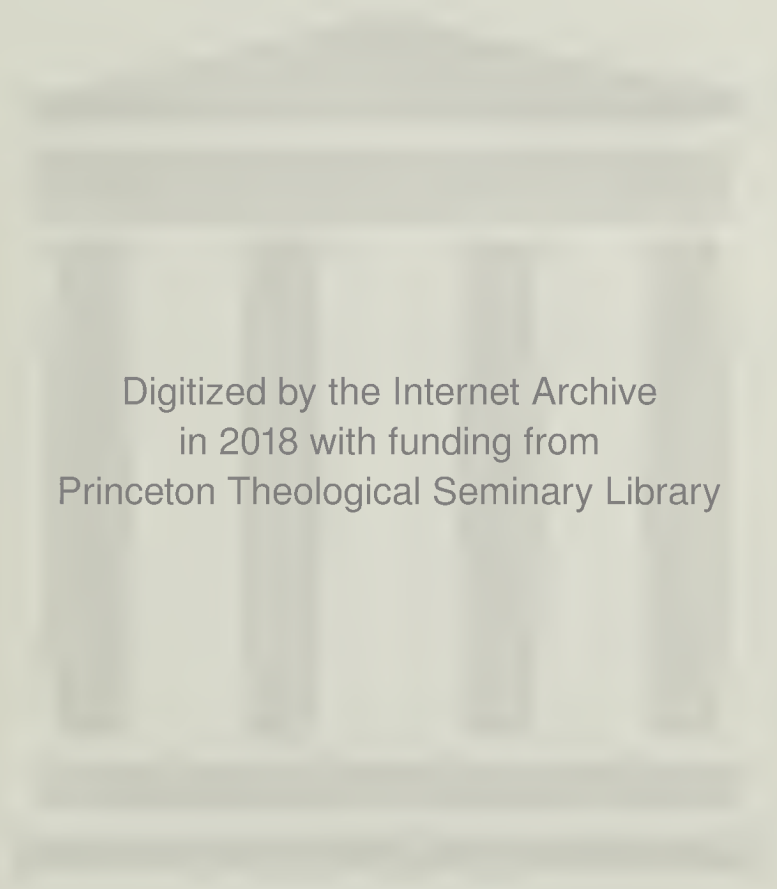


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Princeton Theological Review
BIBLICAL REPERTORY.

A

Collection of Tracts

IN

BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

BY CHARLES HODGE,

PROFESSOR OF ORIENTAL AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE, IN THE
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, AT PRINCETON, N. J.

Ἐρευνᾶτε τὰς γραφάς.

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THE

History of Theology

IN

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

BY DR. AUGUSTUS THOLUCK,

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF HALLE.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN,

BY THE EDITOR.

The following history has not hitherto been published. It is a translation of a manuscript copy of a course of lectures, delivered by the author, when connected with the university of Berlin. Any abruptness or want of connexion in the sentences, which may in some instances be observable, will easily be excused, if it is remembered, that these lectures were not intended for the press, and that the manuscript which the translator has used, is a transcript of notes taken in the lecture room. It is probable that the lectures themselves were never written out in full.—As Dr. Tholuck has had the kindness to read the translation, however, it is presumed that nothing essential has been omitted.

This portion of the history contains only the account of the state of Theology and Religion in the early part of the last century. The following portion, which contains the history of scepticism in England, France, and Germany, is already translated and will be sent, *Deo volente*, in season for the next number of the Repertory.

EDITOR.

Halle Aug. 1827.

THE
History of Theology

IN

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

INTRODUCTION.

HUMAN knowledge, is derived from reflection and experience. The latter, supplies the materials, which the former arranges and systematises. The first step, therefore, in the acquisition of knowledge, is the collection of facts. But, as our personal experience is so limited, we must avail ourselves of the experience of others, and as far as possible of that of the whole race to which we belong. And although much of this experience may not be immediately applicable to ourselves, it will, in general, be found available to our purposes, as all men are but one family. It is thus the great object of history, to enlarge and perfect our personal experience, by that of our fellow men. Even profane history furnishes us with an abundance of facts, illustrative of the nature of man and his relation to God, and with much greater clearness, we can learn from the history of the church these interesting truths. As in the lives of individuals, there are periods, in which they can learn more of themselves and their relation to God, than in others, so in the history of the church there are periods peculiarly rich in instruction. Such for example as the commencement of the Christian æra, the time of the reformation, and the age

in which we live. From the intimate connexion of events however, it is difficult to fix with precision the limits of such periods. The development is not confined to one insulated point; although its progress and character are more obvious in some portions of the period, than in others. When therefore, we wish to treat important portions of ecclesiastical history, we cannot confine our attention to these portions themselves, but must review those which preceded them, and trace the causes of the events, which we wish to record, and mark their effect upon following generations. With respect to the history of our own times we can only review the past, and endeavour to ascertain the causes of the events which we now behold, their consequences we must leave to others to examine.

It is the object of the present course of lectures, to examine the causes which have produced the present state of religion and theology. This examination will teach us, what great lesson God would have us learn from the present state of the church. For it is clear from the review of the whole course of ecclesiastical history, that it is the object of divine wisdom, to make every age inculcate some great moral or religious truth. God allows the gospel to come into conflict with all the diversified forms of human folly and sin, to teach us that it contains the remedy for every possible form of error and evil, and to make this very conflict the means of rendering more and more perfect the manner of conceiving and presenting its doctrines. In the first ages, the Christian faith, having not yet insinuated itself into the feelings and modes of thinking of the early Christians, we see the constant struggle between the free grace of the gospel, and the disposition to depend upon legal observances. In the second period, we see the gospel in conflict with various philosophical systems, some irreconcilably opposed to it, others attempting an amalgamation with it, but none of them effecting the purpose of rendering theology at once

biblical and philosophical. In the middle ages we see the corrupted faith, and imperfect philosophy, of the earlier periods, degenerating into superstition, equally destructive of genuine faith and true philosophy. In the time of the reformation, religion and knowledge appear anew. The doctrines, which distinguish this period were truly evangelical, and the theological systems, biblical, but not entirely free from the fetters of the old philosophy. To this succeeded the period of strenuous orthodoxy, and vital piety again declined, leaving nothing but the mere form of biblical knowledge; and even this, being destitute of the vital principle, was less perfect than it was among the reformers. The period of pietism followed—and orthodoxy was again imbued with life and restored to the form in which it was held by the reformers, but not improved. The next period was that of the theoretical and practical infidelity, and piety again declined in the Protestant church. Within the last ten years it has been again revived—and made to rest upon the leading doctrines of the Bible. Theology is pervaded by a spirit of true religion, and is so advanced, that it has nothing to fear from its opposers.

Through the experience of all past centuries, therefore, the present age may derive much important instruction, and the almost universal declension of the period of scepticism now passing away, has led theologians more carefully to examine what doctrines can best be made the foundation of a theological system, and are most essential to vital piety; and to endeavour so to construct their systems as to render them proof against all objections. To teach this lesson appears to be the object of the age in which we live.

I. CONFLICT BETWEEN ORTHODOXY AND PIETISM.

SECTION I.

The declension of vital piety into mere speculative orthodoxy.—Period of formal orthodoxy.

As we have already remarked, in order to explain the present state of religion and theology we must direct our attention to the preceding period of scepticism; for the extent to which infidelity was then carried, has produced the reaction which we now witness. But the period of scepticism cannot be properly understood without previously attending to that of pietism and orthodoxy, which in some measure led to this infidelity. Partly in that, pietism undervalued the defence of religion by human learning; and partly, from the defective manner in which theology, as a science, was presented to the public. The theology or formal orthodoxy of this period may be traced to the Reformers. It was indeed the object of these great men, to restore the pure doctrines of the Bible, and to reduce them to a regular system; but there were many circumstances, in the age in which they lived, which prevented them from fully effecting this object. We do not see many in this period, who seem to have been led to the renunciation of the Catholic faith, from the inward experience of religion. Those who had this experience, were the real authors of all that was accomplished, in this eventful æra. Yet there were many, who renounced the Catholic errors, upon nothing more than speculative conviction; others sought only the liberty of opinion and of worship; others were influenced by political motives; others were carried along by the general movement, without knowing why or whither. And here lies the principal reason, that

the Protestant church at this time, was far from effecting the general diffusion of true religion. The Reformers laboured indeed assiduously and in various ways, to purge the church of the evils arising from this source, Luther, by making provision for the education of children and servants; Melancthon by turning his attention to the schools and universities; Calvin by the strict church discipline which he established in Geneva—a model of ecclesiastical polity.

Their object however was not attained; partly on account of the unsettled state of things produced by the wars of that period, and partly on account of the numerous controversies, in which the Reformers and their successors were engaged amongst each other. In the war which arose out of the league of Schmalcald, Melancthon was obliged to flee to Brunswick, and afterwards to Magdeburg; Bucerus to England; Chytraeus to Tübingen and Heidlebergh. In this unsettled state, it is evident the interests of the church must have materially suffered. But further than this, in the time of Luther, the violent contest between the Lutherans and Reformed had already commenced. Through this controversy the parties were more and more separated, and the study of theology greatly injured, by being directed almost exclusively to the subjects in debate. Besides this, many parties arose, in the bosom of the Lutheran church itself, which estranged the feelings of its members from each other, and fixed their attention upon matters of minor importance. Melancthon especially appears to have felt how seriously these controversies interfered with the advancement of religion. It is known that he was accustomed to write in the *Albums* of his friends, *a contentioso theologo libera nos bone Deus!*—a paper was found among his effects, after his death, stating he was glad to leave the world to be beyond the reach of the *rabies theologorum*. Under these circumstances, it is clear that neither theological knowledge, nor true piety could flourish; and this was at

once manifested by the character of the works published at this period.

The reformers had clearly taught, that the exposition of the Scriptures was the foundation of all theological knowledge. But this principle was less and less practically regarded by their followers, especially in the Lutheran church, where the whole activity of the learned was expended in Polemics. Exegesis and Dogmatic were extended no further than the defence of the symbolical books, and were not scientifically studied for their own sake. Exegesis particularly, sunk into neglect. In the beginning of the 17th century, few, if any lectures were read upon this subject in the German Universities. Spener obtained a command from the elector of Saxony, that exegetical lectures should be read in Leipzig; but when Carpzov commenced reading in obedience to this order, he was obliged to desist after the very first lecture, for want of hearers. Spener says, he knew theologians who had been six years at the university, without receiving the least instruction upon this subject. The exegetical books of this period, contained nothing more than the application of the formularies of the church, to the explication of particular passages of the sacred Scriptures. This was, indeed, not always the case, but the exceptions were few. The Dogmatic was as much confined to the path marked out by the symbolical books as the Exegesis. Melancthon's *loci theologici*, were thrown aside, and Hutter's *loci communes* filled with scholastic disputations, were adopted in their place. Ecclesiastical History was a defence of Protestantism, and an account of the controversies, between the Calvinists and Lutherans. This department was almost entirely neglected in the 17th century in all the universities, of which Spener loudly complained. The evils of the prevalent system, were peculiarly manifested in the practical part of ministerial duties, and operated

most injuriously on the piety of the common people. Even in the sermons of Luther, there is by far too much of a polemical character, which although it admits of apology, cannot be entirely justified. But in his sermons, there was always a general practical tendency, which became less and less characteristic of those of his followers. The sermons of the 17th century were generally directed against heretics, and to the inculcation of a dry system of morals, although the form of orthodoxy was strictly adhered to. The manner of preaching was equally forced, delighting in uninteresting grammatical remarks, or childish playing upon words. The Pastor Jacob Andriae published a volume of sermons in four parts, 1568. The first part was devoted to the papistical controversy, the second against the disciples of Zuingle, the third against the followers of Schwenkfeld,* and the fourth against the Anabaptists. Artomedes in Koeningsbergh published eight sermons, in 1598, on the Lord's Supper, filled with the bitterest revilings against the Calvinists. One of these sermons begins thus, "Against the Holy Supper, two bands of the devil are contending, the idolatrous Paists and the concerted Calvinists. Even the poor heathen Ovid was a better theologian than our Calvinists." As an example of the tasteless manner of sermonizing, in this period, we refer to a discourse of Hermann, a preacher in Brieg, in Silecia, upon Zacheus. His text was "he was small in person." He divided his sermon in the following manner:—1st, that little word *heteaches* us, *personae qualitatem*; 2d, the little word *was*, *vitae fravilitatem*; 3d. *small*, *staturae parvitatem*." To the exegetical part of the sermon, followed the practical part, which was commonly equally insipid. Thus

* Schwenkfeld was a Silecian nobleman, born 1490, who separated from the Lutheran church and founded a distinct sect, distinguished by many mystical doctrines. (TR.)

the application made by Hermann of the text, just mentioned was: 1st that Zacheus, was *informator de varietate operum Dei* 2, *consolator parvorum* ; 3, *adhortator ut defectum nostrum virtute compensemus.*" In the polemical discourses the application consisted in the direction of the subject to particular heretics.

Spener also complains greatly of the manner of studying pursued in the Gymnasia. In his *Piis Desideriis*, and in his preface to Dannhauer's *Hodogetic*, he says, that in the schools, Latin alone is studied ; Greek is almost neglected, and Hebrew entirely so. The students proceed to the university without any proper idea of what theology is, which they regard as a mere task for the memory. Prayer, meditation, and a holy walk and conversation are regarded as of little consequence. With respect to the several departments of the course of study, he says, "the philosophy is nothing more than dull scholastic formularies, and yet to this branch, the greatest portion of time is devoted. Philology is almost unknown ; many theologians cannot read the Greek Testament. Thetik or dogmatic in its most restricted sense, is regarded as the most important branch of theology ; the quotation of Scripture-passages in support of doctrines is little resorted to. Exegesis is only studied after the student has become a preacher, and even then no further than to enable him to make out the exposition of his text. Polemics are regarded, as second only to Thetik in importance, although it is difficult to be ever refuting errors when we ourselves know not the truth. And if the necessity of this branch be admitted, it does not follow that every preacher should be a Polemic. Ethics are not taught at all. Homoletik consists merely in scholastic rules, for the logical construction of a sermon."

Thomasius a learned professor of philosophy, published in 1686 a work entitled, "Free ideas pleasant and serious on all kinds of new books ;" in which he gives the following

description of a candidate of theology. "He has studied two years the Aristotelian Philosophy, devoted a third to positive theology, the fourth to scholastic theology, and the fifth to polemic theology. He has held a long disputation on the importance of metaphysics in refuting heretics, is able to prepare a well wrought sermon, with the help of philosophy, logical arrangement and a concordance, and prepare a refutation of that "devilish" book of Richard Simon, "Critical history of the Old Testament," and is all the while an utter stranger to practical theology."

The better part of the theologians, describe also in dark colours the state of the laity. Thomas Gerhard, a learned and pious theologian, says, "even the most constant attendants in church are very immoral in their lives; yet, if any one questions their christian character, they are ready to commence a legal prosecution against him. Whoever becomes a real christian is stigmatized as a Pharisee,* Weigelian, or Rosencrucian." External religion, or the observance of the rites of the church was greatly overvalued, and even the Lord's Supper was greatly abused. One of the friends of Spener, H. Mueller, complains particularly of what he calls the four dumb idols of the church; the baptismal font, the pulpit, the confessional, and the altar.

SECTION II.

The first controversy against formal orthodoxy, occasioned by the revival of vital piety, through the instrumentality of JOHN ARNDT.

In the period, of which we have been speaking, many voices were heard lamenting over the fall of the church.

* Val. Weigle was a preacher in Tschopau, born 1533. His writings speak much of the "inward light," and anointing which he made the great source of religious knowledge: his views of the Trinity and many other important doctrines are also peculiar. (Tr.)

But these complaints, were generally made so cautiously, and were attended with so little exertion to correct the evil, that they produced little effect. The first impression of importance was produced by John Arndt, who died May 6th, 1621. He was pious from his youth. During his stay at the university, he manifested peculiar fondness for exegetical studies, which was then generally the result of real religion. In Helmstadt he privately interpreted the Epistle to the Romans. As soon as he entered upon his office as a clergyman, he began to preach in a biblical manner, especially upon the doctrine of regeneration. This was an exceedingly unpleasant subject to the orthodox, who were accustomed to explain it as nothing more than baptism. Arndt possessed the same mildness and modesty, which adorned the character of Spenser, connected with more energy of mind. Neither his excellence, nor his vigilance were however, able to prevent the attacks of his enemies, in which character the orthodox very soon appeared. They complained that he required of men angelic perfection; they accused him of being an Alchymist, and accounted for his liberality, by saying that he had discovered the philosopher's stone, and could therefore well afford to dispense his ill-gotten gold. The preachers in Brunswick publicly warned their hearers, against the poison he was disseminating. After the publication of his book, upon true religion, the opposition became more violent. (This work has been translated into a greater number of languages, than any other human production, with the exception of Thomas a Kempis' Imitation of Christ.) The pulpits in every part of Germany, resounded with denunciations against him and his doctrines. He was pronounced a dangerous heretic, by John Cordinus, a preacher in Danzig. His opposers ridiculed his sermons and writings, and were not ashamed to call this distinguished servant of God, "an ignorant ass." Lucas Osiander wrote in 1623, a long work against him entitled "Theologi-

cal Reflexions and well intended Christian Admonitions." The author accuses Arndt of five distinct and inconsistent heresies; making him a follower of the Pope, of Calvin, of Flaccius, of Schwenkfeld and Weigle. He goes so far as to say, that he had blasphemed the Holy Ghost, in ascribing the work of the Devil to God. Tiburtius Rango, also wrote a book against him, entitled "Christian Prudence, or the method of treating Errorists and Heretics."

Arndt's work however, awakened among all classes, throughout Germany, a spirit of anxious enquiry, and many were found willing to rank themselves among the friends of the author. Among these were two distinguished men, the superintendant Scriver, who died in Magdeburgh 1601, and H. Mueller who died in Rostock 1676. The most important of his followers was Spener, who was principally indebted to his writings for his knowledge of vital piety.

SECTION III.

Spener and his labours.

Spener was born in Alsace in 1635. His parents were pious, and early devoted their son to the sacred ministry. He spent much of his time in reading the Bible, Arndt's "true religion," and a few devotional books in English. Spener pursued his theological studies in Strassbourgh, where he enjoyed the instructions of two distinguished theologians, Danhauer and Sebastian Schmidt. He afterwards studied Hebrew and the Oriental languages with Buxtorf in Basle, and was appointed preacher in Strassbourgh in 1663. In 1666 he received a call to become senior pastor in the city of Frankfort on the Main. This call he referred to the magistrates of Strassbourgh, who decided that he ought to accept it. The first remarkable effect of his labours, which he witnessed, was in 1669. At this time, he preached a

sermon upon the righteousness of the Pharisees, and that of the true children of God, which produced a powerful impression upon the whole city. Many who had been merely formally orthodox, were brought to the true love of Christ, while others declared they would never enter the church again. Spener now appointed those meetings for social worship, which on account of the attention which they excited, and the controversy to which they gave rise, deserved to be particularly noticed. These meetings, which at a later period he held in his own house, were of a conversational character, in which he spoke to the persons present, on the state of religion in their own hearts, questioned them in reference to the exercises of the sabbath, and endeavoured to ascertain how far his public discourses had been understood. As these meetings were very soon attacked, Spener appealed to the Symbolical books and the articles of Schmalcald. In the third part of the 4th article it is said, "Brotherly conversations among the members of the church on the word of God, is an important means of Christian edification." The theological faculties of the several universities, to whom a reference upon this subject had been made, returned answers, merely requiring that nothing should be undertaken in those meetings against the evangelical church. The answer from the university of Kiel was peculiarly favourable. Benedict Carpzov, in Leipzig, afterwards Spener's greatest enemy, early declared himself in their favour. He says in his work "Select moral sentences," "No one can tell how useful these meetings may be, especially when the people have an opportunity of conversing with their Pastor, for it is certain, that many will learn in an hour thus spent, more than they would from ten sermons." After sometime, many of the most respectable inhabitants requested that these meetings should be held in the church. This was accordingly done; but Spener complains, that from this time the blessing which had

attended them ceased: the people were not disposed to converse freely in so public and solemn a place.

The next important effort of Spener in the promotion of piety, was the publication of his *Pia Desideria*, which fell like a spark of fire upon a parched field. If ever a work were written with moderation, humility and love, so as completely to close the mouths of opposers, it was this. That the so called orthodox, became so violent against such a work, is one of the most melancholy exhibitions of the character of this period. In this book Spener says, that those in authority appeared in general to know nothing of real religion, that they seldom did more than endeavour to maintain the form of orthodoxy. That frequently truly pious persons were persecuted—that a reformation among the clergy was absolutely necessary; that as the case then stood, a man could hardly with a safe conscience enter the ministry, that religion was a mere form, that many of the clergy were openly irregular in their lives, that he who required that Christians should walk agreeably to their professions, was denounced as Papist or Quaker, that a most inordinate degree of importance was placed upon learning, that the clergy were regarded as a Priesthood and differed little in their conduct from the Catholic Priesthood, and that there was no paternal connexion between them and the laity. All this Spener said, not in a tone of reproach but of lamentation, and hence it sunk deeply into many hearts. He received innumerable letters filled with expressions of gratitude for benefit derived from his work. Many theologians also at the universities and among others, Carpzov expressed their approbation of this publication. From this time all eyes in Germany were directed towards Spener, and as might be expected, many opponents took the field against him, who accused him of holding antilutheran and heretical principles. Dilefeld, Diaconus in Nordhausen wrote a work against him in 1697, entitled “Theosophia

Horbio-Speneriana." The passage in Spener's book which gave most offence, was the declaration that there could be no true knowledge of divine truth, without regeneration. Dilefeld maintained the contrary, and asserted that Spener's doctrine led to mysticism. Spener defended his opinions in the book "General Theology," in which he makes the experience of practical religion the foundation of all true theological knowledge.

Gradually the good work which he had effected in Frankford, began to decline, tares became mingled with the wheat, which gave occasion to the good to be evil spoken of. At this period Spener was visited with a sickness, which confined him seven months, and led him to a more thorough knowledge of his own heart, and of divine truth. In 1686 he was called as court Preacher and member of the Upper-Consistory to Dresden. The decision respecting this call, he submitted to the magistrates, who were very desirous of retaining him in Frankford; but having consulted with several of the clergy whose opinions were in favour of his acceptance, they decided accordingly, and Spener proceeded to Dresden. In his first discourse, he brought forward what was then the most important subject, the difference between a dead and living faith. Within three weeks after his arrival, many were aroused from their former security. Even the elector, who was openly immoral, although strenuous in his orthodoxy, was much affected by his preaching. Spener was entirely free from the pride, which distinguished the clergy of this period, and which led them either to a vain display of their learning, or an exclusive association with the higher ranks of society. They were ashamed to condescend to the humble duties of catechetical instruction. Spener immediately undertook this labour, and saw it crowded with the most obvious blessing. Many of the clergy ridiculed him on this account, and said that the elector had got a schoolmaster instead of a court Preacher. Through

his influence however, this mode of instruction was introduced throughout Saxony. He also induced the Elector, to order that exegetical lectures should be read in the universities. In these and various other ways the changes which he effected were very considerable. In Dresden he had many friends warmly attached to him; but the elector became gradually discontented with his earnest preaching, and threatened not to attend his church; a threat he finally executed. Spener at this time took a step, for which he would have been entirely inadequate, if it were not for the assistance of the Spirit of God. He was by nature exceedingly timid and bashful, but the grace of God made him bold; and it is the tendency of all minds, whatever may be their natural temperament to come up to the same standard when influenced by this grace. He undertook to address a serious remonstrance to the elector upon his mode of life. The elector was at this period entirely estranged from him, and never attended his preaching. In 1691 Spener was called to Berlin, as member of the Upper-Consistory and Provost of the church of St. Nicolas. As the elector was desirous to be freed from him, Spener accepted the call. The opposition to him in Saxony, supported by the Prince, was becoming every day more violent. Carpzov wrote two treatises against him, and excited all the clergy to withstand his efforts. The enmity of Carpzov arose partly from envy of the station which Spener occupied, and partly from his disapprobation of the changes which he had introduced. The labours also of Spener were producing an effect in Leipzig with which Carpzov was by no means pleased. Franke, Anton, and Schade who were private teachers attached to the university, began to hold meetings for the practical exposition of the Bible which Carpzov did not approve of.

Spener's influence in Berlin, was still greater than that which he had attained in Saxony. The elector of Brandenburg, although a rough man, was very favourable to the

promotion of religion, and was himself easily impressed by the truth. Spener's most important service was giving a proper direction to the infant university of Halle. Until this period, the Prussian youth frequented principally the university of Wittenburg, where they were filled with a bitter spirit of opposition to the reformed. The elector, who was exceedingly opposed to controversy about unessential points, was very desirous that the two communions should live in peace. To promote this object he wished to found an university within his own territories, and furnish it with professors of a better spirit. Halle was at this time a military academy for noblemen, where Thomasius distinguished by his bold and independent spirit of investigation executed the office of a teacher. Here the elector determined to found his university. In the selection of the professors he submitted principally to the direction of Spener, prescribing only, that they should not be polemics. The providence of God so directed the efforts of Spener, that he succeeded in obtaining pious men to fill these important offices. Breithaupt, senior pastor in Frankford, and Franke, professor of the oriental languages and pastor of the Glaucha church in Halle, were particularly distinguished for their religious zeal. In 1694 the university was fully organized.

Spener wrote many devotional books, excited those in authority to improve the school and church system, received students into his own house, gave regular biblical instructions, and exerted his influence to have proper persons appointed to office. The only trial connected with his situation in Berlin, was the desire of a part of his congregation to separate from his charge. This arose principally from the influence of Dr. Schade, the second preacher in the same church. He was greatly distressed at seeing the numbers who came to the communion, without appearing to be really Christians. His anxiety upon this subject, was such that days before the administration of the ordinance, his peace

was entirely destroyed, and he would spend the night in weeping and prayer. Spener in vain endeavoured to compose his mind, and remove his difficulties. He very unexpectedly published a most intemperate book upon the subject in which he called the confessional "the seat of Satan," and "the pit of hell." Many theologians espoused his cause; he was however displaced, and Spener was obliged to join in the effort to effect his removal. Spener died in 1705 Feb. 5th. The evening before his death he caused the prayer of our Saviour, in the xvii. chap. of John, to be read to him. He had never preached upon this passage of scripture, as he said he could not understand it, and that its contents could not be comprehended in this world. But now said he, I am going where all will be explained.

Spener was not distinguished for his natural endowments. He had acquired considerable information particularly of a historical kind, as is evinced by his work on Heraldry; but still he was not pre-eminent for learning. He was however, possessed of a clear judgment, by which he discriminated in every department what was of most value, and took an impartial view of every subject. He had none of that force of character which distinguished other reformers. Not impelled by the ardour of his own feelings, he could perhaps the more purely act under the influence of an impulse which came from a purer source: and that he was thus influenced from above, is evident from his great and effectual exertions, notwithstanding the natural softness of his character. This mildness, was in his situation of peculiar importance, as the orthodox from their superior numbers, and power, would have been able effectually to suppress a more virulent opponent. But as it was, all who were not entirely devoted to the opposite party, and especially the elector, was disposed to espouse his cause. Spener never permitted himself to think that he was acting the part of a reformer. He says in his "answers to cases of conscience:" "I never dreamt of the folly of undertaking a reformation. I am too sensible

of my own weakness, and that I have neither the wisdom nor power, requisite for such a work. I content myself with exciting those to effect the reformation, whom God has called to the work." And in another place he says, "I find a great deficiency in learning, and other qualifications in myself, of which I have abundant reason to be conscious, in the discharge of the ordinary duties of my office; so that I am often ashamed of my inability to give even advice. What should I then do, if I should undertake so great a work? Especially am I deficient in faith, which alas! is so weak, as to be hardly sufficient even in matters of small moment to overcome my natural timidity, much less to make me equal to enterprises, which would require the spirit of a hero; when the Lord will restore his church to its proper state, he will choose far different men than such as I am."

The enemies of Spener opposed him with unexampled virulence. The most important work written against him was "The unanimous judgment of the university of Wittenburg," 1698; or with the fuller title "Christian-Lutheran doctrines according to the word of God and the symbolical books in opposition to Dr. Spener, by the theologians of Wittenburg." In this book two hundred and sixty four heretical expressions are ascribed to Spener, such for example, "that believers are free from all human authority; that in a future world we shall be able, perfectly, to understand the nature of God; that withdrawing from the world promotes peace of mind; that a holy life is necessary to entitle a man to be called a Christian; that we can learn much from the Papists and Quakers; that all baptised persons are not regenerated." The great ground of objection was that Christians were partakers of salvation even in this world. After his death, the expression of disapprobation became still more general, and it was a matter of dispute in the universities whether it was proper to say, *Beatus Spener*. Professor Fecht of Rostock published a book "De Beatitu-

dine Mortuorum in Domino," of which he devotes the 34th section to the inquiry whether this blessedness can be predicted of Spener and decides Quod Non.

The influence and example of Spener, called forth the exertions of many others. Prayer-meetings were established in various places. Spener had particularly opposed the ambition of the Lutheran clergy, and defended the rights of the laity, and exhorted them to apply to the Holy Scriptures for instruction. This gave rise to the formation of many private religious meetings, which must be taken into view, in order to form a proper idea of the history of this period. Such meetings were instituted in Augsburgh, Essen and Darmstadt, after Spener had introduced them in Frankford; when he removed to Saxony, they were introduced there also, although with much opposition. In 1686 certain private teachers in Leipzig, as before mentioned, formed a society for reading the Scriptures, and for promoting the study of the original languages of the Bible. In this society the most distinguished members, were August. II. Franke, John C. Schade, Paul Anton and Gottfried Arnold. In 1686 Franke visited Dresden, and continued there sometime with Spener, from whom he received a strong desire to engage in the work of promoting true religion among the people. On his return to Leipzig he established a biblical lecture for the students. Schade and others followed his example. These meetings were continued several months, without exciting any attention. But Franke was at last accused of having said that men might be perfect in this world; that philosophy was of little use, and that it was unnecessary to contend against heretics. The students shared in these reproaches, and it was said, that they so far undervalued the instructions of their professors that they burnt the notes they had taken from their lectures. Yet among the learned men of the university, there were some who endeavoured to counteract this opposition, and who maintained

that the term pietism, which had been given in derision, would in its best sense be applied to Franke, and his associates; of this number was Feller, the professor of eloquence; his poem entitled "the Pietist," which gives a correct exhibition of the spirit of this period is well known. The name pietist from this time, became general in its application to the friends of true religion. In opposition to this name, the adversaries of Spener, assumed that of orthodox. The attention of the court in Dresden was soon attracted to the controversy, and issued in 1689 an order to institute an investigation into what was called "the New Sect." Franke and Schade were called to undergo an examination and many witnesses were summoned against them. Nothing however was testified to their disadvantage. The university therefore, informed the court, that nothing improper had there occurred. Thomasius was particularly active in the defence of Franke. Nevertheless, Franke was forbidden to continue his lectures, and in 1690 was called away from Leipzig upon private business. Schade was still permitted to pursue his course of biblical instructions, which were attended by about a hundred hearers. Some of the citizens wished to attend these lectures, but as they were intended only for the students, and as disorder might arise from their attendance, Schade discouraged it. The citizens, therefore, formed a society for themselves in which it must be acknowledged, that much that was irregular occurred, and gave rise to a new alarm. In 1690 therefore all such meetings were forbidden. The university of Wittenburg united with that of Leipzig, in sending a petition to the elector for the entire suppression of pietism. In consequence of this petition, rules and regulations were adopted worthy of a popish hierarchy. All was now suppressed, the pietistical students were obliged to relinquish their *stipendia* and were given to understand, that those who attended any meetings for devotional purposes, should receive no appointment to any office.

The testimonials for good conduct, due to them from the universities were also withheld. But in order not to be unjust to the opposite party, we ought to inquire whether much which was really fanatical, had not occurred in the meetings complained of. This is in itself not improbable, but if any thing of this kind had really taken place, we should expect, that some distinct statement of the fact would appear in the official records of the investigations which were instituted by the public authorities. But these records contain no allegations against the pietists of this nature; they contain no charges which are not, either evidently founded upon perversions, or for preaching what we believe to be purely evangelical. A student by the name of Lange, is particularly mentioned, to whom the pulpit was for some time forbidden. In hopes of his reformation he was again permitted to preach, and selected for his text Romans viii. 3. In his sermon he said "that a penitent heart will perceive a light in itself, by which it will be led to acknowledge Jesus, as its greatest good, in heaven and earth, and burn and beat with love." For such fanatical expressions as these, the pulpit was again forbidden. It was particularly objected to the pietistical students that they presented themselves, as models of christian character, which was regarded as a great breach of modesty. Christianity was then considered as something merely speculative, not to be applied to the character and conduct of every individual. This controversy gave rise to many publications. In 1691, Benedict Carpzov published a treatise, in which he styled the defence of Franke "a sinful book." In another treatise published in 1695 he went so far as to call Spener "*procellam Ecclesiæ,*" "*turbinem religionis,*" "*tempestatem pacis,*" and even "a disciple of Spinoza."

Beyond the limits of Saxony, we also find that strenuous opposition was made to the religious movement of the day. In Erfurdt the elector of Mayence, forbade under a penalty

of a fine of a hundred dollars, every meeting for prayer and reading the Bible. The professor Majus in Giessen, had been accustomed to hold such meetings with some of the students, for which he was so seriously attacked by his colleagues, that he was obliged to claim the protection of the magistrates. In Jena professor Sagittarius undertook the defence of Franke, and said that Pietism was nothing more than vital christianity. On which account the elector John George III., wrote to the duke of Weimar, that he had a disorderly professor of theology, whom he ought to visit with merited punishment. In Wolfenbuttel several preachers had united to read the Bible—the duke sent them word, that if they did not discontinue their meeting they should be deposed. But in Hamburg, more than in any other place, was the violence of this opposition to true religion manifested. (We mention particular cases in order to give a more impressive exhibition of the spirit of this period.) The author of the opposition in Hamburg, was the learned John F. Meyer, who had been at an earlier period a professor of theology in Wittenburg, whence he removed to Hamburg, and from thence to Griefswalder, where he died. He, as many other of the orthodox, praised Spener, as long as they themselves were left undisturbed. But when Spener, in virtue of his office, as counsellor in the Upper-Consistory at Dresden, admonished him on account of the inconsistency of his life with his orthodox principles, the hatred of this wrathful and arrogant man, became unspeakably violent against him. It was natural, therefore, that he would oppose himself to the efforts made by Spener, and his friends. In Hamburg there were two or three ministers, more or less favourable to pietism. Horbius, brother-in-law to Spener, Winkelman the learned editor of the Koran, and Winkler. When Meyer perceived that they were inclined to Spener's principles, his enmity arose against them, which he endeavoured to vent in the following manner. He drew up an agreement or declaration, to be

signed by the preachers in Hamburg, containing a condemnation of all lax theology ; a profession of adherence to the standards of the church ; a rejection of the doctrine of the Millenium in all its forms and a condemnation of the works of Jacob Boehme. (Spener did not utterly proscribe the writings of Boehme, and with regard to the Millenium he only wished to exclude the grosser and more worldly ideas, often connected with the doctrine.) Horbius would not subscribe this declaration, for although he said he considered the doctrine of the Millenium an error, he was not prepared to condemn all who adopted it. The dispute arising from this source widened the breach between the parties. An innocent circumstance contributed to increase the difficulty. Poiret, a mystic of the Netherlands, had written a little work upon the education of children, called "the Wisdom of the Just." This book with the exception of a few mystical expressions, is throughout evangelical. Horbius presented it as a new-years gift, to the parents in his congregation. Meyer immediately published the following little work against him : "A hastily composed warning for the city of Hamburg, founded upon the word of God." He represented the book distributed by Horbius, as containing seven distinct heresies. Socinianism, Arminianism, Quakerism, Schwenkfeldianism, Weigelianism, Popery, and Petersenism. He complained that not content with recommending the Lord's Prayer as useful for children, the author had attached the following remarks to the recommendation. First, that God must be praised in the heart ; second, that the heart must testify its sincerity, by obedience ; third, that the grace of God must nourish the soul ; fourth, must free us from past sins ; fifth, and preserve us from sinning in future. The blinded zealot then exclaims, that it was degrading the word of God and a calumny against it, to attach such conditions to its use. His pharisaical pride and want of charity, induced him to endeavour to have Horbius immediate-

ly displaced. The magistrates wishing to assist the latter out of the difficulty, advised him to give them an explanation. He accordingly declared his entire satisfaction with the doctrines of the symbolical books, and promised he would not recommend the work of Poiret any further, but would advise those to whom he had given it, to discontinue using it. This was far from satisfying Meyer. He informed the magistrates that he felt in conscience bound to preach against Horbius, as an archdeceiver and fanatic. He called the three clergymen mentioned above, "lying prophets and priests of Baal." The people took part with the orthodox, who made the way to heaven as easy as the Catholics. They surrounded Horbius when coming out of church, shouting quaker, fanatic, enthusiast, and endeavoured to overturn his carriage and assailed him with abusive language. Meyer preached against him and endeavoured to present him in a ridiculous light to the people. The innocent Horbius was at length obliged as a criminal to fly by night from the orthodox Lutheran city of Hamburg. It is worthy of remark that the reformed never went to such extremes; they retained more piety and more learning than the Lutherans.

SECTION IV.

The struggle of piety against the orthodox, proceeding from the university of Halle.

We have already described, the low state of learning at this time in the universities. The state of religion was not more favourable. It was rare to meet with any who connected prayer with their studies, or who read the Bible with any proper feeling of their need of its precious doctrines. Heinrich Mueller of Rostock, in a letter written in 1695.

says, "We wish to heal Babel; oh that she was willing to be healed! The physicians must proceed from the universities, but alas! how many universities are Babels themselves, and are not willing to be healed. When I think of the dreadful state of these institutions, my heart sinks within me." In Giessen, John G. Arnold was professor of Ecclesiastical History. He earnestly desired to promote the revival of true religion. But the rough unbridled and worldly-minded temper of the students, affected him so much that he said he could no longer bear to look on hundreds of the future shepherds of souls, who had never felt the least concern for their own. He therefore resigned his office, a step which cannot be justified, since what is impossible with men is possible with God; and a favourable change actually very soon took place.

When this melancholy state both of religion and learning was thus widely extended, God erected through the agency of Spener, an altar in Halle for true theological knowledge, not mere empty trifling speculations on the form of doctrines. Three men were called to this university from whom this new spirit proceeded; Franke, Breithaupt and Anton.

A BRIEF VIEW OF THE HISTORY OF A. H. FRANKE.

He was born in 1663 in Lubeck; as early as his tenth year he had serious religious impressions. When a child he used to pray, that God would place him in that situation in which he could be most entirely devoted to his service. In 1679 he went to the university, of Kiel, where he enjoyed the society of professor Korthold. In 1682 he went to Hamburg, in order to study Hebrew with the famous proselyte Edzardi. In 1684 he proceeded to the university of Leipzig and united himself with those private teachers of theology, who felt as he did, upon the subject of religion. But at this time he knew nothing of the essence of real Christian-

ity. He has left us a history of his religious experience, which is published in the work edited by Knapp and Niemeyer: "Institutions of Franke," vol. ii. p. 420. He gives the following narrative of his feelings. He says his attention was first particularly arrested by reflecting upon the nature of theology. It occurred to him, that there should be a coincidence, between the feelings and objects of the theologians of the present time, and those of the apostles. But when he compared his feelings and objects with those of the first servants of Christ, he discovered that they were entirely different, that he was actuated only by a desire of worldly honor and learning. He determined therefore, to follow more faithfully the example of the apostles. During this period he appeared to himself, as a child endeavouring to contend with a giant. Having torn himself from all the pleasures of the world, he went to Luneburg. Here after a few weeks he was invited to preach upon John xx. 31. "These things are written that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing ye might have life through his name." By meditating on the passage, he found that although he did not doubt the truths of the gospel, he did not believe them with his whole heart. This produced a struggle which became constantly more and more distressing, until at length he was brought to question not only the divinity of Christ, but the very existence of God. His peace was effectually destroyed, and he determined not to preach in the state of mind in which he then was. In the greatest agony he uttered the prayer, "If there be a God and Saviour let him manifest his existence, that I may be delivered from this misery which I cannot longer sustain." After this prayer, he experienced such a peace of mind, and so much joy, that all his doubts vanished and he preached with a conviction of the truth to which he had before been a stranger. After obtaining this living faith in Christ, he visited Dresden and after remaining there two months with Spener, he went to Leipzig and commenced

his lectures upon the Bible. When the difficulties arose there he removed to Erfurdt, and became the pastor of one of the congregations of that city. He proceeded upon the principles of Spener, and instituted religious meetings among his people. This occasioned a persecution from his colleagues and the magistrates, and he was ordered to leave the town within two days. It was a remarkable interposition of Providence, that upon the very day upon which he received this command and knew not where to go, he received the invitation of Spener to join him in Berlin. He went, and took up his abode in Spener's house, and in a few days was appointed to his station in Halle.

Paul Anton the second theologian, mentioned above, was one of those who had visited Spener in Frankford, and there received his first serious impressions. In Leipzig whither he afterwards went he took part in the biblical lectures. From Leipzig he was called to Eisennach as court preacher, and afterwards to Halle as professor and consistorial councillor. Breithaupt also first received his impressions from Spener in Frankford. In Erfurdt he was a colleague of Franke; and formed an intimate friendship with him. These three men formed the theological faculty in Halle until 1709. In this year two others were added to their number of the same sentiments, although perhaps less zealous and less distinguished for talents. These were John H. Michaelis and Joachim Lange. The course pursued by this faculty, both in reference to the mode of teaching, and their manner of acting towards the students, was different from that adopted by any other. In both these respects they followed the views of Spener notwithstanding the outcry of the theologians of Saxony. We shall attend to their plans in reference to learning, and then to the practical part of their labours. The divine blessing notwithstanding all opposition, manifestly attended their efforts. The desire of such a mode of instruction as they adopted, was so generally felt, that notwithstanding the great

came of the university of Wittenburg; the number of students received at Halle from 1694 to 1724 amounted to 6032.

The chief object of Franke's attention, was exegesis, and hermeneutic. In almost all his lectures he referred to these subjects. As early as the year 1693 he published his *Manuductio ad lectionem Scripturæ Sacræ*; a work which has been often reprinted. In 1695 he commenced his *Observationes Biblicæ*, which were continued for a series of years. In this work he displayed the greatest boldness in exhibiting and correcting the errors of the Lutheran interpretations. It was furiously attacked by Dr. Meyer in a book entitled "on the work of A. H. Franke, that attempt of the Devil still further to injure the every where persecuted church." Franke however, was not deterred from continuing his work. His principles of interpretation were adopted and cultivated by others, especially by his pupil J. J. Rambach in his *Institutiones Sacræ Hermeneuticæ*. Franke also raised the miserably degraded and neglected study of the oriental languages. He founded the Collegium Orientale in which the more advanced students had an opportunity of exercising themselves in these languages.

Breithaupt was engaged in the Dogmatic. He published two systems, one larger and the other smaller, upon an entirely different plan from the scholastic method of Hutter's text book. These works and Freilinghausen's "Foundation of Theology," had great influence in promoting the study of the Bible.

The Moral was entirely neglected by the orthodox. The school of Calixt pursued this subject in a very unprofitable manner, as they considered it as distinct from the Dogmatic, with which it is as intimately connected, as the effect with the cause, or the blossoms with the tree. The theologians of Halle proceeded upon the principle, that all Christian virtues are the result of living faith in God, and thus took the proper ground for viewing the whole subject. They were

particularly led to the investigation of the *ἀδιαφορα* or things indifferent. The orthodox had permitted the Moral to sink to the mere heathenish form of rules of duty. They confined their attention to gross and open sins, paying little regard to those which consist in a state of mind not conformed to the gospel standard. They were thus led to maintain that many things, in the Christian life, were perfectly indifferent and did not come within the view of a teacher of morals. In this class they included all the common occupations of life, eating, drinking, playing, dancing. The school of Spener, on the other hand taught, that nothing was indifferent; that the most common things may assume a moral character, their being good or evil depending on the state of mind in which they are performed.

Paul Anton read upon Polemics, which was then considered too important a subject, to admit of its being excluded from a regular course. He, however, in a beautiful and useful manner, endeavoured to show how every heresy arose from the corrupt fountain of the heart. He said we must regard those who have departed from the faith, as diseased, and ourselves as labouring under a different form of the same great malady. When we endeavour to correct the errors of men as diseases, we shall do it after the true Christian manner.

Ecclesiastical history was at this period neglected, although Spener and Franke had very correct views of its importance. The efforts of this school in regard to the Homiletic are peculiarly worthy of attention. The perverted method of preaching of the 17th century had become more fixed and deduced to rule in the beginning of the eighteenth. The text was first grammatically, historically and polemically explained and then in a five-fold manner practically applied. This five-fold application, however, among the orthodox was generally nothing more than so many attacks upon the followers of Spener. The preacher indulged in the most silly metaphors and triflings, and dissipated the whole power of

the discourse in a multitude of subtle divisions. Carpzov in his *Homoletic*, gives an hundred different methods of arranging the body of a sermon. Some of these methods, have particular names, as the Koenigsburg method, the Leipzig method &c. The preachers became emulous to present the greatest possible variety, in the manner of discussing the same text. The most skilful made out to give sixty distinct methods. Spener endeavoured to oppose this kind of trifling, but his own manner of preaching was dry. The efforts of Franke and Freilinghausen were more successful. They recalled the principles of Luther, particularly such as that contained in the following passage : “ when I preach in Wittenburg I descend from my elevation. I do not regard the doctors and teachers who may happen to be present, who cannot amount to more than forty, but the young people, the children and servants ; it is to them I address myself, and regulate my discourse according to their wants. If the others do not like it, the door is always open.” Franke referred to these and similar expressions in his *Paranaetic* lectures and expresses himself in the following excellent manner “ we should not be orators but fathers. Preachers should be like those trees, which although fully grown, spread out their branches and let them droop upon the ground, that those who cannot ascend them, may yet reach their fruit. It is a peculiarly injurious principle, that we must accommodate ourselves to our learned hearers. When our Saviour had the Pharisees before him, he had also learned auditors, but he addressed them in the simplest manner possible.”

We must also notice the lectures to which we have just referred. These *Paranaetic* lectures, were devoted to the discussion of the difficulties and aids for the study of theology, Franke commenced them in 1693. At first he had very few hearers, but the number rapidly increased, and at last upon the hour in which he read, all the other professors omitted their lectures. In the preface to the second part of these lec-

tures, he says that he had never seen so visible a blessing attending any of his university labours, as these discourses; because in them he could be more pointed and personal. He had no fixed plan, but selected what ever subject appeared best adapted to the state of students. He sometimes discussed the character of particular books, or single passages of them; at others the subjects were more practical, as the difference between a mere knowledge of the doctrines of salvation and a living faith in them, the fear of men, the nature of conversion, &c. &c. He published two volumes of these lectures in 1726-7 and his son published the remainder in five parts in 1736. Franke held also devotional meetings on the sabbath afternoon, in which he delivered discourses upon the duties of ministers as servants of the church. He preached in rotation with the other professors in the university church, and regularly for one of the congregations in the town. He held prayer meetings in the orphan-house on Wednesdays and Saturdays, the great object of which he said was to guard the students against permitting their studies turning their hearts from the "one thing needful." Besides these various efforts to promote religion, the professors had weekly meetings which the students were at liberty to attend, and consult their teachers as fathers upon any subject on which they wished advice, such as the means of their support, difficulties in their studies, the state of their hearts, &c. The professors also united for prayer and mutual counsel, that they might so regulate their conduct as to become models for their students.

Various institutions were founded in order to increase the salutary influence exerted by the university. Such was the orphan-house with its various schools, which Franke designed as a nursery of true piety and a means of supporting the students, by affording them an opportunity of acting as teachers. The number of scholars increased so much in this establishment, that two thousand received instruction, six hun-

dred were supported, and a hundred and thirty students of the university employed in teaching. Connected with the orphan-house, was an extensive book-store designed principally to circulate pious books at the lowest possible prices. The profits were all devoted to the institution. Besides this was the Bible institution founded by the Baron of Canstein for the same purpose. This institution has printed and circulated 1, 700, 000 copies of the Scriptures and 900, 000 copies of the New-Testament. Books were also printed in the Ethnish, Lattish, Russian, and Malabar languages. A missionary institution was also founded with a particular reference to the Malabar coast, and at a later period a missionary society for the Jews: Through the information circulated by these institutions and the residence of missionaries in Halle, the desire of promoting the spread of the gospel was greatly increased among the students. Franke lived to see the fruit of his labours. He says in reference to this subject that he had enjoyed the happiness to see, in a threefold respect, the effect of his efforts. First, in the real conversion of many of the students, who gave up the riches and honours of the world, and who were little disturbed even by its contempt. Second, that the students in their intercourse with each other manifested a holy Christian love in submitting to each other and living for their mutual advantage. Third, that in their walk and conversation they were an example to the inhabitants of the town, many of whom by their means were brought to the knowledge of true religion. And besides this, that after leaving the university, many of them had the happiness of producing revivals in their congregations; that those who had been fellow students united themselves when in office to work conjointly in doing good; and that by their means, many formal preachers were aroused from their slumbers. Franke, however, complained towards the close of his life, that the good work appeared to be declining. In one of his lectures in 1709 he remarks how different the students then

were, from what they had been some years previous. "By this time" (about the middle of August this lecture was delivered) he says, "the seed sown in the spring began to make the fields green. For after the students who entered the university at Easter, had been here a quarter of a year, their hearts began to be affected, and they would come to us to declare the effect the truth had produced upon their hearts." After the death of Franke, his influence was long continued, partly by the institutions which he had founded, and partly by the men who had more or less imbibed his spirit; among these were Benedict Michaelis, Gottlieb Franke, the younger Freilinghausen, the elder Knapp, Callenberg, and Siegmund Baumgarten. It may also be said that Franke's influence was perpetuated by the Moravians, as it was from him and Spener that Zinzendorf derived the idea of founding this society.

SECTION V.

The fanaticism which connected itself with this revival.

In great revivals of religion, it is almost always the case that perversions and abuses occur. The truth is always attended by error. Two kinds of errors are in such seasons peculiarly common, Fanaticism and Hypocrisy. Fanaticism proceeds from a pure excitement which gradually comes under the dominion of the imagination. The most beneficial truths are then caricatured, and if the heart be not sanctified it avails itself of the truths, thus deformed, to cover and justify its evils. It also often happens, that unconverted men, coming in contact with the truth are deeply affected by it, but not being willing to give up their former opinions and modes of thinking, endeavour to unite them with the gospel, and are thus led into various fanatical errors.

In the time of Spener the excitement was almost universal; the greater perhaps on account of the preceding coldness.

When Spener said the Laity were the "Christian Priesthood," and should be allowed greater influence in the church, a real and genuine anxiety about divine things was excited, which in some instances was perverted. This perversion was partly intellectual and partly practical. The first indication of a fanatical spirit, was the appearance in various places of persons pretending to be inspired, and to be illuminated, with a better and more perfect knowledge of divine truth than that contained in the Bible. The first examples of this kind occurred in Halberstadt and Quedlinberg. Circumstances similar to those, which have more recently been ascribed to animal magnetism, are said to have attended the exercises of these people. Many young clergymen and others, visited the persons thus affected, as though they were the most decisive and conspicuous examples of the influence of the Holy Spirit. Spener manifested upon this occasion, his usual moderation. He advised that no notice should be taken of these people, and that no attempt should be made to put them down by authority. He said he would not undertake to say, that it was the work of the Spirit, nor was he prepared to pronounce it the work of the flesh. The most injurious consequence, was, that many distinguished men, by their writings, turned the public attention in this direction, instead of leading the people to attend to their own hearts. Such for example was Dr. Petersen, a man of distinguished talents who had studied theology and became professor of Eloquence in Rostock. He not only read the works of Spener, but those of Ichtel, Jacob Bohme and Breckling, which gave him a tendency to fanaticism. Spener had adopted in its purer form the doctrine of the Millenium, and comforted himself with contemplating the period when the kingdom of God, would be purified from every evil. Petersen seized upon this idea, and carried to an extravagant length, teaching the doctrine of the ἀποκαταστασις, or final restoration of all things. His wife also who shared

in his fanatical principles, gave herself out for a prophetess, and published several books. Others of these pretended inspired persons, spoke of the kingdom of a thousand years, which Petersen appealed to, as a proof that the doctrine must be true. He had many other peculiar opinions, as for example;—that the Son of God before his incarnation assumed a body of light—a nature between God and man. He was at last deprived of his office, and removed to the neighbourhood of Magdeburg and died 1727.

Another distinguished man of this class was Gottfried Arnold, the ecclesiastical historian. He was mentioned above, as taking part in the Biblical lectures in Leipzig. He had been led by Spener into the right way. He amassed a great store of learning, as is evinced by his works. He was appointed professor in Giessen and as already related, resigned his office on account of the character of the students. In 1707 he became a preacher in Perleberg and died 1714. His influence, through his writings was remarkably great. He wrote among others the following works. “The first Love, or description of the early Christians,” a book still of much value; “Martyrology, or history of the first martyrs.” “The history of the church and of heresy,” 2 vols. 4to. A learned work, but too much a defence of these heresies. “Homilies of St. Makarcus,” “The Secrets of Divine Wisdom,” “The lives of the Patriarchs,” “History and description of Mystical Theology.” He always insisted upon the conversion of the heart, as the principal point in religion, but lost sight of the doctrine of Redemption, and embraced more and more an ascetic system recommending celibacy and retiring from the world.

John Conrad Dippel. This extraordinary man, studied theology and was at first strenuously orthodox. He early turned his attention to mystical subjects, as Alchemy and Chiromancy. Through the writings of Spener he became acquainted with true religion, but embraced the doctrines

without feeling their power. He at last became an unbeliever and devoted to superstition, giving himself up to Alchemy, exorcism, and the art of finding hidden treasures. He not only denied the Trinity, but the personality of God, and was greatly instrumental in scattering the seeds of infidelity and scepticism. He appears gradually to have embraced an obscure system of Pantheism. The principal objects of his hostility, were the doctrines of the Trinity and Justification, with regard to both of which, however, he retained the usual expressions employing them in an entirely different sense from that commonly attached to them.

Ernest Christian Hochmann, another of the fanatics of this period, seems to have had much more serious feeling than the one last mentioned. In 1699 he published a circular letter to the Jews, exhorting them to repentance. He travelled about with a great deal of pomp, professing to exercise magical arts. He was put into prison, and when liberated, resided principally in the district of Hanover. In a confession of faith, which he published, he explained the Trinity as three different names of the Deity; declared baptism and the Lord's Supper unnecessary symbols, and that men must be perfect. The principal seat of fanaticism at this time, was in Berleburg and Schwarzenau, in the territory of Count Casimir of Wittgenstein, who invited the fanatics to fix their residence in these places. Dippel was in connexion with this society in the latter part of his life, and thence spread abroad his doctrines. Another was John H. Haug of Strassbourgh. He was particularly remarkable for his knowledge of the Oriental Languages. Dr. Carl, a man of considerable learning, also belongs to this class, and lastly Frederick Rock, a shoemaker who was by no means an ordinary man. He was the chief of the inspired who formed themselves into a distinct sect. The works of these fanatics, which produced the greatest effect, were the two following: The first, the Berleburg Bible, a translation of the Scrip-

tures and remarks, by Haug, in seven folio volumes. This work manifests no little talent and learning, but the interpretations are generally made upon very false principles, and the remarks are filled with the doctrines of the Mystics. The second work was the *Spiritual Fama*, a periodical work principally under the direction of Dr. Carl. Its object was to communicate all the new occurrences in the kingdom of God, which it presented in a form best adopted to effect the imagination, making every thing a wonder.

This fanaticism was most extravagant in two sects, one of which, derived its name from a woman called Ursula Maria Butler, and her daughter. This sect was distinguished by many mystical doctrines, as the necessity of separating the soul from the influence of every thing external, withdrawing from the world, the indifference of outward actions if the heart was turned to God, &c. This latter principle, as might be expected, led to the greatest licentiousness, and the sect sunk into the worse form of the Carpocratian doctrine. Their chief seat was in Paderborn in Westphalia. Their founder was publicly executed in 1705. The other sect was that of Ronsdorf in the dutchy of Berge. Its founder was Elias Eller, a riband-weaver. This man began his course by devoting himself to the study of the Apocalypse. His wife seconded all his views. They published an explanation of some of the predictions of this book, making themselves the principal personages, alluded to in the prophecy. They said that the new kingdom of God was at hand, that the New Jerusalem was to be founded at Ronsdorf, and that they were appointed to be the leaders. These pretensions, they endeavoured to support by various artifices, and succeeded in bringing many persons under their influence. Eller appealed particularly, to the prosperous state of the congregation in their external affairs. The town enjoying the favour of the Prussian government, rapidly increased in business, and population. Eller was proclaimed

Burgomaster, and made the representative of the Reformed, in the province of Cleve and Berge. By this means he obtained an influence with the government, which enabled him to come out with boldness, and add fraud to his fanaticism. He now declared himself the Vicar of Jesus Christ, to his congregation; when he went out he caused the cry to be made before him, Hosanna to him who comes in the name of the Lord. He had two velvet thrones, for himself and wife, erected in the church over the seat of the magistrates. He commanded the people to pray to God, in his name, if they wished their prayers to be heard. His children, he said, were to rule in the kingdom of God, and he required them to be worshipped. In secret he gave himself up to intemperance and vice. There were two clergymen belonging to the village at this time, the one whose name was Wulfing, was of a hypocritical disposition, and co-operated fully with Eller in all his views. All that he publicly preached, he told the people privately was meant to apply to Eller. The other preacher was Schleiermacher. He was at first blinded by this deceiver and dared not oppose him. But his eyes were gradually opened, and upon a certain Sabbath, he preached a sermon upon the words, Thou art weighed in the balance, and found wanting. This sermon set every thing into commotion. Eller however, had art enough, to make it believed that the preacher was bewitched, and the tyranny was such that no one dared to apply to him for the discharge of any of his ministerial functions. He was at last attacked in his house, plundered, and driven with his family out of the town. This brought the whole nest of iniquity to light. Eller died however, before any thing could be undertaken against him, in 1750; Wulfing was deposed and died in misery, although with hypocritical joy and satisfaction.

SECTION VI.

The spirit of legal righteousness and hypocrisy which connected itself with this Revival.

Hypocrisy, is a pretending to something we do not possess. It may arise either from design, or from self-deception. The former adopts the form of external sanctity, to obtain certain ends, and is only found where religion is respected. The latter may exist among formal as well as real Christians. Among the former it occurs, when persons who have no real experience of religion in their own hearts, being brought into contact with real Christians, adopt their language which they use in a very different sense, and yet imagine themselves to feel all that this language is intended to express. Among real Christians, it exists, when they continue the observance of forms, or the use of expressions which are no longer expressive of the real state of their feelings. Both kinds of hypocrisy are often found in connexion with true revivals of religion; and it argues great ignorance of the subject, when on this account such revivals are condemned as evil. In the period of which we are speaking, intentional hypocrisy occurred most frequently, at the courts of those Princes who were favourable to piety. Of this number was Henry II. of Reuss, the Count of Stolberg-Wernegeroda, Duke Ernest of Saalfeld, Prince Augustus of Mecklenburgh, and the king of Denmark. Not only clergymen, but also laymen, found that they could more easily obtain advancement, in these courts, when they adopted the language of Christians. Under these circumstances, it is not wonderful that many would adopt this language, without any real piety. This was particularly the case at the court of Wernegeroda: the Count was no sooner dead, than the whole court assumed a different tone. The same was also the case in that of the Duke of Saalfeld. Semler says.

that his father who was preacher at this court, was at first not inclined to accommodate himself to its religious tone, but when he was to be sent to the University in order to secure a stipend for him, his father saw fit to adopt the prevalent phraseology. Even in the University at Halle, there was a temptation to the same evil. Whenever the students wished to obtain places in the gift of the Professors, they adopted the language which they knew would most effectually recommend them.

Secondly, The hypocrisy arising from self-deception. Instances of this kind of deception, may be remarked in the history of the University of Halle, both among the professors and students. Of this, the otherwise highly respectable Professor Baumgarten appears to have been an example. This man who appeared to live a pious life, seems yet not to have had that decided experience of religion which distinguished his colleagues. Study seems to have rendered him cold and indifferent to more vital subjects; yet, he adopted the pious languages and usages of those around him. In the latter part of his life, however, he departed considerably from both. With respect to the students, it is clear from the lives of Michaelis, Semler and Noesselt, that they used the expressions most expressive of religious experience, when possessing nothing more than a general respect for the subject. It seems also that the terms, *converted*, *regenerated*, and the like, were often applied to those who were merely moral and respectful in their department.

In every considerable revival, the excitement assumes something of a peculiar individual character. The character of the revival produced by Spener may be viewed in a three-fold light. First, in reference to the language and modes of expression adopted. These were throughout biblical and adapted to the age. Among the Moravians as among the Catholics, this was not so much the case, as their language is more mystical, and more accommodated to the

New Platonic Philosophy. Secondly, in reference to the means of edification. These consisted principally in meetings for reading the Scriptures, prayer and singing; making the Bible a constant companion and adviser; regular family worship, and frequent attendance upon church. All this is according to the Scriptures. Among the Moravians, as in the class meetings of the Methodists, there were departures from the examples set us in the Bible; but it must be remarked that on account of the change of circumstances, it is not to be expected that every thing of this nature, can always be regulated precisely according to the Scripture model. Thirdly, in reference to the form which the Spirit of Christian enterprise assumed. This was marked negatively by the rejection of all amusements, expensive either of time or money; by an anxious desire to prevent learning gaining an ascendancy over piety in the hearts of the students, and by discountenancing every thing inconsistent with the greatest simplicity and moderation in all the habits of life. Positively, by a constant desire to win souls to Jesus Christ, zeal to promote the Gospel among the Jews and Heathens, and the erection of benevolent and pious institutions.

It will be instructive, to examine how far in all these three respects, perversions and abuses occurred. First, in regard to the language. Franke and Spener are by no means chargeable, with laying upon this point too much importance. They freely acknowledged what was good in the writings of the mystics, although the language in which it was conveyed was entirely different from that which they had adopted. But the followers of these good men, are in many cases open to the accusation, of having had a partial and exclusive fondness, for their own peculiar phraseology. Gotthilf, Franke and Bogatzky, are marked examples of this. They rejected too freely the language of the Moravians, and, condemned unnecessarily many ex-

pressions of the orthodox school, which they said, sounded too *morally*. The same was the case with the language of the mystics. From this arose, among other Christians, a great dislike to what was called the Halle phraology. In regard to the means of edification, it cannot be denied that there were many abuses. Too much stress was laid upon private meetings for devotion, and upon always mingling religion in common conversation, which gave rise to a great deal of hypocrisy. In Halle it was often the case that from the desire of bringing young men just arrived at the University to the knowledge of religion, they were called upon to attend all the devotional meetings. Too much nourishment produced satiety. Many who attended these exercises had no real love to religion, and were therefore, rather repulsed than attracted by this frequency. This excess of meetings, was peculiarly great upon the Sabbath. There was a devotional meeting, in the morning, for the citizens, another in the after-noon in the houses of the Professors, and in the evening in private families, besides three regular services in the church. The spirit of devotion could not easily be sustained, through all this. The exegetical lectures also were always more or less practical and devotional. The students found it difficult to pursue their studies, and if they omitted any of the meetings, with a view of gaining more time for this purpose, they were looked upon with an evil eye. In some places, it was carried so far, that threats and stratagems, were employed to secure the attendance of the young people. Semler says, that when he was a student in the Gymnasium in Saalfeld, he was induced by threats and cunning to attend these meetings, and as soon as he had done so congratulations were sent to his father, upon his conversion. The duty of prayer also was often made too mechanical. The orthodox party were accustomed to written forms, but the Halle school recommended extempore prayer. This

was soon abused, and the ability to make a long extempore prayer, was regarded as the best evidence of piety. The Duke of Coburg, made the boys in the Gymnasium, pray before him, one after another, to see which of them, were really converted, and worthy of receiving a stipend for the University.—We may also under this head, speak of a perversion, in reference to the character of the inward religious exercises, which arose out of the doctrines of Spener and Franke. These good men, had opposed the view taken of the doctrine of atonement by the orthodox, which allowed a man to live as he pleased and yet hope for its benefits. In Halle, this doctrine and that of the law were united, but without the legal spirit which afterwards gradually arose. When the mode of teaching theology adopted the strict logical form, the religious feelings were also made a matter of rule and the law became more and more predominant. Whilst this legal spirit was gradually gaining the ascendancy in Halle, the Moravians pursued a different course, recommending a simple and exclusive regard to the great doctrines of the cross by which the feelings were continually cherished; in Halle the great motive to every thing was duty, and those who partook most of the evil, of which we are speaking, came at last to consider mere external piety the fulfilling of the commands of the Gospel. With the Moravians, on the other hand, a personal intercourse with the Saviour was required, Christ was to be regarded as the friend of the soul, love to him was to be the source of all duties. This system was doubtless, more conducive to real heart-felt piety.

Abuses also arose out of the principles adopted, with regard to external conduct. It might be expected, from what has been said of the desire of the Halle Professors to render learning subordinate to piety, that learning would sink into disrespect. This, however, at least with them was not the case. They were really learned men, but

the connexion which they affected between learning and religion, was not intimate; they were learned and pious but their religion, (so to speak,) was not learned. There was a difference in their character, also in this respect, some of them, as Baumgarten, were devoted almost exclusively to learning, whilst others who partook more of the spirit of Spener, laid upon it less importance. Had they succeeded in making their religion more scientific, it is probable that Semler would not have taken the course which he afterwards pursued. The principles of the Halle teachers, respecting worldly amusements, were, that a Christian who was really desirous of devoting himself to the service of God, could have no time for these amusements, that the command *be not conformed to the world*, which should regulate all the conduct of the Christian, was inconsistent with their enjoyment, and that every thing should be performed with prayer and joyful confidence in God. These principles are purely evangelical, and by no means lead to the universal condemnation of every enjoyment. By the followers of Spener and Franke, they were carried too far, and perverted. On the one hand these amusements were regarded as more dangerous, than they really were, and on the other, neglecting them, was made a merit of. What Franke had recommended upon evangelical principles, became a legal yoke. Many were excluded from the Lord's Supper, if detected in playing cards or dancing. The Count Henry of Reuss, commanded all the preachers within his territories to act upon this principle; on the other hand, the orthodox carried their boldness in regard to these subjects, to a great length. An orthodox preacher, published a form of prayer, for card-players, to teach them to pray for success. The Swiss Mystic, Nicholas von der Flühe, expressed himself in the following excellent manner upon this subject, where a gay vain young man, gaudily dressed came to him, and asked him how he

liked him. The wise man answered him, "Is your heart good, so are your clothes good; but if your heart were good you would not wear such clothes." The moderation in the use and enjoyment of the things of this world, recommended by the Pietists, was not monkish, but evangelical. The Elder Knapp was a beautiful example of this Gospel simplicity. Næsselt in his life, says of him with propriety, *vita ejus erat commentatio æternitatis*. Of abuse in this respect we have nothing to remark.

We have said, that the spirit of Christian enterprise, was also marked by an earnest desire to bring others to the knowledge of Christ, not only nominal Christians, but also the heathen. This desire the Moravians richly inherited. In the second generation we notice a two-fold perversion of this feeling. We find in regard to many, it ceased to be a real inward desire, but was regarded as a mere duty, and that they thought they had fulfilled this duty, as far as nominal Christians were concerned, when they had merely introduced religious conversation. And secondly, we remark in many, a spirit of self-sufficiency, which led them to forget, that they could only point out the way, and the gospel was often urged so unseasonably upon careless persons, as to drive them further than ever from religion. In conducting the Missionaries establishments we have nothing in the way of abuse to remark, excepting that some of the latter missionaries renounced the faith and became Deists. It was from these establishments that the distinguished Liegenbalg and Schwarz proceeded who laboured with such success among the Heathen. The Jewish institution conducted by Professor Callenberg, produced the celebrated Missionary Stephen Schulze, a man of distinguished talents and learning, uniting zeal and great self-denial. He rejected every offer of professional preferment, and restricted himself to the life of a mechanic, that he might preach the

Gospel to the Jews. His work entitled "The leadings of God through Europe, Asia, and Africa," contains the results of his observations, made during his twenty years travelling through these countries, and is replete with interesting information. Another manifest action of the spirit of religious activity, which we mentioned, was the erection of orphan houses and asylums for the poor. The Orphan House in Halle was conducted by the elder Freilinghausen and the elder Knapp. Many similar establishments were formed in various parts of Germany, where the students of Halle were settled. No abuse arose from this source.

We close this review, with a few reflexions, which are naturally suggested by the history we have given. The view we have taken of this period, teaches us how the various systems of theology may become hostile to vital piety, not merely unbelief in its diversified forms, but orthodoxy itself and supernaturalism, which assumes a position of hostility whenever it is nothing more than mere speculative knowledge. Of this truth this period affords us remarkable examples. It teaches us further, that the revival of religion and the outpouring of the Spirit, as in the days of the apostles, is possible in our times, if Christianity be only properly exhibited in the life, and from the pulpit. And it teaches us also, how great may be the influence of a few pious men. The Halle school spread its doctrines to Sweden, Denmark, and even to Greece. And, finally, in comparing the revival of this period, with that which exists in our own days, we may remark some points in which the latter has an advantage over the former. It is more guarded from the perversions, which usually attend seasons of religious excitement. Religion is now less restrained, and therefore more variously developed, and is more intimately connected with learning, so that we may hope to see theology

as a science, so regularly constructed and guarded, as to preserve it from those attacks, which proved fatal to the former systems. It is at the same time true, that these advantages, may easily be perverted ; an event which can only be prevented, by our laying to heart, the great lesson taught us by the period under review, which is, that a proper knowledge of the truths of Christianity cannot be obtained, without a sanctified state of the feelings, an experience of their vital influence upon our own hearts. The perversion to which we are most exposed, is, that the knowledge of religion; will come to be regarded, as a mere affair of the intellect, that the truths through which men are to be sanctified and saved will be calmly discussed, as a source of intellectual enjoyment, without being brought into the heart, or made to operate upon the life.

Preface

TO

THE TRANSLATION OF HOSEA,

By BISHOP HORSELY.

PREFACE,

§c.

HOSEA began to prophecy so early as in the days of the great-grandson of Jehu, Jeroboam, the second of that name, king of Israel; and he continued in the prophetic office in the successive reigns of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah. Since he prophesied not before the days of Uzziah, king of Judah, it must have been in the latter part of Jeroboam's reign, that the word of the Lord first came to him. For Jeroboam reigned in Israel forty-one years in all;* and the accession of Uzziah, king of Judah, was in the 27th year of Jeroboam.† We must look, therefore, for the commencement of Hosea's ministry within the last fourteen years of Jeroboam; and it cannot reasonably be supposed to have been earlier, than a year or two before that monarch's death. For the interval from Jeroboam's death to the commencement of the reign of Hezekiah in Judah, upon the most probable supputation of the corresponding reigns in the two kingdoms of Judah and Israel, seems to have been no less than sixty-eight years.‡ If we increase the interval by the last year only of Jeroboam's reign, and the first of Hezekiah's (in the days of both which kings he prophesied,) we shall make a space of no less than seventy years, for the whole duration of Hosea's ministry. And since he was of age to chuse

* 5 Kings xiv. 23.

† xv. 1.

‡ Archbishop Usher makes it no more than 57 or 58. But I am perswaded the death of Jeroboam was seven years earlier, and the accession of Hezekiah three years later, than according to Archbishop Usher's dates.

a wife for himself and to marry, when he first entered upon it, he must have lived to extreme old age. He must have attained his hundredth year at least, if he saw the accomplishment of the judgment, he had been employed to denounce against the kingdom of Israel. But it is probable that he was removed, before that event took place. For, in all his prophecies the kingdom of Samaria is mentioned, as sentenced indeed to excision; but as yet subsisting, at the time when they were delivered.

Inasmuch as he reckons the time of his ministry, by the succession of the kings of Judah, the learned have been induced to believe, that he himself belonged to that kingdom. However that may be, for we have no direct information of history upon the subject, it appears, that whether from the mere impulse of the divine Spirit, or from family connections and attachments, he took a particular interest in the fortunes of the sister kingdom. For he describes, with much more exactness than any other prophet, the distinct destinies of the two great branches of the chosen people, the different judgments impending on them, and the different manner of their final restoration; and he is particularly pathetic, in the exhortations he addresses to the ten tribes. It is a great mistake, however, into which the most learned expositors have fallen, and it has been the occasion of much misinterpretation, to suppose, that "his prophecies are almost wholly against the kingdom of Israel;" or that the captivity of the ten tribes is the immediate and principal subject, the destiny of the two tribes being only occasionally introduced. Hosea's principal subject is that, which is the principal subject indeed of all the prophets; the guilt of the Jewish nation in general, their disobedient refractory spirit, the heavy judgments that awaited them, their final conversion to God, their re-establishment in the land of promise, and their restoration to God's favour, and to a condition of the greatest national prosperity, and of high pre-eminence

among the nations of the earth, under the immediate protection of the Messiah, in the latter ages of the world. He confines himself more closely to this single subject, than any other prophet. He seems, indeed, of all the prophets, if I may so express my conception of his peculiar character, to have been the most of a Jew. Comparatively, he seems to care but little about other people. He wanders not like Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, into the collateral history of the surrounding heathen nations. He meddles not, like Daniel, with the revolutions of the great empires of the world. His own country seems to engross his whole attention; her privileges, her crimes, her punishment, her pardon. He predicts, indeed, in the strongest and the clearest terms, the ingrafting of the Gentiles into the church of God. But he mentions it only generally; he enters not, like Isaiah, into the minute detail of the progress of the business. Nor does he describe, in any detail, the previous contest with the apostate faction in the latter ages. He makes no explicit mention of the share, which the converted Gentiles are to have in the re-establishment of the natural Israel in their ancient seats; subjects which make so striking a part of the prophecies of Isaiah, Daniel, Zachariah, Haggai, and, occasionally, of the other prophets. He alludes to the calling of our Lord from Egypt; to the resurrection on the third day; he touches, but only in general terms, upon the final overthrow of the antichristian army in Palestine, by the immediate interposition of Jehovah; and he celebrates, in the loftiest strains of triumph and exultation, the Saviour's final victory over death and hell. But yet, of all the prophets, he certainly enters the least into the detail of the mysteries of redemption. We have nothing in him descriptive of the events of the interval between the two advents of our Lord. Nothing diffuse and circumstantial, upon the great and interesting mysteries of the incarnation, and the atonement. His country, and his

kindred is the subject next his heart. Their crimes excite his indignation; their sufferings interest his pity; their future exaltation is the object, on which his imagination fixes with delight. It is a remarkable dispensation of providence, that clear notices, though in general terms, of the universal redemption, should be found in a writer so strongly possessed with national partialities. This Judaism, if I may so call it, seems to make the particular character of Hosea as a prophet. Not that the ten tribes are exclusively his subject. His country is indeed his particular and constant subject; but his country generally, in both its branches, not in either taken by itself.

That this is the true view of his prophecies, appears from the extraordinary manner of the opening of his ministry. As an expositor of his prophecy, I might decline any discussion of the question about his marriage; whether it was a real transaction, or passed in vision only. I have indeed no doubt, that it was a real occurrence in the prophet's life, and the beginning of his prophetic career. I have no doubt, that he was really commanded to form the connection; and that the commandment, in the sense in which it was given, was really obeyed. But this is, in truth, a question of little importance to the interpretation of the prophecy. For the act was equally emblematical, whether it was real or visionary only. And the signification of the emblem, whether the act were done in reality or in vision, will be the same. The act, if merely visionary, will admit the same variety of circumstances in vision, as the real act would admit in reality. The same questions will arise, what those circumstances were. And the import of each circumstance, attending the act, will be the same, though not of the same public notoriety. The readiest and surest way therefore of interpreting the prophecy will be to consider the emblematical act as really performed. The emblem was interpreted by the Holy Spirit when he gave the

command. The incontinent wife, by the declaration of the spirit, and by the general analogy of the prophetic imagery, was an emblem of the Jewish nation, polluted with spiritual fornication, i. e. with idolatry; but of the nation generally, in both its branches, for in both its branches it was equally polluted. If there was any difference between Judah and Ephraim, it was not in the degree of the pollution. For in different periods of her history Judah had defiled herself with idolatry, in a degree that Ephraim could not easily surpass. But it was, indeed, an aggravation of Ephraim's guilt, that it was the very foundation of her polity. Her very existence, as a distinct kingdom, was founded on the idolatry of the calves, which was instituted by Jeroboam for preventing the return of the ten tribes to their allegiance to the house of David. These calves of Jeroboam's, by the way, seem to have been mutilated imitations of the cherubic emblems. Thus they were very significant symbols of a religion founded on misbelief, and upon the self-conceit of Natural Reason, discarding revelation, and, by its own boasted powers, forming erroneous notions of the Godhead.* This corrupt worship, as an essential part of their civil constitution, the ten tribes superadded to the guilt of a total defection from their allegiance to the house of David; the

* The Cherubim of the Temple, and the calves of Dan and Beth-el, were both hieroglyphical figures. The one, of God's institution; the other of man's, in direct contravention of the second commandment. The cherub was a compound figure; the calf, single. Jeroboam therefore and his subjects were Unitarians. And when his descendants added to the idolatry of the calves, the worship of Baal, they became Materialists. For the most antient Pagan idolatry was neither more nor less, than an allegorised Materialism. The deification of dead men was the corruption of later periods of idolatry, when idolaters had forgotten the meaning of their original symbols, and their original rites. It was not therefore without reason, that the antient fathers considered the nation of the ten tribes as a general type of heresy.

type of the true David, from whom final apostacy will be everlasting destruction. The two tribes, on the contrary, remained loyally attached to David's family; and the idolatry into which, from time to time, they fell, was rather the lapse of individuals, than the premeditated policy of the nation. Except in the reigns of one or two of their very worst kings, the public religion was the worship of the true God, according to the rites of his own appointment, by a priesthood of his own institution. And this was the reason that the kingdom of Judah, though severely punished, was however, treated with longer forbearance; and, when the dreadful judgment came, in some respects, with more lenity. But as to the degree of idolatry prevailing in either kingdom, estimated by the instances of it in the practice of individuals, it was equally gross. Accordingly, spiritual fornication is perpetually laid to the charge of the whole people, without distinction, by the prophets: and in the nature of the thing, as well as by the declaration of the Spirit, the Prophet's incontinent wife is the general emblem of the whole Jewish nation. Whatever is said of this woman is to be applied to the whole nation, unless the application be limited, by the express mention of a part by name. And, upon this principle, we shall find that the whole discourse is general, from the end of the first chapter to the 14th verse of the fourth inclusive. In the 15th verse of the fourth chapter, the two kingdoms are distinguished. Thenceforward they are sometimes interchangeably, sometimes jointly, addressed; but the part which is common to both, with that which is peculiar to Judah, makes at least as large a portion of the whole remainder of the book, as what is peculiar to the kingdom of Israel.

The woman being the emblem of the whole Jewish race, the several descriptions, or parts of the nation, are represented by the children, which she bore in the prophet's house. But here two other questions arise, upon which

expositors have been much divided. 1st, What is the character intended of the woman? What are the fornications by which she is characterised? Are they acts of incontinence in the literal sense of the word, or something figuratively so called? And, 2dly, this guilt of literal or figurative incontinence, was it previous to the woman's marriage with the prophet, or contracted after it?

The Hebrew phrase, "a wife of fornications," taken literally, certainly describes a prostitute, and "children of fornications" are the offspring of a promiscuous commerce. Some, however, have thought that a wife of fornications may signify nothing worse "than a wife taken from among the Israelites, who were remarkable for spiritual fornication, or idolatry." And that "children of fornications" may signify children born of such a mother, in such a country, and likely to grow up in the habit of idolatry themselves, by the force of ill example. God, contemplating with indignation the frequent disloyalty of that chosen nation, to which he was as it were a husband, which owed him the fidelity of a wife, says to the prophet, "Go join thyself in marriage to one of those who have "committed fornication against me, and raise up children who will themselves swerve to idolatry."* But the words thus interpreted contain a description only of public manners, without immediate application to the character of any individual, and the command to the prophet will be nothing more than to take a wife.

But the words may be more literally taken, and yet the impropriety, as it should seem, of a dishonourable alliance formed by God's express command, as some have thought, avoided. Idolatry, by the principles on which it was founded, and by the licence and obscenity of its public rites, had a natural tendency to corrupt the morals of the sex; and it appears, by the sacred history, that the prevalence of it

* See Abp. Newcome on Hosea, I. 2.

among the Israelites was actually followed with this dreadful effect. It may be supposed that, in the depraved state of public manners, the prophet was afraid to form the nuptial connection, and purposed to devote himself to a single life : and that he is commanded by God to take his chance : upon this principle ; that no dishonour, that might be put upon him by a lascivious wife, was to be compared with the affront daily put upon God by the idolatries of the chosen people. “Go take thyself a wife among these wantons. Haply she may play thee false, and make thee father of a spurious brood. Am not I the husband of a wife of fornications ? My people daily go a whoring after the idols of the heathen. Shall I, the God of Israel, bear this indignity, and shalt thou, a mortal man, proudly defy the calls of nature ; fearing the disgrace of thy family, and the contamination of its blood, by a woman’s frailty !” But this interpretation differs from the former, only in the species of guilt imputed to the Israelites collectively ; and the command to the prophet is still nothing more than to venture upon a wife, ill-qualified as the women of his times in general were for the duties of the married state. And the injunction seems to be given for no other purpose, than to introduce a severe animadversion upon the Israelites, as infinitely more guilty with respect to God, than any adulteress among women with respect to her husband.

But it is evident, that “a wife of fornications” describes the sort of woman, with whom the prophet is required to form the matrimonial connection. It expresses some quality in the woman, common perhaps to many women, but actually belonging to the prophet’s wife in her individual character. And this quality was no other than gross incontinence in the literal meaning of the word : carnal, not spiritual fornication. The prophet’s wife was, by the express declaration of the Spirit, to be the type or emblem of the Jewish nation, considered as the wife of God. The

sin of the Jewish nation was idolatry, and the scriptural type of idolatry is carnal fornication ; the woman therefore to typify the nation, must be guilty of the typical crime ; and the only question that remains is, whether this stain upon her character was previous to her connection with the prophet, or contracted afterwards ?

I should much incline to the opinion of Diodati, that the expression, “a wife of whoredoms,” may be understood of a woman that was innocent at the time of her marriage, and proved false to the nuptial vow afterwards, could I agree to what is alleged in favour of that interpretation, by Dr. Wells and by Lowth the father, that it makes the parallel more exact between God and his backsliding people, the prophet and his lascivious wife, than the contrary supposition of the woman’s previous impurity ; especially, if, with Dr. Wells, we make the further supposition, that the prophet had previous warning of his wife’s irregularities. “Forasmuch as in like manner,” says Dr. Wells, “God took Israel to be his peculiar people, though “he also knew aforehand, that they would often prove false to him, and fall into spiritual whoredom or idolatry.” It seems to me, on the contrary, that the prophet’s marriage will be a more accurate type of the peculiar connection, which God vouchsafed to form between himself and the Israelites, upon the admission of the woman’s previous incontinence. God’s marriage with Israel was the institution of the Mosaic covenant at the time of the Exodus ;* but it is most certain, that the Israelites were previously tainted, in a very great degree, with the idolatry of Egypt ;† and they are repeatedly taxed with this by the prophets, under the image of the incontinence of a young unmarried woman.‡ To make the parallel therefore exact in every circumstance

* Jer. ii. 2.

† Levit. xvii. 7. xviii. 3. Josh. xxiv. 14.

‡ See Ezek. xxiii.

between the prophet and his wife, God and Israel, the woman should have been addicted to pleasure before her marriage. The prophet, not ignorant of her numerous criminal intrigues, and of the general levity of her character, should nevertheless offer her marriage, upon condition that she should renounce her follies, and attach herself with fidelity to him as her husband; she should accept the unexpected offer, and make the fairest promises* The prophet should complete the marriage-contract,† and take the reformed harlot, with a numerous bastard offspring, to his own house. There she should bear children to the prophet (as the antient Jewish church, amidst all her corruptions, bore many true sons of God;) but in a little she should relapse to her former courses, and incur her husband's displeasure; who yet should neither put her to death, according to the rigour of the law, nor finally and totally divorce her. Accordingly I am perswaded the phrases **אִשֶׁת זְנוּנִים** and **לְדֵי זְנוּנִים** are to be taken literally, "a wife of prostitution," and "children of promiscuous commerce:" so taken, and only so taken, they produce the admirable parallel, we have described. The prophet is commanded to take home a harlot for his wife, and to receive her bastard brood. After the marriage she bears children in the prophet's house: but she is not constant to his bed. She, who at first was a fornicatress, becomes an adulteress (chap. iii); yet her husband is not permitted to discard her. He removes her for a time from his bed: debars her of all her intercourse with her lovers, but plainly bids her not despair of being re-admitted, after many days of mortification, upon her complete reformation, and the return of her affections to him, to the full rank and all the privileges of a prophet's lawful blameless wife. If any one imagines, that the marriage of a prophet

* Exod. xix. 8. xxiv. 3—7. Josh. xxiv. 21.

† Deut. vii. 6. xxvi. 17.—19.

with a harlot is something so contrary to moral purity, as in no case whatever to be justified, let him recollect the case of Salmon the Just, as he is stiled in the Targum upon Ruth, and Rahab the harlot. If that instance will not remove his scruples, he is at liberty to adopt the opinion, which I indeed reject, but many learned expositors have approved, that the whole was a transaction in vision only, or in trance. I reject it, conceiving that whatever was unfit to be really commanded, or really done, was not very fit to be presented, as commanded or as done, to the imagination of a prophet in his holy trance. Since this therefore was fit to be imagined, which is the least that can be granted, it was fit (in my judgment), under all the circumstances of the case, to be done. The greatness of the occasion, the importance of the end, as I conceive, justified the command in this extraordinary instance. The command, if it was given, surely sanctified the action: and, upon these grounds, till I can meet with some other exposition, which may render this typical wedding equally significant of the thing to be typified by it in all its circumstances, I am content to take the fact plainly, as it is related, according to the natural import of the words of the narration; especially as this way of taking it will lead to the true meaning of the emblematical act, even if it was commanded and done only in vision. In taking it as a reality, I have with me the authority, not certainly of the majority, but of some of the most learned and cautious expositors: which I mention, not so much to sustain the truth of the opinion, as to protect myself, in the avowal of it, from injurious imputations. “*Hæ sententia,*” says the learned Mercer, “*magis nobis placet, ut reverâ uxorem scortum duxerit, et ex eâ liberos dubios procreâret. Nam quod objicitur, honestas esse oportere doctorum nuptias, sane non poterant non honestæ esse jubente Domino; qui id ita volebat ad significandos Israelitarum mores.*”

Denique aliorum interpretationes tam improbabiles videntur, ut earum nulla sit, cui majorem quam huic assensum præbere queam. Hebræi enim scholiastæ hæc omnia visione facta fuisse arbitrantur, cum nulla omnino visionis mentio fiat." To the same purpose Mr. Lively : "Quod objicitur contra legem Divinam et bonos mores hoc fieri, si doctor ecclesiæ meretricem ducat, tum verum est, si libidine suâ id fecerit injussu Dei; quorum neutrum in Oseâ fuisse omnes intelligebant." And the learned Grotius : "Maimonides hæc vult contigisse ἐν ἁπλοῦς tantum. Sed et sensus loci, et alia loca similia magis id credi exigunt, signo aliquo, in hominum oculos accurrente, expressas eas res quæ inter Deum et Hebræum populum agebantur. Uxorem ducere, quæ meretrix fuerit, non erat illicitum nisi sacerdotibus. Videri quidem id poterat subturpe, sed quicquid jubet Deus, idem jubendo honestum facit." The learned Houbigant adopts the same opinion; which, among the antients, was strenuously maintained by St. Cyril of Alexandria, and by Theodoret, and entertained by St. Basil. And with these celebrated and judicious expositors, I scruple not to declare, that I agree. Admitting, however, in my own private judgment, the reality of the action, I would not be understood to admit, I do most explicitly and positively deny, as absurd and impious, the extravagant conclusion, which some have drawn from the mention of "the children of promiscuous commerce," that the prophet was, either in vision or reality, commanded, or permitted, to co-habit with the woman, not as a wife in lawful wedlock, but as a harlot; and himself to beget an illegitimate race. Such a conversation of the prophet with the harlot would have been no type of the spiritual marriage between God and the chosen people: it would have been highly sinfull; what no occasion, or pretended end, could justify; what God therefore never could command; for, I admit the distinction of the learned Drusius,

“Scortum aliquis ducere potest sine peccato; scortari non item.” The children of promiscuous commerce are the offspring of the woman in her dissolute life, previous to her connection with the prophet.

After the marriage the Prophet's wife bore three children. These children represent, as I have observed, certain distinct parts or descriptions of the Jewish nation, of the whole of which the mother was the emblem. Of these three children the eldest and the youngest were sons: the intermediate child was a daughter. The eldest, I think, was the Prophet's son; but the two last were both bastards. In this I have the concurrence of Dr. Wells; acutely remarking, “that whereas it is said, v. 3, that the prophet's wife ‘conceived and bare a son *to him*,’ it is said of the other two children only, ‘that she conceived again and bare a daughter,’ v. 6; and ‘she conceived and bare a son,’ v. 3; implying that the children, she then bare, not being born, like the first, to the prophet, were not begotten by him.” These things being premised, the names imposed upon the children, by God's direction, sufficiently declare what particular parts of the Jewish nation were severally represented by them. The name of the eldest son was יזרעאל Jezræel; compounded of the nouns זרע (seed) and אל (God:) the initial י being merely formative of the proper name, as in innumerable instances. (ישראל יעקב from יעקב from שרה and אל. ירמיה from רום and יה from און and יה &c.) The import therefore of the name is “Seed of God;” and the persons represented by the prophet's proper son, to whom the name is given, were all those true servants of God, scattered among all the twelve tribes of Israel, who, in the times of the nation's greatest depravity, worshipped the everlasting God, in the hope of the Redeemer to come. These were a holy seed; the genuine sons of God; begotten of him to a lively hope, and the early seed of that church, which shall at last em-

brace all the families of the earth. These are Jezräel, typified by the prophet's own son and rightfull heir, as the children of God, and heirs of the promises.

This is St Jerome's interpretation of the word Jezräel as a mystical proper name; and for the plain and obvious connection of the typical signification with the etymology and literal meaning, it is much to be preferred to another; which, however, has been received with approbation by many, I believe indeed by the majority, of later expositors. Conceiving that the word זרע, as a verb, signifies "to scatter," they render the word "Jezräel" "the dispersion," or the dispersed of God;" and they expound it as predictive of the dispersion of the Jewish nation: and this interpretation has been in so much credit, as to find its way into the marginal notes of the English Geneva Bible. And perhaps it is not altogether irreconcilable with etymology; for, the word זרע is, indeed, both a noun and a verb. The noun is the root; and as the noun signifies "seed," the verb signifies "to sow seed:" and, when applied to such seeds as are sown by scattering them, virtually indeed signifies to scatter them. Thus it acquires the sense of scattering abroad, as seed is scattered, and figuratively may signify the dispersion. But in truth, this interpretation of the word, however consistent it may be with etymological principles, is clearly set aside by the manifest application of it, in the 22d verse of the 2d chapter, in St. Jerome's sense of seed; which in that passage is so evident, and indeed so necessary, that it is admitted there, by the most learned of those, who would impose the other sense upon it in the 1st chapter. They conceive the word susceptible of two contrary typical senses, corresponding respectively to the two contrary senses, which they ascribe to the root; namely, that of sowing for a crop, and that of scattering for destruction.*

* Thus the learned Diodati, upon chap. ii. v. 22,—"ad Isreel,"

The necessity of imposing contrary senses upon one and the same image, in a system of prophetic images, in different parts of the same prophecy, seems a sufficient confutation of the scheme of interpretation, which creates it. The sense, which forces itself upon the understanding of the reader, in one clear unequivocal passage, being equally apposite, though not of equal necessity, in every other passage where the type is mentioned, ought in all reason to be taken every where as the single signification of the type; even in preference to any other, which may not be irreconcilable, and may even be applicable, in some texts where the type is introduced. And for this reason, a third interpretation of this mystical word, which is adopted by two learned Commentators of our own, Mr. Lowth and Dr. Wells, must be rejected. The noun *יָרֵךְ* has indeed two senses. It signifies "an arm" as well as "seed." Hence these expositors conceive, that Jezræel may signify either "a Seed of God" or "the Arm of God." And they take it in the first sense in chap. ii. 22, and in the second in chap. i. But since the first is the only sense, in which it can be taken, consistently with the context, in chap. ii. and is apt and applicable, wherever the word occurs; it is better to adhere to this one sense, than to introduce uncertainty and confusion, by multiplying the significations of a single image without necessity. Not to mention that the godly are often described in Scripture under the image of God's children, whereas they are not "his arm," more than any other part of the creation; being indeed the especial objects of his providence, but in

c. al mio popolo, il quale, Hos. I. 4. "era stato nominato Izreel in senso di minaccia e di maladizione; ma qui è cangiato in senso di gratia e di promessa; percioche Izreel puo anche significare, colui ch' Iddio semina, o seminera." And to the same effect Rivetus. "Mutatur hic significatio nominis ut pro dispersione a Deo facta non amplius accipiatur, sed pro seminatione Dei, pro legitimo semine."

common only with all his creatures, an instrument of his power. Rejecting therefore all other interpretations of this word, we may safely abide by St. Jerome's, as plain and simple, agreeable to etymology, conformable to the usual imagery of holy writ, applicable in all the passages where this mystical name is used, and indisputably confirmed by the harmony and coherence of the prophetic text with itself. And, according to this interpretation, the prophet's eldest son under the name of Jezräel, typifies the true children of God among the natural Israel.

All of the Jewish people that were not Jezräel, those who were not Israel, though they were of Israel, are typified by the two bastard children. The first of these, the daughter, was called Lo-ruhamah. The sex of the child is the emblem of weakness.* Her name, Lo-ruhamah, is a compound of the negative particle לֹא, and רַחֲמָה the particle Benoni feminine in Puhal of the verb רָחַם, which signifies either to be tenderly affected with love or pity, or to be the object of such tender affection, i. e. either actively to love, or pity, or passively to be beloved, or to be pitied. The name Lo-ruhamah therefore is "unbeloved," or "unpitied," or, as it is paraphrased in the margin of our English Bible, in conformity with all the antient versions, "not having obtained mercy. Or, as it is rendered by the LXX and St. Peter, ἐκ ἠλεημένη. (1 Pet. II. 10.) By St. Paul, ἐκ ἠγαπημένην, Rom. IX. 25. It is remarkable that, of the two senses which the word רָחַם equally bears, of pity or love, St. Peter in this place should take the one, St. Paul the other; but this, as Dr. Pocock observes, "makes no difference in the matter, inasmuch as "God's mercy and love go inseparably together." How-

* "Nequaquam jam Jezrael, id est, "Semen Dei," nec masculini sexus filius nascitur, sed filia; id est fœmina, fragilis sexus, et quæ victorum pateat contumeliæ." Hieron. ad locum.

ever, the sense of mercy or pity, in his judgment, seems more agreeable to what follows. In which, however, I differ from him; for, the word in its primary meaning, more specifically relates to the natural affection, the *σὸργὴ* of a parent for a child: and, when it signifies pity or mercy, it is such sort and degree of pity as arises from parental tenderness. So that, if a choice is to be made between the two renderings, I prefer St. Paul's; "not beloved." Which is the more to be attended to, because it seems to have been his own; as all the antient versions give the other. And St. Paul's rendering is, in this instance, to be preferred to St. Peter's because St. Paul expressly cites; St. Peter only alludes. This daughter, Lo-ruhamah, typifies the people of the ten tribes in the enfeebled state of their declining monarchy, torn by intestine commotions and perpetual revolutions, harrassed by powerful invaders, impoverished by their tyrannical exactions, and condemned by the just sentence of God to utter excision as a distinct kingdom, without hope of restoration: for so the type is explained by the Holy Spirit himself.

The last child is a son, and the name given him is Lommi. To determine what is represented by this child (since in the application of this type, the sacred text is not so explicit as in the former,) we must take into consideration the time of its birth. The daughter Lo-ruhamah, was weaned, before the woman conceived this son. "A child, when it is weaned," says St. Jerome, "leaves the mother; is not nourished with the parent's milk; is sustained with extraneous aliments." This aptly represents the condition of the ten tribes expelled from their own country, dispersed in foreign lands, no longer nourished with the spiritual food of divine truth by the ministry of the prophets, and destitute of any better guide than Natural Reason and Heathen Philosophy. The deporta-

tion of the ten tribes, by which they were reduced to this miserable condition, and deprived of what remained to them, in their worst state of willfull corruption, of the spiritual privileges of the chosen race, was, in St. Jerome's notion of the prophecy, the weaning of Lo-ruhamah. The child conceived after Lo-ruhamah was thus weaned, must typify the people of the kingdom of Judah, in the subsequent periods of their history. Or rather this child typifies the whole nation of the children of Israel, reduced, in its external form, by the captivity of the ten tribes, to that single kingdom. The sex represents a considerable degree of national strength and vigour, remaining in this branch of the Jewish people, very different from the exhausted state of the other kingdom previous to its fall. Nor have the two tribes ever suffered so total an excision. The ten were absolutely lost in the world, soon after their captivity. They have been no where to be found for many ages, and know not where to find themselves: though we are assured they will be found again of God, in the day when he shall make up his jewels. But the people of Judah have never ceased totally to be. In captivity at Babylon they lived a separate race, respected by their conquerors. From that captivity they returned. They became an opulent and powerfull state; formidable at times to the rival powers of Syria and Egypt; and held in no small consideration by the Roman people, and the first emperors of Rome. And even in their present state of ruin and degradation, without territory, and without a polity of their own, such is the masculine strength of suffering, with which they are endued, they are still extant in the world as a separate race, but not as God's people, otherwise than as they are reserved for signal mercy; God grant it may be in no very distant period! But at present they are Lo-ammi. לֹא־אֲמִי (Not) עַמִּי (My people.) And so they have actually been more than seventeen centuries

and a half; and to this condition they were condemned, when this prophecy was delivered.

That these are typified by the child Lo-ammi appears, from the application of that name, in the 10th verse, to the children of Israel generally. Whence it seems to follow, that the degenerate people of Judah were implicated in the threatenings contained in the former part of the chapter. But in those threatenings they cannot be implicated, unless they are typified in some one or more of the typical children. But they are not typified in Jezräel; for the Jezräel is no object of wrath or threatening: not in Lo-ruhamah; for Lo-ruhamah typifies the kingdom of the ten tribes exclusively: of necessity, therefore in Lo-ammi.

The same conclusion may be drawn, from the use of the second person plural in the explanation of the name Lo-ammi, in the 9th verse. "Call his name Lo-ammi; for YE are not my people——." It is evident, that the pronoun of the second person plural, *Ye*, is compellative of the persons typified by the child, to which the name is given. The command to name every one of the children is addressed to the prophet, by the verb imperative in the singular number. "Call his name Jezräel——.*" "Call her name Lo-ruhamah——.†" "Call his name Lo-ammi——.‡" But in explaining the name Lo-ruhamah, the persons typified are mentioned in the third person, "—— for I will no more have mercy upon ——" not *You*, but "the house of Israel.§" Whereas in explaining the name Lo-ammi, the persons typified are not mentioned in the third person, but addressed in the second, "—— for YE are not my people." The reason of which I think must be this: since the prophet is the person, and the only person, to whom, as actually present, God speaks; the

* v. 4.

† v. 6.

‡ v. 9.

§ v. 6.

persons of whom this is declared, "ye are not my people," must be that branch of the Jewish nation, to which the prophet himself belonged. Hence, if there be any truth in the received opinion, that the prophet Hosea was of the kingdom of Judah, the men of that kingdom must be the persons typically represented by Lo-ammi. "Call his name Lo-ammi; for ye, O Men of Judah, are not my people." This I consider as a strong corroboration, though by itself it would not amount to proof, of what I conceive to be indisputably proved by the argument from the 10th verse; that the child Lo-ammi represents the Jewish nation, existing in the single kingdom of Judah, after the captivity of the ten tribes. Or, to put the argument in a stronger shape, independent of any previous assumption about the prophet's country; since God, speaking to the prophet, speaks of the persons typified by Lo-ruhamah in the third person, and addresses those typified by Lo-ammi in the second; the prophet did not belong to any branch of the nation, collectively typified by Lo-ruhamah: Lo-ammi typified some branch of the nation, to which he did belong. Lo-ruhamah typified the Kingdom of Israel. To that kingdom therefore the prophet did not belong. He belonged therefore of necessity to the kingdom of Judah. Lo-ammi therefore typifies this kingdom.

The objection, which has been brought against this interpretation of the woman's last child, from St. Peter's application of the latter part of the 10th verse to the converted Jews of the Asiatic dispersion, has little weight with me; though it appears, that it was deemed insurmountable by so great a man as Dr. Poccock. The destruction of Jerusalem, and the dispersion of the nation by the Romans, had not taken place, it is observed, when St. Peter made the application of the terms of Lo-ammi, and Lo-ruhamah, Ammi and Ruhamah, to these converts; the former, in their state of unbelief; the latter, in their con-

verted state. The Jews, therefore, of Judah and Benjamin, had not yet lost the character of God's people. Yet the prophecy, in the apostle's judgment, was already fulfilled; as appears by his citation of it, both in the comminatory and the promissory part. The Jews therefore of Judah and Benjamin, whom the threatened punishment had not yet overtaken, were not the Lo-ammi of the Prophet; but this child was only another type of the ten tribes, in their outcast state. It would be difficult, I apprehend, to prove, what this argument tacitly assumes; that "the strangers scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, and Bithynia," to whom St. Peter writes, were descendants of the captivity of the ten tribes, rather than of those families of Judah and Benjamin, which never returned from the Babylonian captivity; which were very numerous. Besides, St. Peter's application of the prophecy is no argument that he thought it any farther then fulfilled, than in the individuals to whom he applies it; or otherwise in them, than in a spiritual sense. There have been in all times, in one part or another of the Jewish nation, those among them, who, in a spiritual sense, were Ammi and Ruhamah; the same who have, at different times, composed the Jezräel, which at no time has totally failed. Such were the converts of the Jews in the apostolic age. And of this class is every Jew, in every period of the world, when he is brought to look, with the eye of faith, upon him whom they pierced. The apostle's application of these terms to the converts of his own times, affords no argument that he thought the prophecy had already received its accomplishment, as it respects the national condition of the whole, or either branch of the natural Israel.

From this view of the wife of fornications and her three children the general subject of the prophecy appears, by the manner of its opening, to be the fortunes of the whole

Jewish nation in its two great branches; not the particular concerns (and least of all the particular temporal concerns) of either branch exclusively. And to this grand opening the whole sequel of the prophecy corresponds. In setting forth the vices of the people, the picture is chiefly taken, as might naturally be expected, from the manners of the prophet's own times: in part of which the corruption, in either kingdom, was at the greatest height: after the death of Jeroboam, in the kingdom of Israel; in the reign of Ahaz, in the kingdom of Judah. And there is occasionally much allusion, sometimes predictive allusion, to the principal events of the prophet's times. And much more to the events in the kingdom of Israel, than to those in Judah. Perhaps, because the danger being more immediately imminent in the former kingdom, the state of things in that was more alarming, and the occurrences, for that reason, more interesting. Still the history of his own times in detail, in either kingdom, is not the prophet's subject. It furnishes similes and allusions, but it makes no considerable part, indeed it makes no part at all, of the action (if I may so call it) of the poem. The action lies in events beyond the prophet's times; the commencement indeed within them; but the termination, in times yet future; and, although we may hope the contrary, for aught we know with certainty, remote. The deposition of Jehu's family, by the murder of Zedekiah, the son and successor of Jeroboam, was the commencement; the termination will be the restoration of the whole Jewish nation under one head, in the latter days, in the great day of Jezreël; and the intermediate parts of the action are the judgments, which were to fall, and accordingly have fallen, upon the two distinct kingdoms of Israel and Judah, typified by Lo-ruhamah and Lo-ammi.

A prejudice, which for a long time possessed the minds

of Christians, against the literal sense of the prophecies relating to the future exaltation of the Jewish nation, gave occasion to a false scheme of interpretation ; which, assuming it as a principle, that prophecy, under the old dispensation, looked forward to nothing beyond the abrogation of the Mosaic ritual and the dispersion of the Jews by the Romans, either wrested every thing to the history antecedent to that epoch, and, generally, as near as possible to the prophet's times (as if it were not the gift and business of a prophet to see far before him,) or, by figurative interpretations, for the most part forced and unnatural, applied, what could not be so wrested, to the Christian church : and rarely to the Christian church on earth, but to the condition of the glorified saints in Heaven. This method of exposition, while it prevailed generally, and it is not yet sufficiently exploded, wrapt the writings of all the prophets in tenfold obscurity, and those of Hosea more than the rest. Because, what with all the prophets was the principal, with him is the single subject. It might have been expected, that when once the principle was understood to be false, a better system of interpretation would have been immediately adopted. But this has only partially taken place. Expositions of many passages upon the erroneous scheme had obtained a general currency in the world, and were supported by the authority of great names. Amongst ourselves, it has long been the persuasion of our best Biblical scholars and ablest Divines, that the restoration of the Jews is a principal article of prophecy, being indeed a principal branch of the great scheme of general redemption. Notwithstanding this, we have followed expositors, who had a contrary prejudice, with too much deference to their authority ; and discarding their principle, have, in too many instances sitted down content with the interpretations they have given us. Dr. Wells, himself an assertor of the literal sense of many texts relating to the final restoration of the Jewish nation,

was nevertheless so wedded to the notion, that the particular accomplishment of Hosea's prophecies was to be looked for in the minute detail of the history of the kingdom of Israel, in the prophet's own times, or the times next to them; that he conceived it necessary to the interpretation of them, to ascertain to what particular reigns the particular parts belong; rightly considering the entire book, as a collection of prophecies delivered at different periods of Hosea's long ministry. These periods he has endeavoured to distinguish, with much learning and critical ability, though not perhaps with entire success. But when this is done, he is under the necessity of supplying circumstances in the history by mere conjecture, in order to make the event and the prediction correspond. That is, in truth, he is forced to invent history, before he can find the completion of the prophecy in the times, in which he seeks it. As when to bend a particular text, in itself not difficult of exposition as a general moral image, to his particular system, he is obliged to imagine, without a shadow of authority from sacred history, that the father of Pekah, the last king of Israel but one, was by trade a baker!

He divides the whole book into five sections, each containing, as he supposes, the prophecies of a particular period; and all together giving the prophecies, in the order of time in which he conceives they were delivered. His first section comprehends the three first chapters of the book; and contains the prophecies delivered in the reign of Jeroboam II. His second section ends with the third verse of chapter VI; and contains the prophecies delivered in the interval between the death of Jeroboam and the death of Pekahiah. His third section ends with the tenth verse of chapter VII; and contains the prophecies delivered during the reign of Pekah. His fourth section ends with the eighth verse of chapter XIII; and contains the prophecies delivered during the reign of Hoshea. His fifth section compre-

hends the remainder of the book; “containing,” according to the title which he gives it, “a prophecy of the restoration of Israel (together with those of Judah, under the common name of Jews,) after the Assyrian and Babylonian captivity; as also, and chiefly, the restoration of all the said tribes, or Jews, into their own country, after their captivity, and long dispersion by the Romans, viz. on the general conversion of all the Jews to Christianity, at the approach, or commencement, of the happy and triumphant state of the Church, which shall yet be on earth.”—Certainly this last section is composed of dreadfull comminations and glorious promises wonderfully intermixed. But the promises have no clear reference to any restoration, previous to the final restoration of the whole race from their present dispersed state. In the preceding sections, the prophecies correspond so imperfectly with the times, to which they are severally referred, that the truth seems to be, as it is stated by Bishop Lowth, “*modicum habemus volumen, vaticinationes Hoseæ, ut videtur præcipuas continens, easque omnes inter se sine ullis temporum notis, aut argumenti distinctione, connexas.*”—Insomuch, that it must be a vain attempt to distinguish, what the author has left without mark of distinction. I agree not, however, in the consequence drawn by that illustrious critic, that the want of these distinctions is the cause of the obscurity we find in Hosea’s writings: “*ita minime mirum est, si Hoseam perlegentes nonnunquam videamur in sparsa quædam Sibyllæ folia incidere.*” The argument or subject is one, from the beginning of the book to the end: and obscurity cannot arise from the want of distinction, in that respect, in which the thing is incapable of distinction. And the subject of these prophecies being what it is, the chronology of the several distinct effusions can be of no consequence to the interpretation: the obscurity therefore arises from some other causes.

It arises solely from the stile. And the obscurity of the stile cannot be imputed to the great antiquity of the composition (in which I again reluctantly disagree with that learned writer, whose abilities I revere, and whose memory I cherish with affection and regard,) nor to any thing peculiar to the language of the author's age. In the Hebrew language, as in the Greek, the earliest writers extant are beyond comparison the most perspicuous; Homer, Hesiod and Herodotus, among the Greeks; Moses and Samuel among the Hebrews. Nor, in all the poetical parts of holy writ, is there any thing to surpass, in simplicity of language, those noble monuments of the earliest inspired song, which are preserved in the Pentateuch: the last words of Jacob, the Song of Moses, his last words, the Song of Miriam, and the effusions of Balaam. Whatever obscurity we find in these most antient compositions, arises not from any archaisms of the stile, or from any thing of studied and affected singularity in the texture of it, but from the subject matter; and from the profound mysticism, which sometimes prevails in the prophetic imagery. If the book of Job be of an earlier age than any of these (except perhaps the last words of Jacob,) still its obscurities are not from archaisms, but from dialectic idioms of the author's country. Then, for the age of Hosea, it was the age of Isaiah and Micah; writers in a highly adorned but flowing easy style. Whatever obscurity therefore we find in the writings of Hosea, must be confessed to be his own, not arising from any peculiar idioms of antiquity, or of his own age.

He delights in a stile, which always becomes obscure, when the language of the writer ceases to be a living language. He is commatic, to use St. Jerome's word, more than any other of the prophets. He writes in short, detached, disjointed sentences; not wrought up into periods, in which the connection of one clause with another, and the dialectic relations, are made manifest to the reader by an

artificial collocation; and by those connexive particles which make one discourse of parts, which otherwise appear as a string of independent propositions, which it is left to the reader's discernment to unite. His transitions from reproof to perswasion, from threatening to promise, from terror to hope, and the contrary, are rapid and unexpected. His similes are brief, accumulated, and often introduced without the particle of similitude. Yet these are not the vices, but the perfections of the holy prophet's stile: for to these circumstances it owes that eagerness and fiery animation, which are the characteristic excellence of his writings, and are so peculiarly suited to his subject.

Besides this general character of Hosea's stile, I shall mention in this place two particulars, which are almost peculiar to this prophet; which I think can create little difficulty, when the reader is previously apprised of them, and taught to refer them, wherever they occur, to the principle on which they really depend; and yet, for want of being well considered, they have much perplexed interpreters, and have been the occasion of much unwarrantable tampering with the text in the way of conjectural emendation.

The first is a certain inconstancy, if I may so call it, in the person of the pronoun, or of the verb. A frequent sudden change from the second person to the third, or the contrary, in speaking, when the people collectively are the principal object of speech. Unaccountable as this has seemed to many expositors, it arises naturally, I apprehend, from the general plan of composition in these prophecies; which are all conceived in the shape of a discourse, held in public between Jehovah and the Prophet, upon the subject of the guilt, the punishment, and the final pardon of the people. Even in those prophecies, which open with a call upon the children of Israel, or upon the priests in particular and the house of the king, to give ear; still the prophet is the per-

son, with whom Jehovah principally talks. To him he sets forth the crimes of the people; to him he denounces the impending judgments; and to him he opens his merciful intention of restoring the converted race of Israel to his favour in the latter days. But in these discourses Jehovah often turns, in the fire of indignation, from the prophet directly upon the people themselves; addressing them in the second person, of whom he had been speaking in the third (as in chap. iv. 4, 5.) Sometimes the same turn of the discourse is made, in the tenderness of love, or exuberance of pity (chap. ii. 18. 19. &c. xi. 7. 8.) Sometimes on the contrary, Jehovah, speaking to the people, turns suddenly away from them, in contempt as it were of their unworthiness, to his friend and confidant, if we may so venture to speak, the prophet (chap. viii. 5.). The instances of these changes of the speech are innumerable; and sometimes so sudden, that the same sentence, which begins in the third person, shall end in the second; or, beginning in the second it shall end in the third. But this is so far from an obscurity, when it is traced to its true principle, that by removing it, the whole animation of the discourse would be extinguished. I have in most places retained this peculiarity in my translation, and, I flatter myself, without obscurity. In some few instances indeed, but in very few, I have been compelled, for the sake of perspicuity, to abandon it.

The second circumstance in Hosea's stile, which has much embarrassed his interpreters, is his frequent use of the Nominative Absolute. By the nominative absolute I mean a noun substantive, a proper name or an appellative, in the nominative case, placed at the beginning of a sentence, without any grammatical connexion with any other word; and serving only to announce, by its name, the principal subject of the proposition, which is immediately to follow, and to awaken attention to it. See chap. ix. 3 and 11. The

difficulty is considerably increased, when the nominative is not expressly mentioned, in what immediately follows, as the subject of the discourse, though it is really what is uppermost in the speaker's mind. See chap. xiv. 8. This nominative absolute occurs in the Psalms, and in most of the prophets. It is a figure of vehement impassioned speech ; and it is frequent in Hosea, because his stile, above all the other prophets, is vehement and impassioned. The noun so used is easily distinguished, in our language, by a note of admiration placed after it. And it is the want of that mark, that has made this figure a cause of obscurity in the original Hebrew text.

The obscurities arising from what is called an anomaly either of the number, when a collective noun, singular in form and plural in sense ; or a noun, plural in form and singular in sense, is connected indifferently with singular or plural verbs, pronouns, and adjectives ; or, an anomaly of the gender, when a noun, rendering what has naturally no sex, is connected almost indifferently with masculine and feminine, and with both in the same sentence ; and that other anomaly of the gender, when one and the same word, taken as the name of a people, may be masculine, and as the name of the country which the people inhabit, feminine ; and that too in the same sentence : these are not peculiar to Hosea, and are too inconsiderable to deserve more, than the bare mention that they are frequent.

An obscurity, arising from an indistinctness in the reference of the pronoun of the third person, will appear to the English reader to prevail remarkably in Hosea. But this is not to be imputed to the prophet, nor indeed to any of the sacred writers ; in all of whom it is found in the English Bible, but is introduced, often indeed unavoidably, by translation ; and it arises from a circumstance, in which the idiom of our language differs from the Hebrew, and from all the antient languages. The English language

admits, in some particular cases only, a subintellection of the pronoun as the nominative case to the verb; which, in the antient languages, is oftener understood than expressed. And this often lays the English translator under an inevitable necessity of introducing the pronoun of the third person as the nominative case, when it is also the accusative after the verb; and, before and after the verb, necessarily rehearses different persons.

—————and THEY bare children to THEM.”
 Gen. vi. 4. “They,” the daughters of men, bear “to them;”—to them, the sons of God. Here, indeed, the ambiguity is introduced in the English by a mis-translation, The verb לָרַב , signifies either “to bear” or “to beget.” And the nominative case of the masculine verb לָרַב , in the original, is “the sons of God.” And the proper rendering would be thus: “——the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men, and begat to themselves children.” And this is the rendering of the Alexandrine LXX, and the old version of Tyndal, and of the Bishop’s Bible:—
 $\text{εἰσεπορεύοντο οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς τὰς θυγατέρας τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἐγέννησαν ἑαυτοῖς. LXX. “——the chyl dren of God had lyen with the daughters of men, and had begotten them chyl dren.”$
 Tyndal. Again, “——in the likeness of God made HE HIM.” Gen. v. i. He, God, made him man. Here again the translation has introduced the ambiguity; which is not in the original, and was avoided in the old translation of Tyndal, by a better arrangement of the words, “——when God created man, and made hym after the similitude of GOD.” The ambiguity, however, in the English language is often unavoidable; as in Hosea, chap. xii. 4. 5: “——HE had wept, and made supplication unto HIM. At Bethel HE found HIM, and there he spake with us;” i. e. He [Jacob] had wept, and made supplication unto him [the Angel], At Bethel he [Jacob] found him [the Angel], and there he [the Angel] spake with us. The insertion of the

nominative He, in the English translation, is unavoidable ; and produces the ambiguity, which is not in the original.

The causes of Hosea's obscurity, or reputed obscurity, to speak with more justice of his writings, I take to be those, which I have enumerated. The general commatism of his stile ; his frequent and sudden transitions ; the brevity and accumulation of his similes, and those two remarkable circumstances, his inconstancy in the person of the verb, and the use of the nominative absolute.

But Archbishop Newcome maintains that the "greatest difficulties arise from the corrupt readings, which deform the printed text." Much as I have been indebted, in the prosecution of this work, to the previous labours of that learned prelate, against this opinion I must openly and earnestly protest. It is an erroneous opinion pregnant with the most mischievous consequences ; and the more dangerous, as having received the sanction of his great authority. That the sacred text has undergone corruptions, is indisputable. The thing is evident from the varieties of the MSS., the ancient versions, and the oldest printed editions : for, among different readings, one only can be right ; and it is probable, I go farther, I say that it is almost certain, that the worse reading has sometimes found its way into the printed text. That the corruptions are greater in Hosea, than in other parts of the Old Testament, I see no reason to suppose. That the corruptions in any part are so numerous, or in such degree, as to be a principal cause of obscurity, or, indeed, to be a cause of obscurity at all, with the utmost confidence I deny. And, be the corruptions what they may, I must protest against the ill-advised measure, as to me it seems, however countenanced by great examples, of attempting to remove any obscurity supposed to arise from them, by what is called conjectural emendation. Considering the matter only as a problem in the doctrine of chances, the odds are always in-

finitely against conjecture. For one instance in which conjecture may restore the original reading, in one thousand, or more, it will only leave corruption worse corrupted. It is the infirmity of the human mind, to revolt from one extreme of folly to the contrary. It is therefore little to be wondered, that, when the learned first emancipated their minds from an implicit belief, which had so long obtained, in the masculine integrity of the printed text, an unwarrantable licence of conjectural alteration should succeed to that despicable superstition, Upon this principle, great allowance is to be made, first for Cappellus, after him for Hare and Houbigant, and for others since, men of learning and piety, by whose labours the church of God has been greatly edified; if, in clearing away difficulties by altering the reading, they have sometimes proceeded with less scruple in the business, than the very serious nature of it should have raised in their minds. But their example is to be followed with the greatest fear and caution. I must observe however, that under the name of conjecture, I condemn not altogether alterations, which without the authority of a single MS., are suggested by the antient versions, especially by the Vulgate, Syriac, or Septuagint. The consent indeed of those versions, in one reading, wherever it is found, I esteem a considerable, though not always an indisputable authority for an emendation.

What authority may, consistently with the rules of sober criticism, be allowed to the antient versions in general, or to any one of them in particular, for the establishment of various readings; are questions of great moment, which well deserve a deep consideration. Perhaps the error of late years has been to set this sort of authority much too high. "*Lectiones versionum, quæ superstitem codicum habent præsidium* (says De Rossi with great judgment) *multi faciendæ sunt, censendæque generatim ex exemplari depromptæ, quod interprez habebat ob oculos. Contra*

quæ MSS. fide destituuntur, dubiæ sunt, infirmæque per se auctoritatis ; quum dubii simus, num ex archetypo codice eas hauserit interpres, an vero arbitrio indulserit ; ipsumque codicum silentium posterius videtur arguere, nisi gravis conjectura critica aliter suadeat, historiæque analogia ac veritas. Cautè itaque colligendæ veterum interpretum lectiones—cautius vero præferendæ.” With respect to the Greek version of the LXX in particular, it may reasonably be made a doubt, whether the MSS. from which it was made, were they now extant, would be entitled to the same degree of credit as our modern Hebrew text, notwithstanding their comparatively high antiquity. There is certainly much reason to believe, that, after the destruction of the Temple by Nebuchadnezzar, perhaps from a somewhat earlier period, the Hebrew text was in a much worse state of corruption, in the copies which were in private hands, than it has ever been since the revision of the sacred books by Ezra. These inaccurate copies would be multiplied during the whole period of the captivity, and widely scattered in Assyria, Persia, and Egypt ; in short, through all the regions of the dispersion. The text, as revised by Ezra, was certainly of much higher credit, than any of these copies, notwithstanding their greater antiquity. His edition succeeded, as it were, to the prerogatives of an autograph (the autographs of the inspired writers themselves being totally lost,) and was henceforward to be considered as the only source of authentic texts : insomuch, that the comparative merit of any text now extant will depend upon the probable degree of its approximation to, or distance from, the Esdrine edition. Now, if the translation of the LXX was made from some of those old MSS. which the dispersed Jews had carried into Egypt, or from any other of those unauthenticated copies ; which is the prevailing tradition among the Jews, and is very probable ; at least it cannot be confuted : it will be likely, that the faultiest MS. now ex-

tant, differs less from the genuine Esdrine text, than those more antient, which the version of the LXX represents. But much as this consideration lowers the credit of the LXX, separately, for any various reading, it adds great weight to the consent of the LXX with later versions, and greater still to the consent of the old versions with MSS. of the Hebrew, which still survive. And as it is certainly possible, that a true reading may have been preserved in one solitary MS. ; it will follow that a true reading may be preserved in one version : for the MS., which contained the true reading at the time when the version was made, may have perished since ; so that no evidence of the reading shall now remain, but the version. I admit, therefore, that, in some cases, which however will be very rare, the authority of any antient version (but more especially that of the Syriac) may confirm a various reading, supported by other circumstances, even without the consent of any one Hebrew MS. now extant. Provided only, that the emendation be not made without a reasonable certainty, after due consideration, that the sense of the version, which suggests the alteration of the reading, is not to be derived from the text as it stands : the reverse of which I take to be the case in many instances of various readings, which have been proposed upon the imagined authority of some one or more of the antient versions. But a difference between any of the antient and our modern version, is no indication of different readings in the MSS. used by the different translators ; unless the text, as it now stands, be clearly incapable of the sense given in the antient version : in which case the conclusion of a variety in the reading of the original, or of a corruption in the version, is inevitable. It must be observed, however, that this authority of the antient versions is to be considered both ways. The agreement of any of them, in the sense of any passage, with the modern, being a more certain evidence of the agreement of the MSS. from which that an

tient translation was made, with the text as it now stands ; than the disagreement in sense, when it is not to be reconciled with the present text, is an evidence of a various reading of the text in the older MSS. I say, a more certain evidence ; because, from the disagreement of any antient version with the present text, the utmost we can conclude, is the alternative. Either the author of that antient version had a different reading of the Hebrew, or the text of the version itself is corrupted ; or, perhaps the antient interpreter has mistaken the sense of the original. But the conjectural emendation, which I chiefly dread and reprobate, is that which rests solely, on what the critics call the “ exigence of the place.” For a supposed exigence of the place, in the text of an inspired writer, when it consists merely in the difficulty of the passage as we read it, may be nothing more, than the imperfect apprehension of the uninspired critic. With respect to the division indeed of sentences and words, an entire freedom of conjecture may be allowed ; in taking words, or letters, which, as the text is printed, terminate one sentence, or one word, as the beginning of the next : or the contrary. Because these divisions, in the antient languages, are not from the author, but have been supplied by scribes and editors of a late age ; and his critical judgement must be weak indeed, who in such matters, is not qualified to revise and reverse the decisions of the wise men of Tiberias. Numerals may sometimes be corrected by conjecture ; to make dates agree one with another, or a sum total agree with the articles of which it is composed. But this is not to be done without the greatest circumspection, and upon the evidence of calculations formed upon historical data, of which we are certain. A transposition of words may sometimes be allowed ; and all liberties may be taken with the points. Beyond this conjecture is not to be trusted, lest it make only a farther corruption of what it pretends to correct. At the utmost, a conjectural reading should be

offered only in a note (and that but rarely,) and the textual translation should never be made to conform to it. It is much safer to say, "This passage it is beyond my ability to explain;" than to say, "The Holy prophet never wrote what I cannot understand; I understand not the words, as they are redde—I understand the words thus altered; therefore, the words thus altered are what the Holy Prophet wrote."

I must observe, that the great similarity between some of the letters of the Hebrew alphabet, in particular between כ and ב; ד and ר; ה and ח; ג and נ; ו and י; ו, י, and ך; which is often alleged in defence of conjectural emendation; though it might be an argument of some weight, in justification of the exercise of that sort of criticism, in the time of Capellus, Hare, or even Houbigant, who all lived before any great number of Hebrew MSS. had been collated: is now, by the immortal labours of Kennicott and De Rossi, completely turned the other way. For if the text has been corrupted, by the error of a scribe confounding similar letters; it might be expected, that, in some of the multitude of copies from the MS. in which the error was first committed, the true reading would regain its place, by the same contingency of error, by which it lost it. If a transcriber in the tenth century writes a ר for a ד, and his MS. is copied by various transcribers in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries; surely the odds are great, that some of these blunder back again, and restore the ד. And if a conjecture of the present day, proposing to change a ר into a ד, cannot find a ד, in the place of the ר, in any one of the numerous MSS. that have been collated; he ought to give up his conjecture, whatever difficulty he may find in the text as it stands; for the uniformity of the MSS. where the chance of error is equal either way, is hard to be otherwise accounted for, than by the truth of the reading. I have already admitted that in some cases, though but

rarely, the antient versions may establish a reading without a single MS. But a reading that has no support either from version or MSS., now that MSS. have been diligently collated, ought to be rejected as indubitably false: unless the case falls within the limits of allowable conjecture, specified above. The work of Dr. Kennicott is certainly one of the greatest and most important, that have been undertaken, and accomplished, since the revival of letters. But its principal use and importance is this; that it shuts the door for ever against conjecture, except under the restrictions which have been mentioned.

I annex a list of passages in which, in my translation, I follow the printed Hebrew text in preference to Abp. Newcome's emendations; whether his own, or those of others which he has adopted.

	<i>Reading of Printed Text.</i>	<i>Rejected Emendation.</i>	<i>Authors.</i>
Chap. I. 9.	אהי לכם	אלהיכם	Houbigant, upon mere conjecture.
Chap. II. 9.	לכסות	מכסות	Houbigant, from LXX.
Chap. IV. 4.	ועמך כמריבי	ועמי כמריבת	Archbishop Newcome, from LXX. Archbishop Newcome, upon the authority of a single MS.—The Syr. according to the Latin interpretation of it in the Polyglott, may seem to favour this reading. But the Latin is wrong. The true rendering of the Syriac is this: "Et populus tuus tanquam cum sacerdote rixans." The Latin preposition <i>cum</i> is virtually included in the Hithpael form of the participle. See chap. IV. note (C.)
18.	הבו	omitted.	Houbigant, with consent of Secker. Syr. LXX. and three MSS. See chap. IV. note (P.)
Chap. V. 3.	הזנית	הונה	Houbigant, upon authority of all the antient versions.
7.	הרש	החסל	Houbigant, upon the supposed authority of the LXX. See chap. V. note (D.)
Caph. VI. 3.	יורה	ירוה	Archbishop Secker, upon the authority of Syr. and Chald.
5.	משפטי כאור משפטיך אור	משפטי כאור משפטיך אור	Archbishop Newcome, upon the authority of Syr. and Chald. See chap. VI. note (F.)
Chap. VII. 1.	כרפאי	כרפאי	Archbishop Newcome, upon the single authority of the printed Bible of Brescia 1494.
2.	ללכנם	בלכנם	Archbishop Newcome, upon the authority of the Complutensian Bible, and some MSS. See chap. VII. note (D.)

6.	אפהם	אפרים	Archbishop Newcome, upon the authority of one MS. and the version of the LXX.
14.	יתגוררו	יתגודרו	Michaelis. The authority of one MS. and one edition only is alleged, and the version of the LXX. Another edition, and six or seven other MSS. might have been produced from De Rossi. But there is no sufficient reason to disturb the printed text.
16.	לא על	לא יועיל	Archbishop Newcome, upon mere conjecture.
Chap. VIII.			
5. 6.	נקין : כי מישראל	נקין בישראל : נקין במו ישראל	Archbishop Newcome, upon authority of LXX.
6.	והוא	הוא	Houbigant, alleging the Syriac. But if an alteration were to be made upon the authority of the Syriac, it would be to omit the whole word והוא. One MSS. only of Kennicott's omits the ו, and originally one other of De Rossi's.
Chap. IX.			
13.	בנוה	בנאוה	Archbishop Newcome, upon authority of the Vulg. and the supposed authority of Chald.
Chap. X.			
5.	יגילו	יחילו	Calmet, upon mere conjecture, without any authority and without any <i>exigentia loci</i> .
10.	באותי	באתי	Houbigant, upon mere conjecture, without authority, and without necessity.
—	באסרם	ביסרם or בהוסרם	Archbishop Newcome, upon the supposed authority of LXX. Vulg. and Syr.
11.	עברתי	העברתי	Archbishop Newcome upon mere conjecture, without any authority, and much for the worse.
—	טוב	מוט	Houbigant, upon mere conjecture.
—	ארכיב	ידרך	Archbishop Newcome, upon mere conjecture.
12.	כפי	לפרי	Archbishop Newcome, upon the supposed authority of LXX.
—	ועת	רעת	Archbishop Newcome, upon authority of LXX.
14.	שלמן	צלמנע	Grotius. See chap. X. note (S.)
—	בית ארבל	ביר ירבעל	Grotius, with some countenance perhaps from Vulg. and the Alex-LXX. See chap. X. note (S.)
15.	ביתאל	בית ישראל	Houbigant, upon authority of LXX. See chap X. (note S.)

	—	מפני רעת רעתכם	מפני רעתכם	Archbishop Newcome; thus expunging from the text a frequent and most emphatic Hebraism, confirmed by Vulg. Syr. and LXX. except indeed the reading of the Aldine MS. and text be admitted.
Chap. XI.	2.	קראו	כקראי	Houbigant, upon supposed authority of LXX and Syr.
	3.	זרועתיו	זרועתי or בזרועתי	Archbishop Newcome, upon the alleged authority of the versions, the latter prophets of Soncinum, and one MS. of Kennicott's originally; Abn Walid and R. Tanchum; to which may be added, for the omission of the suffix ך three MSS. of De Rossi's originally. But the introduction of the prefix כ is entirely his own, without any authority at all. I should think by mistake; the learned Primate having overlooked the preposition על.
	4.	כמרימי	כמרים	Archbishop Newcome, upon authority of the versions, and one MS. of Kennicott's originally.
	—	אוכל	אוכלו or אוכל לו	Archbishop Newcome, upon the supposed authority of the LXX.
	5.	לא	omitted	Archbishop Newcome, upon authority of LXX.
	12.	רד	ירד	Archbishop Newcome, upon authority of Vulg. and perhaps Syr.
Chap. XII.	—	נאמן	ונאמן	Archbishop Newcome, upon authority of Vulg.
	4.	בכה עמנו	בכה עמו	Houbigant, upon mere conjecture. Houbigant, upon supposed authority of Syr.
	8.	יגיעי	גיעו or יגיעו	Archbishop Newcome, upon authority of LXX.
	—	לי	לו	Archbishop Newcome, upon authority of LXX.
	9.		המעלהך inserted	Archbishop Newcome, upon supposed authority of LXX. and Syr.
Chap. XIII.	4.		המעלך inserted	Archbishop Newcome, upon the authority of two MSS. with the supposed authority of the versions.
	6.	כמרעיתם	במרעיתם	Houbigant, mere conjecture, and to the great detriment of the meaning.
	9.	שחתך	שחתיך	Houbigant, upon the supposed authority of the Syr.
	—	בי	מי	Houbigant, upon supposed authority of Syr. and LXX.

13.	עַתָּה	עַתָּה	Houbigant. Archbishop Newcome cites the Syr. and Ald. LXX.
13.	אֱהִי	אִיהַ	} Houbigant, upon the supposed authority of the versions, and the supposed authority of St. Paul. See chap. XIII. note (O.)
—	אֱהִי	אִיהַ	
Chap. XIV.			
2.	פְּרִים שִׁפְתֵינוּ	פְּרִי מִשְׁפְּתֵינוּ or פְּרִי שִׁפְתֵינוּ	Le Clerc, mere conjecture. Archbishop Newcome, upon authority of LXX. and Syr. See chap. XIV. note (C.)
6.	כָּלִבְנוֹן	כָּלִבְנָה	Archbishop Newcome, upon authority of Chald.
8.	לִי	לוֹ	Archbishop Secker, upon authority of LXX.

In addition to these fifty-one instances, in which I reject the proposed alteration of particular passages, as unnecessary in every one, and, in many, much for the worse; the metrical arrangement, attempted by the learned Primate, may be considered as one vast conjectural emendation, affecting the whole text of the prophet, in the form, though not in the substance, which I have not ventured to adopt. The stile of Hosea is indeed poetical in the very highest degree. In maxim solemn, sententious, brief; in perswasion, pathetic; in reproof, severe; in its allusions, always beautifull and striking, often sublime: rich in its images; bold in hyperbole, artificial, though perspicuous, in its allegory: possessing in short, according to the variety of the matter, all the characters by which poetry, in any language is distinguished from prose. And there cannot be a doubt, that the composition was originally in the metrical form. But as the division of the hemistichs is not preserved in the MSS. nor in any of the versions; I consider the metrical form as lost. And as the greatest adepts, in the mysteries of the Masoretic punctuation, have never discovered in this book (or, as far as I know, in any of the prophets) those peculiarities of accentuation, which are remarkable in the books confessedly retaining the metrical form; I suspect that it was lost early, not only in Hosea, but in all the prophets (Isaiah perhaps excepted) and the at-

tempt to restore it is too much, in my judgment, for modern criticism ; especially as the parallelism (the only circumstance the modern critic has to guide him in the construction of the distichs) is, in many parts of the book, if not indeed in the greater part of it, exceedingly imperfect, interrupted and obscure : an effect perhaps of the commatism of the stile. If in certain passages the parallelism is entire, manifest, and striking (as in some it certainly is, insomuch that some of Bishop Lowth's choicest examples, of this great principle of Hebrew verse, are taken from this prophet), I trust that my translation is so close, as in those parts to display the structure of the original, though the hemistichal division is not exhibited to the eye in the printed page : and that, notwithstanding this defect, if a defect it be, as much of the versification, if it may be so called, is preserved, as is with certainty discernible to the Biblical scholar in the Hebrew text, in its present state.

With respect to my translation, I desire that it may be distinctly understood, that I give it not, as one that ought to supersede the use of the public translation in the service of the church. Had my intention been to give an amended translation for public use ; I should have conducted my work upon a very different plan, and observed rules in the execution of it, to which I have not confined myself. This work is intended for the edification of the Christian reader in his closet. The translation is such as, with the notes, may form a perpetual comment on the text of the Holy Prophet. For a translation, accompanied with notes, I take to be the best perpetual comment upon any text in the dead language. My great object therefore in translating has been, to find such words and phrases, as might convey neither more nor less than the exact sense of the original (I speak here of the exact sense of the words, not of the application of the prophecy). For this purpose I have been obliged, in some few instances, to be paraphras-

tic. But this has only been, when a single word, in the Hebrew, expresses more, than can be rendered by any single word in the English, according to the established usage of the language. A translator, who, in such cases, will confine himself to give word for word, attempts in truth what cannot be done; and will give either a very obscure, or a very defective translation. That is, he will leave something untranslated. The necessity of paraphrastic translation will particularly occur, wherever the sense of the original turns upon a paronomasia: a figure frequent in all the Prophets, but in the use of which Hosea, beyond any other of them, delights. With the same view of presenting the sense of my author in language perspicuous to the English reader, for Hebrew phrases I have sometimes judged it expedient to put equivalent phrases of our own tongue (where such could be found) rather than to render the Hebrew word for word. But these liberties I have never used, without apprising the learned reader of it in my Critical Notes, and assigning the reason. And sometimes in the case of phrases, I have given the English reader a literal translation of the Hebrew phrase in the explanatory notes. In some instances, but in very few, I have changed words, and forms of expression, in frequent use in our public translation, for others, equivalent in sense, of a more modern phraseology: ever keeping my great point in view, to be perspicuous to the generality of readers. The dignity resulting from Archaisms, is not to be too readily given up. But perspicuity is a consideration, to which every thing must be sacrificed. And if the phraseology of the Bible were not changed, from time to time, to keep pace in some degree, with the gradual changes of common speech;—it would become unintelligible to the common people. With respect to them at this day, the Holy Bible, translated into the English of Chaucer's age, would be a translation out of one dead language into another. Not to say that Archaisms, too

long retained, instead of raising the stile, become in the end mean, and even ludicrous. The Book of Psalms would be of little use to the vulgar, if it were translated into the vulgar tongue, after the manner of this specimen: “Why gnastes the gens, and the peple thoughte ydil thingis.*” Though the text were accompanied with this luminous comment: “The Prophete, snybband hem that tourmentid crist, saies, *whit the gens*——thoo were the knyttes of rome that crucified crist. ——*gnasted*,” “as bestes with oute resoun. —— *and the peple*, thoo were the Jews, *thoughte vaynte thoughtes*, &c.” And the tragical story of John the Baptist, so admirably related in all its circumstances by the Evangelist, would not be heard with gravity in any congregation at this day, were the narrative to proceed in this language: “When the doughtyr of that Herodias was incomyn, and had tombylde and pleside to Harowde, and also to the sittande at mete, the kynge says to the wench, &c.” There is a limit therefore to the love of Archaisms, beyond which it should not be indulged. But there is a limit also to innovation, which I hope I have not passed.

* Ps. ii. 1.

Gleanings.



I. On the General Scheme and Structure of the Apocalypse. *From The Jewish Expositor, for July, 1827.*

The scheme and structure of the Apocalypse have been discussed by many commentators, and it cannot be doubted that for the right interpretation of the book, the previous knowledge of its general scheme and structure, is indispensable. In presenting the following view of it, the writer offers it with deference to others, and in differing from those who have preceded him, he would do so with courtesy and respect, and without presuming to suppose that he alone can be right in all things. It has generally been found that one portion of the truth is seen with greater accuracy by one individual, and another by another; whilst no one discerns the whole. Discussion and research are necessary for the elucidation of every great subject, and it is by the contention of mind with mind, and of opinion with opinion, that truth is elicited and understood, and becomes finally established. As the waters of many streams form at length the majestic river, which rolls its flood into the ocean, so the operation of many minds is required for the enlargement of knowledge, and to render it accurate and perfect.

It seems universally acknowledged, that a great similarity obtains between the book of the prophet Daniel, and the book of Revelations. They treat of the same subjects, they both give chronological dates, and they both deliver their prophecies under figures, signs, and symbols. This general coincidence between them is remarked by almost every commentator, and they are always considered as mutually reflecting light upon each other. The general similarity of structure also, has not passed unobserved; and Mr. Frere, in his late publication, expressly refers to Daniel, as illustrative of the scheme of the Apocalypse. As the book of Daniel then, may be taken as a guide, it may

be well to examine briefly the structure of that book, before the scheme of the Apocalypse is discussed.

The book of Daniel contains, five distinct prophecies relating to after times: and it contains moreover, a prophecy in the fourth chapter, which is generally considered as having merely a personal reference to King Nebuchadnezzar, who was cotemporary with the prophet; and another prophecy in the fifth chapter, in which the hand-writing upon the wall is explained. The five prophecies are these.—1. The great image which appeared to Nebuchadnezzar in his dream, the history and interpretation of which form the second chapter. 2. The vision of the four wild beasts, which with its interpretation forms the seventh chapter. 3. The vision of the ram and he-goat, which with the interpretation occupies chapter eight. 4. The prophecy of the seventy weeks, which with its prefatory introduction constitutes chapter nine. 5. The prophecy of the latter days, which runs through the whole of the three last chapters, x. xi. xii.

Each prophecy of the book of Daniel is in itself a separate and distinct prophecy. It has its beginning, its middle, and its end. It is in itself perfect and complete; and a full and complete interpretation may be given of each one, without a reference to any other. If one only of them had been delivered and handed down to the Church, the things which it reveals, *might* have been understood. These separate prophecies mutually illustrate each other, but no commentator has doubted that each has its own separate interpretation. The book of Daniel cannot, then, be justly and accurately interpreted with any scheme of interpretation, which combines the different prophecies into one as a continuous history, or which should put two or more together to form one narrative. It would be inaccurate to say that the destruction of the image in Dan. ii. 44, 45, is carried on in its history under the figure of the destruction of the little horn of the fourth beast in Dan. vii. 26, 27; and again in the destruction of the horn of the goat in Dan. viii. 25; and again in the standing up of Michael in Dan. xii. 1, although in a certain sense it might be true. These several passages are not the continuation of historical narrative, but the synchronisms of different prophecies; events synchronous and partly the same, being spoken of more or

less plainly, and with some variety of expression in each. The first of these passages (Dan. ii. 44, 45,) shows the destruction of the kingdoms of this world to make way for the kingdom of Messiah. At this time will come to pass the destruction of the Papal horn, (Dan. vii. 26, 27,) and that of the Mahomedan horn, (Dan. viii. 25,) and the deliverance of God's people; (Dan. xii. 1;) but it would not be correct interpretation to call the three latter passages a continuation of the prophetical narrative, and so to combine the four prophecies into one general history. A commentator might, perhaps, by some effort of ingenuity, give a consistent interpretation even under such a scheme as this; but he would create confusion and difficulties, which are avoided by taking the prophecies separately. No attempt has been made to interpret the book of Daniel upon such a plan; and if the book of Revelations is as like the book of Daniel in its structure as is generally supposed, it may well be doubted whether such a scheme of interpretation can properly be applied to the book of Revelations.

Consider the Apocalypse then, like the book of Daniel, to be a series of different and separate prophecies, how does the book divide itself, and what are the different portions of it respectively which are to be taken as separate prophecies? A cursory perusal of the book will suggest the obvious answer. There are seven churches—seven seals—seven trumpets—seven vials. Here are four *sets* of symbols, each of which must be set apart as a distinct prophecy; and then the division and adaptation of those parts of the book which remain, will be found without difficulty. The seven churches, with the introductory matter, occupy the three first chapters. The seven seals, with their introduction, constitute chapters iv. v. vi. and vii. and include the first verse of chapter viii. The trumpets go on from thence to the end of chapter xi.; and the vials form chapters xv. and xvi. Chapters xii. xiii. and xiv. intervene between the trumpets and the vials, and they may be taken together as one prophecy. Proceeding forward it will be found, that chapters xvii. and xviii. contain another prophecy—chapter xix. another—chapter xx. another—and chapters xxi. and xxii. another. Thus does the book of Revelations resolve itself into distinct sets of symbols, each containing a separate prophecy. And it will be found upon examina-

tion, that each of these prophecies is distinct and perfect in itself, like the prophecies of Daniel, and that each one, though a portion of the whole, and of the general series, has its own interpretation belonging strictly to itself, so as to be perfectly intelligible without reference to any of the others.

To illustrate further, it may be observed, that the seven churches form the first set of symbols: and whether they are to be considered as prophetic of things that belong to the Church of Christ generally, from the days of the apostles down to the end of time; or whether, as many suppose, they apply merely to the seven churches of Asia, as they existed in the apostolic age, it is quite manifest that they form a distinct subject. Each church has its separate address, concluding, however, with this important admonition, "He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches." When the seventh address is closed, the text proceeds to an entirely new subject. If the seven churches are to be considered as describing, under a prophetic type, the Church of Christ subsisting in seven different eras, or conditions, from the days of the apostles to the time of the millenium, an interpretation of the symbol under such a view of it is not difficult, and has indeed been already suggested in the volume entitled, "Messiah's Kingdom." Those who restrict the symbol to the seven Asiatic churches of the apostolic times, will probably be satisfied with Bishop Newton's interpretation. In both these views of it, the prophecy seems to have its fulfilment.

The seals form the next prophecy, and the introduction to them, which begins with chapter iv. and goes through chapter v. exhibits, under symbols of great majesty, the vast importance of the prophetic record, which being delivered into the hand of the Great Head of the Church, is opened, and revealed by him, for the consolation and instruction of his people. Each seal is represented as fastening up a separate roll of the prophetic leaves, and upon the opening of each seal, the things contained in the leaves which it had held together, are exhibited in symbol and declared. The description, however, is very short, particularly as it regards the four first seals, and much scope is left for the exercise of human ingenuity; and consequently the

seals have been interpreted in a variety of different ways. A consistent interpretation may be given, by considering them descriptive of the Gospel in its course amongst the nations of the earth, going forth first in its purity, and becoming corrupted afterwards in the hands of carnal men and worldly priests. If the description of this be referred to the four first seals, the fifth seal may be considered as describing the prayers of the Church for deliverance, and the sixth seal the utter destruction of the ungodly, whilst the seventh seal will typify the millennial or sabbatical rest (*Σαββατισμος*) which remaineth to the people of God. (Heb. iv. 9.) In this view of the subject, the seventh chapter, which intervenes between the sixth and seventh seal, will describe in its proper place, the ingathering of the Church into that rest which is symbolized by the seventh seal.

The trumpets come next in order, and they extend from chapter viii. 2, to the end of chapter ix. The trumpet seems to indicate a proclamation, as by a herald; and they may be interpreted in reference to our Lord's command, to preach or proclaim the Gospel of his peace throughout the world. And thus the trumpets may be considered prophetic of events which should arise, in consequence of the preaching of that Gospel. Like the seals, they are divided into four and three, and the four first will be found to differ materially in their character from the three last. The four first trumpets appear to show the prevalence of worldly policy and wicked men, against the truths and the teachers of the pure Gospel of Christ, and under the fourth trumpet, the measure of iniquity being filled up, the three last trumpets, which are specially designated as trumpets of wo, declare the judgments of God upon the corrupters of his truth. The fifth trumpet relates the judgments brought by Mahomet, and his immediate followers, upon the corrupt and idolatrous Christians of the Eastern Empire. This is the first judgment upon these deluded people; but the judgment upon them under the sixth, which is the second wo trumpet, comes as a heavier infliction, and one of far longer duration: for the angels of destruction let loose upon them under the sixth trumpet, although they do not still carry on their work of destruction as at first, remain unto this day. The seventh trumpet and its effects

are related in the five last verses of chapter xi. announcing in terms more concise, and general, than were used under the sixth seal, the final overthrow of the ungodly, and the ingathering of the Church: but the establishment of Messiah's kingdom upon the earth is spoken of more distinctly than under the seals. As many events, however, of vast importance to the Church, were ordained to take place in the West, during the time of those judgments in the East; and as the seventh trumpet declares a great and general judgment upon the whole earth, a short detail of some of the synchronous events in the West might be expected, and it is given accordingly in chapter x. and the first part of chapter xi. Thus chapter x. calls upon us first to consider that when the seventh angel shall begin to sound, the mystery of God will be finished. The symbol then exhibits the book of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, given into the hand of the prophet, that it might be preached before many people, and nations, and tongues, and kings. This book is the New Testament, or Testimony: that which had been given before was the Old Testament, or Testimony, but each is equally the witness of Jesus Christ the Lord. During the times of judgment upon the East under the fifth and sixth trumpets, these two witnesses of the Lord are ordained to bear testimony in the West, under circumstances which are related in the first part of chapter xi. After declaring their divine power and agency, it is there said, that they were appointed to prophecy *in sackcloth* for the space of 1260 days: at the expiration of which they should be put to death and slain (and thus deprived of the power of preaching) by the beast of the bottomless pit, (the infidel power,) who should make war against them and overcome them, and kill them: but though dead, their bodies should not be put in graves. The text seems to intimate, that the witnesses should be put down by the authority of infidel rulers, and that at the end of three years and a half they should revive and resume their functions; after which they should continue their testimony with far greater power and effect than before. The prophecy seems clearly to have been fulfilled in the early part of the French Revolution: and to instruct the Church more particularly, lest the signification of the prophecy should be misunderstood, the period of its accomplishment seems very distinct-

ly marked in the text, as a time in which a judgment should fall upon one of the ten Papal kingdoms, in the course of which judgment the *names of men* should be slain; that is, their titles of honour and distinction annulled. This circumstance being related, the text immediately proceeds to declare, that the second wo is past, and that the third and last wo cometh quickly. This last wo, as it has been already explained, seems nothing less than the final destruction of the ungodly, at the coming of the Son of Man in power and great glory.

Chapters xii. xiii. and xiv. intervene between the trumpets and the vials; and the reason of this arrangement is obvious. The vials exhibit the outpouring of God's judgments upon the Papal persecutors of his Church, and as the Papal power had not been spoken of very distinctly, it was necessary to describe it more particularly before declaring its desolation. In considering these chapters briefly, it seems sufficient to observe, that chapter xii. is introductory, that chap. xiii. shows a power symbolized as a wild beast, which afterwards associates itself with another similar power, and these two (the civil and ecclesiastical rulers of the Papal kingdom) acting together as one, and with one mind, persecute the Church of God for forty-two prophetic months, being the same period of 1260 prophetic days, or natural years, during which the two witnesses already spoken of were appointed to prophecy in sackcloth: and that chapter xiv. after exhibiting the Church as placed in circumstances of protection and safety, intimates the final overthrow of the persecutor. The ingathering of the Church, and the destruction of the enemy, are described as God's harvest and vintage, and are related somewhat in the same manner, as in the parable of the wheat and the tares. The corn of the harvest is reaped and deposited in the garner, and then the vine of the earth is cut up by the roots and thrown into the wine-press of wrath.

The seven vials come next to be considered; chap. xv. introduces them, and chap. xvi. relates their outpouring, and the effects of it. The vials, like the seals and the trumpets, are divided into four and three; the four first being of a more general character than the three last; and the seventh vial announces the final overthrow of God's enemies, the angel who pours it out declaring, "It is done!"—

finished. The judgment which thereupon takes place, is evidently the same, which has already been described under the sixth seal, the seventh trumpet, and the vintage, in chap. vi. 12, xi. 15, and xiv. 19.

The next symbol embraces chapters xvii. and xviii. forming another prophecy, and showing the judgment and overthrow of the great persecuting power mentioned in chap. xiii. which is here termed the great whore. This power is now exhibited under a type, which varies a little from the former one, and represents it as in its last estate, that is, under the form of government it must ultimately assume before it is finally destroyed. The destruction itself is related with some detail, and in the words of the prophet Jeremiah, when prophecying of the fall of Babylon.

After the judgment of the great idolatrous and persecuting church, another symbolic representation describes the judgment of the rest of the ungodly—the remnant of Messiah's enemies—which, according to chap. xix. seems to be brought to pass by the personal manifestation of the Son of Man, coming in the greatness of his strength. It should be particularly remarked, that two judgments are here declared, or that (perhaps to speak with greater accuracy) the great latter-day judgment is divided into two branches, one upon the Papal Church, and the other upon the ungodly who remain. It should seem that the corrupt church is first judged separately by itself, and that afterwards the rest are judged. These three chapters, therefore, xvii. xviii. and xix., may be considered as the more particular revelation of the great latter judgment, which will fall upon the whole of the ungodly, and which has already been spoken of in more general terms in the former parts of the Apocalypse.

The things which are ordained to come to pass after the great overthrow of God's enemies, are treated of in the three last chapters of the Revelations. Chapter xx. describes the setting up of Messiah's kingdom, and the shutting up and binding of the Evil One, during the time of Messiah's reign; so that in this most blessed era there shall be no sin, no sorrow, no death, nor any evil; and they who have the privilege of living in those glorious times, may taste of happiness without alloy, and partake of joys unspeakable, such as eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nei-

ther hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive. The symbol here shows plainly the resurrection of the righteous dead, which shall take place at the coming of the Son of Man ; and passing forward, as it were, with a rapid and hasty glance to those things that shall take place hereafter, when the appointed times of His reign being completed, Messiah shall, according to 1 Cor. xv. 24, be about to deliver up the kingdom to the Father, it describes a new apostacy—another rebellion and falling away of man from God—which in consequence of Satan being loosed from his prison-house, so that he may again traverse the earth, as now, shall take place amongst the children of men in these last times, for a short season, through the agency of that subtle tempter. The symbol marks the destruction of those who thus rebel, together with the final overthrow of the Evil One, by whom they have been seduced from their duty: and the text then declares the utter passing away of the present mundane system, together with the second resurrection, which includes all the dead ; and it reveals the second judgment which shall then take place. Then shall be set the dread tribunal, before which every son and daughter of fallen Adam must be brought, who has not been found worthy to taste the blessings of the first resurrection, and to partake of the joys of the millennial reign. At this judgment every one shall be judged according to his works, and every one whose name is not found written in the book of life, shall be cast into the lake of fire with the Evil One.

The two remaining chapters, xxi. and xxii. are confined entirely to a description of the beauties and the glories of the New Jerusalem, the chief city or capital of the millennial kingdom : and by reference to the early part of the book of Genesis, it will be seen that whatever was lost by the first Adam, will be more abundantly restored to his posterity in this time of blessedness, by Him who is the Second Adam, in whose immediate presence the children of men who are redeemed, shall partake of the fulness of joy, and of pleasures which are at his right hand for evermore.

It remains only to add, that if the reader is desirous of seeing, how the current events of history adapt themselves to the plan of interpretation which has been suggested, he may refer to the publication entitled "Messiah's King-

dom :” and the writer is well assured, that if what he has written on the former or the present occasion, be according to the mind of the Spirit of God, it will not fail to commend itself to those who are under the teaching of that Spirit. It is not to maintain a point of controversy, but to elicit and to establish truth, that he ventures to resume the pen, and he earnestly entreats every Christian reader to examine and to judge for himself, rather than adapt the opinion of any commentator, however distinguished by name or talent. One great truth as applicable to the present era, every writer upon prophecy seems to confess without reserve; that the time is now come for great and momentous changes, which are at hand, even at the doors: and that the day of the Lord cometh, even as a thief in the night.

J. B-YF-RD.

II. Remarks on Mr. B-yf-rd's Scheme of the Apocalypse. From *The Jewish Expositor*, for September, 1827.

From the general similarity which obtains between the books of Daniel and Revelation, and their having relation to the same events and times, Mr. B. argues that their structure is alike, and since the book of Daniel confessedly consists of a number of distinct prophecies, therefore he maintains that the Apocalypse is in like manner to be considered as a series of different prophecies.

But the five prophecies of Daniel, enumerated by Mr. B. were given to him at different intervals of time spread through a period of nearly seventy years. The vision of Nebuchadnezzar, in the year A. C. 603, that of the four beasts in A. C. 555, that of the ram and he-goat in 553, that of the seventy weeks in 538, and the prophecy of the latter days in A. C. 534. Although therefore one and all of these visions possess certain features of similarity and mutual relation, and belong to the same great period of time, (not however covering all the same space in it,) being that called by our Lord *the times of the Gentiles*, yet they are manifestly distinct prophecies, reflecting light indeed upon

one another, but capable of distinct and separate interpretations. They are also no where termed one prophecy.

On the other hand, the visions of the Apocalypse are always and invariably described as *one prophecy*. (See ch. i. 3. xxii. 7, 9, 10, 19.) The whole was given at one and the same time, being on one Lord's-day. The volume itself is called *the Apocalypse of Jesus Christ,* which God gave unto him*. It is frequently mentioned under the general title of *this prophecy*, (ch. i. 3.) or *the prophecy of this book*—both words being in the singular number—(ch. xxii. 7, 10, 18;) and in order that there may be no mistake as to what are its contents, *the volume itself, sealed with seven seals*, is exhibited to John in the right hand of him who sitteth upon the throne. John then learns that the Lamb which had been slain, is alone counted worthy to open the book and loose the seals; and we are next informed that *the Lamb came and took the book out of the right hand of him who sat upon the throne*. Here then we have a symbolical action referring to, and corresponding with, the title prefixed to the whole prophecy, that it is *the Apocalypse of Jesus Christ, WHICH GOD GAVE UNTO HIM*. The *book with seven seals* is by this action identified with *the Apocalypse*, or, *the book of this prophecy*; and the hypothesis of Mr. B. which dissevers the trumpets and vials from the seals, is at once negatived. For it is plain, that if the seven trumpets and the seven vials are prophecies (as Mr. B. thinks) distinct from the seals, then are they no part of the book with seven seals, *i. e.* of *the Apocalypse of Jesus Christ which God gave unto him*. Then are they separate books, or volumes, of the delivery of which to the Lamb we have no record whatever; and the various passages already referred to, wherein the whole prophecy is described as *the book*, are falsified; seeing that there are more books than one; all which conclusions being evidently untrue and impossible, the hypothesis from which they flow is also false.

I remark, in the next place, that the hypothesis of your correspondent is altogether opposed to some of the leading symbols of the book. He refers the seventh seal, which his scheme necessarily limits to chap. viii. 1, to the millennial

* Αποκλυψις, "Patefactio rei opertæ," "remotio velaminis et tegumenti."--SCHLEUSNER,

rest of the Church. Now herein are two anomalies of no ordinary magnitude,—1st. In no passage of Scripture, where the sabbatism of the Church is unequivocally predicted, do I find it expressed by *silence in heaven*. In Hab. ii. 20, and Zech. ii. 13, *all the earth* and *all flesh* are commanded to be silent before the Lord during the execution of his terrible judgments. In both texts, however, the Seventy have chosen the verb *Ευλαβεομαι* (to fear,) and not *Σιγαω* (to be silent,) in order to express the Hebrew *הסה*. In Jer. viii. 14, and Lam. iii. 28, *silence* is represented as the posture which befits those that are under the chastisements of the Lord. On the contrary, the triumphant rest, or sabbatism of the Church, is, I think, always depicted to us under the symbols of *loud and joyful songs of praise*, Is. xii. 6, *Cry out, and shout, thou inhabitant of Zion*; xxiv. 16, *From the uttermost parts of the earth have we heard songs*; Ps. xcvi. 4. *Make a joyful noise unto the Lord, all the earth*; *make a loud noise, rejoice and sing praise*; Rev. vii. 9, 10. *I beheld, and lo a great multitude stood before the throne and before the Lamb, and cried with a loud voice, saying, Salvation to our God which sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb*; xix. 6, *I heard as it were the voice of a great multitude, and as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of mighty thunderings, saying, Alleluia, for the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth*. 2d. The second anomaly which I charge on the hypothesis of Mr. B. is that it identifies in signification the period of one *half hour*, in Rev. viii. 1, and of *one thousand years*, in xx. 4. Now if there be this looseness in the interpretation of Apocalyptic terms of chronology, why not also of Apocalyptic symbols, and what becomes of every principle of certain, or even probable, interpretation? and where is the use of the book itself to the Church of Christ?

Having, I hope, said enough to show that the hypothesis of Mr. B. is opposed to the description given to us of the book itself, as well as irreconcilable with its symbols and chronology, I shall now remark further, that it seems to me that this hypothesis is wholly useless; because in point of fact the separation of the trumpets and vials from each other, and both from the seals, does not in any degree simplify its construction or facilitate the interpretation of its symbols.

or their reference to the events of history. The scheme of Archdeacon Woodhouse, which evolves the whole book from the seals, is quite as applicable to a simple and facile explanation of its contents, as this theory which divides it into three or four distinct prophecies; and as it is an axiom of human philosophy, in accounting for phenomena, not to multiply principles, or efficient causes, without absolute necessity; so it ought to be in the divine science of prophetic interpretation, to avoid the unnecessary multiplication of prophetic machinery.

I shall next observe, that if the book with seven seals, which was given to the Lamb by him that sitteth upon the throne, be *the Apocalypse, properly so called*, then the seven epistles to the churches do not, strictly speaking, belong to it, being no part of the prophecy given to Jesus Christ by God the Father. In reality, Christ himself, as the omniscient prophet and eternal High-priest and Head of his Church, walking in the midst of the seven candlesticks, has an intimate knowledge of all the affairs, and of the spiritual state of his Church, and every individual belonging to it. We speak it therefore, with reverence, that it was no part of the economy of the new covenant, that he should receive a revelation from the Father of the matter of *these epistles*, which all flowed *from himself*, in the capacities above mentioned. The Apocalypse, properly so called, commences therefore, at the opening of the first seal, (vi. 1,) and contains the whole remaining chapters of the book down to the xxiii, the concluding part of which chapter, perhaps from ver. 8, may be considered as a sort of epilogue to the divine drama.

Two other remarks and I conclude. First, I forbear entering into the particular interpretations of the Apocalyptic visions offered by Mr. B. because it seems to me superfluous to do so until its structure be settled; and, secondly, I am not unacquainted with the critical remarks of Mr. Tilloch, and his attempt to give another explanation of the phrase in Rev. v. 1, *I saw in the right hand of him that sat on the throne a book, &c.* Mr. Tilloch's amended translation of this phrase is founded upon the assertion that the Greek prepositions NEVER, when joined with an accusative, express position *on* or *in* place.* Now to this asser-

* Tilloch's Dissert. Introd. to Study of Apocalypse, p. 158.

tion I oppose the following examples : Rev. iv. 4, *Και επι τους θρονους*—and in the same verse, *επι τας κεφαλαις αυτων εφαιρους*—chap. vii. 1, *ειδον τεσσαρας αγγελους εσωτας επι τας τεσσαρας γωνιας της γης*—ch. ix. 7, *επι τας κεφαλαις αυτων*—and the same phrase in xiii. 1, and in xiv. 1, *αρνιον εσηκος επι το ορος Σιων*. I might multiply quotations to the same effect, but I deem the above quite sufficient to justify the utter rejection of Tilloch's far-fetched rendering of Rev. vi. 1, "I saw a book *concerning* the right hand (*or power*) of him that sat on the throne," than which I have seen few examples of translation that do greater violence to common sense and probability. I will add, that the Syriac version of this book, which was made while the Greek was still a living language, gives not the least support to Tilloch's gloss.

C. W.

III. Reply of J. B. to C. W's Remarks upon J. B's Scheme of the Apocalypse. From *the Jewish Expositor* for October 1827.

C. W. first objects to my taking the scheme of the book of Daniel, as a rule of interpretation for the Apocalypse. I meant merely to refer to it, as illustrative of the manner in which the prophetic books of the Old Testament are constructed. They are all written in detached parts, or prophecies : and perhaps Zechariah might have afforded a better example of this, than Daniel. I preferred taking Daniel, however, on account of the coincidences which C. W. has so well pointed out.

Your correspondent says, that all the visions of the Apocalypse were given at one, and the same time ; that is, "on one Lord's day." I presume C. W.'s authority for this assertion, is the following expression of St. John, at the commencement of the Apocalypse, "I was in the Spirit on the Lord's day," Rev. i. 10. But I cannot admit that these words authorize us to assume, that the visions were all set before the Evangelist *on one certain Sunday*. Although I confess myself unequal to pronounce, what may be the *exact* meaning of the passage, I can easily suppose that it may be explained, by reference to what St. Paul says, in 2 Cor. xii., of his being caught up into the third heavens ; and that "*εν τη κυριαχη ημερα*," translated, "on the

Lord's day," may refer to the glory which was revealed and made manifest to the Evangelist. St. John, I apprehend, was caught up in the Spirit and knew that he was so caught up; but St. Paul appears not to have known, whether he was caught up in the flesh, or in the Spirit. This view of the matter appears to me to afford a probable interpretation; but if it does not, your correspondent, to sustain his position, must show, that *κυριακη ημερα* was used in the apostolic age, to signify what we now understand by "the Lord's day."* I remark further, that the visions of the Apocalypse were many and various; and to set them before the prophet, so that he might have an opportunity to mark and observe each sufficiently, to be able afterwards to recollect and commit the particulars to writing, must have occupied a considerable time; and that the expressions which are to be found in different parts of the Apocalypse, may be insisted upon as leading to the conclusion, that in revealing the several visions to St. John, the division, or separation of one from the other, was very distinctly marked. We read, Rev. iv. 1, "After this I looked," &c. Again, in Rev. vii. 1, "And after these things I saw four angels," &c. And again, in Rev. xv. 1, "And I saw another sign in heaven." Several other passages of this kind may be adduced, and there is a striking one in Rev. xxi. 9, "And there came unto me one of the seven angels, which had the seven vials full of the seven last plagues, and talked with me, saying, Come hither, and I will show thee the bride, the Lamb's wife." The angel here speaks of a distinct and new vision. I would ask what Scripture proof is there, or what is there beyond mere assertion, to show that many hours, days, or weeks, may not have intervened between one vision and another?

C. W. observes that the Apocalypse must be one continued prophecy, because it is termed in Rev. i. and Rev. xxii., "this prophecy"—"the prophecy of this book"—and "this book." I think it might as reasonably be contended,

* The expression, "the Lord's day," occurs no where else in the English Bible. The word *κυριακος* occurs only twice in the Greek Testament, the second time in 1 Cor. xi. 20, (*κυριακον δειπνον*—the Lord's Supper.)

"The day of the Lord," (*ημερα του κυριου*) occurs four times in the New Testament, and nearly twenty times in the Old. It invariably signifies the day of the coming, or of the Kingdom of Messiah.

that there is only one continued prophecy in Isaiah, because in Luke iii. 4, "the book of the words of Esaias the prophet" is spoken of: or that there is only one continued prophecy in the Psalms, because in Luke xx. 42, and Acts i. 20, we read of "the book of Psalms."

Your correspondent asserts, that the book of Apocalypse is exhibited in vision in Rev. v., as one book, taken by the Lamb out of the hand of Him who sat on the throne. To this I cannot assent, for I consider the book described in Rev. v. to be not the book of the Apocalypse, but the book of the Old Testament Scripture. I would ask, if, as C. W. supposes, this book of Revelations, (properly so called, as he terms it,) viz. the portion from Rev. vi. 1. to the end, be indeed the book so exhibited in Rev. v., what is the little open book described in Rev. x.? Some commentators consider this little book to be a part of the Apocalypse; and some define it to be the largest portion. I would ask again, how this opinion of your correspondent is to be reconciled with the command given to St. John, in Rev. i. 11? "What thou seest, write in a book." And with the similar commands in Rev. xiv. 13. xix. 9. and xxi. 5? "Write, Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth."—"Write, blessed are they which are called to the Marriage Supper of the Lamb."—"Write, for these words are true and faithful." How again is it to be reconciled with the command not to write, in Rev. x. 4? "Seal up those things which the seven thunders uttered, and write them not." According to the hypothesis of C. W., the Book was already written; according to the statement of the Evangelist, certain visions and symbolical representations were set before him, and he was commanded to write down the several particulars; he did so, and *he wrote* the book of Apocalypse.

C. W. objects further, that the silence in heaven of Rev. viii. 1. cannot signify the rest, or Sabbatismos, of the Church, because that Sabbatismos is always described under loud and joyful sounds of praise. It seems to me, however, that rest and peace, and not triumphant shouting, are, in point of fact, the distinguishing features of the Sabbatismos of the Church: and I am persuaded, C. W. will be of the same opinion, when he has consulted Cruden's Concordance, under the words *rest*, *quietness*, and *peace*. He will find fifty

texts of Scripture at least, in confirmation of my opinion. The passages which he has adduced, describe the shouting for victory and in his contemplation of this triumph, your correspondent seems to have overlooked the rest which follows it.

The next observation is, that the silence in Rev. viii, 1. cannot signify the millennial rest of the church because the text describes it, as a "period of one half hour," while the Sabbatismos is described in Rev. xx. 4. as a period of a thousand years. I desire to remind your correspondent, that according to the original text, the silence was not "for the period of one half hour," as he states it, nor "about the space of half an hour," as the English Testament renders it, but *ως ημισωριον as it were*, half an hour. By this expression, the exact duration is evidently not meant to be indicated. It is an indefinite period: whether long or short, or longer or shorter, is mere argument and opinion. It appears to me, that Rev. viii. 1. declares *the fact* of the Sabbatical rest of the church, and that Rev. xx. 4. declares the *duration* of the reign of Messiah and his saints. It is not necessary for me to hazard an opinion, whether the reign of Messiah, and the rest of the Church, are one and the same thing, and thus or otherwise identified in duration; but to support his statement, it is incumbent on C. W. to prove, that they are so. It is not profitable to indulge in loose conjecture, or it might be suggested, that possibly the *rest* may be for a short period, prior to the commencement of the duties of the reign: but what *can we know* of these future things beyond the bare and literal meaning of the words of Scripture?

On the whole I have to regret, that C. W. should have pronounced so decidedly, that my "hypothesis is wholly useless," and that "it does not in any degree simplify the construction, or facilitate the interpretation of the symbols of the Apocalypse;" for I can in truth and sincerity assure him, that there is a difference of opinion upon this matter; and that there are some very intelligent persons, who think that the scheme I have adduced, is lucid, plain, and simple; and that it is so entirely free from the perplexity, and complexity, which belong to some other schemes, as to be well entitled to consideration.

J. B.

- IV. Review of "The Jew, the Master-key to the Apocalypse;" in answer to Mr. Frere's "General Structure," the "Dissertations" of the Rev. Edward Irving, and other Commentators. By J. A. BROWN. pp. xvi. 144. Hatchard; Seeley; Nisbet. From "*The Jewish Expositor*, for Oct. 1827."

It cannot but be a subject of deep interest to every reflecting Christian, that the attention of so many individuals, deservedly esteemed for their piety and talents, is at the present period turned to the investigation of the prophetic parts of the sacred Scriptures; and this interest must be increased, when it is observed, how much the circumstances and situation of the Jews, have been found instrumental in promoting it. As Editors of the Jewish expositor, and finding ourselves bound to act an impartial part, we do not marshal ourselves on the side of any particular school of prophetic commentators; yet we cannot but turn with satisfaction to the investigation of any temperate production relative to the subject in question, because we know that every effort sincerely made, to expound the sacred text, must serve to elicit truth, and in some degree, to elucidate a topic which is interwoven with the future well-being of the church, and the glory of the eternal God.

Prophecies already fulfilled are viewed retrospectively with admiration and delight, because in every instance of their completion, all the attributes of Jehovah are seen to harmonize, the sovereignty of God appears, and it is manifest that "he works all things after the counsel of his own will:" at the same time, a veil of mystery hangs over prophecies that are yet unfulfilled, and of which, though one and another talented individual, has ventured to lift up the corner, it "still remains untaken away:" and it must be conceded, that if the strong sight of those who have ventured to approach the secrets of the holy place, have been at all able to discern the motions of "the living spirit in the wheels;" the dazzling brightness issuing therefrom, though it may have thrown a glorious splendour around, has not so sufficiently illuminated the scene, as to enable them clearly to discriminate and point out those prophecies which are now fulfilling, or the time and manner of their accomplishment, as noted in the Scriptures of truth.

It may seem somewhat extraordinary, that after all the patient investigation that has been given by competent persons to this topic, there should have been so little attained ; that though the points under consideration be so many, there should be agreement respecting so few ; that of all who have written, almost every one has set up some new hypothesis, and laid down some new data ; and ventured upon some new premises, which have led to new conclusions : whether these circumstances furnish cause for congratulation or regret, need not be determined in the mere *notice* we profess to give of books: they should certainly disarm every one of a spirit of positiveness ; check every degree of rashness, and lead every one who ventures to speak and publish on the subject, to guard against the idea of *his own inspiration* in the *exposition of prophecy*, merely because he may have been diligent and sincere in his endeavours to *understand prophecy*.

The standard writings of former authors who have written at large, or more particularly on prophetic subjects, are become generally known, as well as those of a more modern date ; and it were most devoutly to be wished there were some points of unison among them ; but when instead of this, there is so much discordance on almost every point ; when one sees such a variety of dates fixed as the periods of calculation for the great prophetic period of 1260, 1290, and 1335 years ; when we observe one commentator calculating by *solar*, another by *lunar* years ; one interpreting the "two witnesses" of Rev. xi. as the Waldensian and Albigenian Churches ; another as the Old and New Testament ; a third as the preached and written Word ; a fourth as the Jewish and Christian Churches ; and a fifth as Joseph and Judah : one expounding "the woman clothed with the sun," Rev. xii. as the *Christian Church* ; another maintaining her to be the emblem of the *Jewish Church* ; and a third more positively deciding her to be the *papal harlot* ; we cannot wonder, as Archdeacon Woodhouse remarks, "If from the interpretations most commonly received, many of the learned have hitherto withholden their assent ; and doubts have been expressed whether we are yet in possession of the fortunate clues to be derived from human sagacity, or Divine inspiration, or of the necessary aids of learning, or of the events in history, which, at some future

period, may be destined to ascertain the completion of these prophecies :” and we may add, that it has, perhaps, pleased God in the mysterious dispensations of his will, to shut up the book and seal the full development of it till the time of the end, that the prophecies thereof may be perfectly understood, only by the entire fulfilment of them.

Very numerous have been the Expositors of the Book of the Revelation of St. John ; and the Apocalypse being the only book of the New Testament professedly and exclusively prophetic, it would be natural that every student of prophecy should give it an undivided attention. Whatever want of agreement there may have been as to the structure of the book, the meaning of its several symbols, and the general design of the whole work ; almost all have concurred in the idea that it has especial reference to the Christian Church. The work, however, now before us, takes somewhat new ground, and the author falling in with the truth uttered by Joseph Mede, and enforced by Sir Isaac Newton, that “ Daniel is the Apocalypse compressed, and St John Daniel explicated ;” maintains that it belongs not to the Christian, but the *Jewish church* ; and that the Jew is *the key of interpretation to it*. In order to establish this point, Mr. Brown asserts, that “ the Jew must be the keystone of every prophetic structure ;” and with this master-key, he flatters himself that he can unravel things the most intricate, and penetrate into secrets which have hitherto eluded the sagacity and patient investigation of others.

While Mr Brown, in his preface, unhesitatingly avers, that it is “ to darken counsel,” to propagate the opinion that the 1290 years can have been fulfilled, whilst the Mohammedan abomination exists on the surface of the prophetic earth, and therefore rejects the data of the commencement of this period as adopted by Messrs. Cuninghame, Cooper, Frere, Irving, and others, as well as the long and generally received opinion of “ the abomination that maketh desolate,” being the *Roman power* ; in the eager desire he feels to rescue the Jewish Church from her present low degradation, and to restore to her those rightful possessions which he thinks have been violently wrested from her by those, who would appropriate her privileges and blessings to the church of God in Great Britain ; he seems to have imbibed a sort of morbid sensibility on the subject, and in a most unnatural manner predicts, not

to say invokes, those judgments on his native Christian land which have fallen upon the Jews as a punishment for their *rejection of CHRIST*, and *apostacy from GOD*. We hope our author has not made himself familiar with the scene which he describes in the following quotation; and that if he have, he will supplicate the throne of mercy, that the evil may be averted. "Perhaps," he says "the time is coming, when even this nation, boasting of her wooden walls, and her military prowess, and, with singular inconsistency, her pure and holy faith, once, indeed delivered to her forefathers, but shamefully abused, and made a stepping stone to power and authority, may be burnt up with the Turkish, 'fire and brimstone' of the King that shall do according to his will; and like Zidon *her type*, the Lord God, may be glorified in the midst of her, by sending into her pestilence, and *blood into her streets* (cities), and the wounded (his own holy people) be judged in the midst of her, (*even in LONDON, her metropolis*) by the sword upon her on every side, that she may know that He is the Lord. Ezek. xxviii. 23. The year of recompences for the controversy of Zion, it is true, may not be yet come, but the cause of his wounded people will be avenged, and it will come, and will not tarry." If it can be pointed out, that by any *national act* England has "boasted of her wooden walls," and thus withdrawn her trust from the Most High to repose it in her naval strength; if it can be proved that she has by any *national act*, "with singular inconsistency, boasted of her pure and holy faith, and yet shamefully" *as a nation* and by a *national act*, "abused it and made it a stepping stone to authority and power;" if it can be pointed out, that England has by any *national act*, rejected Christ and execrated his name, as alas! the Jewish nation *has done, and is still doing*; if it can be proved, that amidst all the individual delinquencies of men in every rank and station of society, "iniquity has" yet "been established by law," then may we fear the realization of such awful events: till then, we will praise our God that "he has given us a nail in his holy place," and believe that he can and will graff his ancient people again, they continuing not in unbelief, into the good olive, without cutting us off; and that he will prove the truth of his own word; "Other sheep I have, which are not of this fold; them also I must bring, that there may be one

fold, and one shepherd." It is a glorious scripture truth, that however, for some great end, the Jewish people dwell alone, and are distinct from all nations, yet this distinction is merged on their believing in Christ, and there is hence forth neither Jew nor Gentile, but all are one in Christ Jesus.

In prosecuting the object proposed, our author investigates first, "the general purport of prophecy;" he then enquires concerning "the general principle of the Apocalypse;" and then gives a short running comment on each of the chapters of the Apocalypse.

Under the head of "the general purport of prophecy," he points out the truism how the visions of Daniel relate to the fall of the Jewish kingdom and to the rise of *four tyrannies*, which were to keep that holy people in subjection; that finally the oppression should cease, and a fifth universal monarchy become triumphant. He then enquires whether the mystery be not also foretold by other prophets? and traces it through the writing of Moses, Lev. xxvi. Deut. xxviii. and xxix. ; suggests that it may be found also in the book of Job, in the prophecies of Isaiah, particularly in chap. xi., where the prophet speaks of the four tyrannies under the well known emblems of the *lion*, the *wolf*, the *leopard*, and the *bear* ; in Jeremiah, see ch. xv. 3. ; in Ezekiel, under the symbol of the cherubim, ch. i. ; in Hosea, under the figures of a *lion*, a *leopard*, a *bear*, and a *wild beast* ; in Joel, under those of the *palmer-worm*, the *locust*, the *canker-worm*, and the *caterpillar*, which should lay the vine of Israel waste, and bark her fig-tree. He holds, that the same is seen in the *red*, the *brown*, the *speckled*, and *white horses* of Zechariah ; that these, in number, agree with the *four winds* of heaven, denoting precisely similar circumstances in the very language of Daniel. He then remarks, that every one of these prophets has closed his prophecy with blessings to the house of Israel, and mentions them *exclusively* : whence he concludes, that their's is the kingdom that is to fill the whole prophetic earth, that is, the site of the tyrannical empire after the dissolution of the four monarchies ; and closes this branch of his subject with an expression of surprise, that almost every commentator has lost sight of that people, and will scarcely allow them a place in the prophetic record.

Our author, in tracing out the four monarchies as adverted to by the prophets, esteems the number four almost as a mystical and sacred number, and attempts to point it out even where it does not exist. Hence he quotes Jer. v. 6. in confirmation, where the prophet speaks of a *lion*, a *wolf*, and a *leopard*; but the misfortune is, these make but *three*, which is one short of four. Again, in Ezekiel's vision of the Cherubim, he says, it is very obvious that the *four wheels* are symbols of empires; whereas in the vision of the Cherubim, there is not one word about *four wheels*. Ezek. i. 5. the prophet says, "Out of the midst thereof came the likeness of four living creatures, and they had the likeness of a man." In verse 15. it is added, "As I beheld the living creatures—behold *one wheel* upon the earth by the living creatures," &c.; and ver. 16, "Their appearance and their work was as it were, a wheel, in the middle of a wheel;" which means, there were *two* wheels placed transversely, one within the other, so that the figure of the Cherubim could move backward, forward, and to either side, without turning. If it be maintained, on the authority of ver. 5, that there were *four* cherubim, this will not help the matter; for there being a wheel in the middle of a wheel must necessarily multiply them to *eight*, which will be equally fatal to the mystic *four*.

It is somewhat amusing to observe, how often, when an author has a system to support, he will have recourse to the most extraordinary methods to establish it. What is to be distinctly understood by the cherubic figures, has never yet been satisfactorily determined. Some have maintained that they are emblematical of the *angels*; others, of the *four evangelists*; and the Hutchinsonians, as is ingeniously described by Parkhurst, and on the authority of the etymology of the word, taken in connection with their situation on the ark of the testimony and with Ezekiel's visions, both in chapters first and tenth of his prophecy, hold them to be "the likeness of the great ones," ג' likeness, רוב great, א' ones, the plural termination, which idea seems to gather some support from Ezek. i. 28, "This was the appearance of the likeness of the glory of the Lord;" but surely never till now was it suggested that they were designed to point out the *four tyrannies*, and emblems of wrath! and it must have required no ordinary stretch of the imagination to

suppose, as is stated in p. 74, that because it is said the cherubim were "sometimes round about the throne," and "sometimes in the midst of the throne," they are to be considered as the four tyrannies, or "agents of wrath contending for the possession of it!"

The next branch of the subject is, an enquiry concerning "the general principle of the Apocalypse."

On entering upon this portion of his work, our author remarks, that "If Daniel's prophecy accord with the testimony of the rest of the prophets, in relation to the four empires, &c. then must the Divine Spirit on the very principle suggested by Mr. Mede and Sir Isaac Newton, have imparted similar views to St. John; and the Apocalypse must necessarily be a transcript of the mind of God, as given by other prophets, &c. This then is the test by which every system of interpretation ought to be tried, and by which it is proposed to examine the structure of the Apocalypse, and the general structure of Mr. Frere."

Pray is not this what logicians call, "petitio principii;" or begging the question? It is granted that we are not to imagine the Divine Spirit would, *on precisely the same subjects*, impart different, or opposite views to Daniel and St. John; but does it follow, that that Divine Spirit, in his communications to St. John, who lived almost six hundred years after Daniel, must necessarily limit himself to the periods of Daniel? It may be said that Daniel's prophecies extended to the utmost limits of time: they may, indeed, give a faint outline of what Jehovah purposed to do upon the earth, and forasmuch as little is said about any but the Jews, it may seem as if that nation were the end and aim of all prophecy: but when it is remembered, that the prophecies are full of predictions and promises to *the Gentiles*, and that out of Gentile "stones God can raise up children to Abraham," and that as a matter of experience, God has built up to himself among the Gentiles a glorious church, which in our land, at least, with all that church's imperfections in the administration thereof, "has laboured and been patient, and has not fainted;" which has had her confessors, and martyrs, and a numerous progeny of faithful children; which has "earnestly contended for the faith once delivered to the saints;" which has suffered no inroads on the doctrines of Divine grace; doctrines

which are according to godliness; (unless the repeal of the laws against blasphemy, whereby the professed infidel, and no less impious Socinian, can now with impunity hurl the darts of his rebellion against the Godhead of Emmanuel;) when these things are remembered, we own ourselves a little jealous of that system, which would annihilate all consideration of the CHURCH; and, much as we love the Jew, and would labour for the restoration of God's holy and peculiar people, we cannot agree, that while the prophecies of the *Old Testament* mainly belong to them, that they, at the same time, have an *exclusive claim* to those contained in the *New*; for if so, how are the Jews and Gentiles to flow in together and become one in Christ? Indeed, the introduction of the Apocalypse with the seven churches of Asia, seems so decidedly to mark the character of the whole book, that one is led to wonder how a different view should be entertained of it. The mind of our author is chafed exceedingly, that Mr. Frere, in his general structure of the Apocalypse, "has not condescended to name the JEW, whereas he has spoken of the CHURCH no less than *fifty-four times*:" and he is equally displeased with another commentator, who "has boldly declared that the Revelation of St. John has nothing to do with the Jew, but that it relates to Christian Israel;" and "that he has chosen to decorate the Protestant British nation with the names, and titles, and privileges of the twelve tribes of Israel." We doubt not but that the individuals alluded to, feel interested in the well being of the tribes of Israel; yet they cannot but remember, that Israel has committed "a great sin" in killing the Prince of Life, and that "their posterity approve their doings;" that Israel, as a people, still reject Christ, and continue in unbelief; that if "their names, and titles, and privileges be assumed," it is because God hath allowed it. See 1 Pet. ii. 9. It is not the *person of the Jew*, but his *execration* of our Lord and Saviour, that is the object of abhorrence; it is not *his misfortune* that excites disgust, but *his unbelief*.

Consonant with our author's general principle of the Apocalypse, he aims to establish a homogeneity between the symbols used by Daniel and St. John, and condemns those authors who sometimes interpret symbols very differently. He ingeniously illustrates his meaning in a va-

riety of ways, upon which the space allotted to this paper will not allow us to expatiate.

Having examined and censured Mr. Frere's general structure of the Apocalypse, and maintained, that according to the eighth chapter of Daniel, *Mohammedism* instead of a Spirit of Infidelity was to be engrafted on Popery, and that the little horn spoken of by that prophet is no other than the *Mohammedan* power, he proceeds to an examination of the Apocalypse. In this we shall follow him very briefly, seeing that this article has already exceeded the usual limits.

As the visions of St. John had reference to the Universal Church, it is suggested that the Church, must have a local habitation, or resting place, and that *that* territory is the prophetic church.

While Bishop Newton supposes the seven churches to be descriptive of the seven Asiatic Churches in the Apostolic times, and most other Commentators view them as prophetic of the several states of the Christian Church, from the commencement thereof to the Millennium, our author remarks, that "the vision is a mystery; and that he has already shown that the prophecy cannot apply to the individual churches of Asia, named by the apostles;" and he adds, "There are clear indications, or internal evidence, which makes those churches symbolical of the seven states of the last day, as described, though under different symbols, by Isa. xi. 6, 7." "These churches, for reasons before assigned," he says, "are typical of the churches of the *four empires*, and of *Assyria, Israel, and Egypt*, Israel being a blessing in the midst of the land." He labours to maintain his position by a reference to the Mohammedan power, *Smyrna* symbolizing PERSIA, the church of *pergamus* denoting MACEDONIA, *Thyatira* ROME, *Sardis* as being an ancient portion of the ASSYRIAN EMPIRE, *Philadelphia* as denoting ISRAEL, "it now remaining like a column in the midst of ruins," and *Laodicea* as relating to COPTIC, and EGYPTIAN CHURCHES. No appropriation is made of the *first* church and we fear that the elucidation of our author, in reference to the others, will be considered somewhat far fetched, and more fanciful than solid.

While the first three chapters of the Apocalypse are occupied with the seven churches, the fourth and fifth, he

says, speak of the judgments that are to come upon the earth. He then explains the seals, in ch, vi. The *first seal* as referring to the BABYLONISH MONARCHY; the *second* to the MEDOPERSIAN POWER; the *third* to the MACEDONIAN EMPIRE; the *fourth* to the Roman EMPIRE; the *fifth* to the SLAUGHTER OF DEATH AND HELL, POPE-RY AND MOHAMMEDISM; the *sixth* to the JUDGMENT of *the wrath of the LAMB*; the *seventh* to the DAY OF GLORY consequent on a fall of the Dragon, Beast, and False Prophet.

Having thus disposed of the seals, our author proceeds next to explain the trumpets. Here he returns a little into the beaten track of explication: he understands the *first trumpet* to denote the *invasion* of the GOTHIC NATIONS during the fourth and fifth centuries; the *second* the FALL OF ROME under Augustulus; the *third and fifth* to have homogeneous symbols; the *fourth*, the SECESSION of *the third part of ROMAN EMPIRE*; the *sixth*, the SECOND, OR TURKISH WOE; the *seventh*, a woe trumpet, synchronical with the seventh seal, and with the great judgment, when the kingdom shall become the Lord's.

Our author makes the two witnesses in Rev. xi. to mean the Jewish and Greek Churches; and while he objects to their being applied to the Waldensian and Albigensian Churches, or to the Old and New Testament, with singular inconsistency he suggests a larger latitude of interpretation by referring them to *Joseph and Judah*. "In this sense therefore," his words are, "may the witnesses who bear testimony for God, and are trampled down by the Mohammedan oppressor, be considered as Joseph and Judah, according to Ezek. xxxix., and may thus be laid, in reference to the prophecy of Zechariah, to be the two anointed ones, that stand by the Lord of the whole earth."

The woman, in chap. xii., he maintains to be the Papal Church, and illustrates the following chapters by adverting to events which have transpired, and are transpiring, in modern times. The remarks on the remaining chapters are brief, and the interpretation put upon the two last, of a nature to suit the general view which is taken all through, of this deeply mysterious book, as it identifies

the final universal kingdom of the saints, with the kingdom of the JEWISH NATION.

Our observations have been sufficiently extensive to afford our readers a general idea of the work before us. It proves the individual who has penned it to be deeply conversant with his subject, and notwithstanding the exceptions we have taken, we would recommend the work as well calculated to repay the labour of an attentive perusal. How our author's assertions and statements are supported by the evidences he adduces, we must leave our readers to judge; at the same time we are constrained to say, that he has rendered service to the cause by directing the minds of his contemporaries, to a question which has hitherto engaged but a small portion of the attention of our modern English divines. By the "Scripture lines of Times," contained in an appendix, in which our author makes the great prophetic periods of 1260, and the 2300 years to terminate in 1844, we are allowed to conclude, that many now living may survive to prove the truth, or the error of his calculation; but however it may terminate, there can be no doubt, that if the subject be studied with a spirit of Christian simplicity, and a desire to benefit thereby, it cannot but prove both pleasing and profitable.

IV. Illustration of Dan. xi. 20. From *The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine*, for August, 1827.

In looking over, some little time ago, a volume of the *Universal History*, containing an account of the reign of the Seleucidæ in Syria, my attention was particularly directed to Daniel xi. 20. This chapter contains so accurate a sketch of the history of the most eminent princes of the Grecian dynasties, in Syria and Egypt, as led one of the most subtle and determined opposers of the Jewish and Christian revelations, Porphyry, to the following expedient of evading the force of their testimony to revealed truth: He assigned to the whole prophecy a date posterior to the events which it describes: a desperate expedient certainly, because such an assertion, failing of proof, mightily confirms the cause against which it is directed.

The verse in question is this: "Then shall stand up in his estate a raiser of taxes in the glory of the kingdom: but within a few days he shall be destroyed, neither in anger, nor in battle." The Prince referred to here, is Seleucus Philopater, "Standing up in the estate" of his father, Antiochus the Great; who, after going on long in a victorious career, at last "stumbled and fell, and was not found." His son is mentioned by a peculiar epithet, which has no relation to any recorded circumstance in the prophetic narrative. He is styled, "a raiser of taxes in the glory of his kingdom;" and cause enough, indeed, had he to act in that capacity, since his father's treaty with the victorious Romans bound him to pay to that grasping people, one thousand talents of the purest silver annually for twelve years. The fulfilment of this stipulation devolved upon Seleucus Philopater; and thus the occupant of one of the mightiest and most splendid thrones of antiquity became a taxgatherer for the benefit of the Roman people.

It has been well observed, that there is a studied obscurity and ambiguity in the pretended prophecies of Pagan oracles. In the prophecies of Scripture, on the contrary, there is a prediction of facts so clearly defined as not to be capable of equivocal construction; so marked in their character, as not to find resemblances in the common series of events; and such also as human sagacity would have pronounced highly improbable.

But, in a survey of the distinguishing characteristics of Scripture prophecy, and the proofs it exhibits of a divine origin, we may go farther still than this. The predictions of the Bible are frequently so expressed, as to make it apparent, that the Being by whose inspiration they were given, was intimately acquainted with the whole series of important facts, which stand in historic connexion with the matter of the prediction itself. Thus in the case now discussed: in the room of a deceased Prince is introduced to our view, his successor, who is described as a "raiser of taxes." The reign of this Prince is in no other respects remarkable than for financial expedients and exertions. When the necessity for these, occasioned by the Roman treaty, was gone by, then he died; for the last of the twelve years specified in that treaty, was in exact conformity with this brief prophetic summary, the last of his life and reign.

Did not he who thus predicts that Seleucus Philopater should be a raiser of taxes, and in so few words epitomizes so admirably all that was remarkable in his inactive and inglorious reign, know also the circumstances which led to the course here described? Is not the whole prophecy, indeed, so constructed as to make it evident that these were as fully before the *inspiring mind* as were those actually recorded? With what irresistible evidence of their proceeding from a super-human wisdom and knowledge do those predictions of future events commend themselves to us; the very terms of which infer so perfect a knowledge of other events, splendid in their character and momentous in their results; of which, however, there existed no necessity that the details should be given in the sacred pages!

I am not conscious of having any where met with a similar view of the *superabundant riches*, so to speak, of prophetic inspiration; doubtless, however, this branch of the subject cannot have escaped the notice of some one or other of those admirable writers who have treated so convincingly this important part of the great argument in favour of revealed religion. A more narrow research into the construction of many other prophecies will, in like manner, exhibit their connexion with unrecorded particulars, and cause those who engage in such researches, with feelings of solemn admiration to exclaim, "O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! Known unto God are all his works, from the beginning of the world."

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V. Concerning the Israelites spoiling the Egyptians. [From King's *Morsels of Criticism*.]

It may now be allowable, to endeavour to do justice, still further, to Sacred Writ;—by vindicating from reproach, the unjustly stigmatised conduct of the Israelites, on their departure from the land of Egypt, in spoiling the Egyptians:—in spoiling them by the command of Moses, (as it has been malevolently, and with a sneer represented;)—and by the command of Almighty God Himself;—(as it has blasphemously been represented.)

But, however blameable the Israelites undoubtedly were,

both before and after this event, in other parts of their conduct ;—yet in this, I will venture to affirm, they were blameless.

Let the whole fact, according to the exact narration, be fairly and calmly considered ;—and it will appear, here also, (as in the case of Jacob,) that as to the event of the spoiling the Egyptians, it was even to Moses at first declared as a mere prophecy, delivered on Mount Sinai ;*—and without his being himself at all able to know, or even to imagine, how it was to come to pass.

And as to the Israelites themselves ;—it does not at all appear, (from what is said of the directions given to them to borrow,)† that it was ever told them, by Moses, that they should spoil the Egyptians :—or that they were at all aware, or had any ideas of such a consequence ; or any apprehension that they should by any means do such a thing, till the very event had irrevocably, and contrary to any foresight of theirs, taken place.

It does not at all appear, that they marched out of Egypt, with any other intention, than that of going three days journey into the wilderness and then returning ;—or at least, with any other intention than that of making some short abode there, to perform their religious rites, and of then returning.

And therefore, when, after a long denial of this request to go and sacrifice unto the Lord their God, they were at last thrust out ;—yet even then, this was their utmost plan. And in fair construction of the whole history, we cannot but conceive, that when they borrowed the jewels, to enable them, in a more splendid manner, to perform their religious celebrations, they honestly and fully intended, and expected to return them ; and actually would have done so, if Pharaoh had not pursued them ; and by the whole event made them so hateful to the Egyptians, that it was not in their opportunity, or, by any means then existing, in their power, to have any further communication with the land of Egypt ; or with any of the persons from whom they had borrowed these spoils ; and to whom they certainly intended originally to have delivered them again.

* Exodus, chap. iii. ver. 21, 22.

† Exodus, chap. xi. ver. 2, 3. Chap. xii. ver. 35, 36.

The multitude that went out, being a mixed multitude, even with a great number of Egyptians in their company,* plainly shows that they thought of returning:—and it was Pharaoh's hardness of heart, in pursuing them, contrary to any previous imagination of the Egyptians themselves, that alone changed the Israelites' course;—frustrated all their honest purpose;—and accomplished the Divine Prophecy:

Righteous art Thou, O Lord, in all Thy Ways: and Holy in all Thy Works.†

But further;—the ferocious attempt of the Egyptians to destroy the Israelites, after they had consented that they should go in peace;—and contrary to all their solemn engagements to them; or at least to drag them into the most bitter bondage;—was surely a more than sufficient cause for avowed hostility, and reprisal, in any age, or country upon the face of the earth:—and such, that the Israelites thenceforth detaining the spoil, could no more stand in need of any apology, or vindication; than the confiscation of the property of Traitors, or than the modern practice of making reprisals at sea.

If the Israelites, after this, had been in a situation, where they could have returned with armed force, to invade the land of Egypt; and to carry away the whole spoil thereof; by what law of nations would they have been condemned?

But in the Wilderness, where the Israelites were sojourning, the same sea which they had so miraculously passed over, was an utter bar to all further intercourse with Egypt, for any purpose, or on any account whatever.—And, even suppose a disposition of restitution to have remained;—the bar placed by their miraculous passage, which they never could have had originally any expectation of accomplishing; would effectually put it out of their power to carry such disposition into effect:—whilst indeed, at the same time, the greater part of the very Egyptians most interested, had in all likelihood perished, together with Pharaoh himself.

I must add, whilst I am thus humbly endeavouring, with great simplicity, and integrity, to vindicate the cause of the righteous against blasphemers;—and, if it might be, to lead

* Exodus, chap. xii. ver. 38.

† Psalm cxlv. ver. 17. Psalm cxix. ver. 137. Jeremiah, chap. xii. ver. 1.

blasphemers to repent of the blasphemy;—as blasphemy may be forgiven,* except the blasphemy against the Holy Spirit:—I must add, that perhaps some notice should be taken of our Blessed Lord's borrowing the Colt, whereon HE so emblematically, and prophetically sat, when He entered Jerusalem.—Our proud modern blasphemers, Bolingbroke, and Voltaire, have both by themselves, and by their minor imitators, blasphemed our Lord;—representing His sending His Disciples to take, or borrow the Colt, as a gross fraud.—But those who are serious, will understand both the prophecy, and the accomplishment, to have been perfectly consistent with all righteousness.

Our Lord, prophesying,—said,

Matthew, chap. xxi. and Mark, chap. xi.

Ver. 2. ——— *Go your way into the village over against you; and as soon as ye be entered into it, ye shall find a colt tied, whereon never man sat; loose him, and bring him.*

3. *And if any man say ought unto you, (or as St. Mark* has the words, say unto you, Why do ye this?) say ye, that The Lord hath need of him; and straight-way he will send him hither.*

Here was the Prophecy;—the accomplishment follows in these words,

Mark, chap. xi.

Ver. 4. *And they went their way, and found the colt tied, by the door without, in a place where two ways met:—and they loose him.*

5. *And certain of them that stood there, said unto them, What do ye loosing the colt?*

6. *And they said unto them even as Jesus had commanded:—and they let him go.*

8. *And they brought the colt to Jesus.*

And here evidently was an accomplishment of the Prophecy, with the fullest consent of those that stood by;—who

* Matthew, chap. xii. ver. 31. Mark, chap. iii. ver. 28, 29.

† St. Luke has the words, *Why do ye loose him?* chap. xix. ver. 31.

must have been, either the owners, or connected with the owners of the colt.—Here, therefore, was a full consent, as could well be given to any loan:—and at the same time, there cannot be a doubt but that the colt was actually returned carefully, by the disciples, who so constantly passed by the same spot every day, during their attendance at Jerusalem.

Where then was the robbery, or the fraud? Let those disciples of Error who have brought the shameful charge, answer for the real injury they have done to the world;—and for their own real fraud,—whereby they have indeed endeavoured to rob mankind of all their best reliance on Him, who alone is able to save;—and of all their best hopes, and advantages.



VII. Origin, Principles, and Present Condition of the Protestant Dissenters.
From *The Baptist Magazine* for August, 1827.

It may be said, without fear of its being successfully contradicted, that “the antiquity” of Protestant Dissenters “is of ancient days.” It is an undeniable fact, supported by the most abundant evidence, that the sentiments held by the primitive believers, and all Christians for the first three centuries, with regard to the constitution of the churches, were similar to those which have always been maintained by them.

A few extracts from Lord King’s “Constitution of the Primitive Churches,” will be sufficient to prove this assertion. Cyprian says of the office of “*bishop*,” or pastor, &c. “in a church might be many presbyters, but only one supreme.” Before the time of Constantine, we find from Ignatius, Cyprian, and other bishops, that not the word “diocese,” but *parish* (houses near to each other) is used of the bishop’s charge; as, the bishop of the “parish of Alexandria,” of the “parish of Ephesus,” &c. A bishop had then but one altar, one communion table; and offenders appeared before the *whole* church. The African Synod (A. D. 258,) held, that the sacerdotal ordinations ought not to be made but with the knowledge of the people who were present, that the people being present, either the enemies of the wicked may be defeated, or the merits of the good de-

clared, and the ordination be just and lawful which shall have been examined by the suffrage and judgment of all. A. D. 252, Cornelius, bishop of Rome, read letters from foreign churches "to his most holy and numerous people." Eusebius calls the meeting-house, "the house of the church;" i. e. the church-house. A penitent bewailing his fault before the church at Rome, "the church was touched with compassion towards him." When Andreus, bishop of Rome, died, "all the brethren met together in the church, to choose a successor." Eusebius further says, "during the first three centuries there were no dioceses larger than a parish, except A. D. 260, at Alexandria, when numbers who lived at a distance erected houses near their own houses, as daughter churches, with a minister appointed by the bishop of Alexandria, at which last place they occasionally attended." He speaks also of a bishop being chosen, whom the neighbouring bishops ordained.

From the authority of Origen, we learn that "*deacons*" distributed to the poor the church's money, and assisted at the Lord's table.

Cyprian says that the African Synod thus speaks of the "*independency*" of each distinct church or congregation:—"It is decreed by us all, and it is equal and just, that every one's cause shall be heard where the crime was committed; and that a particular portion of Christ's flock shall be assigned to each pastor, which he is to govern, being to give an account of his conduct to the Lord."

In the public worship, the lector, clerk, or reader, read the Scriptures, without the people reading with him. They had no musical instruments. After reading, singing, preaching, and praying, they administered the *Lord's supper*. "This food," says Justin Martyr, "we call the Eucharist, and no one may partake of it but he who believeth those things to be true which we teach, and who has received the remission of sins and the baptism of regeneration, and liveth as Christ commandeth." And in regard to "*Baptism*," Barnabas, in his Catholic Epistle, says, "We go down into the water full of sin and filth; and we ascend, bringing forth fruit in the heart."

Other testimonies might be produced, but these are sufficient to prove that the Christian churches, before the time of Constantine, and when the spirit of the world was not

suffered to prevail among professing Christians, were founded and governed in their discipline and worship, upon the same principles as the English Dissenting Baptist churches.

At that early period very large churches existed in Britain, which suffered most distressing persecutions from the Roman emperors. Such simple-hearted Christians as we have described in foreign parts were the churches in this country, until the close of the sixth century, when they fell victims to the sectarian zeal, and antichristian policy and cruelty of Austin, the booted apostle, at Bangor, near Chester.

The long dark night of popery which was thus introduced into Britain, continued till the Reformation, which was commenced by Wickliffe in the 14th, and was finished in the 16th century.

Besides the Reformers in church and state at this latter period, of whom Lord Thomas Cromwell and Archbishop Cranmer were the chief persons,* there were those who were reformers as regarded the corrupt principles of popery in regard to religion simply, irrespective of the religion of the church as by law established. These were that illustrious band of men, consisting of *Tyndal, Frith, Barnes, Garrett, Hierome*, and others. The first of these worthies having translated the Scriptures into English, the rest assisted in the distribution of his New Testament, and made it the only standard of their principles, and the only rule of their conduct. By these, and their numerous disciples, the principles of *free* inquiry were widely propagated; they taught that Christ was the only supreme head of the church on earth, and that his will was to be learned from the Scriptures alone.

That any writer should have designated *these* martyrs the "Fathers of the English church," is a gross misnomer: they were in no other sense her fathers but as she is *Pro-*

* The chief thing accomplished by these great and good men, was their getting the Scriptures translated by *Coverdale*; and afterwards, prevailing on the king, Henry VIII, to sanction *Tyndal's* translation. In the year 1540, one edition of what was called "the Bible of the larger volume," was printed, as Tyndal had left it, *without the Apocryphal books*, which had been translated after *Tyndal's* death by *John Rogers*, and appended to Tyndal's, called *Matthew's Bible*. A copy of this very curious edition, (which was "ordered to be read in churches") is in *Sion College Library*.

testant; certainly not as she is *Episcopal*. They were Dissenters from the *Popish* established church, and the churches they formed before the *protestant* establishment were necessarily congregational, or at most presbyterian. That there was a congregation at Oxford in 1526, and one in Bowlane, Cheapside, in the reigns of Edward VI. and Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth, may be seen in Fox's Martyrology. These Christians, who were known by the name of "the congregations," could not at any period of what is called the Reformation in the Church of England, have united themselves with it, without a violation of the principles by which they were distinguished.

It is to those Christians, then, who before the Reformation suffered such violent persecutions, because of their having dissented from the popish church-establishment in England, that the genuine Protestant Dissenters trace their origin: from these anti-popish Christians they are the lineal descendants. They were called by way of reproach, before the time of Tyndal, *Lollards*; and after his time, *Gospellers*, and *Anabaptists*! They were the nucleus around which gradually gathered all persons who were dissatisfied either with the constitution, or discipline, or doctrines of the established church, and to which they adhered. It follows, therefore, that Protestant Dissenters are unjustly called *Separatists*! How could they separate from a church of which they were never members? It is improper, then, to reproach them, as though they were exclusively sectarians. The church of England is herself sectarian, as well as they, she having separated from the church of Rome.

It was not till the commencement of the 17th century, that the class of English Christians which have been described formed themselves into the distinct and separate denominations of Independents and Baptists. Great numbers of churches of both these denominations existed at the time when Presbyterianism was the established religion.

At the Restoration in 1660, many ministers and others united themselves to the dissenters, who had been compelled to leave the national and parish churches. The Act of Uniformity in 1662, drove upwards of 2000 more ministers to unite with them: these were most excellent and conscientious men, but they were not, properly speaking, Dissenters; they had no objection to a national establishment,

nor to a prescribed liturgy, nor to parish congregations, nor to the tithes as the means of their support.

Nor are the great body of Methodists, whether Calvinistic or Arminian, Dissenters. Most of them, indeed, especially the latter, affect to be members of the established church. Genuine Protestant Dissenters adopt for their motto, *NO IMPOSITION*. They dare not submit to any thing as binding upon their consciences, which is not plainly stated, or fairly to be deduced from the New Testament; and for these opinions their forefathers suffered persecution in every dreadful form, from each national endowed sect, whether popish, episcopalian, or presbyterian; until the glorious Revolution in 1688, when the liberties of Protestant Dissenters were secured by law. And for the unrestricted exercise of their religious liberty, they are chiefly indebted to the protection afforded them by the princes of the royal house of Brunswick. Each of the four monarchs of that illustrious line has declared, on his accession to the throne, "I WILL PRESERVE THE TOLERATION ACT INVIOLABLE:" nor has either of these patriotic kings acted inconsistently with that solemn pledge.

There were several attempts made a few years since to deprive Protestant Dissenters of their privileges, by some country magistrates putting new constructions on the act of toleration. In 1811, a bill was brought into the House of Lords by Lord Sidmouth, the provisions of which were to prevent ministers from preaching any where but in the congregations to which they respectively belonged, and to require from young ministers, before they were brought under the protection of law, that they should obtain a license from a justice of the peace, at the quarter sessions for the county. These regulations, whether so intended or not, would have most grievously harassed them, and most effectually prevented their increase. The vast number of petitions presented to the Peers against this detested and persecuting measure proved successful. His Majesty's prime minister, Lord Liverpool, refused to sanction it, and even the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Sutton, opposed the bill, and spoke in the most respectful manner of the Dissenters.

Soon after the total failure of this measure, the Judges, to whom the Dissenters had appealed, gave their decision in favour of the construction of the magistrates. This high

legal decision made it necessary that they should appeal to the Legislature, for some enactment which should explain and amend the act of toleration, which had been found sufficient for their protection for more than a century. His Majesty's ministers undertook to prepare a bill for those purposes, which having passed into a law, the Dissenters were perfectly satisfied. This new toleration act protected them from the caprice of some magistrates, and the malice of others, and also repealed those persecuting statutes, the Corporation and Five-mile acts, and altered the Conventicle act in their favour. An unjust penal statute, the Test Act, still remains, which deprives them of their equal rights in the state, and is also a most awful profanation of the divine ordinance of the Lord's supper. It is not probable that this act, however unjust, will be repealed whilst there is an established sect, the principle of which must be necessarily exclusive, the members securing all the good things to themselves. At present there is no apparent hostility against Dissenters, either from the government or the bench of bishops. They most scrupulously "refrain from these men, and let them alone;" and excepting occasionally a volley of abuse from some high churchman, when on his road to Canterbury, they seem to have come to an agreement to "say nothing at all about them."

The principles on which the necessity of dissenting from the establishment is founded, are, I am of opinion, more imperfectly understood than at any former period of the dissenting history: certainly the high tone of rigid separation is greatly lowered. It is now no uncommon thing for educated dissenting youths to be allured into the precincts of an university, and from thence into the pulpit of the church of England. In some of those instances, it is feared, they have received encouragement and support from their parents. In one case, where the son of a dissenting minister has become a *dignitary* of the national hierarchy, a dissenting periodical has spoken of the circumstance, if not with approbation yet certainly not with reprobation. Many reasons could be adduced, were it necessary, to account for this *latitudinarian* state of feeling. But, however some dissenters may have changed their sentiments, the *principles* on which dissent is founded remain unaltered and unalterable; being all resolvable into this one divine direction

—“Call no man master on earth : one is your master, even Christ.”

The spirit which prevails among Protestant Dissenters is less acrimonious than at some former periods. Their controversies are conducted (with some few exceptions) with more courteousness and respect : the time may perhaps arrive, if it has not already arrived, when it will be said,

“And e’en the dipt and sprinkled live in peace.”

Happy will it be for the cause of dissent when this disposition shall universally prevail. Surely orthodox evangelical dissenters should cautiously avoid every thing which would divide their energies or check their zeal in promoting their common Christianity ; and if a difference of sentiment on some practical points, as in reference to foreign missions, make it necessary they should fight against the enemy in different detachments, they may yet, as being under the same Commander, make one united effort in spreading the victories, and celebrating the triumphs of the Prince of Peace.

When the secession from the Establishment, in 1662, took place, it was confidently predicted that the dissenting interest would not survive the lives of those ministers. More than 160 years have passed since, and the Dissenters are much more numerous than ever. And judging from the large annual sums contributed in support of their ministers and their numerous institutions (in addition to their paying, in common with others, to support the established church,) it is fair to conclude, notwithstanding there are but few very rich persons among them, yet that their aggregate wealth is not diminished. Considering, too, the large number of zealous and evangelical ministers constantly employed in propagating and diffusing the liberal sentiments of dissent, and the numerous accessions which have been, and doubtless will be made, from the tens of thousands of their Sunday-school scholars, I feel a confident persuasion that the cause of dissent is built upon an immoveable rock. Knowing, too, how beneficial the influence of these liberal sentiments has been upon our national industry and commerce, so that even *Hume* has been compelled to acknowledge that they were the germ from whence the English tree of liberty has grown ; and believing they have subserved the cause of godliness and serious piety most essentially in the nation, I adopt,

with most impassioned ardour, the devout wish of Father Paul for his country, and say of the dissenting interest in Britain, *Esto perpetua*.

LOTA.

VIII. Claims of the Church of Rome examined: By the Rev. James Townley, D. D. From *The Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, for July, 1827.

The claims of the Church of Rome to Apostolicity in doctrine must, of necessity, be examined by an appeal to the writings of the Apostles themselves; but as it would require a lengthened discussion to enter into every opinion maintained by that Church, and try it by the test of the Inspired Scriptures, I shall only advert to a few of the more leading doctrines of Romanism, and show either their contrariety to the word of God, or their destitution of support from it. The subjects to which I shall limit the present inquiry, will be those of Restrictions in reading the Holy Scriptures,—Tradition,—Invocation of Saints,—Service in an unknown tongue,—Transubstantiation,—The Celibacy of the Clergy,—and the Sacrifice of the Mass.

1. Restrictions in reading the Holy Scriptures.—The Council of Trent, in 1546, decreed, “That no one, confiding in his own judgment, shall dare to bend the Scriptures to his own sense of them, contrary to that which is given, or has been given, by the holy mother church, whose right it is to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the Holy Scriptures; or contrary to the unanimous consent of the Fathers, though such interpretations should never be published. Those who oppose shall be denounced by the ordinaries, and subjected to the punishment of the law.”* And in the “Rules” of the Index of Prohibited Books, which received the Papal sanction by a bull, dated March 24th, 1564, and are constantly prefixed to the Indexes themselves, (one of which, printed at Rome 1787, now lies before me,) the fourth rule is thus expressed; “Inasmuch as it is manifest from experience, that if the Holy

* Labbei S. S. Concilia, T. xiv. pp. 746—748.

Bible, translated into the vulgar tongue, be indiscriminately allowed to every one, the temerity of men will cause more evil than good to arise from it ; it is on this point referred, to the judgment of the Bishops, or inquisitors, who may, by the advice of the Priest or Confessor, permit the reading of the Bible, translated into the vulgar tongue by Catholic authors, to those persons whose faith and piety, they apprehend, will be augmented, and not injured by it: and this permission they must have in writing. But if any one shall have the presumption to read or possess it without such written permission, he shall not receive absolution until he have first delivered up such Bible to the ordinary.”* In 1757, the following addition was made to this Rule, by the “Congregation of the Index,” with the approbation of Pope Clement VIII:—“Any versions of the Bible in the vulgar tongue are permitted, that are approved by the Holy See, or published with Notes taken from The Fathers of the Church, or from learned and Catholic writers.”†

Such are the restrictive principles of the Romish Church, as emanating from the highest of her authorities. That they are opposed to the spirit and decisions of the inspired records, is proved at once, by recurring to the exhortations and expressions of our Lord and his apostles. “Search the Scriptures,” said the Redeemer to his disciples. (John v. 39.) St Paul requires that his “Epistle be read unto all the holy brethren;” (1 Thess. v. 27;) and St. Luke pronounces the Beræans to be more noble than those of Thessalonica, because they “searched the Scriptures daily.” (Acts xvii. 11.) Under the Mosaic dispensation, the people were required to read the law, and to be conversant in it. (Deut. vi. 6.) St Paul asserts that “Whatsoever things were written aforetime were written for our learning, that we through patience and comfort of the Scriptures might have hope; (Rom. xv. 4;) and our Saviour declared that the people “erred” from “not knowing the Scriptures.” (Matt. xxii. 29.) St. Paul therefore deemed Ti-

* Labbei S. S. Concilia T. xiv. pp. 952--956. Index Lib. Prohib. Sanctissimi Pii VI. “jussu editus.” Romæ, 1787.—Regula Indicis Reg. 4. p. xii.

† Index Lib. Prohib. *ut supra*. See also Townley’s Essays on Eccles. Hist. p. 150.

mothy peculiarly privileged, that "from a child he had known the Holy Scriptures, which were able to make him wise unto salvation." (2 Tim. iii 15.) It is unnecessary to multiply proofs of what is evidently the general tendency of Scripture; but rather to listen to St Chrysostom, the eloquent patriarch of Constantinople, who exhorts his hearers, "though secular men, to provide themselves with Bibles, the medicines of their souls, to be their perpetual instructors." (Comment. in Colos. iii. 16)*

2. Tradition.—The Council of Trent, in its fourth session, decreed, that "if any one, knowing the unwritten traditions of the Fathers, industriously contemned them, he should be anathema or accursed."† Very different is the language of Scripture, which presents Christ to us as addressing the Scribes and Pharisees, those determined advocates of unwritten traditions, and solemnly declaring, "In vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrine the commandments of men:" (Matt. xv. 9 :) And again, (Mark vii. 8,) "Laying aside the commandment of God, ye hold the tradition of men." We may therefore say with St. Jerome, "The Sword of God" (that is, his Word) "doth smite those other things which they find and hold of their own accord, as by apostolical tradition, without the authority and testimony of Scripture." (In cap. i. Aggæi.)‡

3. Invocation of Saints.—By the Council of Trent, "all Bishops, and others that have the charge and care of teaching," are commanded "diligently to instruct the people, concerning the intercession and invocation of Saints; teaching them, that the Saints, reigning together with Christ, offer up their prayers to God for men: that it is good and profitable humbly to invoke them, and to have recourse to their prayers, helps, and assistance, for the imploring of benefits from God by his Son Jesus Christ our Lord, who is our alone Saviour and Redeemer."§

A plain passage or two in Scripture will be sufficient to show that this doctrine is contrary to the Word of God.

* See Wesley's Works, Vol. xv. p. 127.

† Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent, p. 12.

‡ See an able refutation of the Romish doctrines by the venerable John Wesley: Works, vol xv. p. 119. Lond. 1812. 8vo; and also Fletcher's Lectures: Lecture ii. p. 46.

§ Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent; Sess. 25, p. 14.

“There is one God, and one Mediator between God and man, the Man Christ Jesus, who gave himself a ransom for all :” (1 Tim. ii. 5, 6 :) “How shall they call on him in whom they have not believed ?” (Rom. x. 14.) But “cursed is he that trusteth in man.” (Jer. xvii. 5.) “When I had heard and seen, I fell down to worship before the feet of the angel which showed me these things ; then said he unto me, See thou do it not, for I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren the prophets, and of them which keep the sayings of this book ; worship God.” (Rev. xxii. 8, 9.) “Let no man beguile you of your reward in a voluntary humility, and worshipping of angels, intruding into those things which he has not seen, vainly puffed up by his fleshly mind.” (Colos. ii. 18.)

4. Service in an unknown tongue.—The 9th canon of the 22d session of the Council of Trent denounces, “If any man shall say, that the mass ought only to be celebrated in the vulgar tongue, let him be accursed.” This decree is so directly opposed to the reasoning of the Apostle, 1 Cor. xvi., that it requires no other refutation.

5. Transubstantiation.—With regard to this strange doctrine, the Council of Trent, in its twelfth session in 1551, decreed, “If any one shall deny, That the Body and Blood, together with the Soul and Divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ, and therefore the whole Christ, are really, truly, and substantially contained in the most holy sacrament of the Eucharist ; but shall affirm that he is there only as in a sign, or figure, or by his influence ; let him be anathema.” Other similar canons were also framed at the same time, among which is one to this effect : “If any one shall deny that the whole Christ is contained in each element or species in the adorable sacrament of the Eucharist ; or shall deny that if separated into parts, the whole Christ is contained in separate parts of each element or species : let him be anathema or accursed.” But how repugnant is such a doctrine to sense, and reason, and Scripture ! So contrary is it to the clear evidence of our senses, that to allow it, is to destroy the very arguments by which Christianity itself is defended. St. Luke appealed for the truth of the Gospel which he wrote, to the testimony of those who had been “eye-witnesses” of what they had “delivered to him ;” (Luke i. 1, 2;) and St. John says, “That which we have seen

with our eyes, and have looked upon, and our hands have handled of the word of life, declare we unto you." (1 John i. 1.) St. Paul appeals to similar evidence in proof of Christ's resurrection. (1 Cor. xv. 5, 6.) The unbelief of Thomas yielded to the conviction of his senses; (John xx. 25;) and our Lord deemed the evidence of sense valid and convincing, when the apostles thought he had been a spirit: "Handle me and see," said Jesus; "for a spirit hath not flesh and bones as ye see me have." (Luke xxiv. 39.) If, therefore, we grant Transubstantiation, we take away the certainty of sense, and there no longer remains any possibility of judging of the truth of facts. Transubstantiation is equally opposed to reason as to sense: for "if every particle of the host is as much the whole body of Christ, as the whole host is before it be divided, then a whole may be divided into wholes: for divide it and subdivide it, it is still whole. A whole it is before the division, whole it is in the division, and whole it is after it." To such absurdities does this doctrine reduce its advocates!*

But this doctrine is not only opposed to sense and reason, it is likewise at variance with the idiom and expressions of the Scriptures themselves. Those passages on which the Romanists chiefly found their dogma of Transubstantiation, is that which records the institution of the Eucharist, and in which we are informed, that "Jesus took bread, and blessed it and brake it, and gave it to the disciples, and said, Take, eat; this is my body." (Matt. xxvi. 26, &c.) These words they take in the most literal sense, contrary to the idiom of the inspired writings in similar instances; for even in the words immediately following those on which so much dependance is placed by the advocates of this opinion, it is said, he took "likewise also the cup after supper, saying, This *cup* is the New Testament in my blood, which is shed for you." (Luke xxii. 20.) But will the most resolute defender of Transubstantiation affirm that the *cup* actually and really became the New Testament, or does so at present under the words of consecration? Must they not be obliged to confess that the expression was figurative? With what reason then do they aver that the words which serve their purpose are to be taken literally, but that those which do not

* Wesley's Works: Vol. xv. p. 163.

are to be taken figuratively? Many other instances may also be adduced in which the word “*is*” must necessarily be used for *signify*, or *denote*, or *mean*, as Gen. xli. 26: “The seven good kine *are* seven years:” “The seven stars *are* the seven churches:” (Rev. i. 20:) “The seven heads *are* seven mountains:” (xviii. 9:) and in many other places, in which the same mode of expression is employed.* We need not therefore wonder, that Cardinal Cajetan, and other learned men of the Romish Church, have acknowledged the insufficiency of this text to prove so monstrous a doctrine as Transubstantiation, without the aid of Tradition.†

This Romish doctrine is, however, not only founded on an interpretation of a passage of Scripture inconsistent with the idiom of the languages in which the Sacred Oracles were written, but also at variance with other declarations and expressions of Holy Writ. “As often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup,” says St. Paul, “ye do *show the Lord’s death* till he come:” (1 Cor xi. 26:) thus intimating, that our Lord’s design in the institution of the Eucharist was[‡] the solemn commemoration of his death, as an atonement for the sins of mankind; and that this was the true intention of our Redeemer is clear from his own command to his disciples: “Do this in remembrance of me;” (Luke xxii. 19;) and his declaration to them, “This is my blood of the New Testament, (or Covenant,) which is shed for many for the remission of sins.” (Matt. xxvi. 28.) We therefore find that the bread which was broken is called “Bread,” as well after consecration as before it; (1 Cor. x. 17;) and consequently remained unchanged: and we are also assured by St. Peter, “that the heaven must receive or retain Jesus Christ, until the time of the restitution of all things.” (Acts iii. 21.) Hence the notion of the real presence in the Eucharist appears without any Scriptural evidence or support.

6. The sacrifice of the Mass, is intimately connected with the doctrine of Transubstantiation. The Council of Trent asserts, that in the sacrifice of the Mass,‡ “the very

* See Clarke’s Discourse on the Eucharist, p. 51. 8vo. Poole’s (Matt.) Dialogue between a Popish Priest and an English Protestant: p. 129. Lond. 1667. 24mo.

† Poole’s Dialogue, p. 128; Fletcher’s Lectures, p. 142.

‡ The term MASS is used by the Romanists for the prayers and cere-

same Christ is contained and sacrificed without bloodshed, who once offered himself up by a bloody death upon the altar of the Cross ;” and remarks “that such sacrifice is really propitiatory ; and by means thereof, if we, being humble and penitent, come unto God with a true heart, a right faith, with fear and reverence, we shall obtain mercy and find favour in him seasonably helping ; because by the oblation thereof, the appeased God, granting grace and the gift of penitence, remits crimes, nay, even grievous sins ; for it is one and the same host and oblation, the same person now offering himself in the ministry of the Priests, that then offered himself up upon the Cross, the manner only of the offering being different.”*

To this doctrine it may be sufficient to reply, that “the Scripture, when it extols the perfection and infinite value of Christ’s sacrifice, doth infer from it, that there needed not therefore any repetition of it. But if the same Christ is offered in the Mass, as was on the Cross, and that unbloody sacrifice is alike propitiatory as the bloody, there is then a repetition of the same sacrifice, and he is daily offered.” The following are some of the passages of Scripture which support this reasoning, and prove the doctrine utterly unscriptural : (Heb. ix. 26, 27 :) “Such an High Priest became us, who needeth not *daily*, as those High Priests; to *offer up sacrifice*, first for his own sins, and then for the people’s: for this he did *once* when he offered up himself:” (ix. 22—28 :) “Without shedding of blood is no remission:” “Nor yet that he should offer himself often; for then must he often have suffered since the foundation of the world; but now *once* in the end of the world hath he appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself:” “Christ was *once* offered.” (See also x. 8—14.)

7. The celibacy of the Clergy.—By the Council of Lateran it is ordained, “That those who are married shall not be admitted into holy orders; that those that are ad-

monies attendant on the consecration of the Eucharist. It most probably obtained this designation from the form of words *Itē missa est*, regularly used at the dismissal of the catechumens, previous to the celebration of the Eucharist.

* Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent: Sess. 22, pp. 97, 98.

† Wesley’s Works, xv. 165.

mitted shall not be allowed to marry; and that those who being admitted do marry, shall be separated." And the Council of Trent decreed, "That if any one shall say, the Clergymen in orders, or professed regulars, may marry, and their marriage be valid, notwithstanding any ecclesiastical law or vow, and that the contrary is nothing else but a condemning of matrimony; and that all those who find they have not the gift of chastity, although they have vowed it, may marry; he shall be accursed."

To this doctrine of the Romish church it has been well replied, that "the Apostle on the contrary, says, 'Marriage is honourable in all;' (Heb. xiii. 4;) and accuses those who forbid to marry, of 'teaching the doctrine of devils.' How lawful it was for the Clergy to marry, his directions concerning it show. (1 Tim. iv 1—3.) And how convenient, yea, necessary, in many cases it is, clearly appears from the innumerable mischiefs which have in all ages followed the prohibition of it in the church of Rome; which so many wise and good men, even of her own communion, have lamented."*

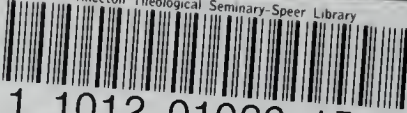
We have now glanced at the grounds on which the Romanists build their hopes of demonstrating that the Church of Rome is the only true Church, and shown that the claims to Unity, Sanctity, Catholicity, and Apostolicity, are utterly unsupported and unscriptural; and consequently, that her imperious assumption of exclusive salvation is destitute of proof, and only marks the inquisitorial and uncharitable character of the system itself.

* Wesley's Works, Vol. XV. p. 193. Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent, p. 122.

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