and phases. Now, in regard to the Christian system, there is some leading idea we must get of it before we can look upon its different parts—its transactions, and make them appear fit and necessary and reasonable. We believe that central point from

* See "Christ in History," by Dr. Turnbull ; where this thought is drawn out at length, in a scholarly and convincing manner.

which to draw any philosophic notion of our great evangelical system, to be in the thought that it is supernatural. In the idea that Christianity is a miraculous dispensation in externals as well as internals, we have a key to unlock much of the mystery that otherwise attaches to the work of Christ and his disciples, a touchstone which applies successfully alike to transactions and statements of the Gospels. In this idea alone can we find a solution of the mighty problem which has staggered thousands of sceptics; and in that alone can one look forth upon the gospel narratives and behold the entire naturalness and harmony of the doctrine. The fact is, miracles are in accordance with the very genius of Christianity; and whoever is as reasonable in regard to it as he is towards the matters of secular history, will adopt the idea of the miraculous as credible, from its adequateness to explain the greatest division of history.

But once more: If we allow that the true Christ never existed beyond the consciousness of the believer, and that the Jews simply signalized or gave birth to the great *idea*, then we are to suppose that the common people, eighteen hundred years ago, produced, out of their imaginations, the fairest, the most perfect character, as even infidels confess, that was ever brought forth from any other imagination, not even Dante's, or Shakspeare's, or Goethe's, or Homer's; and further, we are to suppose all classes in the Jewish community simultaneously aroused to the same *idea*, and all as one constructing the unique character of all creation. Could there be a greater *miracle* than this sudden and perfect development of the Messianic idea, among the common Jews? And that, too, in *strict* fulfilment of Old Testament myths, as the mythologists please to term the prophecies! There is, then, the necessity of accepting a miracle of nature or a miracle of thought. Of this dilemma, Dr. Strauss, choose your horn.

(2). "Discrepant accounts are myths." This criterion takes it for granted that the Evangelists disagree, or rather contradict each other in their several narratives. Such a supposition has no ground. It arises from a false view of the plan and object of those writings. It is as well estab-

lished as any principle of Biblical criticism can be, that the Gospel writers neither assume nor attempt to write in the historical order, nor yet do they write purposely to corroborate each other, though such a result as the latter may be derived. Again, on the other hand, it cannot be proved that they contradict each other in a single instance, but, indeed, it has been shown that beneath many *apparent* discrepancies there is the finest harmony of statement and occurrence, and that every difficulty is susceptible of a reasonable adjustment. With advancing discovery, with increasing intelligence, the difficulties gradually and permanently disappear. The world's progress, in an emphatic sense, has been a vindication of the harmony and truth of Sacred Writ. But, finally, admit that now and then a contradiction appears on the pages of the Gospels, would that be so certain a reason for setting down the discrepant records as mythical? Todd has said that John Milton was born in 1608, Hallam that he was born in 1609, and yet another historian that he was born in 1606. Is the existence of either history, therefore, in any way mythical? Macaulay and Lingard tell discordant facts about James the Second: there exist the most conflicting statements with regard to the residence of Napoleon Buonaparte upon the island of St. Helena. And yet we believe in the essential facts concerning James the Second and Napoleon Buonaparte.

(3.) "Evangelical accounts rendered in an elevated strain are mythical." "Contents which are accordant with known existing but unusual ideas of the Saviour's time, are mythical." We had intended to illustrate the disingenuousness of these criteria somewhat at length. But our better judgment leads us to dispatch them at once by the appropriate epithet *ridiculous*. They appear to be the last resort of a man determined to filter away the last jot of verity in the sacred books, under a deceitful show of rules. The case would be the same if one called Hare's Sermons mythical, because they are elevated in style and thought; or Washington's Address mythical, because it accorded with the best judgment of the times in which he lived.

IV. After all, Strauss avows his faith in Christ as the in-

separable concomitant of the imagination. When the good, keen Bishop Berkeley had resolved the material world into simple *ideas*, his great difficulty was in making mankind at large believe his theory. He had violated the first principles of human nature. He had opposed the common sense of men. For there was a belief in men more original, more authoritative, more ultimate, than any eccentric speculation, than any fine-spun theory—we mean the primal belief of an external world on the evidence of sense. This first principle was too potent and universal to yield to the eternal pressure of the ideal system. Hence the comparative inefficiency of Berkeley's philosophy. Airy, beautiful, learned, and well-meant, it yet remained, and always will, an unconvincing and an unaccepted speculation of a great and good man. Strauss, too, has constructed his ideal system of theology. But it stands, and ever will stand, a long speculative elaboration which finds no sympathy in the first principles of our nature. Like the system of Berkeley, it violates a primal belief of the consciousness, namely, the natural faith in a sufficient testimony. God seems to have established our intellects in the strong fortresses of first principles, which prevents any successful conquest of our perceptions by the knight-errantry of airy speculation. Strauss admits that the consciousness of the Church and the dictum of his philosophy are at extreme points in regard to Christianity. He seems to feel that the idea of his system will be alike unappreciated and rejected by the common mind. Hence that most singular charge to the rising ministry, that ever escaped the brain of sane or insane man. The theory of Strauss, then, as well by the virtual confession of its author, as by a true principle of philosophy, has neither the basis of an unadulterated consciousness, which is the foundation of all real science, nor yet the quality of adaptation to the wants of universal humanity.* A theory which presumes to set at nought the

* "De quo autem omnium natura consentit id verum esse necesse est."—*Cic.*

"Radix cognitionis fides."—*Lat. version from Algazal of Bagdad.*

"Consciousness is for the philosopher what the Bible is for the theologian."—*Hamilton.*

"Religion is verified by the wants of our own nature."—*Trench.*

common sense belief in the great testimony of the past, bears the unmistakable traces of its own falsity.

We have no wish to draw a parallel between Strauss and Berkeley any further than our present comparison has led us; for no comparison can be found between the moral purposes and perceptions of the two men. Berkeley felt a deep concern for the moral welfare of the race. Strauss, in this regard, has manifested the coldest indifference. Berkeley honestly hoped, by his labor, to reconcile the philosophers and common people in a united admission of Divine truth. Strauss leaves the field with a proud complacency in having, as he supposes, set on foot a perpetual war between philosophy and common sense, between the theologian and the humble believer. Berkeley firmly believed in a God and a Christ objective to human thought. Strauss never admitted the existence of Deity as separate from the thinking, and the thinking power of men, except that he was allowed to inhere in all natural objects as a principle. Berkeley lived and died a good man. The life of Strauss, whatever may be his death, is most suspicious. If Berkeley with his virtues could not recommend his idealism, certainly Strauss may vainly hope to do so with his vices. The style of Strauss is classical; his reading in the department of Biblical criticism, and not in general science and history, has been extensive and thorough. Never was so much ability and so much cunning combined in any critical author.

ART. II.—MACAULAY'S HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

The History of England, from the Accession of James II. By THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY. New York: Harpers. 8vo. Vols. I. and II., 1849: Vols. III and IV., 1856.

IN attempting, at this late day, a formal examination of a work that has been subjected to so much criticism as Mr. Macaulay's History, we labor under the disadvantage of having to choose between the risk of repeating what has been uttered by others, and that of passing by material questions through fear of such repetition. But the first two volumes were only a fragment, even of the history of the English Revolution. For the fortunes of the revolutionary government, and of the men most active in its establishment, though not necessarily included in the narrative of that great event, are yet material to a proper judgment of it; and the manner in which the historian treats them in the progress of his work, sheds light on the usage they had previously received at his hands. We have, therefore, forborne to do more than announce the publication of these volumes,* at the hazard of taking up the subject at a time when the public might have comparatively lost their interest in it. But the delay has at least enabled us more perfectly to satisfy ourselves upon some questions suggested by reading the work, and, we would hope, more perfectly to satisfy such of our readers as are disposed to review a subject on which they may have already bestowed much attention.

If the historian proposed to himself no higher end than to dazzle and delight contemporary readers, criticism would be unnecessary at any time, and doubly superfluous now. The verdict on that issue is already secured. The great popularity of the first two volumes is outrun by that of the two that have just succeeded them. But we cannot err in believing that Mr. Macaulay's ambition is higher and better.

* *Christian Review*, Vol. XIV., p. 210, and Vol. XXI., p. 310.

He aims to speak in a voice that shall reach future ages. In trying his title to the homage of generations to come, we must descend below the qualities of style and manner which have so much to do with the awakening of present admiration, and inquire how far he conforms to the inflexible standard of veracity and justice, by which historical fame must be tested. Not that the externals of historical composition are unimportant. A history, equally with a tragedy or an epic, is a work of art, and an object of criticism as such. But the architectural grace of a structure has little to do with its use or durability. History, to be read, must, indeed, give pleasure in the reading. If, however, readers are permanently attracted to a production that is insincere, or radically defective in substance, art becomes the occasion of evil, great in proportion to its own excellence.

Some qualities of a great writer in almost any department of composition,—some of special value in an historian,—are conceded to Mr. Macaulay by common consent. His general force of intellect and varied accomplishments, his rare powers of analysis and combination, of narrative and description, his consummate critical skill, and his vast stores of learning—resources gathered with diligence and thoroughly at command—are confessed by all. Historical studies have evidently been a favorite pursuit. He did not enter upon a history of England till he had much pondered the annals of ancient and modern Europe, and made himself familiar with the great masters of historic art. He has had a practical acquaintance with civil policy, beyond the reach of the mere scholar, and of more worth than mere erudition. His insight into human character and motives, so acquired, has been quickened and strengthened by much well-directed study of literature and art, of philosophy, law, and religion. We do not imagine, indeed, that he is profoundly versed in all these studies. No one person could be. But it would be difficult, we apprehend, to find another man better instructed in any department of learning to which he is not professionally devoted. Entering upon his task with such preparation, in the full maturity of his fine powers, he could not fail to produce a work fitted to challenge universal

and admiring attention. His success, to that extent, is notorious. He has enchanted scholars and statesmen, and has beaten the novelists within the precincts of the circulating library. In his person international "copywrong" has been made illustrious.

Yet it cannot be denied that much scepticism prevails in regard to the durability and value of his success. There is a marked contrast, in this country especially, between the popular judgment and that of professional critics. Sundry commonplaces of depreciation have run through our higher periodicals, importing a lofty consciousness of superiority to vulgar admiration. One speaks with frigid dignity of "a work called a History of England," and another wisely predicts what history will be in the ascendant when "the mob of novel-readers" shall have deserted Mr. Macaulay for some new favorite. Apart from the ancient prejudice which suspects every writer of trifling who is not somewhat tiresome, and the later foppery, which argues an author's profundity from his obscurity or paradoxical hardihood, there are some special occasions for so damaging an estimate.

One circumstance which is a source of power—political experience—is also a source of weakness. It occasions distrust. Party animosities and suspicions are easily aroused; and those who are not consciously affected by them may suspect their existence in the historian, whom he identifies with the politician, or in many of the readers whose applause he now wins. But before venturing to predict his future neglect from this cause, it is well to consider that time, which dims, sometimes also brightens fame. The fortune of an author, in this department of composition especially, may depend much upon whether he is in the line of human progress or of reaction. Prejudice on this score, moreover, can hardly outweigh the substantial advantages secured by public life. No man can worthily write the history of a great nation without some familiarity with affairs. The mere scholar, unskilled in civil and diplomatic transactions, laboriously as he may search among the archives of State, will be in danger of missing some of the most important materials for a sound judgment of men and events. His uninstructed eye is liable

to be distracted by the cross-lights of faction and diplomacy. Events which are to him anomalous, a statesman-like mind refers as by intuition to their proper causes. The one sees confusion where the other traces a natural and inevitable sequence. There is all the difference between the two which distinguishes the reader of books from the reader of both books and men.

Another obstacle to the cordial reception of the history, a victory over which, if achieved, will be, alone, proof of transcendent merit, is inherent in the nature of the subject. It involves the history of a struggle between principles that, in one form or another, are still living and in conflict on either side of the Atlantic,—between parties in politics and religion whose successors and representatives now struggle on a wider and still widening field. The historian who deals with such a theme can no more win the approbation of partisans on both sides than one man can serve two masters. He can be impartial, if at all, only by an indifference more distasteful than partiality, and far more fatal to success.

Absolute impartiality, indeed, is unattainable by the modern historian whose theme is his own country. In treating of institutions and events foreign to all present interests, he may preserve entire indifference. No sect or party will stand or fall by the result of inquiries into Grecian or Roman antiquities. No one's prepossessions are greatly shocked by whatever view of the Assyrian empire or the succession of caliphs. But the American historian who attempts to narrate the events of Washington's administration, the English historian who meddles with the Reformation or the Civil Wars, the French historian who reviews the Revolution, the Empire, or the Restoration, each feels in himself and stirs in others vibrations of sympathy or antipathy, which sensibly modulate the narrative, if they do not modify the historical judgment. Nor, if it were possible, would we have it otherwise. Without a vital sympathy with his theme, the historian would have but a wearisome and unprofitable task. His work would be just the "old almanack" it was pronounced by Sir Robert Walpole. History has no value, except as it exhibits the living demonstra-

tion of those principles which are the animating soul of all human action and reaction. The man who has no fixed principles of government is unfit for this work; he who has, must view characters and events in their relations to principles.

Now, taking it for granted that Mr. Macaulay must needs have some opinions on government, which cannot but affect his judgment concerning the events he has undertaken to narrate, the most that can be asked of him is, that he shall be candid enough so far to disclose them that every sensible reader can perceive and allow for the bias; and that he shall exercise sufficient control over his feelings to ensure that historic verity be not sacrificed to party prejudice. And, surely, if any one is in doubt as to what are his political principles, it is no fault of his. They have been disclosed in a variety of forms, with a clearness and emphasis peculiarly his own. They stand out on his pages with statuesque severity of outline, and with living expression. That he is no friend of despotism or of intolerance in Church or State, we have abundant evidence. That he recognizes in the State rights and powers antecedent and superior to those of any order or succession of persons, and that he refuses to recognize in government any higher dignity than to serve as an agency for the beneficent exercise of the powers, in order to maintain the rights of society, we need no better voucher than himself to assure us. We may be certain, in advance, that when he deals with men or with transactions running counter to these ideas, his judgment of them will be unfavorable. We may know beforehand what class of statesmen he will deem worthy of most abundant honor, and for what reason. Concealment, duplicity, looking one way and rowing another, cannot be laid to his charge.

Is this a bias that is likely to damage his credibility? Not very seriously, we apprehend, at least in this country, where he probably has more readers than in his own. We are aware that there is extant in American society a spirit of ultra-conservatism which plays strange pranks. It has been remarked—we know not with how much justice—that colonial toryism is more intolerant than the imperial. The *blues*

of Nova Scotia shame the paler colors of Buckinghamshire. Some of our American conservatives, when they fall athwart English questions, do it after a very provincial fashion. Blackwood's Magazine, which ought to be orthodoxly Tory, confessed a few years ago that the theory which represents Oliver Cromwell as a hypocrite, profiting by the fanaticism which he only shammed, must be given up. But the calumnious imputation survives in its pristine vigor on this side the Atlantic, and regularly reappears in certain quarters, whenever the Great-heart of English Puritanism is alluded to. It is not a great while since we heard a venerable prelate of the Episcopal church in this country, at a time when some of the sturdiest champions of State connexion in the Anglican Church were beginning to repent of Erastianism, congratulating his brethren of the lawn in England on the merciful preservation of their church establishment. Some of our "jurists of the old school" contended for the crudest and most cumbrous anomalies of common law procedure against the movement for law reform, with a superstition worthy at once of a fanatical devotee and an antiquarian pedant. But such morbid notions cannot predominate over the good sense of any large portion of the American people. Those who cherish them may be dissatisfied with the historian whose sympathies are openly with the defenders of civil and religious liberty. Their censure will do him no harm.

Even those who may not entirely relish his tone on these subjects, if they are men of ordinary candor, will at least honor his frankness. He makes no attempt to pass for what he is not. In this respect he is a total contrast to Hume. With many edifying comments on the ancient excesses of tyranny, and affected professions of regard for the "happy constitution" of England, Hume set himself by every artifice to apologize for the bitterest enemies of public liberty, not scrupling to falsify the annals of centuries. He began with the Stuarts. His attempted vindication of them was coldly and incredulously received. He then took up the reigns of the Tudors. That Charles the First might be absolved from the charge of an unconstitutional policy, he undertook to frame a history that should wink out of sight the existence

of constitutional restraints. On finishing that part of the history, he said exultingly to Robertson :

You will see what light and force this history of the Tudors bestows on that of the Stuarts. Had I been wise I should have begun with it. I care not to boast ; but I will venture to say that I have now effectually stopped the mouths of all those villanous Whigs who railed at me.

The Whigs' mouths were not stopped, and he made thorough work, beginning with the Roman conquest, and seeking premises to sustain his conclusion in the reigns of the Plantagenets. The spirit in which he wrote his history guided him in his successive revisions. He writes,—

I am now [1770] running over again the last edition of my history, in order to correct it still further. I either soften or expunge many villanous seditious Whig strokes which had crept into it. . . . The first editions were too full of those foolish English prejudices, which all nations and all ages disavow.

Yet all this odious partisanship and pride of opinion are concealed under such a winning air of simplicity and fairness, that no common reader would suspect their existence. It is surely a fortunate circumstance that no one need be at a loss to discover Mr. Macaulay's political principles.

We here refer not so much to the expositions put forth in his essays, which had given him so brilliant a reputation preluding the popularity of his history, but to the history itself. In his lucid analysis of the original constitution of England, and his account of the struggle which the Revolution terminated, we see the distinct outline of a political creed which may be denied or anathematized, but can hardly be misconstrued,—definite enough to assign his point of view, but catholic enough to impose no slavish allegiance to men or parties. And if some party-spirit should be chargeable upon him, we are unable to account for the fact that his party tendencies are so much more sensitively detected and harshly judged by Americans than those of Tory historians. Whig party-spirit is doubtless bad, but it is no worse than Tory party-spirit. Yet while most of our critics have praised Hume on the score of his "philosophic" character, while the conservative Lord Mahon has been patronized, while even so narrow a Tory as Southey has his admirers, there is

incessant vigilance to detect the "prejudices" of men like Mackintosh, Hallam and Macaulay. True, English Whigs are not republicans. They do not agree with us in respect to the means best fitted to secure civil liberty. But of the value and excellence of the end, they have no more question than we have, and it is no honor to American criticism that it has been so prone to chime in with the clamor of Tory partisans.

As to those essays, by which the historian was so auspiciously introduced to the public, they must have proved an embarrassment rather than an advantage to him. We shall not be thought unduly to decry our own craft, when we say that periodical publication brings a good deal of unripe fruit into the literary market, and we needed not his own confession, to certify that Mr. Macaulay has vended his share of it. It is no slight test of magnanimity, to find oneself committed by the public utterance of historical judgments that have failed to stand the test of maturer study. Not that we esteem his latest judgment in all cases to be the truest. On some points we would be loth to surrender ground, our possession of which has been so gallantly defended by his stout hand and dazzling steel. Beliefs held more by a kind of instinct than by any satisfying reasons, have been vindicated for us by his logic and quickened by his breathing thoughts. He may have seen cause to let them go, but he must show cause before we follow the precedent. The essays are indeed a curious study, permitting us to trace the progress of his mind through the problems of which his history gives us the solution. We see him in 1825, as the eulogist of Milton, and in 1828, as the critic of Hallam, almost Comwellian enough to rejoice the heart of hero-worshipping Carlyle. In 1831, when Hampden's irreparable loss is the theme of his eloquence, we can discern the glimpses of a moderated reverence for the Protector. In 1835, reviewing Mackintosh's fragment of a history, which if it had been completed, might have restrained him from attempting another, he recurs indeed with something of the old fire to Cromwell's energetic foreign policy, but Roundhead politics in general have evidently taken leave of him.

In 1825, the Revolution is apparently most esteemed as a justification of the Great Rebellion, and a comparison is drawn between the actors in the two, not at all to the advantage of the men of 1688. In 1828, he scoffs at the Revolution and all concerned in it, with a bitterness that is almost atoned for by its brilliant effect, and which, but for the family likeness discernible in the rhetoric, would suggest to the student of his history, some doubts in regard of his personal identity. A few brief quotations from these essays will excite a smile, if they do not teach a deeper lesson. We read in the second chapter of the history :

It has been too much the practice of writers zealous for freedom to represent the Restoration as a disastrous event, and to condemn the folly or baseness of that Convention which recalled the royal family without exacting new securities against male administration. Those who hold this language, do not comprehend the real nature of the crisis, &c.

Now hear the essayist of 1825 :

The Presbyterians, in their eagerness to be revenged on the Independents, sacrificed their own liberty, and deserted all their old principles. Without casting one glance on the past, or requiring one stipulation for the future, they threw down their freedom at the feet of the most frivolous and heartless of tyrants.

And the same critic, in 1828, in much the same strain, saith of Cromwell :

He went down to his grave in the fulness of power and fame ; and left to his son an authority which any man of ordinary firmness and prudence would have retained. But for the weakness of that foolish Ishboseth, the opinions which we have been expressing would, we believe, now have formed the orthodox creed of Good Englishmen. We might now be writing under the government of his Highness Oliver the Fifth, or Richard the Fourth, Protector, by the Grace of God, of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, and the dominions thereto belonging.

When we read in this essay of "those monstrous fictions respecting the birth of the Prince of Wales, which persons of the highest rank were not ashamed to circulate," we hardly recognize the historian who half excuses the public incredulity on that matter, by the reckless perverseness of James. The essayist deals summary justice on the daughters of James, for their sacrifice of "natural affection." The historian very fairly acquits Anne, and upon the whole commends Mary, for their "unnatural" conduct. No reader of the

history will soon forget the eloquent recital of honors inherited by De Vere, Earl of Oxford, as that nobleman is first introduced, or the elaborate portraiture of Halifax, who seems to be a favorite with the author. It may give an unpleasant shock to look back to the sentence passed in 1828, and find that not only Churchill bore up under "mountains of infamy," but that "Godolphin, *Oxford*, Danby, *the trimmer Halifax*, the renegade Sunderland, were all men of the same class." The characters of Danby and Halifax, in later essays, are gradually bleached to the comparative whiteness they assume to the eye of readers of the history.

In 1828, Mr. Macaulay deemed the Revolution, now the object of studied eulogy, a transaction "in almost every part discreditable to England."

"That a tyrant," he continues, "who had violated the fundamental laws of the country, who had attacked the rights of its greatest corporations, who had begun to persecute the established religion of the State, who had never respected the law, either in his superstition or in his revenge, could not be pulled down without the aid of a foreign army, is a circumstance not very grateful to our national pride. Yet this is the least degrading part of the story. The shameless insincerity, the warm assurances of general support which James received down to the moment of general desertion, indicate a meanness of spirit and a looseness of morality most disgraceful to the age."

In 1831 (Essay on Hampden,) he denies that "the honor" of England was "compromised" by the Dutch invasion of 1688; and the reader of his history cannot have failed to notice how carefully he details the successive steps by which the loyal clergy and gentry were alienated from their allegiance, and how rapidly the progress of the general desertion is described, with a picturesque animation, which compels one to forget the "shameless insincerity" of the actors, in the interest of the catastrophe or in admiration of the artist. But perhaps the most remarkable contrast remains to be noted. No passage in the history, of equal length, exceeds in interest the narrative of the trial of the seven Bishops. The author lavishes upon it all his resources of descriptive, declamatory and dramatic effect. After having been fired by this splendid passage, the figure of a cold shower-bath is a tame representation of the effect produced by the Macaulay of 1828, who says,—

The part which the Church played was not equally atrocious; but it must have been exquisitely diverting to a scoffer. Never were principles so loudly professed, and so flagrantly abandoned. The royal prerogative had been magnified to the skies in theological works; the doctrine of passive obedience had been preached from innumerable pulpits. The University of Oxford had sentenced the works of the most moderate constitutionalists to the flames. The accession of a Catholic king, the frightful cruelties committed in the West of England, never shook the steady loyalty of the clergy. But did they serve the king for naught? He laid his hand on them, and they cursed him to his face. He touched the revenue of a college and the liberty of some prelates, and the whole profession set up a yell worthy of Hugh Peters himself. Oxford sent its plate to an invader with more alacrity than she had shown when Charles the First requested it. Nothing was said about the wickedness of resistance till resistance had done its work, till the anointed vicegerent of heaven had been driven away, and it had become plain that he would never be restored, or would be restored at least under strict limitations. The clergy went back, it must be owned, to their old theory, as soon as they found that it would do them no harm.

These contrasts, violent as they seem at first view, are not discreditable. They are all of one kind, indicating in connexion with intermediate essays, a steady but very gradual transition from extreme to more moderate, and in some cases opposite opinions. They show us a strong mind working diligently on the materials within reach, a little too bold and confident at first, and prematurely communicating its judgments to the public; but also, we cannot help thinking, a frank and manly mind, not too conceited to learn, nor too proud to retract. We see the same qualities in his history,—in his ready allowance of the virtues, while he unsparingly exposes the absurd principles of the mass of Tory churchmen of the era, and in his decided condemnation of the deplorable errors of the Whigs, whose principles he as clearly espouses. We feel a degree of assurance that, where he errs, it is no wilful deviation.

This being allowed, a strong presumption is at once raised for the substantial accuracy of his work. It is impossible to doubt his wealth in the materials of history, or his ability to use them with just effect; and if he aims sincerely to make a truthful picture, it may be quite safe to conclude that he has succeeded as completely as is consistent with human fallibility. Is this presumption warranted by the result? For obvious reasons we shall not attempt a direct answer to this inquiry, which would involve an assumption

of superiority over the historian in that wherein his preëminence is undisputed. But there are means of arriving at a satisfactory opinion, the grounds of which shall be briefly stated.

It was unavoidable, as we have seen, that the work should give offence in some quarters, nor were the aggrieved parties likely to submit in silence. Attempts have accordingly been made to shake its credit, some with such plausibility as to produce a decided effect on a portion of the public. But in most cases they have done more to show the *animus* of his critics than to injure the historian. Very much that has been alleged, has respect to opinions rather than to assertions of fact. To a certain class of critics, for example, the views which are given of the Reformation and of the Civil Wars, are very offensive. Of the treatment of ecclesiastical questions we shall have something further to say; but for the present it is sufficient to observe that mere errors of opinion have little to do with historical accuracy. If it were otherwise, how could men who are so wounded by what seems in Mr. Macaulay a want of respect for the English Church, for Cranmer, or for Charles the First, forgive so readily Hume's open contempt for the Reformation and for all religious earnestness? The truth is, that the first three chapters, the quarry from which a large part of the materials for censure have been dug, constitute but the introduction to the main history. The accession of James II. having been selected as the era from which the narrative was to proceed, it was necessary to a just understanding with the reader that the condition of the three kingdoms at that point of time should be clearly exhibited. But the issues of centuries are not to be comprehended within a few rounded periods. Mr. Macaulay did wisely, therefore, in pausing to sweep the track of past history with a rapid penetrating glance, and to note the most prominent land-marks. He was to show what the nation had become, by exhibiting the various ethnical, social and religious influences which made it what it was. These influences are accurately enumerated, if they are not always justly estimated. Their relative force, the degree in which they severally contributed to the result, would hardly

be judged alike by any two men; and it is too much to ask that a review so brief as to exclude all detail, and admitting only the most general argumentative statements, should satisfy everybody. It is true, as a matter of fact, that the Reformation in England was greatly modified by political causes; that it issued in a church which gave almost equal offence to Romanists and extreme Protestants; and that by natural consequence, within this politico-ecclesiastical "comprehension," though hidden for a time, there germinated the seeds of high and low church dissension and of ultimate dissent. The position of parties in the reign of James II., cannot be understood without a distinct apprehension of these questions. But whether entire justice is done to the character of the Reformers, of leading high-churchmen, or of the Puritans, is a question no answer to which seriously affects the trustworthiness of the narrative. On some of these points we shall have occasion to express our dissent from the historian's judgment, but we despair of seeing a history written by a man who thinks for himself, and who at the same time thinks exactly as we do on every subject he touches.

Another class of critics find their feelings shocked by pictures which derange some of their most cherished associations. These seem too bad to be true, and it is assumed that the colors have been laid on by a prejudiced artist. Such, for example, are the representations of the country squire and country parson, in the famous third chapter. The propriety, in a literary point of view, of inserting in a history such confessedly ideal pictures, may be doubted. The absurdity of criticising them as one would the description of the death of Charles II., or of the battle of the Boyne, is equally clear. But their substantial fidelity is after all too well established to be successfully assailed. The novelists of a succeeding generation, whose popularity attests their truth to life and nature, reproduce Mr. Macaulay's squire in life size and full dress. He is as familiarly known to thousands as their next-door neighbors. As to his parson, the poverty and social degradation of the parochial clergy in the reigns of the Stuarts ought to be well known. One need not explore the Bodleian Library or the British Museum to verify the tale.

Izaak Walton tells us that when George Herbert declared his intention to become a parish priest, he was dissuaded from it as too mean an employment, and too much below his birth, and the excellent abilities and endowments of his mind.

To this he replied :

Though the iniquity of the late times have made clergymen meanly valued, and the sacred name of priest contemptible; yet I will labor to make it honorable, by consecrating all my learning and all my poor abilities to advance the glory of that God that gave them.

Burton, the Anatomist of Melancholy, himself a clergyman, says in words that might almost seem to have suggested some expressions of Mr. Macaulay :

Many poor country vicars, for want of other means, are driven to their shifts; to turn mountebanks, quacksalvers, empirics; and if our greedy patrons hold us to such hard conditions, *as commonly they do*, they will make most of us work at some trade, as Paul did, at last turn taskers, maltsters, costermongers, graziers, sell ale as some have done, or worse.

This, making proper allowance for Burton's fantastic exaggeration, was the state of things before the Civil Wars. After that deluge—specially fatal to the church—had swept over the whole land, the postdiluvian chaplain may surely be described as a butt, a groom, or an errand-runner, and the postdiluvian rector as by turns a gardener or carter, without seriously perilling one's credit for truth.

When we pass from these introductory chapters into the main body of the history, almost the only serious trespass alleged is upon the fame of William Penn. If so much indignation had not been aroused by Mr. Macaulay's reduction of the Quaker hero into a man having some high titles to admiration, but, on the whole, of moderate intellect, of slight perspicacity, and with some very evident weaknesses, we should be tempted to say that the historian was seduced by his love for the picturesque into making more of Penn than he desires. Hume and Hallam, we believe, manage to get through their histories of the Revolution without once naming the founder of Pennsylvania. Mr. Macaulay would have been more easily forgiven if he had been equally abstinent, instead of daring the assertion that Penn was not a great man. Those short sentences—

His writings and his life furnish abundant proofs that he was not a man of strong sense. He had no skill in reading the characters of others—

have hurt worse than any specific accusations, and have instigated Mr. W. H. Dixon to write a new *Life of Penn* with the express intent of magnifying him into greatness. If garnishing every incident with laudatory phrases and rounding it off with a set panegyric—if a readiness to claim for all his hero's political opinions the credit not only of sincerity but of absolute truth—could avail to prove anything but his own weakness, Mr. Dixon would have no difficulty in making out his case. To win the gratitude of posterity, however, it is not enough to prove that, on a great question, Penn was more enlightened than many of his contemporaries: it must appear that posterity is in some eminent sense indebted to him for the recognition of the principle. If he had first discovered the truth as to the rights of conscience, this would be enough. But, as he lived too late for that, though his adhesion to it against reproach and persecution was meritorious, it is asking too much to require us to call it, as Mr. Dixon does, "his" principle, unless he bore a distinguished part in achieving the victory over intolerance. Did, then, the efforts of Penn hasten the emancipation of conscience, or were they wisely directed to that end? We see no proof that his contemporaries were affected for good by them; and, although Mr. Dixon tells us of books that "ought to be familiar to every Englishman," the phrase very intelligibly suggests that the generations following have been equally unconscious of their power. The wisdom of his movements will sufficiently appear by enumerating the most important.

He argued before the judges and maintained in print, that the liberties guaranteed by *Magna Charta* are by that instrument set above all subsequent legislation, and that statutes infringing them are constitutionally void. This was, in effect, to ascribe to a royal declaration defining the prerogatives of the crown—which is all that the *Great Charter* professes to be—an authority paramount to that of the whole legislature; a manifest absurdity, of which no Englishman "of strong sense" could be guilty, and in theory, at least, an exaltation of the prerogative that would seem to have been ingeniously

devised to alienate him as far as possible from all lovers of liberty in the kingdom, who for two generations defended the privileges of parliament as the grand security of freedom. A written constitution superior to ordinary legislation every American is taught to regard as a great blessing; though ours has become so ductile through the license of congressional and judicial interpretation, that John Quincy Adams was not far wrong when he exclaimed, "The Constitution of the United States—*stet magna nominis umbra!*" But Magna Charta is not such a constitution as every sensible man, acquainted with the fundamental maxims of the British government, well knows. It limits the royal power. As to the force of an act of parliament, the legal "omnipotence" of the legislature is a part of the alphabet of English law.

The honor is also claimed for Penn of having procured, in the decision of the famous Bushel case, a judicial recognition of the invaluable right of a jury knowingly to bring in a verdict contrary to the law. We are aware that this is a high honor in the estimation of a great many people, who forget that the power to nullify a law for a good purpose may be exerted with equal facility for a bad one, as scores of judicial murders recorded in the State trials bear witness. The security of public liberty, we submit, is not to be found in the arbitrary discretion of jurors or of any other men, but in the impartial execution of just laws, sustained by a healthful public opinion. Good or ill, however, the right in question had been acknowledged in previous decisions. There is no proof that Penn's arguments produced any effect but that of irritating the court.

With the attempt of James II., by one sweeping act of prerogative, to abrogate the whole series of penal and disqualifying statutes against dissenters, Penn had an opportunity to demonstrate in a conspicuous manner the calibre of his mind and the range of his vision. On the one side was the arbitrary indulgence of the monarch, on the other was the prospect of a toleration with the guarantees of law. The success of the king's policy would be the annihilation of all civil and religious liberty. It offered unfettered worship, but on terms which, if accepted by the nation, left the king an absolute

sovereign, at liberty to withdraw the indulgence at any moment and resume persecution. Penn sided with the king, clung to his cause in spite of his most violent infractions of law, and after his deposition plotted to restore him. Mr. Dixon assures us that Penn believed James "to be sincere when he declared himself opposed to every kind of religious tests," and we are further informed that Mr. Dixon has the same faith. Now it is a matter of historical notoriety that James had urged forward cruel persecutions in Scotland; that he volunteered a promise, on his accession to the throne, to maintain and execute the intolerant laws for the defence of the Church of England; and that, after calling for a national contribution to relieve the exiled Huguenots, he issued an order refusing the benefit of it to all who would not conform to the established church. Even while making those professions which won the confidence of Penn (and of Penn's zealous biographer), he dismissed Rochester from the Treasury because he would not apostatize to Rome, and Sunderland kept his place in the ministry only by doing what Rochester recoiled from. Penn's insight into the character of others must have been based on some other principle than that which judges a tree by its fruit. The king manifestly wished to be rid of the legal test, in order that he might be free to make one of his own.*

But, whether a great man or a little, Penn is entitled to fair and truthful dealing, and Mr. Macaulay is taxed with a very different style of narrative. Not to be too tedious, we may pass the questions, whether he advised Kiffin to become an alderman, whether he had a taste for seeing executions, and other trivialities that have figured in wordy war. The historian is indignantly censured for saying that Penn was looked upon with coldness by his own sect, in consequence of his court life. Mr. Dixon shall refute himself. He says (probably when he was not thinking of any antagonist):

* It is said that Penn perceived and pointed out the insufficiency of the royal indulgence, and advised the procuring of an act of parliament. But he adhered to the court party after the king had rejected his advice, and required of his supporters a recognition of his dispensing power. His advice in the closet is no plea to defend his public course.

Many of his own sect, for a time, looked coldly on him. . . . They had no complaint to make against his morals or his life; they only pretended to condemn the too active part he had taken in the affairs of the world.

Another grievance is, that Mr. Macaulay charges Penn with acting as a broker for the ladies of the court in extorting money for the pardon of the "maids of Taunton"—a company of children barbarously persecuted as accomplices in Monmouth's insurrection, merely for having been marched by their schoolmistress in a procession. It has been proved that there was a George Penne concerned in the sale of pardons to some other Taunton prisoners. It is inferred that he must be the "Mr. Penne" addressed in a letter from Sunderland, which is one of the proofs adduced against William Penn. Both the charge and the refutation seem to rest on inferences that are too frail to justify much positiveness of assertion, and we think that therein the historian may have erred.

One other point has been contested at great length—the conduct of Penn towards the Fellows of Magdalene College, Oxford. But, after attentively reading the statements and counter-statements—stripping them of epithets and inferences—we cannot discover any material difference to dispute about. The essential facts are related very nearly in the same terms on both sides. Not to enter into details, for which the reader is referred to the history, a very general statement is sufficient for our present purpose. James nominated to the presidency of the college a Roman Catholic, who was proved to be a man of abandoned character, and who was disqualified by the statutes of the founder and by the law of the land. The Fellows remonstrated, and on the last day allowed for the election chose Dr. John Hough. The Ecclesiastical Commissioners annulled the election. Parker, Bishop of Oxford, also disqualified for the office, was then nominated by the king. But the Fellows denied the authority of the Ecclesiastical Commission, and adhered to their first election as legally complete. That they were in the right, and the king flagrantly in the wrong, no one doubts. But their position was perilous. The king was obstinate, the Ecclesiastical Commission, a potent engine

of tyranny, waited for its victims, and the consequences of braving it would be serious.

At this crisis Penn interposed. James was making a tour through that part of the kingdom, and the courtly Quaker joined the royal train. The king turned aside to Oxford, to try the effect of his personal authority with the Fellows, but was unable to awe them into compliance. Mr. Macaulay says that "the agency of Penn was employed." This is earnestly denied. It seems very clear that he acted in the king's interest, and advised the Fellows to yield; and if it will help his credit to say that he volunteered this service, we cheerfully grant it. Again, the history asserts, and the biography denies, that he endeavored to intimidate the Fellows into some compliance, by representing that "ruin impended over the society." It is only a question of words. Mr. Dixon says that Penn feared the quarrel would

lead to a loss of the college charter, and a transfer of its immense revenue to the Papists, and he interposed his good offices to heal the wounds

A loss of the charter, we should think, would come pretty nearly to the same thing as "ruin." The "wound" could be "healed" only by concession. Penn is said by his defender to have been alarmed at "the combined obstinacy of the king and the Fellows;" and his healing proposals to the Fellows must have logically embodied advice to yield in some point. But, it is objected, Penn disapproved of the king's proceedings. So says the historian. Proof is also furnished that on conference with the Fellows they showed that concession on their part was impossible. So the history states. When, however, we are reminded of a certain "manly English letter" which Penn wrote to the king on their behalf, we must doubt its title to such laudatory epithets. It does not appear that he had manliness enough to claim for the college its legal rights. He pleads the conscientious scruples of the Fellows, representing to the king that,

in their circumstances, they could not yield without a breach of their oaths, and that such mandates were a force on conscience, and not agreeable to the king's other gracious indulgences.

To solicit the king's "gracious indulgence" for their distressed consciences was a different sort of manliness from that of Hough and his fellow-collegians. A second interview was had by him with a deputation from the college. It appears that in this conversation he held language not very consistent with his former sense of danger. The deputation said that the whole university was in peril. The Papists had got Christ Church and University College; the contest was now for Magdalene. Penn thought the Papists would be content with what they had got, and would not be likely to grasp anything more! Or, to take Mr. Dixon's version of it—

The Catholics had got two colleges. To them he did not dispute their right;* but he could confide in their prudence. Honest men would defend their just claims; but should they ask from the royal favor what was not their due, they would forfeit all they had acquired. He felt sure they would not be so senseless.

To say nothing of the folly of all this, it is plain that such talk could have but one intent—to persuade the Fellows that submission would do them less harm than they feared. Great stress is laid on the testimony of Hough, that Penn "did not so much as offer any proposal by way of accommodation." No *proposal*, we grant; he found too evidently that it was useless. All that Mr. Macaulay asserts is, that he *hinted* at a compromise. One of the hints was that Hough might become Bishop of Oxford,—purchase the Episcopate, that is, by yielding in a matter where he was sworn to fidelity. To this, no better defence is offered than that it was a mere jest. We are told with emphasis that he said it "*smiling*." But we are so dull as not to see the point of the joke. If it was not meant to intimate that Dr. Hough would gain something by a compromise, it was stark nonsense. To call it "innocent mirth" is wretched trifling. Dr. Hough says:

I perceived he had a mind to droll upon us, but I told him seriously I had no ambition.

He was in no humor for joking.

The truth is that Mr. Macaulay nowhere represents Penn as concurring in the king's ultimate designs or sharing his

* As if the perversion of those two colleges was not every way as illegal as the attack on Magdalene!

spirit. He does not charge him with any hostility to the college, but only with that short-sighted partiality to the king's ostensible policy which blinded him to the real importance of the struggle in which the Fellows were engaged, and made him insensible to the unseemliness of concession by even a hair's breadth.

He does not, deeply as he censures the baseness of the hint about the bishopric, charge Penn with a *consciousness* of the bad import of the words he used. He accuses him not of depravity, but of narrowness of mind and weakness of judgment. He had a large philanthropic heart, and his title to veneration as the founder of Pennsylvania, where his best qualities had a noble field for action, are undisputed. But it is alleged, and we think proved, that as an English politician he made a sorry figure.

We have dwelt upon this point because it is held, on this side the water, as the chief vulnerable part of the history. When everything else fails, it is deemed to be an all-sufficient condemnation, that "Macaulay defames William Penn." As we have intimated, on one point his judgment appears to be rash, so far as the evidence is apparent. Perhaps there is sometimes an undue severity of tone. But there is far less question of the facts than one would imagine from the confident style in which the history is often censured.

It requires much military science and skill to judge by inspection of the strength of a fortress, but very ordinary minds may draw just inferences from the success or failure of repeated attacks. While we might shrink from presuming to sit in judgment on a historian so richly furnished with the information required for his work, it is much easier to observe the fate of hostile critics, and from that to determine the strength of the work assailed. This we have done, and out of many have given a few examples of failure. Six years of free criticism upon the first two volumes have scarcely abraded in any sensible degree the solid fabric. There has been abundant complaint of the author's *opinions* touching the Church of England, the Puritans, the Stuarts, King William, and other persons and things; but the accuracy of his narrative has been impeached with very slender

success. The like process has been commenced upon the new volumes, and, so far as we have seen, whenever the censors pass from vague and sweeping animadversion to particular charges, their ill-success is equally striking. A few plausible, but minute, points of exception have been made, but, as a whole, we believe the volumes stand fire remarkably well; while in style and absorbing interest they worthily rank with their predecessors.

It is possible, however, to tell the literal truth so as to convey an impression totally false. The historian may be immaculate in his facts, even to the smallest details, and yet his work may be as worthless as a novel. A portrait may exhibit the features of the original in such lights and shades as to produce a strange expression. It is in the perspective and coloring of a history that falsehood is oftenest hid, if the artistic power of the author is sufficient for success in the fraud, and he has the will to use it; or in the absence of fraud, if his skill is the servant of passion or prejudice that imposes upon himself. We have often seen it asserted that Mr. Macaulay's love of rhetorical effect gives an air of unreality to his delineations. His marvellous dramatic and descriptive powers are made to testify against the truth of his representations. Readers over whom he casts a fascinating spell, awake with a suspicion that something more intoxicating than truth has been imbibed. Nothing, we are convinced, could be more unreasonable. The age, whose annals are passed in review, was, *in fact*, one of unequalled excitement. The popular feeling of England was roused into a tempest. The fountains of the great deep were broken up. A civil war; the violent overthrow of throne and altar; repeated revolutions; a dynasty restored from no love to its representative, but from national weariness and exhaustion; reviving factions, fired by the most potent stimulants that can affect human nature; the love of power, the love of liberty, the sympathies and the aversions of religious faith; an assault at once upon the rights, the sentiments, and the pride of the nation, so desperate as to be almost incredible, so dangerous as to make a great people forget animosities that had raged even unto blood, and to unite them almost as

one man against the common enemy of their freedom and their faith—these are things that cannot be truly and at the same time coldly related. Any representation of them which should permit a human spectator to maintain perfect equanimity, would be more hatefully and prodigiously false than the most exaggerated romance.

But England, it may be said, was not in a perpetual effervescence from 1640 to the close of the century, yet the entire narrative is fired with the same restless interest. Not altogether the same. There is a powerful charm belonging to the history as a whole, diversified and seemingly superseded by the effect of particular parts, but yet ever present; and when an occasional stimulant loses its force, this still buoys and exhilarates. The movement of history is not that of a mere agitated sea, but of a profluent stream. It records the evolution of a vast scheme of Providence in which no act is without significance. The history of a particular State, aside from its relations to the race as a whole, has a subordinate unity with the same perfect correlation of parts. No mind less than omniscient can perfectly comprehend these relations. But it is possible in some degree to transcend the shifting views of ordinary sight, to look before and after, and by a wide generalization to detect the sequences of events. A writer who has done this with any success, invests the details of his work with a higher charm than is inherent in themselves. It is not exaggeration, it is not distortion, it is not fiction; it is a genuine intellectual inspiration that imparts to dead facts a true historic life. The reader feels himself so equably borne along on the current as at times to transfer the movement from himself to surrounding objects. But what he sees is none the less solid land.

That the history before us is true in this highest sense, cannot be positively asserted till it is complete. The author takes his stand upon the England of to-day, and reviews the process by which from its original barbarism it became what it is. We know that he regards it on the whole as a beneficial progress, auspicious of a better future. But what in his view are the elements and conditions of national well-being, does not so distinctly appear at present. His ideas of the

true polity of States are sufficiently distinct. But political institutions are only means. Their merely material benefits are at best subordinate ends. The life of a nation, like that of the individual man, consisteth not in the abundance of the things which it possesseth. The merits of Mr. Macaulay's political and social philosophy cannot now be determined, and should not be presumed. In a more confined sense, limiting our view to the means of national growth—regarding the existing social constitution of England as a fact which must be taken for a leading premiss in an argument whose conclusion is to be written in future ages—we think his estimate of this fact sufficiently accurate, and his conception of the agencies by which it has come to pass, mainly just.

A capital merit indeed, which distinguishes this from too many works called histories, is the distinct recognition of those moral and social impulses by which, more than by legislation or diplomacy, the course of events is determined. The antipathies of race, and those of a later date between the rural gentry and the court; the action and reaction of popular feeling, and the methods in which public sentiment found expression; the curious subdivisions of parties and the cross intrigues going on within them; the intermixture of private and personal with public motives; and especially the near relation which the civil and religious history of England bore to each other from the Reformation downwards, are not only indicated by formal statements, but traced in their operation at every stage of the narrative. The author's "philosophy of history" is evidently not a speculation which moulds his narrative into conformity with itself, but a philosophy resulting from an induction of the facts, reflecting back, and shedding upon them, a clear and pervading light.

Here, again, he has been assailed without stint. If he has not invented or perverted facts, men say, he has disposed and colored them under the influence of violent prejudices, party and personal. The charge would come with a better grace, if his critics did not give abundant proof that they are themselves under the same sort of influences. One reviewer, for example,* brings forward as proof of party prejudice

*In the London Times.

the historian's severe judgment of Marlborough, and exclaims:

But then he secretly corresponded with St. Germain's!—and so did his colleagues, with a very few exceptions. He talked of bringing over the army to James; but "the hypocrite," when the time came, "evaded the demand." Was he worse in this respect, was he more of a hypocrite than Russell, who made similar overtures, and in like manner evaded them?

The insinuation is that Russell, for his Whigism, is very leniently treated. The question has no point, if this is not its meaning. But what does the history say of Russell?

In truth, with undaunted courage, with considerable talents both for war and for administration, and with a certain public spirit which showed itself by glimpses even in the very worst parts of his life, he was emphatically a bad man, insolent, malignant, greedy, faithless.

If this is the language of partisan partiality, what, pray, would be the fit language of party enmity? And how impartial must be the spirit of a critic who can pretend that Marlborough did no worse than his colleagues, in the face of the plainly stated and almost superfluously proved facts of his sinuous career? The same writer enters into a forcible statement of the circumstances which constituted the temptation to such double dealing—William's precarious health, the disturbed state of opinion, the possibility that the next month or the next day might bring a counter-revolution. While reading this, the conduct of those traitors seems so natural, and in some sort excusable, that one wonders how the historian could have overlooked such obvious considerations—till a look at the seventeenth chapter discloses the fact that the critic has only a little expanded three compact sentences of the history. If "the play" were "worth the candle," we might expose numerous instances of such disingenuousness.

That in England party or personal prejudice should give character to criticism, is nothing wonderful. But when we see in an American periodical signs of such malice, it is natural to ask with wonder, whom, on our shores, has Mr. Macaulay offended? What can be the provocation? A journal professing as its aim "to foster a noble nationality in literature and art"* took up Macaulay with the modest intention of

* *The New York Quarterly.* See the number for January, 1855.

subjecting him to a power which he himself has never exhibited. We propose to consider his works analytically.

By way of illustrating his own analytical powers and his author's deficiency therein, the reviewer remarks that with a single exception,

We remember not one of Mr. Macaulay's nominal reviews in which he has ever quoted the author, or done more than merely cite his name at the beginning of the article.

Analysis depending on so defective a memory should call a little study to its aid. Depending on his precarious recollection, as it would seem, he offers in support of a violent tirade against the personal as well as literary character of the author, a series of the most impudent misstatements ever concentrated into an equal space. Such a production is not worth refuting; but it may be instructive to show how far the assurance of anonymous "criticism" can go. We have a long catalogue of alleged omissions. "He almost wholly glides over the . . . period of the English commonwealth." Strange! in a "History of England from the Accession of James II." But it is not quite so defective as we are asked to believe. "He might have recognized the great Protector's sagacity and decision"—and has he not? "He might have shown his historical lore by" telling some stuff about the deportment of Cromwell's soldiers when *attending mass* in Scotland! "He might have admitted"—has he denied?—"that the Protector's court was in every respect an example of domestic purity." "He might have admitted"—has he not told it in burning words, once and again?—"that instead of truckling to France he dictated to her, and overawed at once the Vatican and the Escorial." The strict discipline of Cromwell's army, their obedience to their general, their terrible-ness to the foe, and his skill as a commander, are among the things which this reckless literary bravo says are not acknowledged by the historian, though they are the theme of some of his most eloquent passages. With the same bad memory, which a fresh reading of the history would have corrected, the domestic virtues and gentlemanly manners of Charles I.—the fact that the Whigs "intrigued to drive (James) from power," and that their leaders were "in the pay of Louis XIV,"

—the undoubted legitimacy of the Pretender—the acquiescence of the Church party in arbitrary power when their own interests were safe from it—the sensibility shown by James when deserted by his daughter—and the privy of Mary and Anne to their father's deposition—are all included in the list of things omitted. Myriads of readers in generations yet future will learn these facts for the first time in the pages so foolishly maligned.

But we are weary, if our readers are not, of worrying such contemptible game as this. We set ourselves to the present task from no vanity of championship for Mr. Macaulay. He needs no such service from us. But if any who lack the opportunity to investigate for themselves, and have had their confidence in him shaken by the bold tone of depreciation on all sides, shall be re-assured of his title to respect as an honest, no less than brilliant and powerful historian, our labor will not have been lost. The influence of a history composed in a spirit of reverence for human rights and constitutional freedom, is too valuable to be recklessly impaired.

As already intimated, the work is less satisfactory in a religious, than in a political or literary point of view. In one respect it is a great improvement on some of its predecessors. It searches carefully for the moral causes of events. These are the grand motors of every society, though not always traceable with certainty. In modern, and especially in English history, they have signal preëminence.

And of all the forces that have operated in the progress of the English people, none can be compared for energy or constancy of action with Christianity. Religious principle is the strongest of human motives; and in England, owing to the peculiarities of her ecclesiastical constitution, it has modified or colored a large part of the civil transactions. Mr. Macaulay has assigned it the place it deserves. He recognizes the legitimacy of its dominion. Christianity appears in the march of history clothed with the insignia of her just precedence.

And yet, while the religious element is sought to be exhibited in its just *relief*, it is precisely here that the author seems to us least successful. In truth there is something

enigmatical in his treatment of this subject, in all his writings. He is far from grudging to Christianity due credit for its power, or for its beneficent tendencies. He is at no loss to detect philosophical or theological distinctions; yet no one, from his writings alone, could plausibly conjecture his own opinions, and it is not easy to be satisfied with his account of the convictions of others. He is easily described by negatives. He is not a Roman Catholic, nor a high churchman, nor a Puritan, nor a Presbyterian. Nor, on the other hand, does he seem to be justly chargeable with the scepticism which regards all religions as useful, and none as authoritative. But it would seem not uncharitable to conclude that he is disposed to attribute to God the minimum of physical or moral agency needful to keep the universe in tolerable order. He seldom alludes to the belief of a particular providence, without some hint that it is superstitious. Christianity, with whatever demonstrations of Divine authority it may have been inaugurated, would seem to be regarded as only a philosophy and a moral code—a system making its own way by the force of its perceived merits. His conception of its power is summed up in the phrase, “sublime theology and benevolent morality,”—qualities fitting it to affect the intellect, the imagination and the natural sensibilities, it is true, but also qualities that may be wholly abstracted from the notion of that higher spiritual energy, without the recognition of which the triumphs of the Church are an unsolved riddle. The Divine agency in the matter being limited to originating the central facts revealing the most general doctrines of religion, the several beliefs held by every church and every individual bearing the Christian name, Oriental or Greek, Romanist or Protestant, are only deductions drawn with more or less skill from certain common postulates. Some are more nearly true than others, some have better effects than others; but all of them, however contradictory, are equally forms of Christianity, and have the same degree of *authority*—that is, none at all. The faith which was held by the dominant Church in any age was for that age the Christian faith. The Church of Rome, Mr. Macaulay thinks, was a great blessing until the revival of letters. He even doubts whether England owes

most to Popery or to the Reformation. He knows a good deal respecting the theology of various ages and sects, yet seems hardly to have penetrated beneath their dialectic peculiarities and external signs. Hence nothing can be more vague than the account he gives of the Church of England and the Puritans.

With a general reference to their theological differences, he contrasts the Church of Rome with the Puritans or extreme Protestants in eight particulars, indicating under each the relative position of the Church of England. The peculiarities of the Romish system are, the asserted apostolical succession of bishops, a uniform liturgy recited in the Latin tongue, transubstantiation, priestly vestments, "pantomimic gestures" in worship, the invocation of saints, the multiplication of sacraments, and confession. The Puritans rejected these; condemned episcopacy, committed the order of worship to the discretion of the minister, received the Lord's Supper sitting, refused to apostles, even, the distinctive title of *saint*, abolished confirmation, recognized no grace in holy orders and no virtue in priestly absolution, and abhorred surplices and the sign of the cross in baptism. The Church of England compromised, by holding to episcopacy without claiming for it a Divine right, by using an English liturgy, by kneeling at the Eucharist while condemning its adoration, by retaining confirmation, the surplice, the sign of the cross and the form of absolution, and by substituting the *commemoration*, for the worship, of "saints," as usages edifying and lawful, though not obligatory.

Now these are real differences. But they are only the exterior signs of two opposite principles, of whose existence the historian's elaborate antithesis gives no hint. Starting from a common belief in the sinfulness of man and his consequent exposure to misery, and in the revelation of a redemptive scheme, the two forms of faith diverge widely. One of them lodges the whole power of salvation practically in "the Church." The grace which bringeth salvation is conceived of either under a material figure, as something that dwells in the body of the priest and is communicable by manual contact, or as placed by Divine decree in the power of the priest's

will and obtainable through his intercession. Thus God is removed to a distance from the soul. Between Him and the penitent stand not only the redeeming Christ, but also the Church and the priesthood on earth, to whom the Papists add the saints of the Church in Heaven. Prayer and praise may be commendable acts, but reconciliation with God is made by the application of water, which, through the priest's incantation, is at once "sanctified" by the efficient presence of the Holy Ghost, or in the swallowing of a wafer, which, by a like miraculous energy, has become transformed into, or consubstantiated with, the body of Christ. It is this idea of a vicarious religion ministered to the soul through a human priesthood, that naturally gives rise to the dogmas of apostolic succession and transubstantiation, to the practices of confirmation and sacerdotal absolution, to priestly vestments as the insignia of sacerdotal dignity and power, and to the virtual abolition of public worship in favor of a mere exhibition. Such is the spirit of so-called "Catholicism," whether at Constantinople or at Rome, at Augsburg or at Oxford. The principle is one, the forms of development may vary.

On the other, the Protestant system, man is placed in immediate relations with the Deity. Though God is approached through a Mediator, the Mediator is One "in whom dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily." The Divine Spirit is supposed to operate immediately in the heart, and to manifest His working by those spiritual affections which are its necessary product. The Church is but a union of Christian men for mutual edification and the good of the world. The ministry are but servants of Christ and of the Church for teaching and guidance. The sacraments are without any inherent efficacy, and benefit only those who receive them in faith.

The Church of England, which is described by the historian as founded on a compromise, is more accurately described as a comprehension of the two systems. There was a compromise in certain exterior matters for the sake of comprehension. English churchmen, if we look at their moving principles rather than to their garb, are not a cross between Romanists and Genevans, but some are "Catholic" and some

Protestant—the one class holding to salvation by the Church, the other to salvation by the immediate grace of God. We do not mean to affirm that the distinction can be so traced as to set all of them plainly on one or the other side of the line; for hereditary and party attachments may cause many of genuine Protestant faith to wear a high-church uniform and contend under high-church colors. But the *principles* of the two systems are radically distinct, and unsusceptible of compromise. The opposition of the Puritans was not to surplices and genuflexions, to festivals and rubrics, but to the anti-Christian error of which these, to their minds, were outward signs. They dreaded them, not for any mischief in themselves, but because they tended to promote the superstition from whose yoke the nation had been so hardly freed. They knew that a large portion of both clergy and laity had conformed to whatever creed or worship the government sanctioned, and that the obnoxious ceremonies were retained purposely to make such a transition easy. They saw that the equivocation manifestly tended to facilitate a reversal of the process. Such facilities for transit between Rome and Canterbury were so evidently dangerous that they sought to burn the ships. It is anything but philosophical to accuse them of weak scruples, because they were too earnest in contending for their faith to allow of any parley with its enemies.

Many readers, we presume, have been sadly disappointed at the dark colors in which this history depicts the Puritans. Something very different was expected from the pen that indited their eulogy in the essay on Milton. But that remarkable piece of declamation, which in virtue of its brilliancy probably has more admirers than the author's best essays, with all its wealth of spirit-stirring words, to say the truth, is a piece of splendid non-committalism. The Puritans, we are told, were "no *vulgar* fanatics." Assuredly not; but—they were *fanatics*, after all, it would seem. Their beliefs, their hopes, their fears, for aught that the essayist tells, were unreal—either essentially false, or converted into fiction by their ill-regulated enthusiasm. They "*felt assured*" that their names "were recorded in the Book of Life." "They *esteemed*

themselves rich in a more precious treasure," &c. "But the tone of their minds was often injured by straining after things too high for mortal reach." Were the communion they professed to enjoy with God, and the confident assurance of His favor they avowed, and the authentication of his all-controlling individual providence in which they trusted, among those unattainable things? Were they anything more than "glorious illusions"? The sentences apparently so full of meaning are so exquisitely balanced, that the oftener they are scrutinized the less they seem to say. Nothing is said inconsistent with the utmost scorn for their faith and manners. These, indeed, are very intelligibly hinted at as odious, but waived as mere unsightly excrescences upon what was intrinsically true and noble. It would have been in better taste, we think, if some parts of the history had been penned under the influence of a similar feeling. But it is easy to see how both could be written by the same man without any sacrifice of consistency.

One sentiment which too frequently gives tone to this history, though seemingly reverent, is really, it seems to us, inimical to sound moral judgments. Because Divine Providence overrules evil for good, it is claimed that we ought, on the discovery of such good results, to think less severely of the evil overruled. The climax of this theory of Providence is enunciated in the terse falsehood of Pope, "Whatever is, is right." Mr. Macaulay's intentions, we presume, are far enough from such a universal levelling of moral distinctions. But in particular instances his reasoning is based on principles which would ripen into nothing less noxious. He thinks that the crusades, the pilgrimages, the monastic system, and the sacerdotal usurpations of the middle ages, have been unduly censured. And why? Because the crusades united Christendom against the Mohammedan power; because pilgrimages attracted the rude inhabitants of the north to the centre of civilization; because the monasteries were safe retreats from violence, and sheltered literature and art from the deluge of barbarism; because priestly usurpations were the triumph of moral over physical power, and mitigated the ferocity of tyrants. But did the promoters of these forms

of superstition design these benefits? It is not claimed; there is pretty strong evidence against the claim, if it were made. Then why do they deserve "respectful mention"? The pilgrims were the dupes of a pitiful delusion. The crusaders were possessed by a fanatical passion that had scarcely the semblance of a human, much less of a Christian virtue. The monkish system was founded on no love of letters, and priestly usurpations were certainly more selfish than public-spirited in their intent. Mr. Macaulay has ridiculed the admirers of Laud for parading in proof of his personal excellence letters expressive of zeal for the interests and dignity of his own order. He observes that it may be very proper for a bishop to promote the interest and credit of the clergy;

"and it may be very proper," he adds, "that an alderman should stand up for the tolls of his borough, and an East Indian director for the charter of his company. But it is ridiculous to say that these things indicate piety and benevolence."

He therefore persists in regarding the archbishop with "unmitigated contempt."* Yet, in certain circumstances, a residuum of public benefit might be obtained from the achievements of such a man by the chemistry of historical analysis, and there can be no doubt that Laud somehow worked into the scheme of Providence for good. Because so much can be said for the mediæval superstitions, do they deserve particular credit for their involuntary good?

- Several inviting topics would solicit us onward a long way. But perhaps enough has been said to indicate the degree of appreciation in which we hold this history, and some of the grounds for it. For affluence of information, clearness and breadth of statement, vividness of illustration, descriptive and narrative skill, all under the direction of a well-disciplined judgment and an earnest love of freedom and justice, we know of nothing in our language to compare with it. If, as we have intimated, the author's spirit seems less devout, and his insight into religious movements consequently less profound, than is desirable in the treatment of such a subject, it is a fault common to him with most who have under-

* See his Review of Hallam's Constitutional History.

taken it, and is in fact less painfully felt in his pages than in those of some other writers possessing the same political characteristics. The new volumes worthily fulfil the promise of their predecessors. The characters and events described did not call for as brilliant treatment as some that figure in the first two, and the style is a little more subdued. But though there are no passages that will compare for eloquence and impressiveness with several in the last half of the second volume, we discover no loss of interest. One is drawn to the end by an attraction that is superior to the sense of weariness. There is none too much of it. At first view two such volumes seem a large space to be occupied with the history of less than ten years. But those were years in which foundations were laid for ages to come. The acts of the government concerned questions of policy on which their determinations are felt to-day with undiminished power. Yet it was not an era of great men. William of Orange towers far above the statesmen with whom he acted. Mr. Macaulay is blamed for representing the disproportion as so great; but there are the facts: till they are disproved, the hero must stand on that colossal height unrebuked. It was an age of narrowness and febleness in the Church. The historian is amply fitted to do justice to that part of his subject. No such souls as those of the Reformers and Puritans are to be dealt with, and the deficiencies he shows in attempting to estimate *them* do not appear when he has Sancrofts, and Comptons, and Sherlocks, or even Burnets and Tillotsons, to measure. When contemplating the distance remaining to be traversed, we confess to an apprehension lest the work should exceed the author's remaining age and strength, at the rate he has thus far gone. But with each new volume an accelerated speed will be possible, till we come down to the third George and the American war. We are happy to anticipate the speedy appearance of a fifth volume; and if some part of the whole great design should finally be left unaccomplished, it will be no light achievement to have produced a history of the period between the restoration of the Stuarts and the settlement of the present dynasty, that promises to live as long as the English language.

ARTICLE III.—ELEMENTS OF GREATNESS IN THE
PULPIT ORATOR.

THE expressions, great and little, indicate distinctions recognized by all men, as well the rude as the cultivated, not in regard to masses of matter alone, but to thought and character, to station and conduct. The basis of this universal recognition is found in the difference of feeling with which different objects address the mind. Between the mind and the objects of its contemplations, whether these objects are material or otherwise, there is a certain correspondence, such, that in the absence of every disturbing cause, uniformity may always be expected in the results. The view of a mountain, of the ocean, of the starry heavens, elevates and enlarges the soul of every man. The same is also true of the contemplation of infinitude in space, numbers or duration. And similar emotions, though, perhaps, of less intensity, are originated by the contemplation of intellectual achievements of a high order, and by exhibitions of exalted moral qualities. Who, without emotions of the sublime, reads the *Geometry of Euclid* and the *Principia of Newton*, or views the conduct of Daniel, and the career of Howard?

In all this we discern the hand of the Great Artificer; and, hence, infer, with perfect assurance, that to regale ourselves with the contemplation of whatever is truly imposing in nature, art, science or morals, is agreeable to His will. Nor can it be doubted, that our intellectual and moral constitution has been purposely so framed, that we should feel, directly and spontaneously, not only the peculiar influence of whatever is great, but aspirations also to be great ourselves; great in intellect, in moral worth, in social standing, in professional skill and success. So that it would be no unworthy service to fan this passion to a more glowing heat, and to point out avenues conducting to its cherished object. Leaving, however, a general subject and general remarks, which, like divergent rays, often become more powerless the more

they are protracted, we select a single profession, and offer to our readers some thoughts on

The Elements of True Greatness in a Pulpit Orator.

Greatness is not identical with popularity. Nor is the one, necessarily, either the cause or a concomitant of the other. Popularity is a green-house plant. It cannot abide the chill and the roughness of free common air. And, besides, it is ephemeral anywhere. Greatness, on the other hand, is the mountain oak, which derides the tornado; or the granite hill whose sleep is undisturbed by the earthquake, and whose years are counted by centuries.

. Greatness in the minister of religion is manifested in an ability to secure, and the fact of securing, so far as human agency can do it, the legitimate end of his office. And what is this end? The manifestation of the Divine glory by rendering man obedient to the faith. The preacher is to draw together into the sanctuary, from Sabbath to Sabbath, and year after year, all descriptions of persons, the poor, the affluent, the bold, the timid, the erudite, the untaught, the high-minded, the grovelling, the cautious, the credulous, the active, the sluggish, the moral, the vicious. Of this assembly, so heterogeneous in the points indicated, yet homogeneous in the circumstance of being all sinners, needing alike the provisions of the Gospel scheme, he is to awaken and hold the attention, to instruct the understanding, to interest the feelings, to elevate and purify the affections, and to influence the conduct, in such manner and degree that every relation both to God and man shall receive proper attention.

This work, in its *later and more important* parts, is never accomplished (it is proper to premise) without a supernatural influence. In vain do we impose the task on mere genius and learning, or fiery zeal, or patient toil. Simply human influence encountering the perverse and obstinate will of a sinner, is like the moonbeam's idle play on the surface of the iceberg, or like the breath of May whispering at evening twilight through the foliage of the gnarled oak. To dissolve the ice, the glorious sun must shine. To rive the oak, heaven's fiery bolt must be launched. "It is not by might nor by power, but

by my Spirit, saith the Lord of hosts." There is a "treasure in earthen vessels," but "the excellency of the power" is of God.

A good opinion of the preacher's talents, attainments, deportment, and piety, is necessary. Unless these be regarded with respect, he cannot secure for himself the attention, or even the attendance of an audience. But let him once establish to himself a reputation for eminence in these particulars, thus meeting the demands of that mental and moral constitution which man inherits directly from his Maker, and, like the central orb of a material system, he has already thrown out over a community a far-reaching, vigorous, and steady influence. Perfectly assured that he is no religious charlatan, but a philosopher in the science of theology, and, that he seeks not theirs, but them, they regard it as not unworthy of their self-respect to be enrolled among his congregation. And, although they may be strongly entrenched in depravity, and may bar their hearts to the assaults of Divine truth, yet the high consideration in which the preacher's qualifications are held by them, is no mean preparative for that docility, without which neither conviction will deepen in the mind of the sinner, nor sanctification in that of the saint.

The sacred oracles speak of a light poured by the Holy Spirit upon the human understanding. But that illumination, whatever it may be, accomplishes its important ends, not so much, probably, by any direct and positive action on the intellectual faculties themselves, as by improving our moral feelings, and thus setting the mind free from their beclouding influence. That ideas and trains of ideas, since the completion of the sacred canon, are suggested to the mind by a direct, Divine influence, we would not, indeed, deny. Though if such be the fact, are not the favored individuals so far truly inspired, and in that proportion raised of course above, and carried beyond the sacred canon? The mode, however, of imparting Divine illumination is involved in so much obscurity, that you hardly expect any man of clear head and honest heart to tell you that he ever so received any particular proposition. Consequently, in the case of

any given subject, which is ably discussed from the pulpit, you witness the manner, not of the Holy Spirit, but of the man. The conceptions and combinations, the form and coloring, are all the preacher's.

While, however, native talents of the highest order are to be preferred, we would not affirm but that the pulpit may yet be a suitable place for the exertion of those which may be marked by several gradations below, though not so as to place them much below mediocrity. Whatever the Scripture may mean, which says, "God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty," it certainly does not mean that a man of a weak mind bears about him a Divine warrant to appear at the altar, and from Sabbath to Sabbath challenge the attention of a congregation. The man may possess tenderness and unaffected sympathy for man, and may be regarded as a paragon of piety, so as to meet the claims of the sorrowing, the sick, and the dying, and also those of the prayer and conference room; and his prayers and exhortations may kindle the devotions of his brethren, and arrest the attention of the careless; yet still something may be wanting.

Invest such an one with the name and authority of an ambassador of Christ, and what is the lesson taught by the sequel? What but that he has withdrawn his hand from the anvil, the last, or the plough, with the best of intentions, indeed, but not for the best of reasons. He has found, to his sorrow, that the people are ever and everywhere hard to please, and the people, that the Lord never made him for a minister. A good deacon had begun to be formed, but men applied their unskilful fingers to the work, and spoiled it forever.

Natural endowments are not alone necessary. There must be the disciplining of the intellect, and the accumulation of varied learning. To this remark the mission of the fishermen of Galilee, not versed in human philosophy and general literature, offers no exception. For, that those men, divested of the extraordinary authority and accomplishments miraculously conferred upon them, would have been fit instruments for the establishment of Christianity among the Jews, the

Romans, and the Greeks, is a proposition no considerate man can entertain.

In a country where the inhabitants are distributed into orders, as of lords and peasants, the latter, occupying the retired hills and valleys, and removed alike from refined virtues and refined vices, may be essentially benefited by a pious pastor, though the Bible be his only book of philosophy and literature, as well as of religion. But surely no experience of Divine aid, such as modern times have witnessed, can warrant such a minister attempting to meet the demands of the cultivated assemblies of the present day.

The times call for an educated minister. An individual of untrained powers knows not how to go to work. Unused to the exercise of the conceptive faculty, how can he cast a subject into propositions of such a kind and number as will reveal its nature? How, without the discipline of the logical faculty, can he decide on the connection and dependence of propositions, and arrange them for argumentative effect? Whence will he obtain both the precision and the copiousness in the use of language, which are conceded by all to be necessary to convey his thoughts truly and agreeably to the minds of his hearers? All this is essential—even in the most illiterate assemblies. But enough of this. Ignorance instructs, pleases, persuades—nobody. Not ignorance, but knowledge is power.

The influence upon the mind of a rigid and protracted study of the exact sciences, of language, of metaphysics and of history, is very great. It cannot, indeed, create mind, nor supply fundamental deficiencies. But it exalts, it quickens, it energizes every intellectual faculty. So that, on the presentation of a subject, conceptions of almost every possible variety, suited to the case, start up in crowded succession, as if evoked by magic. The necessary distinctions, the resemblances and contrasts, the congruities and incongruities are perceived intuitively; and a selection and combination are made of divisions, definitions, illustrations, proofs and applications, such, that there is one thing—and all of one thing—exhibited in a just proportion and symmetry of parts. The effect on our intellectual and sensitive nature,

when counteracting causes are out of the question, is like that produced on a body by converging the rays of the sun. The understanding and the heart are illumined and warmed. The exhibition of truth with such a grandeur of manner tells at every stroke. An impression is made, having a fit relation to the nature and force of its cause; an impression which, like chiseling in monumental marble, possesses the elements of permanency. So that the efforts of the pulpit, during any given hour, do not begin and end with—"beating the air."

But a single effective stroke may sustain a positive and proportional relation to the end, as a whole, without accomplishing such end. To this a hundred or a thousand of them may be necessary. A mass of granite, that cleaves under the sledge, at the hundredth blow, has felt, as causative of the final effect, ninety-nine just such blows before. The trained preacher is able to repeat such strokes. By the very power by which, in a given performance, he has presented you with one thing, and all of one thing, he can present you with the whole of any other one thing appropriate to his calling. Having, by education superadded to talents, become master of the process which, in one instance, elicits and condenses, and pours on the light and heat of truth, he is enabled to repeat the process indefinitely. He is competent, in a general sense, to the task of exhibiting the whole of truth in its natural order and connections, so as to ensure the whole influence of truth.

Under such exhibitions an audience will not habitually doze. The laws of mind are met by the speaker. So that, not only the activity of the mind is excited, but its comprehension of knowledge is facilitated, and its hold on it rendered firm. Thus taught, from year to year, a people will grow in knowledge.

Preachers need to be trained in history, in the sciences, and in general literature; without it they are perpetually betraying, not the want of a comprehensive, discriminating, and condensing power alone, but certain palpable deficiencies and mistakes, which greatly detract from their usefulness; being to their hearers occasions of diminished respect, and

are shorn of their power. No man can long preach even the pure doctrine of Christ, without saying much which has some relation to the general subjects of human knowledge. And, does it add to the sacredness and dignity of the profession to be forever misapprehending these matters, perverting their relations, and involving contradictions? There are such things as facts in nature, and facts in history, and facts in logic. And, though the mental and moral constitution of man is not so well understood as a demonstrative science, there are yet in that, some facts and principles which are regarded as settled. With none of these is any religious truth ever at war. But how often does a person of scanty knowledge cross the lines of natural and historical truth, of truth in logic and in metaphysics! Can you believe that individual to be altogether fit for the sacred vocation, who, in proof of Christianity, should inform his hearers that Isaiah delivered his prophecies many thousand years before the birth of our Saviour? or who, in the illustration of a text, should say, that David referred to a stupendous aqueduct, constructed by King Solomon, some years after David had slept with his fathers?

Variety has charms for all men, and is important in the pulpit as a means of power. The eloquent Staughton once said to us that his pulpit reputation (sustained, as many readers of this "Quarterly" know, at a high point for a series of years in Philadelphia) was to be attributed, in no slight degree, to his "everlasting variety." To secure this important advantage, every method should be resorted to consistent with the proper connection of related subjects, and with the peculiar state of mind sometimes prevailing among a people.

Nor, to an active and discriminating mind, is this a matter of great difficulty. For, though the Gospel involves a few chief points, which require a more frequent exhibition as well as special prominence, still the range of materials for religious discourses is highly diversified and of vast extent. And even the more important points can be set forth in such different connections, and with such a diversity of elucidation, of proof and application, that, though "old things," they will yet have the effect of new.

The public mind is sometimes easily affected. Of every circumstance which has a direct tendency to induce this susceptibility, it is greatly wise in the religious teacher to take every possible advantage. Any important revolution in society generally, or in any considerable portion of it; any signal discovery; a stinted measure of things needful to life, or a great exuberance of them; the ravages of a storm, an earthquake, a conflagration, or a pestilence; the event of war; the return of peace; can be seized upon by a speaker of imaginative and versatile talent, and be made subservient to the more effective inculcation of such moral and religious truths as, on the principle of association, whether of contrast or of comparison, are by it readily suggested. The late splendid ornament of the pulpit, just referred to, was specially distinguished for this dexterous manner, this true and noble "ad captandum." The Reverend Doctor Sharp, in his letter to Doctor Lynd, has furnished some beautiful illustrations, two of which we will here present:

"When intelligence was received from Spain," says Dr. Sharp, "of the downfall of the infamous Godoy, who was styled the 'Prince of Peace,' Dr. Staughton delivered, on the following Sabbath, a most interesting discourse from the passage in Isaiah, 'He shall be called—the Prince of Peace.' At another time when a great encampment in Europe had been surprised and routed, by one of the contending armies, he preached a sermon from the words, 'The angel of the Lord encampeth round about them that fear Him, and delivereth them,' which almost electrified his hearers."

The efforts of the preacher, at such times, are aided by two causes of direct and lively action. The events in question excite and warm the minds of the community. The other cause is the increased interest awakened in them by having a discussion suitably connected with views which are already strongly stirring their feelings. It may be added, also, that these agitations of the public sensibilities invite the pulpit orator to higher efforts in forming and embodying his conceptions, and to bolder strokes in delivery; just as, under the favoring influence of a general and solemn attention to religious concerns, such as often prevails in what are called "revival scenes," one can, with the best results, indulge in

strains which, in an ebb of religious feeling, would, by appearing overwrought, be uttered comparatively in vain.

A judicious, incidental improvement of such uncommon occurrences, is not to abandon the Cross. It is closely following the great Master-Teacher. Its immediate effect in reference to the truths enforced are beneficial, and it induces a higher estimate of the minister's abilities; and while it shows him to be concerned with everything that concerns his species, his weight of character is augmented, and so, of course, his power of doing good.

Variety is often very injuriously disregarded in the choice of texts. For example, a preacher concludes his morning discourse by giving notice that the subject will be resumed in the evening: and, not having yet done justice to his views, he announces, on the next Sabbath, the same old text. Who needs the spirit of a diviner, to tell what will be the effect of this sameness? In one out of a hundred cases it may, perhaps, be good. A man of rare powers and industry is presumed always to have something worthy of our ear. So that when, after having, on a given passage, once commended himself to our approbation, he again proposes the same, our expectation may be awakened. We know that man does not take a text in vain; and, therefore, our curiosity may be eager to ascertain what there still remains of a topic once supposed to be exhausted. In general, however, the reverse of this will be experienced. We dislike to be stationary. Advance suits our constitution. The sound of an old text comes heavy and dull on the ear.

The cast of manner which, in itself, aside from the favor usually bestowed on it by the Spirit, seems best suited to the proposed end, may be well designated by the epithet *bold*. This quality has a relation to the *doctrine* inculcated. If, in the great controversy between God and man, there is but one fair side; if God is wholly right, and man wholly wrong, the ambassador of Heaven is entitled—is rather bound—to take high ground. The Divine character and claims are fixed. Any representation of them which would imply weakness, or doubt, or mutability, offers to man so much encouragement—which his pride and independence of character will

be sure to seize upon—to justify and strengthen his rebellion against his Maker ; and must, therefore, preclude that powerful conviction of guilt and helplessness, without which no sinner ever did, or ever will throw down his arms and surrender himself at the mercy of his Sovereign. The same consequence results also from any indefiniteness or wavering of views in regard to the position and character of man.

And, in general, if the exhibitions made by the preacher, rather than what a man happens to know of himself, are to be relied on as a means of convincing the judgment, and of drawing the heart off from the world to God ; that is, if the Divine economy is by “ the foolishness of preaching to save those who believe,” then nothing can ensue under a partial and timid exhibition, but perfect failure. There is, in operation, no cause adequate to the wished-for effect. Conscience has quite enough to do in grappling with the vanity, and pride, and lust, and worldliness of man, even when the authority of the pulpit comes to her aid, and sets these obliquities and defilements of human nature in such a prominence, and marks them by such colors and appellations, that no selfishness, no stupidity can misapprehend them. Even the all-conquering Spirit ceases to be victorious here. He disowns the instrument and stands aloof, offended. His sympathy and influence are with the un mutilated, undisguised truth. The sword which He will deign to wield, is one of double edge, and drawn.

This is the view presented by the Bible. And what, on the same point, is the lesson taught by experience and observation ? Precisely the same. An accommodating, temporizing minister, though he may secure some adherents to his depreciated creed, wins no converts to the Master. He does not bring the guilty within the range of mercy.

Bold and commanding views of religious truth, to ensure their complete effect, should be set forth in bold and commanding *language*. Nobody will deny that there are low words and cant phrases, and vulgar tropes, which, of themselves, are pithy, and which with some become more so the more they are out of place ; that is, the graver and more sacred the subjects about which they are employed. Piti-

able is the man who, to raise attention, or rather to induce a stare and a smile, thinks it not unsuited to his assumed character to have recourse to an artifice so wretched. There surely is an order of language, a cast of style, which is appropriate to the gravity of the Christian ministry; and which, while it gratifies an elevated taste, does not, of necessity, offend any of less correctness and delicacy.

A bold and earnest delivery constitutes no insignificant part of a preacher's power. Everywhere, in every serious business, boldness and energy of action not only have a strong bearing on the point of success, but are of themselves exceedingly agreeable, stirring up and exhilarating the spirits alike of performers and of spectators. For entertaining and displaying this life, this vigor, there is in public speaking the most ample scope. At the bar, in the Senate chamber, and even before the grave tribunal, scarcely any limits are prescribed to the vehemence of the orator. He is allowed to imagine that the case he is conducting absorbs all human interests throughout all time.* And, if this sublime conception, like the electric element, fill him, soul and body, with contagious fire, so that over all the breathless throng it spreads in one continuous sheet, still the stigma of hair-brained enthusiasm is not suffered to light on him. Such a man is a "magnus Apollo."

If, now, such is the warmth allowed by all men to secular oratory, must the pulpit orator be placed under limitations? Must no scenes attendant on man's dying hour, no images of the grand and terrible, standing out in relief on the judgment-day, no wailings from below, no Halleluiahs from above, be allowed to inflame his spirit? Must no lightning flash from his eye? Must nothing thrill from his tongue? Must no muscle of his frame be in unusual play? Must the preacher alone of all public speakers be self-possessed and cool? Such, indeed, is the decision of some who affect to be more purely intellectual than the mass of their race, and who, to support this affectation, will decry and avoid a ministry characterized by a direct and impassioned eloquence.

* See De Or, L. I., c. 57, near the close.

There is in bold preaching a reflex action. The speaker, from his very manner of conceiving, couching, and uttering truth, is aware that he has undertaken something, and that he is, consequently, responsible for a respectable and useful issue. This thought awakens and nerves his energies afresh. So that what a Roman bard says of his heroes can be fitly applied in the present case—

— Possunt, quid posse videntur.

Boldness awakens at once in the auditors both a lively and delightful emotion, and an expectation of a performance worthy of the place and of the occasion. This exhilaration of spirits, next after the impressive influence of the Holy Spirit, is the antecedent of the happiest results. Attention is aroused. The mind is warmed. And, as the well-developed and concatenated ideas are evolved, they are eagerly taken hold of and fixed in their place.

The consideration, however, which, more than any other, both justifies and requires this quality, is the *message* that the preacher is commissioned to announce. No other topics are so momentous as those with which he deals. None embrace facts of such awful grandeur. In no other controversy, perhaps, except the one with which the message is concerned, is all justice on one side. With reason, therefore, is the "legate of the skies" expected to put on an air of decision and of earnestness. Timidity and inertness mark him in our esteem as a traitor. False to his own avowed character, false, also, to the claims of his Sovereign, he will not fail to be regarded as false to our interests.

The quality now under consideration will not, we trust, be confounded with that severity and roughness which some appear to recognize as ministerial boldness. It is not every exhibition of raging passion developed under a pulpit performance, that, of necessity, has for its object the doctrine taught. The teacher, himself, rather than his theme, or anything proper to his theme, may sometimes stir the angry tide in the sinner's breast.

Genuine pulpit boldness is not incivility; is not impudence; is not the exponent of a secret satisfaction that

there are, in the hand of a mighty angel, vials of indignation to be poured out. Bold positions, bold conceptions, bold representations, are perfectly consistent with that gentleness and courtesy which characterize the intercourse of men of urbane manners and refined sensibilities. The relation which, as a man, the preacher sustains to man, ought to render him civil; ought to restrain him from whatever might have the appearance of arraigning and anathematizing his fellow sinners. The pulpit, indeed, exalts a man, but only in proportion as he is meek.

In aiming at boldness, in its several departments, there is a liability in men, of a certain temperament, to sink out of sight one other important quality of an effective manner,—we mean, *kindness*. The affectionate manner has a powerful tendency to conciliate. It gains the eye and the ear, disarms prejudice against the subject, allays jealousy or suspicion respecting the speaker, and opens the avenues to the heart.

The fountains of this manner are laid in the inner nature of all men. Their depth and breadth, however, are not uniform; and even when, in themselves, they may happen to be so in different persons, their natural play may be greatly modified by other constitutional and acquired differences. The ordinary external signs, therefore, cannot always be regarded as a true and full exponent. Happy is the man who, to great mental abilities, can superadd the potent charms of these natural signs. If, in any degree, the original possession can be improved by study and culture, the importance of the subject addresses itself strongly to the consideration of all educators, and of all persons undergoing the process of education. This point, as well as the whole department of elocution, is treated everywhere, perhaps, with very unwise neglect.

Preachers differ very much in respect to boldness, and with happy effect. One, by the boldness and strength of his general character, may be fitted to command a manly and formal respect; another, by the milder features of human nature, to win an artless affection. The rougher genius may not be loved as soon and as familiarly as the milder; but, by

allowing time to establish his claims, he may become the object of a love more solid, perhaps, and, possibly, more enduring. Of these characters each has its advantages. It would be well if each could retain its own, and acquire those of the other; but, in aiming to combine them, there is danger of losing more than may be gained. The Peters and the Johns, the "sons of thunder" and the "sons of consolation," cannot be easily compounded.

To make a great pulpit orator, attention must be given to special preparation. No order of mind, however exalted, and no general attainments, however ample, including even theological learning, can supersede its necessity. Even with the abilities now supposed, a slight attention to a subject in drawing the outlines, and a subsequent filling up with the first conceptions which may arise on delivery, will not bring out results answering to the standard of greatness. Sound can be produced in this way; but sound, so produced, will soon die away, and those charmed by it will have nothing left—not even the "heavenly tone."

A painter who aims at making a strong impression, groups his objects with care and discrimination, presenting some in a prominent view, and throwing others into the shade. The same principle should prevail in a discourse. Feeble conceptions, and thoughts slightly related, coming into contact with loftier and closer views, throw an air of looseness and languor over the whole.

It is the business of preparation, by deep and protracted thinking, to summon up a multitude of conceptions, and out of them to form such a collection and arrangement as, by striking the mind most agreeably, will, so to speak, tinge and impress it most permanently with the character of the main subject.

It will not be thought foreign to the point in hand to touch the question respecting the office of the pen in making the preparation required.

We have been told, by a living preacher of some note, that, in a merely mental preparation, he can so nearly measure the length of his sentences and count their number as to know beforehand, within a couple of minutes, the time he

would require the attention of an audience. Though we should concede the fact of such power, it may be questionable whether such exercise of it ought, as a general thing, to be recommended. A preparation thus made can hardly be so complete as when the pen is put in requisition. The mental effort must be more intense, and, probably, more protracted. So that what is worth less is made to cost more. And, besides, the production is only a mental possession, which a brief space of time will seldom fail so to dissipate as to require, in the act of repossession, should occasion call for such an act, a further unnecessary expenditure. If, then, we regard the points of economy and of completeness in the production, considered as a production prior to the delivery, the pen should, perhaps, seldom be dispensed with, especially by persons young in the profession.

But the power of a merely mental preparation, such as has now been supposed, if possessed by any, is not the common lot of even the best and the most cultivated order of the human mind. On the part of most men, patient industry with the pen will produce discourses, with which, if we regard the various constituents of excellence, unwritten, though studied addresses, cannot be brought into comparison. The examination of the matter, the choice of words, and the construction and arrangement of the periods, one by one, through a long discourse, can hardly be effected judiciously without writing. And, to bring a discourse up to the point worthy of one's powers, and suited to tell most directly and efficiently upon the judgment and passions of an assembly, the author must write and re-write. In the language of the school-room, transpositions, additions, exclusions, substitutions, and limitations will be more or less requisite in every first, and second, and third draft. Not only the execution, but the ideas themselves, will call for this process. The first draft by a writer of limited practice, though he may happen to be no contemptible genius, will often be found to contain views, or shades of views, strongly antagonistical to each other. For reasons like these Horace penned his expressions, "*Limæ labor,*" and "*Sæpe veritas stylum.*" They have a meaning, and, also, a use to subserve,

other than to furnish us with pretty quotations. So thought Newton, and Johnson, and other great men.

Besides the higher excellence which the pen imparts to a single composition, in securing "thoughts that breathe, and words that burn," the habitual use of it, subjected to a rigid criticism with regard both to the matter and the manner, is, perhaps, the most reliable source of growing power, whether we consider the discipline alone of the intellect, or its appropriate furniture. Reading, without deep and protracted reflection, is idle pastime. And when the subjects are not mere commonplaces, when beauties or principles lie deep in the subject, the time of thinking to that of reading ought to be in the high ratio of three, four, or five to one. And even when this rule has been complied with, the trial of committing to paper the same thoughts, in a manner strictly one's own, will sometimes show that merely superficial views, shadowy outlines, have as yet been obtained. A good illustration and proof may be drawn from many a person's experience in regard to some ancient classic. It is one thing to talk about the meaning from the bench of the pupil, or perchance from the chair of the professor, and another thing to give the meaning, precise and lucid, from the point of the pen.

An unthinking man, to be sure, may write without thinking, and may flatter himself that he has reached the excellencies of the true "currente calamo;" just as some persons seem to resolve the "ore rotundo" into—noise. This is, perhaps, sufficiently attested by the fact, everywhere complained of, that there is so much written, and printed, too, which is hardly worth the reading. But in a man of judgment and of taste, the effort of writing, more, perhaps, than anything else, will create a necessity for thinking. Hence the philosophy of the remark, that the best way to become versed in any department of knowledge is, to make a book on the subject.

This manner of preparing for the pulpit, it cannot be disguised, is attended with pain. It checks the native tendency of the mind to play and luxuriate at large, like the unconfined winds in their easy gambols over the hills and through the

vales. It draws the action of its powers down to a point, and subjects them to long-continued strain and pressure, as by a weight. By this operation, when really strenuous and protracted, the mind becomes the subject of fatigue and pain, not less severe than the physical nature feels under the most arduous toils. So that who can be surprised at the large number of those who, frankly avowing the irksomeness of composing with the pen, content themselves with crude and meagre preparations, trusting to we know not what influence, to make their sermons on delivery, perfect and beautiful things of life?

Nor can the diminished amount of good effected by a preacher thus irresolute be matter of surprise. We compare him now, not with others, but with himself, as he would become by a rigid discipline. What is it but the best thoughts and the best expressions that the preacher, so far as his part is regarded, can rely on for effect? And what is it but the truth—and the whole truth—which, as an instrument, is plied by the Almighty Spirit in the transformation of man's moral nature? Now, it is idle to deny that, as Cicero in his "Orator" intimates, the best thoughts and the best expressions are those which come out from under the pen; or, in other words, to endeavor to maintain that a man, in presence of an audience, can utter, off-hand, truth in a better manner—that is, more connectedly and perspicuously, than in the quiet of his study he can write it. When, therefore, men claim that they can make sensible speeches, but complain that they can write nothing sensible or weighty, we may hint to them, that possibly their writings appear as sensible and as weighty as do their speeches to their intelligent and thinking hearers. To this remark there may seem to be—perhaps there may be—some few exceptions; as in case of men of mature age, who, while they never did write, have inured themselves to speaking extemporaneously, but with care, in public.*

Sympathy with whatever concerns man gives the minister of religion a stronghold on the general regard of mankind. He must be a citizen of his country, and, indeed, of the

* The length of this article precludes any remarks on the use of manuscripts in the pulpit.

world; able to say, by word and by deed, what, uttered rightfully in the best days of Rome, secured for the speaker the plaudits of the whole people, "I am a man." His duties in this relation will require him to keep himself acquainted with the march of civilization, of science and general learning, and of all the great movements which seem destined to modify and improve the domestic, social, religious, or political condition of man. Without this he cannot take both comprehensive and special views, for the time being, of man's duty to man. He falls behind his age, and finds himself regarded as less and less fit to be a leader of the people, even in his own specific field.

But when we perceive him fairly linked with the general interests of the race, we regard him as a brother indeed. And this feeling of regard will become deeper and warmer, as this general good-will in the preacher assumes more distinct and more glowing forms in scenes of distress among the people of his own charge. To this result it is not necessary that, by our own sorrows, we should ourselves be specially the objects of his humane attentions. Attached more or less directly to every congregation, there are those—the poor, the sick, the heart-stricken—whose circumstances make a demand on his philanthropy. It is the exhibition of goodness involved in meeting such demands, that, like some magic wand, tunes to approbation and delight the deep-laid chords of our moral constitution.

The reflection, too, that we ourselves, however secure now, may, by untoward events, become identified with the sorrowing, who need the balm of sympathy, comes in to swell our feeling of approbation and delight. How much in character is this sympathy when adorning an accredited servant of the Great Sympathizer, who "went about doing good"! If, when grief has invaded our own hearths, or those of our neighbors, our pastor has been ready with his tears and his solace, how has he established and entwined himself in our confidence and our affections! And when afterwards, from the pulpit, it has been his pleasure to press us with the entreaties of the Gospel, or his painful duty to draw vividly to our mental vision "the terrors of the Lord," what a support

have these labors found in our knowledge of the kindly nature of the man!

To the varied display of this mild virtue, as much, perhaps, as to the bold spirit of his sermons, did Payson owe the stronghold which he is conceded to have had on the regard of his parishioners. This, also, together with prudence, was the forte of the late Dr. Bolles. And, in a wider view, what consideration, so effectually as that of their humanity, has embalmed the memory of such men as Howard and Wilberforce, and Carey and Buchanan.

But let a preacher, when he approaches the abodes of sadness, take on the heart and aspect of a lion, like a pastor we once knew, who, on entering the parlor of a widowed member of his church, whose heart was then bleeding under fresh strokes of bereavement, exclaimed, "Well, madam, you are not mad against God, I hope;" and he will break the "bruised reed." Or, let him seem to avoid, either spontaneously or studiously, all contact with common life, fixing on the study and the pulpit as the only places where he is to strike out a thought or utter a word, and he becomes insulated in fact not less than in appearance. He takes hold of nobody, and nobody takes hold of him. So that, though he may be full of fire, he has the benefit all to himself. Not a particle passes off to electrify any other soul.

To do great things in his profession a minister must have a deep-seated passion for his appropriate work—such, that singleness of aim shall mark his whole career. Division of labor is not less a point of economy in great moral enterprises than in physical operations. The acquaintance, already alluded to, which sympathy with whatever concerns man calls on the preacher to make and preserve with the state and progress of science and literature, of general politics and religion, does not require him to stand forth as a leader in every field; nor to explore all events and causes with the scrutiny of a philosopher, so as to become a universal expositor. An ambition to shine in every circle, to appear competent to the task of discussing and settling all questions involved in the theory and practice of husbandry, manufacture, commerce and government; to be, in a word, a high priest

in the temple of nature, and command the keys, not alone of a few of its apartments, but of all its recesses and labyrinths, may be left to the pretensions of a Gorgias, but cannot be entertained by any preacher of the Gospel. Nor can a single pursuit be placed in any prominence by the side of his own proper work. The labors of his own field will task all his powers. Even many enterprises, whose special aim is kindred with his own, can receive from him little more than a look of friendly recognition. That was a hasty avowal, therefore, once made by a youthful pastor in a cabinet of minerals, when he said, "My whole soul is absorbed in geology." And it was a fine rebuke which the avowal met with from a minister venerable for age, who, laying his hand gently on the young man's shoulder, and smiling rather soberly, said, "My young brother, I thought a minister of Jesus Christ should have his whole soul absorbed in the 'glorious Gospel of the blessed God.'"

Excellence in a pursuit springs from a certain enthusiasm—an enthusiasm which controls the intellectual and moral nature of man, and to a great extent even his physical. Was Napoleon great? His greatness was the offspring of a mighty enthusiasm, exercising a mighty control over all his nature. Now, it is the nature of enthusiasm to be exclusive. The spell is broken by a multiplicity of objects.

When, therefore, you see a preacher often at the exchange, or occupying a seat in a legislative hall, or flying, as on the wings of the wind, from city to city, to regulate public sentiment in regard to some one form of human woe, or some one mode of accomplishing a specific good, as the suppression of intemperance, or gambling, or licentiousness, you may be prepared to subtract something from his efficiency as a minister of Jesus Christ; and the more so, perhaps, in proportion as he increases his weight of character in the commercial or political world, or gathers glory from his exploits as the unique agent of some human organization. His passion, his enthusiasm for the Cross—the entire and well-proportioned scheme struck out by Omniscience for the correction of all evils—has either changed its object altogether, or lost its expansion over the whole object, and become condensed

around some little point, real or imaginary, of that object. To this condensation of passion upon an inadequate object, can, possibly, be referred certain phenomena not very uncommon in the present age, and not very unlike some of the concomitants of insanity. One man will tell you that the fibres of lust have pervaded and encompassed both the world and the Church, and that the Gospel, as a whole, does not supply the caustic which can silently eat these fibres away. Some human laboratory can furnish a more active and searching article. Another proclaims that all Christendom has forgotten the great commission, and that she can do nothing successfully for her own safety and purification, until the millions of Pagan lands are evangelized. A third has found out that dollars and prayers will all be thrown away upon the poor heathen abroad, so long as the clank of fetters is heard on the poor heathen at home. And so of each and every point, either great or little, around which is closely contracted that great and noble passion, that ought to be spread out in due proportion over the whole Gospel economy.

Now, when occupants of the pulpit, alike with the laity, are drawn into various wild speculations, connected with gain and social order, and human perfectibility, and into heated crusades against this or the other human organization, and thus, as we have seen, lose their balance, we find, in the direct influence on themselves, sufficient cause for their diminished usefulness as ministers of a spiritual and holy religion. But the mischief is not thus circumscribed. The community have a general sense of what is propriety in the clergyman. They expect him to make full proof of his ministry; and cannot, without diminished respect, behold him descending to matters of doubtful utility—not to say of doubtful dignity. Whether, in our own country, within the last forty years, the clerical office has not depreciated in standing and power by an intermeddling with the affairs of Cæsar, is a problem.

The bearing, whether direct or indirect, which piety, artless and warm, in the heart and in the life, has on the success of a preacher's public efforts, is a matter of no inferior consideration. Much might be said of its suitability to insure the Divine approval and blessing. Submitting all things to

the will of God, and involving an entire ultimate dependence on Him, and unceasing prayer for His aid, it is the one great thing which is specially pleasing to heaven. As it honors heaven, so it is wont to receive honor from heaven.

But our concern now is with piety in a different relation, as it affects the labors of the pulpit independently of its acceptableness to God. Though perhaps unnecessary hyperboles have sometimes been employed in setting forth the elevating and expanding tendency of this feeling upon all the merely intellectual powers, yet it cannot be doubted that its influence, in this respect, is most decided and happy. It involves such a thirst for all knowledge connected with God's displays of himself, such an honesty of purpose in all investigations, and such a vigorous and unwearied industry, that, without superadding anything to the ordinary, original principles which govern mind, elevation and enlargement of soul must ensue. Hence are secured higher abilities for the sacred vocation. Hence greater labors are accomplished; and with a boldness, a directness, a zeal, and a tenderness, always and everywhere hard to be withstood. Here, then, is a higher degree of absolute personal power in the preacher. Consequently, more distinguished results may be expected to follow.

And more than this. He possesses and wields an accessory power, derived from the effect which the bare consideration of rare sincerity and devotion will everywhere work in the hearers. A great and well-established reputation for religion secures for a man a deeper veneration on the part of society at large than is usually awarded to genius and learning. Hence the assumption of uncommon sanctity in all religious pretenders.

Any man, embracing in himself, originally and by acquisition, the several points we have touched upon, must be venerable. Holiness, benevolence, and heaven, are associated with his presence. He is invested with authority in its best sense. He has weight of character. His voice is the voice, not indeed of an oracle, nor of a god, but of a true messenger of the true God. And when, after years of successful toil, he is gathered to his fathers, the surviving church sheds copious tears, and says of him—"A great man is fallen in Israel."

ARTICLE IV.—LEWES' LIFE OF GOETHE.

The Life and Works of Goethe; with Sketches of his Age and Contemporaries, from Published and Unpublished Sources. By G. H. LEWES, author of "The Biographical History of Philosophy," etc. In Two Volumes. Boston: Ticknor & Fields, 1856.

THIS is the first Biography of Goethe in the English language. We have had sketches of the poet, conversations of Eckermann and others, eulogies, slanders, criticisms, translations of his works, and even a kind of autobiography of his earliest years. We have had the materials for a biography; but no master has been found to combine them with cunning hand, and show us the image of the "many-sided man." The very multitude of *Büchlein* and *Skizzen* embarrassed and bewildered us. The poet had so long been the great central figure in German literature, had been sketched so frequently by friendly and by unfriendly pens, that we could nowhere calmly see him in his real simplicity and majesty. Again and again have we anxiously asked, Who shall ever guide us along the stream of that wondrous life, which sprang up to light in the *Grosse Hirsch Graben* at Frankfort-on-the-Main, sported babbling through the years of early childhood, roared and foamed through a passionate youth, flowed deep and earnest through maturer manhood, and then widened so gradually and serenely, and blended almost imperceptibly with the waters of that boundless ocean whither every rivulet of life is hastening?

The life and the works of few men have been so freely and differently criticised as those of Goethe. He has been depicted as a saint and as a sinner, as an unequalled genius and as merely a man of dexterous intellect, as a German and as a Greek, as a universal mind and as a selfish mind, as an aristocrat and as a republican, as an Idealist and as a Realist, as a Christian and as a heathen. Indeed, there are scarcely any characteristics, whether of mind or of heart, which have not

been ascribed to him. It was then due to the memory of him, who never disliked an honest and manly criticism, and to the world, before whom he stood in the sacred office of Poetic Teacher, that the history of his life should be written with minuteness and candor. Mr. Lewes has performed this service with honesty and ability. He has given us a life-like picture of the man, as he lived, toiled, suffered, triumphed, and enjoyed.

The persistence and patience of the Germans, with all their adoration of Goethe, scarcely enable them to wade through the twenty-five hundred pages of Viehoff's *Chronicles of the Poet's Life*. Schäfer's *Biography* is the best one which the Germans possess. Mr. Lewes has confessedly availed himself of these works so far as he could. He has exercised the rare faculty of omitting as well as of selecting details and anecdotes. During a prolonged residence in Weimar, he has gained access to knowledge which neither of his predecessors had obtained.

He wields a facile pen. His style is always sprightly and pleasing. The diffuseness and familiarity of the journalist are sometimes manifest; but we are so accustomed to newspaper rhetoric in these days, that it disturbs the sensitiveness of the majority of readers far less than stately and classical heaviness. Mr. Lewes cherishes an admiration and a love for Goethe, and an earnest sympathy with his views of life, which contribute in an eminent degree to the success of the biography. Even in those portions of the poet's life for which most of his friends have thought it best to apologize, he finds little to disapprove and nothing to censure. Not that he conceals or misrepresents the facts. On the contrary, because he believes that the facts are not discreditable to Goethe, because his ethics are like those of his hero, he states them with perfect frankness and fairness. He thinks that the memory of Goethe will not suffer from a truthful picture of his life. Hence, we say, is a peculiar value in the book. An enemy exaggerates one's faults. A friend is tempted to palliate and disguise them. But an admirer, who believes that the alleged offences are not really grave derelictions from duty, fears not to tell the simple truth. Utterly as we dis-

agree with Mr. Lewes in his views of many questions of propriety and morality, we thank him for his facts.

The pages which he devotes to the younger days of the poet are especially felicitous and attractive. They should be read in connection with Goethe's own account of his youth, which he gives in his "Wahrheit und Dichtung." He wrote those reminiscences when advancing years had sobered the thoughtlessness and tempered the passion of boyhood; and his whole early life passed before his view, softened and mel- lowed by the lapse of time. Hence it was difficult to know how much of his work was fiction, and how much was truth. Mr. Lewes has with great industry and acuteness shown us how "to read between the lines" of that charming auto- biography.

Goethe's "Truth and Fiction" gives us minutely the his- tory of his birth and early childhood, of his omnivorous ap- petite for learning, of his love of fun, and of his ardent pas- sions: it takes us through the moulding and exciting years of his university life at Leipsic and Strasburg; it shows us his artistic and poetical labors and his burning but transient love for Annchen Schönkopf and the winning Frederika of Sesen- heim; it reveals to us the first budding of that idea which was afterwards developed in his wonderful poem of Faust; it tells us how he created the first great national drama of Ger- many, the *Göts von Berlichingen*; it paints the "Storm and Stress Period," through which he and all the German mind were passing on his return from Strasburg, and the history of the "Sorrows of the Young Werther," which so marvellously embodied all the raging and tumultuous feelings of the youthful poet; and it carries us to the very gates of Weimar. But it tells us nothing of the fifty eventful years, during which, in that little city, the author ruled as Monarch of *Let- ters* over the whole of Germany.

It is a singular fact, that none of Mr. Lewes's predecessors had given in their biographies of Goethe a full description of the customs of that quaint old capital, with its strange mingling of Boeotian coarseness and Athenian refinement. But he has painted a most spirited picture of the ancient town, with its pleasant walks, its unpretending architecture,

its homely fare, its boisterous revellings, its unscrupulous *liaisons*, and its round of amusements. He has sketched with power and truthfulness the striking group, of which Goethe was really the centre, the fiery but friendly Duke, the reserved but venerated Duchess, the unceremonious and jovial Dowager Amalia, who was not afraid to ride home on a hay-cart with Wieland's coat drawn over her shoulders, and the fascinating Frau von Stein, who for so many years ruled the heart of the poet. And afterwards we see in the circle the Greco-Gallic German and sensuous scholar, Wieland, the manly poet, philosopher, and preacher, Herder, and the rival, the friend, the *alter ego* of Goethe, the sensitive, ardent, struggling Schiller. Literary history nowhere offers so touching a friendship as that of the two great poets. It was so pure, so confiding, so fruitful of good to both, so fortunate for the world. No cloud ever dimmed its brightness, and the day when the earthly tie was severed was one of the few days when the great and calm Goethe gave way to tears. One by one did those who were dearest to his heart fall by his side; the Duchess, Amalia, his mother, his son, the Duke himself, and the old man stood alone, the survivor of his own generation, the Teacher and the Idol of his country. The serene wisdom, the cheerful activity, and the autumnal splendor of his declining years, are even more attractive than the impetuous earnestness, the exuberant passion, and poetic fervor of his younger days.

Mr. Lewes presents an elaborate defence of Goethe's course in abstaining from participation in the political movements against Napoleon. The poet has often been accused of culpable selfishness and want of patriotism, because he did not buckle on his armor against the French oppressor. He "tried to escape from the present, because it was impossible to live in such circumstances and not go mad. He took refuge in Art." He wrote ballads, an essay on Shakspeare, and a volume of his autobiography. As if to remove himself as far as possible from Germany, he devoted himself to the study of Chinese history. He was no republican in the technical sense of the term. He looked to individual and inward culture as the only hope for the progress of the race.

He thought that there was no peculiar charm in a republican form of government, which insured happiness to the people. He also had no confidence in the power of the Germans to expel the French troops. He was a scholar rather than a statesman, although he had so long held office in the Ducal Council, and he was already past the age of that enthusiasm which never despairs of success. It is not, then, strange that he did not cherish the hopes of the ardent youth who finally aroused and rescued their land. But he lamented the dissensions of his countrymen, which rendered unity of action impossible, and doomed the nation to a position of inferiority. He says:

I have often felt a bitter pain at the thought that the German people, so honorable as individuals, should be so miserable as a whole.

In his opinion, the only remedy was this :

Let every one, according to his talents, according to his tendencies, and according to his position, *do his utmost to increase the culture and development of the people*, to strengthen and widen it on all sides, that the people may not lag behind other people, but may become competent for every great action when the day of its glories arrives.

If his theory was that of a poet rather than that of a statesman, shall we blame him for adhering to what he believed, and for being a poet rather than a statesman?

Mr. Lewes has displayed signal ability in the chapters which he devotes to the politics and the religion of Goethe. Volumes have been written upon the religious views of the great German. Irreconcilable expressions from his works have been cited, and their meaning exaggerated to prove now that he was a sceptic, and now a pietist, now a spinozist, and now a Christian.

The contradictory passages, which are quoted, are the truthful pictures of his mind in its varied moods. He had naturally strong religious sentiments. We see him as a child erecting an altar, and offering sacrifices to God. His heart was reverent, but his clear intellect burned to pierce into the very essence of things. It was baffled by those unsolved problems which have shaken the faith of so many a man, whose heart had not the power to bid his mind bow down in lowliness before the mysteries of God. Therefore at times

it plunged into scepticism, and then his natural hatred of hypocrisy and cant poured forth the most withering invectives against churches and priests. His imagination was of that class which is charmed by the sensuous philosophy of the Greeks—and Pantheism irresistibly allured him by its charms. Now his heart prompted utterances which were filled with Christian devotion. Again his intellect urged him to indulge in a scornfulness and sarcasm which we look for only in the school of Voltaire; at another time his imagination revelled in the beauties of Grecian fiction, which has captivated many a poet and dreamer. It would seem, from his conversations with Eckermann, that the spotless character of Christ and the purity of His teachings impressed him with a new power, as his life was drawing to a close. Of all his memorable words, those which breathed most of the Christian spirit fell from his lips in the days of his richest experience and his ripest wisdom.

Goethe has long since been tried and condemned by women for his heartless treatment of their sex. Mr. Lewes gives us very full descriptions of his relations to his Gretchens, and Kätchens, and Lottchens, and shows very clearly that he was no worse than his age. It is true he ought to have been better than his age; and after all the palliations of his conduct have been offered, we fear that too much will be found recorded against him. It is certain that he was deeply culpable in so long postponing his marriage with Christiana Vulpius. That is the darkest stain upon his character; and nowhere does Mr. Lewes' theory of morals appear in so questionable a form as in his comments on that unfortunate history. Bitterly indeed did Goethe suffer in after years from the coarseness and vice of the woman whose youthful beauty and freshness had promised so bright a life; and if any expiation on earth could atone for his fault, his patience and kindness in all the trying scenes of her latter days would have wiped away forever the remembrance of the past. Let them, at least, not be entirely forgotten in sweeping denunciations.

He has often been stigmatized as cold and selfish. His natural bearing was dignified and reserved. His personal presence was imposing. A strong resemblance was traced

between his countenance and that of the ancient busts of Jupiter. He was often called "the godlike." His manly and almost imperial air was often regarded as haughtiness and vanity. It should be remembered that he was idolized throughout his whole life. When a boy he was a prodigy; when a student he was the companion and the rival of distinguished authors; and when he was a man, monarchs felt honored by his presence. His life was a succession of triumphs; and when at last he sank to rest, like the western sun, the whole world was gazing on his departing glory. It were strange indeed if he had not sometimes been flushed by his victories. A thousand jealous scribblers were ever attacking his fame, and he could not but look on them sometimes with scorn and contempt. When gaping travellers made their way into his parlor with the same curiosity which led them to visit the bears at Berne, and the giraffes at the *Jardin des Plantes*, they were often made to feel that their presence was intrusive and annoying.

But he showed a tenderness and warmth of affection for his chosen friends, which bound them indissolubly to his heart. He had such a marvellous power of "personal magnetism" that he may have seemed to be drawing all his friends to himself, rather than to be lavishing on them the offerings of sincere attachment. But he reciprocated every kindly feeling of those whom he really loved; and more than once his enemies were conquered by his spirit of forbearance and forgiveness. His sympathy was ever ready to cheer deserving and struggling genius; his hand was ever open to suffering and want, and unseen charities flowed from him to the hearts and homes of more than one, whose face he had never seen.

Mr. Lewes has devoted many chapters to the history and criticism of Goethe's literary and scientific labors. We do not propose to follow him through those at present. In the main we approve of the spirit in which he has performed this difficult part of his work, though we should dissent from many of his explanations. We believe, however, that nowhere, except in Goethe's works themselves, can one obtain so correct an idea of their real worth as in these reviews by Mr. Lewes and in the *Essays of Carlyle*.

While inviting the young and earnest scholar to study the *Life and Works of the great German Poet*, we cannot forget that one is often tempted to the gravest errors by many of the modern criticisms on those men of genius who, like Goethe, disregarded the conventional usages of their time, and openly transgressed the laws of morality. There are writers who dare to maintain that nothing is forbidden to men of transcendent intellect, that it is the prerogative of great minds to override the moral law, and so to be a law unto themselves. A noted French play represents a young woman as running a long career of vice, and yet as loving, through every trial and vicissitude, the youth who had first won her heart. And, on her death-bed, she is told in words which comprise the very essence of popular feeling at Paris, "Much shall be forgiven thee, because much hast thou loved—this young man." So do our genius-worshippers exclaim, "All shall be forgiven thee, because thou hast known much!" As if the genius which pierces into the secrets of unknown worlds, were not bidden by God to be like the veriest child before the majesty of the Law! as if the boy with the light of the feeblest intellect, and the Poet who dwells among the stars, were not to be judged by the same great and impartial statute, "To whom much is given, of him much will be required."

Moreover, Genius is never so exalted as when it humbleth itself. Its vision is never so clear and so keen as when it searches for Truth, with the desire to embrace it. The highest Greatness and the highest Beauty must always co-exist with the highest Goodness. It is strange that these truths have been often disputed. Well-known writers have contended that genius is dependent for the clearness of its intuitions and perceptions on no moral quality except that of courage. We deem this an error of the most serious nature. It ignores the highest functions of conscience. Its falsity is shown by the most common facts. Does not he who continually disregards the truths which his mind reveals, soon lose the power of clearly perceiving those truths? The career of every criminal is luminous with this teaching. Where is the proof that genius is exempted from this law?

The intellect cannot live in the clear sunlight of heaven, while the conscience is covered with clouds. Man's nature is not a duality, one part of which lives independently of the other. His mind and his moral nature act and react upon each other incessantly. It is true that some bad men have been men of lofty genius. But all the analogies of our being show that they might have attained to sublimer heights, if they had not been fettered and depressed by their burdensome vices. A polluted moral nature must ever dim the eye of Intellect. Those who study the mysteries of the universe merely as *dilettanti*, never achieve the highest results. The spirit of the command, "Seek and ye shall find," which is given to all searchers after Truth, is that they seek for it with their might, to supply their spiritual wants. Those who knock at the gates of the great and unexplored Realm of Eternal Beauty and Verity, must desire with reverent and thirsting hearts to make their lives a sacrifice to the Giver of all Beauty and Verity.

Some have affirmed that a bad man may enforce the truth in his writings even more effectually than a good man. As the witness who states facts injurious to himself is more reliable than a person whose testimony favors his peculiar interests, so, it is claimed, a writer, who acknowledges and praises a virtue which he never has exercised, does really commend it more strongly than the author, who shows its beauty and power in all his actions and thoughts. The answer to this has already been implied. Our ability to proclaim and enforce a truth will always depend primarily on our ability to perceive it. We cannot describe to others what we cannot see ourselves. Now, moral errors do becloud the mind, and diminish the clearness of our perceptions, and so necessarily impair or destroy the value of our testimony to those truths, which can be perfectly cognized only by sound and healthy minds. Moreover, in order to impress a truth on the world, we must not only see it in its true relations, but we must feel its power in the depths of our heart. If it does not infuse itself into our very nature, if its spirit does not breathe forth in every act, our loftiest eloquence is only like the hollow declamation of an actor. Faith is essential to

any great deed. It must be not merely an intellectual belief, but an earnest, heartfelt, active Faith. The testimony of the humblest peasant to the truth, for which he battles consistently in all his daily life, does more to engrave it on the hearts of men than the polished praises of a score of Popes and Byrons and Moores.

Other questions are suggested by reading the Life of the writer of the *Elective Affinities*, the *Roman Elegies*, and *Wilhelm Meister*. Is an author entirely unrestricted in his choice of themes? Is the artist to paint everything with rigorous fidelity to the original? We think that he is required by æsthetic and by moral laws to exercise a severe taste, both in the choice and in the treatment of his subjects. Every pure and worthy artist is guided by this principle. Certain scenes are not fitted for the painter. *Salvator Rosa* has given us a *Prometheus Bound*, with such startling truthfulness that every one turns away from the picture with a shudder. The pencil was never intended to supplant the scalpel. Though the scenes in a dissecting-room were depicted with the minutest accuracy by the hand of the greatest master, they would never belong to the trophies of the Fine Arts. These minister to one of our highest wants, the desire for the Beautiful. If Art fulfils the high and holy purposes for which she was given, she never panders to our grosser appetites by depicting the coarse, the vulgar, and the sensual; but she holds before us forms of unfading beauty and imperishable worth. If she descends from her lofty work, she forfeits her legitimate influence and glory, and, shorn of her chiefest splendor, consigns herself to contempt.

If the Poet and the Novelist claim the title of Artist, (and we cheerfully accord it to them,) they must conform to the rules of Art. They are not to picture scenes which offend natural delicacy and elevated taste. If they descend to such employment, they offend no less against the laws of *Æsthetics* than against the laws of moral propriety. It is not true that because the Artist is not an advocate, he is bound to represent whatever he sees. No artist acts consistently on such a theory. Every one exercises a choice, and takes those subjects which best suit his purpose. Life is not

long enough to reproduce on canvas or in poetry, the whole boundless world. A selection from its treasures must be made. Now, what shall guide the artist, whether he be Painter, Sculptor, Poet or Novelist, in determining on his theme? Surely the laws of æsthetics; and they require whatever is highest and purest in beauty. In aiming for the noblest æsthetic triumphs, the artist will necessarily obey the highest impulses of his moral nature.

For if beauty in its essence and perfection be not goodness, they are inseparably allied, and we cannot enjoy the companionship of the one, without catching something of the spirit of her Divine attendant.

But must we be restrained by the same limitations in the treatment of our subject as in the choice of it—must we not paint Life as we find it? Alas! that is impossible. The most ardent disciples of the pre-Raphaelite school cannot represent every leaf and every spire of grass. And, again, every artist tinges his work with his own subjectivity. The great portrait painter lends something of his greatness to the most insignificant man whom he paints. Often the picture has more of the master than of the subject. All representation is in one sense ideal, it partakes of the nature of the artist. It gives us the object as seen or conceived by one man, whose perceptions may be more or less true than those of his neighbor. We cannot, then, attempt to represent everything. We cannot represent what we do attempt precisely as it is in its objectivity. Therefore it is no excuse for these, who choose vulgar and repulsive scenes, that they are obliged to paint the world as it is. Art makes no such absurd claims upon its disciples. It does not ask them to paint the whole, but only such parts as will most successfully minister to the desires of our better nature.

The authority of this law within certain limits is tacitly acknowledged by those who remonstrate most strongly against its wider application. The uninteresting and unessential is dropped from every picture. The broad oaths and vile expressions of many a character are omitted. If literal adherence to the truth is demanded, why not retain them all? But here as everywhere, "the letter killeth, the spirit giveth

life." All the truthfulness which can fairly be asked of art is secured without descending to those disgusting details; and all the higher ends of art are gained, which could never be reached by copying with Chinese fidelity the unimportant or the repulsive. We insist only on a universal conformity to the principle, which artistic instinct prompts every tyro to respect in his earliest attempts at representation.

Let it not be understood that we desire to fill the world with stories of good boys and girls, who lived and died without an impulse or passion. They would be only caricatures of virtue, and would be utterly wanting in beauty. Nor would we have all poems and novels written expressly to "point a moral." For art is not primarily didactic. If it ever teaches, it is because it pleases. It does not please expressly in order to teach. But we ask the artist to imbue his works with that spirit of transcendent beauty, which ever distinctly recognizes the sublime and unchangeable worth of all moral excellence. Let him remember the difference between errors with their consequences, and flagrant vice with its scenes of unblushing and polluting sensuality. Let him give us indeed pictures from Life with its mingled woof of good and evil, its alternations of clouds and sunshine, of tears and smiles. But do we need the vile and degrading sallies of wit, which are bandied about in the coulisses of a second-rate theatre? Must we witness the agonies of ungratified lust, and the burnings of unhallowed desire? Shall we pass the night in the stench of gamblers' hells? Must the Muse lend her melodious voice to utter those thoughts which none dares to utter in prose? Must her robes be used to adorn and to veil those vices which cannot come forth to the sun in their nakedness? Did she descend from above to defile her train in the mire of impurity, and to prostitute herself to sensual passion, or to ravish our ears with heavenly harmonies, and kindle in our souls the burning desire for purer and loftier songs than those of earth? Surely if Art be heaven-born, let her breathe forth something of the spirit of her celestial home. Let her show by the blessings which bloom on her path, that she is a heavenly visitant.

We know that the necessity for discussions like these

bespeaks a degenerate age. This endless disputation about the nature and claims of genius is a certain proof that we have no genius. We are continually debating whether genius is conscious of its efforts, whether genius works or plays, whether genius is amenable to ordinary moral laws, or only to a transcendental code of its own, and whether genius is not an object of worship as the highest revelation of divinity. When men are reasoning about passion, and analyzing its motives, it is certain that they are not in passion. When men write histories of philosophy, the age of earnest philosophizing is past. When poets are busy in seeking for Shakspeare's and Dante's sources of power, they are never singing such lays as those of Shakspeare and Dante. The age of criticism is near the age of original productiveness. Genius has no element of selfishness; and selfishness always underlies excessive introspection. Real genius does not waste its time and strength in searching for the essence of itself, and in proclaiming its idiosyncrasies to the world, but it brings forth, it produces, it does its work while the day lasts. Vainly do we strive with our wings of wax to follow its lofty and natural flight.

While, then, we confess that this is an age of criticism, and not of original thought, let us see that our principles of investigation are founded upon truth. While our ears are filled with vague and sounding words about the prerogatives of genius, let us remember that the highest beauty and the highest goodness dwell together forever in the heavens.



ART V.—RELIGION OF THE ANCIENT GREEKS.

THE east is the native land of religion, whence a perpetual exodus has continuously advanced towards the west. As the sun in the beginning, so truth and life first shone from the orient; and the march of civilization has ever since been in the direction of that great orb.

It would be a hopeless task to trace with accuracy the theology of the earliest periods, buried as it is under a mass of allegory and fable, which cannot now be removed. Yet there are indications of a purer morality, and a more worthy faith, than is portrayed in the anthropomorphic mythology of the Hesiodic and Homeric poems. Inachus is supposed to have migrated from the Asian shore about the same time the Israelites entered Egypt. Then, the worship prevalent among the Nomadic tribes of Asia, according to Job, was that of one almighty Creator, typified by, and already half confounded with light, either the sun or other celestial bodies. Plato speaks vaguely of the divine unity, and Aristotle more distinctly avers that "it was an ancient saying received by all from their ancestors, that all things exist by and through the power of God, who being one was known by many names according to his modes of manifestation."

Kailas was a mountain in Asia, from the lofty terraces of which the ancestors of the Greeks descended, bringing with them to Hellas a memento of their origin in the word *kailon*, and illustrating their hereditary theology by going for congenial worship to the loftiest shrines. The best authority tells us that they were "exceedingly religious," a fact which even their grossest errors confirm. Endowed with the most acute and active sensibilities, the Greek sought to satisfy the ardent aspirations of his devout spirit; he even yearned to be himself enrolled among the deified heroes whom his faith and imagination had exalted to the dazzling halls of Olympus. This general impulse may be illustrated by particular examples, as in the subtle Themistocles, and majestic Pericles,

who placidly hailed in worship traditions discarded by the historic mind as transparent fictions. So powerful and all-pervading was the religiousness of the cultivated Greeks, that the same judgment which so profoundly harmonized with the severe grandeur of the Olympian Jove, enthroned by Phidias amid the marshalled columns of the national temple, bowed to the legend of Aphrodite, the foam-born Queen of Love. Heroism and piety were perpetually invigorated at costly fanes; and how deeply the spirit of worship, and belief in retribution, were impressed upon the most powerful intellect, is shown by the awful apostrophe of Demosthenes to the heroes who fell at Marathon, and the breathless attention which then absorbed the very soul of the Athenian.

In the land of Ham nothing was nobler than a few dull emblems of thought, sitting on a lotus leaf, immersed in the contemplation of their own divinity, or fierce warrior-deities, Molochs, Baals, or Saturns, while the classic west deified the sentiments of the human mind; and, though steeped in viciousness, yet represented as beings presiding over nature in beautiful and commanding forms. A potent spell of fascination dwelt in the mere abstractions of pagan thought embodied in a Hebe, Venus, or Minerva; and, false as were the spiritual views of their authors, they exercised a charm of imagination which still speaks to more enlightened intellects, and evokes sad regrets from holier hearts. The province of Shem was faith, and not philosophy. His descendants were never successful in dialectics, and the best of them under the old dispensation only stated the matter of their belief, but never undertook to prove it. When Job attempted religious argumentation, and would justify the ways of God to man by a process of theodicean philosophy, he acknowledged his failure by avowing the incomprehensibility of human destinies. And when the pious and philosophic Ecclesiastes attempted to argue on rationalistic principles, he fell into inextricable doubt, and could resist despair only by implicit submission to the Word vouchsafed from heaven, "Fear God and keep his commandments, for this is the whole duty of man." Without anticipating the designs of Providence, we think with inexpressible delight of the last and best expres-

sion of Jewish faith united to Japhetic reason, and happily blended together in the splendors of an infinitely loftier wisdom to enlighten mankind.

The functions of humanity are of a social nature; they merge in the whole species, and have religion for their foundation and centre. If absolute isolation were possible to man, it would virtually nullify his existence. Only societies act in and upon the world, with religion for their bond and protection. Among the nations which have shared in the work of progress accomplished hitherto, each has exerted an influence by some characteristic feature, some special function in the general advance. In addition to the literature, art, science, and philosophy of the Greeks, we should carefully note the great civilizing might which dwelt in their religion. This was felt by them to be an infinite and universal necessity. Without it, the social state is impossible, since the nature of man demands active progress under a moral law too exalted to emanate from human will. It must be divinely ordained, and in a way which clearly indicates the means and end of human perfection. That alone can create and proclaim the legitimate end of human activity, at the same time it becomes synonymous with religious morality.

The ideas which obtain among different nations respecting their own creation, are usually much like themselves. Scandinavians suppose that they sprang from dense forests on their hills, the Libyans from the sands of their native deserts, while the Egyptians conceived themselves to have arisen from the mud of the Nile. But the cheerful and active Greek associated his origin with the grasshopper, and went singing on his agile way. A kindred diversity exists in the choice made by nations as to the objects to be adored. The Egyptians deified water, the Phrygians earth, the Assyrians air, and the Persians fire. But the Greek, impelled by nobler instincts, went beyond grosser natures and deified himself. The mighty conclave shining round the resplendent heights of Olympus, was only the counterpart of a vast congregation worshipping below. As Amon or Osiris presides among the deities of a lower grade, Pan, with the music of his pipe, directs the chorus of the constellations, and Zeus leads the .

solemn procession of celestial troops in the astronomical theology of the Pythagoreans. The apotheosis of Orpheus, with his harp in their scientific heavens, is a starry record of oriental worship sublimated by the devout intellect of Greece. The nations of antiquity believed that their ancestors dwelt closely allied to the gods, or were gods themselves. Cadmus and Cecrops were half human, half divine. The Greeks inherited many cosmogonical legends from the Hindoos, out of which was composed the theogony of Hesiod. Thebes, rising to the sound of Amphion's lyre, was the world awakening at the music of the shell of Vishnou. Conflicting Centaurs and Lapithæ, Titans and giants, are supposed to represent the elemental discord out of which arose the stability and harmony of nature.

The great heroes of India became the chief gods of Greece; so that their mythology was not a pure invention, but rested on a historical basis. A record of the introduction of the Lamaic worship into north-eastern Hellas, is distinctly preserved in the earliest religious annals. The famous moralist, Pythagoras, was the special devotee and professor of eastern doctrines, and, under their inspiration, established a brotherhood strictly devotional, and with observances of monastic sanctity. Grote speaks of this great preacher to the Grecian race in the following terms :

In his prominent vocation, analogous to that of Epimenides, Orpheus, or Melampus, he appears as the revealer of a mode of life calculated to raise his disciples above the level of mankind, and to recommend them to the favor of the gods; the Pythagorean life, like the Orphic life, being intended as the exclusive prerogative of the brotherhood, approached only by probation and initiatory ceremonies, which were adapted to select enthusiasts, rather than to an indiscriminate crowd, and exacting active mental devotion to the master.

Tradition commemorates a wonderful reformation produced by this stern religionist, in different lands. The effect produced among the Crotoniates by the illustrious missionary of morality is indicated by the recorded fact, that two thousand persons were converted under his first discourse. The Supreme Council were so penetrated with the noble powers of the Lamaic apostle, that they offered him the exalted post of their President, and placed at the head of the religious female processions, his wife and daughter.

The religion of the Greeks was the deification of the faculties and affections of man. Human character and personality preponderated therein, but it was neither inert nor wanting in intellect. The passionless, immovable deities of Egypt and Persia were superseded by the active and powerful hierarchy of Olympus. Free and independent, they were presided over by the great conqueror of those blind and deaf gods of necessity, who had reigned absolutely over all the ancient east. Under this new dispensation, the various forces of nature were emancipated and endowed with the affections, and subjected to the weaknesses of mortal beings. Fountains, rivers, trees, forests, mountains, rose into objects of adoration, under the form of nymphs, goddesses, and gods. Social existence was elevated to a corresponding degree, by the removal of castes, and the sacerdotal despotisms, which had so long impeded the progress of democratic principles in individual and social life. Preceding nations of lively sensibility had revered as deities single rays of the Divine Being separated from their great centre; but the polytheism which prevailed over adolescent men, appeared in Hellas invested with a purer majesty. Oriental polytheism desecrated its altars and temples with images of deformity; but the west conceived a nobler symbol of divinity, when the Greek created God in his own image, and seemed to inhale life-giving breath while he worshipped in the midst of every phenomenon that could refine his taste or stimulate his imagination. This was utterly inadequate to the attainment of the great end of spiritual existence: but one important step in paganism was gained; natural religion, which had before been absorbed in the immeasurable of the formless infinite, became fixed to the eye under the limitations of a cognizable form, eminently human but suggestive of the divine. Thus, religion produced ideality in art, and art fostered enthusiasm in religion. The beauty and dignity of many altars and statues appeared to have descended from a higher sphere, and commanded the reverence due to beings of celestial birth. The earthly was so blended with the heavenly, and visibly presented, that Plato looked upon the harmony as something complete, and most ennobling in its power of assimilation.

In all the public enterprises and festal assemblies of the Greeks, a high religious tone was present, which paid homage only to the exalted and the beautiful. They were of the earth, earthy; but it is impossible not to look back with respect upon that people whose whole civilization was imbued with a spirit of renunciation, sublime self-sacrifice, and beneficent deeds. The magical splendor which yet pours about them, in the depth of that old world, after so many centuries, is nothing else than the reflection of their purer worship and nobler stamp of character. Of all the states, Athens, in this regard, as in every other, was by far the noblest. Sparta, it is true, appreciated highly the blessings of liberty, and was not only content by a joyless existence to purchase this, but delighted even to sacrifice life for its preservation. But the refined capital of Minerva went beyond the severe law which makes a useful slave, as one would harden a growth of oak; she elicited perfume from the fairest bloom of the soul, wherein the moral man was made to unfold in the development of a higher freedom. The genius of the Greek was as profoundly devotional as it was emulative. To his sensitive imagination, the fair objects of nature became invested with a living personality; day and night presented engrossing deities, while he adored the golden-haired Phœbus, or the silvery Artemis. Actuated by a glowing fancy, material creation seemed spiritualized, and each agreeable retreat was the habitation of a god. Naiads in the fountains; Dryads in the groves; Fawns, Satyrs, and Oreads on the mountains, indissolubly associated sublunary scenes with intelligent beings.

The dawn of civilization has ever been confined to those who were entrusted with the care of sacred ceremonies, and who devoted their exclusive knowledge to the support of their religion. In the beginning all contemplation was religious: the whole universe was esteemed divine, and it was to the solving of this problem that the first efforts of mind were given. "Whence and who am I?" are the first questions which occur to Brama, as represented in Hindoo theology, when he awakens to conscious being amidst the expanse of waters. But the early Greek sages surveyed nature with the more penetrating glance of a Lynceus or At-

las, who saw down into the ocean depths. There were no distinct astronomy, history, philosophy, or theology; there was but one mental exercise, whose results were called "Wisdom." It was this personification that Solomon saw standing alone with God before the creation. All mythologies may, in one sense, claim to rank as truths, inasmuch as they, in fact, represent what once existed as mental conceptions. On this principle the Grecian dogmas, though in reality absurdities, are most worthy of attention, because they are expressed in the purest forms. Their conceptions of superhuman beings, were products of the devotional sentiment. Nature was to them a perpetually flowing fountain, whose pellucid waters mirrored earth and sky, like the stream in which Narcissus was dazzled by the reflection of his own image, and beneath whose surface he bent in sadness, and was melted into its transparent depths.

Efforts to deify the beautiful existed among the Hindoos and Hebrews, as well as among the Greeks; but in the former races, a wish to blend in one expression a great variety of theological ideas obliterated elegance, and rendered the idols of Egypt and India elaborate metaphysical enigmas, a sculptured library of symbols instead of an attractive gallery of religious art. But in Greece, the development of sacred imagery fell into the hands of masters in whom the character of priest was subordinate to that of artist; from the servant Art became the mistress, the teacher, even the institutor of the religion in whose aid she had been employed, and the works so produced were received as fresh revelations from heaven.

Poets gave a local habitation to the gods, and were the first teachers of religion. With the eye of taste, and impelled by sentimental reverence, they people the hills and groves, glens and rivers, with imaginary beings. Much of the Homeric theology is of Egyptian parentage, but in his hands all borrowed material was greatly improved. Mere personification of natural powers became moral agents; and instead of being represented under disgusting images, they became models of human beauty, elegance, and majesty. The inspired bards, though blind without, were full of eyes within, and,

Acteon-like, gazed on Nature's naked loveliness through the light of their illumined souls. To these poet-priests of nature, like Orpheus or Eumolpus, was ascribed the first religious establishment, as well as the first practical compositions. The commencement of literature was not a scheme contrived to win the savage to civilization ; it was the wild and spontaneous outburst of religious enthusiasm. If powerful institutions are always ascribed to distinguished men only, it is simply because that the full light of common thoughts is never condensed, and vividly set forth but by that exalted order of genius which is the rarest of gifts. Minds of the finest tone express the most comprehensive doctrines, as the lyre of Orpheus and the pipe of Silenus sung how heaven and earth rose out of chaos. Atlas taught respecting men and beasts, tempestuous elements, and the eclipses and irregularities of the heavenly bodies. The laws of Menu, like those of Moses, begin with cosmogony ; and Niebuhr has shown that the history of the Etruscans, like that of the Brahmins and Chaldeans, is contained in an astronomico-theological outline, embracing the whole course of time.

Evidently the first colonizers of Greece brought with them much of the simple faith and worship recorded in the Hebrew writings. A stone or the trunk of a tree was set up for a memorial, and, according to the alarm that had been felt, or the deliverance experienced, on some spot thereby sanctified worship was offered to that great Being whose rule all acknowledged, but whose name none ventured to pronounce. Doubtless the excess of awe, if no more mundane influence, generated superstition ; as the vow of Jephthah had its parallel in the almost cotemporaneous sacrifice of Iphigenia and of Polyxena. It was this barbarous race that the polished and erudite traveller, Orpheus, endeavored to civilize. Perhaps, as in later times, he imagined that hidden doctrines would best improve the higher classes, while the minds of the vulgar would be easier won by fables, and weaned from gloomy superstitions by the worship of Divine benevolence, manifested in the varied products and powers of nature. The attempt, however, failed, and the grossness of depraved perceptions converted those different manifestations into separate

deities, so that different localities and cities came to have their tutelary stone, or wooden idol, or marble statue. The temple was built on the spot hallowed by devotion, as at Bethel; but in a subsequent age, the impulse of the original consecration was no longer felt, and its intent was forgotten. The gorgeous fane, and the fascinating image therein, became objects of degenerate worship; the source of profit to a mercenary priesthood, and of deterioration to the most intellectual and moral of mankind.

Monuments were early erected in grateful commemoration of religious events, as the hill of stones by Jacob and Laban; or to gratify secular ambition, as was exemplified in the Tower of Babel. In Greece, when the pioneers were feeble, the first settlers chose some hill readily defensible; and having fortified the summit as the first space to be occupied, they proceeded to build a taphos, or temple, for the divinity. Such was the origin of Athens. The enclosed city was called Cecropia, from Cecrops, it is said, who first founded the State, and his was the first place of worship for the original inhabitants. Others interpret Acropolis to mean "height of the city," which, in this instance, was accessible only on the western side, through the Propylæa, and was crowned by that shrine of truth and wisdom, the Parthenon. Religious instincts have ever sought the vast solitudes of untainted nature, or the open heights of the mighty temple of the great God, whereon the pure spirit of love reigns and smiles over all. Pilgrimages were made to the oaks of Mamre, near Hebron, from the days of Abraham; and the nations surrounding the divinely-favored tribes, conspired to attach the idea of veneration to rivers and fountains, and were accustomed not only to dedicate trees and groves to their deities, but even to sacrifice on high mountains: customs which were practiced by the Jews themselves, previous to the building of Solomon's temple. The beginning of wisdom was in the wilds of Asia, and it was there that the God of nature implanted grand ideas in the minds of shepherds meditating on those antique eminences, teaching them to wonder and adore.

In Greece there was no hereditary priesthood, as in Egypt. The right of presiding at public sacrifices pertained to the

highest civil officer, and probably the head of each family was also its ecclesiastic; but there was no priestly combination with secular power, and no national creed. Nestor at home conducts religious service, aided by his sons; and Achilles offers sacrifice to the manes of Patroclus. Pausanias informs us that early in Arcadia, the twelve gods were worshipped under the forms of rude stones; and before Dædalus the statues had eyes nearly shut, legs close together, and the arms scarcely detached from the body; but as the correlative arts and sciences improved, sculpture, like the civilization it expressed, acquired freedom, proportion, and natural action. Altars were commonly erected in the open air, and propitiatory offerings most frequently smoked before Zeus, Poseidon, Athene, and Apollo. The first three of these are better known under their Latin designations of Jupiter, Neptune, and Minerva. The supremacy of the first over all inferior deities is decisively marked. His own declaration, according to Homer, is at the same time the most affirmative on this point, and a curious indication of the social condition of the gods. Says the Supreme:

If I catch any one of you helping the Trojans or the Greeks, he shall either make his escape to Olympus disgraced and bruised, or else I will seize him, and throw him into Tartarus. Then you shall know my supremacy in power. Come now, make the trial; hang a gold chain from heaven, and fasten yourselves at the end of it, all of you, gods and goddesses: you cannot pull Zeus down, but, whenever I please, I can pull you up with the earth and the sea, wind the chain round Olympus, and then you would all dangle in the air.

According to Herodotus, the Egyptians invented twelve gods, which were imported into Greece. These were doubtless of the lowest order of merit, but of sufficient importance to justify the report that the worship of stone images originated in the east. Venus was first adored at Paphos under the form of an *aërolite*, fallen from heaven. It was by such circumstances that a special sanctity was conferred upon particular localities. The artistic merit of the idols was vastly improved, but still the theology of the Greeks remained purely anthropomorphous, the human form being to them the paragon of excellence. But to his whole intellectual

being this was a representative, the embodiment, and very identity of divinity. All the susceptibilities of his immortal nature, full of the endless enthusiasms respecting everything splendid, so that in the estimation of an apostle he was "very religious," were exercised to refine this image, and exalt it. Living he did this, and dying he looked beyond the grave, but to a world of men, sublimated indeed, but still with human passions, and capable of human enjoyments. He turned with fond desire towards the radiance of the descending sun, which with genial glories seemed wooing him to another and purer earth. The great ocean stream severed the world of debasing toil from the bright sphere of not less active but nobler pursuits; and on that western shore he anticipated fairer as well as more abundant fruits, than the east might behold. The great national altar on the Acropolis was exterior to the temple and fronted the setting sun.

Egyptian worship was so closely allied to that of India, that when the sepoy's in Sir Ralph Abercrombie's expedition entered the ancient temples in the valley of the Nile, they immediately asserted that their own divinities were discovered upon the walls, and worshipped them accordingly. But no such identity ever existed with the purer forms of the west. All the gods of Hellenic Greeks, from Jupiter down to Hercules, were the ancestors of the primitive Pelasgic tribes which existed in Asia Minor, Crete, and the islands of the Archipelago, but seldom in Greece itself. At its intellectual and moral centre, Egyptian fetichism had some influence, on the one hand, and Indo-Germanic metaphysics a good deal, on the other; still the chief element in Greek mythology was hero-worship, made as unexceptionable as it could be by a people whose religion mainly consisted in ancestral adoration. True, their whole system was a fable and an absurdity; but the puerilities which defaced its beauty were the remnant of a more barbarous state of things upon which they improved, and we may wonder most that they so far emancipated themselves.

Orpheus is said to have come from Thrace, a region of indefinite extent in the estimation of the Greek, and one which was a chief source of the Hellenic sacred rites. Both

the Orphic and Pythagorean doctrines, Herodotus believed to have emanated from Egypt, which would appear to support the fact of a double current of emigration, clearly proved on other grounds. This great religionist was older than Homer, and seems to have exerted a great influence on the civilization of Greece. It is said he accompanied Jason and the other Argonauts on their piratical expedition, that he visited Egypt, and brought thence the doctrine which greatly corrupted the rude but simple theology of primitive times. Many hymns attributed to him are probably spurious, but enough was authentic to the ancients to justify the conclusion that he taught the doctrine of one self-existing God, the maker of all things, and who is present to us in all his works. But this great truth was always somewhat disguised, and grew increasingly fabulous. Cudworth preserves the following specimen: "The origin of the earth was ocean; when the water subsided, mud remained, and from both of these sprang a living creature, a dragon having the head of a lion growing from it, and in the midst, the face of God: by name Hercules or Chronos." By him an immense egg was produced, which being split into two parts, one became the heavens, the other the earth. Heaven and earth mingled, and produced Titans or Giants.

The Delphic oracle occupied a high position in the political and religious government of mankind. It had a powerful influence in moulding the first national confederacy, and was its presiding centre. Both Strabo and Pausanias specially refer to the Amphictyonic league, as being formed for the maintenance of harmony and union among the States which composed it. The original confederacy was greatly enlarged by the Dorian accession; oracular control was thus extended throughout the Peloponnesus, and soon embraced within its influence the entire Grecian world. By this central assimilative and directing power, the mighty republic was happily consummated, and its citizens first termed Hellenes. It was by the peculiarity of its oracular system, even more than by the other traits we have noticed, that the Greek religion was distinguished from that which prevailed in Egypt and the yet remoter east. Based as it was on delusion, it still was a

great improvement upon the preceding, inasmuch as it was presented in a higher character than the mere constitution of nature. According to the Delphic teaching, the supreme Deity was a moral and personal being, actively interesting himself in human affairs, and claiming authority over human volitions. Hence, while the oriental systems displayed only a crowd of mere personifications of natural powers, without moral character or substantial being, the system of the Greeks presented a divine reality for the human mind to embrace; an actual course of providence, and deities palpably real to religious feelings. Amidst a multitude of deformities, the most marked features of the Greek religion stood forth in enhancing, if not with ennobling beauty. The Egyptians worshipped animals, but the Greeks never sank lower than the worship of idealized man. The former were superstitious upon physical objects, their system resting upon a physical deity; but the latter adored a moral deity, and however disastrous superstition ever is, hero-worship was not entirely void of redeeming qualities. It held up ancient worthies for the imitation of successors, rendered their memories motives to excellence, and, by the sublimating power of oracular canonization, exerted a mighty influence in the spheres of political and moral life. Lessons of respect for antiquity, and submission to authority, were constantly inculcated, the effect of which shines clearly in the Grecian character, exemplified in all the tumultuous growth and varied grandeur of her democracy. It was a lofty hero-worship, fostered by their sacred system, which fortified the sentiments of reverence and subordination in the popular mind, and supplied at once motive and restraint in every sphere of secular and religious life. Their approximation to truth took the boldest form of superstition, and indicates the working of a higher order of mind than had yet appeared. The Greeks were a nation of poets and philosophers as acutely refined in understanding as they were tender of heart; and, since we still turn their writings to a moral account, our sympathy for the worth they attained should furnish some degree of apology for the errors which they unfortunately embraced. The reality and firmness of their belief in divination was tested, for example

at Plataea, when the Greeks sustained the charge of the Persian cavalry, and "because the victims were not favorable, there fell of them at that time very many, and far more were wounded." And whether the national fleet should risk a battle at Salamis, was determined in council by the appearance of an owl. How strange that when courage and wisdom had failed to persuade, superstition saved the liberties of the world! It is painful to contemplate the human mind debased by such childish absurdities, commingled with traits so fair and excellences so great. Still, despite all its fraud and folly, the religion of Greece contained much that was both admirable in morality and profound in speculation. Hooker remarks, "The right conceit that they had, that to perjury vengeance is due, was not without good effect, as touching the course of their lives."

The tragic genius of Æschylus was imbued with religious sentiment, and found the fittest material in the simple and sublime traditions of his forefathers. He has handed down to our days clear memorials of the still popular faith, in his noble drama of Prometheus Bound; wherein he represents Jupiter as sending to beg from the tortured prophet a revelation of the yet future decrees of destiny. This mythical benefactor, the most significant of ancient religious fables, was a Japhetide, who brought his celestial fire from the remote east to man. Prometheus indignantly refuses to gratify the curiosity of his oppressor, and utters severe invectives against the *new* power of Jove. He alludes to wars in which he had himself assisted him, leads us back to the first colonization of Greece, and leaves us justly to conclude that the nature-worship of Orpheus had been mixed up with hero-worship also, and that the Jupiter of the poets was little better than a Cretan pirate, who, with his associates, drove out the Asian chief, already beginning to civilize the people, and banished him to the wild regions of the Caucasus. The several centuries which transpired between Prometheus and Hesiod was a period long enough in legendary times to invest heroes, or benefactors of the human race, with supernatural attributes. Æschylus set forth a yet sublimer article of Athenian belief, when he represented the two powers, immovable de-

tiny and human consciousness, weighing the motives of the son of Agamemnon, and, under the presiding auspices of the goddess of Wisdom, leaving the ultimate decision to the Areopagus. Deified Reason was thus called upon to sit in judgment upon the past, and to proclaim the eternal ways of infinite justice to coming generations. Herodotus, also, in the clear light of Hellenic freedom, recapitulated lapsed centuries, and foretold future destinies, through the prophetic mirror of Nemesis, that clearest reflection of Greek religiousness; and, like his predecessor, pictured the divine drama of eternal law and retribution. Thucydides followed, and became the final prophet of the great struggle of his nation, and her influence in the developments of future time.

Sophocles, of all the dramatists, was the most religious. His whole life was said to be one continual worship, and his writings are redolent of his tender spirit. The *Œdipus Colonnæus* was a marked consecration after death. The gods conferred that honor to show that in the terrible example they made of him, it was not personal vengeance, but a salutary admonition designed for the whole human race. That the self-condemned criminal should at last find peace in the grove of the Furies, the very spot from which guilt would instinctively shrink with acutest horror, bears a moral of profound and tranquilizing significancy.

The moral charms of domestic affection in antiquity are depicted by Homer, in what is undoubtedly an embellished, but may have been a real scene. The manly beauty of Hector, the feminine graces of Andromache, and the budding charms of the babe Astyanax, live before us in vivid representation. Such a blending of gentleness and strength is not often seen on earth, as was manifested by him who set aside his burnished armor lest its strange dazzling should frighten his child. Paternal affection indeed sits gracefully on the plumed helmet of this bravest hero of Troy. But not even that can dissuade him from the conscientious discharge of a most comprehensive duty. Neither the entreaties of a wife, the prayers of a father, the tears of a mother, nor his own fondest parental hopes, could divert him from his devotion to country and religion. He knows and feels that inexorable

fate has declared against him, but he bows to the will of the gods with a heroism equalled only by the placid self-denial which silences both inclination and interest in his bosom.

The ancient games were moral in their purpose and influence. Of the great number of athletes who gained prizes thereat, very few became famous in warlike pursuits. Their enthusiasm flowed from a higher and purer source. The vigorous, disinterested, salutary, and heaven-appointed contest, was to the Greeks a thrilling symbol of an exalted life, the struggle through an emulative career of exhausting duties, in order to attain and enjoy, at the goal of consummate glory, the reward of a blissful immortality.

All the stray sibylline leaves of ancient history and legendary faith are inscribed with indications of a moral order of the universe, and encourage the expectation of perpetual progress. Pindar believed that the beginning and end of man were divinely ordained; and while many erudite teachers held to the supremacy of fate, none were ever so foolish as to suppose that accident governed the world.

Socrates was the first to turn speculation from physical nature to man; and his celebrated "demon" announced the birth of conscience into the Grecian world. It was a divine teacher ever present, taking cognizance of the most secret movements of mind and will, and who reproved, restrained, and warned him as to all things everywhere. So far from wondering at his martyrdom, in view of the purity and boldness of his teaching, Mr. Grote very reasonably wonders how such a man should have been allowed to go on teaching so long. No state, he adds, ever showed so much tolerance for differences of opinion as Athens. According to his various writings, we infer that the god of Plato was not an idea simply, but a real being, endowed with supreme intelligence, movement, and life. He was beauty without mixture, and went out of himself to produce man and the world by the effusion of his own goodness. This great pupil of Socratic wisdom was profoundly imbued with that religious sentiment which is the lofty distinction of humanity, and which neither superstition can utterly debase, nor worldliness extinguish. But a feeling alone, however refined, can never

constitute safety in religion. The Republic terminates with a noble discussion on immortality; and if it has been less popular than the Phædon, it is because the scenery of it is less startling; but for intrinsic worth it is doubtless entitled to the greatest consideration.

Gross Polytheism was the creed of the multitude; but this was much refined by the moralists. The graces and perfections of the great intelligences that rule the world, under the controlling wisdom and care of the one Omnipotent, were so described in the dialogues of Plato, and by Pythagoreans, as to furnish not only models of perfect beauty to art, but also the most attractive traits of person and character to the various orders of the Grecian hierarchy.

The Greeks felt that the origin of art was divine—since it was the offspring of religion. The first rhythmical expression was a hymn, and the first creations of plastic genius were dedicated to the worship of the godhead. Jupiter, whose awful nod shook the poles, was yet benignant in his majesty, and could smile with bewitching fascination on his daughter Venus. Beauty was universally expressed, whether in the gorgeous sanctuary of their religious worship, or the simplest implement of ordinary use; the heart-rending anguish of the priest Laocoon and his sons, or in the sculptured deity of day himself. In the opinion of Visconti, the Apollo Belvidere is the Deliverer from Evil, as well as God of Light, and was made by Calamis, to be set up at Athens in memory of a plague which had desolated that city. In life the consecrated champion was greeted with the praises of appreciative countrymen; and divine honors followed his decease.

The idea of divine Omniscience seems to have profoundly actuated the Greeks in the execution of all their great religious works. It gave perfection to every part of their edifices, essential and ornamental, and impressed upon each part alike a feeling purely devotional. What escaped the human eye the Deity beheld, and therefore every mass and moulding, frieze and pediment, bas-relief and statue, should be rendered equally worthy of that immortal Being to whom the edifice was consecrated. As fine a finish was bestowed upon the hidden

portions as upon the exposed, as is proved by the fragmentary master-pieces we still possess—the most elaborated features of which were never seen from below when in their original position. The material which Athens employed to eternize her mental conceptions was happily adapted in texture and tone to the end desired. On one side lay the quarries of sparkling Pentilic and veined Carystian; and on the other side, the pearl-like beauty of Megarean; all of which, impregnated by the creative genius of the poets, and obedient to the talismanic touch of the sculptors, came forth from the marble tomb of Attica a new-born progeny stamped with all the lineaments of their noble parent. Thus, as the thought of Homer coalesced with the executive might of Phidias and his associates, the awful gods of his country spread an invincible palladium over the patriotic citizen, and rendered their terror ever present to the eyes of treachery and guilt. If the Sphinx, the Centaur, and Satyr, were sometimes demanded by the legendary element of the ancestral east yet lingering in the national faith, the effort to subjugate the grotesque to the laws of beauty, was no less successful than it was difficult; and twenty centuries have admired the result. The corporate religious crafts of India and Egypt were abandoned; but the divinest element therein was still preserved, and made to cast a hallowed spell over country and home, making each father the high priest of his domestic temple, and planting household gods round every hearth. An all-pervading religious influence was stamped on every rank of character, every region of nature, every type of art, and every department of enterprise. It exalted the dauntless courage of Miltiades, and added energy to the lofty daring of Themistocles, as they were conscious that the gods from Olympus gazed upon them in the fight, and were their guardians, as of old they had been to their ancestors on the plains of Troy.

With a very few exceptional cases, the art of the Greeks is never voluptuous, even in its earthly matter and shape. Under the pious feelings of the maker, as he breathed into it the soul of a lofty enthusiasm, dead material shaped itself into a nature as elevated as the source from which its strength

was derived. And this moral dignity and grace which were born from the artist in his process of creation, communicated themselves in turn to the beholder; and the consecrated feeling in which the godlike conception was developed, generated an atmosphere of sanctity around it, as manifested divinity is supposed to drive demons away. It was fitting that in the groves of Delphi, Lycurgus should conceive the idea of his laws, and from the mouth of Apollo receive their ratification. All the great and wise legislators of antiquity cultivated an intercourse with the gods, and continued to covet the privilege of their society. The excellence of great works of religious art consists in the principle, that the purity and nobleness with which they were imbued, pass into their admirers; and thus the serene repose and celestial fervor in which they are conceived are perpetually reproduced so long as the original qualities endure. The earliest poetry was religious, and its spirit migrated through succeeding generations; and even down to the most degenerate age, perpetuated a delicate moral sense in the judgment, and mostly also in the works of the Greek nation. The refined taste, for which they have always been extolled, was produced entirely by this. Even the wit-intoxicated muse of Aristophanes perpetually maintains a chaste demeanor, and shows on her earnest countenance the moral meaning of her gaiety.

Although the system of Athenian life was deformed by many imperfections, yet never at an earlier period had so much energy, virtue, and beauty been developed; never was blind force and obdurate will so disciplined and ennobled, as during the century which preceded the death of Socrates. If the early Pythian and Dodonean oracles tended to consolidate national union, the improved wisdom of later philosophers did much to cultivate the citizens. Many a Grecian engarlanded with laurel then adorned the various walks of secular and moral life. It is probable that some were self-deceived, when no unworthy fraud was intended. Vividly conscious of a calling to some great vocation, and seeking in the depths of their own imperfect religiousness for the means of fulfilling it, they felt what seemed to be veritable inspiration, and accepted as the voices of supernatural beings, what was

in fact only the promptings of their own minds. To this influence, in great part, must be accredited much of the sublimity of Homer, patriotism of Tyrtæus, enthusiasm of Pindar, terror of Æschylus, and tenderness of Sophocles. The presence of divinity was indeed so palpable and enduring, that many nations invulnerable to Grecian arms, received her beautiful system of mythology, and crowded her temples with eagerness to listen to her sacred instruction. Lightning strikes only kindred matter, which it seeks and salutes in the vividness of its own flash; and thus do great and effulgent examples glow into genial hearts, strengthen their illuminating power, as they extend, and burn with greater splendor the wider they are diffused.

The more reflecting among the ancients seem to have keenly felt that earth and time are not ample enough to admit the full unfolding of the human soul. In man, the microcosm, they recognized the universe and its Maker, but it was by a very imperfect vision. They needed a clearer light, even that of the true God, to fill the profundity within them, and to reveal eternity unto them, that they might in reality know the vastness of their spiritual being. The vital seeds which the Almighty cast with a bountiful hand into the new-made earth, and which have not yet produced all their fruits, in Attica, sprang up with a wonderful profusion, but the harvest was that of beauty and not holiness. The dew of Sharon, the eternal sunshine of Zion, the transforming and tempering breath of Jehovah, are ever requisite to develop the higher capabilities of the soul, and elicit sanctified fruit from its mighty powers, which, for bliss or bane, germinate in every mortal heart, and can never die. The poetical idolatry of Greece is often invested with a magical beauty to classical enthusiasts; but the thoughtful reader of history will often stumble upon most disenchanting facts, such as, for instance, that Themistocles, the deliverer of his country, offered up three youths to propitiate the favor of his gods. A supreme Being was nominally recognized; and though this doctrine was practically destroyed by the admission of subordinate deities to share in the offices of praise and prayer, still it was better than absolute atheism.

The pillar of cloud by day, and of fire by night, clearly or dimly seen, has never ceased to lead the vanguard of advancing humanity. It was something that the voice of praise, humiliation, and prayer was raised to some object of public worship, and thus the feelings of religion kept alive in aspiring souls. It is to be deplored that the most cultivated of ancient nations did not possess and appreciate purer religious light; and most of all is it a grief and a warning that, if in the time of Homer social morality was bad, in the age of Pericles it was worse. When Athenian life had received the most exquisite polish, and human intellect the richest discipline, then it was that public fanes were most abandoned, and private virtue was most debased.

Nature is most perfect in her forms the higher she ascends, and man, standing at the apex of her wonders, is appointed to partake of the divine nature through the homogeneous medium who bends from a celestial height for his relief; when so reached and renovated, the godlike part of the redeemed is moulded to a whole of the purest, holiest, and therefore most enchanting harmony. The Greeks had their idealizations of beneficence and atonement, set forth in Hercules and Prometheus. The genealogy of the first was connected with Egypt and Persia. He was lineally descended from Perseus, whose mortal mother claimed connection with an Egyptian emigrant. He was the great epic subject of the poets before Homer, the model chief of those who fought at Thebes or Troy, and at a later period was the allegory of human effort ascending through rugged valor to the highest virtue. He was the ideal perfection of the ordinary life of the Greeks, as the higher exaggeration of heroes invested with immortality became gods. Every pagan nation has had such a mythical being, whose strength or weakness, victories or defeats, measurably describe the career of the sun through the seasons. A Scythian, an Etruscan, and a Lydian Hercules existed, whose legends all became tributary to those of the Greek hero. His name is supposed to mean *rover* and *perambulator* of earth, as well as *hyperion of the sky*, and he was the patronizing model of those famous navigators who spread his altars from coast to coast, through the Mediterranean to the

extreme west, where *Arkaleus* built the city of Gades, (Cadiz,) on which perpetual fire burned at his shrine. So deep and pervading were religious sentiments in that wonderful people at the best epoch, that not only in lowland towns and on metropolitan eminences were temples erected to the national deities, but also on lofty promontories near the sea, beneficent zeal provided fanes exclusively for the casual worship of the passing mariner. The notion of a suffering deity, of one who, tortured, blinded, or imprisoned, might represent the earthly speculations of his worshippers, and as a penitent their religious emotions, was widely spread from India westwards, and by the Greeks was fixed forever in Prometheus, the ever-dying and yet deathless Titan. Ancient sages taught that the discord of stormy elements would be dissolved and reduced to peace by the power of love, and the magic of beauty in the renovated soul would eventually curb its passions with a gentle rein; but how the infinite should coalesce with the finite, God with man, and thus transform the soul by planting therein the germ of almighty blessedness, they never by uninspired wisdom could comprehend. A mediator of unearthly excellence was indeed requisite, one who would realize in his person the loftiest ideas of beauty and sublimity, whose wisdom would be competent to elevate beyond mere morality, and whose grace would forever unfold the revelation of heavenly life.

Such a Divine need was generally felt, and this was the cause of that high estimation in the common mind which the devout moralists enjoyed. Homer inculcated the idea that life is a contest; and Plato directed his hearers to the search after unity as the source of truth and beauty; *Æschylus* to power; *Euripedes* to the law of expiation. The contempt of life and pleasure, the superiority of the intellectual over the physical nature, are expressed by these and kindred writers in great thoughts which are almost identical with the light of faith. *Heraclitus* taught *Hesiod*, *Pythagoras*, *Zenophanes* and *Hecateus*, that the sole wisdom consists in knowing the will according to which all things in the world are governed. *Marsilius Ficinus* says that *Socrates* was raised up by heaven to pacify minds; and *St. John*

Chrysostom proposes him as an example of Christian poverty and monastic profession. St. Augustine entertained equal admiration for one who preferred eternal to temporal things, fearing to act unjustly more than death, and for conscience sake was ready to undergo labor, penury, insult, and death. In the *Enthypho* of Platonician wisdom, Socrates disengages ideas from words; in the *Apology* he shows that the wisest are the most humble, and that we must bear our witness to truth, even at the risk of our lives; in the *Laws*, that the soul has need of a celestial light to be able to see; in the *Crito*, that the least duty is to be preferred to the greatest advantage; in the *Phædon*, that life should be employed in elevating the soul—that there is a future existence—and that the soul should be disengaged from the body; in the *Gorgias*, that it is better to suffer than to commit injustice—that it is useful to the soul to be chastised; in the *Euthydemus*, that the science of the sophists is empty and vain; in the second *Alcibiades*, that it is better to be ignorant than to have false knowledge; in the *Theages*, that the only true wisdom is love; in the *Phædrus*, that it is love, or, as Socrates defines it, the desire of something that is wanting which gives wings to the soul, and enables it to mount to heaven; in the *Meno*, that virtue is the gift of God, not of Nature, but an infusion by a Divine influence; in the *Banquet*, that love leads us to contemplate the supreme beauty, the universal type, the Creator, from which vision we derive virtue and immortality. In view of such focal beamings at the heart of Pagan night, we need not wonder that Thomas of Villanova should exclaim with enthusiasm, "Let philosophers know that faith is not without wisdom: the Evangelist does not Platonize, but Plato evangelized."

The mythical beings of Grecian theology display in their beautiful but ineffectual imagery the first efforts of cultivated minds to communicate with nature and her God. They resemble the flowers which fancy strewed before the youthful steps of Psyche when she first set out in pursuit of the immortal object of her love. The parable of the Syrens teems with valuable moral instruction. They dwelt in fair and lovely islands, full of beauty, and through whose leafy al-

coves moved a perpetual loveliness. On the tops of tall rocks sat the enchantresses, pouring their tender and ravishing music on the ears of passing mortals, till they turned their prows thitherward, and rushed into the destruction to which the deceitful song was a fatal prelude. Two by their wisdom and piety escaped. Ulysses caused his arms to be bound to the mast, and the ears of his company to be filled with wax, with special orders to his mariners that they should not loose him even though he desired it. But Orpheus, disdainng to be so bound, with sweet melody went by, singing praises to the gods, thus outsounding the melodies of the syrens, and so escaped.

The most influential teachers among the Greeks declared the inutility of profuse legislation, and taught that "the halls should not be filled with legal tablets, but the soul with the image of righteousness." They sought less to guard the citizen by force and fear, than to fortify him with a sense of his duty, and its dignity. Parental authority was sustained by legislative sanctions, as well as by popular customs, and even up to the first steps of public life was constantly guarded by the elders; but the principal intent was ever to kindle filial esteem into the potency of living law, to illuminate progressive youth in the path of virtue and of fame. Sound morals were recognized as the only sure foundation of Republican freedom, and the general watchfulness over this constituted the spirit of ancient religion, and the origin of free States. To such an extent did parental influence and pious example, rather than arbitrary statutes and severe punishments, prevail at Athens, that the youth generally were moral and temperate; despite their national inflammability, the most authentic records affirm that, both in domestic and public life, they remained sober and moral, until broken down by the interference of hostile power. Following the defeat of Cheronea, the change in the Greek character was rapid. The guiding stars of literature and art were lost in clouds; and morals, which had attained a splendid maturity, lost both strength and hue.

Sacred ceremonies at Athens were the most luminous of all observed in Greece, and were most characteristic of the

city of intelligence. In the great Panathenean rites (celebrated in the third year of every Olympiad) there was carried in solemn procession to the Acropolis a symbolical vessel, covered with a veil, upon which were figured the triumph of Pallas over the Titans, children of earth, who undertook to scale Olympus, and dethrone Jove. The conflict between physical and moral force was therein represented, that triumph above mere natural religion which exists in mental supremacy and the civilization of law. Moreover, Athenian coins preserve to us allusions to impressive rites which were performed three times a year in honor of Vulcan and Prometheus. The votaries assembled at night, and, at the altar of the deity, upon which a fire continually burned, at a given signal lighted a torch, and ran with the blazing symbol to the city's outer bound. If the lights of some became extinguished, the more fortunate still pursued with greater zeal, and he was most honored who first reached the goal with his torch a-light. But the religion of Greece was not characterized by ritual splendor only; on the contrary, their public worship was marked by the simplicity of devout fervor, as well as by the chasteness of fine taste and that unadorned solemnity which had been inherited from the patriarchal ages. They were much less inclined to pomp and finery connected with their devotion than are the moderns. Rude emblems were sometimes borne at sacred solemnities, but they were in the hands of honorable women, and all offence to religious feeling was arrested, in their being first hallowed by the dignity of the festival.

It was a doctrine of immemorial antiquity, that death is far better than life; that the worst mortality belongs to those who are immersed in the Lethe passions and fascinations of earth, and that the true life begins only when the soul is emancipated. All initiation was but introductory to the great change at death. Many regarded water as the source and purifier of all things; efficacious to renew both body and mind, as the virginity of Juno was restored when she bathed in the fountain Parthenion. Baptism, anointing, embalming, burying, or burning, were preparatory symbols, like the initiation of Hercules before descending to

the shades, pointing out the moral change which should precede the renewal of existence. The funeral ceremonies of the Greeks were in harmony with that feeling which through all antiquity paid marked respect to the dead, whose eyes were closed by relatives most nearly allied. The funeral robe was often woven by the prospective piety of filial hands; as the web of Penelope was destined to shroud her husband's father. The body, washed, anointed, and swathed, was placed with its feet towards the door; and as the train of mourners went forth, women and bards raised a funeral chant, interrupted by nearest kindred, who eulogized the departed, and bewailed their own loss. Reaching the pyre of wood, the corpse was burned, and the ashes collected in a golden vase. While the body lay in state, the chief mourners supported the head. Dark garments, and long abstinence from convivial gatherings, were the outward signs of sorrow. The excessive grief of Achilles showed itself by his throwing dust on his head; torn habiliments and lacerated cheeks were the offerings made to Agamemnon; and a single lock of hair was the touching tribute to his memory by the filial affection of Orestes. The lifeless form was covered and crowned with flowers; a piece of money placed in its mouth, as a fee to Charon for being ferried over Styx, and a cake of honied flour to appease Cerberus. Bust, statue, and mausoleum; grassy mound, inscribed marble, and monumental brass, attested the universal desire of sepulchral honors. The immortality of affectionate remembrances, and of public renown, was a profound aspiration in their breasts. If the dead were ever insulted, it was the rare instance of momentary rage towards a stubborn foe, and soon gave place to worthier emotions. Achilles dragged behind his chariot the corpse of Hector thrice round the tomb of his beloved Patroclus; but, after the first burst of passion, he ordered his own slaves to wash and anoint the mutilated remains, himself assisting to raise them to a litter, swathed in costly garments, that the eye of a broken-hearted father might bear the sight.

The statesmen of Greece, superior as they were in universality of accomplishment, were incomplete personages compared with the pure theocratic natures of antiquity, of whom

Moses is the most familiar and accurate type. Many of them were not only priest and magistrate, but also philosopher, artist, engineer, and physician; such a combination for intensity, regularity, and permanence of human power, never was found elsewhere. Pericles, through the whole tenor of his administration, seemed to have had the permanent welfare of his fellow-countrymen at heart, and is said to have boasted, with the benevolence of a true patriot, that he never caused a citizen to put on mourning.

The Greek was by no means insensible to high destinies, as he majestically assumed the moral dominion on earth to which he was born; but he formed no idea of future happiness, nor of intellectual dignity vaster than his own. He girded himself for the fearful contest which was his inheritance, bravely struggling against the terrible powers of destiny and the certainty of death. Concentrating in the present the intensity of immortal aspirations, he sought to link them forever to the perishable body. Earthly as was his spirit, he yet supremely coveted eternal life, and labored through transcendent genius and fortitude to unite himself immediately with the gods, and ultimately soar amidst the splendid hierarchy of the upper skies.

The worship of Greece was the Beautiful, and Athens was its most magnificent shrine. One of her latest and fairest altars was dedicated to the Unknown God. Would that the plinth of artistic beauty had also been the memento of spiritual prayer. Alas! that after all the fine imaginings and glorious achievements of the wondrous Greeks, we must still feel that their loftiest conceptions of divine worship were really as void of true consolation as the empty urn which Electra washed with her tears.

ARTICLE VI.—TERTULLIAN AND HIS WRITINGS.

THE position of Tertullian among the Christian Fathers is one of very great prominence. This is not more the result of his decided peculiarities, than of the age in which he lived, and his relation to theological opinion. He is almost the only *Latin* writer, in the second century, who elucidated and defended the Christian religion, and he lived just at the turning point in the development of the Church; just at the boundary line between two distinct epochs—the time of the *old* and of the *new* in religion. He is therefore the first representative of the theological character of all the north African churches, and the first and main representative of the Montanistic, and some other opinions, vastly influential in their bearings. Facts like these render this writer a marked man, and justify more attention to his productions than has ordinarily been bestowed.

QUINTUS SEPTIMIUS FLORENS TERTULLIANUS was the son of a pagan centurion of proconsular rank, and was born about A. D. 160, at Carthage. He was bred to the law, and must have received a good literary education, as his writings bear evidence of intimate familiarity with the Greek language as well as with his native tongue, and of extensive historical and antiquarian knowledge. His conversion from heathenism was probably A. D. 196, when he joined the church in Carthage, where he was made a presbyter. It would seem that he remained in this connection scarcely five years, but long enough to compose some of his best treatises. Not far from the year 201 he adopted the sentiments of Montanus, a man of weak judgment, living in a village of Phrygia, called Pepuza, who began to spread his strange doctrines about A. D. 171 or 172. Jerome, and after him most writers, assert that Tertullian was prompted to pass over to Montanism, by the envy and insults of the Roman clergy; but it may be questioned whether this statement has any real foundation. As a learned writer has intimated, there was always a strong disposition to explain the transition from the acknowledged

orthodox party to an heretical sect, by external considerations. More wisely does this writer attribute the change in Tertullian's views to the ascetic element which had now long time been in the Church, and to which there was an obvious bias in Tertullian's disposition.

Montanism was in direct contrast with Gnosticism, whose peculiar feature was the speculative tendency.* That which formed the marked distinction of Tertullian's spirit was his attachment to the supposed simple facts of Christianity, and an unceremonious rejection of all philosophical investigations and idealistic subtleties and refinements. An excessive one-sidedness in this direction naturally enough led Tertullian to become the point of union in whom the existing Montanistic tendency found an embodiment and intelligible expression.

Among the characteristics of Tertullian may be named a lively fancy and a vivacity and quickness of perception, suggesting ingenious combinations, and from his early education as an advocate sometimes leading him, especially in controversy, to rhetorical exaggerations, an ardent mind and warmth of disposition, which secured for a cherished object his soul and strength, rejecting everything uncongenial to that object; acuteness and depth of intellect, with a large fund of knowledge, but wanting in logical clearness and harmonious arrangement; in a word, a strange combination of the lovely and the morose, the weak and the powerful, the crude and the finished, the rugged and attractive, the good and the bad. Vincentius' eulogistic description is somewhat inflated:

* Montanism maintained the doctrine of a *gradual advance of the Church according to a general law of development of the kingdom of God*. In the works of grace, say the Montanists, as well as in the works of nature, both of which come from the same Creator, everything develops itself according to a certain gradation; from the seed first comes the shrub, which gradually increases to a tree; the tree first attains leaves, then follows the bloom, and out of this comes the fruit, which also attains to ripeness only by degrees. Thus also the kingdom of righteousness develops itself by certain degrees; first came the fear of God in accordance with the voice of nature, without a revealed law, (the Patriarchal religion;) then come its infancy under the law and the prophets; then its youth under the Gospel; then its development to the maturity of manhood through the new outpouring of the Holy Ghost, together with the appearance of Montanus, who claimed to be the promised Paraclete.—See Neander's *History Christian Religion and Church*, first three centuries, pp. 328, 329.

As Origen among the Greeks, so is Tertullian among the Latins, to be accounted for the first of all our writers. For who was more learned than he? Who in divinity or humanity more practiced. And for his wit, was he not so excellent, so grave, so forcible, that he almost undertook the overthrow of nothing which, either by quickness or weight of reason, he crushed not? Further, who is able to express the praises which his style of speech deserves, which is fraught with that force of reason, that such as it cannot persuade it compels to assent; whose so many words almost are so many sentences; whose so many senses, so many victories. This know Marcion and Apelles, Praxeas and Hermogenes. Jews. Gentiles, Gnostics, and divers others; whose blasphemous opinions he hath overthrown with his many and great volumes, as it had been with thunderbolts.*

As a picture of the man, that of Neander is not less just than beautiful:

There are lovely natures, in whom whatever is beautiful in man becomes heightened by the divine life which Christianity brings, and in whom Christianity appears still more attractive from being placed in forms of such natural loveliness. And there are rugged and angular natures, in whom, when, after many conflicts, they have made their way to the Christian life, the rude and rugged in their dispositions is overcome and smoothed down by the power of Christianity. But there are others in whom, though they have been deeply impressed by Christianity, yet the rugged and the angular, the harsh and the rude of their natural character, still remain and operate. The treasure of the divine life here appears in an unpleasing form, which would easily repel a superficial observer from their society. To this class Tertullian belongs.†

It is more than probable that in this last remark is found one main reason why the *writings* of this Father have not been more highly appreciated. He has been termed a "leaden genius," concerning whom it is a wonder that he "floated down even on the rapid and dense tide of ecclesiastical admiration." And the question has been asked, "What would have been the loss had he sunk to merited oblivion?"‡ We cannot but regard this estimate as exceedingly superficial. Tertullian's genius was far from "leaden," though wild and unchastened. It must not be forgotten that he had at hand no suitable casket for his thoughts; that he was obliged to create a language for the new spiritual matter, and that, too, as Neander intimates, out of the old rough Punic Latin. No one can read his writings without being persuaded that he had *something to say* when he wrote; nay, that he had within him more than he could express; the overflowing spirit

* Quoted in Dodgson's Tertullian, Preface.

† Antignosticus, p. 18.

‡ See Bib. Soc., vol. iii., p 691.

being dammed up or obstructed for the want of an adequate form. And yet we must contend, that although the style of Tertullian is often artificial and difficult, it is, nevertheless, fascinating, from its originality and peculiar brilliancy and force. He is often decidedly eloquent; and generally discovers the one great quality of eloquence, condensed expression; his "so many words" being *sometimes* "almost so many sentences."

But it is as furnishing historical data for a just estimate of the condition of the early Christian Church, and of the state of religious opinion in his time, that Tertullian's writings are chiefly valuable. An interesting and instructive chapter might be written upon the insidious corruptions that found a place in the post-apostolic churches, and their points and connection with acknowledged truths, taking as its foundation the works which remain of Tertullian alone. As far back as his time would be found the germinal errors from which the *Papacy* has been directly evolved. Nay, it would be seen that Tertullian himself, if not *advocating* many of those errors, certainly *entertained* them. It is a most humiliating reflection that the teachers of religion and the churches should have become so early corrupted from the simplicity of the Gospel. But it is neither strange nor unaccountable, for Christianity was now in its infancy and inexperience, and yet in constant and close contact with the prevailing philosophies, falsely so called, by which it became contaminated. Moreover, its advocates, at the best, were but partially enlightened, and perhaps superstitious; and the inspired Scriptures were circulated, from the necessity of the case, only within the narrowest limits.

Before especially alluding to particular portions of Tertullian's writings, we will present some traces of the Papal leaven which we have detected in their examination. It will illustrate our remark above, and may also serve as a necessary caution in order to the right use of the writings in question. In his *De Corona Militis* we find Tertullian appealing to *tradition* as authority in things religious:

"If no Scripture hath determined this," says he, "assuredly custom hath confirmed it, which doubtless hath been derived from tradition. For how can a thing be used unless it be first delivered to us?"

He speaks of observances, which,

without any Scripture document, we defend on the ground of tradition alone, and by the supports of consequent custom.

He refers to several of them, and then adds,

For these and such like rules if thou requirest a law in the Scriptures, thou shalt find none. Tradition will be pleaded to thee as originating them, custom as confirming them, and faith as observing them. That reason will support tradition and custom and faith, thou wilt either thyself perceive, or learn from some one who hath perceived it.

One of these observances he specifies as taking place after baptism, thus: "Then, some undertaking the charge of us;" an allusion to the "*susceptores*," or adopters, the *god-fathers* or sponsors, as they afterwards come to be called. Here we find, also, an undue importance and efficacy assigned to the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper. He sees something *sacred* in the outward symbols, and remarks, "We feel pained if any of the wine, or even of our bread, be spilled upon the ground," and that from the day of baptism "we abstain for a whole week from our daily washing." It is easy to perceive in these remarks the idea of *holiness*, and of some *magical power* in the bread and wine, and in the baptismal waters. In his *De Baptismo*, Tertullian is explicit as to the necessity of baptism in order to salvation. He speaks of a "rule" being "laid down, that salvation cometh to none without baptism;" and in meeting the objection that faith *only* is required in order to be saved, as in the case of Abraham, says:

Be it that salvation was once through bare faith, before the passion and resurrection of the Lord; but when faith grew up to a belief in His birth, passion, and resurrection, an enlargement was added to the Sacrament, the sealing of baptism, the clothing, in a manner, of that faith which before was naked. Nor doth it (faith) now avail without its own condition. . . . And he adds that the commission "*hath bound down faith to the necessity of baptism.*"

He also speaks of coming to baptism as hastening to "the remission of sins;" and in his *De Oratione* recommends that certain persons "keep the consecrated bread by itself, and partake of it after their fast was over;" as if, from its *consecration*, there was an indwelling efficacy in it. Hence the custom of taking away some of the bread of the Supper,

and laying it up at home as a part of the Lord's body. Tertullian makes mention of a prevalent custom of marking the forehead with the sign of the cross.

In all our travels and movements, in all our coming in and going out, in putting on our shoes, at the bath, at the table, in lighting our candles, in lying down, in sitting down, whatever employment occupieth us, we mark our forehead with the sign of the cross.

This was at first a beautiful expression of the inward Christian life which pervaded the whole being; but afterwards, as we know, degenerated into a mere mechanism, obscuring rather than making ever present the idea of Christianity. The following is a remark of Tertullian in his work on prayer: "Will not thy station be more solemn if thou standest at the altar of God." The idea of an *altar* as connected with that of a *sacrifice* seems here implied. If so, we discover a point of connection between the simple act of *prayer*, and the Popish ceremony of the *mass*.

In Tertullian's time a custom obtained which directly furnished, at a later day, a point of connection for this false notion of the sacrifice of the mass. He alludes to it in the first of the treatises referred to above, thus: "We offer, on one day every year, oblations for the dead as birth-day honors." These were in honor of the martyrs, offered on the anniversaries of their martyrdom; and no doubt proceeded from the depths of Christian feeling; but though in itself an innocent thing, superstition and priestly-craft rendered it prolific of evil. Tertullian extolls the virtue of *bodily austerities* and of *celibacy*. The higher and more blessed stages of bodily patience he declares, "both keepeth one a widow, and scaleth another as a virgin, and exalteth him that has made himself an eunuch unto the kingdom of Heaven." Commending those who refrained from marriage in the ecclesiastical orders, "killing in themselves the concupiscence of lust," he says, "Hence it is taken for granted that those who wished to be received into Paradise, ought to abstain from that which is in Paradise unknown." Of confession he says,

It directeth also in the matter of dress and food, to be in sackcloth and ashes, to hide his body in filthy garments, to cast down his spirit with mourning, to exchange for severe treatment the sins which he has committed; for the rest to use simple things for meat and drink, to wit, not

for the belly's sake, but the soul's sake; for the most part also to cherish prayer by fasts, to groan, to weep, and to moan day and night unto the Lord his God; to throw himself upon the ground before the presbyters, and to fall on his knees before the beloved of God. All these things doeth confession, that, by judging of itself the sinner, it may act in the stead of God's wrath, and that, by means of temporal affliction, it may, I will not say frustrate, but discharge the eternal penalties In the measure in which thou sparest not thyself, be assured will God spare thee.

It needs but little improvement to make this good, sound, Romish doctrine in our day; when these early germs have become trees, yielding plentifully their poisonous fruit.

In his treatise upon the soul, Tertullian distinctly teaches that some will be raised to a participation of millennial happiness earlier than others, according to the degree of their purification from sin; and that every sin, even the least, must be atoned for by a delay of the resurrection.* Hence afterward arose the idea of purification by punishment, an *ignis purgatorius*. But we have already continued these citations beyond what was intended, and now proceed to a more particular mention of some of the writings under review.

APOLOGY AGAINST THE HEATHEN.

The persecutions which befell the Christians in North Africa were the occasion of this production. It was probably written A. D. 198, under the reign of Severus, and before he became a persecutor. The book is distinguished for its spirit and force, and is full of striking passages. In it are some of the most important testimonies to the rapid spread of Christianity. A few of these we append.

As to the number of the disciples, Tertullian says,

Men cry out that the State is beset, that the Christians are in their fields, in their forts, in their islands. They mourn, as for a loss, that every age, sex, condition, and now even rank is going over to this sect. . . . We are a people of yesterday, and yet we have filled every place belonging to you, cities, islands, castles, towns, assemblies, your very camp, your tribes, companies, palace, senate, forum. We leave you your temples only. We can count your armies; our numbers in a single province will be greater.

The noble conclusion of his *ad Scapulam* is so much in point that it must be introduced. Alluding to a certain proconsul in Lesser Asia who was so alarmed at the great number he was called upon to slay, as to exclaim, "*miserable*

* "*Modico quoque delicto mora resurrectionis expenso.*"

men ! if ye wish to die, ye have precipices and halters !” Tertullian says,

If the same thing should be done here, what wilt thou do with so many thousands of human beings? How many fires, how many swords would be needed? What will Carthage, which thou must decimate, endure, when every man recognizes there his own kinsfolk and comrades? Spare then thyself if not us; spare Carthage if not thyself. We have no master save God alone. He is before thee and cannot be hidden; but He is one to whom thou canst do nothing. But those whom thou thinkest to be masters are men, and must themselves one day die. Yet this sect shall never fail, for know that it is the more built up when it seems to be stricken down. For every one who beholds so much endurance, being struck with some misgiving, is kindled with the desire of inquiring what there is in the cause, and when he has discovered the truth respecting it, forthwith he follows it himself.

Here is a noble plea for soul-liberty :

Let one worship God, another Jupiter; let one raise his suppliant hands to heaven, another to the altar of Fides. See to it whether this does not deserve the name of irreligion, to wish to take away the freedom of religion, and to forbid a choice of Gods, so that I may not worship whom I will, but be compelled to worship whom I do not will. No one, not even a human being, will desire to be worshipped by any one against his will.

Tertullian makes the following happy allusion to the lights borrowed from God's temple :

For the antiquity of the Holy Scriptures, already established, yet again serveth me in making it very credible that this was the store-house of all the wisdom of later times.— Which of the poets, which of the sophists is there, who have not drunk from the fountain of the Prophets? Hence, therefore, have the philosophers also watered the dryness of their own understanding.— And no wonder if the wit of the philosophers have perverted the ancient document, — and from the one way cut out many devious and inextricable mazes.

In the course of his argument, he thus traces the Analogies of the Resurrection :

The light which is extinct every day, shineth forth again, and the darkness also departeth and succeedeth in its turn. The stars that have died away revive again; the seasons when they end begin anew; the fruits are consumed and again return; the seeds assuredly spring not up with new fruitfulness, except they first be corrupted and dissolved; all things are by dying preserved; all things are formed again by death. Should thou, a man, a name so great, thou, who, if thou knowest thyself as thou mayest learn to do, even from the Pythian inscription,* art the lord of all things that die and rise again, shalt thou die to perish forever?

We are constrained to add a beautiful passage here from the *De Resurrectione Carnis*, where Tertullian is treating expressly of this subject :

* “ Know thyself.”

Look, now, at the examples of the divine power. Day dies into night, and on all sides is buried in darkness. The glory of the world is dishonored; everything that exists is covered with blackness; all things are rendered mean, silent, and torpid; there is a general mourning; a cessation of all business. Thus the lost light is mourned for. And yet again it revives with its own ornament and dowry with the sun, the same as before, whole and entire, slaying its own death, night; bursting its sepulchre, the darkness; coming forth, the heir to itself, until night revives with its own accompaniments. The rays of the stars are rekindled, which the morning glow had extinguished. The absent constellations are brought back, which the destruction of time had taken away. The mirrors of the moon are re-adorned, which the monthly number had worn away. The winters and summers revolve, and springs and autumns, with their own powers, habits and fruits. Earth receives instructions from heaven to clothe the trees after they have been stripped, to color the flowers afresh, again to bring forth the herbage, to exhibit the same seeds that had been taken away, and not to exhibit them before they are taken away. Wonderful procedure, from a defrauder to become a preserver; that she may restore, she takes away; that she may guard, she destroys; that she may retain entire, she injures; that she may increase, she consumes. Nothing perishes but for salvation. Therefore this whole revolving order of things is an attestation of the resurrection of the dead. God wrote it in his works before he wrote it in his Word. He has sent nature as thy first teacher, that thou mayest receive as soon as thou hearest what thou seest already on all sides.

The following is Tertullian's brilliant conclusion of his noble testimony:

Ye may now call us faggot-men, and half-axle-men, because being bound to the wood of half-an-axle, we are burnt by a circle of faggots enclosing us. This is the garb of our conquest, this our robe of victory; in such a chariot do we triumph. Go on, ye righteous rulers, much more righteous in the eyes of the people if ye sacrifice the Christians to them, rack, torment, condemn, grind us to powder: for your injustice is proof of our innocence. Nor yet will your cruelty, though more and more refined, profit you anything. It is rather an allurement to our sect. Our numbers increase in proportion as you mow us down. The blood of the Christians is their seed—that very obstinacy with which ye upbraid us, the teacher. For who is not incited by the contemplation of it to inquire what is the reality of the matter? Who, when he hath inquired, doth not join us; when he hath joined us, doth not desire to suffer? Hence it is that we thank you for your judgments; such is the rivalry between divine and human things, when we are condemned by you, we are acquitted by God.*

OF PUBLIC SHOWS.

After the *Apology*, the next larger work of Tertullian is the *De Spectaculis*, which was probably written when some great shows were exciting attention, perhaps in connection with Severus' return to Rome, after his victory over Albinus,

* This celebrated passage has been variously translated. We have adopted none of the renderings; but followed, mainly, that in the "Library of the Fathers;" to parts of which collection we are greatly indebted in the preparation of this article.

A. D. 198. It treats of the general question of Christian conformity to the world, but particularly of the propriety on the part of those then living, of mingling in the public exhibitions, always obscene, and generally bloody, which were peculiar to that age. The subject is one which entered deeply into the relations and life of the early disciples, and to the discussion of which Tertullian gave himself with his usual ability and zeal. We can make room for only a few specimen passages. Tertullian thus sets forth the doctrine that there is no *communion of light with darkness*:

God has commanded that the Holy Spirit should be received with tranquillity and gentleness, with peace and stillness, and not be disquieted by passion, rage and anger, and the violence of irritated feelings. How can such a spirit put up with the exhibitions of the play-house? for no play goes off without violent commotion of the minds of the spectators. Amidst the clamor of the players, can any man think upon the promise of a prophet, or meditate upon a psalm during the melodious strains of an eunuch? . . . God avert from his people so great a desire after murderous pleasure! for what manner of thing is it to go from the church of God into the church of the devil—from the sky, as they say, to the sty? to weary afterward, in applauding a player, those hands which thou hast lifted up to God? to give thy testimony for a gladiator out of the mouth with which thou hast uttered amen to *That Holy Thing*;* to say *forever and ever* to any being save to God and Christ? On such sweets, let his own guests be fattened; the places, and the times, and the bidder to the feast, are their own. Our feasts, our marriage are not yet."

The pleasures of a religious life are then delineated:

But now suppose thou art to pass this life in delights. Why art thou so ungrateful as not to be content with, and not to acknowledge the pleasures, so many and great, which God bestows upon thee? For what can be more delightful than reconciliation with God our Father and Lord? than the revelation of truth? than the discovery of errors? than the pardon of so many past offences? What greater pleasure than a disgust for pleasure itself? than a contempt for the whole world? than true liberty? than a pure conscience? than a blameless life? than no fear of death? than to tread under foot the gods of the nations? to cast out demons? to perform cures? to seek for revelation to live unto God? These are the pleasures, these the shows of the Christians, holy, everlasting, free. If knowledge, if learning delight thee, we have enough of books, enough of verses, enough of maxims, enough also of song, enough of sounds; not fables, but verities, not cunningly wrought, but simple strains. Wouldst thou have fightings and wrestlings? Behold immodesty cast down by chastity, perfidy slain by fidelity, cruelty crushed by compassion, impudence eclipsed by modesty. Such are our contests in which we gain the crown. Wouldst thou also somewhat of blood? thou hast Christ's."

OF BAPTISM.

Upon this subject Tertullian has a long, and, in many

* "*Sanctum*," probably alluding to the Eucharist.

respects, important treatise. It seems to have been called forth in vindication of the necessity of outward baptism, against opponents of various kinds who had arisen, and particularly against Quintilla of Carthage, who at least gave the first impulse to the controversy on this subject. At the same time, Tertullian wished to discriminate as to the real import of baptism, and its precise limitations; as also to qualify believers for a right understanding and defence of their faith. The instruction of the Catechumens, that they might come to baptism with right apprehensions and feelings, was, too, a special object which he had in view.

The incidental evidence which may be drawn from this treatise in support of the peculiar views of Baptists, is of a very decided character. It is highly important, on account of the age whence it is derived, and from its singular uniformity. We will bring together some allusions which Tertullian makes to the mode of baptism, as it is generally, but unfortunately called. In the *De Corona* occurs the following:

"We do in the Church testify that we renounce the devil and his pomp, and his angels; then are we thrice *dipped*."*

From the *De Baptismo* we select the following passages:

Is it not wonderful that death should be washed away by a mere *bath*? . . . There is no difference whether a man be *washed in the sea or in a pool; in a river or in a fountain; in a lake or in a canal* . . . After this, *having come out from the bath*, we are anointed thoroughly with a blessed unction. . . . In baptism itself the act is carnal, that we are *dipped in the water*, the effect spiritual, that we are delivered from our sins. . . . We *enter*, then, the *laver* but once." In the *De Penitentia*, Tertullian alludes to Rom. vi. 4, and speaks of baptism as "*the likeness of death*."

We note some of the references to the proper *subjects* of baptism. He makes *Faith* that which *receives* the forgiveness of sins in baptism; and combating haste in this ordinance, declares that where a *right faith* is present, that faith is sure of salvation.† In striking uniformity with this is the following view, expressed by Athanasius a little more than a century later:

For this cause did the Saviour not merely command to baptize, but

* This is Dodgson's rendering (Pedo-Baptist), and the only possible one. In each instance, here, we take his, or Neander's.

† "Fides, integra æcura de salute."

saith first, "*teach*," that through the teaching the faith may be right, and with the faith the perfecting of baptism may be added.

Tertullian says, in his *De Pœnitentia* ·

We are not washed in order that we may cease from sinning, but because we *have* ceased, because we have *already* been washed in heart. For this is the first baptism of the hearer, namely, an entire fear of God; and, next, from the time that thou turnest thy thoughts toward the Lord, a sound faith, a conscience that hath once for all embraced repentance. . . The divine grace, that is, the forgiveness of sins, remains unimpaired for those who are to be baptized; but then they must perform their part, so as to become capable of receiving it.

In the following passage from the *De Baptismo*, Tertullian directly opposes the baptism of young children.

Let them come when they are grown up: let them come when they are disciples: when they are taught whither they are coming; let them become Christians [i. e. *professedly* so, implying, by the way, that baptism was equivalent to a profession of the Christian religion] when they are able to know Christ. Why does the innocent age hasten to the remission of sins? . . . "The delaying of baptism," he also states, "is more profitable, especially in the case of children."

That is, those who are very young, and about whose conversion, therefore, there is a degree of uncertainty. Should it be supposed that exceptions were allowable, according to Tertullian's theory, in case of threatened death, and that he was only speaking of *ordinary* cases, even this seems not admissible; for how could he have omitted distinctly to state any possible exceptions? In the opinion of Tertullian, therefore, baptism was not admissible "without the conscious participation of the person baptized, and his own individual faith." These last words are Neander's, when speaking on this very point, and we cannot refrain from citing, still farther, to the same effect, from this distinguished historian. After alluding to Tertullian's judgment respecting infant baptism, he says:

We have every reason for holding infant baptism to be no Apostolic institution, and that it was something foreign to that first stage of Christian development. At first, baptism necessarily marked a distinct era in life, when a person passed over from a different religious stand-point to Christianity, when the regeneration, sealed by baptism, presented itself as a principle of moral transformation, in opposition to the earlier development.*

ADDRESS TO THE MARTYRS.

The many Christians who were languishing in prison at the commencement of the persecution, during Tertullian's time,

* Antignosticus, Part II., De Baptismo.

called forth this tender effusion of Christian sympathy. It was, probably, one of Tertullian's earliest productions, and opens with these kind words: "Along with the means of bodily nourishment which your mother the Church, from her stores, and individual brethren from their private property, send to you while in prison, receive from me something which may serve for the sustenance of your souls."

It is pervaded with fine sentiments, and striking paragraphs, one or two of which we will here introduce.

He represents the *body as confined, but the spirit free* :

Away with the name of a prison ; let us call it a retirement. Though the body be shut up, though the flesh be confined, all is open to the spirit. Roam freely, thou spirit, walk to and fro thou spirit, not setting before thee shady walks, nor long cloisters, but that way which leadeth unto God. The leg suffereth nothing in the stocks, while the mind is in heaven.

Ye are about to enter, he says, a noble contest, in which God is the umpire, the Holy Spirit overseeing ; the crown is eternity ; the prize is an angelic life, a citizenship in heaven, everlasting glory.

Tertullian reminds the sufferers of what men will voluntarily endure for *earthly* distinction, and thus points to the *glory yet to be revealed* :

If earthly glory hath so great power over the strength of body and mind, that men despise the sword, the fire, the cross, the beasts, the tortures, for the reward of the praise of men, I may say these sufferings are trifling in the gaining of heavenly glory and a divine reward. Is the glass bead of such value? of how much the real *pearl*? Who, then, is not bound to spend most willingly for that which is true, as much as others do for that which is false?

OF PATIENCE.

Tertullian's *De Patientia* has always been esteemed one of his most brilliant pieces. It everywhere breathes a spirit of love and gentleness, and contains passages of singular eloquence.* It was written before the author's transition to Montanism. The call for the exercising of patience, Tertullian remarks is—

The Divine ordering of a lively and heavenly rule, setting forth God himself as the example of patience, first as the being who scattereth the dew of his light equally over the just and the unjust, who suffereth the offices of the seasons, the services of the elements, the tributes of the whole creation, to come alike to the worthy and the unworthy ; bearing with those most unthankful nations who worship the follies of their own

* This beautiful production may be found translated, nearly entire, in the "*History and Repository of Pulpit Eloquence*," by Rev. H. C. Fish, recently published by M. W. Dodd, New York.

craft, so that by his own patience he robbeth himself, seeing that the greater part believed in the Lord for this reason, because that for so long time they have not known that he is wroth with the world.

Christ is then held up as an example of patience :

God suffers himself to be conceived in the womb of a mother, and abides the time, and being born, endures to grow up into youth—is baptized by his own servant, and repels the attacks of the tempter by words only. He despised no one's table nor house; he poured out water to wash his disciples' feet; he despised not publicans and sinners; he was not wroth with the city that refused to receive him; he healed the unthankful, and gave place to those who laid snares for him. This were little if he had not had even his betrayer with him, without constantly pointing him out. And when he was delivered up, when he was led as a sheep to the slaughter, he opened not his mouth.

Our limits forbid further allusion to this production. It is hard to restrain the pen from particular mention of several others of Tertullian's writings; such as his work on *Repentance*, his excellent piece on *Prayer*, his *Testimony of the Soul*, his *Address to Scapula*, and the *letters* which he wrote to *his wife*; all of which, with also a few others, have come down to our times. But we must cut short the string of pearls, by commending to the reader the casket whence they have been culled.

ARTICLE VII.—NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

The English Bible. History of the Translation of the Holy Scriptures into the English Tongue. With Specimens of the Old English Versions. By Mrs. H. C. CONANT. (New York: Sheldon, Blakeman & Co. 1856. 12mo, pp. 466.)

This is a volume of more than ordinary interest, evincing much patient thought, and a range of research far beyond what its title would seem to indicate. Our most sanguine anticipations have been more than realized in perusing the work. And such, we are quite sure, will be the verdict borne to its favor by all who shall give it a careful reading.

The style of Mrs. Conant, if not terse, is nevertheless invariably perspicuous and engaging—well adapted to didactic writing. And if we may judge another's pleasure and advantage by our own, no one can rise from the perusal of this History uninstructed and unimproved.

The plan of the work is direct, and equally removed from the voluminousness of Anderson's *Annals* and the tedious minuteness of Lewis's *History*. We were specially pleased with the judicious blending of incidental occurrences both in Church and State, when apposite, with the successive stages respectively of Bible translation. In no part of the work is there evinced greater skill or a juster estimate of the materials to be woven into the contemplated design. Attending circumstances invariably qualify in some degree

the acts of councils, as of individuals, whether in a single or associated capacity. It is well, therefore, that the talented authoress has connected with her history of translation the concurring and apposite circumstances which are so closely identified with the translations themselves.

We are inclined to think that our accomplished authoress has, in a few instances, misapprehended the motives which at times influenced individuals whose characters were subjected to her dissecting knife. We had not supposed that the founding of Cardinal's College, of Oxford, "was a magnificent project for converting progress itself into a barrier against progress; for raising up a clergy qualified by rigid intellectual discipline and eminent scholarship, to snatch from the Reformers the leadership of the awakening age," p. 122.

The Cardinal was indeed no friend to the reformation in religion. But he was an ardent friend and patron of institutions for liberal education. He lived, in this respect, in advance of his age. Learned himself, he sought to build up and endow an institution, as he purposed, "the most glorious in the universe." He enriched it by his own princely donations. He even put a period to forty-one priories and nunneries, and turned their immense wealth into the establishment of a college where vast numbers of youth might be educated. All this, it is true, was adverse to his religious views, but it suited his ambition and love of learning. And God, who is wise in devising and skilful in working, made this stupendous monument of learning contribute largely to the promotion of pure Christianity.

Again: we are not able to see so clearly, as Mrs. Conant seems to have done, that King James entertained the proposition of Dr. Reynolds for a new translation of the Bible from motives of "the establishment of Episcopacy and the extinction of Puritanism." However intent his majesty was at the Hampton Court Conference to exchange fully his Scotch Presbyterianism for English Episcopacy, it can hardly be made to appear that his design, in readily accepting the proposition for a new translation of the Bible, was to promote such a purpose.

Had such been the governing motive of his majesty, the proposition should not have come from the Puritan party, nor have been opposed by the Episcopal functionaries.

"How, then," very pertinently asks Mrs. Conant, "is the fact to be explained, that in regard to one point of vital interest (the translation), the wishes of the Puritan ministry received the prompt concurrence of the king, and that manifestly against the wishes of their opponents?" Not, it appears to us, from any general desire which may have prevailed at the time for a new translation. Nor yet from a previously conceived purpose to make the "new version the chief agent in maintaining the established order."

The truth is, the king had long entertained the project of a new translation of the English Scriptures, even before coming to the throne of England. While a firm and doting Presbyterian, he pressed the desirableness of a revision of the Bible. In an assembly convoked by his royal proclamation, May 18, 1601, and convened at Brunt Island, a new translation of the Bible

was proposed. "His majesty did urge earnestly, and with many reasons did persuade the undertaking of the work, showing the necessity and the profit of it, and what a glory the performing thereof should bring to the Church." We are further told that "It was the joy of all that were present to hear it, and bred no little admiration in the whole assembly, who, approving the motion, did recommend the translation to such of the brethren as were most skilled in the languages."

From all this it would appear that the king was as intent on a new translation when a Presbyterian as when an Episcopalian. And it is to be presumed, therefore, that his desire for a new version was not to support the Episcopacy as such, but from motives of a higher order. The imperfections of the version then in general use were too glaring not to attract the notice of his majesty.

Our authoress need not be alarmed should we notice another slight mistake into which she has inadvertently fallen. She supposes that *ecclesia* (*εκκλησια*)—the proper Greek word for church—is found in Acts xix. 37 of the Greek Testament. This is not the case. The original is altogether another word with a very different signification. The word is *ierosoulos*, (*ιεροσυλος*), and means *sacrilegious*, or, as our version has it, "*robbers of churches*"—more agreeable to the Greek "*robbers of temples*."

We could have desired that Mrs. Conant had been more full in her account of translations subsequent to the commonly-received version. It ought to be known that a master in Israel—a man of vast and varied learning, and withal, a Baptist, translated the English Scriptures. Mr. Lewis, in his history of translations, informs us that "The learned Mr. *Henry Jessey*, one well skilled in the Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, and Greek tongues, is said to have drawn up an Essay towards an amendment of this last (King James') version," p. 355. Mr. Jessey was a Baptist minister of great learning. He commanded almost universal respect, both for his piety and ripeness of erudition. Nevertheless, he was called to suffer much in common with his brethren in those troublesome times.

But he did more than draw up an Essay respecting a revision of the Bible. He had nearly completed a translation of the entire Scriptures at the time of his death. Mr. Walter Wilson, in his History of Dissenting Churches, says, "Mr. Jessey was employed many years upon a new translation of the Bible, in which he was assisted by many learned men, both at home and abroad. This was made the great master-study of his life." * * * "Mr. Jessey had nearly completed this great work when the Restoration took place; but the subsequent turn to public affairs obliged him to lay it aside, and this noble design eventually proved abortive." Vol. 1, p. 44.

The judicious reader will do well to observe with what preparation and carefulness Mr. Jessey ventured upon the translation of the Bible. He deemed it a labor for life, and that, too, when calling to his aid the most renowned scholars, both at home and abroad. Such caution in dealing with the Word of God is worthy of all commendation.

Abating a few things of minor importance, we highly value this work, and take pleasure in commending it to the favorable regards of those who desire to become acquainted with the general history of the translation of our English Scriptures.

Discourses and Essays. By WILLIAM G. T. SHEDD. Published by W. F. Draper, Andover, Mass., 1856. 12mo, pp. 271. The discourses and essays, six in number, which compose this volume, were originally printed in separate forms, but were mostly out of print and difficult to be obtained. Draper & Co. have wisely judged them possessed of sufficient value to be collected in one volume, and preserved in a more accessible form. They are worthy of such distinction.

Prof. Shedd is a clear thinker, and, with a good command of language, is enabled to express himself with great transparency and force. Even on abstruse questions and metaphysics, it is seldom difficult to understand what he intends to convey to the mind of the reader. And though you may not at all times approve of his reasoning, nor be disposed to adopt his deductions, yet you cannot fail of being pleased, even charmed, with the perspicuous manner in which he offers you a view of his sentiments.

The essays on "The Doctrine of Original Sin," and on "The Relation of Language and Style to Thought," are reprints from the "Christian Review" and from the "Bibliotheca Sacra" respectively. The former of these—"The Doctrine of Original Sin"—has awakened no inconsiderable interest, and has been much sought and extensively read—even to a degree that the No. of the "Christian Review" containing it has become scarce.

Prof. Shedd, on pp. 225, 226 of the volume before us, gives, in brief, the views he entertains respecting original sin, which we will take the liberty to present to our readers :

"In commencing the investigation of the doctrine of original sin, we naturally start from one distinct and unambiguous statement of Scripture; and we know of no one at once so plain and full as the affirmation of St. Paul, that man is by nature a child of wrath. The doctrine of a guilty nature in man is taught either by implication, or by an explicit detail, in other passages in Paul's Epistles, in the Psalms of David, in the Epistles of John, in the Prophecies of Isaiah and Jeremiah, and in the teachings of Christ; but perhaps no single text of Scripture enounces the doctrine so briefly and comprehensively as this. It makes specific mention of the two principal characteristics of human sinfulness: (1) its depth, and, by implication, its universality; and (2) its guilt. After all that may be said upon this boundless subject, in its various relations to man, to the universe, and to God, the whole substance of the doctrine may be crowded into a very narrow compass. When we have said that man is *by nature a child of wrath*—when we have said that sin is a nature, and that nature is *guilt*—we have said in substance all that can be said. The most exhaustive investigation of the subject will not reveal any feature or element that is not contained by implication in this brief statement."

These discourses and essays will be read with no ordinary interest.

Appleton's Cyclopædia of Biography: Embracing a Series of Original Memoirs of the Most Distinguished Persons of All Times. American Edition.

Edited by FRANCIS L. HAWKS, D.D., LL.D. With numerous illustrations. (New York : D. Appleton & Co., 346 and 348 Broadway. 1856. 8vo, pp. 1058.)

This valuable and handsomely-printed volume cannot fail of rewarding its enterprising publishers. A general biographical dictionary, properly executed, can but find many appreciating patrons. Such a work has long been needed, and the necessity with every passing year was becoming more justly and painfully felt. A good dictionary of the kind must combine *fulness* and *accuracy*. To realize these seems to have been the aim of the present laudable attempt. And those who shall consult the work will be gratified with the degree of success which has attended the effort.

A perfect dictionary of biography we may never see. The scroll to be inscribed with the names of the departed, can never be full. Labor is unremittingly being prepared for the biographer. His is a melancholy task. From Death's trophies he must glean for his pages. In searching the records of mortality from which to make a judicious selection, the biographer must bestow much patient and assiduous toil. And after all, as he closes the volume, he is not unfrequently reminded of names which have escaped his vigilance, but which might well have challenged a conspicuous place upon the inscribed roll. Some of these omitted names we could have wished might have found their way upon the instructive pages of the volume before us. We must also express our regret that the American editor departed from the admirable plan of the original work under the judicious and able editorial of Mr. Rich,—of putting each writer's initials to the articles respectively. And the more do we regret this, since the additions in the American edition will suffer nothing in comparison with those in the original work.

We are specially pleased with the general fidelity with which character is here delineated. This is the crowning excellence of the volume, which, when combined with the completeness of the work, presents the American student with a dictionary of biography possessing unequalled merit.

The Three Gardens : Eden, Gethsemane, and Paradise ; or, Man's Ruin, Redemption, and Restoration. By WILLIAM ADAMS, D. D., Pastor of the Madison Square Presbyterian Church, New York. (Charles Scribner, 377 and 379 Broadway, New York, 1856. 12mo, pp. 284.)

The first of these gardens is a wide domain—the nativity of us all. We promenade its walks, gaze through its vistas, and become familiarized with many, if not most of its scenes. It must have been at one time enchantingly beautiful. Much of its original splendor, however, has long since disappeared, and left it to hideousness and foreboding fears. Still, there is a grandeur lingering over it, even in its ruins. And there is much remaining to awaken admiration, and much to love, notwithstanding the formidable desolation which has swept over it. At an auspicious hour there appeared in this garden a Being—more than human—the human shrouding the Divine—full of benignant thoughts and purposes, and opened a mysterious avenue leading

into another garden of resplendent glory. To make the transit from Eden to Gethsemane is to men of inexpressible moment; for in the latter there is everything that can regale the taste and satisfy the longings of immortality. Yet, alas! we are sorry to say, few, very few comparatively speaking, ever enter Gethsemane.

But all, without exception, who pass through the mysterious avenue into the second garden, are, at suitable periods, conducted into another garden of surpassing beauty and loveliness. This is the Paradise of God. Bunyan's pilgrims had a view of it through the perspective glass from Mt. Clear. But its transporting glories can only be realized by entering through the gate into the city. There in the full tide of celestial light shall be no night or shady noon. For

"The Light Himself shall shine
Revealed, and God's eternal day be thine!"

Those who desire to know more of these gardens, will do well to get Dr. Adams' book. We commend it to their special favor—assuring them that on rising from its perusal they will not reflect upon us for having brought it to their notice.

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The Baptist Denomination; its History, Doctrines, and Ordinances, its Polity, &c., &c. By D. C. HAYNES; with an Introduction, by John Dowling, D.D. (New York: Sheldon, Blakeman & Co. Chicago: S. C. Greggs & Co. Nashville: Graves, Marks & Rutland. 1856. 12mo, pp. 356).

Our denominational literature is increasing. There is room and necessity for the increase; and we heartily hail every worthy addition to our stock.

The present volume is popular, yet it contains much valuable information and instruction which will make it useful to all classes. It meets a want which has long been felt. It is chiefly a compilation, and is very well done. With the matter of this book every Baptist ought to be acquainted, and, in fact, every Christian. It contains many volumes in one. Its study will go far to establish our own people; and as far as it shall gain an entrance among others it will tend to produce a more correct and elevated view of our history, doctrines, and practice, than has hitherto obtained. We hope for it a wide circulation.

That our readers may form some idea of the work, we will give a brief indication of its contents. It is divided into five parts, each of which is subdivided into chapters, and these again into sections. Part I. contains, in five chapters, "The origin and history of the Baptist Church, and its identity with the Primitive Church." Part II. presents, in six chapters, the doctrines and ordinances of the Baptist Church. It contains articles of faith prepared by J. N. Brown, D. D., Keach's Catechism, Pengilly on Baptism, Dr. Fuller on Infant Salvation, Dedication and Baptism, and the Dialogue between Peter and Benjamin on Close Communion, by G. F. Davis, D. D. Part III. gives an account of Baptist Church Polity, Government, and Practice. Here is much practical matter spread through six chapters. Part IV. gives a history of Baptist martyrs and persecutions, in nine chap-

ters, "from the days of John the Baptist" to those of Roger Williams and beyond, and which might have been extended "even until now." Part V. consists of three chapters. The first presents facts and statistics; the remaining two are "on the indebtedness of the world to Baptists, and their duty to the world."

Sermons for the People. By F. D. HUNTINGTON, D. D., Preacher to the University and Plummer Professor of Christian Morals in the College at Cambridge. Boston: Crosby, Nichols & Co. 1856. 12mo, pp. 468.

Sermons are such common things—we all hear them every Sabbath, and so many volumes have been issued from the press—that men are apt to turn from any new publication of them as from something spiritless, and unworthy attention. But such a sentiment needs to be plucked out, and cast from us. A volume of good sermons is one of the most precious commodities in the literary market, in a minister's study, or on the centre-table of a parlor, the best reading companion of student, Christian, all men, in their leisure hours.

The sermons before us are entitled "for the people," and, what is better, they agree with the title. We find in them much, very much, to commend and be thankful for. There is no heavy argumentation, no dull exposition here, but practical and life-giving truths, which speak to the heart and conscience, and which are presented and illustrated in such a manner that the hours spent over them seem not long, and a deep, salutary and lasting impression is left. There are twenty-six in all, most of which are adapted to the times, and to all time. We could single out a few, as "Holiness to the Lord," "Acceptance of the heart," and "Trials of faith," which we esteem peculiarly dear.

Still, as it were natural to expect from a Unitarian divine, there are some things which, to our mind, are wanting in these sermons which ought to have been there, and some things are there with which we can have no sympathy. True, there are views of sin and a change of heart—views of the work of Christ, and the work of the Spirit, and views of Jesus as Divine, expressed in these sermons, such as we had scarcely expected, and which agree well with our own notions. But we *must* lay a heavier burden upon our Saviour in the cancelling of guilt than our author seems to do, and we cannot believe but that regeneration is something more than simple conversion, something radically distinct from Christian mindedness or progressive sanctification. Because of these sentiments, which are interwoven in the texture of the discourses, we are sorry to say it, we cannot recommend to our "people" *indiscriminately* the perusal of this volume. To ministers, however, and all who are established in doctrine, we heartily commend them. There is no minister whom their study may not profit, no Christian whom they are not adapted to edify, no man for whom there is not in them good.

With the fifteenth discourse, entitled, "Entrance into the Church," the text of which is, "And Chrispus believed on the Lord, with all his house" (Acts xviii. 8), of course we, as Baptists, have no sort of fellowship. In-

deed, there is more in it hostile to our views than we ordinarily find in Pædobaptist works. Here we find it asserted that there were *children* in the baptized households mentioned in the New Testament.

The words of Irenæus, "Christ came to save all persons by himself who by him are *regenerated* to God—infants, and little ones, and children, and youths, and elder persons,"—are quoted as implying that, in the view of that Father, regeneration and baptism or entrance into the church are identical. Children are spoken of as becoming Christian believers, because, as it is assumed, they existed, and were baptized with their parents. The stale assumptions concerning the Abrahamic covenant are reasserted. Some children, it is said, seem to need no conversion. Baptism is made to signify entrance into the Church. Outward application of water, and not the quantity of it, is proclaimed as law for us. A longing for the time when there shall be no occasion for any other than infant baptism, is expressed. Baptized children have a right to the Supper; and efforts, it is urged, should be made to induce them at a suitable age, say fifteen, to come. Against such views our head and heart alike protest. All our Biblical study, our theological training, our ecclesiastical reading and experience, are opposed.

A Discussion on Methodist Episcopacy, between Rev. E. J. HAMILL, of the Alabama Conference, and Pastor of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South Tuskegee, Ala, and SAMUEL HENDERSON, Pastor of the Tuskegee Baptist Church, and Editor of the South Western Baptist. Published at the mutual request of Baptists and Methodists. "Prove all things: hold fast that which is good."—*Paul*. (Charleston: Southern Baptist Publication Society, 229 King Street. 1856. 12mo, pp. 380.)

The letters composing the volume before us originally appeared in the columns of the "South Western Baptist" from April, with occasional intervals, to near the close of November, 1855. It would seem that their perusal made a deep and salutary impression. A very general desire prevailed that they should be published in a more permanent and accessible form. So preeminent was the demand, the gentlemen who conducted the discussion felt themselves obliged to comply. Whereby we have the light and shade of Methodist Episcopacy—the shade predominating.

The discussion is conducted with much ability, and generally with candor, and in a becoming spirit. We cannot divest ourselves of the conviction, however, that our Methodist brother has introduced in the discussion much that is quite irrelevant. Against substantial argument and objections to Methodism you are met with far-fetched, and often imaginary reasons, which with superficial minds may subserve a purpose, but with others they can only weaken the cause they were advanced to support.

Moreover, Mr. Hamill not unfrequently plants himself upon hypotheses which are not tenable. The observing must perceive that in many of his positions he is beating the air, or contending with a man of straw, which his imagination has created. Had we space it might be well to point out some of these false positions upon which he relies for the support of his cause.

But the reader will do this for himself. Mr. Henderson has the advantage of his antagonist in these particulars. He is more careful both of the positions he assumes and of the arguments adduced in their support. He states with much fairness the palpable objections to Methodist Episcopacy, and fortifies his positions generally with relevant and reliable arguments. The discussion will well repay a careful perusal.

Deformities and their Remedy. By H. G. DAVIS, M. D. (New York, 1856.) Dr. Davis has made the department of surgery of which he treats in this Essay, a matter of patient and careful study. He has confined himself for many years to the treatment of cases of curvature and other diseases of the Spine. His views as set forth in the Essay before us are philosophical, and his remedies are feasible and effective. His practice has been attended with rare success. It gives us great pleasure to say from some personal knowledge of his treatment of these cases, that his method is highly meritorious and successful. We think we are doing an act of kindness to those who are suffering from spinal complaints to refer them to Dr. Davis, at No. 823 Broadway. We do this without the knowledge of Dr. D., and solely for the benefit of those who will hail such intelligence with joy.

Norton's Literary Register ; or, Annual Book List for 1856. A catalogue of Books, including New Editions and Reprints published in the United States during the year 1855 ; containing titles, number of pages, prices, and names of publishers, with an Index of subjects. (New York : CHARLES B. NORTON, Agent for Libraries, 1856. 8vo, pp. 138.)

Authors, Publishers, and readers generally, will find here much to interest them in the selection of books. Those especially who are engaged in the book trade, as also those who are collecting books for private or public libraries, will be greatly aided by Norton's Literary Register. The title page is so full and comprehensive respecting the design of the work, as to require no further explanation.

Few will be able to appreciate the labors of Mr. Norton in preparing such a volume for the press. Nevertheless, he will carry with him the satisfaction of knowing that he is annually contributing very much to advance the literature of our nation in this active age.

Sanders' High School Reader. New York : Ivison & Phinney, 321 Broadway. 12mo, pp. 528.

This work is the last of a new series by one who has long been a very popular author. It is divided into two parts. Part I. embraces elocution, and contains, within the space of thirty-four pages, sections on articulation, accent, and emphasis, inflections, modulation, and rhetorical pause ; connected therewith are questions. Part II. consists of one hundred and sixty-three exercises in rhetorical reading, in prose and poetry, selected from the writings of eminent authors—English and American, living and dead. The selection of pieces appears to be judicious. A very few notes are appended. We cordially commend the volume to the attention of parents,

teachers, and all who may be concerned in the education of youth. The typographical execution is beautiful.

The Elements of Character. By MARY E. CHANDLER. Fourth edition. (Boston : Crosby, Nichols & Co. 16mo, pp. 234.)

This little book contains many excellent thoughts, clearly expressed. Its contents are arranged under the following heads : Character, the Human Trinity, Thought, Imagination, Affection, Life, Conversation, Manners, Companionship. We should have preferred that the reference to the Divine Trinity in the article on the Human had not been made. It seems to savor, though unintentionally we doubt not, of Sabellianism. Decidedly too favorable a judgment, we think, is given in the article on "Life" of some doctrines of Swedenborg and of the position of Swedenborgians. We cannot recognize them as they there are as a sect of Christians, nor can we sympathize with three or four allusions, made in the same connection, to their belief. These, however, are but incidental. In the main, we commend the book to those who love to think and improve.

Sunbeam Stories. (Boston and Cambridge : James Munroe & Co. 1856. 16mo, pp. 395.)

This is a sweet little juvenile, or rather we might say, a *large* one. It consists of several tales, published separately at first, but now collected in one, with illustrations. It will charm the young folks and do them good. Nor is it without attractions to older heads. Its author is Matilda Planche, now "the wife of the Rev. Mr. Mackarness, an Episcopalian clergyman in one of the shire towns of England." We are glad to understand that it is enjoying a suitable popularity.

The Universe no Desert, the Earth no Monopoly ; preceded by a Scientific Exposition of the Unity of Plan in Creation. Two volumes in one. (Boston and Cambridge : James Munroe & Co. 12mo, pp. 130 and 239.)

This work has been in the market some time, but has hitherto not received a notice in this journal. Who its author is we are not informed, but its statements of facts appear to be generally reliable. It is scientific, but written in a theologic interest. We were somewhat disappointed in its perusal, for it winds up dreamily. It begins with pure science, proceeds to rational speculation, and ends in a long parade of the opinions of Emanuel Swedenborg. Its chief object is to prove that other worlds are inhabited. This question has been much canvassed of late, and we have nothing to add on either side. Much is to be said both for and against. It seems to us of little moment to which theory we give the preference. No Biblical or dogmatic interest is put in jeopardy, or advantaged, in either case. Some of the minor and incidental conclusions or speculations of this book we would not be considered as endorsing.

The Marble-Worker's Manual ; designed for the use of Marble-Workers, Builders, and Owners of Houses. Translated from the French by M. L.

BOOTH, with an Appendix concerning American Marbles. (New York : Sheldon, Blakeman & Co. 1856. 18mo, pp. 256.)

Reviewers will never build marble palaces, but review readers may, quite possibly ; wherefore, we take pleasure in introducing to their notice the above little work. Marble is coming into very general requisition in our day, and most people need to learn something concerning it. No treatise with which we are acquainted presents this topic so fully and yet so briefly—so cheaply and yet so accurately—as this does. We cheerfully commend it to any of our readers who may be interested in the production or use of marble, as their most available and an invaluable guide.

Lectures Read to the Seniors in Harvard College. By EDWARD T. CHANNING, late Boylston Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory. (Boston : Ticknor & Fields. 1856. 12mo, pp. 298.) This is a work on Rhetoric and Oratory of great interest. It cannot take the place of Whately's Elements as a text-book in our high schools and colleges ; but all who shall study those elements will be in no small degree benefited by a careful reading of the Lectures of the Boylston Professor. Mr. Channing stood deservedly high, in the department assigned him, for more than thirty years ; during which period he won for himself an enviable reputation for purity of style and excellent taste in refined literature. But style and good taste are not the only things which commend these lectures to favorable notice. The manner in which the various subjects are presented, and the ability with which they are unfolded to the mind of the student and impressed upon his attention, form an important feature of the book. The volume contains a brief but deeply-interesting memoir of the author of these lectures.

A Treatise on English Punctuation ; designed for Letter Writers, Authors, Printers, and Correctors of the Press ; and for the Use of Schools and Academies. With an Appendix, containing Rules on the Use of Capitals, a List of Abbreviations, Hints on the Preparation of Copy and on Proof-Reading, Specimen of Proof-Sheet, &c. By JOHN WILSON. Eighth edition. (Boston : Crosby, Nichols & Co. 1856. 12mo, pp. 334.) The title of this work is sufficiently explanatory of its design to induce all who are in need of such a treatise to make it their own. We know of no superior work of the kind to recommend to our readers.

We have received from James Munroe & Co., Boston, Mass., *Elements of Rhetoric*, comprising an Analysis of the Laws of Moral Evidence and of Persuasion, with Rules for Argumentative Composition and Elocution. By RICHARD WHATELY, D.D. And *Elements of Logic*, comprising the Substance of the Article in the "Encyclopedia Metropolitana," with Additions, &c. By RICHARD WHATELY, D.D. Archbishop Whately's Elements of Rhetoric and Elements of Logic are too well known and appreciated to require further commendation than the bare mention that Munroe & Co. have issued new editions of these standard works, as revised by their distinguished author. Our high schools and colleges have, to a large extent, adopted them

as text-books, and not without sufficient reasons. They are well adapted to the ends for which they were prepared. In these departments of learning Dr. Whately has no successful rival.

P. Virgilio Maronis Bucolica, Georgica et Æneis. Virgil; with English Notes, prepared for the Use of Classical Schools and Colleges. By FRANCIS BROWN, A. M. Stereotype edition. (Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1855. 8vo, pp. 600.) This is the most beautifully-printed edition of Virgil that we have ever met with. The youthful student may be thankful that he has no longer to pore over the dingy, ill-printed, blurred pages of most former editions of this generally-received classic.

More than 250 pages of the volume are devoted to critical and explanatory notes. These, not only from their copiousness, but also from their substantial character, will be highly appreciated. Much and patient labor has also been expended in correcting the text for this edition. We commend the work to those in the pursuit of classical learning.

ARTICLE VIII.—LITERARY AND THEOLOGICAL INTELLIGENCE.

UNITED STATES.

A COMMENTARY on the New Testament, popular rather than critical, is, we learn, about to be commenced by Drs. C. Hodge and J. A. Alexander, of Princeton. Dr. Hodge's part will be the Epistles: Dr. Alexander's the Gospels, Acts, and Revelations. They will be issued in duodecimo volumes. The first will be on the Acts, by Dr. Alexander; and will be published in the autumn, by Mr. C. Scribner. The next will be on the 1st of Corinthians, by Dr. Hodge, and will be issued in the spring of 1857, by Carter & Brothers.

It gives us pleasure to announce that the Commentaries of Olshausen, of which we gave intimation in our last that it might be, *are* in the press of Sheldon, Blakeman & Co. The first volume will be forthcoming at an early day. Some delay is occasioned by the fact that all the proof-sheets are sent to Rochester for correction.

Messrs. Crosby & Nichols, of Boston, have announced the Epistles of Paul to the Thessalonians, Galatians, and Romans, with critical Notes and Dissertations, by Benjamin Jowett, Regius Professor of Greek in Balliol College, Oxford. The writings of this gentleman have caused considerable sensation recently in England; and he has been asked to resign the thirty-nine articles, which he has singularly enough done. His statements of belief are, judging from the extracts we have seen, very different from those to which our orthodox ears are accustomed. Liberals in Christianity, and all who love to scent out heresy, will probably receive these books with avidity.

The same house also announce the Epistles of Paul to the Corinthians

by Rev. A. P. Stanley, now canon of Canterbury, and author of a life of Dr. Arnold, &c., &c.

Commentaries on the Psalms, by Tholuck, which have recently been translated and published in England, are announced by W. C. & A. Martien.

We are pleased to notice that the Rev. G. D. Abbott, of the Spingler Institute, owner of the four original paintings, by Cole, entitled "The Voyage of Life," has published four large engravings of them. These have a religious interest. There are souls to whom those paintings speak louder than many sermons.

The sermons of Rev. Mr. Spurgeon, which we have before announced, were in the press of Messrs. Sheldon, Blakeman & Co., are not quite ready yet. They will be out, probably, ere these sheets reach some of our subscribers. They are to be accompanied with an introduction, by Rev. E. L. Magoon, D.D.

A new life of the Rev. Geo. Whitfield, with special reference to his labors in this country, is about to be issued by the American Tract Society. It has been prepared by the Rev. Dr. Belcher, of Philadelphia.

Dr. Belcher has also in a forward state, we are happy to be informed, a popular history of the Baptists of America. It will be issued in one volume, 12mo.

The Rev. F. Wilson, of Baltimore, has prepared a small, but timely volume, on the question, "How far may a Christian indulge in popular amusements?"

Another little work on "Restricted Communion," has just come before the public, from the pen of Rev. J. B. Taylor, of Richmond, Va.

A discourse from the pen of the Rev. Dr. W. R. Williams, entitled "Missions needful to the Church," has been issued by Carter & Brothers.

Since our last a small volume, "Campbellism re-examined," by Rev. J. B. Jeter, has appeared, published by Sheldon, Blakeman & Co. We had expected an article for our present number on Campbellism, embracing a notice of this recent issue. But we have been disappointed in this, through the sickness of the gentleman engaged to prepare it.

The rise of the Dutch Republic, in 3 vols., by J. L. Motley, published in this country and England, has attracted considerable attention. The subject is covered in a general way by Mr. Prescott, in his Philip the Second, and is one of interest. We have by us an article upon it, which we had hoped to have found room for in our present number. We will endeavor yet to produce it.

Mr. J. B. Desplace, an intimate friend of Lamartine, is now in the United States, for the purpose of facilitating the establishment and circulation of a translation of the latter's monthly magazine. He has been received with favor by our leading literary men, and we trust he may be entirely successful. Lamartine, we are sorry to see it stated, has become sadly reduced, owing, chiefly, to the failure of the vine crops in France during five successive years.

Harper & Brothers have announced a work which will be looked for with

considerable interest, and which we intimated in our last had appeared in Germany: Bunsen's "Signs of the Times." It is translated by Miss Winkworth.

Some large works are in course of republication, as Wilkes' Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition round the World; in 5 vols. 8vo. It is to be superbly illustrated. The Indian Tribes of North America, by H. R. Schoolcraft, in 5 vols. 4to. Works of Benjamin Franklin, in 10 vols. Napier's History of the Peninsular War, in 5 vols.

Fremont's Explorations in Utah, California and Oregon, are to be republished. Hitherto they have been known only through Congressional copies. Also Col. Benton is engaged, it is said, in preparing the Debates of Congress for general circulation. They now occupy about 100 volumes; and will be reduced by the able Senator to 12 or 15, without, probably, losing any of their real value.

Novels, we observe, are still in demand. Out of the 2,000 books published in the United States during the year 1855, over half were of this class. A new duodecimo edition of Dickens, is in course of publication in Philadelphia, to be comprised in 24 vols. Also, a new edition of Waverley, in Boston.

"Sin and Redemption," by D. N. Sheldon, we notice, has been republished in Boston.

Theodore Parker is said to be engaged in a new work, "The development of religious ideas among different races."

New works have appeared in this country during the past quarter, the product of those voluminous and always welcome authors, R. Trench, and Archbishop Whately.

Discourses of Bishop Wainwright, with a Memoir, are announced by Appleton & Co.

A small volume, entitled "Hints on Missions to India," by Rev. Myron Winslow, for thirty-seven years a Missionary, has been published by M. W. Dodd. It is important as bearing upon questions which are now agitating Mission Boards and Societies.

Hume's History of England has been republished in Philadelphia, in two vols. 8vo, collated with Lingard's.

A cyclopædia of Modern Travel during the last fifty years, has been completed under the supervision of that competent hand, Bayard Taylor.

According to a recent estimate, the public libraries of New York contain upwards of 330,000 volumes.

The late Dr. Choules' library, consisting of over 5,000 volumes, has been sold during the past quarter. Several of the books brought very high prices—Cromwelliana, \$47. There were 12 volumes that brought \$173 75. In the mass, however, the prices did not realize expectations.

Charles Scribner has announced, to be contained in one volume, the lives of Gibbon, Goethe and Goldsmith, written by eminent authors, and recently first published in the 10th volume of the new edition of the Encyclo-

pædia Britannica. This volume is to be followed by others on various themes, from the same source.

A premium of \$100 has been offered by a Congregational Society, at Hartford, for a tract on Slavery, not exceeding eight pages, and fit to be published by the American Tract Society, in accordance with Article I. of the Constitution. The adjudicators are, Rev. Drs. Joel, Hawes and R. Turnbull, Hartford.

Messrs. Murphy & Co., of Baltimore, have reprinted the discussions on the questions: Is the Roman Catholic Religion, in any or all of its doctrines and principles, inimical to civil or religious liberty? by Archbishop J. Hughes; and is the Presbyterian Religion? &c., by Rev. J. Breckenridge.

The works of Dr. O. Winslow are in course of republication in Philadelphia.

According to Norton's list of books published in the United States during the year 1855, 234 of the number were Theological.

FOREIGN.

Mr. Macaulay's recent volumes are very generally reviewed in the English periodicals, as well as in those of our own country. He has numerous assailants on various points, in reference to which he is said to be preparing a rejoinder. His defence will be looked for with interest. Croker has just replied to his attack upon his Boswell. In common with our cotemporaries we have admitted an article on Macaulay in our present number; which will not, we trust, prove unacceptable to our readers.

Intelligence of the death of Sir William Hamilton is received with profound regret. He stood, at his death, among the first in the world in his own chosen field, metaphysics—both speculative and historical. He had long been suffering from paralysis; but finally died of congestion of the brain. He has left in a fit state for publication his Lectures.

"Principles of Psychology," by Herbert Spencer, have been published, in which he is said to grapple with Sir William Hamilton's theory of consciousness.

Volumes 4 and 5 of Merivale's history of Rome under the Empire, are published.

The annals of Ireland, by J. O. Donovan, are to be reprinted in 7 vols. The first edition was too expensive for general circulation. The republication is to be reduced in price from \$70 to about \$20. The cheap form will contain the same matter and illustrations.

A new edition of that very useful work, "Horne's Introduction to the Critical Study of the Holy Scriptures," is announced. Also, Kitto's Encyclopædia; and the works of Dean Swift.

Volume I. of Wardlaw's systematic theology, is announced.

A new book of Hymns for Baptist Churches has been prepared, containing nearly 1,000 selections.

Dr. Owen's Works, in 24 vols., have been issued in Edinburgh. The same are to be obtained in this country with the imprint of Carter & Brothers.

A new edition of John Howe's works, to be comprized in 9 vols., is announced in Edinburgh.

A translation of Guizot's *R. Cromwell, and the Restoration of Charles the 2d*, is published by Bentley.

Professor Stahl has appeared, with the defence of a national church, against Bunsen. The 3d volume of his *Egypt's place in Universal History*, has gone to press. He is also preparing, in further answer of Strauss, a *Life of Christ*.

The burning of the dead is the subject of a treatise by Dr. T. P. Trusen. He advocates the revival of the funeral pyre.

Cheap railway literature is now published in Germany, as well as in France.

A German translation of *Hiawatha* has been executed and published by Frielgrath, a friend of Longfellow.

The works of Schelling are to be collected and published.

The poet Heinrich Heine's literary remains are announced. A new edition, also, of Kepler's Works.

A copy of Voltaire in 90 vols., with 12,000 engravings, chiefly portraits, has recently been sold. It brought £223.

That voluminous historian, M. Capefigue, has another volume in the press, *Catherine de Medicis*.

"*The Sensualist Philosophy of the 18th century*," is the title of a new work by Victor Cousin.

The works of Galileo are to be published, for the first time, in 15 vols., under the supervision of Professor Alberti.

Several letters of Napoleon Bonaparte, which he wrote in his youth, are said to have been recently discovered in Corsica.

Considerable activity is beginning to manifest itself in the department of Modern Greek Literature, both in Greece itself and in other parts of the world.

THE
CHRISTIAN REVIEW.

NO. LXXXVI.—OCTOBER, 1856.

ARTICLE I.—CAMPBELLISM REVIEWED.*

EVERY sect or party in religion, politics, morals, or philosophy, must have a *name*, to distinguish it from all other sects and parties.

The discriminating public have given this name to a numerous class of religionists, whose field of occupation and contest has been principally, though not wholly, the Mississippi Valley. And by noticing them as a sect we mean nothing invidious, nothing unkind, and do not even express by this term their transitoriness or heresy. Whether they are *right* or wrong, Scriptural or unscriptural, is quite another question, aside from the idea of SECT. Noah Webster, from whom

* REFERENCES.—1. *The substance of a Sermon delivered before the Red-Stone Baptist Association*, Sept. 1st, 1816, by Alexander Campbell, pp. 85, [on the *Laws of Moses, the Decalogue, &c.*]

2. *Minutes of the Red-Stone Association.*

3. *Debate on Baptism with Rev. Mr. Walker*, a seceder, Mount Pleasant, Ohio, 1820. [We had possession of this volume until it was destroyed by fire, 1852.]

4. *Debate on Christian Baptism, between the Rev. W. L. Maccalla* (Presbyterian) and Alex. Campbell, in Mason county, Ky., Oct. 1823. Edited and published by Mr. Campbell. 12mo. pp. 420. [Mr. Maccalla, at a subsequent period, published his version of the debate, with notes.]

5. *The Christian Baptist*, edited by Alexander Campbell, in 7 vols. 12mo, published monthly, from August, 1823, to July, 1830. [This periodical was revised and published by Rev. D. S. Burnett, of Cincinnati, in 1835, and stereotyped, with Mr. Campbell's last corrections, in a royal 8vo vol., 670 pp.]

6. *The Millennial Harbinger*, issued monthly, 12mo, pp. 48. Commenced July 1830. The current volume makes twenty-six. For many years, Mr. Campbell was sole editor, aided by numerous correspondents. He is still senior editor, aided by Elder W. K. Pendleton, and his son, A. W. Campbell. "Extra" numbers of this periodical have been issued occasionally, of which a careful examination is necessary, to arrive at correct conclusions on the peculiarities of the system. No. I. of the Extras was issued from his press at Bethany, Brooke county, Va., July 5th, 1830. It is entitled, "*Remission of Sins—The Christian Immersion.*" This pamphlet teaches the dogma, unequivocally, "*That remission of sins, or coming into a state of accept-*

there is no appeal in lexicography, thus defines SECT: "A number of persons, united in tenets, chiefly in philosophy and religion, but constituting a distinct party by holding sentiments different from other men."

ance [with God], being one of the present immunities of the Kingdom of Heaven, CANNOT BE ENJOYED BY ANY PERSON BEFORE IMMERSION. This Extra was "EXAMINED" with ability and success by the late Rev. Andrew Broadus, of Caroline county, Va., in the Millennial Harbinger. It makes a pamphlet of 40 pp., and was printed and circulated extensively in that form.

7. *The Christian System* is a 12mo volume, pp. 368. The title page states that it has "reference to the union of Christians, and a restoration of primitive Christianity, as plead in the current Reformation." *Christianity Restored* is principally made up with selections from the foregoing; being collected in a volume separate from the periodicals and extras, it is convenient for reference. By A. Campbell.

8. *Principles of the Reformation* is another work, by R. Richardson, that professes to contain, "in a small compass, a plain exposition in defence of the principles of the Reformation."

9. "*Christian Baptism, with its Antecedents and Consequents.*" by A. Campbell, contains a condensation of much he has written on this subject.

10. A public debate was held in 1843, in Lexington, Ky., between Mr. Campbell and Rev. Dr. Rice, then of Cincinnati, now of St. Louis. The arguments by each party were taken by able reporters, stereotyped, and published in a thick volume, small type, and between 900 and 1,000 pp. We read this closely-packed volume, every word of it. It embraced the Baptist controversy, and also some of the peculiarities of Campbellism. In talents, tactics, logic and logomachy, the parties were equally matched, and by impartial listeners it was regarded, on the whole, a drawn battle. Mr. Campbell gained the victory on some points; Dr. Rice on others.

On the opposite side, the peculiar principles of Campbellism have been controverted largely, in nearly every religious periodical in the Mississippi Valley, the late New York Baptist Register, and by several Baptist papers in the South-eastern States. About 1830, Mr. Campbell held a public debate in Nashville, Tenn., with Rev. O. Jennings, D.D., pastor of the Presbyterian church in that city. The substance of this debate was edited and published by S. C. Jennings, Esq., a nephew of the pastor, after his decease, in 1832. It was made up chiefly from the notes and memoranda, made by the Rev. debater, and forms a 12mo volume of 252 pp. Mr. Campbell complained of partiality and unfairness, but disinterested persons spoke well of it.

11. In 1835, the late Rev. J. L. Waller, then a youth and fresh from college, wrote a series of spirited controversial articles, addressed to a Reformer in Kentucky. These articles were a fine specimen of the talents and genius of the young author. They were a fair *exposé* of the peculiar and objectionable features of the system. Though highly seasoned, racy, and sometimes in the language of cutting irony, this was a fair and legitimate mode of replication to one who has been unsparing in the same missiles to his opponents. These letters have been republished within a few years in several Western periodicals.

12. *Campbellism Examined*, by Rev. J. B. Jeter, D.D., was issued from the press of Sheldon, Lamport & Co., N. Y., 1855, 12mo, pp. 369. This work was noticed in the *Christian Review*, vol. XX., pp. 146-148. After an appropriate introduction, it treats of CAMPBELLISM—in its inception—in its chaos—in its formation—in its principles—in its discipline, and in its tendencies. This work, as its numerous readers know, is an able, candid and faithful exposure of the peculiar notions we denominate Campbellism—notwithstanding nine tirades against it that appeared the same year in the "Harbinger," from the pen of the author of the system. We regret to see in these numbers so much petulance and irritation. To these Dr. Jeter has responded, under the head of "Campbellism Re-examined," in a 12mo, pp. 94.

We are thus particular on this word, from the sensitiveness manifested by Mr. Campbell and his adherents against being called a sect; and we have long supposed the objection is a kind of *ad captundum vulgus*—a species of pious fraud, to deceive and catch a class of persons who are not so well versed in the “people’s English.” It has served as an adjunct to the claim, that the “Reformation” is designed, and will eventually unite all Christian professors under one banner. But we see no way to preserve the distinction implied, in justice to all parties concerned, without the use of this term.

Mr. C. and his adherents do not constitute the whole Christian community. There are other parties with as valid and Scriptural claims to pure Christianity as his party. The Campbellites are a body united in certain tenets, and whatever diversities may exist amongst themselves, they choose to differ from their neighbors; they constitute a party or SECT.

Mr. Webster, after defining the word “sect,” states a historical fact: “Most sects have originated in a particular person, who taught and propagated some peculiar notions in philosophy or religion, and who is considered to have been its founder.”

In the rise, progress and present attitude of this party, there has been one master-mind, one untiring projector and laborer, who, doubtless, honestly thought he was the leader in a great reformation. This was nothing less than the “restoration” of a “pure Christianity,” and the establishment of a more perfect code of Christian morals. If his modesty does shrink at the honors the present generation may force on him, posterity will certainly do him justice. Had Mr. Campbell never left Scotland or the North of Ireland, the “Reformation” in this Valley would never have been known. Baptists, and other American Christians, would have made no other progress, than that resulting from the increase of light and knowledge derived from the increased facilities of biblical criticism. To Alexander Campbell, more than any other living man, is the world indebted for this new sect, with all its peculiarities. They deserve the appellation of CAMPBELLITES—the dogmas can be intelligibly announced by the term CAMPBELLISM. He cannot avoid the issue of

having his own name perpetuated with the party he has raised up.

Either every congregation adhering to his peculiarities must be disbanded, and the members fall back quietly into the other sects; or else this party must make a conquest to their creed of all other religious parties. In the latter case, no distinctive name will be necessary—no sect will protest against the appellation of CHRISTIAN as invidious, as is now done.

That Mr. Campbell and his adherents look to such a consummation of their labors, is abundantly evident. They being right, and all other parties in Christendom being wrong, why should not such a victory be expected? "Truth is mighty and will prevail"—and as, in their own estimation, they have the truth, and effected a "Reformation," while all other Christian sects are groping in Babylon, who will blame them for aiming at universal dominion?

This party, with the "Argus eyes" of its religious leader, have struggled hard for other names, and there has been some diversity of opinion on the subject. At one period, "Reformers" took the ascendancy; at another time, "Disciples" seemed to preponderate. Probably a majority now use the name of *Christian*, as the descriptive term of their congregations, and they now have "The Christian Publication Society" and "The Christian Bible Society." But this term makes an invidious distinction, for the implication is made that they, and they only, are the followers of CHRIST.

Nine-tenths of the Christian community protest against this self-glorious monopoly, and with equal proportion have affixed to them the term we use, CAMPBELLITES.

Thomas and Alexander Campbell, father and son, were from the North of Ireland, where several sects of Scottish Presbyterians exist. Presbyterians from Scotland in large numbers came into the province of Ulster from 150 to 200 years since. The Campbells belonged to the Seceders, or as they denominated themselves, Associate Reformed Presbyterians. The Seceders in Scotland separated from the regular Scottish Kirk in 1732, at the head of which separation was Rev. Ralph Erskine, with several other distinguished ministers. Previous

to this rupture, there were secessions in the Scottish Kirk, but to what extent these sects formed the migratory population to Ireland, we know not. Of all Christian communions, the Scotch Presbyterians have been the most successful in making parties. Whether the native independence of the Scottish mind, its characteristic obstinacy of opinion, or some other cause, produces this tendency to division, we shall not attempt to decide. But this element of national character should not be overlooked in our review of the history and progress of Campbellism.

We think the Rev. Thos. Campbell, the father, immigrated to Western Pennsylvania before the son, probably before he completed his studies in Glasgow University. Both, probably, had commenced the line of departure from Ultra-Presbyterianism, before they left their native land. They were evidently approaching independency in Church government. We think it was in 1809 that Rev. Thomas Campbell made application to join a presbytery in Washington county, Pa.; but, on examination, he was rejected, as he refused to acknowledge the standards of that Church.* They gathered a small congregation in Washington county, and to this people he and his son, Alexander, administered, on a platform independent of the other sects. They started in the right direction, by regarding the Scriptures as their sole guide in search of Divine truth, and the New Testament as their only authority in the gathering of Christian Churches, and on the ordinances of Jesus Christ.

Travelling in this direction, in 1812, they found themselves on the platform of the Baptists. The older ministers and Churches of the Red-Stone Association were tenacious of the dogmas found in the little book, which, from being printed and circulated under the *recommendation* of the Philadelphia Association, in 1742, was popularly called "*The Philadelphia Confession of Faith.*" The Baptists then, as now, received the

* Arianism then prevailed in the Presbyterian Church of the North of Ireland. Its friends bitterly opposed the subscription of a creed. The Trinitarians, its opponents, generally urged a subscription. Dr. Cooke of Belfast, since so eminent for extending Arianism, was ordained in 1808, and succeeded a pastor believed to be Arian. Men coming from this region of Ireland, and decrying the subscription to the Westminster Confession, were naturally, whether justly or not, regarded with apprehension.—EDITHA.

Scriptures as their only ultimate rule of faith and practice. But in the Red-Stone Association, at an early period of its history, a rule had been adopted requiring a Church, when offering or union in the body, to declare its belief in this Confession. This rule had been virtually suspended by disuse, before the Campbells offered themselves.

The following extract of a letter from the late Rev. David Jones to a correspondent in Philadelphia, dated June 22d, 1812, and found in the "*Baptist Missionary Magazine*," September, 1812, gives the account of the baptism of the Messrs. Campbells:—

In the first week in this month, the Rev. Thomas Campbell, a seceder minister in Washington county, and his wife and daughter; and also, his son, young Mr. Campbell, and his wife, with one more, were all baptized, in Buffalo Creek, by our brother Matthias Luce, who is pastor of Ten-Mile church, Washington county, Pa. On this interesting occasion, Mr. Campbell, senior, spake three hours and a-half, at the water, to a large auditory. * * * * *

He sweeps all before him (adds the writer). He has baptized a number since his own baptism, and his church bids fair soon to be the largest in the State. Young brother Campbell is a good scholar, and a man of talents. He spake on the occasion one hour and a-half; wherein he made an eminent display of his knowledge in Greek.

Good old Dr. Jones was enthusiastic and sanguine, and introduced the Campbells to the Baptist denomination, through our only periodical, with quite a flourish of trumpets.

Mr. Campbell says:*

He and his father, Thomas Campbell, renounced the Presbyterian system, and were immersed in the year 1812. They, and the congregations which they formed, united with the Red-Stone Baptist Association; protesting against all human creeds as bonds of union, and professing subjection to the Bible alone. This union took place in the year 1813; but in pressing upon the attention of that Society and the public, the insufficiency of the sacred Scriptures for everything necessary to the perfection of the Christian character, whether in the private or social relations, in the Church or in the world, they began to be opposed by a strong creed party in that Association. After some ten years debating and contending for the Bible alone, and the Apostles' doctrine, Alexander Campbell, and the church to which he belonged, united with the Mahoning Association, in the Western Reserve of Ohio; that Association being more favorable to his views of reform.

Mr. C. is mistaken in naming the year 1813, as the time when they were received by the Association. The Minutes before us for 1815, for the first time mentions the reception

* Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge, Art. DISCIPLES.

of *Brush-Run* Church, with the names of Thomas Campbell A. Campbell and J. Foster, all marked as ordained ministers. No. of members, 32. The church of Washington, with Elder Charles Wheeler for pastor, was received the same session. Mr. Wheeler was from New England, and sustained himself in Washington by teaching an academy. The truth is, there were jealousies and doubts on both sides. The Campbells were afraid of the rigidly Calvinistic doctrines held in the Association, and some of the ministers and churches had their suspicions about the soundness of the doctrines of the other party; and it was well to prolong the time, and obtain more knowledge of each other's views of what the Scriptures teach.

At the next session of the Association, Elder A. Campbell commenced the work of a "Reformer," or, at least, a radical innovator. He preached a sermon before the Association on what is popularly called the "Moral Law," or Ten Commandments, from Rom. viii. 3: "*For what the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God, sending His own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin, condemned sin in the flesh.*"

Much dissatisfaction was shown by the brethren after the delivery of this discourse. The old Baptist fathers pronounced it heterodox. They fancied that under such loose and incongruous views of the Divine law, they saw the germ of errors far more dangerous than appeared with clearness in the discourse. Another class were carried away with the novelty of the subject, regarding the young man as a profoundly learned theologian, while those who presumed to call his doctrine in question, were, they knew, but plain, old-fashioned preachers, who had never been trained in a college! It was an easy matter to obtain a call from this class to write out and publish the discourse. So the title page before us reads, "*The Substance of a Sermon, delivered before the Red-Stone Baptist Association, met at Cross Creek, Brooke county, Va., on the first September, 1816. By Alexander Campbell, one of the pastors of the church of Brush-Run, Washington county, Pa.*"

The starting point in Mr. Campbell's project of "Reform,"

was to invent or find a new terminology in dogmatic and practical theology. Disregarding the peculiar and long-established meaning to the terms in common use, and which were understood by all classes of writers, he sent forth his peculiar notions in a new dress. The result might have been foreseen, that he would not be understood by his readers, except those who had opportunity to be trained in the new vocabulary. He discarded the language of "Babylon" for that of Canaan." Then, the author through all his writings is singularly hypercritical. Shallow minds take this as an evidence of scholarship. As a specimen of this habit, which began in early life, we give the introductory paragraph to the sermon on the law:—

Words are signs of ideas or thoughts. Without [unless] words are understood, ideas or sentiments, can neither be communicated nor received. Words, that in themselves are quite intelligible, may become difficult to understand in different connections and circumstances. One of the most important words in our text is of easy signification, and yet, in consequence of its diverse usages and epithets, it is sometimes difficult precisely to ascertain what ideas should be attached to it. It is the term *law*. But by a close investigation of the context, and a general knowledge of the Scriptures, every difficulty of this kind may be easily surmounted.

No wonder the plain, illiterate old farmers about Cross creek looked grave, shrugged their shoulders, and felt mortified; and that the young sophomores, who had been to the academy, and obtained a smattering of grammar, thought such criticism was very learned. Whoever will take the trouble to wade through the volumes from the press at Bethany, will find the above specimen of learned criticism quite moderate. But to the sermon :

METHOD. 1. Ascertain what ideas we are to attach to the phrase, "*the law*," in this and similar portions of the sacred Scriptures.

2. Point out those things which the law could not accomplish.

3. Demonstrate the reason why the law failed to accomplish those objects.

4. Illustrate how God has remedied those relative defects of *the law*.

5. Deduce such conclusions from the premises, as must obviously and necessarily present themselves to every unbiased and reflecting mind.

Many "ideas or sentiments" in the discourse are truthful in themselves, but quite commonplace, and need not be repeated. Mr. C. is quite sensitive if his writings are criticised, without a literal quotation of all he has written on the

subject. We cannot accommodate him in this article. No huckster in the market would eat a whole ham to test its quality. It is enough for our purpose and that of our readers, to point out the veins of error that run through his system, without digging over the whole field.

The phrase, "the law," in the text, was expounded by the preacher to mean "*the whole law or dispensation of Moses.*" Mr. C. repudiates the old theological division of *moral, ceremonial, and judicial* law. No part of the divine statutes given to Israel were arranged in the form of modern statutes, each in separate chapters, and under distinctive heads. But who is there, unless he have a peculiar system to sustain, that does not perceive the popular distinction? Mr. C. criticises on the term "moral," as applied to the whole law on the tables of stone; because, according to its Latin etymology, it relates "to the conduct of men towards each other," and because all the rules of morality are not contained in the Decalogue.

In the "Christian Baptist" for August, 1829, in a series of articles on "Man in his primitive state, and under the patriarchal, Jewish, and Christian dispensations,"* Mr. C. affirms and argues that the Decalogue was the POLITICAL CONSTITUTION of the Jewish nation. This is reaffirmed in repelling the attack of the "Columbian Star" on this postulate,† and also in one of the early volumes of the "Millennial Harbinger." After a dissertation on covenants and constitutions, Mr. C. proceeds:

The constitution was pronounced by the living God, in words audible and distinctly heard by two millions of people. It was also written by the finger of God upon two blocks of marble. THIS CONSTITUTION WAS PERFECTLY POLITICAL. Few seem to appreciate its real character. Many insipid volumes have been written upon it, both since and before Durham wrote a quarto volume on the Ten Commandments. Some have called it the moral law of the whole spiritual kingdom; affirming that Adam was created under it; and that even the angels were under it as a rule of life; nay, that it is now, and ever will be, the law of the whole spiritual world. Yes, indeed, though it speaks of fathers, mothers, wives and children; houses, lands, slaves and cattle; murder, theft and adultery; yet it is the moral code of the universe.

I remember well when I was about to be cut off from a Baptist association, for affirming that this covenant or constitution at Sinai was not the moral law of the whole universe, nor the peculiar rule of life to Christians.

* Condensed volume, p. 574. † Ibid., 592.

I have said it was a POLITICAL CONSTITUTION, though religion and morality are delineated in it.

The allusion to being "cut off from a Baptist association" is to the Red Stone, in 1817. The writer was there, and was appointed to preach at the "stand," under the trees, to draw away the congregation from the house, while the association held a private conference with their brother Campbell, about his sermon on the law. Subsequently we were informed of the particulars. Mr. C., according to previous appointment, had prepared and read a circular letter on PREDESTINATION. It was an able essay, and regarded by the high-toned Calvinistic fathers as "strong meat," and tended to relieve their minds from the apprehensions they felt. Though the sermon was heterodox, the circular was sound; and they hoped the young brother would grow, so as to perceive the truth about the law of God with clearer vision. The extract we have given from "The Christian Baptist" shows that, in a dozen years, the progress they looked for was in the wrong direction.

It is plain and indisputable, that Mr. C. regards all the laws given by Moses to the Jews as repealed by Christ, though some were re-enacted again; and that we are to look for the principles of religious and moral obligation to the New Testament alone. Baptists, in contradistinction from Calvinistic Pedobaptists, have always maintained, that the terms of church membership, the nature and form of a Christian church, its discipline and government, the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper, the Christian ministry, and all that pertains to ecclesiastical order, are to be sought for in the New Testament; that Christian institutions are not Judaism elongated and modified, but derive their sole authority from the teachings of Jesus Christ and his inspired apostles. They never imagined the law of circumcision, or the Jewish ritual, or the civil and judicial laws of the Jewish nation, were of force for any length of time under the Christian dispensation. But they never supposed or advocated that the great principles of religious and moral obligation, spread over the Old Testament, and presented in the form of injunctions, prohibitions, warnings and examples, have ever been repealed. Why should they be? These principles, though

presented in the form of prohibitions, as in the Decalogue, present, as far as they go, the eternal distinctions of right and wrong, of sin and holiness. They emanated from the pure and perfect mind of God himself. Our readers neither desire nor expect that we should engage in a refutation of these vagaries of Alexander Campbell, about the Decalogue. It is enough to expose them, and thereby show his unfitness for the claims of a true Christian "Reformer."

Mr. C. has not stated *when* all the laws of the Jews were set aside and annulled by Christ. Was it during the period of his teaching? He says (Matt. v. 17-19), "Think not I am come to destroy the law, or the prophets: I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil; for verily I say unto you, Till heaven and earth shall pass away, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law till all be fulfilled. Whosoever, therefore, shall break one of these least commandments, and shall teach men so, he shall be called least in the kingdom of heaven."

Every biblical scholar knows that this is a Hebraistic form of speech—a mode of expressing perpetuity; and that "least in the kingdom of heaven" denotes exclusion therefrom. Christ certainly made a manifest distinction in the Jewish laws. The law of sacrifices he nailed to his cross, and thereby abolished the Jewish ritual. The political laws of the Jews, as a nation, came to an end at the destruction of Jerusalem, when the Jewish polity was entirely broken up, and that people remain to this day scattered among the nations of the earth, without a government of their own.

Campbellism has cast away the Old Testament Scriptures, as of no binding obligation. It is a valuable historical and antiquarian document; but all the laws written therein are of no force. We speak of the legitimate sequences from the postulate of the sermon, and the writings of Mr. Campbell and his followers.

Mr. C. admits "there are two principles, commandments, or laws, that are never included in our [his] observations respecting the law of Moses, *nor are they ever in holy writ call'd the law of Moses.* These are, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, soul, mind and strength, and thy neighbor as thyself.' These, our great prophet teaches us, are the basis of the law of Moses, and of the prophets: 'On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets.' Indeed, the Sinaitic law, and all Jewish law, is but a modification of them. These are of universal and

immutable obligation. Angels and men, good and bad, are forever under them. God, as our Creator, cannot require less; nor can we, as creatures and fellow-creatures, propose or expect less as the standard of duty and perfection. These are coëval with angels and men. They are engraven with more or less clearness on every human heart. These are the ground-work or basis of the law, written in the hearts of heathens, which constitute their conscience, or knowledge of right and wrong. By these their thoughts mutually accuse, or else excuse, one another. By these they shall be judged, or, at least, all who have never seen or heard a written law or revelation. But for these principles there had never been either law or gospel. Let it then be remembered, that in the Scriptures these precepts are the basis of all law and prophecy; consequently, when we speak of the law of Moses, we do not include these commandments, but that whole modification of them sometimes called the legal dispensation.*

This looks like an oasis in a desert. But this summary exposition of the principles of all divine law, was given by our Saviour, when he had put the infidel Sadducees to silence on the doctrine of the resurrection, in reply to a lawyer or scribe "tempting him," asking, "Master, which is the greatest commandment in the law?" (Matt. xxii. 37-40; Mark xii. 28-31; Luke x. 27.) Mr. Campbell, when he made the sermon, seems not to have been aware that Jesus quoted from the law given the Jews. (Deut. v. 4, 5. "Hear, O Israel; the Lord our God is one Lord. And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might.") This lesson the Jews were commanded to teach diligently to their children, "when thou sittest in thy house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up." In Leviticus xix. 18, is the command, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

Did it require the re-enactment of these two commands in the New Testament to preserve their binding force under the gospel dispensation? Mr. C. says, "These are of universal and immutable obligation." And yet these are laws revealed by Moses to the Jewish nation.

But what does Mr. C. and his followers make of the LAW OF GOD as the chief topic of the seventh of Romans? Why, Paul, in that chapter, said nothing about his personal experience. He wrote as the representative of the Jews, from

* Discourse on the Law, p. 9.

the days of Abraham to the period of his own conversion! Read his fanciful exposition.*

Paul in his own person represents the Jews, from the days of Abraham down to his own conversion." [Here he paraphrases.] "Where there is no law reaching to the conscience, and taking cognizance of our thoughts, we must be ignorant of sin. For every strong desire I would not have known to be sin, unless the law had said, 'Thou shalt not covet.' For without this knowledge sin was dead; that is, gave me no uneasiness; but under the restraints which the law imposed, it wrought effectually in me all strong desire. Now, the facts, that before the law was given in the days of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, I was alive without law—I never felt myself subject to death; for where no law is there is no transgression. But when the law was given, or when the commandment came from Mount Sinai, sin, which was dead in that state, revived, or came to life, and from the day of the entrance of the law, death was inflicted upon us Jews in a way of which there was no example before the promulgation of the law. For from the night in which the destroying angel passed through the houses of the Egyptians, until the law was promulged, not an Israelite died; but no sooner was the law given than every transgression and disobedience received a just recompense of reward; and all the way to Canaan death reigned through my transgression of positive law. So that the commandment which was to have been a rule and guide to the enjoyment of *this life* (!?) I found to lead to death. 'Besides, it is obvious,' says he, 'that the law is *spiritual*, that is, has respect not only to the outward actions, but, *in some of its precepts*, reaches the thoughts; but the people of which I am one, to whom that law was given, were a fleshly people, enslaved to appetite.

Hence the conflict betwixt conscience and inclination. We, or I, Paul, could not but approve the law of our minds; and yet we were, by passion and appetite, doing the things which we could not incline to do in our minds, enlightened by the law. So that it was not owing to any defect in the law, nor in my perceptions and approbation of it mentally, but in the inclinations and propensities to which a human being in this present state is unavoidably subjected—that I failed in finding happiness, peace and comfort under the law.

This paraphrase on Romans, seventh chapter, deserves a place in the "Christian Review," as a theological curiosity, as well as an exposition of Campbellism as a theological system. It is a fair *exposé* of the temerity of the man, the wildness of his imagination, and his skill in biblical exegesis!

That astute theologian and metaphysician, Samuel Hopkins, D. D., in a sermon on the Law of God, wrote to this effect: *That almost every error, in respect to the doctrine of the gospel, had its origin in an improper, incorrect, or imperfect view of the Law of God.* Of this fact, Mr. Campbell and the sect he has raised up, have already furnished sufficient illus-

* "Christian Baptist," Feb. 4, 1828. Condensed vol., p. 424. His new translation of the New Testament, 1st ed., p. 291.

tration. No such doctrine as conviction of sin by the law, and just views of one's exceeding sinfulness, appears prominent in any of Mr. Campbell's writing. And of the many "proclaimers" of the "Reformers" we have heard, not one did we hear address the conscience on the depravity of human nature, the just condemnation by the law of God, and the necessity of a radical change of heart by the mighty working of the Holy Ghost. There are men amongst them who preach old-fashioned doctrines to some extent, but they are deficient in clear views of divine truth, and their minds confused with some of the vagaries of the "ancient gospel." On the contrary, all "soul exercises" are discarded, as the result of modern preaching. All excitements and revivals—such as all evangelical Christians pray for and expect—form no part of this pseudo-"ancient gospel." Whatever theory of the work of the Holy Spirit on the minds of unconverted and unbaptized sinners, Mr. C. and his sect may admit in controversy, there is nothing practical in it. "Facts" are presented to the inquiring mind, which may be summed up in one leading fact, that "*Jesus Christ is the Son of God and the Saviour of men.*" Sinners are exhorted to believe this fact, and be baptized, in order to obtain remission of sins. Doctrinal truths are discarded. These are "*opinions,*" and not *principles* for discussion from the pulpit.

We have given Mr. Campbell's paraphrase on the law of God in the seventh of Romans. Let us contrast with it the views entertained by clear-headed and orthodox Christians in every age. Paul, as a mode of illustrating the effects of the law of God upon unregenerate and self-righteous sinners, who are full of vain confidence, and think themselves safe while in a lost state, by the mighty working of the Holy Spirit, narrates his personal experience. In this he portrays the internal working of the same mighty power in the consciences and hearts of thousands and millions of Jews and Gentiles.

While in blindness and unbelief, he felt alive. In his self-righteousness he was bitter in his opposition to Christ, mad against Christians, and thought he was doing God service in persecuting them in foreign cities. He knew the law (for the

allusion is made to the Decalogue); he had been trained in the school of Gamaliel, a strict Pharisee; the Jewish Scriptures had been a familiar study; he never doubted the divine mission and authority of Moses; he believed the *facts* therein recorded more fully and firmly than hundreds of Campbellites believe the "facts" of the Gospel, who have been baptized to procure the remission of sins. With other strict Jews, he looked for a coming Messiah, yet he declares himself to have been the "chief of sinners," while in this state. In this state of blindness and unbelief, he felt himself to be "alive," that is, righteous and doing the will of God—"alive without the law" in its spirituality and condemning power. Dr. Watts caught the correct meaning of the expression—

The law condemns and makes us know
What duties to our God we owe.

Look at that young man, Saul of Tarsus, as, with his attendants, he journeys along the road to Damascus. How proud and self-righteous! And yet how zealous, and what energy and enterprise, in the prosecution of his mission, does he evince! On what is his heart bent with a fixed purpose? To apprehend men and women, and commit them to prison, in hope that the Jewish tribunal will pass the sentence of death on them. Was that young man innocently ignorant of the Gospel, and would he have taken a different course had he enjoyed the opportunity of knowing better? The first we hear of him is at the martyrdom of Stephen, where he took charge of the outer garments of the infuriated men while stoning him to death. He heard that weighty and pungent discourse of the martyr, in which he proved from the Jewish Scriptures that it was the Messiah they had murdered. He heard his dying prayer, and his attestation that he saw Jesus sitting at the right hand of God. Yet all this made no impression on the obdurate heart and unbelieving mind of this sinner. A thousand Campbellites, with all their "facts," arguments, and eloquence, could not have converted that young man. Miracles were wrought at his conversion, but miracles alone are not the means, much less the efficient agency in the conversion of sinners. They

are proofs of a divine mission, but the most overwhelming proofs that God has spoken do not change the obdurate hearts of sinners. In every instance in which Paul alludes to his conversion, he ascribes it to such an Almighty agent as can change the hearts of men.

The instrumentality employed is the more prominent in the seventh of Romans, because the subject is the law of God. In this, and a part of the preceding chapter, the Apostle states the rise of the law—denies its power to justify, to save, or give life, and asserts its power to convince of sin.

The term *law*, in a restricted sense, and in common parlance, includes precepts and prohibitions given, and penalties threatened. In this connection, special reference is had to the Decalogue, as of binding authority on the conscience of every sinner: "*I had not known sin but by the law, for I had not known lust [selfish desires] except the law had said, Thou shalt not covet.*" Certainly, in this connection, the Apostle expresses his own views and feelings, and thereby illustrates the views and feelings of all others who are truly converted to God. He narrates his own experience, when in a sudden, miraculous, and overwhelming manner, the law of God, given by Moses, came with divine power to his heart and conscience; when he experienced an entire renovation of heart and character. In this he portrays the state of all unrenewed, self-righteous sinners—*alive*, righteous in their own estimation, and thinking favorably of themselves, of their condition, and future prospects.

When divine truth, shadowed forth in the Decalogue, came home to the conscience of Saul of Tarsus, he "died" to all legal hopes, all favorable thoughts of himself. He felt the law of God, in its spiritual power, condemning him—passing on him the sentence of eternal death. He was guilty of violating every principle of God's holy law. He was ruined, lost, and helpless. So it is with every sinner whose understanding is enlightened, and who sees himself in the glass of the divine law.

Some have fancied that, in his unconverted state, Saul was ignorant of the divine law, so as to be excusable, and that on account of that ignorance God had mercy on him. In 1 Tim.

i. 13, he affirms he "did it ignorantly in unbelief." And yet, in the immediate connection, he confessed he was before a "blasphemer," because he was a reviler of the true Messiah when the evidence was before him. He was a "persecutor," and sought the lives of Jewish Christians. "*Injurious*" does not express the force of the original, (*ὕβριστής*) which expresses the malicious temper with which he was actuated. This word occurs only in one other place in the New Testament (Rom. i. 30), where it is rendered "despiteful." Paul refers to the wickedness of his heart and conduct in the connection, and to the amazing grace of the Lord in putting him into the ministry, and not as an apology for his intentions or conduct. Yet, there were other Jews who, being more enlightened, and having been witnesses of the miracles wrought by Jesus Christ, by the agency of the Holy Spirit, who blasphemed the Holy Ghost, whose malice was far more intense than his, and who, doubtless, were prominent actors in the tragedy of Calvary, and who, against great light, sinned wilfully. Contrasted with these sinners, there were mitigating circumstances in the case of Paul, to which he alludes, that other persecutors and revilers, should they become penitent, might not despair of divine mercy.

The palliations and excuses of men about the conduct of sinners, given as reasons *why* God will have mercy on them, originate in mistaken and short-sighted views of divine justice, and the nature of the redemption there is in Christ. All such notions imply that God has mercy on sinners, *because* they are not very bad, have been somewhat unfortunate, and it would not be fair and equitable to punish such mistaken persons in a future state.

Such implications run through the writings of Campbellites, and we have often heard their "proclaimers," and preachers of other sects, too, who had no correct views of the claims of God's law on the consciences of all men, assert this.

Some have surmised that there was not time enough during the process of Saul's conversion, for such a succession of thoughts and emotions as he narrates in Rom. vii. 9-11. We know very little of the rapidness or the distinctness of men-

tal phenomena, in peculiar states of mind. Before us is a case reported by a distinguished physician of a drowning person, who was resuscitated after being under water about ten minutes, during which he lost consciousness. For a period he retained a vivid recollection, knew he was drowning, and expected to be in eternity in a few moments. During the brief period of consciousness it seemed to him that every occurrence of his life, from childhood, came into his memory, and that he dwelt on each particular with exactness, as if days and weeks were employed in a series of mental operations.

At least, during the present state of knowledge of mental phenomena, we prefer to believe in the testimony of Paul, while narrating a portion of his past experience.

Through his voluminous writings, Mr. Campbell furnishes no direct evidence that he believes or preaches such a work of the law on the minds of unconverted sinners, as a requisite to convince them of their sinfulness and guilt. And in hearing no small number of "proclaimers of the ancient gospel," within thirty years past, who affiliated with the Campbellite system as a whole, none appeared to aim at convincing sinners by the law. It appeared to us that their "ancient gospel" was addressed to *men* as rational creatures, and a method of salvation urged by believing the divine testimony concerning Jesus Christ as "the Son of God and Saviour of men," and urging baptism as the means of remission of sins, with other Christian duties to follow. They did not address sinners as lost, condemned, and hopeless, without the special interposition of divine mercy. Punishment, in this system, is threatened against those who reject these gospel offers, and not mankind universally.

Mr. C. has reiterated, through his writings, that the belief in *one fact*, and the performance of *one act*, are the only things necessary to Christian discipleship. He declares, "*The belief of ONE FACT is all that is requisite, as far as faith goes, to salvation.*" This "one fact" is defined in the language improved at Bethany, "that Jesus, the Nazarene, is the Messiah." The "one act" is "Christian immersion."

Mr. Campbell's defective and faulty exegesis should not be

overlooked. This appears throughout his periodicals. He assumes that whatever is not expressed in a form of words that suits his views, is not contained therein by inference and fair deduction. Thus, because the Jewish laws were not specifically arranged into *moral*, *ceremonial* and *judicial*, he denies the distinction. So if every vice that men may practice in any age or part of the world, or every vicious inclination of the heart, be not prohibited, there is no law to condemn. Because the Decalogue did not specify all the sins men could commit, and enjoin all the duties of life, therefore it belonged to the Jews, and perished with Judaism.

As an illustration of this superficial and defective method of interpreting the Scriptures, we give the following extracts from the sermon on the law (p. 7):

A second objection to denominating the ten precepts "the moral law," presents itself to the reflecting mind, from the consideration that all morality is not contained in them. When it is said that the commandments are "the moral law," does not this definite phrase imply that all morality is contained in them? But is this the fact? Are the immoralities called drunkenness, fornication, polygamy, divorce on trifling accounts, retaliation, etc., prohibited in the ten precepts? This question may be answered in the negative. If it be asked, is all immorality prohibited in this saying, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself"? we would answer, yes; but it is the, so-called, moral law we are speaking of. We affirm, then, that the above immoralities are not prohibited in the Decalogue, according to the most obvious construction of the words.

We give another illustration of his defective and faulty exegesis on the Great Commission, as recorded by Matthew, (chap. xxviii. 19, 20.)

The commission for converting the world, teaches that immersion was necessary to discipleship; for Jesus said, "Convert the nations, immersing them in the name," etc. The construction of the sentence fairly indicates that no person can be a disciple, according to the commission, who has not been immersed. [*Rule.*] For the active participle in connection with an imperative, either declares the manner in which the imperative shall be obeyed, or explains the meaning of the command. To this I have not found an exception:—for example, "Cleanse the house, sweeping it; cleanse the garment, washing it; cultivate the field, plowing it;" shows the manner in which the command is to be obeyed, or explains the meaning of it. Thus: "Convert (or disciple) the nations, immersing them, and teaching them to observe," etc., expresses the manner in which the command should be obeyed.*

If the apostles had only preached, and not immersed, they would not have converted the hearers according to the Commission. And if they had immersed, and not taught them to observe the commands of the Saviour, they would have been transgressors. A disciple, then, according to the Commission, is one who has heard the gospel, believed, and been

* Vide note foot of p. 516.

immersed. A disciple indeed, is one that continues in keeping the commandments of Jesus.

We shall not attempt to correct this spurious exegesis. Every reader of the Greek Testament, who has not a peculiar system to maintain, will perceive its fallacy. Francis Xavier, the enterprising Jesuit Missionary, wrote back from India, urging that a number of priests might be sent out for the special purpose of baptizing the docile natives; that they need not wait to learn the language of the people, as thousands were willing to become Christians by receiving baptism. Pity he had not learned this rule of exegesis.

Dr. George Campbell remarks on the Commission: (Notes on Matt. xxviii. 19, 20.) "There are manifestly three things which our Lord here distinctly enjoins his apostles to execute with regard to the nations, to wit: *μαθητευειν*, (*matheteuein*;) *βαπτιζειν*, (*baptizein*;) *διδασκειν*, (*didaskain*;) that is, to convert them to the faith, to initiate the converts into the church by baptism, and to instruct the baptized in all the duties of the Christian life."

It is on this fallacious mode of interpretation that Mr. Campbell builds his system. His dogma of baptismal regeneration, which he thinks differs in its supposed effects from that of the "Fathers," and the "creeds" of spurious churches, depends on a peculiar method of interpreting John iii. 5; Titus iii. 5, and other places. In his "EXTRA," No. I., on "Remission of Sins—the Christian immersion," he has *twelve propositions*. The first six are reduced to one, in the following words:

The converts made to Jesus Christ by the apostles were taught to consider themselves pardoned, justified, sanctified, reconciled, adopted, and saved; and were addressed as pardoned, justified, sanctified, reconciled, adopted, and saved persons, by all who first preached the gospel of Christ.

All this would pass without notice were it not for the misuse and misapplication made of these terms. He adds:

While this proposition is before us, it may be expedient to remark that all these terms are expressive, not of any quality of mind; not of any personal attribute of body; but each of them represents, and all together represent, a *state or condition*.

The argument carried out is, that all these terms, "pardoned, justified, sanctified, reconciled, adopted, and

saved," express a CHANGE OF STATE, or relationship to God, and not a change of heart, or internal work.

This "change of state" is produced by "*belief in one fact,*" and the performance of "*one act*"—that of "Christian immersion." The corollary is, that no person is changed in his "state," or relationship to God, unless baptized.

PROPOSITION VII. is in these words: "A change of heart, though it necessarily precedes, is, in no case, equivalent to a change of state."

In the gospel method of salvation, as taught by all sound Christians, a change of heart, with its consequents, faith, repentance, love, etc., is equivalent to a change of state, or relationship to God, through the mediation of Jesus Christ; and no person is entitled to baptism until he can give scriptural evidence that his state, or relationship to God, has been changed from that of a guilty sinner to a pardoned believer in Christ. Mr. Campbell's analogies about the marriage relation, crossing the Ohio river from the State of Virginia to the State of Ohio, etc., are all physical changes, and furnish neither proof or light on spiritual things.

"PROPOSITION VIII.—*That the gospel has in it a command, and as such must be obeyed.*"

Here is the grand fallacy of the system—the fatal error that runs through the whole. This is the main pillar, and if this be overthrown, the whole system falls. This "command is, 'Be immersed,' without which no one is pardoned, justified, sanctified, reconciled, adopted, [nor] saved," in this life. In the following propositions Mr. C. attempts to prove this dogma from the Scriptures, in which the same false exegesis that we have exposed, is prominent.

Proposition XI. proves it as follows:

"*All the Apostolical Fathers, as they are called; all the pupils of the Apostles, and all the ecclesiastical writers of note, of the four Christian centuries, whose writings have come down to us, allude to, and speak of Christian immersion, as the 'regeneration' and 'remission of sins,' spoken of in the New Testament.*" This history, with many exceptions, is correct. But we deny the correctness of the interpretation of these "Fathers and ecclesiastical writers," as we do that of our modern "Reformer."

Mr. C. is a Babylonian. For more than a quarter of a century he has been wandering in one of the most ancient and darkest lanes of the mystical city. He proclaimed to the world in 1830, his skill and safe pilotage to guide the "sects" out of the labyrinth of Rome. But to our mortification, and the disappointment of thousands, *he* is there still. He has brought men, whose false exegesis of sundry passages of Scripture is false (the same used by the "Reformer"), to prove his own orthodoxy. He quotes from Clement, Hermas, Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, and others, without the least discrimination between the authentic and the spurious of these writings. He quotes Wall, to prove that ancient writers called baptism regeneration.

All this may or may not be true, *historically*, but it furnishes evidence that Mr. Campbell and these "Fathers" concur in their manner of exegesis. The Romanists and High Churchmen will agree with him, although they may differ about the particular effect produced by the "birth of water," this baptismal regeneration scheme.

The "Fathers" and the Roman Catholic Church, for which these fallacious interpretations laid the foundation, had some vague notions of a moral effect produced by baptism, in the removal of original sin; but we are not quite certain whether it was the moral pollution or the guilt that was removed. Mr. C.'s scheme effects a "change of state." We are not certain but that dogma was what the "Fathers" and the early Romanists aimed to express. Of course Mr. C. thinks so, or he never would have quoted such authorities to sustain his dogma of baptism for the remission of sins.

The phrases, "born of water and of the Spirit," (John iii. 5;) "Arise and be baptized and wash away thy sins," (Acts xxii. 16;) "But ye are washed, sanctified, justified, etc., (1 Cor. vi. 11;) "That he might sanctify and cleanse it by the washing of water and the Word," (Eph. v. 26;) "Washing of regeneration," (Titus iii. 5,) have all been perverted by false exegesis, that has led to some of the most fatal errors in Christendom. Mr. Campbell gives the same interpretation to all these passages that have been given by other errorists from an early period.

To all this we oppose a RULE OF INTERPRETATION in the following words:

ALL LAWS REQUIRING PHYSICAL ACTS IN THEIR OBEDIENCE, MUST BE EXPRESSED IN WORDS ACCORDING TO THEIR MOST COMMON AND LITERAL MEANING.

Christian baptism cannot be performed figuratively. It is a PHYSICAL ACT; and throughout the New Testament it is invariably expressed by a word used literally. The word baptize is used figuratively, as in Mark x. 38, 39, to express overwhelming sufferings; but when the law of Christian baptism is mentioned, or alluded to, the word is used in its literal sense. If this were not the case, no one could understand the law, and know how to perform the duty required. Abstract ideas, mental emotions, spiritual thoughts, and the work of the Holy Spirit in all his manifestations, are necessarily expressed in figurative language. There is no human language to express spiritual ideas, hence the use of similitudes. Hence if the Bible does teach moral phenomena, it is in words used figuratively.

Allied to this, we give another specimen of the Campbellite exegesis, on the terms born and begotten, in the English Testament. These terms occur frequently in the Gospel and first Epistle of John. Paul uses the terms that denote the communication of life, as resurrection, quickening, etc., to express the same ideas that John expresses by the terms "born" and "begotten." Mr. Campbell attempts to make an important distinction between these terms, though every Greek scholar knows they are the same in the original. He reasons *physiologically*, that "begotten" must precede "birth," and talks about persons being impregnated by the Word. We give a specimen of his exegetical logic:

Persons are begotten by the Spirit of God, impregnated by the Word, and born of water. In one sense a person is born of his father, but not until he is first born of his mother. So in every place where water and Spirit, or water and the Word, are spoken of, *the water stands first*. Every child is born of its father when it is born of its mother. Hence the Saviour put the mother first, and the apostles follow him. * * *

Now as soon as, and not before, a disciple, who has been begotten of God, is born of water, he is born of God, or of the Spirit. *Regeneration is, therefore, the act of being born.**

One branch of this great mission, self-imposed on this redoubtable Reformer, was to restore to the "sects," which he proffered to lead out of Babylon, "a pure speech." He was to make the Christian system so plain, that every person could understand it, and therefore become a Christian.

Dr. Jeter calls the language quoted, "unintelligible jargon," at which Mr. C. waxes quite wrathful. At the risk of a volley of displeasure from Bethany, we express the same opinion, and shall be mistaken if a similar impression is not produced on the minds of our readers.

Can such expositions lead men into the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures?

But what is the true exposition of John iii. 5—Titus iii. 5—and the "washings," mentioned by the inspired writers? One general principle pervades them all.

Nicodemus, a member of the Jewish council, and a teacher of the Old Testament in Israel, was seriously disposed. He had heard Jesus preach and seen him perform miracles. In modern parlance, he would be called "an anxious inquirer." Naturally, he was courageous, of which he gave proof, by boldly aiding Joseph in preparing the body of Jesus for burial, when all his disciples had fled. He desired a private interview, when he could converse without interruption; therefore he visited him by night, when the multitude had retired. The manner of his introduction is proof that he was far from the condition of a proud Pharisee, or a self-righteous unbelieving Jew: "*Rabbi, we know thou art a teacher sent from God: for no man can do the miracles thou doest, except God be with him.*" Jesus instructed him in two fundamental lessons of the Christian system: First, the necessity of a spiritual change, a renovation of man's moral nature, purifying him from sin. Second, he unfolds the Gospel method of salvation, through an atonement—a Divine mediator, by an allusion to the serpent being placed on high, in the wilderness, as the only antidote to the dying Israelites; then, by the annunciation, that "God so loved the world that he gave his only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life."

The first lesson, of course, is taught in figurative lan-

guage: for it could have been taught in no other—" *Except a man be born again (or from above), he cannot see the kingdom of God.*" The marvel was, that Nicodemus should take this for a literal birth. He did not comprehend the allusion; though "born again" was a Hebraistic simile to denote making a proselyte to civil privileges, among the Jew s*

Did Christ leave this inquiring Jew under his mistake, and talk in blind and unintelligible terms about baptism, and yet not employ a word that would express the ordinance? Did he turn from the subject of a new birth, and talk about an institution of the Christian dispensation, about which Nicodemus made no inquiry, and concerning which he needed no instruction? He proceeds to enlighten him on the new birth, by an allusion, that as a student of the Prophets and a teacher in Israel, he ought to have understood.

" *Except a man be born of water, even of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.*" We use the term *even*, as expressing exactly the relation of two or more figures, different in form, but containing the same idea. *Kai* has this use frequently.† The style is Hebraistic.

Reference must be had to the Old Testament, where water, in all its forms of application, is employed to express the influence of the Gospel, through the mighty working of the Holy Spirit, under the reign of the Messiah. We give the following examples from many others: "In the wilderness shall waters break out, and streams in the desert; and the parched ground shall become a pool, and the thirsty land springs of water." (Isai. xxxv. 6, 7.) "For I will pour out water on him that is thirsty, and floods upon the dry ground. I will pour out my Spirit upon thy seed, and my blessing upon thine offspring; and they shall spring up as among the grass, as willows by the water-courses." (Chap. xlv. 3, 4.) Here is a parallelism with John iii. 5; a common Hebraism, where two or more figurative phrases are employed to express the same idea; as pouring out water, and pouring out the Spirit. We need not say to scholars that the term "Spirit" is a figurative expression, the same as

* Gill in loco.

† Sharp on the Greek article. Parkhurst's Greek Lexicon, Art. *Kai*, No. 3.

water is. So, born again, and born of water, *even* of the Spirit; "washing of regeneration, *even* the renewing of the Holy Ghost, which he shed on us abundantly, through Jesus Christ our Saviour," is to be interpreted by the same rule.

In reference to the salvation of the Jews, under the Gospel, the Prophet Ezekiel uses the following language: "Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean; from all your filthiness and all your idols will I cleanse you. And a new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you; and I will take away the stony heart out of your flesh, and I will give you a heart of flesh. And I will put my Spirit within you, and cause you to walk in my statutes etc.," (Chap. xxxvii. 25-27.)

The allusion in John iii. 5, was to the language of the prophets, which Nicodemus ought to have perceived, and not to baptism, as some have fancied. Not a word was said on that subject during the discourse, so far as John, or any inspired writer, has given testimony.

As a further illustration, the Saviour refers to the wind blowing as it listeth, as a matter not within the range of ordinary comprehension. All this was new and marvellous to the Jewish teacher; yet he manifested an humble and docile temper, and the presumption is, he went away greatly enlightened with these new views of the Gospel method of salvation.

It is not strange that in the early ages of Christianity, learned and good men should have indulged in such vain and ruinous speculations, as to fancy that baptism was taught in the figurative passages we have considered. Their imaginations were exuberant and unrestrained in the absence of just and fixed rules of exegesis. They wandered wherever fancy guided them, and baptism soon became a Soul-Saving Institution. Whether they regarded it efficacious in changing the *heart*, or the *state* of the subject, we cannot so readily determine. Whether it was the means appointed of God to remove the *guilt* of original sin, or its *moral pollution* in the soul, is not of material importance. Either view was radically wrong. Not finding anything to their purpose, where the institution was mentioned in the New Testament,

they looked where "water" and "washing" occurred, and thus opened the highway for a long series of errors that still afflicts three-fourths of Christendom. What a pity our modern Scotch "Reformer" could find nothing more truthful or substantial than this antiquarian error of baptismal regeneration, sustained by false exegesis, on which to establish his sect.

We ought not to dispose of this branch of the subject, without exposing the false exegesis about the "remission of sins" by baptism. Certain passages in the Apostolic writings, without regard to their connection, on the rule of comparing Scripture with Scripture, or any correct rule of interpretation, are reiterated by the "Reformers," as though repetition would give them force and meaning. The fallacy of this dogma has been detected and exposed by at least a dozen of able writers in our periodicals, and by sundry pamphlets and volumes, and, yet, it is repeated with all confidence and assurance. We select the expression in Acts ii. 38, as the most plausible: "*Then said Peter unto them, Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of the Lord Jesus, for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost.*"

An old and common sense rule of interpretation has existed among plain and unlearned Baptists—that we should compare Scripture with Scripture to find out its meaning. Peter was acting, for the first time, under the commission, or series of instructions, given to the Apostles by Jesus Christ after his resurrection from the dead. Our opinion is, that these instructions, as recorded by Matthew, Mark and Luke, were given at various interviews, during the forty days before the ascension. This was specially the case with the words recorded by Luke (xxiv. 45–49): "*Then opened he their understanding, that they might understand the Scriptures, and said unto them, 'Thus it is written, and thus it behooved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead on the third day. And that REPENTANCE AND REMISSION OF SINS SHOULD BE PREACHED IN HIS NAME, among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem. And behold ye are witnesses of these things. And behold I send the promise of my Father upon you: but tarry at Jerusalem until ye be endued with power from on high.'*"

It appears from the narration that he then led them out to

Bethany, near where the Mount of Olives was situated, "and lifted up his hands and blessed them." While performing that act, "he was parted from them, and carried up into heaven." (Compare Acts i. 4-9, by the same historian.)

The Apostles returned to Jerusalem, and with a company of disciples, men and women, where they engaged in prayer daily, for the period of eight or ten days. Here was the first Christian Church in an organic form, being in number about one hundred and twenty persons. The members chose from their own body Matthias, to the office of Apostle, in place of Judas; "and when the day of Pentecost was fully come, they were all, with one accord, in one place." This was, probably, in the Temple. Then followed the baptism of the Holy Ghost—that "gift" which was foretold by John the Baptizer. The most prominent and lasting effect was the ability to speak intelligibly in the languages of the nations with whom they would hold intercourse, and where the Jews were dispersed.

The phenomena, exhibited miraculously on the occasion, were the testimony of God to the Divine mission and Messiahship of Christ, and of his ascension on high. All these displays of Divine power were soon noised through the city, and brought together, in great numbers, two classes of people. The first mentioned were "devout Jews," from all the nations where that people were dispersed, and who, at this crisis, had come to Jerusalem to keep the national festival. These were "amazed" and "marvelled," to hear these Galileans speak in the languages where they resided, and which they spoke as their vernacular. They did not mock or revile, but said "one to another, What meaneth this?"

Another class mocked, and charged the Apostles with inebriation. Peter, standing up with the eleven, addressed the revilers—declared that this strange and marvellous work had been foretold by the Prophet Joel—arrayed before them the proofs of the Divine mission and power of Jesus Christ, who, being "delivered" into their hands, "by the determinate council and foreknowledge of God," their "wicked hands had crucified and slain, but that God had raised him from the dead." He brought home to their consciences proof upon proof, that Jesus of Nazareth was the true Messiah, and only Saviour of sinners.

"Now, when they heard this, they were pricked in their heart." The word rendered "pricked," as our judicious critics remark, answers precisely to our word *compunction*, and denotes sudden and acute grief. They were filled with anxiety and alarm. Their guilty consciences were suddenly aroused to moral sensitiveness. They were filled and overwhelmed with sorrow and consciousness of guilt, that they had put to death their own Messiah; they feared and deprecated his wrath, for he was alive, and Lord over all. They had imbrued their hands in the blood of an innocent person, and that person now was King, with infinite power; the Governor of the world. They expressed the emotions of sinners under deep conviction of their sinfulness and guilt, and cried out, in the agony of their souls, "*Men and brethren, what shall we do?*"

Here were three thousand sinners, on the brink of despair, crying to Peter for instruction and hope. What a fearful responsibility rests on that man! Not two months had passed away since he shrunk from his duty; fear overwhelmed him, and he denied his Lord. But he became truly penitent on the spot, received forgiveness, and is now honored as the presiding apostle on this memorable occasion. His directions are simple, plain, intelligible, and in exact accordance with the instructions given him on the day of the ascension. "*And that repentance and remission of sins should be preached IN HIS NAME, among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem.*" In exact accordance with these instructions, "*Peter said unto them, Repent and be baptized, every one of you, IN THE NAME OF JESUS CHRIST, FOR THE REMISSION OF SINS.*"

It would violate much that is affirmed in other passages of Scripture, upon the forgiveness of sins through faith in Christ, besides involving the subject in a hundred inconsistencies, were we to put the construction on this text, that the remission of sins is obtained through baptism, as do the Campbellites. But to connect remission of sins *with the name of Jesus Christ* is in harmony with the tenor of Scripture, wherever the phrase, "the name of the Lord," occurs.

But what was the effect of the teaching of Peter? "*Then they that gladly received his word were baptized,*" etc. Were

they baptized in an impenitent state? By no means. Were they baptized under the pressure of a guilty conscience, that they might obtain relief thereby? Certainly not. "They gladly received his word." The term *αἰνεῖως* signifies joyfully, readily, willingly. It expresses exactly the state of mind a true penitent feels, when the guilt of sin is removed from his conscience, and he rejoices in the pardoning mercy of God. The instructions given to Peter were to preach the remission of sins, by virtue of "*the name of Jesus Christ.*"

The "*name of the Lord,*" in reference to Christ, we have traced through both the Old and New Testaments. It conveys something more than mere authority to act. Calling on the name of the Lord has the promise of salvation, and by consequence of forgiveness. (Acts iv. 12; Rom. x. 13, *et al.*) The phrase expresses the office work of Christ as Mediator. Remission of sins, according to Luke, as already repeated, is obtained only through the *name of the Lord*. The instructions recorded by Luke say nothing about baptism. If baptism was the appointed instrumentality of remission, surely the divine Teacher would never have omitted it in his discourse, while giving specific instructions to the apostles how to begin their work in Jerusalem. In Acts ii. 38, baptism is not represented as the procuring cause of remission, but, as in all other instances where a mention is made of the ordinance, as a *sign* or attestation of pardon. It represents, as a symbol, our being dead to sin and alive unto God. No one should be baptized until he can give the church and the administrator satisfactory evidence that he is *in Christ Jesus* by a true and living faith, and can enter into his service joyfully.

These observations will apply to all the other fragments of Scripture, that by a false exegesis are made to teach a dogma not in accordance with the general tenor of Scripture where baptism is mentioned.

There is another topic quite as important as any on which we have written, that for want of space we can only give a passing notice. **THIS IS THE WORK OF THE HOLY SPIRIT IN REGENERATION AND CONVERSION.** Mr. Campbell, after being hard pressed by several opponents, and as a polemical con-

trovertist, and putting forth his best tactics to evade a direct reply, admits the doctrine in theory, but with so much drawback, and so many qualifications, as to leave many in doubt whether he believes the doctrine in a truly evangelical sense. For many years he affirmed the Spirit to be *in* the word, and adopted the illustration of Elder Walter Scott, one of his earliest and firmest adherents, that as the cutler, in making and tempering the sword, conveys to the weapon his own skill, and it really becomes a sharp-cutting instrument, so the Holy Spirit, as the author of the word of truth, has given it effective power.

It is certain that many prominent men of the sect of no mean acquisitions, not only discard all spiritual influence in quickening the sinner, but they revile and ridicule all such agency. One of the order, who was quite successful in making proselytes in Illinois and Missouri, some years since, and baptizing large numbers "for the remission of sins," was quite bold in his denunciations of all direct spiritual influence before baptism.

He had the talent of a "stump orator," and his style of address was well calculated to arouse and excite the interest of the rude and thoughtless. Sober-minded Christians, and even some of his party, were mortified and pained to hear him. "Where did the Spirit strike you? On your head? in your leg? or under the fifth rib?" are specimens of the blasphemous ribaldry he poured forth.

But whatever *theory* Mr. C. and his fraternity may entertain about the mighty working of the Holy Spirit in regeneration and conversion, it has no practical influence on their mode of working. Prayer for spiritual influence to convert sinners is discarded by the system. Sinners who are in a state of inquiry are not instructed to pray for mercy and pardon, but to be baptized as the antidote to all their spiritual troubles.

One fact deserves notice. We have looked over a dozen volumes of the "Harbinger," where, in some of the last pages, the caption, "*News from the churches*," is found. This contains extracts from correspondents throughout the connection, of religious meetings, often protracted for several days, and

the number of conversions by baptism. In not a single instance did we find any direct expression, or even an allusion, to the agency of the Holy Spirit in the work. There is a remarkable uniformity in these reports. Practically, the agency of the Holy Spirit has no place in this modernized "ancient gospel." For further facts and proofs on this subject, we refer our readers to "CAMPBELLISM EXAMINED," by Rev. Dr. Jeter, who has discussed this subject in controversy with great clearness and power.

Mr. C. has some peculiar phrases he employs in setting forth the views of his opponents, that leads one to suspect he has attempted to restore a "pure speech" to mental science, as well as to Christianity. He represents others as teaching "that the Holy Spirit operates on the *naked spirit* of man, without His word and ordinances." He employs the terms "impact" and "contact." "*Physical*," to express the fact of the Spirit of God exerting an influence on the human spirit, has been employed so frequently, and for so many years, that we surmise he has some peculiar notions about spiritual existence. It resembles the twaddle of the "spirit-rappers," though Mr. C. is far from being a materialist. What peculiar metaphysical notions he has about the nature and mode of operations of a spirit, we cannot quite make out. His objection to the common doctrine of spiritual influence seems to originate in some peculiar philosophical notions. He appears to think that all ideas, thoughts and *emotions*, enter the mind through the bodily senses. Human spirits in this state of being, communicate with each other through the sensorial organs. But where is the philosophical objection against the Holy Spirit—an infinite and intelligent agent—while executing the work on earth assigned him by Jesus Christ, operating on the spiritual nature of man? Does any one fancy such an operation, resulting in a change of heart, will interrupt or destroy free agency, or the accountability of man? Every one knows that men, by arraying motives before the minds of their fellows, change their determination and course of action. The temperance reformation is an illustration of this fact. Has free agency been interrupted or destroyed in the reformed inebriate? The fact is,

the metaphysical speculations of the multitude, and of some men who think, are predicated on the properties and laws of material existence. If man (as is the fact) can influence the mind of his fellow-man through the medium of words, cannot the Infinite Spirit, who knows every spring of action and emotion, and every mode of access, so influence the spirit of man, as to produce a radical change of the affections, and form an entirely new character in him, without any encroachment on his free agency?

It appears to us that the objections to a radical change of heart, by the mighty working of the Holy Spirit, are as unphilosophical as they are unscriptural. The *truth* of such a change rests on two things: *First*, The testimony of God in the Scriptures. All human speculations are worthless, when placed in opposition to divine testimony. *Secondly*, On the fact, that great numbers of persons, in every period of the gospel history, have professed to be thus changed, and could give an intelligible account of its antecedents and consequences in their views and emotions. They have given ample proof of such a change by a new life—a life of holiness, and consecration to God. They have been turned from darkness to light—from hatred to love—and from the power of Satan to God. We do not call in question the instrumentality of the gospel, which the Holy Spirit honors by an efficiency that proves effectual. He *induces* sinners to receive the gospel, to repent of their sins, to believe in Jesus Christ; that is, *love* him and *trust* in him for pardon and redemption. The Holy Spirit imparts spiritual life where moral death reigned.

It would be instructive to trace the practical working of Campbellism in its stealthy introduction into the Baptist churches in the Mississippi Valley, through the agency of the CHRISTIAN BAPTIST; which, if not designed, was certainly managed with skill to produce certain effects. Its general course was to pull down indiscriminately whatever opposed the introduction of radical notions, under the plausible and unsuspected name of "Reformation."

At the period Mr. Campbell commenced openly and publicly his reforming process, there were many defects in doc-

trine and practice in the Baptist churches in this valley. Crude notions on Christian doctrines prevailed in some parts, that in former times would have been called *antinomian*. Amongst this class were great defects in both spirit and practice.

The churches were suffered to grow up in penurious habits about sustaining pastors. The habitual study of the Scriptures, family prayer, the religious education of children, and self-denying efforts to send the gospel to the destitute, with religious worship on every Lord's day, were too much neglected. What originated in necessity in the early and scattered settlements, became a custom of holding regular monthly meetings only, and the same minister attended three and four large churches.

Many of the ministers possessed a gift of exhortation, but were quite deficient in ability to expound the Scriptures, and teach the churches "all things" that Jesus Christ commanded. Intelligent ministers and laymen saw these evils, and sought to correct them in a kind and faithful manner. But men of sanguine temperament could not wait for the slow process of successful reform. They joined the Scottish Reformer, and aided in tearing down what they once had attempted to build up.

Mr. Campbell attacked these evils with ability, and without discrimination, and in a temper and language that did more harm than good. His plan of reformation was radical. He sought not to improve the condition of the churches. All were in Babylon, and admonished to come out. He declared, "*The present popular exhibition of the Christian religion to be a compound of Judaism, heathen philosophy, and Christianity.*"* He proved it from Mosheim's description of the corrupt Christianity in some of the early centuries. The gospel had been buried for ages under a mass of rubbish, and he was self-commissioned to disinter the precious treasure, and spread it through the world. His plan of reform was a radical revolution, and hence he attempted to sweep away all the "sects," including the Baptists, to which he then belonged. His suc-

* Christian Baptist, Vol. I., August, 1823. Condensed volume, p. 9. This sentence he first published seven years previous.

cessful debates and imposing "orations" gave him influence. Yet, when he had done his utmost in gradually demolishing the principles of the denomination, and perverting the ordinance by which they were distinguished, and the day of trial came, Baptist churches and associations were compelled to drop him and his fraternity from Christian fellowship and communion. It is surprising how small a number, in proportion to the whole denomination, in this valley, were drawn away. This contest raged from 1830 to 1835. In the secession there were less than one hundred Baptist ministers, and about the same proportion of laymen who made up his recruits. They struggled hard to retain a place in the churches and associations, but there was firmness and promptness among the churches when called to act. The Campbellites raised the cry of persecution and proscription, but it proved unavailing. In about five years, the separation was completed, and, as the minutes of our associations at that period show, the loss in numbers was more than made up by converts.

For some ten years, the regular Baptist churches in this Valley were placed between two fires. Campbellism assailed them on the one side, and the Antinomian and Anti-mission party were an annoyance on the other; but the denomination sustained its ground, and, at the same time, made rapid progress in the right direction. These facts show that, with all the deficiencies in the denomination, the substantial principles of the gospel were deeply rooted in the minds and hearts of the Baptists in this Valley. Perhaps no principle was more firmly fixed, and was carried out more practically in our churches, than the belief in the work of the Holy Spirit in conversion. What has popularly been called "an experience of grace," to be told by candidates for baptism, has not yet lost its hold on all who have been instructed in this truth.

For about twenty years Campbellism has received its accessions, to some extent, from Methodists and Presbyterians, but mainly from speculative and religiously-disposed non-professors.

Many of the things Mr. Campbell attempted to destroy in

the "Christian Baptist," he has built up in the later volumes of the "Harbinger." Associations of churches, Bible Societies, Missions, Tract Societies, and colleges for the education of the ministry, were all assailed with a fierceness that threatened their demolition in the region of his influence "Coopering Societies" now answer the purpose of our associations. They have the "Christian Bible Society," the "Christian Publication Society" for books and tracts, societies for itinerant missions at home, and a Foreign Mission Society for distant countries.

And yet, the master mind in this system has made no acknowledgments, not even an apology for his wrong-doings, and inveterate hostility to such institutions from 1823 to 1830. It then was his policy to tear away everything, lest he should seem to build on other men's foundation.

We have only space left to advise our readers, who desire a more complete summary of this "Reformation," to procure the work already mentioned, from the pen of Rev. J. B. Jeter, D. D., under the title of **CAMPBELLISM EXAMINED**, with the supplement annexed. It is an admirable specimen of Christian candor and courtesy in controversy, while it exposes the errors and fallacies of the whole system in an effectual manner. Mr. Campbell has reviewed this work in nine articles in his "Harbinger," but he has failed in defending his own system, and in detecting and exposing any important mistakes in the work of Dr. Jeter.

NOTE REFERRED TO ON PAGE 499.

It was our pleasure to listen to Mr. Campbell, some years ago, on one of his visits to Philadelphia, when his peculiar sentiments constituted the principal theme of discourse. His views of the *necessity* of baptism were stated with much force, and illustrated in a manner which must have been convincing to all who heard him—what importance the speaker attached to this ordinance of our holy religion. It was not difficult to perceive, as he advanced in the argument, that he was preparing the way for an announcement of vital interest. At length the point was reached, and the following statement was made :

"It takes four things to spell salvation, just as it takes four letters to spell the word *e-v-i-l*. Take one of these letters from the word, or transpose the letters, and they will not spell the word evil, they will spell something else. Just so it requires *faith, repentance, baptism* and the *Holy Ghost*, to spell salvation.

"Now, don't go away and report that I said baptism will save you. You may be baptized in all the waters of the world, and yet not be saved. But I do say it takes these four things to spell salvation."—**END.**

ARTICLE II.—TRADUCIANISM AND CREATIANISM.

Translated for the Christian Review, from the German of Franz Delitzsch.*

[Dr. FRANZ DELITZSCH, the associate of Hofman, at Erlangen, is distinguished throughout Germany as a theologian and philosopher, a linguist, and biblical scholar, of the Evangelical party. The translation below is made from a recent work of his, entitled "Biblical Psychology." He here maintains the doctrine, to which Augustinian theologians have been most inclined—that the soul of man is *propagated* with the body—in opposition to the more common view that it is *created*. This subject is of great interest to theologians; for it is inseparably connected with a thorough discussion of *original sin*. It is presented by our author in a profound and interesting manner, and with a profusion of learning, and cannot fail of eliciting, what it deserves, more than ordinary attention. A very few sentences are omitted in the translation, by which the article is thought to lose none of its real value, and to be better adapted to our readers.—Eds.]

DISREGARDING the peculiar answers which might have been or really have been given to the question, it may be plainly put thus: Are the spirit and soul of man since the creation of Adam the *direct* or the *indirect* productions of God? Psychology cannot withdraw from this question, even if it should be compelled to conclude that it admits of no answer; nor may Biblical psychology retire from it, for not only a long array of Scripture expressions, but also facts in the history of redemption, stand in the closest connection with the subject. Its importance, when viewed in its relations to the doctrines of the incarnation and original sin, is evident. Accordingly, from the earliest times to the present, this question has been agitated in the Church with great zeal and earnestness. Tertullian, in the primitive Church, was the most bold and decided defender of Traducianism. According

* System der Biblischen Psychologie von Franz Delitzsch, Dr. der Philosophie und der Theologie, &c. Leipzig, 1855.

to Hieronymus, the greatest part of the occidentals held the same views: *maxima pars occidentalium*. Hieronymus himself was a firm believer in the doctrine of Creatianism, and so were most of the oriental Christians, in so far as they did not pay homage to the doctrine of the preëxistence of the soul, as probably Clement of Alexandria did—a doctrine which is as much at war with Traducianism as it is with Creatianism, which regards as identical the origin of the body by propagation and that of the spirit by direct creation. Augustin, whom we might have supposed to be a most exclusive Traducianist, struggled with this question all his life long; and it does his scientific acuteness and his sincerity great honor that he openly confessed that he was not satisfied with either side, but wavered between the one and the other, although Pelagius made use of the doctrine of Creatianism in his attack upon that of original sin. From this wavering of the great teacher of the Church, in which, from too great fear of materialism and emanationism, he rather inclined to the side of Creatianism, and from the growing tendency of the anthropology of the Church towards semi-Pelagianism, it may be explained how the prevailing teachings of the Church became more decidedly creatianistic. Nor should we here overlook the influence of Aristotle, who teaches that the rational soul comes into man from the Deity *from without*—*ὀυραθεν*. The Roman Catholic church rested in this notion, which it had received from the scholastics, and all the more firmly because the Lutherans in great part, and almost universally, adhered to Traducianism.* Antony Günther has defended Traducianism with shrewdness, on the ground of the essential dualism of spirit and body; for he declares emanation and propagation to be exclusive attributes of human life, and asserts that the soul only is begotten along with the body, while the spirit originates in the immediate act of the Creator. The same opinion is held by Baltzer in his *Diss. de Modo Propagationis Animarum* (1833), by Stau-

* For an instance, see Balth. Meisner, in his *Philosophia Sobria*, and Theod. Thummius, against whom the Jesuit, Wangner-Eck, wrote his essay, *De Creatione Animæ Rationalis* (1628). The Calvinistic theology, viewing the justice of God from the stand-point of predestination, knew how to submit more easily to Creatianism.

denmaier in his *Dogmatik*, by Gargauf in his *Psychologie des St. Augustinus*, and by many more adherents of Günther's system. On the other hand, Traducianism has, in the Church of Rome, only a few solitary representatives, as Klee, Oischinger, Mayrhofer and Frohschammer. In the Lutheran church, the prevailing opposition to the semi-Pelagianism of the Church of Rome favored Traducianism to such a degree, that Creatianism was rejected by the systems of dogmatic theology as almost heretical. Melancthon, indeed, deprecates a decision of this question. Brentius, along with most of the Calvinistic theologians, was decidedly on the side of Creatianism, but, as Quenstedt remarks, *Solus fere ex γρηως Lutheranis*. The shrewdness and penetration of our dogmatic theologians, in their examination of this question, deserve all praise. Later Protestant inquirers [as, for example, Göschel, in his *Lehre von den letzten Dingen*], separate spirit from soul, and maintain that the latter is originated by propagation, and the former produced by direct creation. But this, according to our view, in section 4, is an impossibility.* It is not necessary to enter upon any further refutation of the doctrine of semi-Traducianism. The spiritual, psychical life of man is either God's repeated, immediate production, according to the Romish belief, or it is his mediate production by ordinary generation, agreeably to the old doctrine of Lutheranism. We will now inquire upon what and in favor of what the sacred Scriptures decide.

Forasmuch as Holy Writ nowhere expresses anything in the way of doctrine as to the origin of the spiritual, psychical being of man in distinction from the origin of the physical being of man, it is impossible to arrive at any certain conclusion in the customary way of citing Scripture proofs; and we cannot wonder when Augustin says, *De re obscurissima disputatur, non adjuvantibus divinarum scripturarum certis clarisque documentis*. We are to look for proof, not in single passages of Scripture [as, perhaps, Gen. xlv. 26, and Acts xvii. 26], but to facts which are manifest throughout the Word of God—facts which, in our judgment, set aside the doctrine of Creatianism.

* See note at the end of this article. p. 526.

I. Among these facts, the first we shall mention is that of the creation of woman. The act of the divine *ἐμπνευσις*, in which the spiritual, psychological life of man originated, was not repeated at the creation of woman (Gen. ii. 24); for which reason Paul says (1 Cor. xi. 8), without any limitation, *γυνὴ ἐξ ἀνδρός*. The declaration of Adam, that the woman was bone of his bones and flesh of his flesh, does not make against this view, for he points out matrimony only as a union of man and woman, *אָדָם וְאִשְׁתּוֹ*, without excluding the idea that marriage is the intercourse of two souls mutually perfecting each other. This assertion has, indeed, reference to an exterior relation, which is apparent to all; but then it does not deny that there is an important supernatural background. Compare with this relation of woman to man, the antitypical relation of the Church to Christ, according to Eph. v. 22. And the Church is not only *ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ*, but also *ἐν πνεῦμα* with Him (1 Cor. vi. 16). She derives her existence and life from Christ's bodily existence, indeed; but most of all from his Spirit.

II. Another fact which we oppose to the doctrine of Creatianism is the Sabbath of creation. This Sabbath is a strongly-marked limit made by God between his immediate creating foundation and his mediate creative administration. The language of Scripture makes no distinction between the immediate and mediate works of the Creator; but, apart from modes of expression which do not discriminate with scholastic acuteness, we assert that the Sabbath of creation rests upon facts which cannot be harmonized with the notion that God is still bringing into existence, daily, millions of souls by immediate creation. The Scriptures know nothing of a *creatio continua* in any literal sense of the phrase; for the participle *בּוֹרֵא* in the description of the divine attributes, in Isa. xl. 28, and xlii. 5, may refer either to past time [*who created*] or to no particular time. The declarations that God makes our souls (Jer. xxxviii. 16; Isa. lvii. 16), and that God's Spirit makes us and the breath of the Almighty inspires us, according to Job xxxiii. 4; that God forms the spirit within us (Zech. xii. 1), [compare Isa. li. 13,] are no proof at all in support of the doctrine of Creatianism; since

these texts, without distinguishing between immediate and mediate works of God, refer the origin of our spiritual, psychical being back to the absolute cause and power of God as its final ground; and since, in other places, it is presumed that every mediate production is only the repetition of the first immediate production (Ps. cxxxix. 15; Job. xxxiii. 6). In 'like manner, the formation and quickening of the foetus are attributed to God (Ps. xxii. 10; cxix. 73; cxxxix. 13-16; Job x. 8-12; xxxi. 15; Isa. xlv. 2). [Compare with these texts Matt. vi. 30, where our Lord speaks of the lilies of the field, in seeming harmony with the doctrine of Creatianism, as does Paul (1 Cor. xv. 36-38) respecting the seed of the plant.]

III. A third fact which makes against Creatianism, is that of hereditary sin. If, between all men and the first created pair, who became sinful, as the Scriptures teach us, and as thorough self-knowledge confirms by way of experience, there exists a close connection, in virtue of which every individual regards the beginning of the human race his own beginning; so that not only the sin of the race is his sin, but, also, the transgression of Adam is his transgression, and, therefore, his guilt also;* then it is utterly impossible that the spiritual psychical being of man should be otherwise than self-perpetuating, in virtue of the creative foundation and the preserving providential coöperation of God, and, therefore, the human spirit, as little as the human body, is the immediate work of God, repeated upon the production of each individual of the race since Adam. It has been sophistically maintained by Roman Catholics, that it is only by admitting the truth of Creatianism, that we can speak of inheriting the sin of Adam, inasmuch as the divinely-created spirit, entering in at the same time with the sensuality derived from Adam, partakes of the sin inherent in that sensuality.† But the real state of things as to hereditary sin, teaches that man, as soon as he arrives at the discovery of his moral existence and individuality, finds the whole circumference of his being pervaded by sin. He finds not only his physical state, but the totality of his whole being, plunged in the flesh—σάρξ,

* Hofmann, *Schriftbeweis*, i. 486. † B. Staudenmaier, *Dogmatik* iii. 447-449.

in and with which sin is inherited; so that the sinful condition of the entire being of the individual anticipates his actual, and self-conscious, and self-determining life; in other words, goes before the beginning of his personal life. But if we admit that the spirit of each individual is a work of immediate creation, it necessarily follows, in opposition to divine revelation and human experience, that the spirit of man stands apart from all relation to original sin; that it is God himself who involves the human spirit in the consequences of original sin; that there is only a sinful state of nature inherited from one man to another; but no hereditary sin which embraces his whole personality, and no hereditary guilt whatsoever; that, in reality, every instance of man's incipency is a new beginning of the history of mankind: for, since liberty is involved in the very idea of spirit, and since God cannot, without becoming himself the author of evil, create, in the spirit of man, the impotency of bondage, there is no absolute necessity that the spirit should submit itself servilely to the sinful Adamic *σάρξ*, and there cannot, at least, be any question as to the imputation of a state of hereditary sin, as long as the spirit has not actually consented to this state, and has not blotted out in itself the image of God. Such and similar conclusions, at variance with Scripture and experience, necessarily follow from the doctrine of Creatianism in its relation to hereditary sin. Augustin deeply felt the force of these difficulties. When the young Vincentius Victor, who disapproved of Augustin's vacillation, very resolutely advocated the doctrine of Creatianism, Augustin very seriously reproved his youthful rashness, and, although himself the oldest teacher, earnestly besought Hieronymus, and others, to help him over the difficulties of Creatianism—difficulties which Pelagius knew so well how to employ to his own advantage.*

IV. The doctrine of the incarnation also bears strong testimony against Creatianism. Whenever the Scriptures speak

* Compare Gangauf, pp. 250-266, where the position of Augustin to the subject in question is set forth with praiseworthy impartiality. It is not true, as Staudenmaier in his *Dogmatik* says, that Augustin, after many inward struggles, became convinced of the truth of Creatianism. Even in his *Retractions*, he still confesses that he is not able to answer this question (*nec tunc sciebam, nec adhuc scio.*)

of Christ in allusion to the humanity of his person, they regard it in the light of generation, conception and birth, never in the light of immediate Divine creation. While Christ's beginning in time corresponds to the eternal beginning of his existence. He is, according to his human nature, *υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ*; but so that he is, at the same time, in every sense, *υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*. He has everything belonging to the essential condition of humanity. On the one hand, partly *ἐκ πνεύματος ὁμοίου*, on the other, partly *ἐκ γυναικός*. Christ has, from Mary, through the operation of the Holy Spirit, not only His body, but, also, His spirit and His soul. It is only upon this supposition that He can be called [not merely according to the natural basis of human existence] our *ἀδελφός*; and it is only upon the supposition that, with respect to all the essentials of human nature, He has His roots in His oneness with humanity, that it was possible for Him to effect a universal redemption of mankind: for assuming as their starting point Gregory Nazianzen's proposition, *τὸ ἀπρόσληπτον ἀθεραπευτον*, our dogmatic theologians say rightly, *Si Christus non assumsisset unimam ab anima Mariæ, animam humanam non redemisset.**

The last and chief support of Creatianism, is the following proposition:—"It is a materialistic notion that the spirit can propagate itself, just like the body, which has parts." This proposition, however positively put forth, expresses only a philosophical prejudice applied to the Holy Scriptures: for, while they teach in both Testaments *πνευμα ὁ θεός*, they reveal to us an eternal generation and birth in the Divinity itself [*ὁ πατήρ* and *ὁ υἱός*], and an eternal emanation of God, the Holy Spirit, from God the begetter, and from God the begotten. Also, Wisdom, in Prov. viii. 24, says, *אֲנִי יְהוָה*; and the Scriptures do not hesitate to speak of God's creative producing *יְהוָה*, Job xxxviii. 28, and *בָּרָא*, Ps. xc. 2, Deu. xxxii. 18, compare *בָּרָא*, Ps. xc. 2; and his new cre-

* These proofs against Creatianism are found already very well collated in the *Delineation of Psychology*, by E. A. Mirus, in his *Short Questions from the Pneumatica Sacra* (1710) pp. 206-209. Reference is here rightly made to Gen. v. 3. The image of God did not propagate itself without mediation but with mediation, by means of Adam's self-decision, which ensued in the meantime, on which account human mediation is rendered necessary for the origin of the whole man—even of his spirit.

ative producing *ἀναγενναν*, 1 Pet. i. 3, and *ἀποκνεῖν*, James i. 18. They ever speak of a Divine *σπέρμα*, 1 John iii. 9; compare 1 Pet. i. 23. The Scriptures could not speak and teach thus, if generation and division, indivisibility and incapability of begetting, were coincident notions, and if there were not a mode of generation corresponding to the substance of the spirit, agreeably to which mode, the essential difference between spirit and matter remains untouched.

After adducing these proofs against Creatianism, the one passage in Scripture, Heb. xii. 9, which speaks most in favor of the doctrine, cannot shake our conclusions. Our parents, *αὐτῆς σαρκὸς ἡμῶν πατέρες*, are there opposed to God as *πατὴρ τῶν πνευμάτων*. It must be observed that God, as the God of the spirits of all flesh, is also called (Num. xvi. 22; xxvii. 16) *πατὴρ*, and it is not written *τοῦ πνεύματος ἡμῶν*. The antithesis here is this, that our parents have begotten us into this carnal limited individual life, but that God is the last absolute cause of all created life in general.

The origin of man is, indeed, a mystery, according to Prov. xxx. 19 and Eccles. xi. 5. What the old Israelitish Wisdom says, that must the latest physiology still say. And yet, without attempting to explain this mystery, we can, on the ground of the Scriptures, and of our own investigations of them, lay down the following propositions :

1. In the spiritual psychical being of Adam was included, potentially, that of all men who should afterwards be born; for woman is, according to the Scripture, regarded without limitation, *ἐξ ἀνδρὸς* and the whole human race *ἐξ ἑνὸς αἵματος*, Acts xvii. 26.

2. With respect to the generic difference, this potentiality was a distributed one; for the origin of man, after the creation of Adam, is placed upon the condition that man knows the woman, and the woman the man. Gen. iv. 1. Compare Num. xxxi. 17; Judges, xi. 39. A Biblical mode of expression, which, as also *בְּאִשָּׁה*, is always used in speaking of human, but never of brute coition; because the former act, in distinction from the latter, is not merely of a carnal, but also of a psycho-spiritual description. It is a Scriptural allegory of the ancients, that the tree of mankind, with all its branches, as it stood before God in the mirror of wisdom, was originally

enclosed as a seed in the soul of Adam, which seed, since the creation of woman, is distributed both to man and woman.

3. Not merely in man, but also in woman, is the power of the entire man, who is to come into existence according to his spiritual and corporeal essence. This power resides in both in different proportions. Spirit and soul are in both, but* in man the spirit is predominant, in woman the soul. From the fact that the Logos assumes from Mary the whole essential being of man, it follows that in woman there is the power of the whole man. And from the fact that the power is actualized in Mary by the agency of the Holy Spirit, it follows that the spiritual psychical being of man originates, while the predominating spirit of man is working upon the predominating soul of woman. [Compare מְרִחָצָה, Gen. i. 2, with Luke i. 35.†] We might also refer to Gen. vi. ch., דְּרִיחָוּ; but we are apprehensive that we might be accused of confounding things divine, natural, and demoniacal, against which we must solemnly protest. On the other hand, it is an undeniable truth that the divine and spiritual are very often the transcendental original type of the created and the natural, and that the latter afford an analogical type of the former. So the demoniacal of the dark magic also very often exhibits the copy in caricature of divine things, as we shall ascertain hereafter, by inquiring into some psychological facts of experience.

4. But how the corporeal spiritual man originates, that is a mystery, for the explanation of which the formula *per traducem*, borrowed from the propagation of the branches of the vine,

* Where the Jewish Targum says, Gen. ii. 7, that God has created man טַרְמַק שְׁחִימִי וְזָחִיר [red, black, white], compare collection of small Midraschim, edited by Ad. Jellinek (part 1, p. 155): טַרְמַק שְׁחִימִי מְדַרְעָה אֲדָרָם [man propagates white and woman red]. This coincides with what has been stated above. For white (the color of light) is the emblem of the spirit, and red (the color of fire) the symbol of the soul, and black (the color of earth) the symbol of the body.

† This reciprocal relation is, no doubt, intended, and, as Basilios (after his friend Ephrem's former statement) strikingly remarks on the מְרִחָצָה of the Genesis of Kosmos—κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς ἑπῶα ξούσης ὄρνιθος; and Maldonatus not less strikingly says (after Theophylact) in ἐπισημαίνει of the Genesis of the God-man,—sicut solet avis ova sua tegere, ut ejus calore pulli gignantur excludanturque.

is but a lame comparison.* Comparatively better is what the ancients say: *Cum flamma accendit flammam, neque tota flamma accendens transit in accensam, neque pars ejus in eam descendit; ita anima parentum generat animam filii, ut ei nihil decedat.* But this, also, is but a comparison taken from the region of material things. We can only say, then, that, though in the world of angels, one spirit cannot beget another from itself; yet, such is the divine arrangement, that the spiritual psychical being of man, whilst united to matter, does, simultaneously with the propagation of a body, beget itself out of itself. But how this is effected is a mystery still greater than that of the origin of the body, which is merely a dim shadow of the more sublime and spiritual operation.

NOTE.—The reader will best understand the drift of our author's arguments, and at the same time acquaint himself with one of the most important points in Biblical psychology, and with expositions of Scripture which are highly valuable on their own account, if he will revert to the section to which the author refers (p. 519), the substance of which the translator has here rendered into English.

"The false and true Trichotomy."

To say that the dichotomy alone, or that the trichotomy alone, of the human essence is in accordance with Scripture, is to say just nothing at all. Our prevailing theories of dichotomy and of trichotomy are so heterogeneous, that, in general, we cannot affirm that the one doctrine or the other is either scriptural or unscriptural. The sacred oracles in some places speak dichotomously, as in Matt. vi. 25, James ii. 26; in others very trichotomously, as in 1 Thess. v. 23, and in Heb. iv. 12. There is a false trichotomy, and in opposition to it a scriptural dichotomy; there is also a false dichotomy, and in opposition to it a scriptural trichotomy.

We start from the principle, that the Scriptures require us

* On this account Frohschammer (in his work *On the Origin of Souls*, 1864), rather calls his view Generatianism; "*Generare* is not *traducere*, but a secondary created *creare*." We agree with this Catholic inquirer in the above proposition, as also in his *Dispute on the Dualism of Günther*, which Zukrigl has refuted in his essay "*Critical investigation into the essence of the rational spiritual soul, and the psychical corporality of man;*" as also in the question, "*In how far is the rational spiritual soul the form of the human body!*" (1864.)

to recognize, prior to everything else, the duality of the human essence. For the account of the creation has this for its direct object, to wit, to give us a notion of the composition of man, and thereby to enable us to understand, on the one hand, the importance of his position in the world, and, on the other, the possibility of his dissolution by death. The Hebrew words, רִיחַ and נֶפֶשׁ [Gen. vi. 3, and Isa. xxxi. 3] are antithetical; but the history of the creation could hardly point out more distinctly this antithesis than by representing man as rising from the earth by means of a union of the immediate breath of Jehovah with his body. It is a false speculation that would make man a being of one nature only; that is to say, that would create him out of one ingot or piece. Neither is the body the precipitate of the spirit; nor is the spirit, as Rothe, in his Ethics, would teach, the sublimate of matter. * * *

If, in the next place, we regard dichotomy in its rudest modifications, we shall not find it difficult to prove its opposition to the sacred Scriptures. When our dogmatic theologians say that נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה (Gen. ii. 7), is not a *tertium quid* resulting from the union of the *corpus terrenum* and the *spiraculum vitæ*, but signifies that *compositum* which originates in it, we have only to say, in reply to them, that there is a sharply-defined difference between נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה (רוּחַ) and נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה according to which both spirit and soul are related to each other as cause and effect, and these are not absolutely identical, just as רוּחַ and נֶפֶשׁ are by no means coincident ideas [1 Sam. i. 26; Ps. lxvi. 9; Prov. iii. 22; Job iii. 20, and x. 1]. There is another theory of dichotomy which was advanced at an earlier period by Hofmann, according to which the Scriptures are made to teach that man has a created soul, but not a created spirit. Against this view we might cite a host of texts, as Rom. viii. 16; 1 Cor. ii. 11, &c. However, it is worthy of consideration, because it is a practical proof of the strong impression which the supposition, which sways the *usus loquendi* of the Scriptures makes, namely, that the created spirit of man is an emanation from God. If this theory of dichotomy can be so applied, as lately by Hofmann,* that the Scriptures are

* Schriftbeweis, i. 254-261.

made to acknowledge just as much a created spirit as a created soul—both, however, not as being of two different substances, but so that they term the breath of life, as the condition of individual life, רוּחַ , and term the individual life itself, in its own condition, נַפְשׁ , the former as meaning the motive causative power, and the latter as the resultant being obtained; and that it is the eternal Spirit of God dwelling in man that is his breath of life, which is just as much his spirit as it is his soul—if, I say, this theory can be so applied, then Hofmann has indeed very correctly arrived at the difference between רוּחַ and נַפְשׁ . But, in the first place, I do not find the Scriptures teaching any indwelling of the absolute Spirit of God, which may be distinguished from the omnipresence of Deity in general, sustaining all created things in particular. Secondly, we must distinguish between substance and essence, and consequently concede that the spirit and soul are not different essences, but not concede that they may not, nevertheless, be different substances. * * *

If, however, according to holy writ, the soul is related to man, not on the side of his body, but on the side of his spirit, then the soul is either one and the same with the spirit, or it is a substance emanating from it. That it is not one and the same substance with it, we will undertake to demonstrate; but not from a few isolated passages, where soul and spirit are mentioned in the same connection, and still distinguished from each other, as in Isa. xxvi. 9. Our principal proof is to be found, on the one hand, in Gen. ii. 7, agreeably to which the human soul stands related to the creaturely breath of life, just as the animal soul stood to the absolute Spirit who moved over the waters of chaos; on the other, in Biblical teachings which cannot be denied, that, in consequence of sin, is merged in mere soul and flesh, and the man who, from the state of $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta\ \zeta\omega\sigma\alpha$ over into that of $\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\ \zeta\omega\sigma\upsilon\iota\omicron\upsilon\nu$, instead of the $\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau\iota\kappa\acute{o}\varsigma$ becomes $\psi\upsilon\chi\iota\kappa\acute{o}\varsigma$ and $\sigma\alpha\rho\kappa\iota\kappa\acute{o}\varsigma$. And forasmuch as the spirit stands in immediate causal relation to God, all divine operations pertaining to redemption must turn immediately to the $\text{רוּחַ}\ \pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ and thence gain access to the $\text{נַפְשׁ}\ \psi\upsilon\chi\eta$; for when God reveals himself, it is to the spirit of man, and when He rescues

him from the old state of sin, it is his spirit that He renews [Ps. li. 12; Titus iii. 5]. Hence we may conclude that the soul is not one and the same with the spirit; but is a substance emanating from it. The soul is one essence, but not one substance with the spirit, as the Son and the Spirit are one essence with the Father, without being the same person that He is. * * *

Again, when נֶשְׁמָה (= רִדָּה) is called a lamp of Jehovah, as in Prov. xx. 27, and when the Lord calls the spirit of man τὸ φῶς τὸ ἐν σοὶ (Matt. vi. 23; compare 1 Cor. ii. 11), what else can we infer the soul to be than the reflection—ἀπαύγασμα—of this light? As, according to the *usus loquendi* of Holy Writ, the soul stands to the spirit in the relation of effect to cause, and as the human spirit, which is self-conscious [as is evident from its very origin, and as 1 Cor. ii. 11 compared with Prov. xx. 27 expressly declares], how could נֶשְׁמָה, ψυχή, so very generally denote the whole life, the internal being and the person of man, were it not the manifestation, and, in some sense, the reflected image of the spirit, and, in the sphere of his self-consciousness, like his own essence? The word נֶשְׁמָה signifies, in every connection, *person*, not because the soul is that which forms the person of man, but because it is the bond of his personality, the medium between his spirit and his body. In its relation to the body, the soul is the radiated glory of the spirit, or its immaterial body, by means of which the spirit rules the material body, together with the powers pervading it, just as the Deity, by means of His glory, fills and rules the world. Hence the soul, in the Old Testament, is explicitly called נְבוֹדָה (Gen. xlix. 6), [where it is also construed in the feminine, while farther on it is called נֶשְׁמָה,] (Ps. vii. 6; xvi. 9;* xxx. 13; lvii. 9; cviii. 2); for the Spirit is the exact image of the Triune Godhead; but the soul is only a copy of the exact image, and stands related to the spirit as the ἐπτά πνεύματα ["the seven spirits" †] are related to the Spirit of God, or God the Spirit.

* Compare with this verse 1 Thes. v. 23, where πνεῦμα (νοῦς) corresponds to נֶשְׁמָה and ψυχή to נְבוֹדָה.

† Rev. i. 4.

ARTICLE III.—THE DUTCH REPUBLIC: ITS RISE
AND ITS ANTAGONIST.

1. *The Rise of the Dutch Republic: A History.* By JOHN LOTHROP MOTLEY. In three volumes, 8vo. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1856.
2. *History of the Reign of Philip the Second, King of Spain.* By WILLIAM H. PRESCOTT. Two vols. 8vo. Boston: Phillips, Sampson & Co. 1856.

"THE hand of God in History" is a favorite idea, a well-sounding phrase, often heard among the religious discussions of this kind of literature. No doubt the careful student of national annals may discern much which evinces unmistakable evidence of the presence, the wisdom, the power of the God who judgeth in the earth and recompenseth among the nations. Yet, so often are "clouds and darkness about Him," and so obviously true still, is the inspired testimony of the prophet, "Verily thou art a God that hidest thyself, O! God of Israel, the Saviour," that we must often expect to be left in doubt and uncertainty, as to the proper clue by which to guide our way in the labyrinth of His dealings. For while it is certain that all of retributive remuneration to Nations which will ever be awarded, is to be looked for in this life, since in the spirit-world each individual will stand alone, and be justified or condemned according to his individual character and relations; yet, in looking out for the full development of God's dealings with nations and communities, let us remember how much the long-suffering forbearance of God is often evinced; allowing successive generations to pass away, and withholding his fearful indignation, because the measure of the iniquity of the sinning ones is not full. The perfection of this as a state of trial consists, in part at least, in allowing ample time for the ripening both of good and evil, before the harvest is gathered—the wheat and tares finally separated. The devout student of history should therefore learn to judge nothing before the time.

This train of thought finds a forcible confirmation in those interlinkings and remote results of the efforts, sacrifices, and ultimate successes of the struggling friends of freedom, civil and religious, beginning in the Netherlands, soon after the Lutheran Reformation, and extending onward, both in direct and collateral issues, to our own times and country. Before the middle of the sixteenth century the English merchants, resident in the cities of Germany and other maritime portions of Continental Europe, seem to have become very generally imbued with the nascent spirit of Protestantism. Tyndal found favor among some of them, when, having fled from persecution in his native land, he wished to put to press the first translation ever made from the original of the New Testament into the English tongue, which he had privately prepared; and they also aided efficiently in conveying printed copies for distribution to their native Isle. Indeed, the translation of the Scriptures into the vernacular German, by Luther, and into the English, by Tyndal, seems to have gone on simultaneously; and a kind of mutual sympathy and interest in this and kindred steps, was increased in both countries, by the action and reaction of the common people, in determining to secure for themselves the privilege of possessing and searching the Scriptures in their mother tongue. Persecution, which each in turn endured for this cause, only seemed to bind them in closer union. Accordingly, when the attempt was vigorously made, a few years later, to extinguish the light of Scriptural religion in the Netherlands, great multitudes of these Bible-reading and Bible-loving people of that country fled for refuge to England—as many as 30,000 almost simultaneously. Here they were welcomed; their industry, their skill in the arts, and in various kinds of curious and useful manufactures before unknown here, making way for them—and of course found comparative exemption from persecution; while, at the same time, they diffused among their English neighbors a more devoted and earnest love for the great principles of the Reformation.

Two generations later, when English Puritans were persecuted by their own government and its established Church,

many of them fled to Holland, and for a time found shelter there. They learned there, in part, and too imperfectly, the principle and practice of the religious toleration which they saw prevailing around them. Thence they brought with them to our shores, and commenced in the Plymouth colony of New England, the planting of those germs, which in the fresher soil of the new world, have so widely and triumphantly expanded; while the Dutch themselves, by their emigration to New Amsterdam, and subsequently to Pennsylvania and other parts of our country, have aided to form and strengthen the net-work of our glorious confederacy of free States, which are destined, as we hope, to let their light shine more and more unto the perfect day of the world's illumination.

Thus, without following out the scarcely less direct, and, indeed, more immediate influence of the establishment of liberty in the Netherlands, on the successive and coherent revolutions of 1640 and 1688 in England, we are able to trace the beneficent hand of God, our Director and Preserver, in bringing to bear so favorably and powerfully, the influence of the struggles of the noble patriots who secured the liberties and emancipation of so many of the States of Holland, upon our own patriot sires, in stimulating them through a less protracted and fierce contest for our own freedom and independence. There are, indeed, reasons of transcendent interest and sacredness, for making the history of the rise of the Dutch Republic familiar as household words to all our countrymen. Some of the lessons, both monitory and cheering, which that example sends down to us, through the long vista of three centuries, seem specially needed at the present juncture, and all of them may be studied by us with eminent advantage.

To facilitate this object, it has most opportunely happened that two of our own countrymen have just given to the English language what we are sure cannot but be reckoned a far more perfect development of this portion of history than has ever before been made accessible to us. Very well may we understand, for how many and how grave reasons, the task of rehearsing, truthfully and impartially, the story of

what those sturdy Netherlanders endured and achieved in the emancipation of their country from despotism, and the establishment of their Republic, should be reserved for some of our country's sons. They can better understand and appreciate the important boon secured, than those who have never been blessed with a like experience; and may be expected more fully to sympathize with those large-hearted, inflexible patriots, who spurned the golden fetters of cringing vassalage.

Nor could our own countrymen, overweeningly vain and self-complacent as they are sometimes represented—possibly not without too much apparent reason—have desired more worthy or fitting instruments for the execution of this truly great work. In some sense we cannot but regard this achievement as one whose magnitude, difficulty of successful and wise execution, and exigent requirement, are quite unsurpassed, if not absolutely unequalled, among all the literary enterprises of this teeming age. Mr. Prescott had already won distinguished honor as a historian, wherever the English language is read; the meed of praise justly awarded him, both in the parent country, and throughout all the more intelligent circles of our own, having decisively fixed his rank in the very first class, in an age prolific in superior authorship in this particular department. He is deemed worthy to be reckoned among “the first three”—with Thierry of France, and Macaulay of England—as the contribution from our western continent to complete the grand triumvirate of historiographers, in this middle section of the nineteenth century.

Mr. Motley's name appears for the first time as a candidate for high literary honors: and he will not unlikely subject himself, in some quarters, to the accusation of meriting the condemnation of audacious presumption, in selecting a theme so much akin to the one most successfully treated by his senior co-laborer. But in truth there is no valid force in this objection. Prescott's Philip the Second, and Motley's Rise of the Dutch Republic, though covering, in part, the same ground, are yet sufficiently dissimilar in aim to allow each of these authors “ample space and verge enough” for the un-

trammelled exercise of his highest powers, without more than seeming to trench on the purpose of the other. Right glad are we also to notice the kindness and unselfish spirit in which they regard each other's success. The earlier, who if either, might claim a prior appropriation of this field, having most gracefully welcomed his younger fellow-laborer to share with him the toils, the emoluments, and the renown which he rightly judged would here await his endeavors.* This is the right spirit, which true and liberal culture may generally be expected to produce, and which is eminently appropriate to the limitless expansion of theatre for exercising the scholarship of our young Republic, where

No pent-up Utica contracts our powers,
But the whole boundless continent is ours.

What might have seemed an over-generous eulogium of Prescott, is already proved but the simplest justice of award to the merits of his youthful compeer. With no other heralding than this incidental, but favorable notice, Mr. Motley comes before the public in England as well as in the United States; and by his first effort, demonstrates his well-earned right to be reckoned among the noblest chroniclers of the worthiest achievements. In stately British Quarterlies, and in the more widely-permeating daily journals, both of the Old World and the New, these volumes have already won for their author a name and fame more distinct, emphatic and discriminate, than we remember ever having seen secured so early, and with so little dissent. If a few of small calibre, have evidently tried to criticise and slightly depreciate, the almost unanimous award of their contemporaries, and the trifling character of their captiousness, serves but as a foil to

* "The Revolution of the Netherlands, although, strictly speaking, only an episode to the main body of the narrative, from its importance, well deserves to be treated in a separate and independent narrative by itself. It is gratifying to learn that before long such a history may be expected from the pen of an accomplished countryman, Mr. J. Lothrop Motley, who during the last few years, for the better prosecution of his labors, has established his residence in the neighborhood of the scenes of his narrative. No one acquainted with the fine powers of mind possessed by this scholar, and the earnestness with which he has devoted himself to his task, can doubt that he will do full justice to his important but difficult subject."—*Preface to Prescott's Philip the Second*, page 12.

set off more conspicuously the sterling worth of what can pass the crucible undimmed. One says it is a history as complete as industry and genius can make it. Another expatiates, through page after page, on the author's extensive and solid learning, accumulated during a long course of studious labor and research, and then reproduced with careful elaboration and symmetrical arrangement, by one who bears his erudition with ease and gracefulness. He winds his way through the labyrinth of the singular complication of political affairs, with such cheerful confidence of step, as betokens his possession of a clue thoroughly tested, and proved accurate. His comments never obtruded, are just, apt, instructive. His sketches, and rare attempts at character-drawing, are felicitous, founded on a true insight into human nature, and all inspired by more than common vitality. He does not tone down his utterances to the level of apathy—nor seem solicitous to earn the meed of impartiality, by nicely balancing the praise and blame which he awards, so as to reduce the bad and good, the base and noble in character, to a common level. His sympathies, too, are with humanity; freedom—soul-freedom is dear to him, and he will not crush out the love of it. His style evinces constantly earnestness, vigor, animation, warmth: a picturesque arrangement of light and shade are in harmony with its boldness and vivacity. He seems naturally to catch the spirit of the scenes or incidents which he describes, and is not reasonably to be faulted, if, in depicting the rodomontade of "the guilds of rhetoric" in that age, he gives the flavor of the cask from which he draws. Hence he is deemed not unworthy of favorable comparison with the first historical writers of the age. The superior, in most respects, of Alison, excelled in power of dramatic discipline by none but Carlyle, if, on the whole, even by him; less artificial than Macaulay, and exhibiting a more cordial love of truth; his narrative reposing on a deeper basis of thought than Irving's, though less mellifluous; more copious and fluent in expression than Bancroft, if less pretentious of depth and comprehensiveness; with none of the cold-blooded, sarcastic severity of

Hildreth, he is his equal in fidelity to truth, while genially sympathizing with the march of humanity.

Most of the above characterizations, which have fallen under our eye from different but distinguished sources, seem to us eminently just. Mr. Motley has all the essentials of a historian of the first order. His mind has marvellous breadth, his industry is unwearied, his judgment faithful and reliable; a certain freshness of indigenous love for all which is good and admirable in human character, wherever found, is justly balanced by his hatred, unaffected and outspoken, of oppression, selfishness, and disregard of the high claims of humanity; and these features are inwrought with the whole structure of the history. It would not be difficult to justify these high claims of a merit as rare as it is admirable and well deserved. The only point of practical solicitude which a reviewer will feel, is in deciding on the best course, for the satisfaction of readers of such an article, as his limits will necessarily prescribe. To attempt epitomizing the 3,000 broad pages of Motley's and Prescott's histories into such an article, would indeed be hopeless; and yet without some knowledge of the outlines of this drama, can any of its several pictures be adequately appreciated? Some attempt at both these methods, however fully unattainable and unsatisfactory, must, therefore, be tolerated.

We naturally desire to know something definite and reliable of the scene of such exploits and endurances as engage our continued study; and Mr. Motley has graphically laid the picture of the Netherlands, even the embryo process of the formation of the soil, distinctly before us:

The three great rivers, the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Scheld, had deposited their slime for ages among the dunes and sand-banks heaved up by the ocean around their mouths. A delta was thus formed, habitable at last for man. It was by nature a wide morass, in which oozy islands and savage forests were interspersed among lagoons and shallows; a district lying partly below the level of the ocean at its higher tides, subject to constant overflow from the rivers, and to frequent and terrible inundations by the sea.

The Rhine, leaving at last the regions where its storied lapse, through so many ages, has been consecrated alike by nature and art—by poetry and eventful truth—flows reluctantly through the basalt portal of the Seven Mountains into the open fields which extend to the German Sea.

After entering this vast meadow, the stream divides itself into two branches, becoming thus the two-horned Rhine of Virgil, and holds in these two arms the island of Batavia.

The Meuse, taking its rise in the Vosges, pours itself through the Ardennes wood, pierces the rocky ridges upon the southeastern frontier of the Low Countries, receives the Sambre in the midst of that picturesque anthracite basin, where now stands the city of Namur, and then moves towards the north, through nearly the whole length of the country, till it mingles its waters with the Rhine.

The Scheld, almost exclusively a Belgian river, after leaving its fountains in Picardy, flows through the present provinces of Flanders and Hainault. In Cæsar's time it was suffocated before reaching the sea in quicksands and thickets, which long afforded protection to the savage inhabitants against the Roman arms, and which the slow process of nature and the untiring industry of man, have since converted into the Archipelago of Zealand and South Holland. These islands were unknown to the Romans.

Such were the rivers which, with their numerous tributaries, coursed through the spongy land. Their frequent overflow, when forced back upon their currents by the stormy sea, rendered the country almost uninhabitable. Here, within a half-submerged territory, a race of wretched ichthyophagi dwelt upon *terpen*, or mounds, which they had raised, like beavers, above the almost fluid soil. Here, at a later day, the same race chained the tyrant ocean and his mighty streams into subserviency, forcing them to fertilize, to render commodious, to cover with a beneficent network of veins and arteries, and to bind by watery highways with the farthest ends of the world, a country disinherited by nature of its rights. A region, outcast of ocean and earth, wrested at last from both domains their richest treasures. A race, engaged for generations in stubborn conflict with the angry elements, was unconsciously educating itself for its great struggle with the still more savage despotism of man.

Thus inundated by mighty rivers, quaking beneath the level of the ocean, belted about by hirsute forests, this low land, nether land, hollow land, or Holland, seemed hardly deserving the arms of the all-accomplished Roman. Yet foreign tyranny, from the earliest ages, has coveted this meagre territory as lustfully as it has sought to wrest from their native possessors those lands with the fatal gift of beauty for their dower; while the genius of liberty has inspired as noble a resistance to oppression here, as it ever aroused in Grecian or Italian breasts.

Then follows a description of the races which composed the population—the German and the Celtic—the distinctive traits of each, with whatever of commingling had been here effected, and what had remained for a more perfect blending into one homogeneous mass, as possibly yet to be realized in our own Republic. Having thus paved the way by an outline of the topography and the population, a rapid sketch is given of the fourteen centuries which elapsed immediately preceding the scene where the present narrative opens. Both the histories before us regard the abdication of the Emperor Charles the Fifth as the starting point of their narratives. Both have given sketches of this august scene worthy of their

eminent powers. The principal characters pass before us in their gala dress; we only pause for an introduction to each, and receive intimations sufficiently pregnant that ampler opportunity will ere long be afforded us to study their characters more thoroughly. The Emperor himself, leaning on the youthful Prince of Orange, with his son and successor Philip II., occupy the foreground. Philip's sister, Margaret, first regent of the Netherlands, Alva, her successor, with the infamous Cardinal Granville, so badly eminent in talents and debasement, and a select group of other dignitaries, Spanish, German, Flemish, fill up the picture.

The Reformation had already made no inconsiderable advances in the low countries. Charles had, indeed, wished to suppress it; but his failure in Germany was, in a less degree, here also manifest; and he, therefore, was obliged to confide to his successor—as he also abundantly enjoined on him the sacred duty—to exterminate the heresy of dissent from Rome, not only here and in Spain, but everywhere within the sphere of his influence. In Spain he succeeded; and by a system unrelenting, and steadily progressive, at an expense of not less than 50,000 lives of his subjects, he trod out the kindling embers of religious freedom and enlightenment, leaving that doomed kingdom to sink down in a few generations from a first-rank among the nations to imbecility and degradation sufficiently monitory and humiliating. The Spanish Inquisition is but another name for infamous horrors, at which the heart sickens; but this was the instrument for eradicating the early germs of Bible Christianity from Spain. The king superintended this bloody process in person, and thus made it terribly successful. But he early retired from the Netherlands, confiding the carrying out of his designs in that country to his regents, and counsellors, and captains; all of whom but too cordially entered into their master's views. Here, however, there had come down from the preceding century, by special and recognized grant of royalty, the great privilege, or the Magna Charta of Holland, securing certain civil rights to cities and provinces, which princes and people alike determined should be maintained. Philip, at his coronation, had solemnly engaged to

preserve these in their integrity, inviolable; but the facility of the dispensing power by the Pope made all such royal oaths a sham—naught but a bitter delusion. The bold attempt was early set on foot by the royal perjurer to extinguish these rights, and to invest unlawful, prohibited tribunals with inquisitorial powers. This the people, and many of their princes, resist. This spirit takes, in part, the form of religious propagandism, of the diffusion of Protestantism by preaching and multitudinous assemblies without the walls of consecrated church edifices. Look for a moment at some of its methods of diffusion, as depicted by Mr. Motley :

But notwithstanding the terrors of persecution and the daily sacrifice of hecatombs, the Reformers boldly proclaimed their faith in the gospel, and preached the word of life to multitudes of listeners. "Apostate priests were not the only preachers. To the ineffable disgust of the conservatives in Church and State, there were men with little education, utterly devoid of Hebrew, of lowly stations—hatters, curriers, tanners, dyers, and the like—who began to preach also; remembering, unseasonably perhaps, that the early disciples, selected by the Founder of Christianity, had not all been doctors of theology, with diplomas from a 'renowned university.'"

On the 28th of June, 1566, six thousand people assembled near midnight, at the bridge of Ernonville, to hear a discourse from Ambrose Willie, who had learned his theology at Geneva from the lips of Calvin, and who was now proclaiming his doctrines in peril of death. Two days afterwards ten thousand people assembled at the same spot to hear Peregrine de la Grange. The audience were warned of their danger by a proclamation from the governor, but this only increased their pious enthusiasm. On the succeeding Sunday twenty thousand persons assembled at the same bridge to hear Ambrose Willie. Many of them were armed with rustic weapons, while some had arquebuses, pistols, pikes, and swords. The preacher was escorted to his pulpit by a hundred mounted troopers. No commands of the regent were of the slightest avail.

She ordered the instant suppression of these armed assemblies, and the arrest of the preachers. But of what avail were proclamations against such numbers with weapons in their hands? Why irritate to madness these hordes of enthusiasts, who were now entirely pacific, and who marched back to the city, after conclusion of divine service, with perfect decorum? All classes of the population went eagerly to the sermons. The gentry of the place, the rich merchants, the notables, as well as the humbler artisans and laborers, all had received the infection. The professors of the reformed religion outnumbered the Catholics by five or six to one. On Sundays and other holidays, during the hours of service, Tournay was literally emptied of its inhabitants. The streets were as silent as if war or pestilence had swept the place. The Duchess sent orders, but she sent no troops. The trained-bands of the city, the cross-bow-men of St. Maurice, the archers of St. Sebastian, the sword-players of St. Christopher, could not be ordered from Tournay to suppress the preaching, for they had all gone to the preaching themselves. How idle,

therefore, to send peremptory orders without a matchlock to enforce the command.

Similar scenes were enacted throughout Flanders. The meetings were encampments of armed men. The Reformers came to their religious services, determined to defend their right to worship under the free air of heaven, though banished from the churches. Barricades of up-turned wagons, branches, and planks were thrown up around the camps. Strong guards of mounted men were stationed at every avenue. Outlying scouts gave notice of approaching danger, and guided the faithful into the inclosure. Peddlers and hawkers plied the trade upon which the penalty of death was fixed, and sold the forbidden hymn-books to all who chose to purchase. A strange and contradictory spectacle! An army of criminals doing deeds which could only be expiated at the stake; an entrenched rebellion, bearding the government with pike, matchlock, javelin, and barricade, and all for no more deadly purpose than to listen to the precepts of the pacific Jesus.

The preaching spread throughout the Walloon provinces to the northern Netherlands. Toward the end of July, an apostate monk, of singular eloquence, Peter Gabriel by name, was announced to preach at Overveen, near Harlem. This was the first field-meeting which had taken place in Holland. The people were wild with enthusiasm; the authorities beside themselves with apprehension. People from the country flocked into the town by thousands. The other cities were deserted; Harlem was filled to overflowing. Multitudes encamped upon the ground the night before. The magistrates ordered the gates to be kept closed in the morning, till long after the usual hour. It was of no avail. Bolts and bars were but small impediments to enthusiasts who had travelled so many miles on foot or horseback to listen to a sermon. They climbed the walls, swam the moat, and thronged to the place of meeting long before the doors had been opened. When these could no longer be kept closed without a conflict, for which the magistrates were not prepared, the whole population poured out of the city with a single impulse. Tens of thousands were assembled upon the field. The bulwarks were erected as usual, the guards were posted, the necessary precautions taken. But upon this occasion, and in that region, there was but little danger to be apprehended. The multitude of Reformers made the edicts impossible, so long as no foreign troops were there to enforce them. The congregation was encamped and arranged in an orderly manner. The women, of whom there were many, were placed next the pulpit, which, upon this occasion, was formed of a couple of spears thrust into the earth, sustaining a cross-piece, against which the preacher might lean his back. The services commenced with the singing of a psalm by the whole vast assemblage. Clement Marot's verses, recently translated by Dathenus, were then new and popular. The strains of the monarch-minstrel, chanted thus in their homely but nervous mother tongue, by a multitude who had but recently learned that all the poetry and rapture of devotion were not irrevocably confined with a buried language, or immured in the precincts of a church, had never produced a more elevating effect. No anthem from the world-renowned organ in that ancient city ever awakened more lofty emotions than did those ten thousand human voices, ringing from the grassy meadows in that fervent mid-summer noon. When all was silent again, the preacher rose; a little, meager man, who looked as if he might rather melt away beneath the blazing sunshine of July, than hold the multitude enchained four uninterrupted hours long by the magic of his tongue. His text was the 8th, 9th and 10th verses of the second chapter of Ephesians; and as the slender monk spoke to his simple audience of God's grace and faith in Jesus, who had descended from above to save the lowliest and the most abandoned, if they would

put their trust in Him, his hearers were alternately exalted with fervor or melted into tears. He prayed for all conditions of men—for themselves, their friends, their enemies, for the government which had persecuted them, for the King whose face was turned upon them in anger. At times, according to one who was present, not a dry eye was to be seen in the crowd. When the minister had finished he left his congregation abruptly, for he had to travel all night, in order to reach Alkmaar, where he was to preach upon the following day.

To arrest this overwhelming movement of the people, and turn back this uprising tide, the king sent the Duke of Alva, with a veteran Spanish army. Even this might have been from the first resisted, as it was eventually, had not the wild tumult of image-breaking and church sacrilege by a few noisy, over-zealous and lawless reformers, alienated most of the princes from any sympathy with, or even tolerance for, the Protestant cause.

Of the ferocious Alva, a full-length and truthful portrait is drawn. We have room for only a feature or two :

As a man, his character was simple. He did not combine a great variety of vices, but those which he had were colossal, and he possessed no virtues. He was neither lustful nor intemperate, but his professed eulogists admitted his enormous avarice, while the world has agreed, that such an amount of stealth and ferocity, of patient vindictiveness and universal bloodthirstiness, were never found in a savage beast of the forest, and but rarely in a human bosom.

To resist him, and these fresh myrmidons of tyranny and persecution, the hope of the Netherlands and of liberty rested almost entirely on the Prince of Orange. By birth a Protestant, but by education a Catholic, a courtier from his earliest years, and in politics thoroughly versed in all the dissimulation and intrigue of the Machiavelian School, he proved himself an overmatch for king, councillors, and regent; and by an almost superhuman amount of efforts, sacrifices, and endurances, succeeded at last, after a twenty years' struggle, in wresting the prey from the grasp of the unholy combination, which had so greedily and confidently pounced upon it.

But in the religious aspect of this case, perhaps the most interesting of all the views presented in this whole history, is the change wrought in the mind and heart of the prince, and the subsequent underlying influence of true piety, sustaining

him when all else failed. In this view, we cannot hesitate to regard the development here made of the power of true religion, as more marked and beautiful than we have elsewhere witnessed in all secular history of modern times. Most grateful and appropriate to our pages would be the privilege of presenting in full relief some of the commanding features of this portraiture, were our space adequate for this purpose. For want of it we must refer our readers to these noble volumes. They will here find, along with much else of transcendent interest and importance, how worthily the cause of Protestant liberty, of a true and widely-comprehensive toleration of all religionists of every name—the maligned, the cruelly-asperged and down-trodden Anabaptists not excepted—was defended, advocated, and uniformly practiced, by this true “Father of his Country,” generations before our noble Roger Williams and John Clarke illustrated similar principles in the little, but now deservedly world-renowned experiment of Rhode Island and Providence plantations. Take a sample or two of his pious confidence in God, in the darkest hour of his country’s gloom :

Thus fell Zierickzee, to the deep regret of the Prince. “Had we received the least succor in the world from any side,” he wrote, “the poor city would never have fallen. I could get nothing from France or England, with all my efforts. Nevertheless, we do not lose courage. but hope that, although abandoned by all the world, the Lord God will extend His right hand over us.

On another occasion, when even his brother, Count John, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the Prince, laid down his government and quitted the Netherlands, the latter thus writes :

One must do one’s best, and believe that when such misfortunes happen, God desires to prove us. If He sees that we do not lose our courage, He will assuredly help us. Had we thought otherwise, we should never have pierced the dykes on a memorable occasion, for it was an uncertain thing, and a great sorrow to the poor people ; yet did God bless the undertaking. He will bless us still, for His arm hath not been shortened.

Don John of Austria, the last of the regents sent by the King with whom the Prince had to struggle, and who had come to the low countries only as a convenient stepping-stone for his ambitious but infamous projects in Scotland and England, is thus held up in contrast with Father William :

After all, what was this brilliant adventurer when weighed against the tranquil Christian champion whom he was to meet face to face? The contrast was striking between the real and the romantic hero. Don John had pursued and achieved glory through victories with which the world was ringing; William was slowly compassing a country's emancipation through a series of defeats. He moulded a commonwealth, and united hearts, with as much contempt for danger, as Don John had exhibited in scenes of slave-driving and carnage. Amid fields of blood, and through webs of tortuous intrigue, the brave and subtle son of the Emperor pursued only his own objects. Tawdry schemes of personal ambition, conquests for his own benefit, impossible crowns for his own wearing, were the motives which impelled him, and the prizes which he sought. His existence was feverish, fitful and passionate. "Tranquil amid the raging billows," according to his favorite device, the Father of his Country waived aside the diadem which for him had neither charms nor meaning. Their characters were as contrasted as their persons. The curled darling of chivalry seemed a youth at thirty-one. Spare of figure, plain in apparel, benignant but haggard of countenance, with temples bared by anxiety as much as by his helmet, earnest, almost devout, in manner, in his own words, "Calvus et Calvinista," William of Orange was an old man at forty-three.

When, at a subsequent period, there was an effort on the part of the regent to conciliate the Prince, and thus facilitate a pacification, which he was in haste to accomplish, so as to pursue his own ulterior interests, the historian thus describes them both :

Don John was in earnest; unfortunately, he was not aware that the Prince was in earnest also. The crusader, who had sunk thirty thousand paynims at a blow, and who had dreamed of the Queen of Scotland and of the throne of England, had not room in his mind to entertain the image of a *patriot*. Royal favors, family prosperity, dignities, offices, orders, advantageous conditions, these were the baits with which the Governor angled for William of Orange. He did not comprehend that attachment to a half-drowned land and to a despised religion, could possibly stand in the way of those advantageous conditions and that brilliant future. He did not imagine that the rebel once assured, not only of pardon, but of advancement, could hesitate to refuse the royal hand, thus amicably offered. Don John had not accurately measured his great antagonist. * * * The Prince had nothing personally to gain by a continuance of the contest. The ban, outlawry, degradation and pecuniary ruin—assassination, martyrdom—these were the only guerdons he could anticipate. He had much to lose; but yesterday loaded with dignities, surrounded by pomp and luxury, with many children to inherit his worldly gear, could he not recover all, and more than all, to day? What service had he to render in exchange? A mere nothing. He had but to abandon the convictions of a life-time, and to betray a million or two of hearts that trusted him. To all this, he replied, "that he had ever respected, beyond all comparison, the welfare and security of the public before his own, having always placed his particular interests under his foot, even as he was still resolved to do, as long as life should endure."

That he had, at this early day, obtained so clear and just a view of religious liberty, far in advance of any of his con-

temporaries, and that he fully understood and mourned over the perverse disposition of clerical tyranny, even among Protestants, will be manifest from the following extract from Mr. Motley :

It had, however, been impossible for the Prince thoroughly to infuse his own ideas on the subject of toleration into the hearts of his nearest associates. Was he not himself the mark of obloquy among the reformers, because of his leniency to Catholics? Nay, more: was not his intimate counsellor, the accomplished Saint Aldegonde, in despair, because the Prince refused to exclude the Anabaptists of Holland from the rights of citizenship?* At the very moment when William was straining

* Mr. Motley has been unduly censured, we think, by some of our denominational contemporaries, for not adequately discriminating between the precious and the vile, in his notice of the Dutch Anabaptists. In extenuation, if not as a complete justification, it should be remembered that the history, professedly and really, is not a record of religious sects and differences, but of a great civil movement, sufficiently wide and engrossing to challenge the fullest attention and regards of the author. To portray discriminatingly and justly every shade of difference amongst all classes of religionists which are incidentally named, would have called the author widely from his proposed track. When, in his Historical Introduction, he merely notices the mad zealots of Munster, under their common appellation, he does discriminate [see vol. i., pp. 79, 80] between the Prophet and his mischievous crew, and the thousands and tens of thousands of virtuous, well-disposed men and women, who had as little sympathy with *them* as with Roman depravity, but were butchered in cold blood, under the sanguinary rule of the Emperor, in the Netherlands. In all the later notices of this people, in the body of the work, there is commendable caution, guarding against any wholesale denunciation, and even furnishing from contemporaries of the highest standing the most conclusive testimony in their favor. Certainly, this is all which could reasonably be expected, in regard to a sect whose well-understood principles of opposition to war set them aside from the great contest, which it is the historian's aim faithfully to chronicle. As well might it be claimed for the Quakers, that their portrait should be fully given, in a history of the American Revolution, as that Mr. Motley has been wanting in fidelity for passing over, so lightly, this heterogeneous and ill-defined compound, named "Anabaptists." Their true history remains yet to be written; though a German work (*Geschichte der Wiedertäufer von ihrem Entstehen zu Zwickau in Sachsen, bis auf ihren Sturz zu Münster in Westfalen, Von J. Haast, 1836*) has professedly treated of their earlier development and fortunes.

In the meantime, and as a worthy contribution towards this desideratum, we are permitted to welcome, from the useful labors of the Hansard Knolly's Society in London, two interesting volumes, entitled "A Martyrology of the Churches of Christ, commonly called Baptists, during the era of the Reformation. Translated from the Dutch of T. J. Van Braught. Edited, for the H. K. Society, by Edward Bean Underhill."

The first of these volumes was issued in 1850, and the second nearly four years later. They together embrace but about one-half of the original work of Van Braught, whose entire treatise had been, in a plain way, translated and published in the interior of Pennsylvania, some twenty years since, for the use of the descendants of Mennonite emigrants. That unwieldy volume has already become exceedingly rare and of difficult procurement. Benedict, in his history of the Baptists, has made copious extracts from it, and perhaps it is more valuable as a kind of thesaurus of materials, than for general perusal. The condensed and portable volumes of the Hansard Knolly's Society, are well adapted to wide circulation, and their perusal, unfolding, as they do, the

every nerve to unite warring sects, and to persuade men's hearts into a system by which their consciences were to be laid open to God alone—at the moment when it was most necessary for the very existence of the fatherland, that Catholic and Protestant should mingle their social and political relations, it was indeed a bitter disappointment for him to see wise statesmen of his own creed unable to rise to the idea of toleration. "The affair of the Anabaptists," wrote Saint Aldegonde, "has been renewed. The Prince objects to exclude them from citizenship. He answered me sharply, that their yea was equal to our oath, and that we should not press this matter, unless we were *willing to confess that it was just for the Papists to compel us to a divine service which was against our conscience.*" It seems hardly credible that this sentence, containing so sublime a tribute to the character of the Prince, should have been indited as a bitter censure, and that, too, by an enlightened and accomplished Protestant. "In short," continued Saint Aldegonde, with increasing vexation, "I don't see how we can accomplish our wish in this matter. The Prince has uttered reproaches to me that our clergy are striving to obtain a mastery over consciences. He praised lately the saying of a monk, who was not long ago here, that our pot had not gone as often to the fire as that of our antagonists, but that when the time came, it would be black enough. In short, the Prince fears that after a few centuries the clerical tyranny, on both sides, will stand in this respect on the same footing."

How clear and just a prescience did this noble mind thus exercise, in regard to clerical despotism; even that exercised by Puritan ministers, flying to the wilderness of this Western world to escape persecution themselves, and then so quickly forgetting the lessons ministered to them by their own smarting experience, and turning as fiercely on Baptists and Quakers their wrathful anathemas, enforced by whipping, imprisonment, banishment and hanging, as though all the past of their lives had taught them nothing! At an earlier period in his career, the following testimony occurs:

Upon one point, however, the Prince had been peremptory. He would have no persecution of the opposite creed. * * * He resolutely stood out against all meddling with men's consciences, or inquiring into their thoughts. While smiting the Spanish inquisition into the dust, he would have no Calvinist inquisition set up in its place. Earnestly a convert to the reformed religion, but hating and denouncing only what was corrupt in the ancient Church, he would not force men, with fire and sword, to travel to heaven upon his own road. Thought should be toll-free. Neither monk nor minister should burn, drown or hang his fellow-creatures, when argument and expostulation failed to redeem them from error. It was no small virtue, in that age, to rise to such a height. We know what Calvinists, Zwinglians, Lutherans, have done in the Netherlands, in Ger-

Christian character, the steadfast faith and ardent love of these martyr-disciples of our common Saviour, may well reward the careful study of all of us in these days of exemption from the personal experience of such fiery trials. The spirited illustrations here reproduced are exact copies from the originals.

many, in Switzerland, and, almost a century later, in New England. It is, therefore, with increased veneration that we regard this large and truly Catholic mind. His tolerance proceeded from no indifference. No man can read his private writings, or form a thorough acquaintance with his interior life, without recognizing him as a deeply religious man. He had faith unflinching in God. He had, also, faith in man, and love for his brethren.

Under his fostering, wise, patient guidance, in 1519, we have the following record :—

In religion, the provinces had advanced from one step to another, till they now claimed the largest liberty—freedom of conscience—for all. Religion, they held, was God's affair, not man's, in which neither people nor king had power over each other, but in which both were subject to God alone. In politics, it was different. Hereditary sovereignty was still acknowledged as a fact, but, at the same time, the spirit of freedom was already learning its appropriate language. It already claimed boldly the natural right of mankind to be governed by the laws of reason and Divine justice. If a prince were a shepherd, it was, at least, lawful to deprive him of his crook when he butchered the flock which he had been appointed to protect. So true is it that religious liberty paves the way for civil freedom—and also, as Don John, the minion and advocate of tyranny, pathetically complains, that *liberty is a contagious disease, which goes on infecting one neighbor after another, if the cure be not promptly applied.*

It was not till four years afterward that the King was formally deposed by his Netherland subjects—or in other words, they declared their Independence. With some formality, they announced that Philip was deposed justly, legally, formally—justly, because it had become necessary to abjure a monarch who was determined, not only to oppress, but to exterminate his people: legally, because he had habitually violated the Constitutions, which he had sworn to support: formally, because the act was done in the name of the people, by the body representing the people, and notified to foreign nations.

The disparity of forces in this great struggle is thus summarily stated :

Never had a contest seemed more hopeless at its commencement. Who could suppose that, upon that half-submerged, narrow tongue of land, that slender sand-bank, one hundred and twenty miles in length, and varying in breadth from four miles to forty, one man, backed by the population of a handful of cities, could do battle nine years long with the master of two worlds—the Dominator of Asia, Africa and America—the despot of the fairest realms of Europe—and conquer him at last. Nor was William even entirely master of that narrow shoal, where clung the survivors of a great national shipwreck. North and South Holland were cut in two by the loss of Harlem, while the enemy was in possession of the natural capital of the little country, Amsterdam. The Prince affirmed that the

cause had suffered more from the disloyalty of Amsterdam, than from all the efforts of the enemy.

Combine with this the desolation of the country, from the voluntary inundations, the sieges, battles, sackings and various ruin which had so long and so often overspread it, and none can wonder that, at one crisis, the purpose was seriously entertained of abandoning the country forever, and with what their vessels could carry, seek a new home in the Eastern or Western world. The windmills were then to be burned, the dykes pierced, the sluices opened in every direction, and the country restored forever to the ocean, from which it had sprung. But Providence ordered otherwise.

Of this Herculean, persistent conflict against such fearful disparity of force, with its various, but generally disastrous results—for, like our own great revolutionary leader, William gained few victories, and generally snatched their fruits from those who won them against him—we have neither space nor heart to present the record. The siege and sack of Harlem, the relief of Leyden, after sufferings, and by efforts and sacrifices such as the world has rarely known before or since, the Spanish fury in Antwerp, and some other similar scenes, are here drawn with masterly skill and fidelity.

But it is around Prince William of Orange that the interest of this whole narrative naturally and necessarily clusters. He is the living, pulsating heart, which imparts the warmth and vigor of all the system of resistance to the monstrous effort of King and Pope, of prelates and princes combined, to crush out the last particle of constitutional liberty in a gallant and worthy people. Hence, this history of Mr. Motley is indeed a grand epic, having a personal as well as a topical unity, and made in the end to rise to the moral grandeur of the highest tragedy. While in some respects a general and suggestive resemblance between this leader and our own immortal Washington is noticeable, there is a higher and more culminating, concentrated interest in the earlier than in the later Father of his Country. Our own was as great as the emergency required, and was rewarded by a nation's highest and most enthusiastic gratitude. But Holland's deliverer and guide, throughout a much more protracted and severe

conflict, with fewer coadjutors and a mightier antagonist, fortified by that worst and most relentless of all persistence—a perverted conscience and religious infatuation—died with the goal only in sight, cut off by the hand of an ignoble hired assassin, who had shared his hospitable kindness, and from his solicited generosity obtained the means to purchase the instruments of death. The soldier who sold to this miscreant hypocrite the pistols, unable to bear the horror of his unwilling part in the transaction, stabbed himself to the heart, and died despairing. Long as he (the Prince) lived, he was the guiding-star of a whole brave nation; and all over the provinces he governed, on the news of his death “the little children cried in the streets.”

But it is more than time that we turn to the less welcome part of our assigned theme—the antagonist of republican liberty in the Netherlands.

Who, then, was the real antagonist to the rise, and indeed to the existence of the Dutch Republic? Shall we say it was the ambitious and haughty Emperor Charles V.? who, though compelled most reluctantly in the peace of Passau to concede liberty of Protestant worship to those whom he had vainly endeavored to reduce to unconditional submission, is yet known to have enjoined on his son and successor, Philip II., the carrying out of the nefarious design for exterminating heresy, both in Spain and the Low Countries. Or does this antagonism concentrate itself in Philip? wily and haughty, both weasel and wolf, with a doggedness of pertinacity in evil, only equalled by the extreme lubricity of character which could stoop to any subterfuge and dissimulation; which rejoiced in a cunning so low and tortuous, as to sink his royal prerogative and bearing entirely out of sight. Or shall we look to his subordinates and instruments—to his first regent in the Netherlands, Margaret of Parma, his natural sister, or to her prime minister, Cardinal Granville, with his vast and varied capability, too concentratedly employed in this bad work? Or, as is more common, shall we seek to find this antagonist in the blood-thirsty Duke of Alva, wading through seas of blood, in remorseless atrocity, to quench out the last embers of liberty and of Protestant hope, so as to

fix one dismal night of black despotism and intolerance on all these fair provinces? Or shall we join with him the milder and more conciliatory Requesens, his successor? Or shall we look to Don John of Austria, the fiery, impetuous spirit employed after the two former, and so cruelly cheated by the King, whom he sought to serve, not wisely but too faithfully? Or, finally, to the last of this series, the Prince of Parma, more justly renowned for talents of every kind, than either or all of them combined?

The careful and thorough student of this portion of most important and suggestive history, will not be satisfied that either or all of these deserve the designation of *the antagonist* of this great movement. We must look farther and higher for the springhead of this powerful, opposing current. Rome it was, the all-grasping, intolerant, perfidious, and sleepless vicegerent of spiritual despotism, which set on foot, and through all this long period sustained, by her counsels, her fulminations, ghostly and secular, to prelates, and princes, and people, the stern and bloody contest, which so persistently sought to exterminate both the liberties and lives of those daring to desire the preservation of their inherited and dearly-cherished freedom, municipal and sacred. Let us establish this position by a reference to some few of the acts of Rome, promotive of this unholy purpose. In looking for these, let us bear in mind the astute and wily character of all her more questionable proceedings, which, as far as possible, leave no marked traces of her behind them. Like the skilful trapper, Rome learns to conceal her tracks. Hence, we have rather to evolve her influence from the acts and spirit of her agents, than to anticipate finding it barely and prominently set forth, in most instances, by her direct movements. Occasionally we may get secondary glimpses, and see the shadows of objects, where they remain invisible, impalpable. For instance, Mr. Motley, in his thorough investigations of the very suspicious circumstances connected with the death of Don Carlos, son of Philip II., finds proof positive that the whole narrative of his father's connection with that event, had been transmitted to the Vatican by the hand of the royal murderer. But when the copy of that letter is soli-

cited, even with the forlorn hope of mitigating or reversing the sentence of mankind on this horribly unnatural procedure, it is sternly withheld. There are footsteps into the cavern, but none returning! Can the only fair inference be resisted?

With such a thread for our guidance, look at the following facts :

1. The dying parental injunction of the Emperor to Philip to cherish the Holy Office as the instrument for extirpating heresy : "So, said he, shall you have my blessing, and the Lord shall prosper you in all things."
2. Look at the secret conference of Spanish and French Ecclesiastics at Peronne, in 1558, so incautiously whispered by the confiding French King to the Prince of Orange, the following year. None can reasonably doubt that the plan there concocted led to all the infamous and cruel butcheries of the thirty years' war for the extirpation of Protestantism, nor is there more ground for questioning that this was a direct emanation from Rome.
3. In furtherance of this plan, see the bull of the Pope, for vastly increasing the number and efficiency of the persecuting bishops, in the Low Countries. Ostensibly this was done by the desire of the king, but in how frequent instances is it proved, conclusively, that such solicitations were indited by those to whom they were addressed.
4. Notice the Machiavelian policy of Margaret of Parma, and her royal brother, learned, by the former at least, in the personal school of Loyola himself, the personation of concentrated Jesuitism. No wonder that she made treaties, truces, amnesties, on purpose, as she in secret and to the king avowed, that they might be repudiated on her part and his, when they had been trusted by her betrayed subjects.
5. See, next, that fell sentence of the Inquisition (1568), dooming all the inhabitants of the Netherlands (with a few exceptions named) to infamous death as heretics. True, this was afterwards confirmed by the King; but in this instance he only followed the act of Rome.
6. As if all sense of shame and decency were lost by the Mother of Harlots, unblushingly and vain-gloriously she sends a jeweled hat and sword to the murderous Alva, the year of his fiercest atrocities, accompanied with an autograph

letter of his holiness, requesting the bloody and perfidious Duke "to remember, when he put the hat upon his head, that he was guarded with it as with a helmet of righteousness, and with the shield of God's help, indicating the heavenly crown which was ready for all princes who support the Holy Church and the Roman Catholic faith." The motto of the sword was as follows: "*Accipe sanctum gladium, munus a Deo, in quo dejicies adversarios populi mei Israel.*" 7. One reason why Rome has had less and Philip more of the repute of these infamies, than either deserved, is simply because the former had infused into the latter the virus of her deadly hate so thoroughly, that it not only flowed in the veins, but warmed in the heart, and, in fact, permeated his whole system. Still she was the fountain-head whence all this poison issued. She consecrated and hallowed all his atrocities, and those of his instruments. She granted him plenary absolution from his oaths and engagements of the most sacred kind with his own subjects. In fine, she it was who set him on in his impious career, and shielded him in every act of duplicity, treachery, and murder, which he perpetrated in its prosecution. Once and again, when his pecuniary resources were more scanty than his malignity, Rome subsidized this loving and obedient son, thus making herself, directly and legally, *particeps criminis*. But enough of this. How super-erogatory are further proofs of a point so perfectly in harmony with her acts of abomination for more than a thousand years.

And in her relations to liberty, she is emphatically still the same. An "*infallible*" power does not change. In this middle of the nineteenth century she loves our republican liberty, our free press, free schools, free speech, and free worship, just as cordially as three centuries earlier she loved the Dutch Republic. Thanks to a favoring Providence, to an OPEN BIBLE, she cannot here succeed. Still, let us remember that eternal vigilance is the only safety for us. Nor will these timely publications be without their use; and if as widely perused as they should be, they will help to keep open the eyes of the masses of this generation who have personally seen little of the real character of the beast, so that forewarned they may be forearmed.

ARTICLE IV.—BIOGRAPHICAL LITERATURE.

EACH individual of the human species has a history. In those who depart early, it embraces the important events of birth, of life, and of death. This history is written, not upon paper, but in the flowers which annually bloom upon its grave, in the verse inscribed upon the stone which marks, for many a year, the place of its repose; in the lock of hair, or other memorial, carefully preserved, and often examined with melancholy interest. The circumstances, too, connected with its death, are frequently rehearsed, as a sad, but not uninteresting chapter in the annals of the household.

There are some things, some events, and some lives, which cannot be put upon paper. Language has, in no nation, reached that degree of refinement, nor has literary taste yet become so delicate and discriminating, that an author may enter upon such an effort with any hope of success. They are felt, and they fill the soul to overflowing with the loftiest emotions, and yet they cannot be transferred to parchment. They are rich *beyond expression*. Were all that accompanied the birth, the life and the death, even of some infants, written, we should have not only a volume, but the richest in this department of literature. We should then understand what now is mysterious in the conduct and lives of men, and which fills a large place in the history of nations.

"Incidentally," says a correspondent of a western paper, "I asked Gen. S—— if he had any children. I shall never forget the sudden, and almost terrible, shadow in the expression of his face, that this question produced. The conversation had begun about politics, and had been carried on very freely up to this point. My careless question, however, suddenly changed his expression. Never, in my life, did I see a broken heart so vividly pictured on human face. His breast heaved; the tears started in his eyes; he could hardly articulate. He answered by monosyllables and single words at a time. He told me that he had lost four young children last spring, within a few days of each other. As he described the death of his young son, at whose bedside he sat ten days without rest, he was often forced to stop to suppress his rising tears, and sobs. *That is what makes me desperate so often*, was the last remark he made, in describing his domestic misfortunes. As he said so, I thought that if the leaders of political parties knew each other's sorrows, the hidden causes of political hate and revolutions would soon cease to be a mystery."

Not unfrequently one or the other of these events is instrumental in effecting a change greater than any in the history of empires. It leads back a revolted soul to its allegiance to the Sovereign of the universe. Said a pious parent, who had followed two such little ones to the grave, and to whom we read what has thus far been written: "I spend hours, in succession, with my departed babes, and they are among my happiest hours on earth. The communion is a mysterious one, and the happiness is indescribable, but real." Nor can we withhold the remark, in passing, that the lives of—

Such vernal flowers that scent the morn ;
But wither in the rising day,

suggest inquiries, which Omniscience alone can answer, and bring up before the mind problems even that infinite wisdom alone can solve. Why live only to die? What is the precise moral condition of a human soul that has never sinned? What relation has the death of Christ to such? If all the events of time are but the links of an endless chain, what place does one so small fill? Are they happy beyond this life? If the moral government of God admits of their suffering here, why not hereafter? &c., &c. So that their biographies, brief and unwritten as they are, give rise to questions too vast for the grasp of any finite intellect.

For a still stronger reason, the life of each individual who has made some progress towards maturity, excites in our minds a deeper interest. Nor is this interest confined to intimate acquaintances and personal friends. A stranger cannot cross our path, or be in our presence for a single hour, without awakening within us a desire for information on points connected with his past history. There are in a single well-filled railroad car, thrown transiently together, materials enough for an extended library. And though not a sentence of it may ever be written, yet it is all as truly there as if the genius of a Scott or a Johnson had classified and arranged it, and the press had given it to the world. When the mind is not otherwise occupied, we are curious to learn what adventures each individual has planned. What disappoint-

ments he has met with, and how he has endured them; what griefs and what joys he has been the subject of; what passions and appetites are within him, and how he controls them; what breadth of intellect he possesses, and how it has been improved. How he is solving the problem of keeping soul and body together. And above all, what is the condition of his conscience? Does he listen, with habitual respect, to its softest whispers? Does he entertain intelligent, well-established views of his great work in this world, and of his destiny in that which is to come? Is he mindful of the hazard which he runs of losing his soul, and is he in earnest in making his calling and election sure? These, and an endless series of similar inquiries, arise unbidden, as the eye falls now on this and now on that fellow-passenger. And nothing but the laws regulating the intercourse of the individual with society, prevent us from drawing aside the veil and satisfying our curiosity, by an actual and minute inspection of these mysteries.

Nor do these laws always, or very generally, prove a sufficient protection to these secrets of personal history. Who has not seen inquisitive glances cast towards himself? Who has not been annoyed by an ingenuity, fertile in expedients, tasked to its uttermost, to learn even solitary items of his past life: Where born; his name; his residence; what his occupation or profession; whither going, and with what intent; who his acquaintances; what his position in society?

A writer, who has long and successfully studied man, makes the following truthful remark: "Let any one define to himself the real significance of the phenomena, named gossip, egotism, personal narrative (miraculous or not), scandal, raillery, slander, and such like, the sum total of which constitutes what is called conversation, and will he not come to the conclusion that biography is, among the wants of men, the one thing needful?" Rising higher still, we find single passages of deep and thrilling interest in lives not otherwise distinguished from the mass around them. There is the hairbreadth escape. The individual, after a manly resistance, is taken captive by savage foes. Slowly he wears away wearisome months, and even years, it may be, before the hour of

his deliverance arrives. Then his escape, if possible, possesses more of a tragic interest than his capture. In the various conflicts between civilization and barbarism, how many such scenes and incidents in the history of individuals, have been preserved. And when another Cooper shall arise, they will constitute the rich materials out of which his fertile imagination will construct tales to charm many an ear, and to beguile many a tedious hour.

The ocean, too, abounds in personal narratives of the most exciting character. The fearless son of Neptune has, with great exertion and skill, guided his gallant ship on its way in safety, when the waters of the deep roared and were troubled. Or casting his frail body forth upon the wide expanse of waters, he has entered into a struggle for life, with the winds and the waves, at a time when the huge leviathan of the deep with bones of oak and sinews of iron, could not outstride the storm. Or, perhaps, prompted by feelings of humanity, he has sought to save the lives of others at the imminent peril of his own. Unchaining whatever craft was at hand, he has, without a thought of danger, shoved it into the water and been lost to the sight amidst the waves and spray of the agitated deep. But he has reappeared with those whom he has snatched from the very jaws of death.

Perhaps our attention is directed to a single figure, or a group, thrown upon canvas, or chiselled out of the rock. We admire not the colors of the paint, or the smoothness and polish of the marble, but the attitude and other expressions of the character and emotions of each individual of the group. We look upon a fine building, and are charmed with its general expression of neatness, of beauty, of strength, or of grandeur; we see its relations to the ground and country around it; within we find as much to admire as in its external appearance. Perhaps it is some production of the pen: a romance, a drama, a poem, an essay, or a history. It may be our attention is directed to some musical composition which, in turn, awakens within us all the emotions of which our natures are susceptible. No matter from which department of the fine arts the production before us emanated, it is not enough that we see and enjoy it, but we must become

acquainted with the mind originating it. Who can survey the cathedral on Ludgate Hill, and be satisfied with what he can read upon the tomb of Christopher Wren, beneath the choir :

Subitus conditur,
Hujus Ecclesię et Urbis Conditor.

It will only make him eager to learn more of his life. Who ever completed the perusal of *Paradise Lost*, closed the volume and cared not to know who John Milton was? When and where, and of whom born; by whom and by what educated, and with what ease or what labor did he, uninspired, rise to such heights of thought, and sustain himself for so long a time with such dignity? No one, we presume, save the mathematician, who asked, coolly, "What has he proved?"

Indeed, when society has had the production and not the producing mind, there has been a restlessness extending through years, and in some instances, through centuries. Archives, public and private, have been searched, to discover the well-kept secret. When *Marmion*, and then the *Waverly* series, were published, how numerous were conjectures respecting the name of the author, and how unquiet the mind of the public until it was known.

When, nearly a hundred years since, a series of letters appeared in *Woodfall's Public Advertiser*, over the signature of Junius, marked by great boldness and severity, what efforts were then made to ascertain, "who Junius was." Nor has the interest passed away with the abuses of government, which called forth those severe strictures. The desire to know the name of the author has outlived the popularity of his production. The most prying curiosity, and the most industrious ingenuity, have been at work, for nearly a century, to collect circumstantial evidence on this point. Hence it is that a distinguished writer remarks:

Even in the highest works of art, our interest, as the critics complain, is too apt to be strongly, or even mainly, of a biographical sort. In the art we can nowise forget the artist; while looking on the *Transfiguration*; while studying the *Iliad*; we ever strive to figure to ourselves what spirit dwelt in Raphael; what a head was that of Homer, wherein, woven of Elysian light and Tartarian gloom, the old world fashioned itself

together, of which these written Greek characters are but a feeble though perennial copy. The painter and the singer are present to us; we partially, and for the time, become the very painter and the very singer, while we enjoy the picture and the song. Perhaps, too, let the critic say what he will, this is the highest enjoyment, the clearest recognition, we can have of these. Art is indeed art, yet man is man.

When any one of our race has been successful in an eminent degree, in what he has undertaken, we have a desire to go back of, and beyond, the fact of his success, and learn what may be learned of the life of the man. He has discovered some great truth, or invented some new and more rapid and easy way of doing what the wants of mankind require to be done. He has wielded the pen of a ready writer, and by it has changed the current of thought in the mind of millions, and the course of action of generations. In the senate, in the pulpit, or at the bar, he has stood peerless, the unflinching advocate, the champion of truth and right. Or, in the accumulation of wealth, he has distanced all competitors, and stands without a rival. Who, that is thus distinguished, can remain unknown?

The public is eager to have in its possession a full-length portrait of the inner as well as the outer man. And if this is desired, then men will seize upon anecdotes, scraps, fragments, items, anything true or false, to supply the deficiency. Nor is this imperious desire limited to the lives of those who have worked the thing which is good, but extends to all who have been successful in what they have undertaken, whether it be good or bad.

There is a demand for the biography of Nero as well as of St. Paul, of Judas as well as of John, of P. T. Barnum as well as of Amos Lawrence.

Then there is the *celebré*, notorious for villany or eccentricity, holding a high position, or the candidate for such a position. But we have said enough to make it manifest that the material for the construction of this kind of literature is abundant. The desire, also, to have whatever genius or industry can manufacture out of it, has no limit. At least we so judge from the ceaseless flow of such works from the press.

The range which this kind of literature takes, is a broad

one, and claims a passing notice in this discussion. It enters largely into the drama. No dramatist could proceed a single step in composition without his characters, without his *dramatis personæ*. These are developed not at once, but gradually, as the plot is unfolded. Though it is not the design of the drama to record, with exactness, the lives of individuals, even when they have an actual existence, yet from this kind of composition we often get the best impression which we have of the persons introduced as principal actors in the scheme. We are, perhaps, more indebted to Shakspeare than to Niebuhr, Hume, or Macaulay, for the vivid likeness we have of Julius Cæsar, Mark Antony, the Richards and the Henrys.

It makes a large part of epic poetry, also. What know we of Achilles and Agamemnon, of Æneas and Dido, and of many others associated with them, except from the great epics of Greece and Rome?

What is true of the drama and of epic poetry, is equally true of that which has usurped their place in modern literature; we mean romance, or fiction. The theatre is no longer the exclusive resort of the masses for amusement. The play has dropped its machinery, its formal division into acts and scenes, and also its ancient name: but in its new dress, it retains all else, good and bad. Out of the materials furnished by the ever-varying incidents in the lives of men, with the aid of the imagination, the novelist composes his fascinating narrative. The reader, also, must, during the perusal, believe it to be a veritable chapter in the lives of its heroes, or he will find no amusement or interest in following its mysterious thread to the end.

Fiction, in respect to its character, like the drama, may be either tragic or comic, or tragi-comic. But, whether the one or the other, the actors must be beings capable of reasoning, of suffering pain, and enjoying pleasure, from the circumstances in which they are placed, like ourselves. It may not be necessary for the writer to go back and disclose to us, in detail, all the past lives of the persons introduced, but we must know enough of their previous history to give us an interest in whatever may befall them.

We freely admit, however, that the main design of this

kind of composition differs widely from that of biography proper. It is indifferent with the writer of fiction whether the reader be so affected or not with the characters introduced, that he will feel a desire to imitate their excellences, and shun their vices. If the reader is merely interested, amused, and made to forget, in the thrilling incidents of the story, all that vexes and troubles him in his own affairs, the design of the author is accomplished. This, however, we look upon as a perversion and prostitution even of fiction. It may, and often does, run side by side with well-written biography, and it is impossible to distinguish the one from the other. The means, the influence, and the end of each are the same. Often, in the same production, they meet and mingle, each contributing its part easily and naturally, to the ultimate effect. If there is any excuse for the bad impression which either leaves upon the mind of the reader, it cannot be plead in behalf of fiction.

Dr. Johnson observes, in a number of the "Rambler":

In narratives where historical veracity has no place, I cannot discover why there should not be exhibited the most perfect idea of virtue; of virtue, not angelical, nor above probability. For what we cannot credit, we shall never imitate. But the highest and purest which humanity can reach, which, exercised in such trials as the various revolutions of things shall bring upon it, may, by conquering some calamities, and enduring others, teach us what we may hope and what we can perform.

In the drama, in poetry, and in romance, no events should be introduced plainly contradictory to facts. Nor should any allusion ever be made to incidents or realities, however slight and delicate, which, upon investigation, will be found to be at variance with the truth.

The experiment is always a hazardous one, and the effect may be disastrous to the reputation of the author, and prevent the impression which his production might otherwise make. The Kentuckian, who knew all the Shelbys of his State, was not much moved by a perusal of Uncle Tom's Cabin.

The laws or principles which should govern an author, in working up these materials, next claim our attention. We suggest the following as the most important:

The biographer should divest himself of all anxiety to make a book. This, in most instances, is not easily done.

The mode of getting up a modern memoir is somewhat after this manner: First, advertise for letters. This will usually bring in matter enough of this kind. The correspondence of any individual, in middle life, will, itself, make a good-sized volume, perhaps two or three. There are his letters to his family, written when absent, on business or pleasure. These will give the public an insight into the character of his domestic affections and relations. There are, also, letters, not a few, penned to intimate friends. From these can be shown his character as a social man. And then there are his letters of business, giving some just conception of his character as a public man, and of the responsibility which he felt, and, perhaps, sustained, in reference to the great movements and interests of the age in which he lived.

Secondly, gather together the manuscript which he wrote in reference to himself, in the form of a diary of fragments of his life, of personal memoranda, &c., &c. Few individuals, of any eminence, pass through life, without having occasion, for one purpose or another, to accumulate a considerable amount of this kind of material. Having a regard to their own personal improvement, they may take this method to impress, more deeply, upon their own minds, any deficiencies which they or others may have detected. Or they may design, in this way, to erect a lasting monument, to remind them of the safety of trusting in God in seasons of despondency and darkness. Having found "the valley of Achor the door of hope," they wish to perpetuate a knowledge of the important discovery, for their own personal benefit. Or, knowing the imperfections of memory, they may have transferred to paper important transactions and events, in which they themselves were personally interested, and to which they might have occasion to recur at some distant period in the future. These and other considerations of a kindred nature, frequently induce men to write, sometimes voluminously, about things with which their own personal history is more or less intimately connected. If one indulges his pen, only sparingly, in this kind of composition, he will find, before he has advanced far in life, a surprising amount of manuscript accumulating upon his hands; and all this, at his

decease, unless otherwise disposed of, will pass under the inspection of some one who may have undertaken to write his biography.

Thirdly, invite the personal recollections and reminiscences of intimate friends. A few letters sent out, soliciting information of this kind, might bring back what, in some instances, would, of itself, make a volume of no common interest. A good memory, joined with a fertile imagination, and a correct literary taste, can find news and incidents of thrilling interest, in the life and labors of the deceased, almost without end, and can set them forth in fascinating periods. Meekness under provocation; humility in the midst of well-earned and universal applause; penitence under a sense of wrong inflicted upon others, in a crisis, even surpassing expectation, which it seemed impossible for a finite being to equal. Fragments of this description, when properly gathered up, constitute the most abundant and the richest portion of a well-written memoir.

Fourthly, the records of schools, academies, and colleges, together with the oral testimony of persons of singular memories, found in every community, will give all the public care to know of the childhood and youth of the individual whose life is to be written.

Fifthly, nurses, watchers, physicians, clergymen, and other attendants and friends, can give a minute and full account of the declining and closing portion of life; a portion in which most readers feel a deeper interest than in any other. How one approaches the solemn period which terminates, forever, his relations to the persons and things which he has long loved, and with what faltering or fortitude, with what fears or hopes he enters the world of spirits, is a question which all who read, must have answered. A biography which touches lightly and timidly this part of the life of its subject, which does not inform us of the emotions excited in the soul, as the light and joys of life were yielding to the shadows and silence of death, will fail of giving general satisfaction. The work will be felt by all to be incomplete.

Having thus collected the materials, the next and the

most difficult, but essential, thing to be done, is to decide into what form to cast the mass; what to publish and what to suppress. With such a vast pile of documents before him, the author is tempted to extend his work until he wearies the patience, and satiates the appetite of his readers. We have not time or space, in this article, to unfold the principles which should guide a writer in making his selections, or in deciding what may and what may not go before the public. Suffice it to say, that he who does not know that there are such principles, and also what they are, should consign his materials to other and more skilful hands. No desire to make a book should ever induce an author to violate the fundamental laws of this department of literature. However abundant the materials, none but those essential to the end he proposes to himself, should be admitted; and though his production dwindled down into a mere pamphlet, as where materials are scarce, the imagination of the writer, however prolific, should not be allowed to supply the deficiency, for the sake of making a full-sized volume.

No effort should be made to commit the deceased to the opinions of a sect or party, much less to opinions held by the biographer himself, perhaps, alone. The temptation to this is always strong, and what is worse, is not always resisted. In the severe conflicts among men, the aid of the departed is often invoked in a more substantial form than that of a figure of speech or stroke of the imagination.

The sentiment of Shakspeare, that

The evil that men do lives after them;
The good is oft interred with their bones,

answered his purpose well as a part of the funeral oration for Cæsar; but as a general principle, it is not true. Posthumous authority is always more weighty and influential than living. From the constitution of our nature, this must ever be so. What sentiments an individual uttered, what opinions held, what counsel gave, while in life, are greatly enhanced in value after his demise. In their grief at his loss, men, losing sight of his frailties and of the imperfections of his judgment, give to his opinions the weight which is due to

inspiration alone. Nor is this surprising. In the heat of a controversy, not argument alone is relied upon for victory, but every available means, every instrumentality, is pressed into the service of those who are eager for the triumph of their cause. For such an one it would be easy to write the lives of Washington and Jefferson, and make them cast the entire weight of their posthumous reputation on the side of modern abolition. And yet, who does not see that this would be doing great injustice to their characters as statesmen. In this same way, John Milton and Isaac Newton have been claimed by Unitarians of the present generation; and we recollect once seeing the former, even that sturdy and uncompromising advocate of Baptist doctrines and ordinances, put down as almost a pedo-baptist. He was represented as standing uneasy in his position, and held only by the leashes of superstition. It would not be difficult to number scores of biographies, otherwise well written, where this eagerness to secure the testimony of the departed in favor of a sect or a party, is too manifest throughout the entire production.

In behalf of the honored dead, we object to their being made parties to controversies still raging among the living. We do not know the individual among our most intimate friends whom we would trust, without great reluctance, much less commission, to expound our views publicly, upon any controverted point. Especially would we object to any announcement of what we do believe, gathered from remarks we made in conversation, or dropped loosely, without weighing their exact import, in a confidential correspondence, before the question became one of vital importance to the interests of society. There is no man, whose thoughts are worth making known to the public, who, on any mooted subject, were he present, would not feel bound, in justice to himself, to modify the statements which any one could make in his behalf. Besides, to call in the aid of the great names of departed worthies to sustain our cause, is an acknowledgment of our own weakness, which we should be slow to make. And to write a volume with no other purpose than to show that we think as they thought, is a prostitution of a rich de-

partment of literature to our own selfishness, alike unjust to them, and dishonorable to us.

A biographer should refrain from any attempts to forestall public opinion, as to the rank which posterity will assign his hero. If the individual have recently deceased, it is impossible for those most intimate with him, while living, and in some respects best prepared to form an opinion of his merits, to say what will be the judgment of posterity. Whom men, one or two hundred years hence, will single out and elevate to the highest summits of fame, as the great minds and master-workmen of the present generation, it is impossible for any one now to know. Whatever may be their final decision, one thought should allay all anxiety on our part. It will be impartial, and nothing which we can now say, will have any weight with them in making up their verdict.

In order that any one may be "in everlasting remembrance," something more is needful than that he be popular while he lives, or that his numerous personal friends and admirers unite in an earnest petition to those who may come after them, that they see to it that he have his proper place in the calendar of worthies; something more is needful, even, than that he have ascended rapidly through all the grades of office up to the highest, and there remained, until, of his own free will, he resigned the honors he so honestly won, and so long enjoyed. Succeeding generations and distant ages will demand specimens of his work. They will inquire for the evidence, then existing, that he ever lived. They will search diligently among the institutions of society, and among all the channels of thought, for the monuments and records of his true greatness. The present condition of philosophy, of penal codes and prisons, of executive power, as a branch of government, and of the Church, in its relation to the State, are monuments, more enduring than marble or brass, to the memory of Bacon and Howard, and Sidney and Williams. Not until men cease to value their civil and ecclesiastical rights, and not until every vestige of civilization and social refinement has disappeared from

among the ruins, even, of the present goodly structure of society, will the names, associated with the struggles through which nations have passed, to gain their present enviable eminence, be forgotten.

It is equally true, that neither of the individuals just mentioned, were honored by their contemporaries. Bacon fell from the highest office in the State, by the commission of a high offence, and, in the retirement to which he was driven by his unpardonable offence, he did his great work; while the meanest, he became the greatest of mankind. Howard could not write a correct English sentence; was censured for his want of domestic affections, and had to force his work, and the results of his labors, upon the attention of those in power. Sidney died a criminal, and Williams was banished to the wilderness, and "for fourteen weeks, knew not what bed or bread did mean;" and yet these are the men whose names can never pass into oblivion, and whose monuments are above the reach of the tooth of time.

The portrait should be drawn true to life. If the object of the writer is merely to amuse and interest his readers, this will not be essential; it may stand in the way, as a positive hindrance to his design. With such productions, half true and half fictitious, we have, now, nothing to do. But where the object of the writer is, "*clarorum virorum facta moresque tradere posteris*," any departure from the truth, any painting or coloring, to make the character of the individual appear upon paper what it did not to the minds of those who had known him long and intimately in life, is unpardonable and criminal. And yet it must be confessed, that to present such a picture, such a Daguerreotype, of any human being, is no idle task. In executing this part of his work, a copious diary will not often be of much service to an author. It may even mislead him, and so also may correspondence with intimate friends. When published without comment, and the deceased, through them, is left, as it is often said, to speak for himself, we can scarcely conceive of a more unsatisfactory means of bringing out and exhibiting real character.

The condition of mind in which the individual was when he made his entries in his diary, is not the one in which he

was when in his family, and when filling his place and doing his work among men. The penitence and sorrow which he there seems to feel, and no doubt did feel, in view of his many deficiencies, he was never heard to express, perhaps, in his most confidential intercourse with his friends; nay, he would have promptly defended himself from any such charge, if made by another. His humility and meekness were evanescent; they scarcely waited for the ink, recording them, to dry before they took their flight from the heart. To search for the true character of the man among such records, would be as unwise as for that of "the fellow of infinite jest" among the dolorous strains of "the Night Thoughts."

It is for this reason that men of thoughtful minds, aware of the danger of deceiving others, and even themselves, frequently lay aside all attempts at diary writing, or, from time to time, destroy what they write. Dr. Gregory, the author of the *Memoir of Robert Hall*, tells us that "he [Hall] was not in the habit of keeping a regular journal, nor, generally speaking, did he approve of it, from a persuasion that it tempted to an artificial tone of expression, which did not accord with the actual state of the heart." And yet most biographers rely on this with undoubting confidence. But to delineate character true to the life, something more is needed than to edit the most impassioned parts of a diary, or the most interesting portions of an extended correspondence. The prominent traits or qualities which distinguish one man from another, and constitute what is denominated character, are there with difficulty discovered. They are scarcely seen at all in the quiescent hours of retirement and reflection. At such times, and under such circumstances, there are noticeable scarcely any points of difference among men: "The rogue and fool, then, are fair and wise." The most abandoned of the human race then view their whole course of life with a depth of abhorrence unfelt by the virtuous.

We must follow the man to his work. We must see his conscience tempted with bribes, and assaulted by passion. We must see his intellect clouded, bewildered, and lost amidst the speculations of an unsound and sceptical philosophy. We

must see him when his reputation is wantonly assailed, or, when forsaken of men, and apparently left of God, he struggles in the depths of adversity, before we can know the man, or speak with confidence of his rank among men. We must know how he chose his place in society, how he tugged to sustain an enterprise in the days when its friends were few and its resources limited, when intellect, and refinement, and power came and looked on him, but passed by on the other side, and when the mass complimented him with sneers, and loaded him with reproaches. We must measure the range of his vision and reach of his faith, as he thinks and plans, and toils for humanity, before our verdict will command universal respect. We must learn how he carried himself, when, in the days of his triumph, his enemies and his persecutors came and licked the dust at his feet, and men of titles, and rank and power, vied with each other to do him homage. In a word, until we have thoroughly studied character, not as it appears in the drivelling sentimentality or morbid spirituality of a journal, or in the fortitude and courage manifested in epistolary writings, when difficulties, and dangers, and temptations were all in the distance, but as it appears and impresses us in the heat of the conflict, and in the very forefront of the battle, we are not prepared to work at the canvas.

Besides the difficulty just mentioned, there is another which the author has to surmount. It is a maxim, like most maxims, venerable for its antiquity, but expressing only part of the truth: "De mortuis, nil, nisi bonum." This sentiment seems to lean to virtue's side, and yet few biographers can regard it with any strictness and be honest and truthful. Human nature, in its most degraded forms, is seldom lost to all good, nor is it beyond the reach of weakness and imperfection in its most elevated state. There are instances, not a few, in which even the most virtuous act from passion, and not from principle,—are influenced by unworthy and dishonorable motives in their conduct,—lapse into sin, and live on, many a month, in a moral and spiritual condition far from satisfactory to themselves. There is nothing seen, from day to day, in their lives, indicating strong attachment and high

devotion to any great and good cause. At last they are startled from their guilty indifference, perhaps, only by a view, almost supernatural, of their impending ruin. Their surprise that they have wandered so far and so long from the path of duty, is surpassed only by their alarm lest another step may involve their own characters in life-long shame, and the cause which they have been set apart to defend, in needless and inefaceable disgrace.

Then each individual has his peculiar excellencies, and also his peculiar defects; defects which no discipline, human or divine, has ever been able to correct, and which no depths of conviction of their baneful effects upon his influence has ever been able even to repress and conceal. How often are we compelled to say of others, as an intimate friend and admirer did of Andrew Fuller: "Though his faults were trivial compared with his excellencies, yet they were, in my view, very apparent, and, as is generally the case in very forcible characters, they possessed a certain prominence."

Now, if in such cases we may not say anything of the dead which is not eulogistic, then we are not at liberty to deliver over to posterity the life of any man as it impressed the minds of his contemporaries. We are aware that there is great sensitiveness on this point. Personal friends and partisans do not without a struggle give their consent that the whole truth should be told of one who stands as the idol of their affections and the exponent of their principles. Numerous instances might be cited in which literary honesty has met with a most determined opposition, and most undeserved censure. What Macaulay has written on a single page of history, has excited to resistance and provoked to denial the whole sect of truth-loving and non-resistant Quakers. Well does he say: "To speak the whole truth concerning Penn, is a task which requires some courage."

Again: Memoirs are often written too soon after the decease of the subject of them. "While the sentiments of friendship and admiration are finding their natural expression in the language of unrestrained eulogy, it is hardly permitted to assume a judicial impartiality." Time, therefore, should be given for grief to subside. The results of his

labors should all be gathered up and classified. Until this can be done with candor and discrimination, the author is not prepared to proceed with his work.

The finest specimens of truthful and life-like biography are found in the Bible. Saints though many of them were, and though the success of the book, and the prevalence and popularity of its system of religion, depended more upon the purity of the lives of its friends and advocates than that of any other book or system, yet the whole truth is invariably told. The drunkenness of Noah, the incest of Lot, the adultery of David, the idolatry of Solomon, the temerity and consequent fall and profanity of Peter, the unbelief of Thomas, the unjustifiable dissension of Paul and Barnabas, and the apostasy and suicide of Judas Iscariot, all are narrated with a most scrupulous fidelity to truth.

The work should be executed in such a way that its influence upon the mind of the reader should be moral in the highest degree. This is often a delicate task, requiring great discrimination in the selection of facts, great care and skill in grouping them together, and a familiar acquaintance with the principles of human nature. Where the entire life has been an unbroken career of guilt, posterity will suffer no loss if never informed that such a monster of impurity had an existence. The name of the wicked should be allowed to rot, unless it is in some way connected with veritable history. This is the merited doom which inspiration pronounces upon it, and the natural tendency, by the very constitution of things, is in the same direction. This is a salutary provision of Divine Providence. We act not wisely, therefore, if we strive to arrest this tendency, and to perpetuate the remembrance of the wicked. All unmixed evil should be avoided, as we shun whatever is offensive by its putrescence. Hence the lives of highwaymen and pirates, of courtesans and debauchees, of mountebanks and swindlers, whipped or unwhipped of justice, hung or unhung, should not be written. Men who have shown no respect for wholesome institutions, who have trampled upon the best established principles of morality, and who have waged an un-

ceasing war against the dearest interests of humanity, cannot be too soon forgotten.

But there are characters made of great excellence and great defects; these elements apparently hold each other in even balance. When seen in real life, they excite, in turn, the opposite emotions of admiration and aversion. When this is the case, the writer, wittingly or unwittingly, may make the great excellences lend even a charm to the defects. This not only may be, but, we regret to add, often has been done. One such book is enough to sap and mine the morals of the youth of an entire nation. It is enough to have rumor spread through the land a report of the immorality and infidelity of men who wear the tiara and keys of intellect. That the aid of letters should be proffered to the same end is unpardonable. If an author is tempted to this from want of bread, society would do well to allow him to retire upon a pension, or to settle upon him an annuity, rather than endure the evils which he might by his pen inflict upon the morals and the faith of the public. Biographies of fictitious characters have always been open to this censure; and well would it be for the interests of morality and religion, if they alone deserved it.

It was a part of our design, in the preparation of this article, to have noticed the different forms in which Memoirs may be written; also the relation between Biography and History; and, finally, the usefulness of this kind of literature. But we have already filled our pages, and must defer a discussion of these most interesting topics to a future issue.

ARTICLE V.—CHRISTIAN EXPERIENCE IN ITS RELATION TO MINISTERIAL SUCCESS.

NOTHING on earth is so powerful as goodness; nothing like it to control the heart. But goodness, powerful as it is, unattended by a mightier influence, will not work that transformation of character which it is the object of the preacher to effect. Even the spotless life of the Son of God did not mould into its own likeness those who enjoyed the advantages of his personal ministry. The Day of Pentecost, that day of the Spirit's special influence, added to the Church more disciples than many days of labor by Christ and his apostles, before these ministers were endued with the Spirit from on High. The Spirit's influence in the ministry, and, by the ministry, in the hearts of others, works into the soul that love of the truth, that intensity of Christian feeling, that persistence in Christian effort, which are indispensable to the progress of the cause of Christ.

As a denomination, we Baptists have always insisted upon piety as essential to ministerial character and usefulness. Human learning, and the discipline of the schools, we have sometimes, in theory, undervalued; but a renovated heart, enlarged Christian experience, profound views of the law of God and of the gospel of Christ, never. The rule, that "no man has a moral right to preach beyond his own experience," we may not have rigidly adhered to, but we have not knowingly ordained to the work of the ministry a man who has not given credible evidence that he is in Christ Jesus, and therefore a new creature. More than this. We have looked to our preachers, whether evangelists, missionaries, or pastors, for higher attainments in piety, for stronger faith, intenser zeal, livelier hope, profounder humility, more glowing love; in a word, for larger experience in all the graces of a perfect Christian character and life, than has been required for simple membership in a church. Love for what has been called experimental preaching prevails so largely with the mass of our people, that the deep murmur of unsat

ified desire will always manifest itself, if our pastor's sermons do not show the communings of his own heart with the inner life of the truths which he utters. Our tastes and our characters, at least in this country, were formed by a class of ministers, whose experience of the working of gospel truth upon the heart and life was especially rich and instructive. Truth, as it lay in their minds, was not a cold intellection. It was emotional; it stirred their souls to their lowest depths; it aroused their activities, nerved their energies, and made their intellects, their consciences, their wills, work, and work for God and humanity. A woe they felt was upon them, if they did not preach, and preach the gospel; that, and nothing but that, met the cravings of their own souls, met the wants of their own case as sinners. Christ crucified, risen, interceding, was the basis on which rested their hopes; and to them it seemed that nothing but the same atoning sacrifice and finished righteousness, and prevailing intercession, could save a soul from death, and hide a multitude of sins.

Having these views of our denominational sentiment, believing that these views are entirely Scriptural, and that the presentation of them will not be untimely, we shall offer to our readers some thoughts upon *Christian experience in its relation to ministerial success*.

No man, whose heart has not been renewed, can understand the truths which constitute the gospel, and upon the preaching of which all ministerial success must depend.

Spiritual things are spiritually discerned. The natural man knoweth not the things of the Spirit. The late William Wilberforce, a man of distinguished piety, on one occasion prevailed on William Pitt to accompany him to hear the eminently spiritual Richard Cecil. The preacher delivered a discourse on one of the leading points of Christian faith and duty,—a discourse which struck Mr. Wilberforce as being unusually imbued with the spirit of fervent piety and evangelical truth. On returning from the place of worship Mr. Wilberforce asked Mr. Pitt what he thought of the sermon. The answer of the illustrious statesman was :

I did not understand one word of all that I have heard. Indeed, I could not have been more ignorant of the preacher's meaning, if, instead

of addressing his audience in English, he had spoken all the time in an unknown tongue.

The difficulty thus complained of by the Prime Minister of England, has been felt and acknowledged by not a few erudite men, who have listened to the gospel without spiritual profiting. The eyes of their understanding were closed, that they could not see; and their ears heavy, that they could not hear.

Dr. Chalmers, in his sermon on spiritual blindness, says:

The Bible is often made the subject of a much higher scholarship than the mere reading of it. It may be the theme of many a laborious commentary. The light of cotemporaneous history may be made to shine upon it. Those powers and habits of criticism, which are of so much avail towards the successful elucidation of the mind and meaning of other authors, may all be transferred to that volume of which God is the author, and still, after having exhausted the uttermost resources of scholarship, these critics may find themselves laboring at a threshold of height and of difficulty which they cannot scale. As if struck with blindness, like the men of Sodom, they weary themselves in vain to find the door. After having reared their stately argumentations about the message of peace, they have no peace—about the word of faith, they have no faith—about the doctrine of godliness, they have no godliness.

Germany, perhaps more than any other country, has had these lights, which were no lights; but England, also, and the United States, have had not a few men of great learning, of giant intellects, of noble natural impulses, who have brought their vast stores of knowledge to the elucidation of Divine truth; and still, after all their efforts to force their way into the regions of spiritual illumination, they have known less of the doctrine of Jesus Christ than the man of the humblest capacity, who has been taught by the Spirit of the living God, who has "hid these things from the wise and prudent, and revealed them unto babes."

Divine things are not objects merely for the speculative understanding. They have to do with the emotions, the sentiments. Reason cannot evolve them. Association cannot suggest them. Imagination cannot compass them. The faculties to which they are addressed are not perceptive, suggestive, reasoning, imaginative, tasteful only. They are emotive, feeling. The man who should say, I comprehend an intellection which I have not known, would talk as intelligently as the one who should say, I comprehend a feeling

which I have not felt. A practical trial of Christianity is indispensable to all satisfying insight into its nature. It must be experienced to be understood. It must be tried to be comprehended. As Anselm says :

We must first renounce the flesh, and live after the Spirit, before we may venture to investigate the deep things of faith; for the natural man has no perception of Divine things. The more we practice, in active obedience, that which the Holy Scriptures teach us for practical living, and so nourish ourselves, the greater shall be our progress in that which gives satisfaction to the cravings of the mind after knowledge. He who believes not will not experience; and he who has not experienced will not understand; for, as high as actual experience is above the mere hearing of a thing, so high is his knowledge, who has experience of faith, above his who barely knows by report. The practical is so closely connected with the theoretical, that not only can no one rise to a higher state of knowledge without faith and keeping the Divine commandments, but, oometimes, the very understanding bestowed is withdrawn, and faith itself destroyed, because a good conscience has been neglected.

To some our assertion may seem strange, mysterious, incomprehensible. But in this Christian emotions are subjected to no other law than that which governs all our knowledge, whether of matter or mind, body or spirit.

We cannot become acquainted with anything, except by the impressions which it makes upon us; and these impressions are made upon our different senses, external and internal. As we know the taste of a substance by the palate, and its color by the eye, so we know the joyfulness of an event by the happiness which it produces, and the amiableness of an object by the love which we feel for it. Or, to express the same idea in another form :

God has created everything double; a world without us and a world within us. He has made light without, and the eye within; beauty without, and taste within; moral qualities in actions, and a conscience to judge of them. The internal powers are called into exercise by their corresponding external objects.

The organ of vision is excited by the presence of light, the sense of smell by odors, the faculty of taste by beauty or deformity. No man in his senses would say, that without the eye one could be made acquainted with the beautiful colors of the rainbow; that without the ear, he could enjoy the delightful harmony of an exquisite musical performance, or, without taste, the delicate flavor of the peach or orange.

The several senses must exist, and so far as we know, be

constituted as they are, before impressions from their corresponding external objects can be received. The light of day might be poured eternally upon any other living substance than the eye, and vision would not be produced. External objects are not creative. They can act only upon organs already existent. Given the corresponding faculty, and pleasure the most thrilling, or pain the most excruciating, may be the result. This law holds good of the affections as of the senses. The love of offspring is a natural affection. It springs up spontaneously in the bosom of every parent. It waits for no acquaintance to produce it; no argument to enforce it; no example to direct it; with a gush of feeling which a parent only knows when it hears the first cry of life, and sees the helpless, unconscious babe, incapable of the most distant recognition, and presses it to a heart which would spill its blood to secure the little infant from harm. The delicacy and strength of a mother's fondness, in a moment, starts into full maturity and power. In the bosom of the lowliest peasant, a new fountain of sensibility is opened when he feels that he is a father. Every one whose heart has throbbed with this parental emotion, knows full well, that all this tenderness, all this depth of feeling, was utterly incomprehensible by him up to the very time that the appropriate external object called it into existence. Now it lives in all the distinctness of a well-known, accurately-defined, and most delightful emotion. It has been felt, experienced, tried. It is therefore *known*. It is not brotherly nor sisterly affection. *These* had been known before; *this* unknown. By analysis, it is indescribable, but by realization it is not incomprehensible. The elemental affection, which gives it its name, is peculiar. It belongs to nothing else, and can be compared to nothing else, in such way as to show what it is.

What is true of this affection, is true of every other; love of friends, kindred, country; love of wealth, honor, power; love of self, man, God. They have all a common element. They are all alike in that to which we give a generic name, but their specific differences; in other words, that which assigns them to their subordinate classes is peculiar, in so

much that the experience of the one gives no distinct idea of the other, without the experience of that also. To this law there is no exception. There must be the internal, and the external; the subjective and the objective; the percipient spirit, as much as the perceived object; the emotive power, as much as that which acts upon it. The analogies of nature all bear us out in the assertion, that spiritual things are spiritually discerned.

But let the Bible be opened, let its teachings be subjected to the test of experiment, and we shall find the affirmation, that the natural man knoweth not the things of the Spirit, sustained most fully by the amplest historical testimony, given in by men who have conducted the experiments.

To a mind not spiritually enlightened, with what unmeaning words and sentences does the Bible abound! God. What is that? The Universe, says the Pantheist. The Son of God. Who is he? An inspired man, born in Bethlehem of Judea, says Socinus. The Holy Ghost. What is that? A divine attribute personified, says the modern Unitarian. To be born again. What does that mean? To enter a second time into a mother's womb and be born? inquires Nicodemus. To become a new creature. What is that? To renounce Judaism and embrace Christianity, says Dr. Paley. Regeneration. What is that? To be baptized by a bishop in the apostolic succession, says the high churchman. Atonement; the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, who takes up his habitation in the soul of the believer; salvation by grace; the spirit of adoption, poured forth upon the heart, and filling it with all the peace and joy of a confident reconciliation; fellowship with the Father and the Son; having the life hid with Christ in God; growing up in him; receiving out of his fulness; beholding with open face his glory, so as to be changed into his image from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord. What do all these things mean? Surely "spiritual things are spiritually discerned." "The natural man knoweth not the things of the Spirit." "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor hath entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him; but he hath revealed them unto us by his Spirit."

To make the wisdom of the New Testament our wisdom, and its spirit our spirit, and its language our best-understood and best-loved language, there must be a higher influence upon the mind than what lies in human art or explanation. And till this is brought to pass, the doctrine of atonement, and of regeneration, and of fellowship with the Father and the Son, and of a believer's progressive holiness, under the moral and spiritual power of the truth, as it is in Jesus, will, as to his own personal experience of its meaning, remain so many empty sounds, or so many deep and hidden mysteries.

To understand the nature of Christianity in its doctrines and its duties, a man must partake of that life which is "hid with Christ in God." He must have infused into him that holy, spiritual nature, without which, spiritual perceptions and affections are impossible; without which, a man is no more competent to judge of Christianity, in its spirit, than a blind man is to judge of colors, or a deaf man of tones; or to use the figure of Anselm, when speaking of those who were for having the intellectus precede the fides, he says, "When such persons are inclined to dispute on matters of which they have had no experience, it is as if a bat, or a nocturnal owl—creatures that can see the heavens only by night—should contend respecting the beams of the sun at noon-day, with eagles, that gaze directly at the sun himself."

But this is not all. A man may have in him the beginnings of a holy, spiritual life; in other words, a new heart, and yet have no such enlargement of spiritual exercises as to make him a reliable spiritual guide in all things pertaining to godliness.

Christian affections are exceedingly various. They can be called into exercise only one at a time, and they may exist very imperfectly. But the minister is required to present, in its proper time and place, every truth of God, with its antecedents and consequents. Every grace which enters into a perfect Christian character and life, must have a place in his ministrations. But how can he lead his people into the mysteries of godliness which he has never solved? How can he put them in possession of feelings, of which he has himself had no experience? How? but by having infused into his own soul the emotion which he would have exist in the soul of his hearers. It is often said, and that truly, No man can sympathize with another, in either joy or sorrow,

which he has not himself felt. Mourners realize this. They easily discover who has the heart of true sympathy. They have no need of any one to tell them who has, and who has not drunk of the same cup. Kindred hearts, like drops of water, mingle into one. Sympathy binds them together, holds them together, indissolubly. Words cannot do this. Empty them of their meaning, and they are but sounding brass, or a tinkling symbol, as a dead body, not a living man.

The difference between words as sounds, and words as representatives of thought or emotion, is felt oft-times, when the truths of the Gospel fall from the lips of its ministers. The external form is the same, but the soul, of which the language is the embodiment, is gone. The corpse remains; but it is repulsive. We do not cherish it; we do not love it; we would put it away from us; we would bury it out of our sight. When we know that a man's utterances are hollow, meaningless, the very forms of expression which he employs become offensive. We cannot bear them.

This thought stamps, with surpassing importance, the subject we are treating. Ministers of the Gospel are required to describe every part of the journey of a soul from the city of Destruction to the city of the New Jerusalem; to enter into every part of a Christian experience, from the time that conviction for sin first fastens itself upon the conscience, till Christ is formed in the soul the hope of glory; till the stature of a perfect man in Christ is attained. To do this, requires a fulness of Christian experience, an enlargedness of Christian exercises, limited only by what constitutes the completeness of the fruits of the Spirit: love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, and temperance. These graces must not only exist, but the mind must come into contact with all their varying phases, till all their beautiful harmonies are called forth in the perfected character of an eminently godly man.

Largeness and richness of Christian experience, we have long regarded as the great, the essential qualification for the work of the Christian ministry. We know of nothing which can be substituted for it; nothing which may not sooner be dispensed with. If we were asked what one thing do the

ministry of our day especially need to make them the men for the times, we should say experimental knowledge of every revealed truth; knowledge of its practical working, derived from what it has done upon their own intellects, consciences, hearts and wills; in other words, a belief of the gospel, comprehending not only the impressions which correspond to the external facts of its history, but also the impressions which correspond to all the moral qualities and conditions therein attributed to God and man. Such knowledge cannot be derived from books. It comes not from the training of the schools. It is not the workmanship of an earthly teacher's hand. Its tracings, deep and indelible, are drawn by the finger of the Holy Ghost. He, and He alone, can work into the soul those rich experiences of truth without which it cannot be understood—without which it cannot be explained.

Considering Christian experience in its relation to ministerial success, our second suggestion has respect to its influence upon the preacher, in his selection of subjects to be discussed, illustrated, or enforced, in his weekly ministrations.

The success of the ministry, under God, is greatly dependent upon what a minister preaches. All truth is not equally fitted to lead men to forsake sin and cleave to Christ. Because a thing is true, it is not therefore to be spoken in the pulpit and called the gospel. In science, art, literature, government, there is a vast amount of truth which makes up no part of the gospel, and which, introduced into a sermon, would be as unsightly as a dissertation upon agriculture in a treatise upon medicine. To give appropriateness to the introduction of a particular truth into a gospel sermon, it must be a gospel truth, or if not itself a gospel truth, it must at least be one the proclamation of which is directly calculated to illustrate and enforce that which is a part of it. Some truths are addressed to the imagination, some to the taste, some to the passions, some to the intellect, and some to the conscience and the heart. Subjects may be selected and treated with a view to their action upon either of these susceptibilities, without tending in the least toward the accomplishment of the true purpose of the Christian ministry. An audience may be made to retire in tears from the house of God as well as

from a theatre. Their imaginations may be so seized upon by a glowing imagery, their passions may be so aroused, that their whole frames may be convulsed by a religious truth as well as by any other, and still the end of the gospel may not be reached. It has been said, that among the thousands who have visited the famous painting of the crucifixion, by West, perhaps there has not been an individual who has gone away unmoved. Could the scenes of the last judgment be reduced to canvas; the Saviour coming in the clouds, with great power and great glory; the angels flying through the Heavens, to gather in the redeemed; the congregating armies of the risen dead; the immense, the interminable field of men, whose anxious faces await the dreadful separation; its sight must awaken the deepest, most solemn, most awful emotions. The same scene, clothed in language, set to music, or spoken from the pulpit, should produce the same effect. But, as those who have wept at the painting of the crucifixion, or perhaps at a description of that touching close of the Saviour's life, have not always had their consciences moved by reflection upon the cause of that event, their sins, nor the end of it, their salvation, in any such way as to lead them to Christ as their wisdom and righteousness, so the scenes of the judgment might be contemplated without one thought of that personal sinfulness which will assign to the left hand of the Judge the finally penitent. Men love excitement, and the excitement of the sensibilities and the imagination, better than that of the conscience. As a consequence, where such excitement is, especially if the conscience is not touched, people will hang in breathless silence or in tearful anxiety upon the lips of a speaker, who can move them without making them condemn themselves. Still, all this may pass away without adding anything to the power of any motive to hate sin and love holiness.

We do not question the right of the preacher to make use of all the avenues which God has opened to the heart. He may roll the thunder and paint the rainbow, but he must also part the cloud and show the sinner that God whom he has offended, and that Saviour who has died for him. With the mere excitement of the imagination and the sensibilities he

must not stop—no, not till he has driven the man back into the chamber of his own dark soul, and let the spirit-hand write, Thou art weighed in the balance and found wanting; not till he has carried him away from himself and laid him at the foot of the cross, where the Saviour's blood, falling upon him, has cleansed him from sin and uncleanness. If the arrows of the Almighty are not driven into the hearts of the King's enemies, they might as well have remained in their quiver. If the wound which they make be not healed by the blood of atonement, it is made only to rankle and to burn.

It will not be denied that much of the preaching of our day has for its object the excitement of the natural, rather than the spiritual emotions. Even when subjects, which have in them the spirit and the life of Christianity, are discussed, that which constitutes the Christianity, which is in them, is lost sight of, so that they can hardly be distinguished from the same subjects as they have been discussed by those who had no idea of the especial Christian element. Discourses upon the Judgment, for instance, are often delivered from the sacred desk, in which there is hardly a reference to that mediatorial provision, by which it is rendered possible for a human being to be justified in that day. If, now, the preacher have failed in his own experience to comprehend how it is that God justifies the ungodly, he has done nothing as a guide but to lead his brother to a yawning gulf, made him see it and feel that he is being impelled into it without any means of escape; in other words, he has done only what time will do for every impenitent, unbelieving sinner, when perhaps it is too late to discover and apply the remedy. But let the preacher now disclose the process by which his own sins have gone before unto judgment, and, in the courts of Heaven, have been cancelled by the blood and righteousness of the Great Mediator, and he, forthwith, becomes eyes to the blind, ears to the deaf, and feet to the lame. He is a preacher of righteousness, even of that righteousness which God accepts when he judges.

But this is not all. The influence of Christianity experienced, not only brings out what is especially Christian in the subject which may be chosen, but it gives especial promi-

nence to that class of subjects which embody most of the cross of Christ in its relation to the justification and salvation of sinners. Christianity, in our day, if we may so say, has become in great measure secularized. In its onward progress, it has been followed by civilization. In this form it has given embodiment to social and political virtues, which had had no existence without its creative and modifying power. What it has done has been mistaken for what it is, so that in many minds Christianity and civilization are merely synonymous terms. When thought of, they are the same energy, working out the same results. Where the gospel has shed its rays, intellect has shot forth in rich luxuriance; the kindlier feelings of the heart have been seen in their most graceful exercise; liberty has unfolded its most attractive banner, despotism has hid its bruised head, and oppression, in its direst form, has disappeared, or is fast disappearing. These external manifestations of an internal change; these streams of a fountain, purified by the effectual working of the gospel, are lovely and attractive, and are everywhere in the train of those who, with the message of salvation, go forth to bless the world. No wonder that the spirit kindles into enthusiasm, that these triumphs of the gospel are hailed with joyous acclamations, and that those who have won them should, like the early disciples, return to their Master, saying, even the devils are subject to us; forgetting, for the time, that greater blessedness, that their names are written in heaven. But we do well not to be deceived. These are but the outward manifestations of that life which is hid with Christ in God. These are what the gospel does, not what the gospel is. The motive power is in the engine, not in the wheels. The fire of love kindled in the focal rays of the Sun of Righteousness, generates the heat, which expands the steam, which, acting upon its appropriate adjustments, is carrying the car of salvation to every land. As it passes, it scatters blessings so rich and so satisfying, that their praises are celebrated on the high hill and in the low valley, in the palaces of kings and in the hovels of peasants. The instrumental agencies of securing to the sons of men such a harvest of joy, gathered in from the very fields where, just be-

fore, little else than thorns and thistles were to be seen, are hailed as renowned warriors are when returned from the field of successful battle. Their deeds of noble daring and manly warfare with the powers of darkness, are lauded as worthy of the meed of highest praise. We do not wonder that, in their zeal to render these earthly blessings of Christianity acceptable to all, they should labor directly and strenuously to increase them, even at the hazard of neglecting that work which belongs more appropriately to them, as ministers of the everlasting gospel; nor can we look for any sudden, miraculous deliverance of the pulpit from these subjects, which, to say the best of them, are but remotely connected with 'the preacher's great work of winning souls to Christ. Still we do long for the time when great and holy men, like Flavel, Baxter, Doddridge, Fuller, and Edwards, shall fill our desks, and give out their discourses of "meditated thought" concerning redemption, the unsearchable riches of Christ, and all the thrilling subjects of the great salvation; when the logic of the modern pulpit will be set on fire, producing an impassioned eloquence in the soul's behalf; when that mighty impulse which has been given to the activity of the human mind, shall urge that mind onward in its labors to secure the salvation of the souls of the millions of earth's population.

This change we look for, not as the result of an increase of learning, not as the result of the greater talent and wealth which are to be gathered into the churches, but as the result of an increase of piety. This we regard as the only means likely to direct the powers of the ministry so as to make it most effective in carrying the blessings of the gospel into the hearts of those who listen to it. That experience of the power of Divine truth, that communing of the heart with God daily and hourly, in such a manner and to such an extent as to exclude from his thoughts other topics of reflection, will soon restore to their proper place in his ministrations those features of the gospel upon which depends the salvation of those whose salvation is the chief care of the devout pastor. Out of the abundance of the heart the mouth will speak; and when the heart is filled to saturation

with those truths which constitute the gospel, hearers will know it, by the frequency and the urgency with which the themes of the great salvation will be pressed upon their acceptance. From a mind thus richly furnished, "the fashions of this world pass away." Subjects which embody most of the spirit of evangelical piety, which harmonize best with the humble, devout frame of a true spiritual-mindedness, will throw into the back-ground each and every one of those which only minister delight to a craving after conformity to the tastes and sentiments of those whose admiration and praise are certain not to be bestowed upon the gospel, nor upon those who preach it, unless they have learned the art of concealing the sword of the Spirit in the golden scabbard of man's device.

Is it not so? With the increasing piety, fervor, and zeal of the pastor, have we not always observed an increasing adaptedness in his discourses to the production of conviction for sin, faith in Christ, a renunciation of the world, and whatever else goes to make up a truly Christian character? The constant hope, the confident expectation, the strong desire that some sinner may be converted, or some trembling saint be strengthened, or some active, intelligent, loving Christian be made to abound more and more in love and in every good work, necessarily leads the preacher to select such a subject as is apparently best calculated to produce these results. If one application of truth fails, his mind is unsatisfied till another is tried. He is thus constantly reflecting upon the spiritual state of his hearers, and seeking after truth, by which they will be made wiser and better. Nothing will satisfy the earnest longings of his mind till he has found out the very truth which the Spirit will bless to their good. Filled himself with the spirit of holiness, and looking now only to its direction, and the end of his ministry, the salvation of his hearers, he has no inducement to discuss any subject which will not lead to this end.

Let any one who has recently enjoyed a revival in his church, ask himself how it has been with his preaching, whether many of those topics which had been of absorbing interest, were not forgotten amidst the weepings of anxious

sinners, and the rejoicings of newly-converted souls. What would once have seemed a very proper subject for a pulpit address, would now be tame, if not perfectly offensive. Rich experience in the communings of a heart with God and spiritual things will be constantly suggesting to the mind of a pastor themes upon which he will delight to dwell, themes which will be discussed with all the freshness and zest which deep meditation upon Divine truth is sure to produce. This, as we suppose, is the thing, the very thing, which will rid the sacred desk of each and of all those topics which do not appropriately belong to it. The very best remedy to heal the divisions which are disturbing the peace of the churches, would be for the ministry and the membership to get their souls imbued with the spirit of a deeper and broader piety, of a piety which would control not only the matter of thought and discourse, but the spirit and manner of them also.

Our third plea in behalf of Christian experience, as an essential condition of ministerial usefulness, is based upon its influence upon the spirit and manner of the preacher.

In a time of great spiritual declension, we have sat under the preaching of one whose very words were so cold that it seemed to us as though we were at the foot of some mountain height, where the cold water of the melting snow was descending upon us, and sending its chills to the extremities of our almost frozen body. But soon the rays of the Sun of Righteousness have fallen upon that preacher. We have taken our place again in the house of God, and have been astonished to find that there is light, and life, and heat in the voice and words which just before had well-nigh thrown us into the chills of death. All this difference is not produced by the difference in the subject-matter of the discourse. The manner, the style, the spirit of the whole performance is changed. The soul of eloquence was wanting. There was no feeling. Now it has entered into the before lifeless form. It is reanimated, warm, glowing, exhilarating. It is no longer a mere skeleton. It has life and living energy. It speaks and it is heard. But what is the soul that has entered into this cold form? What is it that has made it a living,

speaking thing? It is simple Christianity; Christianity not long since experienced, but Christianity now experienced, kindling up its fires, opening its fountain of feeling, imposing now its sense of obligation to speak "the truth as it is in Jesus," teaching now what to say, and how to say it, that the gospel may run and be glorified. If it be true that deep feeling lies at the foundation of all true eloquence, if earnest oratory without earnestness of heart is impossible, we are sure that there is nothing like Christian experience to supply that kind and that amount of feeling which are essential to the fullest success of the gospel preacher.

The man who would preach to others, so as to make them feel and act as our holy religion requires, must be sure first to get his own soul imbued with the spirit of the emotion which he wishes to produce. He must himself taste over again the wormwood and the gall. He must bring into his mind again, with all the liveliness of present reality, the very feelings which his own soul experienced when under conviction for sin; that deep, awful sense of his guiltiness; that fearfulness to look up to that God, in whose sight the very heavens are unclean; that shrinking away, under the searching eye of the Spirit of Holiness, as it was bringing into the blaze of day sins long since forgotten; that awful sense of the justice of the soul's condemnation; that spirit of unbelief which made even the blood of the Son of God seem unequal to the washing away of sins of so deep a dye; that final yielding of the whole case to God; that looking away to Christ, so diffident, then so assured; that first smile of recognition, by which he seemed to say, "Be of good cheer, thy sins are forgiven thee;" that sweet going out of the soul to Christ, in which it seemed as though the very process of the union of the believer's lip to the lip of the Saviour was being witnessed; that feeling of ecstatic bliss, when he could say, "I am my beloved's and my beloved is mine;" that fixed, resolute purpose, to bear about in his body the dying of the Lord Jesus; that constraining love which knew no bounds, and shrunk from the severity of no test. This, all this, must be revived in the heart of the preacher, who would graphically portray the journey of a soul from the land of

darkness and of death, to the regions of light and of life. In the speech of one who is thus living over again the experience of his own heart, there is nothing vague and uncertain, nothing obscure and unintelligible; all is clear as light, transparent as glass, resplendent as a sunbeam. He speaks what he knows, he testifies to what he has seen. What he says, is to him a reality, a blessed reality. He just takes off an impression from his own soul, and holds up before his hearers the image which his own feelings and convictions have reflected upon the mirror at which they look.

But this is not all. If living over again his own experiences, engenders anew the feelings which he had when first he received the Lord Jesus, such feelings do not come solitary and alone. As then there was a deep consciousness that duty to God required the earnest statement of what had secured such blessedness, so now again conscience demands the exhibition of truth, under the fearful penalty of God's displeasure, if he withhold it. The whole man is brought under the controlling influence of one overwhelming sense of responsibility to God. It hears him say, Go preach the preaching that I tell thee, as with uncovered head he stands in the presence of the Great I Am, before whom he must bow with unquestioning submission. If before, his feelings urged him to speak for Christ, now there is added to their strongest impulsion a force doubly strong, positively irresistible. Call it what we will, "the imperative of reason, the constraint of conscience, or the voice of God within him," a stern behest is upon him, and he must obey. If before there was heart, now there is heart and conscience, with combined power, both acting in one direction. A man thus moved will speak, and he will be heard.

Cast him into prison, and, like Bunyan—ingenious dreamer—he will describe the progress of a soul to God; confine him to a bed of sickness, and, like Baxter, he will sweetly muse, and write of the rest of the saints in heaven; blind his eyes in total night, and celestial light will shine inward, enabling him, like glorious Milton, to see and tell of things invisible to mortal sight; fetter him with chains, and in the presence of kings, like Paul, he will reason of a judgment to come; nail him to the cross, and his latest breath will be spent, like his Master's, in praying and speaking for others' good.

Let a man feel deeply, let him know that duty to God and

man requires him to speak, or act, and you might as well think to stop Niagara with a feather, or quench the fires of Vesuvius with a drop of water, as to make him hold his peace. The deep pent-up feelings of such a man's soul will find vent somewhere. Draw out his tongue, and his eye will speak; extinguish that orb, and every muscle will stand out, big with the soul's emotion; in the very arms of death his face will tell what was the last purpose before the soul sped its way to him whogave it.

But this is not all. A man may feel deeply, and a good conscience may make him speak, but he cannot do this most effectually, unless he knows those whom he addresses; what their feelings, what their character, what their purposes. Here again Christian experience comes in to the aid of the preacher. The working of religious truth upon his own heart, the prejudices which it removed, the obstacles which it overcame, the new hopes, impulses, and obligations, which it has generated; all conspire to make him acquainted with those upon whom he most devoutly desires to see the same influences working the same effects. "As face answers to face in the glass, so the heart of man to man." He who knows himself knows other men.

Shakspeare lives, and will never die, while our language is spoken, because his writings, more than any other, perhaps, which have been composed by uninspired men, strike principles of human nature, which are everywhere developed and acknowledged to be true.

Bunyan is destined to the same immortality, not on account of the glowing imagery and the splendid allegory with which his writings abound, but because he gives living form to principles and emotions with which every Christian man is conscious that he is endowed. His description of the feelings of his pilgrim, and of the scenes through which he passes, are so life-like, that every experienced Christian finds what he has felt, described better than he could do it himself. But whence did these incomparable men obtain this deep, almost omniscient, intuition of what is in universal man? They were not learned; they were not great readers; what then? They were great thinkers. Especially did they turn their eyes inward, making their studies subjective more

than objective, reading their own hearts, and in them the hearts of others, seeing in themselves as in a glass, what was passing under the survey of every human consciousness. What was going on in their own souls they just Daguerreotyped, and every man who looks upon the picture sees himself, his own cognitions, imaginations, passions, and whatever else goes to make him what he is. With men, who seem to know us better than we know ourselves, we always love to hold communion; and though they may disclose to us some unwelcome truths, some things which we would rather think were locked up in the secret places of our own individual consciousness, we shall always sit as disciples at the feet of such men, when we have a desire to see ourselves as we are seen, and to know ourselves as we are known. Those who are thus deeply read in human nature, who know by what process of logic conviction is produced; by what arts of rhetoric language is made the best vehicle of thought; by what appliances the requisite emotions are produced; by what energies, volition, and action, are made to execute the purpose which they would accomplish by their address, are sure to find an audience, and one obedient to their will. Let a man know himself—know by what process his understanding has been made to admit the truth of a proposition, or his heart has been made to feel the power of a motive, or his will been determined to a given course of action, and he has a clue to what must be done to produce the same effects in others. To do just this for the Christian, is the very end and aim of Christianity experienced. It works into the soul of every subject of it, just itself, nothing more and nothing less. When it has reproduced itself, it has done its whole work; and hence in whatever heart it has found a home, self-consciousness will disclose its essential features; and as these are the same everywhere, a Christian man, by knowing himself, must know what every other Christian man is. Such self-knowledge, possessed by one who would act upon others, such knowledge of the character of those upon whom he would act, is indispensable to one who would practice successfully, what Henry Clay has called, “that art of all arts, oratory.” This it is that has given to what are called ex-

perimental preachers, such large success, as the instrumental agencies in the conversion and spiritual growth of the largest number of their hearers. They draw from what they themselves have felt, and they find a response in the hearts of those whom they address, for they have felt the same. We often wonder that, without the aid of these appliances, which are generally deemed essential to the orator, they work so effectually upon the convictions and purposes of their auditors.

But there is no mystery, no mysticism in this. Chords of the same tone, being struck, vibrate in harmony with each other. Music has a power independent of the words to which it is set. So it is with emotion. Words may be the ordinary medium of its communication from heart to heart. But it is not the words that produce the effect. It is the spirit which is in them, the meaning. Let this spirit, meaning, or whatever we please to call it, be transferred, and the effect follows. The old Roman orator understood this, who, when called upon to perform the part of a bereaved and disconsolate father, brought in his hand the urn which contained the ashes of his own daughter. He knew, that if his own heart was broken and melted, his manner would be most natural, and therefore most forcible. Mark Antony, when he would move to madness the citizens who stood around the body of Cæsar, removed the robe, and thus gave tongue to the wounds which the conspirators had made. These wounds gave utterance to the emotions with which his heart was filled. As he felt when looking upon them, so he knew they would feel when they saw them. This was but the carrying out of our principle, that a man who can embody his own experiences, in words or in any other form, is sure to witness a reproduction of them in the hearts of others. Let the preacher appear before his people with a heart full of what is tender and affecting in the Christian view of the cross, or the resurrection, or of other of the most touching facts of the mediatorial scheme, and he will have no reason to complain that he finds no sympathizing hearts in a Christian auditory. The crosier and the crucifix he may well dispense with. What is written by the finger of the living God on his own soul, and so

transcribed and displayed that it may be read by others, will awaken more of true emotion than all material and outward representations which papistical ingenuity has devised or can devise. For the sake of reproducing in himself the convictions, and the emotions, and the purposes which the most devout and useful Christians have given exercise to, such a minister reads the lives of most eminent saints and studies the Bible, the great repository of God's truth. He would know what is in man, natural and spiritual, and what in the gospel, to meet the cravings and the wants of humanity; how, also, the varied motives, which are available to the Christian orator, may be made to act upon the character of man as it is and change it into what it ought to be. In order that he may do this, truth is not suffered to remain ineffectually locked up in the Bible, nor in the lives of those who have felt its power, nor yet in anything else containing it, but it is forthwith brought into contact with the susceptibilities and activities of his own nature. With a sword whose mettle he has not proved, with an armor whose virtues he has not tried, he would not go forth to fight the battles of the Lord. But when once he has tested the power of the weapons of his warfare, he does not fight as one who beats the air. The confidence of a full assurance, that what has proved effectual in bringing him into subjection to the law of Christ, and shutting him up to the faith of the gospel, will work the same effect in others, nerves his arm and gives resoluteness to his purpose to try the power of truth for the subjugation of the enemies of the cross of Christ. His desires, his affections, his conscience, his convictions, all harmonize in the teachings of the divine word, that the gospel is the power of God unto salvation. His experience corroborates the truth of revelation, and revelation corroborates the truthfulness of his experience. Both his heart and the Bible are but different books, upon which the finger of God has inscribed the same truths—truths which he would have seen and read by all men.

One thought more, upon Christian experience as a condition of ministerial success, must close this article.

That man who is most under the influence of piety, in the desires, affections and purposes of his soul, in other words, he

who has most of the motions of the Spirit of God working in him, will be likely also to enjoy most of that same influence attending and setting home truth spoken by him upon the hearts of others.

No fact is more clearly revealed than this, that the Holy Spirit is interceding in and expressing its own motions by, the prayers, anxieties and labors of true, richly-experienced Christians. There is not a revival of religion in any of our congregations, where it is not made clearly manifest that the Spirit has breathed into the hearts of some disciples, desires, affections and energies, which have been signally attended by the Spirit's power in carrying forward the work of grace. Those who have most of the internal emotions of piety, are the most abundant and the most successful in its manifestations, and are also honored most by the special and effectual working of the Holy Spirit in the word spoken by them. Trace either Whitfield, or Pearce, or Nettleton, or Payson, in their career, and it will be seen that the road between the pulpit and the closet was well beaten. Grass did not grow in that path. They, like Moses, dwelt much of their time in the mount of communion with God; and when they came to their people, they were radiant with the glory upon which they had been gazing—not radiant only with glory, but clothed also with power. The same might be said of all others who have attained to eminence as successful preachers of the gospel. As nothing can divert such men from their purpose of giving utterance to truths impressed upon their minds by the Spirit of the living God, so their fervent zeal must ever be crowned with the happiest results. What Neander says of Militz, will apply to all such ministers as he:

His sermons produced more effect every day. Many men and women were awakened to repentance under them, confessed their sins to him, and commenced a new Christian life. Usurers and others, pursuing unlawful gains, renounced their old wicked courses. Many, filled with disgust at the life of the world, withdrew from it, and gave themselves to lives of contemplation. These results of his labors stimulated him to still greater activity. He preached twice every Sunday and holiday, and occasionally three, four, and even five times daily, in different churches; and his sermons, which were listened to with constantly-increasing attention, lasted several hours. He had but little time, therefore, to prepare for them. He endeavored to gain strength for this duty in prayer. Other *learned* clergymen had to complain, that they could not accomplish what Militz was enabled to do

after an hour's preparation. On finishing the labors of the day, when he returned home weary and exhausted with so much preaching, he was surrounded and followed by multitudes, seeking spiritual consolation and advice, which he imparted to all, with kindness and affection.

Oh, how many vices, conquered by him, had to give up the field; in how many souls did the Christian virtues find room to bud, and blossom, and increase.

If we would see a revival of the power of the pulpit, we must see first a revival in the piety of those who occupy it; and when this is the case, he that is feeble among us, shall be as David and the house of David, shall be as God, as the angel of the Lord before them. Our own personal religion is the mainspring of all our power in the pulpit. We are feeble as preachers, because we are feeble as Christians. Whatever other deficiencies we have, the chief of all lies in the heart. We live under the dispensation of the Spirit. God blesses duties performed in the spirit in which they are appointed. This is the economy of the gospel of his grace. We go forth to our labor, but not alone. God is with us. To us are given the keys of heaven and of hell. How awful the responsibility! We stand between the living and the dead. How solemn! In a valley of dry bones we prophesy, but God, whose voice the dead shall hear, says, Come forth. The spirit of life enters into them. They live, emancipated, free, forever free. They shine; in all the glory of their renovated nature, they shine. They are stars in the crown of our rejoicing; stars, set in the Saviour's diadem, beaming there with a lustre which will not fade when the sun is turned into darkness and the moon into blood.

ARTICLE VI.—THE INFLUENCE OF PHYSICAL DEBILITY ON RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE.

1. *The Use of the Body in relation to the Mind.* By GEORGE MOORE, M. D., Member of the Royal College of Physicians, etc., etc. New York: Harper & Brothers.
2. *The Influence of Physical Causes on Religious Experience.* By JOSEPH H. JONES, Pastor of the Sixth Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia. Philadelphia: Wm. S. Martien.

THE history of a soul's struggles to maintain its conscious superiority over the body, is deeply interesting and instructive. It is a contest between the inner and the outer man; and whenever all the virtuous sentiments and spiritual graces of the soul can successfully resist the tampering grossness of materialism, we may rejoice in one of the greatest and noblest achievements of life. Rarely, however, is this accomplished, for in the majority of cases, the infirmities of the one are felt operating to the disadvantage of the other, until the painful strife is terminated in the pangs of dissolution. Growing out of this contest is a most important principle, and one that ought to be more fully appreciated; because, if properly understood, it would not only serve to explain much that is now mysterious in Christian character, but would furnish a satisfactory solution to the ambiguous experience of departed friends, and prove, at the same time, a source of encouragement to those who are habitually desponding.

There can be no doubt, we think, that the unequal and fluctuating experience of many devoted Christians may be traced either to the morbid influence of protracted disease, or to such an excessive nervous organization as will be found inducing, in some instances, irritability of temper, and in others, a settled state of gloomy sensibility. This much is certain, that no one accustomed to notice his various religious frames can have failed to observe that his spiritual exercises are greatly distracted when suffering from physical debility. And if this be the experience of those usually in the full enjoyment of health, it is certainly not less true of such as

labor under the influence of more permanent affections. Strange as it may appear, however, this fruitful source of spiritual disquietude is, in a vast number of cases, entirely overlooked, and we are often disposed to attribute to a treacherous heart, those feelings of sadness which result more directly from a diseased and suffering body.

We have met with many very sincere and devoted Christians, who were periodically, if not habitually, cheerless and complaining. From some cause, they could find no enjoyment in the present, nor could they discover a ray of hope to cheer the future; and, in spite of every effort, there was a depression of spirits, a crushing burden upon the soul, a sorrow wringing the heart, and such a persistent, irresistible turning to what was dark and foreboding, that even an expression of cheerfulness in others, seemed but like a cruel mocking of their own gloomy dejection.

But what has most excited our wonder, in such cases, is, that even the holy truths of religion have not been sufficient to dissipate these sorrows, or raise the mind superior to their influence. Indeed, it frequently happens that the most encouraging promises, and the sweetest consolations of God's Word, are so construed as to increase, rather than diminish, this spiritual distress. Equally inefficient are all the ordinary means of grace. To such the ministry conveys no nourishment; the communion of saints affords no comfort. Even the mercy-seat—that tried refuge of the troubled soul—only excites their bitter lamentations, and dissatisfaction follows the performance of every holy duty.

But occasionally, and without any apparent cause, the scene undergoes an entire change. Their doubts and fears vanish, and they seem to live, for a time, quite on the verge of heaven, exulting in the vision of a Saviour's loveliness, and the assurance of a Saviour's mercy. In a word, their present joys are in proportion to their previous sadness.

Now, that such unequal and fluctuating experiences are very often the result of physical causes, cannot, we think, admit of a reasonable doubt; and that these physical causes are, themselves, in some instances, to be referred to mental habits, is equally clear. "Heavy thoughts," says Luther,

“do enforce rheums; when the soul is bruised with grievous cogitations, the body must partake of the same. When cares, heavy cogitations, sorrows, and passions do exceed, then they weaken the body, which without the soul is dead, or like a horse without one to rule it. But when the heart is at rest and quiet, then it taketh care of the body.” And thus, there is a reflex influence felt; the mind acting upon the body, and the body, in turn, impeding or facilitating the operations of the mind.

The illustration of this subject has engaged the attention of the authors whose books are named at the head of this article. And while it is far from our purpose to attempt anything like a review of these works, it seems but just that we should acknowledge our indebtedness to them as suggesting the theme of our article; and to the last-named, especially, as giving a general direction to our thought.

If it were necessary to support the fact itself, that the mind *is* influenced in its operations by the state of the body, we might, with propriety, refer to those numerous passages of Scripture which clearly recognize the influence of the flesh over the spirit; and we might, also, appeal to the teachings of men whose special province it is to examine the structure and capacities of the human system. But to reason abstractly here would be useless. Upon a subject of this kind, the only available, and, to many, the only intelligible argument, must rest on the simple testimony of experience. Let us, then, look at facts, and endeavor to trace the influence of this evil on the character and happiness of a few who have rendered themselves alike conspicuous for their intelligence and their piety.

Pursuing this very natural course of illustration, Dr. Jones appropriately refers us to the case of the Psalmist, when, in one of his songs, in strains of deepest melancholy, he sings: “*My soul refused to be comforted. I remembered God, and was troubled: I complained, and my spirit was overwhelmed: I am so troubled that I cannot speak. Will the Lord cast off for ever? Will he be favorable no more? Is his mercy clean gone for ever? Hath God forgotten to be gracious?*” And then he adds, “*I said this is my infirmity.*” An expression which means,

as understood by some, that he suspects the cause of his great depression to be physical, or to proceed from the state of the body. The same injurious influence, he remarks again, is recognized by the Apostle Paul, in those numerous passages where he so graphically describes the conflict between the flesh and the spirit: "*I know that in me, that is, in my flesh, there dwelleth no good thing; I delight in the law of God after the inner man, but I see another law in my members warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin which is in my members.*"

And what was true in the experience of David and Paul, has been equally so in the case of thousands of God's children. Thus, a more zealous and devoted Christian than DAVID BRAINERD, perhaps never lived, and yet he passed his entire existence "in great heaviness and continual sorrow of heart."

The details of his diary are so exceedingly painful, that no one possessed of ordinary sympathy, can read them without being moved to tears. Many of his statements are positively alarming; and from his own sorrowful confessions, we might be led seriously to question his eminent goodness. All this, however, is fully explained, when we remember his feeble health, and constitutional proneness to dejection. And his distinguished biographer, President Edwards, tells us that much of that gloominess of mind, which, in the early part of his religious course, he attributed to *spiritual desertion*, he afterwards traced to "*the disease of melancholy.*"

Similar to Brainerd's, was the sad experience of that youthful genius and excellent Christian, KIRKE WHITE. The brief term of his earthly being was passed in one ceaseless struggle with disease. He was a constant prey to despondency; and while these habits resulted from a sickly constitution, they tended, no doubt, in their reaction, greatly to aggravate the sufferings which hurried him to a premature grave. Do not suppose that the feelings and sentiments breathed out in his sonnets and odes, are simply the inventions of a fine poetic fancy. They are the true expressions of his own aching and wretched heart; for while other poets could sweetly sing of the pleasures of *Memory and Hope*, he was forced to strike

With frantic energy
The strings of dissonance,

and write—Oh, how familiarly!—of *misfortune, disappointment, and despair.*

Another forcible illustration of the power of this influence, is furnished in the sorrowful experience of the late *Doctor Milnor*, Dean of Carlisle. Writing to an esteemed clerical friend, he uses the following desponding language :

My views have of late been exceedingly dark and distressing; in a word, Almighty God seems to hide his face. I entrust the secret hardly to any earthly being. I know not what will become of me. There is, doubtless, a good deal of bodily affection mingled with this; but it is not all so. I bless God, however, that I never lose sight of the cross; and though I should die without seeing any personal interest in the Redeemer's merits, I think, I hope, that I should be found at his feet. My door is bolted at the time of my writing this, for I am full of tears.

Now such spiritual sadness cannot, certainly, result from the exercise of saving faith in Christ. There must be an adverse influence at work. Some unsuspected, but serious counteracting cause. In the instance before us, it was a protracted complication of the most distressing bodily disorders; and so intense were his sufferings, that his physicians, we are told, often valued his life below a minute, and greatly wondered at his power of endurance.

Equally instructive upon this subject, is the experience of that great and good man, **ANDREW FULLER**. Under the influence of disease, his piety, at one period in his life, became so deeply tinged with melancholy, that his religious feelings varied with almost every passing hour. The entries of his private journal, at this time, are remarkable for their sudden alternations; now he is joyous, now sad; now he finds his heart moved to tenderness, and can hardly forbear singing, as he goes about,

Oh, for this love! let rocks and hills, &c.

And now he doubts whether he is really in a state of grace; and, in anguish of spirit, cries out, "*Oh, wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from this body of death!*"

But when thinking of religious melancholy, who can forget poor **COWPER**? From the private correspondence of that

gifted man, it appears that, though occasionally cheerful, his mind was generally shrouded in deepest darkness, and racked with the most fearful forebodings. His sensitive spirit seemed to be oppressed with a dead weight of anxiety, and the most of his days were spent in wandering on the very borders of despair. Like an intermittent disease, his depression came and departed at regular intervals; but if he had his hours of sunshine and joy, he was sure to have his months of sorrow and gloom. In one of his letters, he thus figuratively describes his dismal prospects:

I now see a long winter before me, and am to get through it as I can. I know the ground before I tread upon it, it is hollow; it is agitated; it suffers shocks in every direction; it is like the soil of Calabria—all whirl-pool and undulation. But I must reel through it, at least, if I be not swallowed up by the way.

Again, in a letter to Mr. Newton, written 12th of June, 1793, he says—

As to myself, I have invariably the same song to sing—well in body, (strange delusion!) but sick in spirit; sick, nigh unto death.

Seasons return; but not to me returns
 God, or the sweet approach of heavenly day,
 Or sight of cheering truth, or pardon sealed,
 Or joy, or hope, or Jesus' face divine;
 But clouds or——.

I could easily set my complaint to Milton's tone, and accompany him through the whole passage on the subject of a blindness more deplorable than his; but time fails me.

But the unhappy tendency of his mind is nowhere intimated, perhaps, under more affecting circumstances, than in his last original poem. It is founded on an incident, related in Anson's voyage, of a mariner who was washed overboard in the Atlantic and lost. In this he views his case as so desperate, that he is unwilling to acknowledge a parallel, and leaving the poor *cast-away*, he feeds his melancholy with this reflection:

But I, beneath a rougher sea,
 Am whelmed in deeper gulfs than he.

With all this, however, his genuine piety was never questioned but by himself, and then only while suffering from extreme nervous affection.

But these, it may be suggested, are extreme cases, and,

therefore, however instructive as facts, do not admit of extensive practical improvement. In reply, we would say, that we have not quoted them for personal application, but as forcible illustrations of a principle; and if that principle be established, it will not be difficult to trace it in its more general workings, and perhaps in cases where its influences are wholly unsuspected.

In every community, and in almost every church, there are not a few who, though not regarded as decided *hypochondriacs*, certainly exhibit a strong tendency to such a state. Their nerves are affected by the slightest atmospheric change; they are joyous or sad as the day is serene or cloudy; in other words, the character of their feelings seems to depend entirely upon the condition of their bodies. To-day they have a full assurance of hope—to-morrow they are overwhelmed with despair; now their hearts glow and melt with love—and now they are hard as adamant, and cold as the frosts of December.

And though all may not be subject to these painful *extremes*, there are multitudes that are not less conscious of a very variable experience, and one that is equally unsatisfactory. Rarely, however, does it occur to such, that this spiritual disquietude may result, in part at least, from some bodily malady—that their distress may arise from failing to distinguish between religious dejection and the morbid influence of disease, and that there is nothing therefore in their exercises, that is in any way inconsistent with a regenerate state, or irreconcilable with devoted piety.

Let us not be understood as attributing all spiritual depression and penitential emotion, in the believer, to the unhappy influences of temperament and debility. *There is a sorrow that has its origin in the soul*, and no pious Christian can take a retrospect of his life without experiencing that inward grief in all its bitterness. No, "godly sorrow" results not from physical causes, but from the operation of the Holy Spirit on the heart, awakening a constant sense of guilt and danger; it lies not in a few spasms and tears, and hours of anguish at the beginning of our course, but is cherished so long as a sin remains to be subdued, or a temptation to overcome; and it

would be felt no less, therefore, were our existence purely spiritual.

The most difficult point, perhaps, in this whole subject, is to determine how far these unhappy exercises are moral and culpable.

Some have confidently asserted, that the feelings and actions, resulting from nervous and other chronic affections, are involuntary, or entirely beyond the individual's immediate control. If this be true, then, much of that peevish fretfulness, and morbid wretchedness, and many of those strange obliquities of conduct which we are often disposed to censure, ought rather to excite our deepest sympathy and tenderest commiseration. That we are generally responsible, however, for inducing that state of physical organization, from which such exercises result, must, we think, be conceded. And, as Dr. Jones remarks, that man is answerable for his conduct, "so long as exaggerated irritability stops short of derangement," would seem to be an axiom in morals; and yet, what shall we understand by derangement? What is that changed condition of the man, or how far must it go, in order to release him for the time from the claims of the moral law?

Considered abstractly, this is, beyond doubt, an exceedingly difficult question; but in all *actual* cases it may safely be referred to the decisions of an honest and enlightened conscience. The simple, secret inquiry, *could I help this?* whether applied to feeling or action, will seldom, if ever, fail to determine the precise measure of the individual responsibility.

We come now, very briefly, to speak of the two most important means of relief and comfort. If the distress we have attempted to describe, results from hepatic or nervous affections, it is obviously our duty, at once, to resort to those remedies which are best adapted to restore the body to healthy action. It does not fall within our province to dictate, neither do we affect to know, what particular restoratives, in such cases, are most safe and effectual. We would only say, that judicious medical advice will be found far more availing than all the spiritual counsel that could possibly be imparted. Speaking

upon this point, the excellent author of the "Saints' Rest," uses the following forcible language:

Expect not that rational or spiritual remedies should suffice for your cure, any more than that a good sermon, or comfortable words, should cure the falling sickness, or palsy, or a broken head, for your melancholy fears are as really a bodily disease as the other.

To a very great extent this is, no doubt, true; and yet, important as physical health may be to the full enjoyment of life, facts in individual history have clearly shown that this blessing cannot be regarded as necessary and absolutely indispensable.

"Though man's infirmity," says Dr. Moore, "is stamped upon his body, and by the conditions of his birth he stoops to degradation, like a slave born to labor in chains, yet his spirit struggles in this bondage, and with the far-seeing faculty of faith, looks forward, quietly confiding in the rectifying purposes of Almighty love. And even now, while groaning under his burden, his reason being enlightened by a message from his God, he feels the persuasion of his coming triumph so thoroughly in his whole being, that a song of grateful joy seems ready at once to burst from his full heart. Thus, as long as the Maker of soul and body permits a man to be conscious of the sufferings of the body, he enables him to rise superior to them; and being filled by lofty determination, in reliance upon divine favor, the feeble sufferer still enjoys the sufficiency of a will that is one with love, so that he finds infirmity and pain are no real impediments to his ultimate wishes, but rather incentives and occasions to demonstrate the might of a man that takes hold of God, and climbs, not creeps, toward heaven, upon his hands and knees. No. happiness is not a mere bodily state. I have now before my eye the smiling face of one who, for eight years, has been totally blind, incapable of sitting, without the use of the legs, subjected to violent pain, and frequently convulsed; yet, whenever consciousness returns, there is the ready smile, with the happy word. Why is this? *I know that my Redeemer liveth*, is the sufferer's grand secret."

Yes, however much the law in the members may war against the law of the mind, means are provided to secure the moral triumph. Man's spiritual nature may rise superior to the infirmities of the flesh, and actually live in comparative forgetfulness of the disadvantages arising from a shattered constitution. This will be fully verified in the happy experience of all such as look away from themselves, and constantly commend their hearts to the great Redeemer. "Without me," says the Saviour, "ye can do nothing;" and while we are thus taught our absolute dependence, we are also assured of His affectionate regard and unfailing support. Oh! it is a comforting thought, that He hath not only "borne

our griefs, and carried our sorrows," but that He even sympathizes with us in all our bodily infirmities. "*For he knoweth our frame ; he remembereth that we are dust.*"

Thus, while it is among the deep mysteries of Providence, that some of the most eminent saints that have ever lived, should have been afflicted with despondency and gloom: yet, as the pious Rutherford suggests: "As nights and shadows are good for flowers, and moonlight and dews better than a continued sun, so is Christ's absence of special use, and it hath some nourishing virtue in it, and giveth sap to humility, and furnisheth a fair field for faith."

ARTICLE VII.—MYTHOLOGY AND REVELATION.

THE world is old! Its years are cycles, ages and generations of men. The tide of humanity has floated down the channels of Time far from its primal source, and through the avenues of emigration has spread from the spot of its nativity to the four quarters of the globe. When from this vast remove man looks back upon the scenes of his origin, clouds, and shadows, and mystery hang between and interrupt his vision. Sight is lost in darkness, memory vanishes into tradition, and he finds his only hold upon those scenes is the "*fama et fides rerum.*" History, and the more "sure word of prophecy" and Revelation, are the only lamp to guide him through the otherwise impenetrable mazes that intervene, and throw light upon that two-fold question, which can never fail to be of the most profound interest to man—his origin and destiny; for, although these questions are not identical, yet they are inseparable, and the proofs are at least in part identical; for whatever goes to show that we are not in possession of the true account of man's origin, must necessarily weaken the evidence respecting his destiny. Indeed, if we take away from the latter all proofs directly or indirectly derived from the former, almost nothing remains. It is a favorite theory, and one that gratifies human pride, that if all notions respecting his origin, or in any way connected with that inspired

record which reveals it, were now to be obliterated from the mind of man, there would still remain sufficient evidence, from our natural desire for immortality, to establish a presumption of its truth. To this it is sufficient to reply, that the condition involves a practical impossibility, and that mankind, with all its antecedents, cannot *now* be as though without those antecedents. It is impossible, therefore, to say with certainty, that there is a single nation upon the globe, entertaining any idea of immortality, that has not received it from the same source as we ourselves, only more indirectly. For if all nations had a common origin, they are all equally removed in point of *time* from the original sources of information, and differ only in the varied degrees of fidelity with which they have adhered to those original ideas. Some have preserved the "lively oracles," others have them by tradition only, whilst from others nearly every trace of truth is blotted out. It may, therefore, be laid down as a fundamental proposition, that upon the supposition that we are in possession of the truth respecting man's origin, we have also the truth respecting his destiny. None who receive the former will be likely to doubt the latter. Here is the very starting-point of skepticism. Let it be understood, too, that it is not the caviller and the scoffer alone that find a sort of perplexity arising from a certain aspect of this subject; nor can it be denied that doubts, entertained in sincerity for the moment, are equally as honorable to man's own nature and to his God, as that passive assent which takes no hold upon the heart—which never rises to the dignity of a doubt. On the other hand, to feed upon such doubts with a morbid craving is impious, and unworthy of his intellect; for fools may doubt, but cannot demonstrate, truth.

As we wander, by the aid of sacred and profane history, backward through the ages that have fled, we seem to pass gradually from this resplendent noon, through the portals of its waking morn, into the midnight of the ages that preceded it, lighted by no heavenly luminary, and unbroken in its gloom except as some baleful meteor flashed across the moral sky, revealing for a moment the secrets of that awful darkness, and then leaving man in tenfold blindness, stupor and

forgetfulness of God. At length, after a weary, dreary pilgrimage, we emerge from this pall-like gloom into the light of that elder day, ushered in by the song of the morning stars, in which God came down and held familiar converse with mortals, and in whose sunset glories man "walked with God," and God led his people like a flock. Its light resembles the mingled radiance of moon and stars, blending all things animate and inanimate into a sort of spiritual life and beauty. The scene presents itself to our imagination in that peculiar attitude which is of all others most pleasing. It lies away in the distance, embalmed forever in the gray mists of nature's first morning. To us it is the only adequate representation of man and nature in their prime, and we gaze upon it as though some superior power, having caught a glimpse of young existence in its naked simplicity, and conscious that it was not long to last, had transformed it into an imperishable picture for the contemplation of all succeeding generations! It is the day of simplicity of life and of manners, when the covering that conceals the heart is but the transparent robe of Innocence or as the frail fig-leaf that covers the body. It is, too, the day of miracles and of Inspiration. We are *conscious* that we are now in the midst of mysterious scenes, and wonders strange as fable seem to be a part of the natural order of things. The very atmosphere is full of subtle agencies, ready to evolve their latent wonders, and we tread the earth with a feeling of apprehension, as though we might spring mines of magic and startle sleeping prodigies from their lurking places. All nature seems conscious and sympathetic; and when we hear the voice of the Almighty from out the blazing bush, or of Jove coming from the cloud or issuing from the sacred grove, a strange thrill of awe takes possession of our minds, and we realize that we are indeed in the very presence of the great and Terrible One, whether he be the cloud-gatherer or the great I AM!

Now, it cannot fail to occur to every classical scholar, in thus reviewing these scenes, that there is a very striking resemblance between these events of the early ages as represented in the sacred Scriptures, and in the fables of Mythology; and we can scarcely say why we should give our assent

to the former, and yet regard the latter, as we ever do, as more extravagant vagaries, curious indeed, but totally unworthy our belief; and especially so when we reflect that abstractly considered, they are many of them equally plausible, and are referred to an adequate power. Indeed, in many respects there is almost a perfect identity. When we compare the separate systems of morality, it is true, we cannot, with all the light we possess, fail to distinguish the infinite superiority of the Jewish religion; but, laying aside all considerations of this nature for the present, who could distinguish Jove, the "Father of Gods and King of Men," from Jehovah, "Lord of Lords and King of Kings"?

Who could say whether the creation of the world and the arrangement of matter from "chaos" into a "better order of things," as represented by Ovid, was more or less plausible than the formation of this beautiful earth out of elements "without form, and void"? If the events in the two catalogues were thrown together,—the two accounts of the creation of Man and the Deluge,—the feats of Samson and of Hercules,—the metamorphoses of Lot's wife and of Atlas,—the history of Jonah, and a host of other examples that suggest themselves at once to the mind of the scholar,—who could select from the mass those which should be assigned to the one or the other, on the score of plausibility? As isolated facts, we see no marked distinction between the one class and the other,—I will not say in their probability, for in this aspect they are only *improbable*. But, when viewed in connection, the one with a grand scheme of moral government reaching from old eternity through all generations of men, and the other as having no such connection, the difference is world-wide. In such a scheme, these scenes arrange themselves in harmony with the great design, and as so many parts of one stupendous whole. They stand out in the history of God's dealings with men, as so many proofs of His benevolence and care, as well as His regard for virtue and justice. Take away all such ideas of their connection with a scheme of moral government, and they at once resolve themselves into stupid follies and cruel malignities.

But it may still be asked what account can be given of the

existence of pagan Mythology, and of the firm hold it had upon the minds and hearts of the ancients? For, independent of other considerations, does not the fact that so great a proportion of the world believed these things, assume some importance, and require that it should at least be accounted for? Now, in the first place, it must be observed, that the ancients had many ideas which were substantially correct, such as that of a Supreme Ruler and Governor of the universe, who regarded all the actions of men, approving the good and punishing the bad—a future state of existence, where in some measure the actions of this life would receive their appropriate reward—that virtue was the highest good in life, &c., and these ideas took a firm hold upon the hearts and lives of men, while most of those supernatural accounts which we deem fabulous, produced no such fixed and firm belief as to influence their life and conduct to any considerable extent. They were admirably adapted to embellish and enliven the songs of bards, and hence they entered largely into the machinery of all the poetry of the ancients; but the basis of all seems to have been a firm belief in a presiding Deity participating in the stirring scenes which they relate.

But there is a very clear, and natural exposition of the whole matter, and one which, while it accounts for all the varied phases of Mythology, from the most plausible to the most absurd, adds, at the same time, to the probable testimony in favor of the truth of the Sacred Scriptures. Indeed, the admitted truth of the latter is the best and only exposition of the former.

For if that Record be true, and mankind had a common origin, and possessed a knowledge and lively consciousness of their Creator—of a constant succession of miraculous events, and of the existence of genuine prophecy—it is the most natural thing in the world that under these circumstances just such a system should spring up, embracing much that is essentially true, but mingled at the same time with much that has degenerated into the most monstrous absurdity, bearing strong marks of the weakness, extravagance, and depravity of the human mind, and all, not equally heartless,

but equally unsaving and destitute of the spirit and power of godliness. And in that system we should expect to find a sort of counterpart to the true and the inspired.

Hence, in the slain victim, the smoking altar, and the solemn ceremonies that accompanied the sacrifices to heathen deities, we see almost the exact semblance of those religious rites that entered into the ancient Jewish service. *The great idea of atonement was the centre and support alike of both*; and as the smoke from Jewish altars was a perpetual remembrance of that sacrifice once to be offered up for man, so the wreathing column of incense and flame that ascended from the altar of the pagan Gentiles, blindly but significantly pointed to the same great event. It was but one remove from the original. It was the type of a type—a penumbra or shadow of *the shadow*, but none the less indicating the existence of the reality. Did the holy prophets of the Hebrews, with a sanctity, prescience, and authority little less than divine, lift the dread veil, and open up to the eye of faith the mysteries of the undeveloped future? If so, how natural that tradition should transmit some indistinct notion of such things, and that, in the midst of man's doubt of what *is*, and awful apprehension of what *is to come*, he should eagerly grasp at that which promised so desirable a good. Accordingly we learn, with no surprise, of prophets and oracles venerated in the midst of all their vagueness and contradictions. In the dark obscurity of those responses issuing from the depths of some cave, we hear the fainter echoes of that "still small voice" that came to the ear of the sage of Israel. There should be remarked, however, the vast difference there is between the truthful *prediction* of events long before their accomplishment, and inventing a formula applicable to them *after* their occurrence. To the latter class belong the oracles of the ancients. Where events have become matters of history it is easy to frame for them an apparent prediction, and we have no proof that anything more authoritative attached to heathen prophecy. But what should suggest such an apparently absurd idea except the existence of the true and the genuine? On any other supposition it can scarcely be

imagined how the notion could have entered the mind. Admit the genuine, and the false is easily and naturally accounted for; deny it, and *both* remain inexplicable. The same may be said of the whole system of Mythology, whether it relate to ideas of the Deity, religious rites, prophecies, oracles or supernatural phenomena of every description. For, without Inspiration, and the truth of Revelation, *everything* is absurd, and equally so. It is absurd that there should be any God, unless He reveal himself in some way to men; and absurd that we should have any ideas of a God without Revelation. But admit that we have a Revelation from God, and it is reasonable that those who have retained those "lively oracles" should have distinct ideas of Him, and those who did not, should have some slight notion, but all derived originally from the same source. It may, therefore, be confidently asserted that, could the human mind empty and divest itself of every single notion it ever received directly or indirectly from the mouth of God and His inspired penmen (although the supposition is *practically* impossible), the most natural idea, if we can suppose the mind to originate one so dignified, would be, that nature was God, and God was nature; —that God was everything, and everything was God! It requires the light of Revelation to interpret the teachings of Nature and to lead us "through Nature up to Nature's God." Nature is, indeed, a beautiful manifestation of the Deity, but what should suggest to us that it is not itself the *ultimate*? We see the bow upon the summer cloud, but while our eyes rest with delight upon that beautiful manifestation, are not our backs turned upon the sun, the great source of all this beauty? What but the teaching of philosophy should suggest to us the ultimate cause? And what but the teaching of inspired philosophy, the parent source of all true philosophy, would be likely to suggest to us the true *cause of all causes*? Indeed, Revelation has cast up the only rational highway through Creation, and stretched the only clue that can lead the mind through the mazes of this stupendous labyrinth, without confounding all logical deductions. For if God did not "in the beginning create the heavens and the earth,"

how could it exist without even a greater miracle than that which is denied.

If any one can comprehend how all things could be self-created, it will of course be less difficult for him to comprehend how one Being could be so, and to acknowledge one Great First Cause, as does Revelation; and the choice lies simply between an *infinite succession* of this greatest of all mysteries and *one* such.

Again, if the first ages were *not* a period of remarkable and miraculous events, then the task of the objector is doubled; both systems, with all their accumulated proofs, derived from sacred and profane literature, and coinciding most perfectly upon this point, must be refuted and accounted for; and that, too, after having taken away the genuine, by which alone the counterfeit can be successfully and satisfactorily explained. Can any one assign a reason for the prevailing convictions of all ages, that is not even *more* improbable than what is denied? It is only after many fruitless and ineffectual attempts to do so, that we shall be most fully convinced of its utter impossibility, and realize that even error and delusion themselves conspire to hedge up our way and "shut us up unto the faith!"

Thus it is truth alone that can reconcile and harmonize all the facts of the universe; and when the question "What is Truth?" comes home to the heart and understanding, it will be found that Inspiration has given the only answer that does not give the lie to Reason and stultify the noblest powers of the human mind. And yet, like that one propounded by the Sphinx of old, in spite of the simplicity which is ever characteristic of Truth, human Reason might never have answered it aright. When once solved, how simple, how clear! Then it seems as though everything in this vast universe pointed significantly to it, and paid its homage to it. When once the great central luminary is fixed in the heavens, every shrub and flower looks upward to its face; every stream and lakelet mirrors back its splendor; every shadow marks its trace to testify that there is light somewhere; and even the plant shut out from this light, is ever reaching, struggling outward, to meet its genial ray. But when skepti-

cism blots out this sun from the moral sky, in what awful darkness do we grope and stumble over all that was before so beautiful!

Not an object addresses itself to our moral or intellectual vision, but everything is stark, and dreary, and desolate. Oh, what a wreck does it make of this stupendous fabric of Creation! To what a chaos does it reduce this nicely-adjusted system of things! How does it mar the melody of that song which rises perpetually from this vast Temple of Nature to salute the ear of the Most High! Let the impious scepticism of the present day, therefore, be silenced by the voice that comes from out the bosom of the Past. Let conventional Christianity feel itself rebuked by the earnestness of the despised Pagan. Let the worshipers of this artificial age peer forth from the huge piles within which they have impaled themselves, through the net-work they have woven to screen the heart, and look backward to behold man and nature fresh from the hand of their Creator, and conscious of their origin and their brotherhood; and thus let them realize how far they have drifted from primitive simplicity, and sigh in penitence at their distance from God.

ART. VIII.—NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

The Modern Whitfield, the Rev. C. H. Spurgeon, of London. His Sermons. With an Introduction and Sketch of his Life. By E. L. MAGOON. (New York: Sheldon, Blakeman & Co. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 1856. 12mo, pp. 320.)

Our readers have probably become familiar with the name of Mr. Spurgeon, through the numerous paragraphs which have appeared in the papers for some months past. We have in this volume fifteen of his sermons, together with his portrait. He is only in his twenty-third year, and yet incomparably the most popular preacher of the age. From these sermons we, who have our dwelling on this side of the Atlantic, may form some idea of his talent. Every one of course will be anxious to peruse these productions of one who has become so notable; and we have no reason to lay any bans upon their curiosity. Into an analysis and estimate of these sermons we cannot now enter, and we shall dismiss them with the only further remark that, as compositions, they are far superior in thought, disposition, and style,

to Whitfield's—that "seraphic man" with whom he has been so commonly compared.

We will give an extract or two from Mr. Spurgeon's Sermons, which, we presume, our readers who have not the volume, will like to see. The following is taken from Sermon VII.—"The Church of Christ":

"But, sir, what can I do? I am nothing but a father at home; I am so full of business, I can only see my children a little.' But in your business, do you ever have any servants? 'No: I am a servant myself.' You have fellow-servants? 'No; I work alone.' Do you work alone, then, and live alone, like a monk in a cell? I don't believe that. But you have fellow-servants at work; cannot you say a word to their consciences? 'I don't like to intrude religion into business.' Quite right, too; so say I; when I am at business, let it be business; when you are at religion, let it be religion. But do you never have an opportunity? Why, you cannot go into an omnibus, or a railway carriage, but what you can say something for Jesus Christ. I have found it so, and I don't believe I am different from other people. *Cannot do anything!* Cannot you put a tract in your hat and drop it where you go? Cannot you speak a word to a child? Where does this man come from, that cannot do anything? There is a spider on the wall; but he taketh hold on kings' palaces, and spinneth his web to rid the world of noxious flies. There is a nettle in the corner of the church-yard; but the physician tells me it hath its virtues. There is a tiny star in the sky; but that is noted in the chart, and the mariner looks at it. There is an insect under water; but it builds a rock. God made all these things for something; but here is a man that God made, and gave him nothing at all to do! I do not believe it; God never makes useless things; he has no superfluous workmanship. I care not what you are; you have somewhat to do. And, oh! may God show you what it is, and then make you do it, by the wondrous compulsion of his providence and his grace."

A second passage we take from the Sermon on the words—"Many shall come from the East and from the West, and shall sit down with Abraham and with Isaac and with Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven."

"I like that text, because it tells me what heaven is, and gives me a beautiful picture of it. It says it is a place where I shall sit down with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob. Oh, what a sweet thought that is for the working-man! He often wipes the hot sweat from his face, and he wonders whether there is a land where he shall have toil no longer. He scarcely ever eats a mouthful of bread that is not moistened with the sweat of his brow. Often he comes home weary, and flings himself upon his couch, perhaps too tired to sleep. He says, 'Oh! is there no land where I can rest? Is there no place where I can sit, and for once let these weary limbs be still? Is there no land where I can be quiet?' Yes, thou son of toil and labor,

'There is a happy land,
Far, far away'—

where toil and labor are unknown. Beyond yon blue welkin there is a city, fair and bright, its walls are jasper, and its light is brighter than the sun. There 'the weary are at rest, and the wicked cease from troubling.' Immortal spirits are yonder, who never wipe sweat from their brow, for 'they sow not, neither do they reap; they have no toil nor labor.

'There, on a green and flowery mount,
Their weary souls shall sit;
And with transporting joys recount
The labors of their feet.' "

The Ladies' Pulpit Offering. By W. C. DUNCAN, Pastor of the Coliseum Place Baptist Church, New Orleans. (New Orleans: L. A. Duncan & Co. New York: Sheldon, Lamport & Co. 1856. 12mo, pp. 344.)

This volume consists of thirteen sermons, which were delivered by their author in the course of his ordinary ministrations, chiefly during the year 1855. Each of them is dedicated to some particular lady connected with his church. Following is an appendix consisting of a few brief notes of historical and critical value. With these discourses, ladies of every meridian cannot but be pleased and edified. Gentlemen, too, may prize them, in addition to their intrinsic worth, as a gift from the ladies' hands. The texts are all popular, and the themes so arranged as to produce a continuous and progressive impression. Each discourse is a unit, uninterrupted by divisions and subdivisions, and the style is clear and flowing. Those who look here for condensed thought will, perhaps, be disappointed; but this lack is a merit, for, on this account, these discourses are all the better adapted for pulpit and popular effect. Narration and description abound; and though sometimes the author, in his fancy, transcends our taste, we take pleasure in commending the volume. It forms a suitable gift-book between ladies and gentlemen, unique, pleasing, and profitable. Our brethren of the ministry may learn from these sermons better to adapt themselves to the world we live in.

We here give an extract or two from these sermons, which will make our readers acquainted with their style. The first paragraph is from the close of Discourse Seventh, entitled—"Love to an unseen Saviour." The second is taken from Discourse Eighth—"Non-conformity to the World."

"None of us in this assembly have ever seen the Saviour with the bodily vision. But this matters little, if we have beheld him with the eye of the mind; and having seen, have felt the riches of his love shed abroad in the heart. You have all seen him: for he has often been held up to your view from the pulpit; you have read of him again and again in the Bible; and sometimes, when the Spirit of Truth has hovered over you with celestial wing, you have beheld him in thought, beckoning to you from the skies. Some of you have heeded the whisperings of his voice, and have obeyed the heavenly summons. But some have not. Oh! why, ye hardened souls, will ye still refuse the love of Christ? So much has been done to rescue you from death; and now he still entreats you to accept from him the offers so free, so gracious, of peace and pardon. The heavens are opened to thee, oh! thou impenitent; and if thou wilt accept the offer, life and immortality are thine. The loving countenance of thy God smiles sweetly on thee from the sunny sky. Streams of his love flow down upon thee: open thy heart and drink in the dews of endless joys."

* * * * *

"The mere worldling never looks beyond this earth. The future is carefully banished from his mind: and, in his mad intoxication, he would fain persuade himself that the life to come is all a dream. Debased in spirit, and bedwarfed in soul, he crawls upon the earth, and knows no pleasure, scarcely, that the brute may not, and does not, feel. The veriest toys amuse him; puppets tricked out and dressed to catch his fancy. The rattle of the idiot is pleasing to his ear; and he calls it music. The pranks and capers of the wild buffoon afford him a fund of pleasure; he thinks the fool a wise man, and deems the madman sane."

The American Pulpit. Sketches, Biographical and Descriptive, of Living American Preachers, and of the Religious Movements and Distinctive Ideas which they represent. By HENRY FOWLER, Professor of Political Economy at the University of Rochester. With Portraits on steel. (New York : J. M. Fairchild & Co., 109 Nassau Street. Boston : Crosby, Nichols & Co. London : Sampson Low, Son & Co. 1856. Small 8vo, pp. 515.)

Professor Fowler has brought to the preparation of the volume before us both mature thought and careful inquiry. The sketches are life-like, and, in some respects, the best we have ever seen of living authors. We have felt, hitherto, but little sympathy with this class of writings. For reasons not necessary here to enumerate, we have thought that it was enough to write the lives of favored individuals when they shall have left the scenes of earth. Such a sentiment has been fostered, perhaps, by the *subjects* which have been chosen for such sketches, and the *objects* to be effected by the delineations. The boldness with which some have forced themselves upon public notice, by their autobiographies, if nothing else, might well excuse us for selecting works of a different kind for our own gratification. Moreover, all such sketches are incomplete. The subject itself is in a state of progress, and, of necessity, the portraiture must be offered to public inspection in an unfinished state.

But Professor Fowler has performed his delicate task with such excellent taste, and so nice are his discriminations, and just and truthful his descriptions, and withal, so fascinating is the whole presentation of the several subjects, as to overcome any pre-existing prejudice, and reconcile us to peruse, with a hearty good-will, these sketches of living authors.

Sermons for the Times. By CHARLES KINGSLEY. (New York : Dana & Co., 1856. 12mo, pp. 360.)

Mr. Kingsley's Sermons would never have given him the celebrity which he has acquired by his other writings, but they are sufficiently marked to have attracted notice independently of the great merit of his romances. They evince the same leading design, and are characterized by the same spirit. We can scarcely speak of them as evangelical, in the ordinary sense of that term. But they are humanitarian, and evince the Reformer, rather than the Theologian. They will well repay the trouble of perusal.

History and Repository of Pulpit Eloquence, containing the Masterpieces of Leading Divines in all Ages. By HENRY C. FISH. (New York : M. W. Dodd. 2 vols. 8vo, pp. 613, 622.)

The influence of the Christian pulpit on the religious life and social development of the world, can scarcely be overrated. Yet, our language has hitherto furnished nothing like a connected view of its history and progress. We, therefore, hail with peculiar satisfaction, the work whose title we have given above. It embraces a compendious survey of the Christian pulpit in all ages and countries, with historical sketches and biographical notes, the whole accompanied with illustrative selections from its most remarkable represent-

atives. The conception of the work is happy, and its execution is worthy of the compiler's reputation for industry and good judgment. We can bear a cheerful and decided testimony to the skill with which Mr. Fish has executed his difficult task. We might, perhaps, in a few instances, question whether some of these discourses are rightly designated as the master-pieces of their respective authors, but there is nothing here that is not worthy of the careful study of ministers and students who are seeking the best models. We cheerfully commend the volume to our readers.

A Commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians. By CHARLES HODGE, D.D. (New York : R. Carter & Brothers, 1856. 8vo, pp. 398.)

The name of the author would, of itself, secure a wide currency for this volume. A careful examination of its contents will amply realize the highest expectation. It is at once critical and practical. Without any attempt at minute or exhaustive criticism, it affords a quite satisfactory examination of the book, both with respect to philology and the Apostle's argument, and, in addition to all this, it affords a clear insight into the whole scope of the Epistle, and contains all that plain men and earnest seekers after truth can really desire. The style is clear, compact, and forcible. The whole cast of the volume evinces the strong sense and ripe culture of the renowned Princeton Professor. It is a work of great value.

A Critical Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews. By FRANCIS S. SAMPSON, D.D. Edited from the Manuscript Notes of the Author, by ROBERT L. DABNEY, D.D. (New York : R. Carter & Brothers, 8vo, 1856, pp. 475.)

Dr. Sampson was Professor of Oriental Literature in the Union Theological Seminary of Prince Edward, Va. Though he had spent many years in the preparation of this work, he did not live to complete it and prepare it for the press. It was left at his death in the form in which he used it in his exegetical lectures to his classes. It was, however, in such a state that his former pupil and late associate, Dr. Dabney, has been able to prepare it for the press. He assures us that it is presented in the integrity of the author's notes. We have examined the work, and venture to say that it will prove one of the most valuable helps to the understanding of the Epistle to the Hebrews. It evinces great thoroughness, critical acumen, and sound judgment. The volume is printed in a beautiful style of typography, and does credit to the enterprising publishers.

The Epistle to the Ephesians, in Greek and English, with an Analysis and Exegetical Commentary. By SAMUEL H. TURNER, D.D. (New York : Dana & Co., 1856, 8vo, pp. 198.)

Dr. Turner, the learned Professor of Biblical Learning and Interpretation in the General Theological Seminary of New York, is already favorably known, by his Commentaries on the Epistles to the Romans, and to the Hebrews. This new work evinces the same patient examination, clear in-

sight, and comprehensive scholarship which have conspired to make his former volumes so valuable. Dr. Turner reaches results, differing, in some respects, from those presented by Dr. Hodge, but one is struck with the substantial argument of two men occupying theological positions so seemingly different from each other. This new work of Dr. Turner will be hailed by all lovers of sound biblical learning, and will contribute essentially to the right understanding of the sacred record.

A Brief History of the Baptists, and their Distinctive Principles and Practices, from the "beginning of the Gospel" to the present time. Part First: From the "Beginning of the Gospel" to the Rise of Affusion as Baptism, and of Infant Baptism. 28, A. D.—250, A. D. By WILLIAM CECIL DUNCAN, Professor of the Greek and Latin Languages and Literature in the University of Louisiana. Second Edition. (New York: Sheldon, Blakeman & Co. 1856. 12mo, pp. 236.)

The work is dedicated to James Hugh Low, Esq., of New Orleans, a friend and supporter of every good work.

It is to be followed by a second part, if deemed advisable, bringing the history down to the present time. It is not exhaustive in character, but rather popular, and wisely adapted to the wants of the general reader. No one can read the work, however, without being impressed with the sentiment that it is the product of a well-trained and well-stored mind.

We are not prepared to adopt all the positions of our author, but enough of them to enable us to place a high value on the work, and to assure our readers that they will find both profit and pleasure in a careful perusal of the volume.

Blossoms of Piety, culled from the Recollections of a Sabbath School Teacher. (Philadelphia: Am. Bap. Pub. Society. 12mo, pp. 116.)

This little volume gives a very interesting account of the lives of a group of pious females. It is well written, and illustrates the power of faith and the beauty of holiness.

The Tongue of Fire; or, The True Power of Christianity. By WILLIAM ARTHUR, D.D. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1856. 16mo, pp. 354.)

This little volume contains a very glowing description of the descent of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost. It treats of the Promise, the Unity, the Fulfilment, and the Effects, immediate and remote, which followed that event. Dr. Arthur is an eloquent writer, and is characterized by all the fervor for which his denomination is so much distinguished. We thank the publishers for the opportunity of reading his admirable work.

Rev. Dr. BAIRD has just issued a new and much enlarged edition of his valuable work, entitled *Religion in America*. Dr. Baird gives a very full, and, on the whole, quite an accurate account of the various religious denominations of this country, discussing, incidentally, the origin, relation to the

State, and present condition of the evangelical churches in the United States. Though originally designed for the instruction of foreigners in reference to our public religious politics, it abounds in valuable information for our own people. Members of any given denomination of Christians among us, may find much here in reference to their brethren of other names that will be both new and interesting. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1856. 8vo, pp. 696.)

A Key to the Bible: being an Exposition of the History, Axioms, and General Laws of Sacred Interpretation. By DAVID DOBIE. (New York: C. Scribner, 1856. 12mo, pp. 322.)

We have here a very compact and comprehensive survey of the whole theory of Biblical Interpretation. We know of nothing equally valuable within the same compass.

Signs of the Times: Letters to Ernst Moritz Arndt on the Dangers to Religious Liberty in the Present State of the World. By C. C. J. BUNSEN, D.D., D.C.L., D. Ph. Translated from the German by SUSANNA WINKWORTH. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1856. 12mo, pp. 440.)

While many of the topics treated in this volume have a more practical interest for the German than for the American, the principles which it discusses and defends are essential to true religious life and progress the world over. The work is chiefly interesting to us for the views it affords of the religious condition of Prussia, and other Protestant portions of the continent of Europe. It deserves to be read by our people.

History of the American Bible Society. By W. P. STRICKLAND, D.D. With an Introduction, by Rev. N. L. RICE, D.D. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1856. 8vo, pp. 512.)

This is a new edition of Dr. Strickland's valuable history, thoroughly revised and brought down to the present time. There are some statements in this volume to which we feel bound to take exception, but we bear cheerful testimony to the general fairness and accuracy which it evinces.

History of Europe; from the Fall of Napoleon in 1815, to the Accession of Louis Napoleon, in 1852. By Sir ARCHIBALD ALISON, Bart. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1856. 2 vols., 8vo, pp. 441, 479.)

Sir Archibald Alison is by no means a favorite with us. He is too intensely reactionary in his sympathies to do justice to the progressive spirit of the age. He never lets an opportunity slip to disparage Republicanism and democracy. Yet he is a man of great industry, and where his partisan prejudices do not warp his judgment, he is reliable. He cannot be called an impartial historian, but we think he means to be candid. His besetting sin is an inveterate Toryism, which blinds him to any just notions of freedom and progress. After all, his historical works have a high value, and are

worthy of a place in every well-assorted library. The present volumes bring the history down to the close of the Polish Revolution, in 1831.

The Earnest Man: A Sketch of the Character and Labors of Adoniram Judson, First Missionary to Burmah. By Mrs. H. C. CONANT. (Boston: Phillips, Sampson & Co., 1856. 12mo, pp. 498.)

This work is on the basis of the larger Memoir of Dr. Judson, by Dr. Wayland. It is well known that a condensation similar to this was commenced by Mrs. Judson, but that she did not live to complete it. Her executors applied to Mrs. Conant to execute the work. They could not have made a more fortunate selection. We have rarely read a more admirable biography. We would call especial attention to Mrs. Conant's chapter on Judson's *Missionary Policy*. While confining herself strictly to a statement of his true position, it seems to us that she has presented all that need be said respecting the theory of Missionary labor.

Memoir of the Life of Harriet Preble. By Prof. R. H. LEE, LL.D. (New York: G. P. Putnam & Co., 1856. 12mo, pp. 409.)

This is an admirably-written record of a highly-gifted, and, in many respects, extraordinary woman. The religious history of Miss Preble exhibits all those remarkable transitions which are involved in the conflicts between belief and unbelief. She came at last, however, into the clear sun-light of truth, and lived to adorn the doctrine of God her Saviour for many years. We take great pleasure in calling the attention of our readers to this interesting biography.

The Life of the Rev. Thomas Scott, D. D. From the Eighth London Edition. American Tract Society. 12mo, pp. 502.

This is a very valuable and interesting memoir, adapted to all classes. Prefixed to it is a fine portrait of the pious, venerable, and renowned subject. Of course we commend the work; and we need say but little to induce our readers to purchase and read it; as every one must be anxious to know all about so good and useful a man as the author of the "Force of Truth," and "The Commentary." Like all the publications of the Tract Society, this book is not only good, and brought out in the finest style of the typographical art, but is offered at a very low price. Those who take it up will scarcely be able to lay it down till they have compassed the last page. The result of its perusal cannot but be an increase of intelligence, good feeling, and holy action.

The Last Remains of the Rev. Andrew Fuller. Sermons, Essays, Letters, and other miscellaneous papers, not included in his published works. By the Editor of his "Complete Works." (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 118 Arch Street. 12mo, pp. 369. 1856.)

When the same Society gave to the world the "Complete Works" of Mr. Fuller, under the Editorship of Dr. Belcher, it was generally thought they

had, with much diligence, gathered all which remained from the pen of that most excellent man, and judicious writer. But recent circumstances have brought to light the contents of the volume before us, which, indeed, is necessary in order to give completeness to Mr. Fuller's works.

The Society has rightly judged that these miscellaneous papers belong to the public, and as the custodian of them she did not feel at liberty to withhold them from their rightful destiny.

It is a sufficient recommendation of the volume, to know that it bears on its pages the recorded thoughts of the late Rev. Andrew Fuller, of Kettering, England. Such as have learned the value of his writings, will not be satisfied to remain long without a perusal of "The Last Remains." We most gladly commend the book to all, as well adapted both to instruct and cheer the disciple of the crucified Saviour.

Prefixed to the volume is an engraved likeness of Mr. Fuller, which the reader will be pleased to study.

Lays of Ancient Rome; with Ivry, and the Armada. By THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY. (Boston and Cambridge: James Munroe & Co. 12mo., pp. 181. 1856.)

Mr. Macaulay has borne his wreaths of honor from every field to which he has been preferred, or which he may have assumed. In whatever capacity you chance to meet him—as an Essayist, a Reviewer, a Poet, a Historian, or a Member of the House of Commons, you are conscious of the presence of a master-spirit, endowed with the loftiest sentiment, and trained to the noblest feats of honor. In the volume before us, one knows hardly which to admire most, the knowledge displayed or the genius with which the work is executed. The two are happily blended, and the union tends not a little to heighten the admiration of the reader.

The preface to the volume, and the introductions to the several poems are replete with historical information. The "Ivry," or a Song of the Huguenots, and "The Armada," with which the volume closes, are, to some extent, known, and have met with a favorable reception. The *Lays of Ancient Rome* have, also, made their impression, more deep and enduring than the former. They are founded upon ancient Roman history. But this history is drawn from sources not in the highest degree authentic. The minstrels who composed the ballads out of which the early history of Rome has been recovered, must have possessed very fertile imaginations. Truth may have formed the ground-work of the historic pictures they drew, but on the foreground we discover little else than the marks of the most brilliant fancy. The ideal more than the actual, we are constrained to conclude, contributed to the formation of those ancient ballad-poems. Nevertheless, they had an admixture of historic truth, and were valuable sources from which to draw for the construction of the early history of Rome. Mr. Macaulay reverses the order of the historian, and gives us his *Lays*, founded upon history, as he finds it.

The appreciating reader will be pleased to see this volume.

Ancient Spanish Ballads; Historical and Romantic. Translated, with an Introduction and Notes, by J. G. LOCKHART, Esq. (New York: C. S. Francis & Co. 12mo, pp. 154.)

To the historian and philosopher, and in fact to every lover of letters, Ballads are, independent of any intrinsic worth they may possess as poetic effusions, of great interest. Being usually the earliest compositions of peoples, we are often dependent upon them for our knowledge of early events. They give us also the clearest insight into manners and customs, and afford a basis for estimating those influences which have made a nation what they were or are.

The Spaniards are richer in this species of literature than almost any other people of Europe. The late Mr. Lockhart, son-in-law of Sir Walter Scott, and for twenty-eight years editor of the *Quarterly Review*, has given to the English reader some specimens of those that are ancient, taken chiefly from the collection of Mr. Depping, published at Leipsic, in 1817. They first appeared, several years ago, in *Blackwood's Magazine*, and were received with great favor. As to their real antiquity, there is some uncertainty. They reach back at least to the Fifteenth century, however; and from certain data we should judge they might be as old as the Thirteenth. Those with which Mr. Lockhart has here presented us a translation, in their subjects cover a period of some seven centuries, extending from the time of the Moorish conquests in the Eighth century to the capture of Granada and the final expulsion of the Saracen in 1492. Each piece is preceded with historical notes. The reader will find this volume an interesting one; but he must expect to read of heroes and battles, of gallants and amours, and to have a sprinkling of Catholic theology. He will find, however, far less to offend his moral and religious sense than might be apprehended. Prefixed to these ballads is a general historical introduction, and a sketch of the life of the lamented translator.

We give the following as specimens. The first is entitled "The King of Arragon." The second "The Song of the Galley."

I.

"One day the king of Arragon, from the old citadel
Looked down upon the sea of Spain, as the billows rose and fell;
He looked on ship and galley, some coming and some going,
With all their pride of merchandise, and all their streamers flowing—

"Some to Castile were sailing, and some to Barbary:—
And then he looked on Naples, that great city of the sea:
'O, city!' saith the king, 'how great hath been thy cost,
For thee, I twenty years—my fairest years—have lost!

"'By thee I have lost a brother—never Hector was more brave—
High cavaliers have dropped their tears upon my brother's grave;
Much treasure hast thou cost me, and a little boy beside—
(Alas! thou woful city) for whom I would have died.'"

II.

"Ye galleys fairly built
Like castles on the sea,
Oh, great will be your guilt,
If ye bring him not to me.

"The wind is blowing strong,
The breeze will aid your oars ;
Oh, swiftly fly along—
For he lies among the Moors !

"The sweet breezes of the sea
Cools every cheek but mine ;
Hot is its breath to me,
As I gaze upon the brine.

"Lift up, lift up your sail,
And bend upon your oars ;
Oh, lose not the fair gale,
For he lies among the Moors !

"To Mary I will pray,
While ye bend upon your oars ;
'Twill be a blessed day,
If ye fetch him from the Moors !"

Elmwood; or, Helen and Emma. By CORA MAYFIELD. (Boston and Cambridge : J. Munroe & Co. 1856. 12mo, pp. 350.)

This is a fictitious narrative, with an excellent moral ; for it professes "an endeavor to compare the fading flowers of fancy with the evergreens of reason." It consists of fifty-one chapters. It is suitable to the young, and adapted to interest and benefit them.

Sibert's Wold. A Tale. By the Author of "Sunbeam Stories," &c. (Boston and Cambridge : J. Munroe & Co. 1856. 16mo, pp. 258.)

This is a charming little tale, with some excellent points, by one who has already distinguished herself in this department of literature. This last production of her pen will be read with more than ordinary interest.

Conversation ; its Faults and its Graces. Compiled by ANDREW P. PEA-BODY, D.D. New Edition, and revised, with additions, pp. 152, 12mo. (Boston and Cambridge : James Munroe & Co. 1856)

No one who wishes to cultivate the graces of colloquial intercourse, or has a just appreciation of the beauty and force of correct speaking, should remain another day unaided by this most timely and appropriate volume. The work is dedicated to American teachers, and perhaps with propriety. But let no one conclude thence that it is only adapted to render aid to those sustaining such relations. It is rather an admirably-prepared volume for the people. All ranks of society will be benefited by its perusal. For all may learn here what should be the conversational style in the diversified associations of life.

The American Political Manual: containing the Declaration of Independence, Constitution of the United States, and Washington's Farewell Address, authentic copies from the State Department, Washington; with copious Indexes. (New York: C. S. Francis & Co., 554 Broadway; Boston, 53 Devonshire street. 1856.)

This little volume is made up of documents which should be in the hands of every American citizen. Here, in the briefest form, the reader is favored with the great principles which are at the foundation of our National Government.

Chronological History of the United States: Arranged, with plates, on Bem's principle. By ELIZABETH P. PRABODY. (New York: Sheldon, Blakeman & Co., 115 Nassau street. 1856. 12mo, pp. 312.)

A knowledge of the history of his country should be, next to that of his religion and domestic obligations, the desire and aim of every one who is truly a lover of his race.

We are pleased to see the history to which attention is here invited. It will facilitate the acquisition of information respecting our native land. Bem's method is thought by some to be highly advantageous to the progress of the pupil in a knowledge of history. All may not concur in this view; but all will, we feel persuaded, agree in commendations of the volume, and in expressions of high appreciation of the labors of the talented authoress.

The mechanical execution of the work is excellent, and does honor to the taste and judgment of the successful publishers.

An Elementary Treatise on Logic. Designed for the Use of Schools and Colleges, as well as for Private Study and Use. By W. D. WILSON, D. D., Professor of Christian Ethics, as also of Logic and Intellectual Philosophy, in Hobart Free College, at Geneva, Western New York. (New York: D. Appleton & Co.)

We have, in this compact and beautifully-printed volume, within a reasonable compass, a complete treatise on logic, as full and precise as can be well imagined. This is the first thing which must strike every competent person who examines it. Logic is carefully defined, and restricted to its proper sphere; and its various parts are exhibited with excellent judgment and unusual precision. There is little or nothing lacking, as there is nothing superabundant. Dr. Wilson is obviously master of his subject. Familiar with its literature, his statements are carefully made, and generally well sustained. Brief as they are, his criticisms on the views of De Morgan, and those also of Sir William Hamilton, are suggestive and valuable. We are not prepared, at present, to take sides with him in his opposition to the positions of Sir William, respecting the quantification of the predicate; nor is it necessary in this brief notice. The discussion is a difficult one, and requires ampler time and space than we can now command. We will simply remark that the difference, in our view, turns mainly upon the use of lan-

guage. Indeed, logic and language are intimately blended. The laws of the one are often but a statement of the laws of the other ; and it would be an easy thing to range ourselves on the one side or on the other, and make our view plausible, by the meaning we attach to the terms employed. Dr. Wilson seems as precise in the use of language as Sir William ; indeed, this is one of the great excellences of his book, and, if he has fallen into error, he supplies the ready means of correcting it.

Some, indeed, may complain of his work as unsuited to the younger class of students, on account of its apparently complicated technicalities. But logic is and must be a system, or method, of technicalities. Its object is to teach precision, not only in the conduct of argument, but in the use of terms.

Dr. Wilson has divided his treatise into two parts, Analysis of Formulæ, and Method. This is a great convenience. He has also added numerous examples for logical praxis, of which teachers will know the value.

The American Debater. By J. N. McELLIOTT, LL.D. Third Edition. (New York : Ivison & Phinney. 1856. 12mo, pp. 323.)

This is a manual which most young men ought to study. Those who have aught to do with debating societies will find it of great service. It consists of fourteen sections, with an appendix which embraces the Constitution of the United States. The whole closes with ample indices. There are upwards of six hundred questions for discussion in this volume, to some of which are appended references. "Rules of orders" are presented in a full and very clear manner. To deliberative assemblies, Dr. McElligott will furnish more aid than Jefferson. Our thanks are due to author and publishers for what we esteem a valuable book. We commend it to favorable attention.

The Constitutional Text Book. A Practical and Familiar Exposition of the Constitution of the United States, and of Portions of the Public and Administrative Law of the Federal Government. By B. F. SHEPPARD. (Philadelphia : Childs and Peterson. 1856. 12mo, pp. 324.)

This new work, on the Constitution of our country, contains a fuller view than any other of the same size and design. It professes "not only to present, in familiar language, a brief outline of the generally-received interpretation of each clause, but to illustrate it by a reference to such facts, and to such legislation by Congress, as seemed necessary to its proper elucidation." Several other documents germane and of interest, are also included in this volume. It should be studied by every young man who concerns himself in the affairs of State, and every one ought ; it will also be found ever valuable as a manual of reference. To facilitate its use, there are appended a series of questions and a copious index.

Familiar Science ; or, The Scientific Explanation of Common Things. (Philadelphia : Childs & Peterson. 1856. 18mo, pp. 305.)

This little volume has attained an extensive sale. It was originally published in England, where it attained, in the course of two years, a circulation

of twenty-five thousand. Mr. R. E. Peterson has adapted it to our American use. It is enjoying a large popularity. About two thousand questions in science are answered. But it is specially valuable as having a tendency to induce habits of observation, and prompt inquiries. Youth will find it interesting and instructive; and even to older persons, who have passed through a scientific course, it will prove refreshing. A very copious index much increases its value.

The Year Book of Agriculture for 1855-'56. By D. A. WELLS. (Philadelphia: Childs & Peterson. 1856. 8vo, pp. 399.)

We hail this publication with pleasure. All of us are interested in agriculture, directly or indirectly. To every class, this cannot but be an interesting and instructive volume. It collects, condenses, and arranges much that all should know, but which would otherwise escape the notice of the masses. The present volume treats of Mechanics, Chemistry, Geology, Meteorology, Botany, and Zoology in connection. Several pages are devoted to Horticulture. There will be found, beside, several other matters of interest, as a review of the progress of agriculture, statistics of American growth and production, a list of recent publications, table of patents, &c., &c. The whole, in the original production, and in the selection, is the result of a vast expenditure of labor. This is the first year of its appearance, and it is to be continued annually. A second volume is about ready. Though each volume is complete in itself, it should be possessed from the commencement of its publication. It will form a "unique encyclopedia" of Agriculture, by means of which we may keep pace with the progress of the age in this valuable science.

A System of Physical Geography. By D. M. WARREN. Embellished by J. H. YOUNG. (Philadelphia: H. Cowperthwait & Co. 1856. 4to, pp. 92.)

We have, in this work, a new study for schools. In ordinary geographies this matter is treated only in a very summary manner. It is a highly interesting and valuable subject, and opportunity should be sought for mastering it. Several works have appeared; but this is the best we have met with for the young, and it may be used with profit by others, who have not had the advantage of such a volume in their pupilage. In its compilation, the most able and recent works have been consulted. It abounds in maps, charts, and engravings; and the whole mechanical part is executed most beautifully. The subjects treated are Geology, Hydrography, Meteorology, and Organic Life: this latter including Botany, Zoology, and Ethnography. Appended is a special consideration of the Physical Geography of the United States. Questions, and a pronouncing vocabulary, accompany. We commend this work to the most favorable attention of school committees, teachers, and all others who may desire a general knowledge of this most interesting subject.

We have received from Bangs, Brother & Co., the fifth and sixth volumes of Mr. Bohn's new and revised edition of Hurd's Addison. These volumes conclude the work. We think this edition is now the most complete collection of Addison's writings extant. We commend it to our readers who desire a complete and yet portable edition of the writings of the great essayist.

English Traits. By R. W. EMERSON. (Boston: Phillips, Sampson & Co. 1856. 12mo, pp. 312.)

This is by no means a book of travels. It is rather a succession of pictures and observations relating to English life. Mr. Emerson treats in his own peculiar manner of the Land, the Race, their Ability, Manners, Character, Wealth, Aristocracy, Universities, Religion, Literature, and other related topics. This book contains some of the most vigorous writing that was ever produced. We have never seen anything from the pen of Mr. Emerson that has so much delighted us, on the whole, as these sketches of English life and character.

Poems. By RICHARD CHENEVIX TRENCH. (New York: J. S. Redfield. 1856. 12mo, pp. 336.)

Mr. Trench is a man of varied attainments. In Comparative Philology, Biblical Criticism and Interpretation, and General Literature, he has already made himself conspicuous by his numerous publications. In this volume he appears before us in a new character. Though there is nothing in the pieces composing it that can be regarded as remarkable, yet they would mark their author as a man of fine taste and of highly poetic faculty. Some of the poems in this volume are very fine.

Paul Ferrol is an anonymous tale of English life, evincing great powers of characterization and description. We are specially pleased with one feature of the book; we mean its comparative brevity. We are not compelled to wade through seven or eight hundred pages to reach a result that might better be given in three hundred.

Ninety-eight and Forty-eight: The Modern Revolutionary History and Literature of Ireland. By JOHN SAVAGE. (New York: Redfield. 1856. 12mo, pp. 384.)

Mr. Savage was an actor in the recent disturbances in Ireland, and he writes with spirit concerning the events in which he bore a part. The candid reader will scarcely concede the merit of impartiality to this work, and the critic will not find much to commend in point of arrangement and execution. It lacks unity; though the sketches of the men and events of which it treats, are generally vivid and effective. Like all truthful books relating to the revolutionary history of Ireland, it proves that the Irish are their own worst foes. We see here the same impulsiveness, caprice and fickleness, and the same want of method and consistency, which meet us in all faithful

delineations of the Irish character. If the leaders of Ireland would be agreed among themselves, if her people could comprehend the true principles of freedom, and cast off the incubus of a debasing hierarchy, Ireland might yet be free; but not till then.

Recollections of the Table-Talk of Samuel Rogers. To which is added *Porsenionia.* (New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1856. 12mo, pp. 346.)

The collector of these sayings of the late Mr. Rogers, is understood to be the Rev. ALEXANDER DYCE, well known in the literary circles of great Britain as an accomplished critic and literary annotator. He has given us a very pleasing view of the private life and familiar talk of the poet-banker.

Memorials of his Time. By HENRY COCKBURN. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1856. 12mo, pp. 442.

Lord Cockburn was the cotemporary and companion of such men as Sir Walter Scott, Lord Jeffrey, Sydney Smith, and others of that brilliant circle who shone forth with such lustre at the beginning of the present century. His memorials of these men, and the insight which he gives of literary matters in his time, are deeply interesting.

Life in Brazil; or a Journal of a Visit to the Land of the Cocoa and the Palm. By THOMAS EWBANK. (New York: Harper & Brothers. 1856 8vo, pp. 469.)

Mr. Ewbank was, during many years, at the head of the United States Patent Office in Washington. Shortly after the close of his term of office he set out on the tour of which he has given us a graphic and instructive account in the volume before us. His object has been to describe life in Brazil as it met his eyes. He has drawn it with a free and bold pencil. The social traits, public usages, religious observances, and domestic habits of the people, their style of building, modes of living, and domestic utensils, with occasional notices of the physical geography of the country, comprise the subjects on which he treats. His statements are of course reliable. The views of life in that empire are generally grotesque, often ludicrous, and always profoundly suggestive. One can scarcely refrain from moralizing on the causes which have wrought so wide a difference between Brazil and those portions of the Western continent settled by the English race. These causes are suggested, not formally, indeed, but nevertheless effectively in Mr. Ewbank's pages.

The Life and Travels of Herodotus, in the Fifth Century before Christ: An imaginary Biography founded on Fact. By J. TALBOYS WHEELER, F.R.G.S. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1856. 2 vols. 12mo, pp 445, 465.

Mr. Wheeler is well known among scholars as the author of an "Analysis of Herodotus," "The Geography of Herodotus," and other works relating to the literature of his age. The present work is in the style of the Abbe Barthelemy's Travels of Anacharsis the Younger, in Greece," and is designed

to illustrate the history, religion, customs, politics, and social life of the nations of antiquity in the days of Pericles and Nehemiah. The work appears to be well executed, though of its principle we cannot approve. In some respects it does not present a full picture of the vices of the classic nations, yet it furnishes all that would be tolerable in a popular survey of their manners.

Sinai and Palestine, in Connection with their History. By ARTHUR PENRHYN STANLEY, M.A., Canon of Canterbury. With Maps and Plans. (New York: Redfield, No. 34 Beekman street, 1857. pp. 535. 8vo.)

In the winter and spring of 1852 and 1853, Mr. Stanley, in company with Messrs. Walrond, Fremantle and Findlay, visited the celebrated places mentioned in Sacred History. The very accurate observations taken at the time, with the scenes respectively in full view, have been reduced to order, and presented to public favor in a volume of unusual interest and value. Mr. Stanley has wisely availed himself of such helps as he could command from the works of those who have preceded him, through this inviting field of investigation. By the combined advantages of a personal inspection and attentive reading, the distinguished author has rendered most acceptable service to the cause of biblical literature.

Introductory to the body of the work is a description of *Egypt, and its Relation to Sinai and Palestine*. The work is divided by chapters, entitled, respectively, Sinai, in two parts—Peninsula of Sinai, and The Journey from Cairo to Jerusalem;—Palestine;—Judæa and Jerusalem;—The Heights and the Passes of Benjamin;—Ephraim and Manasseh;—The Maritime Plain;—The Jordan and the Dead Sea;—Peræa, or the Trans-Jordanic Tribes;—Plain of Esdraelon;—Galilee;—The Lake of Merom and the Sources of the Jordan;—Lebanon—Damascus;—The Gospel History and Teaching, viewed in connection with the Localities of Palestine;—The Holy Places;—and an Appendix, devoted to a Vocabulary of the local words of the Hebrew Scriptures. The general interest of the volume is enhanced by maps and wood-cuts, and a copious index.

The exact delineations of the topography of the Holy Land reminds us of Chateaubriand's descriptions of the same scenes, and of the *Biblical Researches* of Dr. Robinson.

The recent invaluable work of Professor Hackett, in which illustrations of the Holy Scriptures are drawn from the natural scenery of Palestine, has already been noticed in our pages, and has, it is hoped, by this time, found its way to the hands of the judicious student. Such will come with a keener zest to the perusal of the richly-stored pages of the volume before us. Nor is there awaiting him disappointment. The work is replete with information, and is presented in a style which cannot fail of imparting satisfaction to the attentive reader. It is a valuable contribution to sacred literature, and will, in no inconsiderable degree, aid in the elucidation of the Inspired Writings.

Biblical Commentary on the New Testament. By DR. HERMANN OLSHAUSEN, Professor of Theology in the University of Erlangen. Translated from the German for "Clark's Foreign and Theological Library." First American Edition, revised after the Fourth German Edition. By A. C. KENDRICK, D.D., Professor of Greek in the University of Rochester. To which is prefixed Olshausen's Proof of the Genuineness of the Writings of the New Testament. Translated by DAVID FOSDICK, Jr. Vol. I. (New York : Sheldon, Blakeman & Co., 115 Nassau street. 1856. 8vo, pp. 621.)

The Commentaries of Dr. Olshausen, with those who have had the advantage of consulting them, can require no further commendation. They have, by the force of their intrinsic merits, won their way to general confidence, and to a discriminative appreciation of the ripest scholars of the age. Justly now may they take their place by the side of the most valued productions for the elucidation of the sacred text, found in any language.

The keen penetration and critical acumen of Professor Olshausen's mind—its thorough and logical training—and, withal, its happy surrender to the genius of the subject of investigation, and to the enlightenment of the Spirit of God—have enabled him to go down into the depths of the Inspired Writings, and bring thence the purest ingots of Divine truth.

The American edition of these Commentaries, now passing through the press of Sheldon, Blakeman & Co., is placed under the careful inspection and revisory labors of Professor Kendrick, of Rochester University—a sufficient guarantee that it will be executed with ability and fidelity. The first instalment is now offered to the public in an elegant octavo volume of more than six hundred pages, and at a price which brings it within the reach of all who shall desire to make it their own. The other volumes will follow in due time.

The improvements of the American edition are very considerable, and such as the intelligent student will readily appreciate. But these are so fully noted by the editor, in his admirable preface, as to demand little more of us than simply to call attention to them. It may be advisable to remark, however, that, while the present edition retains the Greek words and phrases, freely interspersed through the work, as left by its distinguished author, almost entirely confining it to the use of scholars, a desire has prevailed to relieve it of this exclusiveness, and to give to the labors of Dr. Olshausen the widest possible field of usefulness. Accordingly, those words and phrases have been generally translated into English.

Introductory to the Commentary are two able articles by the same author, on the "Proof of the Genuineness of the Writings of the New Testament," and "On the Origin of the Gospel Collection." These the readers of the *Review* will be pleased to consult.

We have received from C. M. Saxton & Co. several volumes, containing much valuable information to all who are in any way engaged in the cultivation of the earth. The growing interest evinced in agricultural pursuits is among the auspicious indications of the times. Men have left the true sub-

stantial sources of wealth for the fanciful. But we are pleased to see signs of returning to the order of nature, and to obedience to the Divine command,—to supply his bread by the sweat of the brow.

The books before us are helpful to the classes respectively for whom they have been prepared.

The Progressive Farmer; A Scientific Treatise on Agricultural Chemistry, the Geology of Agriculture, on Plants, Animals, Manures, and Soils, applied to Practical Agriculture. By J. A. NASH. This is a work which ought to be in the hands of every farmer in the United States. (New York: C. M. Saxton & Co., Agricultural Book Publishers, 140 Fulton street, 1856. pp. 254, 12mo.)

A Complete Manual for the Cultivation of the Strawberry; with a Description of the best Varieties. Also, Notices of the Raspberry, Blackberry, Cranberry, Currant, Gooseberry, and Grape; with directions for their cultivation, and the selection of the best varieties. Third revised edition. By R. G. PARDEE. (New York: C. M. Saxton & Co., Agricultural Book Publishers, 140 Fulton street, 1856. pp. 157, 12mo.)

The American Grape Grower's Guide. Intended especially for the American climate. Being a practical treatise on the cultivation of the Grapevine in each department of hot-house, cold grapery, retarding house, and outdoor culture; with plans for the construction of the requisite buildings, and giving the best methods of heating the same, every department being fully illustrated. By WILLIAM CHORLTON. (New York: C. M. Saxton & Co., Agricultural Book Publishers, 140 Fulton street, 1856. pp. 171, 12mo.)

The Family Kitchen Gardener: containing plain and accurate descriptions of all the different species and varieties of culinary vegetables; with their Botanical, English, French, and German names, alphabetically arranged, and the best mode of cultivating them, in the garden or under glass; with a description of implements and medical herbs in general use. Also, descriptions and characters of the most select fruits, their management, propagation, etc. Illustrated with twenty-five engravings. By ROBERT BUIST. Author of the American Flower-Garden Directory, Rose Manual, etc. (C. M. Saxton & Co., Agricultural Book Publishers, 140 Fulton street, New York. pp. 216, 12mo, 1856.)

The titles of these books are so fully descriptive of their character as to need no explanation. Those taking an interest in the subjects of which they treat will do well to secure these valuable publications.

Elements of Moral Philosophy; Analytical, Synthetical, and Practical. By HUBBARD WINSLOW. (New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1856. Large 12mo, pp. 480.)

This is a well-systematized treatise on Christian Ethics. Mr. Winslow was already well known to the public by his excellent work on Intellectual Philosophy. Those who have examined that work will be prepared to find in the volume before us an able and well-considered discussion of the great elements of morality. We have rarely perused a book of this description with more satisfaction.

ART. IX.—LITERARY AND THEOLOGICAL INTELLIGENCE.

AMERICAN.

A Memoir of the late Dr. Taylor, President of Madison University, is in course of preparation, and will be published under the direction of his children.

A third edition of the life and works of *Thomas Cole*, the celebrated painter, is announced by Sheldon, Blakeman & Co.

Memoirs of Baron Steuben are in course of preparation by Fred. Kapp.

Biographical and Genealogical Memoirs of the Leverett Family, are announced by Crosby, Nichols & Co.

Redfield announces a *Life of Washington*, by Prof. De Witt, a son-in-law of Guizot, and member of the famous Dutch family of DeWitts, translated from the French. Lives of Washington are abounding. Headley has just published his, originally written for *Graham's Magazine*. Carlyle is said to have abandoned his life of Frederic the Great, and commenced one of Washington. Irving's is still in course of publication. The octavo edition is to consist of five volumes. The popular edition has reached the 3d volume: 100,000 of these volumes have been printed.

A Cyclopædia of Female Biography, by H. G. Adams, publishing in London, is to be republished by the Appletons.

Mr. C. Scribner announces a *Life of Luther*, by Archdeacon Hare.

A Life of Perthes, the famous German bookseller, in 2 vols. 8vo., extending from 1789 to 1843, is announced by Dix, Edwards & Co.

Gould & Lincoln announce the *Life and Character of Jas. Montgomery*. The London edition of 7 vols. 8vo. is to be reduced to 1 vol. 12mo.

The Life and Times of Zwingli, the famous Swiss Reformer, from the German of J. J. Hottinger, has been published within the last quarter, at Harrisburg, Pa. Translated by Prof. T. C. Porter, of Lancaster.

Mason Brothers have just published *Confidential Correspondence of the Emperor Napoleon and the Empress Josephine*. By J. S. C. Abbott.

Vol. 1 of a *History of the United States*, by G. Tucker, to be completed in 4 vols.: and *Schoolcraft's Indians*, vols. 4 and 5, have been issued by G. B. Lippincott, & Co.

Another work on the question, *Who was Junius?* has appeared from the publishing house of Dix & Edwards. Forty such volumes have already appeared in England.

The Court of Napoleon, with portraits, by F. B. Goodrich, will be one of the superbest books of the season. It is published by Derby and Jackson. The first edition will cost \$30,000.

Edersheim's History of the Jewish Nation, an English work, is to be reproduced in New York, by Dix, Edwards & Co.

Two new volumes of *Arctic Explorations*, by Dr. Kane, are nearly ready. They are published in Philadelphia by Childs & Peterson.

Professor Jas. R. Boise, of the University of Michigan, at Ann Harbor has prepared a new edition of *Xenophon's Anabasis*, which will soon be issued.

A History of the introduction of Printing in the States of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York, embracing the period from 1684 to 1750, with anecdotes from Bradford to Franklin, is in course of preparation, by R. W. Griswold.

S. A. Allibone, a merchant and banker of Philadelphia, is preparing a *Dictionary of English Authors and Literature*. It will embrace the living as well as the dead.

A new edition of the *Iconographic Encyclopedia*, in 6 volumes, is announced by the Appletons.

An Etymological Dictionary of Family Names, with an Essay on their Origin and Import, by Rev. W. Arthur, is in the press of Sheldon, Lamport & Co.

Mystery of Evil and God, by J. Young, LL.D., has been republished by J. B. Lippincott & Co. Some of the opinions of this work are controverted by theologians.

Elements of Logic, on the basis of W. S. Barrow's, by J. R. Boyd, is a new treatise issued by A. S. Barnes & Co. Several works of this class have recently appeared. One by W. D. Wilson, D.D., is reviewed in another part of this number.

Messrs. Sheldon, Blakeman & Co. announce, in book form, the articles of Dr. Wayland, on the *Principles and Practices of Baptists*, originally published in the *Examiner*, over the signature of "Roger Williams."

Mr. Everett is preparing for the press a third volume of his *Orations and Speeches*.

Dr. E. L. Magoon will shortly bring out a new work—*The Course of Empire*.

Brazil and the Brazilians, by Rev. Mr. Fletcher, is announced.

The Word and Works of God, by John Gill, is announced by E. H. Fletcher.

Messrs. Carter & Brothers announce the republication of the choicest works of the most celebrated divines of the 17th century—the same that were published some years ago in London, but now out of print. The first volume will consist of *Beveridge's Private Thoughts*.

Gould & Lincoln have in press a new and revised edition of Professor Hackett's *Commentary on the Acts*; a new work from Hugh Miller, entitled, *Paleontology*, or Lectures on Fossil Plants and Animals; a volume of *Miscellanies* on Plato, Napoleon, Wellington, Tennyson, etc., by Peter Bayne, author of *Christian Life Social and Individual*; *Modern Atheism*, by James Buchanan, D.D., LL.D., Professor in New College, Edinburgh; and a new volume of the *Argwell Stories*, entitled *Whistler, or the Manly Boy*.

Putnam & Co. announce *Psychological Enquiries*, by Sir B. C. Brodie, with notes.

Essays Theological and Miscellaneous, by C. Hodge, of the Princeton Seminary, are announced by Carter & Brothers.

The Dairyman's Daughter is to be reproduced, with illustrations, by the Appletons.

Songs and Ballads, by Rev. Sidney Dyer, of Indianapolis, are announced by Sheldon, Blakeman & Co.

The Humorous Poetry of the English Language, from Chaucer to Saxe, compiled by J. Paxton, is announced by Mason Brothers.

Bayard Taylor is on a travel through Sweden, Norway, and Demark, whence he goes to Russia. and then passing through Liberia, and down the Amour River, he proposes to return, by way of California, to New York.

The well-known house of Ivison & Phinney are about to commence the publication of Greek and Latin School-books.

At the recent trade sale of Messrs. Leavitt, Delisser & Co., New York, about half a million of books, valued at half a million of dollars, were offered 85,057 of the volumes were from the house of Philips, Sampson & Co., Boston.

There are in New York 290 Booksellers, 129 Printers, and 63 Bookbinders.

FOREIGN.

A new "Biographia Britannica" is announced by Murray. Thackeray is about to commence a new serial.

The "Posthumous Works" of Sir William Hamilton are announced.

Macauley will furnish a Life of Johnson for the next volume of the new Edinburgh *Encyclopædia*.

The library of the British Museum contains 450,000 volumes. Its shelves extend 15 miles.

The eminent Dr. Buckland, Geologist, etc., has recently deceased. We have also to record the death of Rev. Mr. Groser, for many years editor of the *Baptist Magazine* in England.

The 14th volume of Theirs' "Consulate and Empire" is in the press of Paris.

M. Henri Martin is distinguishing himself by his "Histoire de France." It has received the first Gobert Prize.

De Tocqueville has brought out a work of great power and interest, on the "Cause and Origin of the French Revolution." It is to be republished by the Appletons.

The 23d volume of the "Histoire Litteraire de France" has just appeared. This great work was commenced by the Benedictines 123 years ago. It will take many years yet to complete it.

A new edition of the "Memoirs du Duc de St. Simons" is announced. It is to be issued in five different forms.

A new society has been established in Germany, for the publication of old manuscripts, and of rare and scarce works.

The Correspondence of Fichte and Schelling, extending chiefly from 1799 to 1802. is announced.

Prince Sabinoff, an enthusiastic admirer of Mary Stuart, has collected, and published in seven volumes, her letters, with 136 portraits.

A superb work, entitled "The Empire of the Russias," has been issued at Moscow, in commemoration of the coronation of the new Czar. Only 200 copies are printed. It is contained in 4 vols. 4to, published in gold, silver, and colors, on satin paper, with 200 engravings.

A prize of 500 rupees has been offered, through the Director of Public Instruction, by an Indian gentleman, for the best essay on "The traits in English character which contribute to the commercial prosperity of England, and those in the Indian, which hinder that of India." The essay is to be in English, with a free Guzerathee translation, and not to exceed 50 pages. Competition is open for all until the 1st of November.

"Alford's Greek Testament," vol 3, is announced. This work contains a revised text, various readings, and a critical and exegetical commentary.

"Strife between Hippolytus and Callistus about Clerical Absolution," is the title of a new critical work by Edmond de Pressense.

Roselly de Lorgues has prepared a new "Life of Christopher Columbus," in two volumes, taken from original documents in Italy and France.

Albert de Broglie is engaged upon a work, entitled "The Church and the Roman Empire in the Fourth Century."

"The Diary of John Burchard," Master of Ceremonies at the Papal Court, from 1484 to 1513, covering the Pontificates of Alexander VI., Pius III., and Julius II., is to be published in full at Florence.

Dr. F. Pfaff defends the Mosaic Cosmogony, on the ground that geology discloses six periods, which correspond to the six days of creation.

Bohringer's Church History in Biographies" is progressing.

Perthes announces Bunsen's work on Egypt, in five volumes.

"The Historical Gain from Deciphering the Assyrian Inscriptions," is the title of a new work by J. Brandis.

"Herzog's Encyclopædia" has advanced to the fifth volume. Bomberg's abridged translation has reached part 2.

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